EUSEBIUS

THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES
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PREFACE

The text of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Eusebius in the following pages is that of E. Schwartz in volumes i. and ii. of Part II. of the edition of Eusebius in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, published by the Berlin Academy. Changes have only been introduced in a few very small points, such as the accentuation of the proper names in the genealogy of Christ.

I am most grateful to the Academy for its kindness in allowing me the use of this magnificent example of how a text ought to be edited.

In preparing the English I have in difficult passages frequently consulted the translation of A. C. McGiffert and have derived much benefit from his notes. I am also greatly indebted to my friends Mrs. Frederick Winslow, Professor Robert P. Blake, who read proof-sheets and suggested many improvements, and Miss Edith Coe, who helped at every stage, and undertook the laborious work of verifying and inserting the references which were taken from Schwartz.
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INTRODUCTION

I. The Life and Writings of Eusebius

No contemporary biography of Eusebius is now extant, for though one was published by Acacius, his successor as bishop of Caesarea, it has been lost, and we are dependent on a few vague statements in later writers and on the evidence of his extant writings.

He was probably born about the year 260. This date is fixed by (1) the fact that he speaks of Dionysius of Alexandria as having been alive in his time: Dionysius was bishop of Alexandria from about 247 to 265. (2) He speaks of Paul of Samosata as a contemporary: Paul was deposed in 270. (3) He speaks of Manes as belonging "to yesterday and our times": Manes lived during the episcopate of Felix at Rome in 270–274. (4) After speaking of Dionysius of Alexandria, who became bishop in 247, and before speaking of Dionysius of Rome (A.D. 259), he seems to draw a chronological line, stating that he now proposes to relate the history of his own generation.¹

His parentage and the place of his birth are unknown. It is true that Arius in writing to Eusebius of Nicomedia spoke of him as the brother of the latter, but it is probable that this meant no more than "brother bishop." He was sometimes referred to

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as "the Palestinian," but this again was probably merely to distinguish him from the other Eusebius, and alluded to his Palestinian bishopric. His most usual designation was "Eusebius of Pamphilus." This doubtless means some close relationship, and has been interpreted as son, nephew, friend, or slave of Pamphilus. All these are possible, but none certain, and in the absence of evidence a decision between them cannot be made.¹ Pamphilus was a native of Phoenicia who had studied in Alexandria and settled in Caesarea. He here collected a large library, including some of the works of Origen and the original of the Hexapla.² This library and the similar one made by Bishop Alexander at Jerusalem were the main sources from which Eusebius derived the material for his books.

It is unknown at what time he was ordained deacon or priest, and it has been doubted whether he was in clerical orders at all until his election to the see of Caesarea. He was imprisoned during the persecution at Caesarea under the governor Firmilianus in the year 309 but was neither tortured nor executed. Many years afterwards, at the Council of Tyre (A.D. 335), he was accused by Potammon, the bishop of Heraclea, of having betrayed the faith during the persecution and having thus escaped. But no evidence appears to have been produced that this was so, and in the controversies of that time neither side was unduly reluctant to blacken the character of their opponents; had there been any evidence it would surely have been adduced.

After the end of the persecution in 313 Eusebius

¹ Theodoret, H.E. i. 1; Nicephorus Callistus, H.E. vi. 37.
² Eus. H.E. vi. 32.
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was made bishop of Caesarea, but the exact date is doubtful; it must, however, have been before 315, when as bishop of Caesarea he attended the consecration of the church in Tyre. In 325 he was present at the Council of Nicaea, where he held a very prominent place on the right hand of the Emperor Constantine. It has sometimes been stated that he was actually the president of the Council, but this cannot be proved and is even improbable. Both before and after this time he appears to have been the chief theological adviser of Constantine. His general attitude during and after the Council was that of the moderate man. He was not in agreement with the party of Alexander,¹ and appears to have done his best to induce the Council to adopt a less drastic creed. On the whole he probably was more in agreement with Arius and with his namesake, Eusebius of Nicomedia, than with the opposite party, but his policy and that of the Emperor was to seek a formula of comprehension, while Alexander on the one hand and Arius on the other desired formulae which would exclude their opponents. In the end he was obliged to yield to the pressure of numbers and appears to have voted with the majority in the final decision; but he was never really convinced, and for the rest of his life was an opponent of the Athanasian party, and a firm supporter of all attempts to evict its leaders and to modify the creed so as to leave room for more difference of opinion on metaphysical questions.

Six years after the Council of Nicaea he was present at the Council of Antioch (A.D. 331), which

¹ The Bishop of Alexandria, whose quarrel with Arius was the immediate cause of the Arian controversy and of the Council of Nicaea.
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deposed Eustathius, one of the leaders of the anti-Arian party. On this occasion he was offered the bishopric of Antioch, but refused it, nominally at least, because he was unwilling to transgress the ecclesiastical rule that a bishop must not leave one see for another. Three years later (A.D. 334) a proposal was made to depose Athanasius. An attempt was apparently made to hold a council for this purpose at Caesarea, but it was unsuccessful, and the Synod was not actually held till a year later at Tyre (A.D. 335). At this meeting, which Eusebius attended, Athanasius was condemned on evidence which though apparently convincing was, to say the least of it, mostly fraudulent. Athanasius was accused of having cut off the hand of a certain bishop. The hand was actually produced as evidence, but not the bishop, whom Athanasius afterwards discovered and convicted of possessing both hands.

In the same year Eusebius was the leading figure at the Synod of Jerusalem during which was held the consecration of the new church. This Synod was distinctly Arian in tendency as, indeed, were most of the councils of the eastern clergy. It was decided to re-admit Arius, and action was begun against Marcellus of Ancyra. In pursuance of this policy a little later during the same year Eusebius attended a Synod at Constantinople. Arius died on the eve of his restoration, but Marcellus was condemned, and during the proceedings Eusebius was the chosen

1 Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, was one of the leaders of the extreme anti-Arian party. He was accused of Sabellianism,—the heresy which regarded the Logos or Son as merely a name for God when acting in a certain way, and not as a separate "existence" or—to use the later word—hypostasis. See especially Th. Zahn, Marcellus von Ancyra, xii
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orator at the famous "tricennalia," the celebration of the thirtieth year of Constantine's reign.

In 337 Constantine died and Eusebius did not long survive him. The day of his death is known with tolerable certainty, but not the year, for the Syriac martyrology of the fourth century, which probably represents the old calendar of Nicomedia, merely says that Eusebius died on May the 30th. Since Socrates, H.E. ii. 4, mentions his death in connexion with events which took place in 339 and 340, and since in 341, at the Synod of Antioch, Acacius, the successor of Eusebius, was present as bishop of Caesarea, the death of Eusebius must have taken place on May the 30th in 339 or 340. A definite choice between these years is impossible, but, as Lightfoot points out, the general impression made by the statements in Socrates and Sozomen is that the death of Eusebius took place before that of the younger Constantine and the second exile of Athanasius. These events were probably earlier in 340 than May the 30th, so that probability slightly favours 339 rather than 340 as the year of his death.¹

Important though his ecclesiastical and political career undoubtedly was, his literary achievements are his chief claim to fame. Once more, there is not extant any complete list of his writings. Jerome, Nicephorus Callistus, and Ebed Jesu, the Syriac writer, have given partial lists, and scattered through the writings of Photius are references to other works. These are some help, but Eusebius himself is our chief source of information.

He began to write in the last years of the third century or at the beginning of the fourth. To the

¹ Socrates, H.E. ii. 4 f.; Sozomen, H.E. iii. 2.
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earliest period probably belong two books of controversy with heathen writers. One, *Adversus Hieroclem*, was an answer to the *Philalethes* of Hierocles, who had compared Christ and Apollonius of Tyana. The work of Hierocles is unfortunately lost, but Eusebius’s book is extant. It is written in a style rather markedly different from his later works, and he never quotes it. There is, however, scarcely sufficient reason for doubting its authenticity. It was probably a work of his youth. The other book of the same kind was an answer to Porphyry, a heathen controversialist living in Caesarea, who had attacked Origen and other Christians. The text of this book is wholly lost, but a fragment which may belong to it has been published by E. von der Goltz in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, xvii. 4. pp. 41 ff. It is also probable that to the same early period should be ascribed a collection of the lives of the early martyrs. This collection, which would be of inestimable value, has unfortunately been lost, but it was used by the Old Syriac martyrology and other traces of it have been found in later collections of the lives of saints. Finally, it is generally thought that a lost work of his, Περὶ τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν πολυπαθίας, quoted by Basil the Great, *De Spiritu Sancto*, cap. 29, and mentioned in Eusebius, *Praeparatio*, vii. 8. 29 and *Demonstratio*, i. 9. 20, may belong to this period.

The next period of his life is the ten years of the Diocletian persecution, 303–313. During this time, and possibly even before it, Eusebius was busy with a great project of connected works dealing with the history and philosophy of Christianity. Though they have not all been preserved the greater part of these books remain and are the most valuable extant

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monument of Christianity as it was immediately before the Council of Nicaea. Part of his great claim to distinction is that when writing philosophy he never neglects history, or philosophy when writing history.

The position of Eusebius is that the Logos existed from the beginning with God the Father. As might be expected from one who wrote earlier than the Council of Nicaea and was afterwards suspected of a tendency to Arianism, he expresses himself with some ambiguity as to whether the Son, or Logos, was created by the Father. The Father was the creator of the universe and all creation within it the work of the Logos. Man, however, was made by the Father, though the Logos shared in the plan of his creation. After the creation it was the Logos who appeared to the righteous; and Eusebius thus explains the visions of Abraham, Moses, Jacob, and Joshua, as well as all references to Wisdom in the sapiential books. He explains that this doctrine of the Logos would have been promulgated long ago, had not men been too wicked to understand it, and that it was actually, though obscurely, contained in the Old Testament, as is shown by passages in the Old Testament which should be regarded as foretelling even the names of Jesus and of Christ. Jesus, according to him, was the incarnate Logos, who came to announce himself and to point out to men the duty of reverencing and worshipping him. Finally, he maintains that the teaching of Christianity was neither new nor strange. What was new was the Church, the race of Christians. Their corporate existence, their general piety, and their increasing influence were indeed new, but their teaching was
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not. It had been followed centuries before them by Abraham and Moses and the later prophets; and the religion of the patriarchs was identical with that of the Christians. All history was a contest between God, acting through Patriarchs, Prophets, and the Church, on the one hand, and the Devil, instigating Jews, Persecutors, and Heretics, on the other. It is a contest in which the Devil always gets the worst of it in the long run, but the righteous suffer considerably in the process; and part of the plan of Eusebius is to reveal the machinations of the Evil One and his followers, and to show the catastrophes which befell Persecutors, Jews, and Heretics.

The student of church history will have little difficulty in recognizing that this teaching is in the direct line of Justin Martyr, Aristides, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. In some ways he was the last and the greatest of the Apologists, for after his time, when the Church was accepted within the Empire, there was no reason for anyone to write quite the same argumentative justification of Christian religion as was incumbent upon him. It would be interesting if we could know how far his works, incomparably more logical than those of his predecessors, converted the educated classes in the Empire. Origen, no doubt, and Clement of Alexandria were his superiors as philosophers, but neither of them had the same grasp of history and of historical presentation.

To attempt to arrange in chronological order the books which he wrote during this period is misleading. He was doubtless constantly working on the material used in them all, and although it is possible to make a few statements about their relative chronology,
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this applies only to the dates at which they were begun or at which they were finally put into writing.

At the head of the series must be placed the *Chronicon*. Eusebius perceived that the foundation of history is accurate chronology and for this purpose, using no doubt as the basis of his work the earlier efforts of Julius Africanus and others, and partly at least controverting their position, he produced a work which is now extant in the form of elaborate tables arranged in parallel columns illustrating the whole history of the world year by year. These form the Χρονικοὶ κανόνες, which have been preserved in an Armenian translation and in the Latin version of Jerome. Whether this was the original form of Eusebius's own work is open to question. Possibly it is a later, more precise but less trustworthy recension.¹ To these tables was prefixed a Χρονογραφία, or explanation and introduction, which has unfortunately been lost. From references in *Eclogae* i. 1 and i. 8, it would appear that this work was produced before 303, but according to Jerome Eusebius afterwards re-edited it, carrying it down to 325.

During the years of persecution which followed he began two great connected works entitled the *Praeparatio Evangelica* and the *Demonstratio Evangelica*, dedicated to Theodotus, bishop of Laodicea. The beginning of these books can be dated as after 303 and before 313, for both *Praeparatio*, xii. 10. 7 and *Demonstratio*, iii. 5. 7 refer to the persecution as

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still raging. Nevertheless, the Demonstratio was not finished until after the peace, to which a reference is made in Demonstratio, v. 3. 11.

The Praeparatio is fully extant, but of the Demonstratio, which originally contained twenty books, only the first ten are preserved. Taken together they constitute a statement of the positive and negative cases for Christianity as Eusebius conceived them. The Praeparatio is especially concerned with the treatment of heathenism which it describes and refutes. The Demonstratio shows how the prophets foretold Christianity, and how the religion of the Christians was not new but was identical with that which had been followed by the patriarchs and saints of Old Testament days even before the time of Moses. It is thus incidentally an answer to Jewish controversialists.

Closely connected with these two books is a third called Ἡ καθόλου στοιχείωδης εἰςαγωγή, or General Elementary Introduction, in ten books, of which four are extant in the form of the Προφητικαὶ ἐκλογαί, commonly quoted as the Eclogae, or Prophetic Extracts. It is not quite clear what was the relation of this book to the Εἰςαγωγή, but apparently it was an extract from the larger work. It must have been begun before 313, as it contains a reference to the persecution as still continuing (Ecl. i. 8). It presents another version of the same argument from prophecy as is contained in the Demonstratio, and lists of passages are given from the Old Testament, which are held to refer to the person and work of Christ. The first book of the Eclogae is devoted to the historical books of the Old Testament, the second to the Psalms, the third to the remaining poetical books xviii.
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and the other prophets, the fourth to Isaiah. The other books of the Ἐἰσφοράς are lost.

If Photius can be trusted, Eusebius also wrote, possibly at this time, two other books of a similar nature, the Praeparatorio Ecclesiastica, and the Demonstratio Ecclesiastica. Both of these have entirely perished, but it is supposed that they dealt with the church in the same way as the Praeparatorio Evangelica and Demonstratio Evangelica dealt with the coming of Christ. Lightfoot thinks that there is an allusion to the Demonstratio Ecclesiastica in the Praeparatorio Evangelica, i. 3. 11, where Eusebius says that he had gathered together in a special work the sayings of Christ relative to the foundation of his church and had compared them with the events. Lightfoot also thinks that it is possible that Book IV. of the Theophania may have been adapted from the Demonstratio Ecclesiastica, just as other parts of the Theophania (for instance Book V.) are adapted from the Demonstratio Evangelica.

Before Eusebius had finished writing the Demonstratio Evangelica the persecution was ended (or at least seemed to be ended) by the Edict of Toleration in 311, and Eusebius seems to have broken off from his dogmatic writings to write a history of the church on the basis of the facts which he had already collected and in part published in the Chronicon.

This Church History, translated in the present volumes, passed during the life of Eusebius himself through several stages which may not unfairly be called editions.

1. The first edition consisted of Books I.-VIII. It was planned in 311, for in the preface to the first
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book Eusebius says that he will describe "the martyrdoms of our own time and the gracious and favouring help of our Saviour in them all," and in Book viii. 16. 1 he says that the Edict of Tolerance in 311 was "the gracious and favouring interposition of God." The similarity of phrase suggests that the same event—the Edict of Tolerance—is intended in both passages. This conclusion may be supported by small differences of plan which show that the ninth book was not part of the original scheme, and that the original text of the eighth book has been somewhat modified in the later editions, to which all the extant mss. belong. The details can best be found in Schwartz's introduction, page lvi.

2. The second edition added Book IX., which was necessary because the persecution, which seemed to have ceased in 311, was revived by Maximin, and the defeat of Maximin by Licinius appeared the really decisive moment. This second edition was probably produced in 315.

3. The third edition added the tenth book in order to close the story with the dedication of the basilica at Tyre. Eusebius says that he did this at the request of Paulinus, bishop of Tyre, "adding at this time the tenth book to those that were already completed of the Ecclesiastical History" (H.E. x. 1. 2). Schwartz thinks that he also moved a collection of documents from their original position in Book IX. to the end of Book X., and added a paragraph to the eighth book on the death of the four emperors. This edition would belong to the year 317.

4. The fourth edition came after the fall of Licinius in 323, and consisted in the main of the removal of
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passages inconsistent with the *Damnatio Memoriae* of Licinius. The evidence for this last edition is in the main textual. The group of manuscripts ATER contain a number of passages omitted in BDM, and a large proportion of them seem to be connected with Licinius. It is thought that though all the existing manuscripts represent the fourth edition, from which these passages had been omitted in accordance with the *Damnatio Memoriae* of Licinius, the group ATER had been corrected from a copy of the third edition, which, of course, contained these passages.

This theory of four editions of the *Ecclesiastical History* is taken from E. Schwartz's Prolegomena, pp. xlvii ff. which should be carefully studied, as they supersede all earlier investigations. It should be noted that the evidence for the 3rd and 4th editions is textual, for the 2nd and 3rd internal and logical.

A rival theory has been propounded by H. J. Lawlor in his *Eusebiana*, pp. 243 ff. He thinks that Eusebius had begun to write his Church History somewhat earlier than the date assigned by Schwartz, and in this agrees with the view stated by Harnack in his *Chronologie*, ii. pp. 111 ff. The theory has the advantage that it gives Eusebius rather more time for completing so large a book; and it necessitates the view, by no means improbable in itself, that he wrote the Introduction in Book I. after he had finished the narrative properly so called. He had, according to Lawlor, nearly completed the Seventh Book of the *History*, which brought the story down to his own time, when suddenly the Edict of Toleration was issued by Galerius and his colleagues. This event, which appeared to have ushered in a period of
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peace to the church after a most cruel persecution, was seized upon by him as the natural end of his story. He therefore wrote a sketch of the history of the persecution as the eighth and last book of his work, and published the whole. A little later he added an abridged form of his *Palestinian Martyrs*, which he had written in the interval as a supplement to the eighth book, and this addition, according to Lawlor, may be regarded as a second edition of the *Church History*. But the persecution was resumed, and when the Edict of Milan once more re-established toleration, Eusebius produced a third edition of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, revising Book VIII., making a few changes in Book VII. and in the *Palestinian Martyrs*, and adding Book IX., thus bringing the whole to an end with the text of the letter of Licinius dated June the 13th, 313. The date of this edition would therefore be soon after the end of 313. A fourth edition was produced eleven years later, adding the tenth Book, and the whole work in its present form was finished in 324 or a little later.

The weakest spot in this theory seems to be that it attaches too little weight to the statement of Eusebius that he added the tenth book in order to please the bishop of Tyre, which certainly suggests an earlier date than 323, inasmuch as the church at Tyre was dedicated in 317. But Lawlor's suggestion that there was never more than one edition of Book X. is important for textual reasons. It would on the whole tend to give greater value to the ATER group and rather less to the BDM group, which Schwartz on the whole prefers. The opinion of the present editor inclines somewhat to Schwartz's interpretation of the phenomena, but the suggestion that the first xxii
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edition of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* was begun rather earlier than Schwartz suggests has many advantages.

It is probable that the *Chronicon*, the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the *Praeparatio Evangelica*, the *Demonstratio Evangelica*, the *Eclogae Propheticae*, and possibly the *Demonstratio* and *Praeparatio Ecclesiastica*, comprise the whole of the original plan of Eusebius. But the exigencies of events which forced him somewhat to change the plan of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* also led to his writing some subsidiary books during this period.

The most important of these is the *Palestinian Martyrs*, which has, like the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, a complicated textual history. It is known in two forms, the longer found only in Syriac, though undoubtedly based on a lost Greek original, and the shorter preserved in the group ATER of the manuscripts of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and inserted immediately after Book VIII. The relation of these two forms to each other and to the *Historia Ecclesiastica* affords a problem which will probably never be solved. Lightfoot and Lawlor believe that the longer form is the earlier; Schwartz thinks that the shorter is Eusebius’s original draft, but that he lengthened it himself. All agree that it is extremely probable that both forms are due to Eusebius himself. The relation of the shorter form to the *Historia Ecclesiastica* depends somewhat on the view taken of the textual history of the *Historia*. On Schwartz’s view of the manuscript evidence it seems almost certain that the *Palestinian Martyrs* was omitted from the last edition of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, but that it probably belonged to the third which influenced the group of manuscripts ATER. Yet it is scarcely
probable that it was not inserted before the third edition. Its position between the eighth and the
nineth books suggests that it was added by Eusebius to
the first edition which ended with Book VIII., and
this addition constitutes Lawlor's "second edition."
But there can be, from the nature of the case, no
certainty on this point. All that is clear is that the
book has every claim of internal evidence to be
regarded as a true work of Eusebius, and that when
the recension ATER was made the scribe had access
to another manuscript, not that which he was actually
copying, which contained its text after the end of
Book VIII. What that manuscript was must remain
uncertain, as there is no evidence whatever on the
subject. Similarly, it is not likely that complete
certainty will ever be attained as to the relation
between the two forms of the text; the evidence
is too conflicting.

With regard to the whole complicated series of
problems afforded by the composition and text of
the Historia Ecclesiastica and the Palestinian Martyrs,
it may be said that the wisest method for a student
to pursue is to begin by reading the essay of Light-
foot in the Dictionary of Christian Biography, supple-
menting it by Harnack's treatment in his Altchrist-
lische Literatur and in his Chronologie, and then, and
not till then, to go on to the more detailed, more
thorough, but far more difficult books of Schwartz and
Lawlor, both of which are quite indispensable to a
proper knowledge of the subject.

During the last years of the persecution, Eusebius
collaborated with Pamphilus in writing a Defence of
Origen. When Pamphilus was martyred he finished
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the work by himself, and also wrote the Life of Pamphilus. Both books are unfortunately lost. He also wrote, in two volumes, a work called by Jerome the De evangeliorum diaphonia, but in the Greek entitled the Ζητήματα καὶ λύσεις εἰς τὴν γενεαλογίαν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν πρὸς Στέφανον and the Ζητήματα καὶ λύσεις εἰς τὴν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ Σωτῆρος πρὸς Μαρίνον. These are only extant in the form of an epitome, but large fragments of the original have been found. It is possible, but quite uncertain, that there may be some connexion between this book and the system of “Canons” which Eusebius invented to facilitate the comparative study of the Gospels. These canons divide the paragraphs of the Gospels, quoted by the numbers given by Ammonius,¹ into ten groups, according as the material in them is found in all four Gospels, in only one, or in any of the possible combinations of two or three Gospels. Eusebius published this apparatus with an explanation in a “letter to Carpianus,” of whom nothing is known. The earliest manuscript of the New Testament which contains this system is the Codex Sinaiticus which may have been written in Caesarea during the life of Eusebius, but more probably is a little later and came from Alexandria.

After Nicaea Eusebius scarcely produced so many books as he did in the time of the persecution and the days immediately succeeding it. This, no doubt, was due to his elevation to the bishopric of Caesarea. He seems to have busied himself with exegetical writing, and there are large fragments

¹ A scholar of Alexandria who divided the gospels into chapters in order to facilitate their use. These chapters are commonly found in Greek mss. and are known as the “Ammonian sections.”

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extent of a commentary on the Psalms, another on Luke, another on Isaiah, and perhaps another on 1 Corinthians, which probably belong to this period, but none are fully extant and their further recovery depends in the main on the study of catenae.¹

He also produced four connected works dealing with the geography of the Bible. These comprise a translation into Greek of foreign words found in the Bible, a description of ancient Judaea, a plan of Jerusalem and the temple, and a treatise on the names of the places mentioned in the Bible. The first three have been lost, but the last was translated by Jerome and is still extant. According to him it was written after the Church History, and from internal evidence it appears to have been published before the death of Paulinus of Tyre in 328. It is usually quoted as the TopiKa or sometimes as the Onomasticon.

Of doubtful authenticity, but sometimes ascribed to Eusebius and to this period, is a little book on the nomenclature of the book of the Prophets containing a short account of the several prophets and their works.

In the last years of his life Eusebius was busy with two main achievements. He regarded Marcellus of Ancyra with somewhat the same feelings as Athanasius regarded Arius, that is to say as the real leader of the attempts to disturb the peace and unity of the church by essentially one-sided and erroneous teaching. He therefore wrote two treatises against Marcellus, one generally known as the Contra Marcellum, the other as the De ecclesiastica theo-

¹ That is, commentaries made up of selections from early interpreters linked together into a "chain" of comment.
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logia. Both of these were published after 335. He also wrote and published a book on the life of Constantine, which was not so much a full biography as a panegyric, important to us because it contains much information about the Council of Nicaea and the further ecclesiastical activities of the Emperor. With this, or closely connected with it, came also the publication of the speech known as the De laudibus Constantini, which Eusebius delivered in honour of Constantine on his thirtieth anniversary, and an edition of the speech which Constantine himself made to the Synod. Finally, it is probable that during his last years he was engaged in writing the volume known as the Theophania, which is in the main a repetition of the same arguments as those found in the Demonstratio, and in the opening chapters of the Historia Ecclesiastica with regard to the appearance of the Logos in the world. It was probably his last work; it is extant only in Syriac, and apparently was never finished, but there is still controversy among critics as to its date and relation to the Demonstratio.

II. THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA

The primary mss. of the Historia Ecclesiastica fall into two main groups:

1. The group BDMΣL.
   B, Codex Parisinus, 1431 (vellum, s. xi-xii), formerly Colbert. 621 and Reg. 2280, called E by Burton. In the Bibliothèque Nationale.

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D, Codex Parisinus 1433 (vellum, s. xi-xii), called F by Heikel. In the Bibliothèque Nationale.

M, Codex Marcianus 338 (vellum, s. xii), called H by Burton. In St. Mark's Library at Venice.

Ω, an ancient Syriac version, probably made early in the fifth century.

L, the translation of Rufinus made in 402.

In this group M most frequently differs from B and D. Generally this seems due to error in M, but sometimes BD have an error in common against M owing to their having been influenced by a later "learned" recension which did not affect M (see p. xxix). The combination MD is usually inferior, so that B is on the whole the best ms. of the group. The decision between B and M can often be made by comparison with the second group of mss. The Syriac version is far better than Rufinus, who frequently paraphrases and seems to have found Eusebius very difficult to render literally, as, indeed, he is.

2. The group ATER:

A, Codex Parisinus 1430 (vellum, s. xi), formerly in the possession of Cardinal Mazarin. Called C by Burton. In the Bibliothèque Nationale.

T, Codex Laurentianus 70, 7 (vellum, s. x-xi), called I by Burton. In the Laurentian library in Florence.

E, Codex Laurentianus 70, 20 (vellum, s. x), called K by Burton. In the Laurentian library in Florence.

R, Codex Mosquensis 50 (vellum, s. xii), called J by Heikel. In Moscow.
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In this group A is, generally speaking, the best, though it has many individual errors. TER seem to have a common element, and probably represent a later recension.

Schwartz thinks that BDMΣL represent the text of the 4th edition of Eusebius, with mistakes but no deliberate emendations. ATER represent the same text often corrected by a copy of the third edition. It is, however, often free from the individual errors of BDMΣL, which it serves to correct.

It can also be shown that there was a later "learned" recension which has affected mss. of both groups, and is now found in ERBD and in some corrections in T, quoted as Te.

From these primary mss. are derived the secondary mss. of the Historia Ecclesiastica. Schwartz has investigated the text of all of them, and his results can be shown most clearly in the following scheme.

A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cod. Vatican. 399 (a)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cod. Dresden. 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cod. Ottobon. 108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cod. Laur. 196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cod. Marcianus 337</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cod. Parisin 1435</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Burton's D and Valesius's Fuketianus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cod. Bodleian. Misc. 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Burton's F, and Valesius's Savilianus)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cod. Vatican. 150</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cod. Sinait. 1183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cod. Marcian. 339 (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cod. Paris. 1432 (2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

T

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cod. Vatican. 973</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cod. Paris. 1436</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Besides these codices which are unmixed descendants of primary mss. there are three others in which the text of one of the primary mss. has been "crossed" with readings found in the others. These are:

(1) Codex Parisinus, 1437 (paper, s. xiv), a descendant of B, crossed with some readings derived from the A-family, probably from Cod. Dresden. 85 (or some similar ms.), rather than A or a. It was the basis of the editio princeps of Stephanus (1544), and is quoted by Valesius as Regius, by Burton as A, and by Schwengler as a and q. This double use by Schwengler is due to a curious accident: Burton (following Stroth and Heinichen) referred to this ms. by error as Paris. 1436, but he also possessed a collation of it with the right number, and his posthumous editor, not realizing that this collation referred to Burton's A, published it in an appendix. Schwengler was misled by this, and thus manufactured two mss. out of two collations of one ms.

(2) Codex Parisinus, 1434 (paper, s. xvi), a descendant of A crossed with B or a descendant of B. It was occasionally used by Stephanus, and is quoted by Valesius as Medicaeus, and by Burton as B.

(3) Codex Arundelianus, 539, in the British Museum (paper, s. xv), a carelessly written descendant of A (not of a) crossed with the B group. Quoted by Burton as G.

III. THE PRINTED TEXT OF THE HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA

The following independent editions of the Greek text of the Historia Ecclesiastica have been published.

(1) Stephanus: Paris, 1544. Reprinted several
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times; the best of the later editions being at Geneva in 1612. It was based on codd. Paris. 1437 and 1434.

(2) Valesius: Paris, 1659. This was based on four mss., the two used by Stephanus which Valesius (Henri de Valois) called Regius (cod. Paris. 1437) and Medicaeus (cod. Paris. 1434) and two others at Paris, cod. Paris. 1430 (A), which was then in the possession of Cardinal Mazarin, and cod. Paris. 1435, which he called Fuketianus. To the text he added many valuable notes which still are indispensable.

The edition of Valesius was reprinted at least three times in the seventeenth century, at Mainz in 1672, at Paris in 1677, and at Amsterdam in 1695. An excellent reprint, containing some more notes of Valesius collected from scattered sources, was issued in 1720 by Reading in Cambridge; this was reprinted in Turin in 1746, and in Migne’s *Patrologia Graeca* in Paris in 1857.

(3) Stroth: Halle, 1779. This edition was never completed, nor has it now any value; but it deserves to be mentioned if only for the pious memory of a man whose aims and vision were greater than his means. F. A. Stroth collected much new information as to mss., but was unable to afford the expense of obtaining collations, so that his real apparatus remained that of Valesius.

(4) Zimmermann: Frankfort, 1822. E. Zimmermann’s edition was in the main little more than a reprint of the text of Valesius and added nothing of importance to the material for reconstructing the text.

(5) Heinichen, ed. 1: Leipzig, 1827. Heinichen’s edition of Eusebius is a good example of the waste of labour incurred by those who edit texts on the basis of inaccurate collations. His first edition was
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published in 1827. It did not go much beyond the work of Zimmerman, or, in other words, of Valesius. In 1840 he published a *Supplementa notarum ad Eusebii Historiam Ecclesiasticum*, which contained a statement of the variants found in Burton and of cod. Dresden. 185. Finally in 1868 he published a second edition in which he collected all the information which was to be found in previous editions of Eusebius. Some of the collations for this edition he made himself, or had made for him, but they prove to have been in almost every instance far from satisfactory. Nor did he seem to understand perfectly the collations found in other editions. The result is that his book cannot be trusted and was never likely to lead to true results.

(6) Burton: Oxford, 1838. This edition, by Edward Burton, building on and adding to the work of Stroth, was unfortunately also based on imperfect collations. But it contained for the first time the readings of ATEBM and of cod. Arundelianus. It was published, after his death, at Oxford in 1838 and reissued in 1845, and again in 1856; it also served as the text of a partial edition by W. Bright, issued in 1872 and 1881.

(7) Schwegler: Tübingen, 1852. This edition was in method a great improvement on its predecessors; but its material was really that of Burton, and Schwegler’s results are nullified by the inaccuracy of the collations.

(8) Laemmer: Schaffhausen, 1859-62. This was a thoroughly bad text, being in the main Schwegler’s, changed in many places to agree with cod. Marcianus 338 (M), which Laemmer thought was the best ms.

(9) Dindorf: Leipzig, 1871. This is perhaps the best known of all editions of Eusebius, as it was
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issued in the convenient "Teubner texts," but it is merely an inaccurate reprint of Schwegler.

(10) Schwartz: Leipzic, 1903. This edition has rendered obsolete all except that of Valesius. It is based on new and probably accurate collations of all the known mss. Its text is followed in the present volumes. It is possible that some future editor may conceivably reopen the question of the merits of the two groups of primary mss., but he will have to build on Schwartz's work. It is not a commentary, but much of the material on which a commentary could be based is to be found in the references given in its apparatus.

The fullest statement of the printed editions of Eusebius and the manuscripts upon which they are based is to be found in an article by A. C. Headlam in the Journal of Theological Studies for October 1902, pp. 93 ff. It is stated at the beginning of this article that it is a draft of prolegomena for a projected edition, but nothing more has yet appeared of this great undertaking.

One other book remains to be mentioned although it is not an edition of the text. The translation of the Historia Ecclesiastica by A. C. Mc'Giffert in the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, vol. i., 1904, is provided with historical notes which furnish the only valuable continuous supplement to Valesius: no student of Eusebius can afford to neglect them.

IV. THE PLAN OF EUSEBIUS IN THE HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA AND THE SOURCES WHICH HE USED

The general plan of the Historia Ecclesiastica is clear and lucid. The chronology adopted is that of
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the Roman Emperors, and the events are arranged reign by reign. But there is little or no attempt to give any closer dating than this, and the relation between events during the same reign is not indicated. To this there is one exception. The bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem are given, and in the case of Rome and Alexandria the exact dates are given. Where did Eusebius obtain this information? The researches of Lipsius, Lightfoot, and Harnack have shown that he used the chronological material collected by Hippolytus and Africanus, and Lightfoot thought that there was a still earlier list compiled by Hegesippus, but to discuss at due length the problems involved would demand more space than is at present available; since Harnack's Chronologie the main contributions have been in reviews and periodicals, the chief English writers being H. J. Lawlor, C. H. Turner, and J. K. Fotheringham.

One further observation is necessary. The object of the whole book was to present the Christian "Succession," which did not merely mean, though it certainly included, the apostolic succession of the bishops of the four great "thrones," but rather the whole intellectual, spiritual, and institutional life of the Church. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that Eusebius, like all early church historians, can be understood only if it be recognized that whereas modern writers try to trace the development, growth, and change of doctrines and institutions, their predecessors were trying to prove that nothing of the kind ever happened. According to them the Church had had one and only one teaching from the beginning; it had been preserved by the "Success-
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sion” and heresy was the attempt of the Devil to change it.

In tracing “the succession” Eusebius quotes and refers to many writers. To give any complete description of them would be to write a handbook to early Christian literature; but it seems desirable to give a short account of the chief writings referred to in the books translated in this volume, book by book, and to indicate the points of interest and difficulty which they present.

Book I.—The chief sources drawn on by Eusebius, apart from the New Testament, are Josephus, Africanus, and the Archives of Edessa.

Josephus.—Josephus, the son of Matthias, who took the name of Flavius in honour of the emperors of the Flavian house, was born in A.D. 37 or 38. He belonged to the highest Jewish aristocracy, being descended on his mother’s side from Jonathan the Maccabee. After studying all the sects of the Jews he became a Pharisee. He went to Rome when he was twenty-six years old on a political mission, and hereafter he appears to have been quite sincere in his desire, though somewhat shift in his tactics, to bring about better relations between the Jews and the Romans. During the Jewish war which began in 66 he belonged to the moderate party, and was entrusted with the command of Galilee. His career here was much hindered by the opposition of John of Gischala. He was besieged in Jotatata, and at last was forced to surrender. As he had preferred surrender to death the Jews regarded him as a renegade, and attributed the worst motives to his persistent efforts to secure peace before the inevitable catastrophe which he foresaw. He became friendly

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with Vespasian and Titus, and when the war ended obtained a grant of lands in Palestine, the privilege of Roman citizenship, and other distinctions. He appears to have lived until after the year 100, as his autobiography was written after the death of Agrippa II., who died in that year.

After the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 he wrote the history of the Jewish war (Bellum Iudaicum) in seven books. In this the first two books give an introductory history from the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes to the beginning of the war; Books III.-VI. describe the war down to the capture of Jerusalem; and Book VII. describes the last scenes. This work is said to have been accepted and even revised by Vespasian and Titus. Its main object no doubt was to make the Jews and the Romans understand each other better, but a desire that they should appreciate Josephus’s own service to both sides can be clearly seen.

Some years later Josephus supplemented this work by a larger one giving the history of the Jewish people up to the beginning of the war. This was arranged in twenty books and was called the Ἀρχαίονολογία Ἰουδαϊκή. This was translated into Latin as the Antiquitates Iudaeorum, and it is therefore usually quoted in English as the Antiquities. It was probably completed about A.D. 93.

Almost immediately after this Josephus also wrote a work in two books in answer to Apion. This Apion was a famous controversialist who lived in the middle of the first century and wrote a history of Egypt and a book against the Jews. He figures largely in the Clementine homilies. None of his works are extant, but the fragments which remain are collected in xxxvi
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Müller, *Fragmenta Hist. Graec.* (See also the article by Lightfoot in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography.*)

Finally in old age he wrote his autobiography, usually quoted as the *Vita.*

Eusebius makes many quotations from Josephus, which are usually accurate. Only in the account of the death of Agrippa the First is there any serious divergence, and this is probably accidental (see pp. 130 f.).

The best text of Josephus is that of Niese, Berlin, 1887. Niese also published in 1888 a smaller edition omitting the apparatus criticus.

The first translation\(^1\) in English was that of Whiston, which has been often reprinted, and was superficially revised by Shilleto in 1889–90. It is not free from inaccuracies, but Josephus is very difficult to render, as his Greek is bad and his style obscure. Explanation as well as a new translation is desirable, and there are few books more needed by scholars at the present time than an historical commentary on the second half of the *Antiquities* and on the *Jewish War.* At present there is on neither any commentary.

*Julius Africanus.*—Julius Africanus, sometimes, but probably wrongly, called Sextus or Sextus Julius, is stated by Suidas to have been a Libyan who served in the army of Severus in 195, and afterwards settled in Emmaus (Nicopolis) though he probably also spent some time in Alexandria. When his home was ruined he went, in 221 or a little later, on an embassy to the Emperor, either Elagabalus or Alexander Severus, and was made the head of a reparation commission which rebuilt the city under the name of Nicopolis. The exact time of his death

\(^1\) Vol. I. of a new translation by H. St. J. Thackeray has appeared in the Loeb Classical Library, and Vol. II. is in the Press.
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is unknown, but he was still alive in 240 when he corresponded with Origen. Besides the information given in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Eusebius and in Eusebius, *Chron.* ann. 221, some details are found in Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 1; in Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, 63; in George Syncellus, who may have used the lost introduction to the *Chronicon* of Eusebius; in Cedrenus, *Hist. Comp.* 207, and in Moses of Chorene, ii. 27.

He was one of the most learned of the writers in the third century. His chief work was a treatise on chronology in five books on which the *Chronicon* of Eusebius was largely based. This began with the creation and went down at least to the year 221. It appears to have consisted, like most chronological books of the period, of two parts, a "Chronology" and a "Canon." The "Chronology" was an essay, or a series of essays, on critical questions; the "Canon" was a series of tables in which a summary of events was arranged in parallel columns showing how the numbers of years in one system, such as the Greek Olympiads, corresponded to another, such as the years after Christ. He appears to have written in order to prove the "chiliastic" view of history rather than in the interests of pure chronology, and on this point Eusebius was controverting rather than copying him. Apart from this, however, his work was doubtless the source of much of the framework of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (see especially Schwartz, *Prolegomena*, pp. ccxv ff.).

Besides this great book Africanus wrote a letter to Aristides, whose identity is unknown, on the dis-

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1 It should be noted that the word "Chronicon" is properly used of the canon, not of the chronology.
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crepancies between the genealogies in Matthew and Luke. This is quoted in part by Eusebius, H.E. i. 7. And he also wrote a letter to Origen on the authenticity of the book of Susanna. This is referred to by Eusebius, H.E. vi. 31, and is preserved in several manuscripts of Origen.

The authenticity of these writings is undoubted. There is also ascribed to him a work called Κεστοί, which means Girdles. It apparently consisted of a collection of essays varying in character from Agriculture to the Art of War. A few extracts from this book remain, but not sufficient to prove or disprove its ascription to Africanus.

The most convenient collection of the fragments of Africanus is still that of Routh, Rel. Sacr. vol. ii. The most important work on his writing has been done by H. Gezzer, Sextus Julius Africanus, 1880 and 1885, but except for detailed study of the points raised by Gezzer, a sufficient account is provided by the article on Africanus in the Dictionary of Christian Biography, and by Harnack, Chronologie, ii. pp. 89 ff.

The Archives of Edessa.—According to H.E. i. 12. 3 ff. Eusebius made use of material in the Archives of Edessa. These appear to have consisted of two divisions. There was an ancient royal archive at Edessa and a later ecclesiastical one which was probably not instituted until the beginning of the fourth century. According to Moses of Chorene Julius Africanus made use of all this material, which was also known to the editor of the Chronicon Edessenum. It is not certain whether Eusebius had himself seen this archive or made use of it only at second-hand through the writings of Julius Africanus, but in any case there is no reason to doubt the statement

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that the apocryphal story of Abgar Uchama was found in the archives at Edessa, which is also the probable source—direct or indirect—for most of the information contained in Eusebius as to the history of Christianity outside the Roman Empire in the region of Mesopotamia and such details as the story of Mani. The rather complicated questions concerning the story of this archive can be studied best in Hallier, Untersuchungen über die edess. Chronik (Texte u. Unters. ix. 1, 1892).

Book II.—In the second book Josephus is again used, and extracts are made from Philo, Clement of Alexandria and Hegesippus.

Philo.—Philo was probably born about the year 30 B.C., and lived on until the beginning of the second half of the first century A.D. He belonged to a wealthy and distinguished family in Alexandria. His brother, Alexander, was the Alabarch of the city and had close relations with the imperial family in Rome. Philo was essentially a philosopher, and spent his life endeavouring to reconcile the Jewish Law with the Platonic Faith. He was also a voluminous writer and his books were treasured by Origen, and so passed into the library at Caesarea and thence into the general tradition of Christian writings.

The statements about Philo’s writings in Book II. of the Historia Ecclesiastica are so confused that it is desirable to give the facts about them in somewhat clearer form.

1 The name of a high local official in Alexandria. From Josephus, Antiq. xviii. 8. 1 it appears to be the name of the head of the Jewish colony in Alexandria, but Cicero, Att. ii. 17 applies the word to Pompey, apparently with the meaning “tax-collector.”
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Philo wrote three great books on the Pentateuch:

(1) The Quaestiones et solutiones (Ζητήματα καὶ λύσεις). How far Philo carried this book, which dealt with the problems of the Pentateuch, is not known, but Eusebius, like ourselves, was unacquainted with any work going beyond Exodus.

(2) The Legum allegoriarum. This was divided into a number of books of which three are known as Legum allegoriarum libri i., ii., and iii., but the others which follow, each with separate titles, were apparently without numbers. The list of these books is De cherubim et flammeo gladio (Gen. iii. 24), De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini (Gen. iv. 2-4), Quod deteriori potiori insidiari soleat (Gen. iv. 8-15), De posteritate Caini sibi visi sapientis et quo pacto sedem mutat (Gen. iv. 16-25), De gigantibus (Gen. vi. 1-4), De agricultura (Gen. ix. 20), De ebrietate (Gen. ix. 21), De sobrietate (Gen. ix. 24-27), De confusione linguarum (Gen. xi. 1-9), De migratione Abrahami (Gen. xii. 1-6), Quis rerum divinarum haeres sit (Gen. xv. 2-8), De congressu quaerendae eruditionis causa (Gen. xvi. 1-6), De profugis (Gen. xvi. 6-14), De mutatione nominum (Gen. xvii. 1-22), De somniis liber i. (Gen. xxviii. 12 ff.).

(3) A Systematic Description of the Mosaic Legislation. It is divided into three parts: The first deals with the creation of the world; this is known as the De mundi opificio. In the manuscripts and editions of Philo this work has been placed at the beginning of Philo’s works, before the first book of the Legum allegoriarum, but it probably ought to be put back into the position here claimed for it. The second part deals with the biographies of the virtuous men of the Old Testament, and is known as the Νόμοι ἀγαθῶν. Of it are extant the De Abrahamo, and the De Iosepho,
also known as *The Statesman* (ὁ Πολιτικός), because Joseph was treated by Philo as illustrating the virtues of civic life. The third part of the *Systematic Description* went on to deal with the consideration of the Mosaic legislation properly so-called, and was divided into two subdivisions, (a) the *De Decalogo* and (b) the *De specialibus legibus* or the "consideration of the special laws which follow the Ten Commandments and are connected with them." This was contained in four books. To these were added two appendices, one on three virtues, *De fortitudine, De caritate, De poenitentia*, with the possible addition of a fourth, *De nobilitate*, and one on the treatment of the good and evil under the title of *De praemiis et poenis* and *De execrationibus*.

Besides these three great books on the Pentateuch Philo also wrote various single works: (1) the *Vita Mosis*. (2) *Quod omnis probus liber*, with which went another book now lost, *Quod omnis improbus servus*. (3) A great work which was apparently intended to do something similar to that which Lactantius did afterwards for the Christians in his book *De mortibus persecutorum*, and to show that no one persecuted the Jews without suffering from the punishment of God at the end of his life, while the Jews received the rewards of their virtues. Probably he dealt in this way with the careers of Sejanus, Flaccus, Caligula, and Pilate, but it is only the story of Flaccus which is at all fully preserved in the *Adversus Flaccum* and the *Legatio ad Caium*. It would appear that there were originally five books in this work of which only the two mentioned have been preserved.

Another work published separately is the *De providentia*, only found now in Armenian, which is
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also the case with the De Alexandro et quod propriam rationem muta animalia habeant.

Finally two books, now only partially preserved, appear to have been entitled the Ὑποθετικά and the Defence of the Jews. Whether these were two or one seems doubtful. To these most critics add a long book, still extant, De vita contemplativa, giving an account of the Therapeutae in Egypt, but there are still a few who think that this is not a genuine work of Philo.

It will be seen by comparing this list of the writings of Philo with the references made in Eusebius ii. 18 that Eusebius has referred to the greater number of writings of Philo which are still extant, but he has confused the order of the books so that if we did not possess other information it would be quite impossible for us to reconstruct the relation of the sub-titles which Eusebius quotes to the great divisions into which Philo’s works really fall. The most probable suggestion is that of Dr. Lawlor, who thinks that Eusebius knew Philo only through volumes of tracts which were preserved in the library at Caesarea, and that he copied out the titles without always recognizing the relation of one tract to another, being misled by the accidents of binding (see Lawlor, Eusebiana, pp. 138–145).

The fullest and best sources of information on Philo’s writings are E. Schürer, Geschichte des jüdisches Volkes, cd. 4, vol. iii. pp. 633–716; the prolegomena of Cohn and Wendland’s edition, and the article in the Dictionary of Christian Biography. The two fullest editions are Mangey, London, 1742, and Cohn and Wendland, Berlin, 1896–1915, which includes everything except the fragments, for which Mangey
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must still be consulted, and the Armenian texts published by Aucher, *Paralipomena Armenia*, 1826. There is also a valuable edition of the *De vita contemplativa* by F. C. Conybeare.

Clement of Alexandria.—Clement of Alexandria was probably born in the middle of the second century. According to Julius Africanus, quoted by Cedrenus, he came into fame in the reign of Commodus (A.D. 180–193) and the *Chronicon* of Eusebius apparently assigns the date 193 to his ordination as presbyter. According to Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica*, ii. 2. 64, he was converted to Christianity from heathenism and was not born in the church, and according to Epiphanius his birthplace was claimed by Athens as well as by Alexandria. He travelled much in the east, and towards the end of the second century became head of the catechetical school at Alexandria. He appears to have retired from public life in Alexandria during the persecution under Severus, A.D. 202 ff. According to the letter of Alexander,¹ who was bishop of Jerusalem in 212, and, wrote about 211 from prison to the church at Antioch, Clement had been living in the Cappadocian Caesarea and must have been still alive when he wrote, as he was going to carry Alexander’s letter. According to a later letter of the same Alexander to Origen Clement died soon after this, for this second letter, which can hardly be later than 217 and may have been earlier, implies that he was dead.

The list of Clement’s writings is given by Eusebius, *H.E.* vi. 13. Of those to which he refers the *Προτεπτικός* or *Exhortation to the Greeks*,² is completely

¹ Quoted in Eusebius vi. 2. 6.
² This and the *Quis dives salvetur* are translated by G. W. Butterworth in the Loeb Classical Library.
preserved as is also the Παιδαγωγός, or Instructor, which is in three books. These two works seem to have been intended as the first two parts of a connected series. The first, the Προτερπτυκός, deals with the Logos in relation to the conversion of the heathen; the Παιδαγωγός also deals with the Logos but in relation to morality; and the third book was intended to deal with the Logos as the teacher who initiated man into true knowledge. It is possible, but far from certain, that the Στρωματεῖς mentioned by Eusebius and still partially preserved represent this third volume.

Of the other works mentioned by Eusebius only fragments are found except the small treatise known as Quis dives salvetur. The loss of the Hypotyposes is greatly to be regretted, but in addition to the quotations preserved in Eusebius three other fragments have been thought to have originally belonged to them. These are the Excerpta Theodoti, the Eclogae propheticae, and the Adumbrationes in epistolás canonicás. It has, however, been suggested that the Excerpta Theodoti really belong to the eighth book of the Στρωματεῖς. In any case they are very valuable information as to the teaching of Theodotus, for they seem to represent the notes which Clement had made rather than a finished literary production.

The best edition of Clement is that of Stählin, in Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei

1 Sometimes called Stromata; the word means literally “patchwork” and hence “miscellanies.”
2 This appears to have been a commentary on selected parts of the Bible.
3 Theodotus was a Gnostic of the Valentinian School, from whose writings Clement made a series of extracts with the intention of refuting them.
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Jahrhunderte, issued by the Berlin Academy. The three volumes containing the text and introduction of this edition are published; the fourth volume, which has not yet appeared, will contain the index and some additional dissertations, but even as it stands Stählin's edition takes the place of all others. For the study of Clement special reference should be made to the writings of de Faye, especially his Clément d'Alexandrie, 1898 (see also the article on Clement of Alexandria in Harnack's Chronologie vol. ii. pp. 1 ff.).

Hegesippus.—Hegesippus appears to have been of Hebrew birth (Eusebius, H.E. iv. 22), but there is no evidence whether he was born a Christian or converted from Judaism. He certainly visited, and perhaps lived in Rome. If Eusebius means in the passage referred to that he lived until the time of Eleutherus his death must have been between 175 and 189. The book from which Eusebius derived much of his information as to the early church was entitled Πέντε ὑπομνήματα ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραξέων, Five Treatises on the Acts of the Church. Whether this was an ordered history or a collection of miscellaneous observations cannot be proved, but the latter view is more usually held, and the most probable theory is that of Lawlor, who thinks that the ὑπομνήματα were an apologetic work which only contained a few scattered references to history. Some confusion periodically arises from the fact that in a recension of Josephus, of which a Latin version appeared in the fifth century, the name "Josephus" was spelt "Hegesippus."

The extant fragments of the genuine Hegesippus can be found in Routh, Rel. Sacr. vol. i. pp. 207-219, xlvi
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but more fully and with more complete reference to the authorities in Lawlor's *Eusebiana*, pp. 98-107, and the problems connected with him may be studied best in that work and in the articles in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography* and in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*.

Book III.—In this book Josephus remains the chief source of information about the Jews, while Hegesippus and Clement are drawn on for the history of the Church; but besides them Papias, Caius, Clement of Rome, and Ignatius are quoted or referred to.

Papias.—Papias according to Eusebius (iii. 36) was bishop of Hierapolis, but we do not know the exact chronology of his life. Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* v. 33. 4) says that he was a companion of Polycarp, and he is quoted by Eusebius (iii. 39. 9) as claiming to have seen the daughters of Philip the Evangelist, so that he can scarcely have been born later than the end of the first century. In one of the fragments of his work preserved by Philip Sidetes (edited by De Boor in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, v. 2) he refers to the belief that those whom Christ raised from the dead lived "until the time of Hadrian," so that he can hardly have written earlier than 140. On the other hand, as Irenaeus regarded him as belonging to a past generation, he can scarcely have written later than 160. Thus the middle of the second century is probably the period at which he wrote. His work, from which Eusebius quotes, was entitled Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξήγησις. Unfortunately the book is lost, and no one knows what the title means. Λόγια generally means "oracles," and is frequently used of the Old Testament, but it might be used of

1 Hadrian reigned from 117 to 137.
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the teaching of Jesus. The quotation given by Eusebius iii. 39, which may come from the preface of Papias, suggests, but does not prove, that the title should be translated Oracles of the Lord rather than Oracles about the Lord. Thus it is uncertain whether it was a work on the interpretation of the Old Testament or on the Gospels or on traditions behind the Gospels. There is an enormous literature on the subject, but most of it is in the interests of some theory of the origin of the Synoptic Gospels and is almost worthless. The clearest and best statement of the facts is in Harnack's Chronologie, i. pp. 356 ff., and on the interpretation of the quotation in Eusebius, H.E. iii. 39, Dom Chapman's John the Presbyter (Oxford, 1910), is peculiarly lucid and thorough.

Clement of Rome and Ignatius.—Both these writers have left extant works which are published in the Loeb Classical Library, The Apostolic Fathers, vol. i.

Caius.—Nothing is known of him except what Eusebius tells us, but his writings and his relation to the Alogi, who rejected the Gospel of John, have been the subject of an extensive literature, to which the latest and most thorough contribution is made by C. Schmid in an elaborate appendix to his edition of the "Epistola Apostolorum" published in 1919 as Gespräche Jesu in Texte und Untersuchungen xliii.

Book IV.—In the fourth book Eusebius deals with the last rebellion of the Jews, referring to Aristo of Pella, with the Apologists of the time of Hadrian, with the Gnostics of the second century, with Justin Martyr, with Polyearp and other martyrs, and with Tatian. In the 21st chapter he gives a list of the chief Christian writers of the time of Marcus Aurelius.

Aristo of Pella.—In Hist. Eccl. iv 6 Eusebius xlviii
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describes the last war of the Jews against the Romans in A.D. 132. He refers to the account given by Aristo of Pella. The natural interpretation is that Aristo had written a history of this time. But nothing is known of him except that in the seventh century Maximus the Confessor says that Aristo wrote the Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus, which was mentioned by Clement of Alexandria, who seems to have attributed it to Luke the Evangelist, though the text of this statement may be corrupt. It is therefore possible that Eusebius is merely referring to some reference introduced into this lost Dialogue (see Harnack, *Altchristliche Literatur*, i. pp. 92 ff.).

Quadratus and Aristides.—Eusebius mentions two apologists of the reign of Hadrian—Quadratus and Aristides. The work of Quadratus is lost, but the apology of Aristides has been recently discovered, though in an imperfect condition. A Syriac translation was found by J. Rendel Harris in 1889 on Mount Sinai, and it was then recognized by J. Armitage Robinson as extant in Greek in the speech put into the mouth of the Christian Nachor in the story of Barlaam and Josaphat. The Syriac and the Greek differ widely, and it is disputed which of the two is nearer the original. Both forms are given in Rendel Harris's "The Apology of Aristides" in *Texts and Studies* i. 1. The Syriac, which alone has the title of Apology, suggests that it was addressed to Antoninus Pius rather than to Hadrian, but the text is in any case corrupt and the point is not certain. Harnack's *Altchristliche Literatur* i. pp. 96 ff. and ii. 2. pp. 271 ff. gives the best statement of the facts and references to other books, but to these should be added Geffcken's *Zwei griechische Apologien.*

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The Gnostic Writers.—In Hist. Eccl. iv. 7 and 11 Eusebius mentions the chief Gnostic writers known to him. His information was apparently derived in main from Irenaeus with probably some use of Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, and a lost work (the Syntagma) of Justin Martyr. The best modern books introductory to the subject of Gnosticism are those of Lipsius (especially his Quellen der ältesten Ketzergeschichten and his articles in the Dictionary of Christian Biography), Harnack’s Quellenkritik der Geschichte des Gnosticismus, and De Faye’s Gnostiques et Gnosticisme, but it is probably quicker and certainly better to begin by reading Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and—quite especially—the Excerpta Theodoti of Clement of Alexandria.

Justin Martyr.—Justin according to his own account (at the beginning of his dialogue with Trypho) was born in Samaria and became in his youth a zealous but unsuccessful student of philosophy. He was converted to Christianity before A.D. 135 (the time to which the Dialogue refers) and died as a martyr under Junius Rusticus, who was praeator under Marcus Aurelius between 163 and 167. The Chronicon Paschale fixes the year of his martyrdom as 165, and there is no reason why this should not be correct.

According to Eusebius he wrote at least ten books, of which he gives the list in Hist. Eccl. iv. 18. 2-9. Of these two are extant (1) The Apology to Antoninus Pius, and (2) The Dialogue with Trypho; but there is a curious literary puzzle in connexion with the Apology. The printed texts of Justin (which represent the Paris manuscript, Paris. 450 of the year 1364, of which all other manuscripts are copies) give two apologies of Justin, and Eusebius also states that he
wrote two apologies. It would therefore be natural to conclude that we possess the two which Eusebius had. But except in Hist. Eccl. iv. 16. 1 ff. which is ambiguous, Eusebius quotes as the first Apology passages from both the printed books. The point has not been completely cleared up, but it seems probable that the printed texts make up the Eusebian first apology and that the second one known to Eusebius has been lost.

Three other works of Justin mentioned by Eusebius purport to be given in the printed texts—the Oratio contra Graecos, the Cohortatio ad Graecos, and the De monarchia—but it is generally held that these texts are spurious, and it is unlikely that they are those to which Eusebius refers.

The best edition of Justin is that of Otto, 3rd edition, 1876. The best statements of the manuscripts and the ecclesiastical tradition are by Harnack in his Altchristliche literatur i. pp. 99 ff., and ii. 1 ff., 274 ff., and in the Texte und Untersuchungen i. i. 2. The most complete discussion of Justin’s teaching is by Goodenough, Justin Martyr, 1923, which also contains a very full bibliography.

The Acts of the Martyrs.—Though Eusebius was active in collecting evidence as to the martyrdoms of the earliest Christians, and made a collection of documents describing them (see p. xiv) he has surprisingly little to tell in his history. In the first five books he relates the martyrdom of James and Simeon, the Lord’s brothers, but his information is from Hegesippus; he also mentions the martyrdom of Telephorus, Bishop of Rome, Publius, Bishop of Athens, Ignatius of Antioch, Justin, Ptolemaeus, Lucius, and Sagaris; but he gives no details and
seems to have had no documents about them, though
the *Acta* of Justin are extant in a probably genuine
form. He had the *Acta* of Polycarp, of Pionius, of
Carpus, Papyrus and Agathonice, and of Apollonius,
all of which are still extant, and the account of the
martyrs of Lyons and Vienne, which has disappeared
except for his extensive quotations at the beginning
of the fifth book.

*Tatian.*—The only work of Tatian which is extant
in its original form is the *Oratio ad Graecos,* which was
once preserved in the famous Arethas manuscript
Paris. 451 of the year A.D. 914. The pages containing
Tatian’s work are missing, but several later mss.
are direct or indirect copies.

The Diatessaron of Tatian is not wholly lost.
There is an Arabic version, in which, however, the
text has been accommodated to the later Syrian text
of the Gospels; there is some connexion between
it and the Harmony found and edited by Victor of
Capua about the year 545; and it is possible that
some mediaeval Dutch and German harmonies
indicate the existence of an Old Latin harmony
based on Tatian’s works.\(^1\) Besides these, and in
many ways more important than these, are a series
of quotations in early Syriac writers and the commen-
tary of Ephraim on the Diatessaron, partially pre-
served in Armenian.

The best edition of the *Oratio ad Graecos* is that of
E. Schwartz, and of the Diatessaron that given in the
*Ante-Nicene Church Fathers.* See also especially Zahn’s
*Forschungen* i. and the treatment of Tatian in his
*Geschichte des N.T. Kanon.*

\(^1\) See D. Plooij, *A Primitive Text of the Diatessaron,*
Leiden, 1923.

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Writers in the time of Marcus Aurelius.—In Hist. Eccl. iv. 20 f. Eusebius gives a list of the writers of the end of the second century: Theophilus of Antioch, Hegesippus, Dionysius of Corinth, Pinytus of Crete, Philip of Gortyna, Apollinarius of Hierapolis, Melito, Musanus, Modestus, and Irenaeus. In the following chapters he gives a short summary of the writings of each of them with the exception of Irenaeus whom he reserves for the next book. None of these writings are extant except a few fragments of Melito in Syriac, and the three books of Theophilus Ad Autolycum, published in Otto's Corpus Apologeticum and in other collections. The first printed edition was issued at Zürich in 1546. The facts relating to Hegesippus have been dealt with above on p. xlvi.

Book V.—In this book Eusebius deals first with the persecution of the Christians in the time of Marcus Aurelius, illustrating it by long quotations from the letter of the churches of Lyons and Vienne referred to above (p. lii). He then describes the works of Irenaeus, and Rhodo, and then turns to Montanism, the Paschal controversy, and the heresy of Artemon and the two Theodoti.

Irenaeus.—Irenaeus was probably a native of the province of Asia and in his youth saw Florinus and Polycarp, presumably at Smyrna. Polycarp was put to death in 155, so that Irenaeus can hardly have been born much later than 140. Florinus became a Gnostic about 190; he was probably a little older than Irenaeus, who says that as a boy he had admired his splendid position in the Emperor's court. Therefore, unless Florinus was converted when quite old, Irenaeus cannot have been born much earlier than liii
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140—ten years seems the extreme of possibility, and every year earlier than 140 becomes less and less likely.

It is unknown how or when he left Asia, but it is certain that in 177, the year of the persecution at Lyons and Vienne, he went to Rome with the report of the churches on the martyrdom of some of their members, and he is described as being at that time a presbyter. Shortly after this he became Bishop of Lyons, and supported the Asiatic side in the Paschal controversy with Victor of Rome in 190. Nothing certain is known of his death. Jerome (but no earlier writer) speaks of him as a martyr, and it has been thought that he was put to death in the persecution of Septimius Severus in 202, but this is merely a guess.

Of his many writings mentioned by Eusebius (see especially Hist. Eccl. iv. 11, 20, 26) only two are fully extant and neither in the original language. The Προς Αϊρέσεις or "Ελεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδονύμου γνώσεως,quoted as the Adversus Haereses, is found in Latin; the best edition is that of Harvey (Cambridge, 1857). The Ἀποδείξεως τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος or Apostolic Preaching, a treatise sent by Irenaeus to his friend Marcianus, is found in Armenian and was published in 1907 in the Texte und Untersuchungen, xxxi. 1.

Probably the best description of the theology of Irenaeus is not in any book devoted to him, but in W. Bousset’s Kyrios Christos.

The anti-Montanist Writers.—In the fifth book, after long extracts from the letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne about their martyrs, and some extracts

1 “Refutation and overthrow of ‘knowledge falsely so called.’”

2 “Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching.”
from Irenaeus, Eusebius goes on to describe the work of Clement of Alexandria (see above, pp. xlv-xlvi) and of Rhodo, of whom nothing more is known, and then turns to a discussion of Montanism, or the Phrygian heresy. For this he makes use of five sources, of which unfortunately nothing more is known beyond what he tells us himself. These are Apollinaris of Hierapolis, Apollonius, Serapion, an anonymous writer who addressed a letter to Abercius, and either Miltiades or Alcibiades. The Abercius addressed by the anonymous writer is the centre of one of the romances of epigraphy. In the Acta Sanctorum for October 22 is given a life of Abercius, which has all the marks of lateness, but it contains an epitaph which Lightfoot and others regarded as genuine. Other scholars doubted this, but in 1883 W. M. Ramsay \(^1\) discovered the epitaph in Hierapolis (not Hierapolis). The fifth document to which he refers presents a curious puzzle as to its authorship, for it is impossible to be sure what was the name of the writer, as in the existing manuscripts Eusebius clearly speaks of Miltiades, but the source which he quotes equally clearly speaks of Alcibiades. One name or the other must be wrong, but there is no sufficient evidence for a choice between them (see Hist. Eccl. v. 17). For a discussion of these documents and of other evidence relating to Montanism the best modern book is N. Bonwetsch’s Montanisme.

The Paschal Controversy.—In Hist. Eccl. v. 27 Eusebius gives a short list of writers of the beginning of the third century, but none of them have left extant works. He then goes on to discuss the Paschal controversy. This dispute divided the East

\(^1\) See his Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia, pp. 424 ff.
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from the West. The East held that the fast before Easter should end on the 14th of Nisan (hence the name "Quartodecimans") with the feast of the resurrection following at once independently of the day of the week, while the West followed the present custom of observing the feast of the Resurrection on a Sunday independently of the day of the month, and arranged the end of the fast accordingly. Eusebius quotes Polyerates of Ephesus, whose writings are not now extant, and Irenaeus, and mentions various synods whose decrees were known to him but have since been lost. For a discussion of the action of Victor of Rome, and of the whole question see Hefele's History of the Councils, preferably in the French translation which has many valuable additional notes.

The Heresy of Artemon.—The last part of the fifth book is largely taken up with an anonymous quotation from a work against the Adoptionist teaching of Artemon and the two Theodoti, whose teaching that Jesus was a man who by the power of God became divine is sometimes described by modern writers as "Dynamic Monarchianism." Theodoret, who also used this writing, says that it was called the "Little Labyrinth," obviously in allusion to the work of Hippolytus against heresy, which is sometimes called "The Labyrinth." Modern scholars generally think that the "Little Labyrinth" was itself the work of Hippolytus but this is by no means certain.

For further information as to these or any other writers mentioned by Eusebius, the best and clearest guides are Harnack's Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur, Bardenhewer's Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur, and the Dictionary of Christian Biography.
THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF EUSEBIUS
Τάδε ἡ πρώτη περιέχει βιβλίο τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας

Τίς ἡ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ὑπόθεσις.

'Επιτομὴ κεφαλαίων περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ προσπάρξεως τε καὶ θεολογίας.

'Ως καὶ τὸ Ἰησοῦ οἶνομα καὶ αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔγνωστό τε ἀνέκαθεν καὶ τετίμητο παρὰ τοῖς θεσπεσίοις προφήταις.

Ως οὐ νεώτερος οὔδὲ ἔστησαν ἢν ὁ τρόπος τῆς πρὸς αὐτοῦ καταγγελθείσης πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι εὐσεβείας.

Περὶ τῶν χρόνων τῆς ἐπιφανείας αὐτοῦ τῆς εἰς ἀνθρώπους.

'Ως κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους αὐτοῦ ἀκολούθως ταῖς προφητείαις ἔζησιν ἄρχοντες οἱ τὸ πρῶτον ἐκ προγόνων διαδοχῆς τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἡγούμενοι πρῶτος τε ἀλλόφυλος βασιλεύει αὐτῶν Ἰρώθης.

Περὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις νομιζομένης διαφωνίας τῆς περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενεαλογίας.

Περὶ τῆς Ἰρώθου κατὰ τῶν παιδών ἐπι-
contents of book i

the first book of the ecclesiastical history contains the following:

i. what are the presuppositions of the promise.

ii. a summary account of the pre-existence of, and attribution of divinity to, our saviour and lord, the christ of god.

iii. how both the name of jesus and even that of christ itself were known from the first and honoured by the inspired prophets.

iv. how there was nothing revolutionary or strange in the character of the religion announced by him to all the nations.

v. concerning the time of his appearance to men.

vi. how in his time in agreement with prophecy the previous line of ancestral rulers of the jewish nation died out, and herod, the first foreigner, was their king.

vii. concerning the supposed discrepancy in the gospels on the genealogy as to christ.

viii. concerning the plot of herod against the
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βουλήσ καὶ οία μετήλθεν αὐτὸν καταστροφῆ βίου.

Θ Περὶ τῶν κατὰ Πιλάτον χρόνων.

Ι Περὶ τῶν παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις ἀρχιερέων καθ' οὖς ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἐποιήσατο.

ΙΑ Τὰ περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεμαρτυρημένα.

ΙΒ Περὶ τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.

ΙΓ 'Ιστορία περὶ τῶν 'Εδεσσηνῶν δυνάστων.¹

¹ At the end E adds:—ὅρα ὁ ἀναγινώσκων μὴ συναρπαγῇ τῇ αλητικῇ ύπολήψει τοῦ συγγραφέως· εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἔστιν ὅφελμωστάτη κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἡ παρούσα βιβλίον, ἀλλ' ὅμως ὅπου μὲν ἀπολύτως περὶ θεοῦ φαίνεται θεολογία, οὐ δοκεῖ τις κακοδοξεῖν, ὅπου δὲ περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος λέγει τι, πανταχοῦ ύποβεβηκότα καὶ δεύτερον καὶ ὑποργοῦν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐμφαίνει τὸν υἱὸν, Ἀρειανὸς ὅν καὶ τὴν έαυτοῦ δόξαν ἐπικεκρυμμένως ἐπιδεικνύων.
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children and the catastrophe which overtook him in his life.

IX. Concerning the times of Pilate.
X. Concerning the high priests among the Jews in whose time the Christ gave his teaching.
XI. The evidence relating to John the Baptist and the Christ.
XII. Concerning the disciples of our Saviour.
XIII. A narrative concerning the ruler of the Edessenes.¹

¹ One manuscript adds, "Beware, reader, of being caught by the heretical tendency of the writer, for though his present book is peculiarly valuable as history, nevertheless though in some places he speaks unconditionally concerning God and attributes divinity to him, and here to some his opinions seem sound, yet in others he speaks of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and everywhere represents the Son as subordinate and secondary and the servant of the Father, for he was an Arian and guardedly manifests his opinion."
ΕΥΣΗΒΙΟΥ
ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ

Α

I. Τὰς τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων διαδοχὰς σὺν καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς διηνυσμένοις χρόνοις, ὥσα τε καὶ πηλίκα πραγματευθῆναι κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἑστορίαν λέγεται, καὶ ὅσοι ταύτης διαπρεπῶς ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα ἐπισημοτάταις παροικίαις ἡγήσαντο τε καὶ προεσπήσαν, ὥσοι τε κατὰ γενεὰν ἐκάστην ἀγράφως ἦ καὶ διὰ συγγραμμάτων τὸν θείον ἐπρέσβευσαν λόγον, τίνες τε καὶ ὅσοι καὶ ὅπῃρκα νεωτεροποιῶς ἴμερῳ πλάνῃ εἰς ἐσχατον ἐλάσαντες, ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως εἰσηγητὰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀνακεκηρύχασιν, ἀφειδῶς οἰα λύκοι βαρεῖς τὴν Χριστοῦ ποίμνην ἐπεντρίβοντες, πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τὰ παραυτικὰ τῆς κατὰ τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλῆς τὸ πάν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος περιελθοῦντα, ὥσα τε αὐτὰ καὶ ὅποια καθ’ οἶους τε χρόνους πρὸς τῶν ἔθνων ὁ θεῖος πεπολέμηται λόγος, καὶ πηλίκοι κατὰ καιροὺς τὸν δι’ αἰματος καὶ βασάνων ύπὲρ αὐτοῦ διεξήλθον ἀγῶνα, τὰ τ’ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ καθ’ ἡμᾶς
THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF EUSEBIUS

BOOK I

I. I have purposed to record in writing the successions of the sacred apostles, covering the period stretching from our Saviour to ourselves; the number and character of the transactions recorded in the history of the Church; the number of those who were distinguished in her government and leadership in the provinces of greatest fame; the number of those who in each generation were the ambassadors of the word of God either by speech or pen; the names, the number and the age of those who, driven by the desire of innovation to an extremity of error, have heralded themselves as the introducers of Knowledge, falsely so-called, ravaging the flock of Christ unsparingly, like grim wolves. To this I will add the fate which has beset the whole nation of the Jews from the moment of their plot against our Saviour; moreover, the number and nature and times of the wars waged by the heathen against the divine word

1 Or possibly "the Divine Logos."
αὐτοὺς μαρτύρια καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἠλεώ καὶ εὐμενῆ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἠμῶν ἀντίληψιν γραφῆ παραδοῦναι προηρημένος, οὐδὲ ἀλλοθεν ἢ ἀπὸ πρώτης ἁρξομαι τῆς κατά τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἠμῶν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκονομίας. ἀλλὰ μοι συγγνώμην εὐγνωμόνων ἔντεθεν ὁ λόγος αἰτεῖ, μείζονα ἢ καθ᾽ ἡμετέραιν δύναμιν ὁμολογῶν εἶναι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἐντελῆ καὶ ἀπαράλεπτον ὑποσχεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πρῶτοι νῦν τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἐπιβάντες οἶα των ἔρημην καὶ ἀτριβή ιέναι ὁδὸν ἐγχειροῦμεν, θεὸν μὲν ὅδηγὸν καὶ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου συνεργὸν σχήσεων εὐχὸμενοι δύναμιν, ἀνθρώπων γε μὴν οὐδαμῶς εὑρεῖν οἷοί τε ὅντες ἱξην γυμνὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμῖν προσδεκότων, μὴ ὅτι σμικρὰς αὐτὸ μόνον προφάσεως, δι᾽ ὅν ἄλλος ἄλλως ὅν διηνύκασι χρώνον μερικὰς ἡμῖν καταλελοίπασι διηγήσεις, πόρρωθεν ὥσπερ εἰ πυρσοῦς τὰς ἑαυτῶν προσανατείνοντες φωνὰς καὶ ἀνωθέν ποθεν ὡς ἐξ ἀπόπτου καὶ ἀπὸ σκοπῆς βοῶντες καὶ διακελεύομενοι, ἢ χρὴ βαδίζειν καὶ τὴν τοῦ λόγου πορείαν ἀπλανᾶς καὶ ἀκινδύνως εὐθύνειν. ὅσα τοῖνυν εἰς τὴν προκειμένην ὑπόθεσιν λυσιτελεῖν ἤγοιμεθα τῶν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνοι σποράδην μνημονευθέντων, ἀναλεξάμενοι καὶ ὅσον ἐν ἐκ λογικῶν λεμῶν τὰς ἐπιτηδείους αὐτῶν τῶν πάλαι συγγραφέων ἀπανθισάμενοι φωνὰς, δι᾽ ὕφηγησεως ιστορικῆς πειρασόμεθα σωματοποιῆσαι, ἀγαπῶντες, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀπάντων, τῶν δ᾽ οὖν μάλιστα διαφανεστάτων τοῦ σωτῆρος ἠμῶν ἀποστόλων τὰς διαδοχὰς κατὰ τὰς διαπρεποῦσας ἐτί καὶ νῦν μνημονευμένας ἐκκλησίας ἀνασωσάμεθα. ἀναγκαῖοτα δὲ μοι πονείσθαι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἠγοὔμαι, ὅτι μηδένα 8
martyrdoms of our own time, and the gracious and favouring help of our Saviour in them all. My starting-point is therefore no other than the first dispensation of God touching our Saviour and Lord, Jesus the Christ. Even at that point the project at once demands the lenience of the kindly, for confessedly it is beyond our power to fulfil the promise, complete and perfect, since we are the first to enter on the undertaking, as travellers on some desolate and untrodden way. We pray God to give us his guidance, and that we may have the help of the power of the Lord, for nowhere can we find even the bare footsteps of men who have preceded us in the same path, unless it be those slight indications by which in divers ways they have left to us partial accounts of the times through which they have passed, raising their voices as a man holds up a torch from afar, calling to us from on high as from a distant watch-tower, and telling us how we must walk, and how to guide the course of our work without error or danger. We have therefore collected from their scattered memoirs all that we think will be useful for the present subject, and have brought together the utterances of the ancient writers themselves that are appropriate to it, culling, as it were, the flowers of intellectual fields. We shall endeavour to give them unity by historical treatment, rejoicing to rescue the successions, if not of all, at least of the most distinguished of the apostles of our Saviour throughout those churches of which the fame is still remembered. To work at this subject I consider especially necessary, because I am not aware
πώ εἰς δεύρο τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων διέγνων περὶ τοῦτο τῆς γραφῆς σπουδὴν πεποιημένον τὸ μέρος· ἐλπίζω δ’ ὅτι καὶ ὕφελμιοτάτη τοῖς φιλοτήμοις περὶ τὸ χρηστομαθές τῆς ἱστορίας ἔχουσιν ἀναφανήσεται. ἦδη μὲν οὖν τούτων καὶ τῶν πρότερον ἐν οἷς διετυπωσάμην χροικοῖς κανόσων ἐπιτομὴν κατεστησάμην, πληρεστάτην δ’ οὖν ὁμοίως αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ὑμᾶς ἀφήγησον ποιήσασθαι.

Καὶ ἀρξεται γε μοι ὁ λόγος, ὡς ἐφην, ἀπὸ τῆς τῆς κατὰ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπισκευμένης υψηλότερας καὶ κρείττονος ἥ κατὰ ἀνθρωπον οἰκονομίας τε καὶ θεολογίας. καὶ γὰρ τὸν γραφήν μέλλοντα τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς υφήγησως παραδώσειν τὴν ἱστορίαν, ἀνωθέν ἐκ πρώτης τῆς κατ’ αὐτὸν τὸν Χριστὸν, ὡςπερ εἴς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς προσωπιμας ἡξιώθημεν, θειότερας ἥ κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν τοῖς πολλοῖς οἰκονομίας ἀναγκαίων ἀν εἰς καταρξασθαί.

II. Διετὸς δὲ ὁντος τοῦ κατ’ αὐτοῦ πρόπου, καὶ τοῦ μὲν σώματος έσωκότος κεφαλῆς, ἥ θεος ἐπινοεῖται, τοῦ δὲ ποσὶ παραβαλλομένου, ἥ τὸν ἡμῖν ἀνθρωπων ὁμοσπαθῆς τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐνεκεν ὑπὲδυ ςωτηρίας, γένοιτ’ αν ἡμῖν ἐνετεὶθεν ἐντελῆς ἢ τῶν ἀκολούθων διήγησις, εἰ τῆς κατ’ αὐτοῦ ἱστορίας ἀπάσης ἀπὸ τῶν κεφαλαιωδετάτων καὶ κυριωτάτων τοῦ λόγου τῆς υφήγησιν ποιησαίμεθα. ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ τῆς Χριστιανῶν ἀρχαιότητος τὸ παλαιὸν ὅμοιο καὶ θεοπρεπὲς τοῖς νέαν αὐτήν καὶ ἐκτετοπισμένην, χθές καὶ οὖ πρότερον φανείσαν, ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἀναδειχθήσεται.

1 Literally, “ecclesiastical”; but the antithesis to the word used is either “heathen” (as here) or “heretical.”

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that any Christian\(^1\) writer has until now paid attention to this kind of writing; and I hope that its high value will be evident to those who are convinced of the importance of a knowledge of the history. I have already summarized the material in the chronological tables which I have drawn up, but nevertheless in the present work I have undertaken to give the narrative in full detail.

I will begin with what, apprehended in relation to Christ, is beyond man in its height and greatness,—the dispensation of God, and the ascription of divinity.\(^2\) For he who plans to hand on in writing the history of Christian origins is forced to begin from the first dispensation concerning the Christ himself, which is more divine than it seems to most, seeing that from him we claim to derive our very name.

II. Now his nature was twofold; on the one hand like the head of the body, in that he is recognized as God, on the other comparable to the feet, in that he put on for the sake of our own salvation, man of like passions with us. Therefore to make our description of what follows complete we should start the whole narrative concerning him by the most capital and dominant points of the discussion. By this means, moreover, the real antiquity and divine character of Christianity will be equally demonstrated to those who suppose that it is recent and foreign, appearing no earlier than yesterday.

\(^2\)  οἶκονομία and θεολογία are semi-technical terms. The οἶκονομία or "dispensation" with regard to Christ was the incarnation of the divine Λόγος; the θεολογία was the ascription of divinity to him. Hence this passage might almost be rendered freely as "the divine and human natures of Christ, which pass man's understanding."
Γένοις μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄξιας αὐτῆς τε οὐδαίας τοῦ Ἱ.
Χριστοῦ καὶ φύσεως οὕτως ἂν εἰς ἐκφρασιν ἀντάρκησις γένοιτο λόγος, ἢ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θείον ἐν προ-
φητείαις "τὴν γενεάν αὐτοῦ" φησὶν "τίς διηγη-
σεται," ὅτι δὴ οὐτε τὸν πατέρα τις ἔγνω, εἰ μὴ ὁ νεῖς, οὐτ' αὖ τὸν νεῖν τις ἔγνω ποτὲ κατ' ἄξιαν,
eἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ γεννήσας αὐτὸν πατήρ, τὸ τε φῶς τὸ προκόσμων καὶ τὴν πρὸ αἰώνων νοεράν καὶ
ὑσιώδη σοφίαν τὸν τε ζώντα καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ παρὰ
tῷ πατρὶ τυγχάνοντα θεὸν λόγον τῖς ἂν πλην τοῦ
πατρὸς καθαρῶς ἐνοικήσειν, πρὸ πάσης κτίσεως καὶ
dημιουργίας ὁρμουνής τε καὶ ἀοράτου τὸ πρῶτον καὶ
μόνου τοῦ θεοῦ γέννημα, τὸν τῆς κατ' οὐρανὸν
λογικὴς καὶ ἀληθάτου στρατιάς ἀρχιστράτηγον,
tὸν τῆς μεγάλης βουλῆς ἀγγελοῦ, τὸν τῆς ἀρρήτου
γνώμης τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπουργόν, τὸν τῶν ἁπάντων
σὺν τῷ πατρὶ δημιουργόν, τὸν δεύτερον μετὰ τὸν
πατέρα τῶν ὅλων αὐτίων, τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ παῖδα
γενήσιον καὶ μονογενῆ, τὸν τῶν γεννητῶν ἁπάντων
κύριον καὶ θεὸν καὶ βασιλέα τὸ κύρος ὅμοιο καὶ
tὸ κράτος αὐτῆς θεότητι καὶ δυνάμει καὶ τιμῇ
παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑποδεδεγμένον, ὅτι δὴ κατὰ τὰς
περὶ αὐτοῦ μυστικὰς τῶν γραφῶν θεολογίας "ἐν
ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν,
καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος· πάντα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ
χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἐν." τοῦτο τοῦ καὶ
ὁ μέγας Μωυσῆς, ὅσ ἂν προφητῶν ἁπάντων
παλαιότατος, θείων πνεύματι τὴν τοῦ παντός
ουσώσιν τε καὶ διακόσμησιν ὑπογράφων, τὸν
κοσμοποιών καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων αὐτῶς ἡ
τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ οὐδὲ ἄλλῳ ἡ τῷ θείῳ δηλαδή καὶ

Is. 53, 8
Matt. 11, 27
John 1, 9, 10
Prov. 8, 23
John 1, 4, 2
Col. 1, 15, 16
Jos. 5, 14
Is. 9, 6
John 1, 1, 3
No treatise, indeed, could be sufficient for a statement of the origin and dignity, the very being and nature of the Christ; as indeed the divine spirit says in prophecies, “Who will declare his generation?” seeing that neither does any know the Father save the Son, neither did any ever know the Son properly, save only the Father who begat him. And who except the Father would ever clearly conceive the ante-mundane light, and that wisdom which was intellectual and real\(^1\) before the ages; the living Logos who was, in the beginning, God by the side of the Father, the first and only offspring of God, before all creation and fabrication,\(^2\) both visible and invisible, the captain of the spiritual and immortal host of heaven, the angel of great counsel, the minister of the ineffable plan of the Father, the fabricator of all things along with the Father, the true and only begotten child of God, the Lord and God and King of all begotten, who has received lordship and might, together with deity itself, and power and honour from the Father, according to the mysterious ascription of divinity to him in the Scriptures, “In the beginning was the Logos and the Logos was with God and the Logos was God, all things were through him, and without him was no single thing”? This, indeed, is also the teaching of the great Moses, as the most ancient of all prophets, when by divine inspiration he described the coming into being, and the ordering of the universe, that the creator and fabricator of all things gave up to the Christ himself, and to no other than his

\(^1\) Or “substantial”—but not in the sense of “material.”

\(^2\) “Creation” and “fabrication” are almost but not quite synonyms. “Creation” means making out of nothing, and “fabrication” making out of existent matter.
EUSEBIUS

Gen. 1, 26

πρωτογόνω ἕαυτος λόγῳ τῆς τῶν ὑποβεβηκότων ποιήσων παραχωροῦντα διδάσκει αὐτῷ τε κοινο-
λογούμενον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπογονίας. "εἰπεν γὰρ" φησίν "ὁ θεός· 'ποιήσωμεν ἀνθρωπον κατ'
εἰκόνα ἥμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν." ταύτην
dὲ ἐγνώστατι τὴν φωνὴν προφητῶν ἅλλος, ὦδὲ ποὺ
ev ὑμνος θεολογῶν "αὐτὸς εἶπεν, καὶ ἐγεννήησαν·
aὐτὸς ἐνεπείλατο, καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν," τὸν μὲν πατέρα
cαὶ ποιήτην εἰσάγων ὡς ἂν πανηγεμόνα βασιλικῷ
νεύματι προστάττοντα, τὸν δὲ τούτῳ δευτερεύοντα
θεόν λόγον, οὐχ ἔτερον τοῦ πρὸς ἡμῶν κηρυτ-
tomένου, τάς πατρικάς ἐπιτάξεων ὑπουργοῦντα.
toῦτον καὶ ἀπὸ πρώτης ἀνθρωπογονίας πάντες
ὁσοὶ δὴ δικαιοσύνη καὶ θεοσεβείας ἀρετῇ δια-
πρέψαι λέγονται, ἀμφι τε τὸν μεγάν τραπέλια
Μωυσέα καὶ πρὸ γε αὐτοῦ πρῶτος Ἀβραὰμ
toῦτον τε οἱ παίδες καὶ οἱ μετέπειτα δίκαιοι
πεφήμαν καὶ προφητεῖ, καθαροῖς διανοίας ὁμοιαὶ
φαντασθέντες ἐγνώσαν τε καὶ οἱ θεοὶ παῖδε τὸ
προσήκον ἀπένειμαν σέβας, αὐτός τε, οὐδαμῶς
ἀπορραθημένων τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς εὐσεβείας, διδάσκαλος
toῖς πάσι τῆς πατρικῆς καθίστατο γνώσεως.
ὡθθαί γοῦν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἀνείρηται οἶα τις κοινὸς
ἀνθρωπός τῷ Ἀβραὰμ καθημένων παρὰ τῆν δρῦν
τῆς Μαμβρῆ: ὁ δὲ ὑποτεσσάρικα, καίτοι γε
ἀνθρωπὸν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὅρων, προσκυνεῖ μὲν ὡς
θεόν, ἱκετεύει δὲ ὡς κύριον, ὄμολογεῖ τε μὴ
ἀγνοεῖν οὕτως εἰς, ἡμῖνασιν αὐτοῖς λέγον "κύριε

Ps. 32, 9; 148, 5

Gen. 18, 1–3

Gen. 18, 25

1 The point of this quotation is obscured by its shortness.
Eusebius is really influenced by Ps. xxxii. 6, "By the word of the Lord were the heavens established." He takes

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divine and first-born Logos, the making of subordinate things and communed with him concerning the creation of man. “For,” he says, “God said, let us make man in our own image and likeness.” Another of the prophets confirms this saying, ascribing divinity to him in one place in hymns, “He spake and they were begotten, he commanded and they were created.” On the one hand he introduces the Father and Maker as a universal sovereign, commanding by his royal nod, and on the other the divine Logos—no other than him who is proclaimed by us—as secondary to him, and ministering to his Father’s commands. Him even from the creation of mankind did all who are said to have been pre-eminent in righteousness and virtuous piety recognize by the contemplation of the pure eyes of the mind, and pay him the reverence due to a child of God; thus did Moses, the great servant, and his fellows, and even before him Abraham, the first, and his children, and all the righteous and prophets who have since appeared; and he himself, never wearying of piety toward the Father, has been a teacher to all men of knowledge of the Father. Thus the Lord God is said to have appeared as an ordinary man to Abraham, while he was seated by the oak of Mamre. But he fell down immediately, even though he saw him as a man with his eyes, worshipped him as God, besought him as Lord, and confessed that he was not ignorant who he was, saying in his own words, “word” as meaning Logos, and thus connects the “he” of the verse which he actually quotes with the Logos, not the Father. This was a traditional Christian interpretation and was probably so familiar to Eusebius that he overlooked his omission of the connecting link in the argument.
ο κρίνων πάσαν τήν γην, οὐ ποιήσεις κρίσιν;” εἰ γάρ μηδές ἐπιτρέποι λόγος τήν ἀγένητον καὶ ἀτρεπτον οὐσίαν θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος εἰς ἀνδρός εἶδος μεταβάλλει μηδ’ αὐ γενητοῦ μηθενὸς φαντασία τὰς τῶν ὅρων τῶν ὅφεις ἐξαπατᾶν μηδὲ μὴν ἴσως τὰ τοιαῦτα πλάττεσθαι τήν γραφήν, θεὸς καὶ κύριος ὁ κρίνων πάσαν τήν γην καὶ ποιῶν κρίσιν, ἐν ἀνθρώπων ὅρωμενος σχήματι, τίς ἂν ἔτερος ἀναγορεύοιτο, εἰ μὴ φάναι θέμις το πρώτον τῶν ὅλων αὐτιῶν, ἡ μόνος ὁ πρῶτον αὐτοῦ λόγος; περὶ οὖ καὶ ἐν ψαλμώις ἀνείρηται “ἀπέστειλεν τον λόγουν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἰάσατο αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἔρρυσα το αὐτοῦς ἐκ τῶν διαφθορῶν αὐτῶν.” τούτον δεύτερον μετὰ τὸν πατέρα κύριον σαφέστατα Μωσῆς ἀναγορεύει λέγων “ἐβρεξε κύριος ἐπὶ Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα θείον καὶ πῦρ παρὰ κυρίον.” τούτον καὶ τῷ Ἰακὼβ αὕθις ἐν ἀνδρός φανέντα σχήματι, θεοῦ ἡ θεία προσαγορεύει γραφίν, φάσκοντα τῷ Ἰακὼβ “οὐκέτι κηθήσεται τὸ ὅνομα σου Ἰακώβ, ἀλλ’ Ἰσραὴλ ἔσται τὸ ὅνομα σου, ὡς ἐνίσχυσας μετὰ θεοῦ,” ὦτε καὶ “ἐκάλεσεν Ἰακὼβ τὸ ὅνομα τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου Εἶδος θεοῦ,” λέγων “εἶδον γὰρ θεόν πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον, καὶ ἐσώθη μου ἡ ψυχή.” καὶ μὴν οὔτ’ ὑποβεβηκότων ἄγγελων καὶ λειτουργῶν θεοῦ τὰς ἀναγραφείσας θεοφανείας ὑπονοεῖν θέμις, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοῦτων ὄτε τις ἀνθρώπως παραφαίνεται, οὐκ ἐπικρύπτεται ἡ γραφή, ὁνομαστὶ οὐθεν οὔδε μὴν κύριον, ἀλλ’ ἄγγελος χρηματίσαι λέγουσα, ὅς διὰ μυρίων μαρτυρῶν πιστῶσασθαι ράδιον. τούτων καὶ ὁ Μωσέως διάδοχος Ἰησοῦς,
“O Lord, that judgest all the earth, wilt thou not do judgement?” For inasmuch as no reason would allow that the uncreated and unchangeable substance of the Almighty was converted into the form of man, or deceived the eyes of the beholders by the phantasm of anything created, or that the Scripture has falsely invented such a story, who other could be described as God, and as the Lord who judges all the earth and does judgement, appearing in the form of man (seeing that it is improper to call him the first cause of the universe), than his pre-existent Logos alone? And concerning him it was said in the Psalms, “He sent forth his Logos and healed them, and he rescued them from their corruptions.” Of him, too, Moses clearly speaks as a second Lord, after the Father, when he says, “The Lord rained on Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord.” Him the divine Scripture also calls God when he appears in human form to Jacob, saying to Jacob, “Thy name shall no more be called Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name because thou hadst power with God.” Then, too, “Jacob called the name of the place ‘the Vision of God,’ saying, ‘For I saw God face to face and my life was saved.’” ¹ And it cannot be right to suppose that the Theophanies described were the appearances of subordinate angels and ministers of God, for whenever one of these appears to men the Scripture does not conceal it, but says definitely that they are called angels, not God or Lord, as it is easy to prove from countless passages. Him, too, Joshua, the successor of Moses, calls the chief captain of the host of the Lord, as if he were the

¹ The allusion is to the Septuagint text of Gen. xxxii. 30.
ώς ἄν τῶν ὀφρανίων ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων τῶν τε ύπερκοσμίων δυνάμεων ἡγούμενον καὶ ὡς ἄν εἰ τοῦ πατρὸς ύπάρχοντα δύναμιν καὶ σοφίαν καὶ τὰ δευτερεία τῆς κατὰ πάντων βασιλείας τε καὶ ἀρχῆς ἐμπεπιστευμένον, ἀρχιστράτηγον δυνάμεως κυρίου ὀνομάζει, οὐκ ἄλλως αὐτὸν ἢ αὐτὸς εἰν ἀνθρώπου μορφῇ καὶ σχήματι θεωρήσας. γέ-γραπται γοῦν "καὶ ἐγενήθη, ὡς ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἐν Ἰεριχώ, καὶ ἀναβλέψας ὁ ἄνθρωπον ἐστηκότα κατέναντι αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ βομβαία ἐσπασμένη ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ προσελθὼν Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν, 'ἡμετέρος εἰ ἡ τῶν ὑπεναντίων;' καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, 'ἐγὼ ἀρχιστράτηγος δυνάμεως κυρίου' νυνὶ παρα-γέγονα,' καὶ Ἰησοῦς ἐπέσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, 'δέσποτα, τί προστάσσεις τῷ σῷ οἰκέτῃ;' καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος κυρίου πρὸς Ἰησοῦν, 'λύσαι τὸ ὑπόθημα ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν σου· ὅ γὰρ τόπος, ἐν ὧν ἐστήκας, τόπος ἀγίος ἐστιν.' ἔνθα καὶ ἐπιστήσεσα ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ῥημάτων ὅτι μὴ ἔτερος οὖτος εἶθε τοῦ καὶ Μωυσεὶ κεχρηματικότος, ὅτι δὴ αὐτῶς ἰέμαζε καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ δέ φησιν ἡ γραφή "ὡς δὲ εἶδεν κύριος ὅτι προσάγει ἰδεῖν, ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν κύριος ἐκ τοῦ βατοῦ λέγων, 'Μωυσῆ Μωυσῆ' ὅ δὲ εἶπεν, 'τί ἐστιν;' καὶ εἶπεν, 'μὴ ἐγγίσῃς ὦδε· λύσαι τὸ ὑπόθημα ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν σου· ὅ γὰρ τόπος, ἐν ὧν ἐστήκας ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, γῇ ἀγία ἐστίν.' καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, 'ἐγὼ εἰμί ὁ θεὸς τοῦ πατρὸς σου, θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεὸς Ἰακὼβ;' καὶ ὅτι γε ἐστιν οὐσία τις προκόσμιος ζῶσα καὶ ὕφεστὼσα, ἡ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ θεῷ τῶν όλων εἰς τὴν τῶν γενητῶν ἀπάντων δημιουργίαν ὑπηρετησαμένη,
leader of the heavenly angels and archangels, and the supernal powers, and as if he were of the power and wisdom of the Father, entrusted with the second rank in his universal kingdom and rule, though Joshua, too, saw him in none but human form and shape. It is written at least, “And it came to pass, while Joshua was in Jericho that he looked up and saw a man standing over against him, and his sword was drawn in his hand, and Joshua went to him and said, Art thou for us or for our adversaries? And he said to him, As chief captain of the host of the Lord am I now come. And Joshua fell on his face on the earth, and said to him, Lord, what dost thou command thy servant? And the chief captain of the Lord said to Joshua, Loose thy shoe from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is a holy place.” Here, too, you will perceive from the words themselves that this is none other than he who spoke also to Moses, for of him also the Scripture uses the same words, “And when the Lord saw that he drew nigh to see, the Lord called him out of the bush saying, Moses, Moses. And he said, What is it? And he said, Do not draw near here. Loose thy shoe from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground. And he said to him, I am the God of thy Father, the God of Abraham, and God of Isaac and God of Jacob.” And that there really is a certain being living and existent before the world, who ministered to the Father and God of the universe for the fabrication of all created things, called
λόγος θεοῦ καὶ σοφία χρηματιζοῦσα, πρὸς ταῖς
tεθειμέναις ἀποδείξεων ἐτὶ καὶ αὐτῆς ἐξ ἰδίου
προσώπου τῆς σοφίας ἐπακούσαι πάρεστιν, διὰ
Σολομώνος λευκότατα ὥδε πῶς τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς
μυσταγγυώνης "ἐγὼ ἡ σοφία κατεσκήνωσα
βουλήν, καὶ γνῶσιν καὶ ἐννοιαν ἐγὼ ἐπεκαλεσάμην.
δι' ἐμοῦ βασιλεῖς βασιλεύσουν, καὶ οἱ δυνάσται
γράφουσι δικαίουσίν. δι' ἐμοῦ μεγιστάνες μεγα-
λύνονται, καὶ τύραννοι δι' ἐμοῦ κρατοῦσι γῆς."  
οἷς ἐπιλέγει "κύριος ἐκτισέν με ἀρχὴν ὃδὼν αὐ-
τοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ, πρὸ τοῦ αἰώνος ἐθεμελιώσεν
με· ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸ τοῦ τῆς γῆς ποιήσας, πρὸ τοῦ
προελθεῖν τὰς πηγὰς τῶν υδάτων, πρὸ τοῦ ὄρη
ἐδρασθῆσαι, πρὸ δὲ πάντων βουνῶν γεννᾷ με.
ἠλικα ἠτοίμαζεν τὸν οὐρανόν, συμπαρῆμα αὐτῷ,
cαι ὡς ἀσφαλεῖς ἔτιθει πηγάς τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανόν,
ἡμῖν σὺν αὐτῷ ἀρμόζουσα. ἐγὼ ἡμῖν ἢ προσ-
έχαιρεν καθ' ἡμέραν, εὐφρανύμην δὲ ἐνώπιον
αὐτοῦ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ, ὅτε εὐφραίνετο τὴν οἰκο-
μένην συντελέσας." ὅτι μὲν οὖν προῆν καὶ τοίνυν,
ei καὶ μὴ τοῖς πᾶσιν, ὁ θεός λόγος ἐπεφαίνετο,
ταῦτ' ἡμῖν ὡς ἐν βραχέσιν εἰρήσθω.
Τῇ δὴ οὖν οὐχὶ καθάπερ τὰ νῦν, καὶ πάλαι
πρὸτερον εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ πᾶσιν ἠθέασιν
ἐκηρύττετο, ὥδε ἄν γένοιτο πρόδηλον. οὐκ ἦν
πως χωρεῖν οἶδος τε τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πάνσοφον
καὶ πανάρετον διδασκαλίαν ὁ πάλαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων
βίοι. εὐθὺς μὲν γε ἐν ἀρχῇ μετὰ τῆς πρώτης ἐν
μακάριοι ζωῆς οἱ πρῶτοι ἀνθρώποι ἦττον τῆς
θείας ἐντόλης φροντίσας, εἰς τούτοι τὸν θνητὸν
καὶ ἐπίκειρον βίον καταπέπτωκεν καὶ τὴν ἐπάρατον
ταυτήν γῆν τῆς πάλαι ἐνθέου τρυφῆς ἀντικατηλλά-
20
the Logos and Wisdom of God, can be learned from the actual person of Wisdom herself, in addition to the preceding proofs, for in one place she tells her own secret very clearly through Solomon, "I, Wisdom, made Counsel my habitation and I invoked Knowledge and Thought; through me kings reign, and the mighty inscribe justice; by me great men are magnified, and sovereigns rule the earth through me." And to this she adds, "The Lord created me as the beginning of his ways for his works; he established me before the world; in the beginning, before the making of the earth, before the springs of water came forth, before the mountains were founded, and before all hills, he begat me. When he prepared the heaven, I was present with him, and when he made safe the springs which are under heaven, I was with him giving them order. I was she in whom he rejoiced daily and I exulted before him at all times, when he exulted that he had completed the world." Thus let this be our short proof that the divine Logos pre-existed, and appeared to some, if not to all, men.

It must now be demonstrated why this announcement was not formerly made, long ago, to all men and all nations, as it is now. The life of men in the past was not capable of receiving the complete wisdom and virtue of the teaching of Christ. For at the beginning, after the first life in blessedness, the first man, despising the command of God, fell at once to this mortal and perishable life, and exchanged the former divine delights for this earth
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ξατο, οὖ τε ἀπὸ τοῦτον τὴν καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς σύμπασαν πληρώσαντες πολὺ χείρους ἀναφανέντες ἐκτὸς ἐνὸς που καὶ δευτέρου, θηριώδῃ τινὰ τρόπον καὶ βίον ἀβίωτον ἐπανήγηστο· ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐτε πόλιν ἐβάλλοντο, νόμων τε καὶ δικαιωμάτων καὶ προσέτι ἄρετῆς καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐδὲ ὀνόματος μετείχον, νομάδες δὲ ἐπὶ ἐρημίας οἰα τινες ἀγριοι καὶ ἀπηνεῖς διήγον, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ φύσεως προσήκοντας λογισμοὺς τὰ τε λογικὰ καὶ ἡμερὰ τῆς ἁνθρώπους ψυχῆς σπέρματα αὐτοπροαρέτου κακίας ὑπερβολῆ διαφθείροντες, ἀνοσιοῦργίαις δὲ πάσαις ὀλοὺς σφᾶς ἔκδεδωκότες, ὡς τοτε μὲν ἀλληλοφθορεῖν, τοτε δὲ ἀλληλοκτονεῖν, ἀλλοτε δὲ ἁνθρωποβορεῖν, θεομαχίας τε καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσι βουμένας γιαντομαχίας ἐπιτολμᾶν, καὶ γην μὲν ἐπιτειχίζεσιν οὐρανῶ διανοεῖσθαι, μανία δὲ φρονήματος ἐκτόπου αὐτόν τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι πολεμεῖν παρασκευάζοσθαι· ἐφ’ οἷς τοῦτον ἑαυτοῦς εἰσάγονοι τὸν τρόπον 20 κατακλυσμοῖς αὐτοῦς καὶ πυρπολήσεων ὅπερ ἀγρίαν ὑλην κατὰ πάσης τῆς γῆς κεχυμένην θεός ὁ πάντων ἐφορος μετηζε, λεμοῖς τε συνεχέσι καὶ λοιμοῖς πολέμοις τε αὐ καὶ κεραυνῶν βολαῖς ἀνώθεν αὐτοὺς ὑπετέμεντο, ὅπερ τινὰ δευην καὶ χαλεπωτάτην νόσου ψυχῶν πικροτέροις ἀνέχον τοῖς κολαστηρίοις. τότε μὲν οὐν, ὅτε δὴ καὶ 21 πολὺς ἦν ἐπικεχυμένος ὀλίγου δεῖν κατὰ πάντων ὅ τῆς κακίας κάρος, οἷα μέθης δευῆς, τὰς ἀπάντων σχέδων ἁνθρώπων ἐπισκιαζούσης καὶ ἐπισκευατούσης ψυχᾶς, ἡ πρωτόγονος καὶ πρωτόκτιστος τοῦ θεοῦ σοφία καὶ αὐτός ὁ πρων λόγος φιλανθρωπίας ὑπερβολῆ τοτε μὲν δ’ ὀπτασίας ἀγγέλων 22
with its curse; and after him those who filled all our world were manifestly much worse, with the exception of one or two, and chose some brutal habit of life, unworthy of the name. They gave no thought to city or state, to art or knowledge, they had not even the name of laws and decrees or virtue and philosophy, but they lived as nomads in the wilder-nesses like savage and unbridled beings; they destroyed by their excess of self-chosen wickedness the natural reasonings, and the germs of thought and gentleness in the human soul; they gave themselves up completely to all iniquity so that at one time they corrupted one another, at another they murdered one another, at another they were can- nibals; they ventured on conflicts with God and on the battles of the giants famous among all men; they thought to wall up the earth to heaven, and in the madness of a perverted mind prepared for war against the supreme God himself. While they were leading this life, God, the guardian of all, pursued them with floods and conflagrations, as though they had been a wild forest scattered through-out the whole earth; he cut them off with perpetual famines and plagues, by wars and by thunderbolts from on high, as if he were restraining by bitter chastisement some terrible and grievous disease of their souls. Then, indeed, when the great flood of evil had come nigh overwhelming all men, like a terrible intoxication overshadowing and darkening the souls of almost all, the first-begotten and first-created Wisdom of God, the pre-existent Logos himself, in his exceeding kindness appeared to his subjects, at one time by a vision of angels, at another
τοῖς ὑποβεβηκόσι, τοτε δὲ καὶ δι’ ἕαυτοπ οἰα θεοῦ δύναμις σωτηρίου ἐνί ποι ἐνι τευτέρῳ τῶν πάλας θεοφιλών ἄνδρῶν οὐκ ἄλλως ἐδι’ ἂνθρώπου μορφῆς, ὅτι μηδ’ ἐτέρως ἢν δυνατὸν αὐτοῖς, ὑπεφαίνετο.

'Ως δ’ ἦδη διὰ τούτων τὰ θεοσεβείας σπέρματα εἰς πλήθος ἄνδρῶν καταβέβλητο ὅλον τοὺς ἔθνους ἐπὶ γῆς θεοσεβείας προσανέχον ἐκ τῶν ἀνέκαθεν Ἐβραίων ὑπέστη, τούτως μὲν, ὡς ἂν εἰ πλήθεσιν ἐτι ταῖς παλαιαῖς ἀγγυαῖς ἐκκαθητημένους, διά τοῦ προφήτου Μωσέως εἰκόνας καὶ σύμβολα σαββάτου τινὸς μυστικοῦ καὶ περιτομὴς ἐτέρων τε νοητῶν θεωρήματων εἰσαγωγάς, ἀλλ’ οὐκ αὐτὰς ἐναργεῖς παρεδίδου μυσταγωγίας· ὡς δὲ τῆς παρὰ τούτων νομοθεσίας βουμένης καὶ πνοῆς δίκην εὐώδους εἰς ἀπαντᾶς ἂνθρώπους διαδιδομένης, ἦδη τότε εἰς αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς πλείσσιν τῶν ἔθνων διὰ τῶν πανταχός νομοθετῶν τε καὶ φιλοσόφων ἥμερωτο τὰ φρονήματα, τῆς ἀγρίας καὶ ἀτηνοῦς θηριωδίας ἐπὶ τὸ πρᾶον μεταβεβλημένης, ὡς καὶ εἰρήνη βαθεῖαν φιλίας τε καὶ ἐπιμεξίας πρὸς ἄλλους ἥκειν, τηνικαῖτα πάσι δὴ λοιπὸν ἂνθρώπους καὶ τοῖς ἀνα τῆς οἰκουμενῆς ἔθνους ὡς ἂν προφελημένους καὶ ἦδη τυγχανοῦσιν ἐπιτιθείοις πρὸς παραδοχῆ τῆς τοῦ πατρός γνώσεως ὁ αὐτὸς δὴ πάλιν ἐκεῖνος ὁ τῶν ἀρέτῶν διδάσκαλος, ὁ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς τοῦ πατρός υποργός, ὁ θείος καὶ οὐρανῶς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, δι’ ἂνθρώπου κατὰ μηδὲν σώματος οὐσία τῆς ήμετέρων φύσιν διαλλάττοντος ἀρχομένης τῆς Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας ἐπιφανεῖς, τοσοῦτα ἐδρασεν τε καὶ πέπονθεν, οία ταῖς προφητείαις ἀκόλουθα ἦν, ἂνθρωπον ὁμοῦ καὶ θεοῦ ἐπιδημήσειν τῷ βίῳ.
personally to one or two of the God-fearing men of old, as a saving power of God, yet in no other form than human, for they could not receive him otherwise.

But when the seeds of true religion had been strewn by them among a multitude of men, and a whole nation, sprung from the Hebrews, existed on earth, cleaving to true religion, he handed on to them, through the prophet Moses, images and symbols of a certain mysterious sabbath and of circumcision and instruction in other spiritual principles, but not unveiled initiation itself, for many of them had still been brought up in the old practices. Their Law became famous and spread among all men like a fragrant breeze. Beginning with them the minds of most of the heathen were softened by the law-givers and philosophers who arose everywhere. Savage and unbridled brutality was changed to mildness, so that deep peace, friendship, and mutual intercourse obtained. Then, at last, when all men, even the heathen throughout the world, were now fitted for the benefits prepared for them beforehand, for the reception of knowledge of the Father, then again that same divine and heavenly Logos of God, the teacher of virtues, the minister of the Father in all good things, appeared at the beginning of the Roman Empire through man. In nothing did he change our nature as touching bodily substance; his acts and sufferings were such as were consistent with the prophecies which foretell that man and God shall live together to do marvellous
παραδόξων ἑργῶν ποιητῆν καὶ τοῖς πάσιν ἑθνεσιν
didασκαλον τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς εὐσεβείας ἀναδειχ-
θήσεθαι τὸ τε παράδοξον αὐτοῦ τῆς γενέσεως
καὶ τὴν καινὴν didασκαλίαν καὶ τῶν ἑργῶν τὰ
θαύματα ἐπὶ τοὺς τοῦ θανάτου τὸν τρόπον
tῆν τε ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἐπὶ πάσιν τῆν εἰς
οὐρανοὺς ἐνθεον ἀποκατάστασιν αὐτοῦ προκηρυκ-
τοῦσας. τὴν γοὺς ἐπὶ τέλει βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ 20.
Δανιὴλ ὁ προφήτης θείω πνεύματι συνορῶν, ὡδὲ
τὴν θεοφορεῖτο, ἀνθρωπινῶτερον τὴν θεοτίαν
ὑπογράφων: "ἐθεώρουν γὰρ" φησίν "ἐως οὐ
θρόνου ἐτέθησαν, καὶ παλαιὸς ἤμερῶν ἐκάθητο.
καὶ τὸ ἐνδυμα αὐτοῦ ὡς εἰ χῶν λευκόν, καὶ ἡ
θριξ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὡς εἰ ἔριον καθαρόν. ὁ
θρόνος αὐτοῦ φλοξ πυρός, οἱ τροχοὶ αὐτοῦ πῦρ
φλέγον; ποταμὸς πυρὸς εἶλκεν ἐμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ.
χίλιαι χιλιάδες ἐλευτέρως αὐτοῦ, καὶ μύρια
μυριάδες παρειστήκεισαν ἐμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ. κριτή-
ριον ἐκάθισεν, καὶ βιβλίον ἡνεῴχθησαν." καὶ έξής 21
"ἐθεώρουν," φησίν "καὶ ἴδου μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν
tοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς εἰ νῦν ἀνθρώπων ἐρχόμενος, καὶ
ἐως τοῦ παλαιοῦ τῶν ἤμερῶν ἐφθασεν, καὶ ἐνώπιον
αὐτοῦ προσηνέχθη: καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόθη ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ
ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία, καὶ πάντες οἱ λαοὶ φυλαὶ
γλώσσαι αὐτώ δουλεύσουσιν. ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ
ἐξουσία αἰώνιος, ἦτις οὐ παρελεύσεται: καὶ ἡ
βασιλεία αὐτοῦ οὐ διαφθαρήσεται." ταῦτα δὲ 22
σαφῶς οὖν ἐφ' ἐτερον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον
σωτῆρα, τὸν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεοῦ θεον λόγον,
ἀναφέροιτο ἂν, νῦν ἀνθρώπου διὰ τὴν ύστατὴν
ἐνανθρώπησιν αὐτοῦ χρηματίζοντα. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐν 23
οἰκείοις ὑπομνήμασιν τὰς περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος
26
deeds, and to teach to all Gentiles the worship of the Father, and that the marvel of his birth and his new teaching and the wonder of his deeds will be made manifest together with the manner of his death and resurrection from the dead, and, above all, his divine restoration to Heaven. Daniel the prophet, in a moment of inspiration, saw by the divine spirit his final sovereignty, and describes the vision of God in human wise: "For I beheld," he said, "until thrones were set and an Ancient of Days did sit. And his garment was white like snow and the hair of his head was like pure wool; his throne was a flame of fire, his wheels were flaming fire, a river of fire ran before him, thousand thousands ministered unto him and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him, the judgement sat, and books were opened." And he goes on to say, "I beheld, and lo, one like to a son of man coming with the clouds of Heaven, and he came to the Ancient of Days and was brought before him. And to him was given the sovereignty and honour and kingdom, and all the people, tribes, and tongues shall serve him. His power is an everlasting power, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom shall not be destroyed." Clearly this would apply to none but our Saviour, the God-Logos who was in the beginning with God, called "son of man" because of his ultimate incarnation. However, since we have collected in special treatises the
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ημῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ προφητικὰς ἐκλογὰς συν-
αγαγόντες ἀποδεικτικῶτερον τε τα περὶ αὐτοῦ
dηλούμενα ἐν ἔτεροις συστήσαντες, τοῖς εἰρημένοις
ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀρκεσθησόμεθα.

III. "Ὅτι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τούνομα τοῦ τε Ἰησοῦ καὶ δὴ
cαὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρ’ αὐτοῖς τοῖς πάλαι θεοφιλέων
προφήταις τετύμητο, ἦδη καὶρὸς ἀποδεικνύναι.
σεπτὸν ώς ἐνι μάλιστα καὶ ἐνδοξοῦν τοῦ Χριστοῦ
ὄνομα πρῶτος αὐτὸς γνωρίσας Μωυσῆς τύπου
οὐδὲνων καὶ σύμβολα μυστηριώδεις τε εἰκόνας
ἀκολούθως χρησιμοὶ φήσαντι αὐτῷ "ὄρα, ποιήσεις
πάντα κατὰ τὸν τύπον τὸν δειξθέντα σοι ἐν τῷ
ὀρεί" παραδοῦσ, ἀρχιερέα θεοῦ, ὡς ἐν ἑνὶ μάλιστα
δυνατὸν ἀνθρωπον, ἐπιφημίσας, τοῦτον Χριστὸν
ἀναγορεύει, καὶ ταύτη γε τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχιερω-
σύνην αξία, πᾶσαν ὑπερβαλλοῦσῃ παρ’ αὐτῷ τὴν
ἐν ἀνθρώποις προεδρίαν, ἐπὶ τιμή καὶ δόξῃ τὸ
τοῦ Χριστοῦ περιτίθησαν ὄνομα: οὕτως ἀρά τὸν
Χριστὸν θειὸν τι χρῆμα ἦπιστατο. ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς
καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ προσηγορίαν εὐ μάλα πνεύ-
ματι θείω προϊδὼν πάλιν τινὸς ξαιρέτου προ-
νομίας καὶ ταύτην αξίοι. οὕπωτε γοῦν πρότερον
ἐκφωνηθέν εἰς ἀνθρώπους, πρὶν ἡ Μωυσεὶ γνω-
σθῆναι, τὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πρόσρημα τοῦτῳ Μωυσῆς
πρῶτῳ καὶ μόνῳ περιτίθησιν, ὥν κατὰ τύπον αὐθίς
καὶ σύμβολον ἔγνω μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευτήν
dιαδεξόμενον τὴν κατὰ πάντων ἀρχήν. οὐ προ-
tερον γοῦν τοῦ αὐτοῦ διάδοχον, τῇ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ
κεχρημένου προσηγορία, οὐσίματι δὲ ἐτέρῳ τῷ
Ἀνσῃ, ὡς πρὸς γεννησάντες αὐτῷ τέθενται, κα-
λούμενον, Ἰησοῦν αὐτὸς ἀναγορεύει, γέρας ἄστερ
τίμιον, παντὸς πολὺ μείζον βασιλικοῦ διαδήματος.

Heb. 8, 5
(Exod. 25, 40)

Lev. 4, 5, 16;
6, 22

Num. 13, 17

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prophetic utterances concerning our Saviour Jesus Christ, and in others have given a fuller demonstra-
tion of our statements concerning him, we will rest content in the present work with what has now been said.

III. It is now time to demonstrate that the very names “Jesus,” and especially “Christ,” were held in honour by the ancient God-loving prophets themselves. Moses was himself the first to recognize how peculiarly august and glorious is the name of Christ, when he delivered the tradition of the types and symbols of heavenly things, and the mysterious images, in accordance with the oracle which said to him, “See thou shalt make all things according to the type which was shown thee in the mount”; for in describing the High Priest of God as a man of supreme power, he calls him Christ, and, as a mark of honour and glory, surrounds with the name of Christ this rank of the High Priesthood, which with him surpassed all pre-eminence among men. Thus then he knew the divine character of “Christ.” He himself also was inspired very clearly to foresee the title “Jesus,” and it again he endued with special privilege. Though before it was made known to Moses it had never been previously pronounced to men, Moses gave the title, Jesus, to him first, and to him alone, who, once more typically and symbolically, he knew would receive the rule over all after his death. His successor, at any rate, had not previously used the title “Jesus,” but was called by another name, “Auses,” which his parents had given him, and Moses calls him Jesus, as a precious privilege greater than any royal crown, giving to
τούνομα αύτῷ δωρούμενος, ὧτι δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν Ναυή Ἰησοῦς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τὴν εἰκόνα ἔφερεν, τοῦ μόνου μετὰ Μωυσέα καὶ τὸ συμπέρασμα τῆς δὲ ἔκεινου παραδοθεισῆς συμβολικῆς λατρείας, τῆς ἀληθοῦς καὶ καθαρωτάτης εὐσεβείας τὴν ἀρχήν διαδεξαμένου, καὶ Μωυσῆς μὲν ταύτῃ πῇ δυσὶ τοῖς κατ’ αὐτῶν ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξῃ παρὰ πάντα τῶν λαῶν προφέρουσι άνθρώπους, τῷ μὲν ἀρχιερεῖ, τῷ δὲ μετ’ αὐτῶν ἡγησομένῳ, τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ προσηγορίαν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ περιτεθείσῃ σαφῶς δὲ καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα προφηταὶ ὀνομαστὶ τῶν Χριστοῦ προανεφώνουν, ὁμοὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἔσεσθαι κατ’ αὐτοῦ συσκευὴν τοῦ Ἰουδαίων λαοῦ, ὁμοὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἔθνων δι’ αὐτοῦ κλῆσιν προμαρτυρομένου, τοτέ μὲν ὀδεὶ πῶς Ἰερεμίας λέγων „πνεῦμα προσώπου ἡμῶν Χριστὸς κύριος συνελήφθη ἐν ταῖς διαφοράις αὐτῶν, οὗ εἴπομεν ‘ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ αὐτοῦ ζησόμεθα ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν’,’ τοτὲ δὲ ἀμηχανῶν Δαυὶδ διὰ τούτων „ίνα τι ἐφρύαξαν ἐθνὶ καὶ λαῶν ἐμελέτησαν κενά; παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς, καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ”. οἷς ἔξης ἐπιλέγει ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὴ προσώπου τοῦ Χριστοῦ „κύριος ἐσπεν πρὸς με ‘νῦός μου εἰ σὺ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγένησά σε. αἰτήσαι παρ’ ἐμοί, καὶ δῶσῳ σοι ἐθνὶ τὴν κληρονομίαν σου, καὶ τὴν κατάχεισίν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς.’” οὐ μόνοις δὲ ἄρα τοὺς ἀρχιερωσύνης τετμημένους, ἐλαῖω σκευαστῷ τοῦ συμβολοῦ χρισμένους ἔνεκα, τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατεκόσμει παρ’ Ἔβραιοις ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ

1 In the LXX. of Numb. xiii. 17 (which relates the chang-
him the name because Jesus the son of Nave\(^1\) himself bore the image of our Saviour who alone, after Moses and the completion of the symbolic worship\(^2\) delivered by Moses, did receive the rule of the true and pure religion. In this way Moses as a mark of the greatest honour surrounds with the name of our Saviour Jesus Christ the two men who in his day excelled all the people in virtue and glory—the High Priest and him who should rule after him. Clearly, too, did the later prophets foretell the Christ by name, giving their testimony beforehand alike to the future intrigue of the people of the Jews against him, and to the calling of the Gentiles through him. At one time Jeremiah says, “The spirit of our face, Christ the Lord was taken in their corruptions, and we said we will live in his shadow among the Gentiles.” At another time David in perplexity says as follows, “Wherefore did the heathen rage, and the peoples imagine vain things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together, against the Lord and against his Christ.” In the following verses he goes on to speak in the person of Christ himself, “The Lord said to me, Thou art my son, to-day have I begotten thee. Ask of me and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.” However it was not only those that were honoured with the High Priesthood, and anointed for the sake of the symbol with prepared oil, that were decorated among the Hebrews with the name “Christ”; but ing of the name of Hoshea, son of Nun, to Joshua) the name Hoshea is spelt Auses, Joshua is spelt Jesus, and Nun is spelt Nave.

\(^1\) i.e. the Jewish worship symbolized the future Christianity.

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καὶ τοὺς βασιλέας, οὓς καὶ αὐτοὺς νεώματι θείων προφήται χρίοντες εἰκονικοῦς τινας Χριστοὺς ἀπειργάζοντο, ὅτι δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς τοῦ μόνου καὶ ἀληθοῦς Χριστοῦ, τοῦ κατὰ πάντων βασιλεύοντος θείου λόγου, βασιλικῆς καὶ ἀρχικῆς ἔξουσίας τοὺς τύπους δι' ἐαυτῶν ἔφερον. ἦδη δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν προφητῶν τινὰς διὰ χρίσματος Χριστοῦ ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν γεγονέναι παρειλήφαμεν, ὡς τούτους ἀπαντᾷ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ Χριστὸν, τὸν ἐνθεον καὶ οὐράνιον λόγον, ἀναφορὰν ἔχειν, μόνον ἀρχιερέα τῶν ὅλων καὶ μόνον ἀπάσης κτίσεως βασιλεὰ i.e. μόνον προφητῶν ἀρχιπροφήτην τοῦ πατρὸς τυγχάνοντα. τούτου δ' ἀπόδειξις τὸ μηδένα πι ὑπό ὑπό τῶν πάλαι διὰ τοῦ συμβόλου κεχρυσμένων, μήτε ἱερέως μήτε βασιλέως μήτε μόνον προφητῶν, τοσαύτην ἀρετής ἐνθέου δύναμιν κτήσασθαι, ὡσπερ ὁ σωτήρ καὶ κύριος ἦμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ μόνος καὶ ἀληθινὸς Χριστὸς ἐπιτελεῖται. οὖν εἰς γέ τοι ἐκεῖνον, καίπερ ἀξιώματι καὶ τιμῆ ἐπὶ πλείστας ὁσαὶ γενεαῖς παρὰ τοῖς οἰκείοις διαλαμπάντων, τοὺς ὑπηκόους πῶς ποτέ ἐκ τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς εἰκονικῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσφήσεως Χριστιανοῦς ἐπεφήμισεν· ἀλλ' οὖν ἐσβάσμιος των τούτων πρὸς τῶν ὑπηκόων ὑπήρξε τιμῆ· ἀλλ' οὖν μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τοσαύτην διάθεσις, ὡς καὶ ὑπεραποθητικὴν ἐτοίμασε ἔχειν τοῦ τιμωμένου· ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπί τῶν ἁζήν τὴν οἰκουμενὴν ἑθνῶν περὶ τῶν τῶν τότε τοσαύτη γέγονε κίνησις, ἐπεῖ μηδὲ τοσοῦτον ἐν ἐκεῖνοις ἢ τοῦ συμβόλου δύναμις διὰ τὴν ἑν ἐνεργεῖν, ὅσον ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας παράστασις διὰ τοῦ σωτηρίου ἠμῶν ἐνδεικνυμένη· ὅσο οὕτε ἵ σύμβολα καὶ τύπους ἀρχιερωσύνης παρὰ τοῦ λαβῶν, 32
also the kings, for they also, at the bidding of God, were made Christs in a certain symbolism by the prophets who anointed them, inasmuch as they also bore in themselves the types of the royal and sovereign power of the only true Christ, the divine Logos who reigns over all. We have also received the tradition that some of the prophets themselves had by anointing already become Christs in type, seeing that they all refer to the true Christ, the divine and heavenly Logos, of the world the only High Priest, of all creation the only king, of the prophets the only archprophet of the Father. The proof of this is that no one of those symbolically anointed of old, whether priests or kings or prophets, obtained such power of divine virtue as our Saviour and Lord, Jesus, the only real Christ, has exhibited. None indeed of them, though renowned in rank and honour for so many generations among their own people, ever gave the name of Christian to their subjects from the symbolical application to themselves of the name of Christ. The honour of worship was not paid to any of them by their subjects, nor did they hold them in such affection after their death as to be ready to die for him whom they honoured. For none of the men of those days was there such disturbance of all the nations throughout all the world, since the power of the symbol was incapable of producing such an effect among them as the presence of the reality manifested by our Saviour; for he received from none the symbol and types of the High Priesthood, nor did he trace his
αλλ' οὐδὲ γένος τὸ περὶ σῶμα ἐξ ἰερωμένων
κατάγων, οὐδ' ἀνδρῶν δορυφορίας ἐπὶ βασιλείαν
προαχθεῖς οὐδὲ μὴν προφήτης ὁμοίως τοὺς πάλαι
γενόμενος, οὐδ' ἁξίας ὅλως ἡ τινος παρὰ Ἰουδαίους
τυχών προεδρίας, ὁμοίως τοῖς πάσιν, εἰ καὶ μη
toῖς συμβόλοις, ἀλλ' αὐτῇ γέ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ παρὰ
tοῦ πατρὸς κεκόσμητο, οὐχ ὁμοίων δ' οὐν οἰς
προειρήκαμεν, τυχών, πάντων ἐκείνων καὶ Χριστὸς
μᾶλλον ἀνηγόρευται, καὶ ὦς ἂν μόνος καὶ ἀληθῆς
αὐτὸς ὅν ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, Χριστιανῶν τῶν
πάντα κόσμων, τῆς ὄντως σεμνῆς καὶ ἱερᾶς αὐτοῦ
προσηγορίας, κατέπλησεν, οὐκέτι τύπους οὐδὲ
εἰκόνας, ἀλλ' αὐτὰς γυμνὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ βιὸν
οὐράνιον αὐτοῖς ἀληθείας δόγμασιν τοῖς θιασώτας
παραδούσι, τὸ τε χρίσμα, οὐ τὸ διὰ σωμάτων
σκευαστὸν, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ δὴ πνεύματι θείῳ τὸ θεο-
πρέπει, μετοχῆ τῆς ἀγεννήτου καὶ πατρικῆς θεότητος
ἀπειλήθη: ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ πάλιν Ἦσαῖας διδάσκει,
ὡς ἂν εἴ αὐτοῦ ὥδε πως ἀναβοῦν τὸ Χριστὸν
"πνεύμα κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμὲ, οὐ εἶνεκεν ἔχρισεν ἡ
eὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς ἀπέσταλκέν με, κηρύζει
αἰχμαλώτους ἄφεσιν καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν." καὶ
οὐ μόνος γε Ἦσαῖας, ἀλλὰ καὶ Δαβίδ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ
πρόσωπον ἀναφωνεῖ λέγων "ὁ θρόνος σου, ὁ θεός,
eἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος· ράβδος εὐθύτητος ή
ῥάβδος τῆς βασιλείας σου. ἡγατησίας δικαιοσύνης
καὶ ἐμφάσεις ἀνομίαν· διὰ τούτο ἔχρισέν σε ὁ
θεός, ὁ θεός σου ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως παρὰ τοὺς
μετόχους σου"· ἐν οίς ὁ λόγος ἐν μὲν τῷ πρῶτῳ
στίχῳ θεοῦ αὐτῶν ἐπιφημίζει, ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ
σκῆπτρῳ βασιλικῷ τιμᾶ, εἴθ' ἐξῆς ὑποβὰς μετὰ

Luke 4, 18. 19 Is. (61, 1)
Ps. 44, 7, 8
physical descent from the race of priests, nor was he promoted to a kingdom by the armed force of men, nor did he become a prophet in the same way as those of old, nor did he hold any rank at all or precedence among the Jews, yet with all these he had been adorned, not in symbols, but in actual reality by the Father. Though he did not obtain the honours of which we have spoken before, he is called Christ more than any of them, and inasmuch as he is himself the only true Christ of God, he filled the whole world with Christians—his truly reverend and sacred name. He no longer gave to his initiates types or images but the uncovered virtues themselves and the heavenly life, in the actual doctrines of truth, and he has received the chrism, not that which is prepared materially but the divine anointing itself with the spirit of God, by sharing in the unbegotten divinity of the Father. Again, Isaiah teaches this very point, for in one place he exclaims as if from Christ himself, "The spirit of the Lord was upon me, wherefore he anointed me: he sent me to preach the gospel to the poor, to announce release to prisoners, and sight to the blind." And not only Isaiah but also David speaks with reference to him and says, "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever, a rod of uprightness is the rod of thy kingdom. Thou didst love righteousness and didst hate iniquity. For this cause God, even thy God, anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows." In this the text calls him God in the first verse, and in the second honours him with the royal sceptre, and then goes on, after royal and

1 Or, if ἄρωματων be read, "with spices."
2 The punctuation of this passage is based on Eusebius's Ecl. Proph. 229. 13.
tēn ἐνθεον καὶ βασιλικὴν δύναμιν τρίτη τάξει
Χριστὸν αὐτὸν γεγονότα, ἔλαιω οὗ τῷ ἔξ ὑλὴς
σωμάτων, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐνθέω τῆς ἀγαλλιάσεως
ηλειμμένον, παρίστησιν παρ' ὦ καὶ τὸ ἐξαιρετὸν
αὐτοῦ καὶ πολὺ κρείττον καὶ διάφορον τῶν πάλαι
διὰ τῶν εἰκόνων σωματικώτερον κεχρυσμένων
ὑποσημαίνει. καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ ὦ αὐτὸς ὃδε πως
τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ δηλοῖ λέγων "ἐἵπεν ὦ κύριος τῷ
κυρίῳ μου: 'κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἔως ὅπως τοὺς
ἐξερθοῦσιν σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου," καὶ "ἐκ
γαστρὸς πρὸ ἐσωφόρου ἐγέννησά σε. ὦμοσεν κύριος
καὶ οὐ μεταμεληθήσεται σὺ εἰς ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα
κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ."  οὗτος δὲ εἰσ-
ἄγεται ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς λόγοις ὦ Μελχισεδέκ ἱερεὺς
τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου, οὐκ ἐν σκευαστῷ τοῖς
χρύσωσι ἀναδεικμένοις, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ διαδοχῇ γένους
προσήκων τῇ καθ' Ἐβραίους ἱερωσύνη' δι' ὦ
κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τάξιν, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων
σύμβολα καὶ τύπους ἀνεληφότων Χριστὸς καὶ
ἱερεὺς μεθ' ὄρκου παραλήψεως ὁ σωτὴρ ἦμῶν
ἀνηγόρευται. οὖθεν οὕτῳ σωματικῶς παρὰ Ἰου-
δαῖος χριστέντα αὐτὸν ἢ ἱστορία παραδίδοσιν,
ἀλλ' οὕτῳ ἐκ φυλῆς τῶν ἱερωμένων γενόμενον,
ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ θεοῦ πρὸ ἐσωφόρου μὲν, τοῦτ' ἑστὶν
πρὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συστάσεως, οὐσιωμένον,
ἄθανατον δὲ καὶ ἀγήρω τὴν ἱερωσύνην εἰς τὸν
ἀπειρον αἰῶνα διακατέχοντα. τῆς δ' εἰς αὐτὸν
γενομένης ἀσωμάτου καὶ ἐνθέου χρίσεως μέγα
καὶ ἐναργές τεκμήριον τὸ μόνον αὐτὸν εἰς ἀπάντων
τῶν πώποτε εἰς ἐτι καὶ νῦν παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις

1 Eusebius means that this is the significance of "above thy fellows."
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divine power, to present him in the third place as having become Christ, anointed not with oil made of material substances but with the divine “oil of gladness.” And in addition to this he indicates his peculiar distinction and superiority to those who in the past had been more materially anointed as types.¹ And in another place too the same David explains his position as follows: “The Lord said to my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet.” And, “Before the day-star I begat thee from the womb. The Lord sware and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek.” Now this Melchisedek is introduced in the sacred books as priest of the most high God, without having been so marked out by any material unction, or even as belonging by racial descent to the priesthood of the Hebrews. For this reason our Saviour has been called Christ and priest, on the authority of an oath, according to his order and not according to that of the others who received symbols and types. For this reason, too, the narrative does not relate that he was anointed physically by the Jews or even that he was of the tribe of those who hold the priesthood, but that he received his being from God himself before the day-star, that is to say, before the construction of the world, and holds his priesthood to boundless eternity, ageless and immortal. A weighty and clear proof of the immaterial² and divine anointing effected on him is that he alone, out of all who have ever yet been

² Gk. ἀσώματος. The use of this word as a technical term meaning “immaterial” has a long history, but it was popularized in Christian metaphysics, especially by Origen.
καθ' ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου Χριστοῦ ἐπιφημίζεσθαι ὀμολογεῖσθαι τε καὶ μαρτυρεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀπάντων ἐπὶ τῇ προσηγορίᾳ παρὰ τε Ἑλληνι καὶ βαρβάρους μνημονεύσεσθαι, καὶ εἰς ἐτί νῦν παρὰ τὸς ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην αὐτοῦ θιασώτας τιμᾶσθαι μὲν ὡς βασιλέα, θαυμάζεσθαι δὲ ὑπὲρ προφήτην, δοξάζεσθαι τε ὡς ἄληθῆ καὶ μόνον θεοῦ ἀρχιερέα, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις, οἷα θεοῦ λόγον προῦντα καὶ πρὸ αἰώνων ἀπάντων ὑσταμένων τὴν τε σεβάσμιον τιμὴν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπειληφότα, καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι ὡς θεόν· τὸ γε μὴν πάντων παραδοξότατον, ότι μὴ φωναῖς αὐτῷ μόνῳ καὶ ῥημάτων ψόφοις αὐτῶν γεραιρομένην οἱ καθωσιωμένοι αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάση διαθέσει ψυχῆς, ὡς καὶ αὐτῆς προτιμᾶν τῆς ἐαυτῶν ζωῆς τῆν εἰς αὐτῶν μαρτυρίαν.

IV. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαῖας πρὸ τῆς ἱστορίας λέγει οἷα καὶ θείον, ὡς ἂν μὴ νεώτερον τις εἴην νομίσει τὸν σωτήρα καὶ κύριον ἥμων Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν διὰ τοὺς τῆς ἑνσάρκου πολιτείας αὐτοῦ χρόνους. ἵνα δὲ μηδὲ τὴν διδασκαλίαν αὐτοῦ νέαν εἴην καὶ χάριν, ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ νέου καὶ μηδενῶς λοιπόν διαφέροντος ἀνθρώπους συστάσας, ὑπονοήσειν τις, φέρε, βραχέα καὶ περὶ τούτου διαλάβωμεν. τῆς 2 μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἥμων Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας νεωστὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώπως ἐπιλαμψάσῃ, νέον ὀμολογουμένως ἐθνός, οὐ μικρὸν οὐδ' ἀσθενείς οὐδ' ἐπὶ γνωσίας ποι γῆς ἱδρυμένον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν πολυναθρωπότατον τε καὶ θεοσεβέστατον ταύτῃ τε ἀνώλεθρον καὶ ἀήττητον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ἐκ τῆς παρὰ θεοῦ βοσθείας τυγχάνει, χρόνων προθεσμίαις ἀρρήτους ἁθρόως οὕτως ἀναπέφηνεν, τὸ παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσι τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ
until now, is called Christ among all men throughout the whole world; that under this title he is confessed and borne witness to by all, and is mentioned thus by Jews, Greeks, and barbarians; that until this present day he is honoured by his worshippers throughout the world as king, wondered at more than a prophet, and glorified as the true and only High Priest of God, and, above all, as the Logos of God, pre-existent, having his being before all ages, and having received the right of reverence from the Father, and that he is worshipped as God. Strangest of all, we, who have been consecrated to him, honour him not only with our voices and with the sound of words, but with the whole disposition of our soul, so as to value testimony to him more than our very life itself.

IV. Let these observations suffice me, as needed before beginning the history, that no one might think of our Saviour and Lord, Jesus Christ, as a novelty because of the date of his ministry in the flesh. But that no one may suppose that his teaching either was new and strange, inasmuch as it was put together by a youth no better than the rest of men, come, let us discuss this point briefly. For when the advent of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, recently shone forth on all men, it was confessedly a new race which has thus appeared in such numbers, in accordance with the ineffable prophecies of the date, and is honoured by all by the name of Christ, but it is not little nor weak, nor founded in some obscure corner of the earth, but the most populous of all nations, and most pious towards God, alike innocent and invincible in that it ever finds help from God.
προσηγορία τετμημένον. τοῦτο καὶ προφητῶν: κατεπλάγη τις, θείου πνεύματος ὕφαλμα ὁ μέλλον ἐσεσθαί προδεωρήσας, ὡς καὶ τάδε ἀνα-
θεύξασθαι "τίς ἦκουσεν τουαῦτα, καὶ τις ἐλάλησεν οὕτως; εἰ ὠδίνεν γῆ ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ εἰ ἐτέχθη ἔθνος εἰς ἀπάξ." ὑποσημαίνει δὲ πως καὶ τὴν
μέλλουσαν ὁ αὐτὸς προσηγορίαν, λέγων "τοῖς
δὲ δουλεύοντι μοι κληθήσεται ὄνομα κανόν, ὁ εὐλογηθήσεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς." ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ νέοι 4
σαφῶς ἡμείς καὶ τοῦτο καινὸν ὄντως ὄνομα τὸ
Χριστιανῶν ἀρτίως παρὰ πᾶσιν ἔθνεσιν γνωρίζεται,
ὁ βίος δ' οὖν ὦμος καὶ τῆς ἀγωγῆς ὁ τρόπος
αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας δόγμασιν ὅτι μὴ ἐναγχος ὡς
ἡμῶν ἐπιπέπλασται, ἐκ πρώτης δ' ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀν-
θρωπογονίας φυσικαῖς ἐννοίας τῶν πάλαι θεο-
φιλῶν ἀνδρῶν κατωρθοῦτο, ὅτε πως ἐπιδείξομεν.
οὐ νέον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀρχαιότητι 5
τετμημένον ἔθνος, τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ αὐτῷ γνώριμον,
τὸ 'Ἐβραίων τυγχάνει. λόγοι δὴ παρὰ τοῦτο
καὶ γράμματα παλαιοῦς ἄνδρας περίεχουσιν,
οπανίους μὲν καὶ ἀριθμῶ βραχεῖς, ἀλλ' ὄμως
εὐσεβεία καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ πάση τῇ λοιπῇ
διενεγκόντας ἀρτέτη, πρὸ μὲν γε τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ
dιαφόρους, μετὰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἐτέρους, τῶν τε
tοῦ Νῳ ἐπὶ παῖδων καὶ ἀπογόνων ἀτάρ καὶ τὸν
'Αβραάμ, ὃν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ προπάτορα σφὼν αὐτῶν
παίδες 'Ἐβραίων αὐχόοι. πάντας δὴ ἐκεῖνος 6
ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνη μεμαρτυρημένον, εἷς αὐτοῦ 'Αβραὰμ
ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἀνισοῦσιν ἀνθρωπον, ἔργῳ Χρι-
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, I. iv. 3–6

It was at this that one of the prophets was amazed when, by the eye of the divine spirit, he foresaw the future which was to be, so that he exclaimed, "Who heard these things and who spoke thus? Did the earth travail in one day, and was a nation born at once?" And the same writer also indicates in one place its future title, saying, "And a new name shall be called on those who serve me, which shall be blessed on the earth." But even if we are clearly new, and this really fresh name of Christians is recently known among all nations, nevertheless our life and method of conduct, in accordance with the precepts of religion, has not been recently invented by us, but from the first creation of man, so to speak, has been upheld by the natural concepts of the men of old who were the friends of God, as we will here demonstrate. The race of the Hebrews is not new but is honoured among all men for its antiquity and is itself well known to all. Now, stories and documents belonging to it concern ancient men, few and scarce in number, yet remarkable for piety and righteousness and for all other virtues. Divers of them, indeed, were before the flood, and after it were others, and, (to say nothing of the children and descendants of Noah), especially Abraham, whom the children of the Hebrews boast as their own originator and ancestor. If the line be traced back from Abraham to the first man, anyone who should describe those who have obtained a good testimony for righteousness, as Christians in fact,
ευσεβείας τε ὄμολος, τὸν Χριστιανὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς θείας μονοτροφῆς καὶ διδασκαλίας σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης καρπερία τε βιόν καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀνδρεία εὐσεβείας τε ὁμολογία ἐνός καὶ μόνου τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ διαπρέπειν, τούτο πάν ἐκεῖνος οὐχ ἱμῶν ἐσπούδαζετο. οὔτε οὐν σώματος αὐτοῦ περιτομῆς ἐμελεῖν, ὅτι μηδὲ ἱμῶν, οὐ τυπικῆς ἐπιτυχήσεως, ὅτι μηδὲ ἱμῶν, ἀλλ' οὔδε τῶν τοιῶν δρόμων παραφυλακῆς οὔδε τῶν ἄλλων διαστολῆς, οὐσία τοῖς μετέπειτα πρῶτος ἀπάντων Μωυσῆς ἀρξάμενος ἐν συμβόλοις τελείοτα παραδέδωκεν, ὅτι μηδὲ νῦν Χριστιανῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀλλὰ καὶ σαφῶς αὐτῶν ὑδεσαν τῶν Χριστῶν τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰ γε ωθηθεῖ μὲν τῷ 'Αβραάμ, χρηματίσαι δὲ τῷ Ἰσαάκ, λελαληκέναι δὲ τῷ Ἰσαάκ, Μωυσεί τε καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα προφήταις ὑμιληκέναι προδέδωκται. ἕνθεν αὐτοῦ δὴ τοὺς θεοφιλεῖς ἐκεῖνους εὑροὺς ἃν καὶ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατηγορικῶν ἐπισκοπῶν καταθέτοντες τῆς μονοπλοῦμος περὶ αὐτῶν φωνήν "μὴ ἀψιθοῦεν τῶν Χριστῶν μου, καὶ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις μου μὴ πονηρεύεσθε". ὡστε σαφῶς πρῶτην ἤγειρον δεῖν καὶ πάντων παλαιοτάτην τε καὶ ἀρχαιοτάτην θεοσεβείας εὑρεσιν αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνων τῶν ἀμφὶ τῶν 'Αβραάμ θεοφιλῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς ἀρτίως διὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας πάσην ἐθνεσιν κατηγορικὴν, εἰ δὲ δὴ μακρῷ ποθ' υπερφέρεσθαι τοῖς περιτομῆς φασὶ τῶν 'Αβραάμ ἐντολῆν εἰληφέναι, ἀλλὰ προ ὑπὸ τούτης δικαιοσύνης διὰ πίστεως μαρτυρικής ἀνείρηται, ὡδὲ πως τοῦ θείου φάσκοντος λόγου "ἐπίστευσεν δὲ 'Αβραάμ.
if not in name, would not shoot wide of the truth. For the name signifies that through the knowledge of Christ and his teaching the Christian man excels in sobriety and righteousness, in control of life and courageous virtue, and in the confession that God over all is but one; and for zeal in all this they were not inferior to us. They had no care for bodily circumcision any more than we, nor for the keeping of Sabbaths any more than we, nor for abstinence from certain foods nor the distinction between others (such as Moses afterwards first began to hand down to their successors) nor for symbolic ceremony any more than Christians care for such things now, but they clearly knew him as the Christ of God, seeing that it has already been demonstrated that he appeared to Abraham, addressed Isaac, spoke to Israel, and conversed with Moses and the later prophets. Whence you would find that those God-loving men obtained even the name of Christ according to the word spoken concerning them, "Touch not my Christs and act not wickedly among my prophets." So that it must clearly be held that the announcement to all the Gentiles, recently made through the teaching of Christ, is the very first and most ancient and antique discovery of true religion by Abraham and those lovers of God who followed him. And even if they say that Abraham received the command of circumcision long afterwards, it has been related that, before this command, he received a good testimony for righteousness through faith, as the divine word says, "And Abraham be-

1 Literally "observation," i.e. in order to avoid.
Rom. 4, 3
τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.
καὶ
dῇ τοιούτω πρὸ τῆς περιτομῆς γεγονότι χρησμὸς
ὑπὸ τοῦ φήναντος ἐαυτὸν αὐτῷ θεοῦ (οὗτος δὲ
ἡν αὐτὸς ὁ Χριστός, ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος) περὶ τῶν
ἐν τοῖς μετέπειτα χρόνοις τὸν ὅμοιον αὐτῷ δι-
καιούσθαι τρόπων μελλόντων ἰήμασιν αὐτοῖς προ-
επήγγελται λέγων "καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ
πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς," καὶ ὡς ὅτι "ἐσται εἰς
ἔθνος μέγα καὶ πολὺ, καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν
αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ ἐθνά τῆς γῆς." τούτῳ δὲ καὶ
ἐπιστῆσαι εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐκπεπληρωμένων πάρεστιν.
pίστει μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνοις τῇ εἰς τὸν οὐθέντα αὐτῷ
tοῦ θεοῦ λόγον τὸν Χριστόν δεδικαίωτο, πατρόω
μὲν ἀποστάς δεισδαμονίας καὶ πλάνης βίου
προτέρας, ἐνα δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ πάντων ὁμολογήσας θεον
cαὶ τούτων ἔργων ἀρετῆς οὐχὶ δὲ θρησκεία νόμου
tοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα Μωσείως θεραπεύσας, τοιούτω τε
ὁντι ἐιρήτο ὅτι δὴ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ
πάντα τὰ ἐθνά ἐν αὐτῷ εὐλογηθῆσεται. ἔργοις
dὲ λόγων ἐναργεστέρως ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος παρὰ
μόνοις Χριστιανοίς καθ’ ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀσκο-
μενος αὐτὸς ἐκείνοις ὁ τῆς θεοσεβείας τοῦ Ἀβραάμ
ἀναπέφηνε τρόπος. τί δὴ οὖν λοιπὸν ἐμποδῶν
ἀν εἴη, μὴ οὐχὶ ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν βίον τε καὶ
tρόπων εὐσεβείας ἦμιν τε τοῖς ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ
cαὶ τοῖς πρόπαλαι θεοφιλέσιν ὁμολογεῖν; ὡστε μὴ νέαν
cαὶ ξένην, ἀλλ’ εἰ δεῖ φάναι ἀληθεύοντα, πρῶτην
ὑπάρχει καὶ μόνην καὶ ἀληθῆ κατόρθωσιν εὐσεβείας
tῆν διὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας παραδοθεισαν
ήμιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὅδε ἔχετω.

Gen. 12, 1

Gen. 12, 3
Gen. 18, 18

1 As usual, it is impossible to represent in English the fact that in Christian Greek the same word means "nations"
lieved God and it was reckoned to him for righteousness.” And to him, just as he was, before circumcision, was the oracle given by the God who showed himself to him (and this was the Christ himself, the word of God), concerning those who in time to come would be justified in the same manner as himself, in the following promise, “And in thee shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed,” and, “It shall be a great and numerous nation, and all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in it.” Now this is obviously intelligible as fulfilled in us; for it was by faith towards the Logos of God, the Christ who had appeared to him, that he was justified, and gave up the superstition of his fathers, and his former erroneous life, and confessed the God who is over all to be one; and him he served by virtuous deeds, not by the worship of the law of Moses, who came later. To him, just as he was then, was it said that all the tribes of the earth and all the nations 1 will be blessed in him; and more clearly than any words do facts show that at the present moment it is only among Christians throughout the whole world that the manner of religion which was Abraham’s can actually be found in practice. What objection then can there be to admitting that the life and pious conduct of us, who belong to Christ, and of the God-loving men of old is one and the same? Thus we have demonstrated that the practice of piety handed down by the teaching of Christ is not new or strange, but, if one must speak truthfully, is primitive, unique, and true. And let this suffice.

or “heathen.” The Church took over from Hellenistic Judaism the usage of calling itself “the people” (ὁ λαὸς) as distinguished from “the nations” (τὰ ἔθνη).
EUSEBIUS

V. Φερε δὲ ἧδη, μετὰ τὴν δέοσαν προκατασκευὴν τῆς προτεθείσης ἡμῖν ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας ἦλοιπον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνσάρκως τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπιφανείας οἷα τυχὸς ὀδουπορίας ἐφαψώμεθα, τοῦ λόγου πατέρα θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ δηλοῦμενον αὐτῷ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν σωτήρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν, τοῦ οὐράνιου τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου, θοβηθοῦν ἡμῶν καὶ συνεργασμένης τῆς κατὰ τὴν διήγησιν ἀληθείας ἐπικαλεσάμενη ἡν δή οὗν τοῦτο δεύτερον καὶ τεσσαρακοστόν ἐκ τῆς Ἀγγοῦστου βασιλείας, Αἰγυπτοῦ δ᾽ ὑποτάχω καὶ τελευτής Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας, εἰς ὑστάτην ἡ κατ᾽ Ἀγυπτίου τῶν Πτολεμαίων καὶ λήξε δυναστεία, ὄγδοον ἔτος καὶ εἰκοστόν, ὁπότεν ὁ σωτήρ καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς οὐ Χριστὸς τῆς τότε πρώτης ἀπογραφῆς, ἡγεμονεύων Κυρίου τῆς Συρίας, ἀκολούθως ταῖς περὶ αὐτοῖς προφητείαις ἐν Βηθλεέμ γεννᾶτα τῆς Ἰουδαίας ταύτης δὲ τῆς κατὰ Κυρίου ἀπογραφῆς καὶ τῶν παρ᾽ Ἑβραίοις ἐπισημότατος ἱστορικῶν Φιλίππου Ἰωσηφοῦ μνημονεύει, καὶ ἄλλην ἐπισημάτων ἱστορικῶν περὶ τῆς τῶν Γαλιλαίων κατὰ τὰ αὐτοῖς ἐπιφυέσις χρόνους αἰρέσεως, ἢ καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων μνήμην ὑδεῖ τὰ λέγων πεποίηται "μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνέστη Ἰουνίου"

Luke 2, 2

Mich. 5, 2

Acts 5, 37

1 That is, 1 B.C., the next year being the annum Domini. The same date is given by Clement of Alexandria, Strom but Irenaeus and Tertullian place the nativity one year earlier. Neither date can be reconciled with the statement of Matt. ii. 1 that Jesus was born in the reign of Herod the Great who died in 4 B.C.

V. So then, after the necessary preliminaries to the history of the Church proposed by us, let us begin, as if starting a journey, with the appearance of our Saviour in the flesh, after invoking God, the Father of the Logos, and Jesus Christ himself, our Saviour and Lord, the heavenly Logos of God, to give us help and assistance to truth in the narrative. It was, then, the forty-second year of the reign of Augustus,¹ and the twenty-eighth year after the submission of Egypt and the death of Antony and Cleopatra (and with her the Egyptian dynasty of the Ptolemies came to an end), when our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ, in accordance with the prophecies concerning him, was born in Bethlehem of Judaea at the time of the census which then first took place, while Quirinius was Governor of Syria. This census in the time of Quirinius,² Flavius Josephus, the most famous of the historians among the Hebrews, also mentions, and joins to the narrative another concerning the sect of the Galileans which arose at the same time. Our own Luke has also mentioned this in one place in the Acts, saying “After this man arose Judas the Galilean, in the
cannot be reconciled, for the census of Quirinius referred to by Josephus and also in Acts v. 37 was in A.D. 6. Sir W. M. Ramsay thinks that there may have been an earlier census in the reign of Herod during a former governorship of Quirinius in Syria, which did not then include the domain of Herod. There is good evidence for the former governorship of Quirinius, but none for a census in Judaea during his governorship by (or for) Herod. See Eusebius, Ecl. proph. 158 ff.
ο Γαλιλαίος εν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἀπογραφῆς, καὶ ἀπέστησε λαὸν ὅπισώ αὐτοῦ· κάκεινος ἀπώλετο, καὶ πάντες ὁσοῦ ἐπεισόθησαν αὐτῷ, διεσκορπίσθησαν.᾿ τούτους δ᾿ οὖν καὶ ὁ δεδηλωμένος εἰς ὁκτωκαίδεκάτω τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας συνάδων ταύτα παρατίθεται κατὰ λέξιν· "Κυρίνιος δὲ τῶν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν συναγομένων, ἀνὴρ τὰς τέ άρχας ἐπιτετελέκας καὶ διὰ πασῶν ὅδευσαν ὑπάτους γενέσθαι τά τε άλλα ἀξιώματα μέγας, σὺν οἵλοις ἐπὶ Συρίας παρῆν, ὑπὸ Κάισαρος δικαιοδότης τοῦ ἔθνους ἀπεσταλμένος καὶ τιμητῆς τῶν οὐσιῶν γενησόμενος." καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησὶν· "Ἰουδᾶς δὲ, Γαυλανίτης ἀνήρ ἐκ πόλεως ὅνομα Γαμαλά, Σάδδοκον Φαρισαίον προσλαβόμενος, ἢπείγετο ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει, τὴν τε ἀποτίμησιν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἄντικρος δούλειαν ἐπιφέρει λέγοντες καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐπὶ ἀντλήσει παρακαλοῦντες τὸ ἔθνος." καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀεικέρᾳ δὲ τῶν ἰστοριῶν τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ταύτα γράφει· "ἐπὶ τούτου τις ἀνήρ Γαλιλαίος Ἰουδᾶς ὄνομα εἰς ἀποστασίαν ἐνῆγε τούς ἐπιχωρίους, κακίζων εἰ φόρον τε Ἐρωμαῖοι τελείων ὑπομενοῦσιν καὶ μετὰ τῶν θεόν οὐσοῦν θνητοὺς δεσπότας." ταῦτα ὁ Ἰώσηπος.

VI. Τηνικαῦτα δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους Ἡρώδου πρῶτον τὸ γένος ἀλλοφυλοῦ διειληφότος τὴν βασιλείαν ἡ διὰ Μαυσέως περιγραφὴν ἐλάμβανεν προφητεία· "οὐκ ἐκλείψεω ἄρχοντα ἐξ Ἰουδαίων οὐδὲ ἤγομενον ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ" φήσας, "ἐως ἂν ἐλθῇ ὡς ἀπόκειται," δὲ καὶ ἀποφαίνει προσδοκίαν ἐσεσθαι ἔθνων. ἀτελῆ γε τοι τὰ τῆς προροφητείας.
days of the census, and led away the people after him and he perished and all who obeyed him were scattered.” In agreement with this, in the eighteenth book of the Antiquities the writer referred to also gives the following details: “And Quirinius, one of those called to the Senate, who had filled the other offices and passed through all of them to become Consul, and was otherwise of high rank, reached Syria with a small staff, having been sent by Caesar to administer the people and to make a valuation of their property.” And a little later he says, “And Judas, the Gaulonite, of the city called Gamala, took with him Zadok, a Pharisee, and instigated a revolt, for they said that the valuation led to nothing but plain slavery, and they called on the people to rally for liberty.” And in the second book of the History of the Jewish War he writes concerning the same man, “At this time a Galilean called Judas incited the inhabitants to revolt, calling them cowards to suffer the payment of tribute to the Romans, and after serving God to endure mortal masters.” So far Josephus.

VI. Now at this time, when Herod was the first foreigner to hold the sovereignty of the Jewish nation, the prophecy made through Moses that “A ruler shall not fail from Judah nor a leader from his loins until he come for whom it is reserved” ¹ began to be fulfilled. Moses also shows that this one will be the “expectation of the Gentiles.” Obviously the terms of the prediction were unfulfilled so long

¹ The Hebrew text of this passage is, accurately rendered, “until Shiloh come,” but has no discoverable meaning. The text of the LXX. varies between “until there come him for whom it is reserved” and “until there come the things reserved for him.”
ρήσεως ἦν καθ’ ὅν ὑπὸ τοῖς ὅικεῖοι τοῦ ἔθνους ἀρχουσὶ διάγειν αὐτοῖς ἔξην χρόνον, ἀνωθεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ Μωσεῖως καταρξαμένους καὶ εἰς τὴν Αὐ- γούστου βασιλείαν διαρκέσασιν, καθ’ ὅν πρῶτος ἀλλόφυλος Ἡρώθης τὴν κατὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐπι- τρέπεται ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν, ὡς μὲν Ἰώσηπος παραδιδοὺς, Ἰδουμαίος ὡν κατὰ πατέρα τὸ γένος Ἀράβιος δὲ κατὰ μητέρα, ὡς δ’ Ἀφρικανὸς (οὐχ ὁ τυχὸν δὲ καὶ οὔτος γέγονε συγγραφεύς), φασίν ὦ τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀκριβοῦντες Ἀντίπατρον (τοῦτον δ’ εἶναι αὐτῷ πατέρα) Ἡρώδου τινὸς Ἀσκαλο- νίτου τῶν περὶ τὸν νεῶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερο- δούλων καλομεμένων γεγονέναι ὡς Ἀντίπατρος ὑπὸ Ἰδουμαίων ληστῶν παιδίων αἰχμαλωτισθεὶς σὺν ἐκείνοις ἦν, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὸν πατέρα πτωχὸν ὄντα καταθέσαι ὑπέρ αὐτοῦ, ἐντραφείς δὲ τοὺς ἐκείνων ἔθεσον ὑπερτοῦ Ἣρκανῳ τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερεῖ φιλοῦται. τοῦτον γίνεται ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἡρώθης. εἰς δὴ οἷν τὸν τοιοῦτον τῆς Ἰουδαίων περιελθούσης βασιλείας, ἐπὶ θύραις ἦδη καὶ ἡ τῶν ἔθνων ἀκολούθως τῇ προφητείᾳ προσδοκία παρῆν, ἀτε διαλελοιπότων ἐξ ἐκείνου τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ Μωσείως κατὰ διάδοχην ἀρξάμενων τε καὶ ἡγησαμένων. πρὸ μὲν γε τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς εἰς Βαβυλῶνα μετανα- στάσεως ἐβασιλεύσατο, ἀπὸ Σαουλ πρῶτον καὶ Δαυὶδ ἀρξάμενοι. πρὸ δὲ τῶν βασιλεῶν ἀρχοντες αὐτοὺς διείπον, οἱ προσαγορεύομενοι κριταὶ, ἀρξαν- τες καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ Μωσεία καὶ τὸν τούτον διάδοχον Ἰησοῦν· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος ἐπάνοδον οὗ διελίπον πολιτεία χρώμενοι ἀριστοκρατικὴ μετὰ ὀλιγαρχίας (οἱ γὰρ ἱερεῖς. προεστήκησαν τῶν 50
as it was possible for the Jews to live under the native rulers of the nation, beginning with Moses himself and lasting down to the reign of Augustus; but in his time the first foreigner, Herod, was entrusted by the Romans with the government of the Jews. He was, as Josephus relates, an Idumaean on his father’s side and an Arab on his mother’s, but according to Africanus (nor was he any ordinary historian) those who give accurate information concerning Herod say that Antipater (he was his father) was the son of a certain Herod of Ascalon, and one of those called hierodoulai in the temple of Apollo. This Antipater was captured as a child by Idumaean brigands, and stayed with them because his father was unable on account of poverty to pay ransom for him. He was brought up in their customs and later on was befriended by Hyrcanus the high priest of the Jews. His child was the Herod of our Saviour’s time. When therefore the kingdom of the Jews came to such a man as this the expectation of the Gentiles, in accordance with the prophecy, was already at the door, inasmuch as the succession from Moses of rulers and governors ceased with him. Before their captivity and removal to Babylon, kings had ruled them, beginning with Saul, the first king, and David; and before the kings, rulers called judges administered them and these began after Moses and his successor, Joshua. After the return from Babylon a constitution of oligarchic aristocracy was continuous (for the

1 That is “temple servants”: their functions were various.
πραγμάτων), ἀρχὴ οὖ Πομπήιος Ὁρμαϊῶν στρατηγὸς ἐπιστάς τὴν μὲν Ἰερουσαλήμ πολιορκεῖ κατὰ κράτος μιαίνει τε τὰ ἄγα μέχρι τῶν ἀδύτων τοῦ ἱεροῦ προελθὼν, τὸν δ' ἐκ προγόνων διαδοχῆς εἰς ἐκείνο τοῦ καιροῦ διαρκέσαντα βασιλέα τε ὦμοι καὶ ἀρχιερέα, Ἀριστόβουλος ὄνομα ἦν αὐτῷ, δέσμιον ἐπὶ Ὁρμῆς ἄμα τέκνοις ἐκπέμψας, Ἰρκανῷ μὲν τῷ τούτῳ ἀδελφῷ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην παραδίδωσιν, τὸ δὲ πάν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος εξ ἐκείνου Ὁρμαῖος ὑπὸ φοροῦν κατεστήσατο. αὐτίκα γοῦν καὶ Ἰρκανῷ, εἰς δὲ ὑστατον τὰ τῆς τῶν ἀρχιερέων περιέστη διαδοχῆς, ὑπὸ Πάρθων αἰχμαλώτου ληφθέντος, πρῶτος, ὡς γοῦν ἔφη, ἄλλοφυλος Ἡρώδης ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου Ὁρμαῖων Ἀγγείου τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἐγχειρίζεται, καθ' ὅσον ἐναργῶς τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας ἐνστάσης, καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡ προσδοκιμενὴ σωτηρία τε καὶ κλήσις ἀκολούθως τῇ προφητείᾳ παρηκολούθησεν· ἐξ οὗ δὴ χρόνου τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιτῶν τε καὶ ἡγουμένων, λέγω δὲ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους, διαλειπότων, εἰκότως αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐκ προγόνων εὐσταθῶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐγκυστα διαδόχους κατὰ γενεάν προϊούσης ἀρχιερωσύνης παραχρῆμα συγχείται. ἔχεις καὶ τούτων ἀξιόχρεων τὸν Ἰώσηπον μάρτυρα, δηλοῦντα ὡς τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ Ὁρμαῖῶν ἐπιτραπεῖς Ἡρώδης οὐκέτι τούς ἐξ ἀρχιτῶν γένους καθίστησιν ἀρχιερεῖς, ἀλλὰ τισοῦ ἀσάμως τὴν τιμὴν ἀπένεμεν· τὰ ὦμοι δὲ προάγα τῷ Ἡρώδῃ περὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν ἱερέων Ἀρχέλαον τε τὸν παίδα αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ τούτων Ὁρμαῖου, τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων παρειληφότας. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς δηλοῦ ὡς ἄρα καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἡ Ἱερουσαλήμ.
priests were at the head of affairs), until Pompey, a Roman general, attacked Jerusalem, besieged it in force, and desolated the holy places by intruding into the secret parts of the temple. He sent to Rome as a prisoner with his children the king and high priest, Aristobulus by name, who had continued the succession of his ancestors until then. To Hyrcanus, the brother of Aristobulus, he handed over the high-priesthood, but made the whole nation of the Jews from that time tributary to the Romans. As soon as Hyrcanus, the last to whom belonged the high-priestly succession, was taken prisoner by the Parthians, Herod, the first foreigner, as I just said, was entrusted with the nation of the Jews by the Senate of the Romans and the Emperor Augustus. The advent of the Christ clearly came in his time, and thus the expected salvation and calling of the Gentiles followed consistently with the prophecy; moreover, from the time when the rulers and governors from Judah, that is to say those of the Jewish race, had ceased, immediate confusion naturally ensued in the affairs of the priesthood which passed steadily to the nearest heirs from generation to generation from the ancestors. Of this, too, you have Josephus as a valuable witness, for he explains how Herod, when he was entrusted with the kingdom by the Romans, no longer appointed high priests of the ancient race but assigned the honour to certain obscure persons; and that Herod’s policy with regard to the appointment of the priests was followed by his son Archelaus, and after him by the Romans, when they took over the government of the Jews. The same writer explains how Herod
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ιερὰν στολὴν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως πρῶτος Ἡράδης ἀποκλείσας ὑπὸ ἰδίαν σφραγίδα πεποίηται, μηκέτι ἀυτὴν τοὺς ἀρχιερεύσων ἔχειν υφ’ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέψας· ταύτων δὲ καὶ τὸν μετ’ αὐτὸν Ἀρχέλαον καὶ μετὰ τούτων Ὀρμαιόν διαπράξασθαι. καὶ ταῦτα δ’ ἦμιν εἰρήσθω εἰς ἔτεροις ἀπόδειξιν προφητείας κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἦμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πεπερασμένης. σαφέστατα γοῦν ἐν τῷ Δανιῆλ ἐβδομάδων τινῶν ἀριθμῶν ὃνομαστὶ ἐὼς Χριστοῦ ἡγοιμένου περιλαβῶν ὁ λόγος, περὶ ὧν ἐν ἔτεροις διελήφαμεν, μετὰ τὸ τοῦτον συμπέρασμα ἐξολοθρευθῆσθαι τὸ παρὰ Ἰουδαίων χρίσμα προφητεύει· καὶ τούτῳ δὲ σαφῶς κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἦμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ γενέσεως ἀποδείκνυται συμπεπληρωμένον. ταῦτα δ’ ἦμιν ἀναγκαίως εἰς παράστασιν τῆς τῶν χρόνων ἀληθείας προτετηρήσθω.

VII. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὴν περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενεαλογίαν διαφόρως ἦμιν ὁ τε Μαθαϊός καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς εὐαγγελιζόμενοι παραδεδώκασι διαφωνεὶν τε νομιζοντα τοὺς πολλοῖς τῶν τε πιστῶν ἐκαστος ἀγνοία τάληθος εὐρησιωγεῖν εἰς τοὺς τόπους πεφιλοτίμηται, φέρε, καὶ τὴν περὶ τοῦτων κατελθούσαι εἰς ἦμᾶς ἱστορίαν παραθώμεθα, ἢν δὲ ἔπιστολής Ἀριστείδη γράφων περὶ συμφωνίας τῆς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις γενεαλογίας ὁ μικρὸ πρόσθεν ἦμιν δηλωθεῖσι Ἀφρικανὸς ἐμφανέως, τὰς μὲν δὴ τῶν λοιπῶν δόξας ὡς ἂν βιαίους καὶ διεφθηρευμένας ἀπελέγξας, ἢν δ’ αὐτὸς παρείληφεν ἱστορίαν τοῦτοι αὐτοῖς ἐκτιθέμενοι τοῖς ἰημασιν· ὁ Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰ ὅνοματα τῶν γενών ἐν Ἰσραήλ ἠριθμεῖτο ἡ φύσει ἡ νόμῳ, φύσει μὲν, γνησίου.
was the first to lock up and keep under his own seal the sacred robe of the high priest, for he no longer allowed the high priests to keep it in their own charge, and his successor, Archelaus, and after him the Romans, pursued the same policy. These facts may also serve us as proof of the fulfilment of another prophecy on the manifestation of our Saviour Jesus Christ. It is quite obvious that in Daniel the text defines the number of certain weeks, which I have treated of elsewhere, in so many words as "until Christ the ruler," and prophesies that after the accomplishment of these weeks the anointing among the Jews shall be destroyed. The fulfilment of this at the time of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ is clearly demonstrated. These points must suffice as preliminary observations necessary to establish the truth of the date.

VII. Since Matthew and Luke, having given us different traditions in their gospels concerning the genealogy of Christ, are considered by many to disagree; and since each of the faithful in ignorance of the truth has been zealous in making guesses on these passages, come, let us set out the story that has reached us concerning them, which the Africanus mentioned by us a short time ago narrated in a letter which he wrote to Aristides on the harmony of the genealogies in the Gospels, confuting the opinions of others as forced and fictitious and setting out his own traditions in the following words: "Since the names of the families in Israel were numbered either by nature or by law;
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σπέρματος διαδοχῆ, νόμω δὲ, ἔτερον παιδοποιούμενον εἰς ὁνόμα τελευτῆσαντος ἀδελφοῦ ἄτεκνον (ὅτι γὰρ οὐδέπω δεδοτὸ ἐλπὶς ἀναστάσεως σαφῆς, τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀναστάσει ἐμμοῦντο θυντῇ, ἢν ἀνέκλειπτον τὸ ὄνομα μείνῃ τοῦ μετηλλαχότος); ἐπεὶ οὖν οἱ τῇ γενεαλογίᾳ ταύτῃ ἐμφερόμενοι, οἱ μὲν διεδέχαντο παῖς πατέρα γνησίως, οἱ δὲ ἔτεροι μὲν ἐγεννηθησάν, ἔτεροις δὲ προσετέθησαν κλήσει, ἀμφοτέρων γέγονεν ἡ μνήμη, καὶ τῶν γεγεννηκότων καὶ τῶν ὡς γεγεννηκότων. οὕτως οὐδέτερον τῶν εὐαγγελίων ψεύδεται, καὶ φύσιν ἀριθμοῖν καὶ νόμον. ἐπεπλάκη γὰρ ἄλληλοις τὰ γένη, τὸ τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Σολομοῦνος καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ναθάν, ἀναστάσεσιν ἄτεκνων καὶ δευτερογαμίαις καὶ ἀναστάσει σπερμάτων, ώς δικαῖας τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄλλως ἄλλων νομίζεσθαι, τῶν μὲν δοκοῦντων πατέρων, τῶν δὲ υπαρχόντων· ὡς ἀμφοτέρας τὰς διηγήσεις κυρίως ἀληθείς οὕσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωσῆφ πολυπλόκως μὲν, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς κατελθεῖν. ἢν δὲ σαφῆς ἢ τὸ λεγό-μενον, τὴν ἔναλλαγήν τῶν γενών διηγήσομαι. ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαυὶδ διὰ Σολομῶνος τὰς γενεάς καταρι-
by nature, in the succession of legitimate birth; by law, when a man begat children in the name of a brother who had died childless; for because no certain hope of resurrection had as yet been given they portrayed the future promise by a mortal resurrection, in order that the name of him who had passed away might not fail to remain. Since then by following this kind of genealogy some succeeded in the legitimate order of father and son, but others were reckoned in name to one father though the children of another, the memory of both was retained, both of the actual and of the fictitious parents. Thus neither of the Gospels misstates, reckoning both nature and law. For the two families, the one descended from Solomon and the other from Nathan, were connected with each other by the 'resurrections' 1 of the childless and second marriages and the raising up of seed, so that the same persons could be correctly regarded as the children of different persons at different times, either of their fictitious or of their real fathers. Thus both accounts are strictly true in coming down to Joseph in a manner complicated but accurate. In order that what has been said may be clear I will explain the relation of the families. 2 Reckoning the generations from David through Solomon the third from happened in the case of Joseph. He was legally the son of Eli, physically of Jacob. A further complication was that Eli and Jacob were only half brothers. They were the sons of the same mother, Estha, but Eli was the son of her second husband, Melchi, descended from Nathan the son of David, and Jacob was the son of her first husband Matthan, descended from Solomon the son of David. Thus Matthew giving the physical descent of Jesus traces it through Jacob to Solomon, but Luke (who avoids the word "begat") giving the legal descent traces it through Eli to Nathan.
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Matt. 1, 15, 16 θμουμένους τρίτος ἀπὸ τέλους εὐδρόσκεται Μαθάν, ὃς ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰακώβ, τοῦ Ἰωσήφ τὸν πατέρα.

Luke 3, 23, 21 ἀπὸ δὲ Ναθάν τοῦ Δαβίδ κατὰ Δουκᾶν ὅμοιως τρίτος ἀπὸ τέλους Μελχί. Ἰωσήφ γὰρ ὕδος Ἡλί τοῦ Μελχί. σκοποῦ τοῖνυν ἦμιν κειμένου τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, ἀποδεικτέον πῶς ἐκάτερος αὐτοῦ πατήρ ἱστορεῖται, ο τοῦ Ἰακώβ ὁ ἀπὸ Σολομὼνος καὶ Ἡλί ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ναθάν ἐκάτερος κατάγοντες γένος, ὅπως τε πρότερον οὗτοι δή, ο τοῦ Ἰακώβ καὶ ὁ Ἡλί, δύο ἄδελφοι, καὶ πρὸ γε, πῶς οἱ τούτων πατέρες, Μαθάν καὶ Μελχί, διαφόρων ὄντες γενών, τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ἀναφαίνονται πάπποι. καὶ δὴ οὖν ο τοῦ Μαθάν καὶ ὁ Μελχί, ἐν μέρει τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναγόμενοι γυναῖκα, ὁμομητρίους ἄδελφους ἑπαίδο-

Matt. 1, 16 πούσατο, τοῦ νόμου μὴ κωλύοντος χρησύνοντα, ἦτοι ἀπολευμένην ἡ καὶ τελευτήσαστοι τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ γαμεῖσθαι. ἐκ δὴ τῆς Ἑσσὰ (τοῦτο γὰρ καλεῖσθαι τὴν γυναῖκα παραδεδωκαί) πρῶτος Μαθάν, ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σολομώνος τὸ γένος κατάγων, τὸν Ἰακώβ γεννᾶ, καὶ τελευτήσαστοι τοῦ Μαθάν Μελχί, ὁ ἐπὶ τὸν Ναθάν κατὰ γένος ἀναφερόμενος, χηρεύουσαν, ἐκ μὲν τῆς αὐτῆς φυλῆς, εἰς ἅλλο δὲ γένους ὡν, ὡς προείπον, ἀναγόμενος αὐτὴν, ἐσχέν ὑδὸν τὸν Ἡλί. οὖτω δὴ διαφόρων δύο γενῶν εὐρήσομεν τὸν τοῦ Ἰακώβ καὶ τὸν Ἡλί ὁμομητρίους ἄδελφοὺς, ὃν ἐτερος, Ἰακώβ, ἀτέκνου τοῦ ἄδελφον τελευτήσαστος Ἡλί, τὴν γυναίκα παραλαβῶν, ἐγέννησεν εἰς αὐτῆς τρίτον τὸν Ἰωσήφ, κατὰ φύσιν μὲν ἑαυτῷ (καὶ κατὰ λόγον, δὲ) ὁ γέγραπται Ἰακώβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ), κατὰ νόμον δὲ τοῦ Ἡλί υὸς ἦν ἐκεῖνω γὰρ ὁ Ἰακώβ, ἄδελφος ὡν, ἀνέστησεν 58
the end is found to be Matthan who begat Jacob
the father of Joseph; but from Nathan, the son of
David, according to Luke, the corresponding third
from the end is Melchi; for Joseph was a son of
Eli the son of Melchi. So then fixing our attention
on Joseph, it must be demonstrated how each is
called his father, Jacob tracing his family from
Solomon and Eli from Nathan, and how first they,
that is Jacob and Eli, were two brothers, and, still
earlier, how their fathers, Matthan and Melchi,
belonging to different families, are represented as
the grandparents of Joseph. Now Matthan and
Melchi, inasmuch as they took the same wife, were
the fathers of step-brothers, for the law does not
prevent a woman who has lost her husband either by
her own divorce or by his death from being married
to another. Now from Estha, for this is the tradi-
tional name of the woman, first Matthan, who
reckoned his descent from Solomon, begat Jacob
and when Matthan was dead, Melchi, who traced
himself by family to Nathan, took his widow, for he
was of the same tribe though of another family,
as I said before, and had a son, Eli. Thus we shall
find that though the two families were different
Jacob and Eli were step-brothers of the same mother,
and the first of them, Jacob, when his brother Eli
died without children, took his wife, and begat of
her the third,¹ Joseph, according to nature, for
himself (and so also according to reason, for which
cause it is written, ‘And Jacob begat Joseph’),
but according to law he was the son of Eli, for
to him Jacob, being his brother, raised up

¹ That is, the third from Estha.
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σπέρμα. δι’ ὁπερ οὐκ ἄκυρωθήσεται καὶ ἡ κατ’ αὐτὸν γενεαλογία. ἦν Μαθαίος μὲν ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ἔξαρθμούμενος Ἰακώβ δὲ φησίν ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ, ὁ δὲ Λουκᾶς ἀνάπαυν ὅσ ἦν, ὡς ἐνομίζετο (καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο προστίθησιν) τοῦ Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Ἡλί τοῦ Μελχί. τὴν γὰρ κατὰ νόμον γένεσιν ἐπισημότερον οὐκ ἦν ἐξειπεῖν, καὶ τὸ ἐγέννησεν ἐπὶ τῆς τοιᾶσδε παιδοποιίας ἀχρὶ τέλους ἐσιώπησεν, τὴν ἀναφορὰν ποιησάμενος ἐώς τοῦ Ἀδὰμ τοῦ θεοῦ κατ’ ἀνάλυσιν. οὐδὲ ἡ μὴν ἀναπόδεικτον ἡ ἐσχεδιασμένον ἐστὶν τοῦτο. τοῦ γοῦν σωτῆρος οἱ κατὰ σάρκα συγγενεῖς, εἰτ’ οὖν φανερώντες εἰθ’ ἀπλῶς ἐκδιδάσκοντες, πάντως δὲ ἀληθεύοντες, παρέδοσαν καὶ ταῦτα. ὡς Ἰδουμαινή λησταὶ Ἀσκάλωνι πόλει τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἐπελθόντες, ἔξ ἐιδωλεῖον Ἀπόλλωνος, ὁ πρὸς τοὺς τείχεσιν ἱδρυτον, Ἀντίπατρον Ἡρῴδου τινὸς ἵεροδούλου παύδα πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους σύλους αἰχμαλωτὸν ἁπῆγον, τῷ δὲ λύτρα ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεότος καταθέσας μὴ δύνασθαι τὸν ἑρέα ὁ Ἀντίπατρος τοῖς τῶν Ἰδουμαινῶν ἔθεσιν ἐντραφεῖς, ὑστερὸν Ἰρκανῷ διεσθαὶ τῷ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἄρχηρεῖς προσβεύσας ἴ δὲ πρὸς Πομπῆιον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰρκανοῦ καὶ τὴν βασίλειαν ἑλευθερώσας αὐτῷ ὑπὸ Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ περικοπτομένην, αὐτὸς ηὐτύχησεν, ἐπιμελήτης τῆς Παλαιστίνης χρηματίσας. διαδέχεται δὲ τῶν Ἀντίπατρον, φθόνῳ τῆς πολλῆς εὐτυχίας δολοφονηθέντα, νῦν Ἡρῴδης, ὃς ὑστερὸν ὑπ’ Ἀντωνίου καὶ τοῦ σεβαστοῦ συγκλήτου δόγματι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκρίθη βασιλεύειν. οὐ παῖδες Ἡρῴδης οὐ τ’ ἀλλοι τετράρχαι. ταῦτα

Luke 3, 23, 24

Luke 3, 38

1 i.e. Herod the Great.
seed. Wherefore the genealogy concerning him will not be inaccurate. Matthew, the evangelist, reckoned it in this way, saying, 'And Jacob begat Joseph,' but Luke, on the other hand, said, 'Who was, as it was supposed' (for he adds this also), 'the son of Joseph, the son of Eli, the son of Melchi,' for it was impossible to express legal descent more pointedly, and up to the end he suppressed the word 'begat' concerning such raising of children, for he traces the list back to its source with 'Adam the son of God.' This is neither devoid of proof, nor is it conjecture, for the human relatives of the Saviour have handed on this tradition, either from family pride, or merely to give information, but in any case speaking the truth. When Idumaean brigands attacked the city of Ascalon in Palestine among their other spoils they took away captive from the temple of Apollo, which was built on the walls, Antipater the child of a certain Herod, a hierodoulos, and since the priest was unable to pay ransom for his son, Antipater was brought up in the customs of the Idumaeans and later was befriended by Hyrcanus the high priest of Judaea. When sent on a mission to Pompey on behalf of Hyrcanus he won for him the freedom of the kingdom which had been taken away by his brother Aristobulus, and so was himself fortunate enough to gain the title of overseer of Palestine. Antipater was assassinated from envy of his great good fortune, and succeeded by a son Herod,\(^1\) who later was appointed by Antony and by decree of the august Senate to be king of the Jews. His children were Herod\(^2\) and the other tetrarchs. So much is shared

\(^2\) i.e. Herod Antipas and his brothers.
μὲν δὴ κοινὰ καὶ ταῖς Ἔλληνων ἱστορίαις· ἀναγράπτων δὲ εἰς τότε ἐν τοῖς ἁρχείοις ὠντων τῶν Ἑβραίκων γενῶν καὶ τῶν ἄχρι προσηλυτῶν ἀναφερομένων, ὡς Ἀχιὼρ τοῦ Ἀμμανίτου καὶ Ῥώθ τῆς Μωαβίτου, τῶν τε ἄπ' Αἰγύπτου συνεκπεσόντων ἐπιμίκτων, ὁ Ἡρώδης, οὐδὲν τι συμβαλλόμενο τῷ τῶν Ἰσραήλιτῶν γένους αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ συνειδότι τῆς δυσγενείας κρούομενος, ἐνέπρησεν αὐτοῖς τὰς ἀναγραφὰς τῶν γενῶν, οἷομενος εὐγενῆς ἀναφανείσθαι τῷ μηδ' ἀλλ' ἔχειν ἐκ δημοσίου συγγραφῆς τὸ γένος ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατριάρχας ἡ προσηλυτοὺς τοὺς τε καλουμένους γειώρας, τοὺς ἐπιμίκτους. ὅλιγοι δὴ τῶν ἐπιμελῶν, ἰδιωτικάς ἐαυτοῖς ἀπογραφὰς ἢ μνημονεύσαντες τῶν ὁνομάτων ἢ ἀλλὰς ἔχοντες ἢ ἀντιγράφων, ἐναβρύνονται σωζομένη τῇ μνημή τῆς εὐγενείας· ὥν ἐτύγχανον οἱ προερήμενοι, δεσπόσυνοι καλομενοι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ σωτήριον γένος συνάψειαν ἀπὸ τε Ναζάρων καὶ Κωχαβα κωμῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν τῇ λουτῇ γῇ ἐπιφοιτήσαντες καὶ τὴν προκειμένην γενεαλογίαν ἐκ τε τῆς Βίβλου τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐσ ὅσον ἐξικνοῦτο, ἐξηγησάμενοι. εἶτ' ὅνων οὕτως εἶτ' ἀλλὸς ἔχοι, σαφεστέραν ἐξήγησιν οὐκ ἂν ἔχει τοῖς ἄλλος ἔξευρεῖν, ὃς ἔγωγε νομίζω πᾶς τε ὅσ εὐγνώμων τυγχάνει, καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτή μελέτω, εἰ καὶ ἀμάρτυρος ἐστιν, τῷ μὴ κρείττονα ἢ ἀληθεστέραν ἔχειν εἶπείν· τὸ γέ τοι εὐαγγέλιον πάντως ἀληθεῦει." καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ τῆς αὐτής ἐπιστολῆς προστίθησιν ταῦτα: "Ματθαίον ὁ ἀπὸ Σολομῶνος ἐγέννησε τὸν
with the histories of the Greeks also. But since the Hebrew families and those traceable to proselytes, such as Achior the Ammonite, and Ruth the Moabitess, and the mixed families which had come out of Egypt, had until then been enrolled in the archives, Herod, because the family of the Israelites contributed nothing to him, and because he was goaded by his own consciousness of his base birth, burned the records of their families, thinking to appear noble if no one else was able by public documents to trace his family to the patriarchs or proselytes, or to the so-called gers of mixed descent. Now a few who were careful, having private records for themselves, either remembering the names or otherwise deriving them from copies, gloried in the preservation of the memory of their good birth; among these were those mentioned above, called desposyni, because of their relation to the family of the Saviour, and from the Jewish villages of Nazareth and Cochaba they traversed the rest of the land and expounded the preceding genealogy of their descent, and from the book of Chronicles so far as they went. Whether this be so or not no one could give a clearer account, in my opinion and in that of all well-disposed persons, and it may suffice us even though it is not corroborated, since we have nothing better or truer to say: in any case the gospel speaks the truth." And at the end of the same letter Africanus adds this: "Matthan of the line of Solomon begat Jacob. On

1 A Hellenized form of the Hebrew word translated "stranger" in the phrase the "stranger within the gates."
2 Because he is the Lord or "Despot."
3 Literally "the book of days"—from the Hebrew.
'EUSEBIUS

'Ιακώβ. Μαθᾶν ἀποθανόντος, Μελχὶ ὁ ἀπὸ Ναθᾶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς γυναικὸς ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἁλὶ. ὁμομήτριοι ἄρα ἄδελφοι 'Ηλὶ καὶ 'Ιακώβ. Ἁλὶ ἀτέκνου ἀποθανόντος ὁ 'Ιακώβ ἀνέστησεν αὐτῷ σπέρμα, γεννήσας τὸν Ἰωσήφ, κατὰ φύσιν μὲν ἐαυτῷ, κατὰ νόμον δὲ τῷ Ἁλὶ. οὗτως ἀμφοτέρων ἦν υἱὸς ὁ Ἰωσήφ.

Τοσαῦτα ὁ Ἀφρικανός. καὶ δὴ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ὅδε πως γενεαλογομένου, δυνάμει καὶ ἡ Μαρία σὺν αὐτῷ πέφηνεν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐδα φυλῆς, εἰ γε κατὰ τὸν Μωσέως νόμον οὐκ ἐξῆν ἐτέρας ἐπιμέγνυσθαι φυλαῖς. ἑνὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δήμου καὶ πατριάς τῆς αὐτῆς ζεύγνυσθαι πρὸς γάμον παρακελεύεται, ώσ ἂν μὴ περιστρέφοι τοῦ γένους ὁ κλῆρος ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἐπὶ φυλῆν. ὑδὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα ἐχέτω.

VIII. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γεννηθέντος ταῖς προφητείαις ἀκολούθως ἐν Βηθλεέμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας κατὰ τοὺς δεδηλωμένους χρόνους, Ἡρώδης ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἐξ ἀνατολῆς μάγων ἀνερωτήσει ὅτι εἰ τῇ διαπυνθανομένων ὁ τεχθεὶς βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἐκρακέναι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀστέρα καὶ τῆς τοσότῳ πορείας τοῦ τότε αὐτοῦ γεγονέναι, ὁλα θεῷ προσκυνῆσαι τῷ τεχθέντι διὰ σπουδῆς πεποιημένοις, οὐ σμικρῶς ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι, ἀτε κυνυνοῦσης, ὡς ἄφετο, αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς, διακυνήσεις, πυθόμενος τῶν παρὰ τῶν ἐθνικῶν νομοδιδασκάλων ποῖο τοῦ Χριστοῦ γεννηθήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν, ὡς ἔγνω τὴν Μιχαίου προφητείαν εἰ τῇ Βηθλεέμ προαναφωνοῦσαν, ἑνὶ προστάγματι τοὺς ὑπομαζόντως ἐν τῇ Βηθλεείμ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς οἱ ὁρίῳς αὐτῆς ἀπὸ διεστοὺς καὶ κατωτέρω παίδας, κατὰ 64
the death of Matthan, Melchi of the line of Nathan begat Eli from the same woman. Thus Eli and Jacob were step-brothers with the same mother. When Eli died without children, Jacob raised up seed for him, begetting Joseph as his own natural son but the legal son of Eli. Thus Joseph was son of both.” Thus far Africanus. Now since this was the nature of the genealogy of Joseph, it is potential proof that Mary belonged to the same tribe as he, seeing that according to the law of Moses, it was not lawful for the different tribes to mix, for the command is given to join in marriage with one of the same people and same family, in order that the inheritance of the race might not be changed from tribe to tribe. Thus let this suffice on this point.

VIII. Now when Christ was born, in accordance with the prophecy, at Bethlehem of Judaea at the time mentioned, Herod was asked by the Magi from the East where might he be who was born king of the Jews, for they had seen his star, and this had been the cause of their long journey in their zeal to worship the infant as God. The request caused him to be not a little disturbed at the situation for, as he thought, his sovereignty was in danger. He therefore inquired from the teachers of the Law among the people where they expected the Christ to be born, and when he learnt the prophecy of Micah, foretelling that it should be in Bethlehem, he gave a comprehensive order to put to death all the infants which were being nursed in Bethlehem and the whole neighbourhood, of two years old and less, according to the time indicated.
τὸν ἀπηκριβωμένον αὐτῷ χρόνον παρὰ τῶν μάγων, ἀναιρεθήναι προστάτει, πάντως ποι καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὡς γε ἦν εἰκός, τῆς αὐτῆς τοῖς ὁμήλιες συναπολαύσαι συμφορᾶς οἰόμενος. φθανεί γε μὴν τὴν ἑπιβολήν εἰς Αὐγοῦτον διακομμαθεῖς ὁ παῖς, δι' ἐπιφανείας ἄγγελον τὸ μέλλον προμεμαθηκότων αὐτοῦ τῶν γονέων. ταῦτα μὲν ὤν καὶ ἡ ἑρα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διάδοκε γραφήν. ἄξιον δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις συνιδεῖν τάπιχειρά τῆς Ὑπώδου κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν ὁμηλίκων αὐτῷ τόλμης, ὡς παραυτίκα, μηδὲ σμικρᾶς ἀναβολής γεγενημένης, ἡ θεία δίκη περιόντα ἔτ' αὐτῶν τῷ βίῳ μετελήλυθεν, τά τῶν μετὰ τῆς ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγὴν διαδεξομένων αὐτὸν ἐπιδεικνύσα προοίμια. ὡς μὲν οὖν τᾶς κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ νομισθείσας εὔπραγίας ταῖς κατὰ τὸν οἶκον ἐπαλλήλους ἠμαύρωσεν συμφορᾶς, γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνων καὶ τῶν λουπῶν τῶν μάλιστα πρὸς γένους ἀναγκαιοτάτων τε καὶ φιλτάτων μμαφονίας, οὐδὲ οἶδον τε νῦν καταλέγεων, τραγικῆν ἀπασαν δραματουργίαν ἐπισκιαζούσῃ τῆς περί τούτων ὑποθέσεως, ἦν εἰς πλάτος ἐν ταῖς κατ' αὐτὸν ἱστορίας ὁ Ἰσώτης διελήλυθεν ὡς 5 δ' ἁμα τῆ κατὰ τοῦ σωτήρος ἦμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νηπίων ἑπιβολὴθεν θεῆλατος αὐτὸν καταλαβόσα μάστιξ εἰς θάνατον συνῆλασεν, οὐ χεῖρον καὶ τῶν φωνῶν τοῦ συγγραφέως ἐπακούσαι, κατὰ λέξιν ἐν ἐπτακαδεκάτῳ τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας τὴν καταστροφὴν τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν βίου τούτου γράφοντος τὸν τρόπον: "Ὡρώδη ἐνικήσας ἡ νόοσ ἐνεπίκραινετο, δίκην δὲν παρηνόμησεν ἐκπρασσομένον τοῦ θεοῦ. πῦρ μὲν γὰρ μαλακὸν ἦν, οὐχ ἄδε πολλὴν ἀποσημαίνον τοῖς ἐπαφωμένοις τὴν φλόγωσιν, ὡσπο 66
to him by the Magi, supposing, as was natural, that Jesus also would enjoy the same fate as the children of his age. However the child forestalled the plot by being taken to Egypt, as by the manifestation of an angel his parents had learned beforehand what was to happen. This is also taught by the sacred scripture of the Gospel, but it is worth noticing in this connexion the result of the crime of Herod against the Christ and the children of his age; for immediately, without even a short delay, the justice of God overtook him while he was still in life, showing the prelude of what awaited him when he had passed hence. It is not now possible even to give a summary list of the ways by which he darkened what were reckoned the glories of his reign, by the successive misfortunes of his house, by the foul murder of wife and children and of the rest who were closest to him in family and in affection; for the shadows in their story, which Josephus has narrated at length in the history of Herod, are darker than any in tragic drama. But it is well to hear from the words of that writer how, from the moment of the plot against our Saviour and the other innocents, a scourge sent from God seized him and drove him to death. In the seventeenth book of the Jewish Antiquities he writes of the catastrophe of Herod's life in this way: "But in Herod disease kept growing ever more cruel as God exacted punishment for his crimes. For there was a slow fire which did not give much indication to those who touched him of the
τοῖς ἐντὸς προσετίθει τὴν κάκωσιν, ἐπιθυμία δὲ δεινὴ τοῦ δὲξασθαί τι, οὐδὲ ἂν μὴ ὑποργεῖν, καὶ ἐλκυσις τῶν τε ἐντερῶν καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ κόλου δειναὶ ἀληθῶν καὶ φλέγμα ὑγρὸν περὶ τοῦς πόδας καὶ διανυσία παραπλησία δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸ ἠτρον κάκωσις ἂν, ναὶ μὴ καὶ τοῦ αἴδοιον σῆμις, σκώληκας ἐμποωοῦσα, πνεύματος τε ὀρθία ἐντασίς, καὶ αὐτὴ λέιν ἀγδῆς ἀχθηδόνι τε τῆς ἀποφορᾶς καὶ τῷ πυκνῷ τοῦ ἄσθματος, ἐσπασμένος τε περὶ πᾶν ἂν μέρος, ἵσχυν ὑπομενετὴν προστιθέμενος. ἐλέγετο γοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν θεαζόντων καὶ οἷς ταῦτα προασφεθεγγεσθαί σοφία πρόκειται, ποιήσῃ τοῦ πολλοῦ καὶ δυσσεβοῦς ταύτην ὁ θεὸς εἰσπράττεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως.

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ δηλωθείσῃ γραφῇ παρασημαίνεται ὁ προειρημένος καὶ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ δὲ τῶν Ἰστοριῶν τὰ παραπλησία περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραδίδοσιν, ὡδὲ πως γράφων.

"Ἐνθὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα πᾶν ἡ νόσος διαλαβοῦσα ποικίλοις πάθεσιν ἐμέριζεν. πυρετὸς μὲν γὰρ ἡ χλαρός, κυνημὸς δὲ ἀφόρητος τῆς ἐπιφάνειας ὅλης καὶ κόλου συνεχείς ἀληθῶν περὶ τε τοῦς πόδας ἃς ὑδρωπιώντος οἰδήματα τοῦ τε ἠτρον φλεγμονή καὶ δὴ αἴδοιον σηπεδῶν σκώληκα γεννώσα, πρὸς οὖτους ὀρθόπνους καὶ δύσπνους καὶ σπασμοὶ πάντων τῶν μελῶν, ὡστε τοὺς ἐπιθειάζοντας ποιητὴ εἶναι τὰ νοσήματα λέγειν. δὲ παλαίων τοιούτως πάθεσιν ὁμοιός τοῦ ἦλθεν ἀντείχετο, σωτηρίαν τε ἡλπίζειν, καὶ θεραπείας ἐπενόει. διαβὰς γοῦν τὸν Ἰορδάνῃ τοῖς κατὰ Καλλιρόην θερμῶς ἐχρήτο. ταῦτα δὲ ἐξεισὶν μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀσφαλτίτων λίμνην, ὑπὸ γλυκύτητος 68
burning which within was increasing his evil plight, and an awful desire for nourishment, which could not be ministered to, and ulceration of the intestines, and especially awful pain in the colon, and a moist and transparent dropsy in his feet; similar too was an inflammation of the bladder, and even mortification of the genitals breeding worms. There was also a shrill acceleration of his breathing, and this was very offensive from the nature of the discharge and rapidity of his breath. He was convulsed in every part with intolerable severity.\(^1\) Thus it was said by those who looked on, and had the wisdom to pronounce on these things, that God was exacting this penalty from the king for his many impieties.\(^1\)

The writer mentioned above gives this account in the treatise quoted, and in the second book of the Jewish Wars he gives a similar tradition, writing as follows:

"Then the disease spread through his whole body, and attacked each part with divers sufferings. The fever rose, there was intolerable itching of the whole surface, incessant pain in the colon, his feet were swollen as though with dropsy, there was inflammation of the bladder, and gangrene of the genitals, breeding worms. In addition to this, his breathing was difficult and impossible if he lay down, and there were spasms in every limb, so that the divines said that his illness was a punishment. Yet though he was struggling with such great suffering he still clung to life, hoping for health and thinking of cure. So he crossed the Jordan and took the warm baths at Callirhoë which flow out into the Dead

\(^1\) The Greek of Eusebius seems impossible, but the text of Josephus is plainer, "Convulsion was in every limb, adding intolerable severity."
δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ πότιμα. δόξαν ἐνταῦθα τοῖς ὑατροῖς ἐλαίως θερμῷ πάν ἀναθάλφαι τὸ σῶμα χαλασθέν εἰς ἐλαίου πλήρη πῦελον, ἐκλυεί καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς ὡς ἐκλυθεῖς ἀνέστρεψεν. θορύβου δὲ τῶν θεραπόντων γενομένου, πρὸς μὲν τὴν πληγήν ἀνήνεγκεν, εἰς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπογνώσε τὴν σωτηρίαν, τοῖς τε στρατιώταις ἀνὰ δραχμὰς πεντήκοντα ἐκέλευσεν διανείμαι καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα τοῖς ἑγεμόσι καὶ τοῖς φίλοις. αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποστρέφων εἰς Ἱεριχούντα παραγίνεται, μελαγχολῶν ἡδὴ καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἀπειλῶν αὐτῷ τι τῶν θανάτων. προέκοψεν δὲ εἰς ἐπιβουλὴν ἀθεμίτου πράξεως. τοὺς γὰρ ἄφεν ἐκάστης κόμης ἐπισήμους ἄνδρας τις ὁλὴς Ἰουδαίας συναγαγὼν εἰς τὸν καλοῦμενον ἱππόδρομον ἐκέλευσεν συγκλέισαι, προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ Σαλώμην τὴν ἄδελφην καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τιτίμης Ἀλεξάντο ὠδία ἐφη Ἰουδαίους τὸν ἐμὸν ἐορτάσοντας θάνατον, δύναμαι δὲ πενθεῖσθαι δι’ ἐτέρων καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐπιτάφιον σχεῖν, ἃν υἱεὶς θελήσῃ ταῖς ἑμαῖς ἐντολαῖς ὑπογρήγησαι. τοὺσ δὲ τοὺς φρούρουμενους ἄνδρας, ἐπειδὰν ἐκπνεύσων, τάχιστα κτεῖναι περιστῆσαι τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἦν πᾶσα Ἰουδαία καὶ πᾶς οἶκος καὶ ἀκών ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ διακρύσῃ.” καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησίν “αὕθις δὲ, καὶ γὰρ ἐνδείᾳ τροφῆς καὶ βηχὶ σπα- σμῶδει διετείνετο, τῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἠσθεῖς φάσας τῇ εἰμαρμένῃ ἐπεβάλλετο. λαβὼν δὲ μῆλον, ἠπταις καὶ μαχαίριον εἰώθης γὰρ ἀποτέμινων εὐθείων. ἐπείτη περιβρήσας μή τις ὁ κωλύσων αὐτὸν εἶη, ἐπὶ ὅ τι τὴν δεξιὰν ὡς πλῆξων ἑαυτὸν.” ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ συγγραφεῖς ἐτερον αὐτοῦ γυνῆσιν παῖδα πρὸ τῆς ἐσχάτης
Sea but are sweet and drinkable. There it was decided by his physicians to warm up his whole body with hot oil by letting it down into a tub full of oil, but he collapsed and turned up his eyes as though dying. Disturbance arose among the attendants and he came back to his sufferings, but for the future gave up hope of cure and ordered fifty drachmas each to be distributed to the soldiers and much money to the governors and his friends. He then returned and reached Jericho, full of melancholy and scarcely refraining from the threat of suicide. But he gained strength enough to plan one more execrable crime; for he brought together the notables from every village from all Judaea and commanded them to be shut up in the so-called Hippodrome. He then summoned Salome, his sister, and her husband, Alexas, and said, 'I know that the Jews will celebrate my death with festivity, but I can be mourned by others and have a splendid funeral if you are willing to administer my commands. Station soldiers around these men who are shut up, and as soon as I expire kill them with all speed, that all Judaea and every house may weep over me even against its will.'" After a little Josephus says: "Later on, racked by lack of food and a convulsive cough, the pains he felt urged him to anticipate fate. He took an apple and asked for a knife, for it was his custom to peel it and eat it. Then, having turned round, lest there should be any to prevent him, he raised his right hand as if he were going to stab himself." Moreover, the same historian relates that he ordered the murder of another legitimate son before the end of his life,
B.I. 1, 664.

τοῦ βίου τελευτής, τρίτου ἐπὶ δυσών ἡδη προ-

ανηρμένοις, δι' ἐπιτάξεως ἀνελόντα, παραχρῆμα

τὴν ζωὴν οὐ μετὰ σιμκρῶν ἀληθῶν ἀπορρήξαι.

καὶ τουοῦτο μὲν τὸ πέρας τῆς Ἡρώδου γέγονεν

tελευτής, ποιήν ὅκκαιαν ἐκτίσσαντο δὲν ἀμφὶ

τὴν Βηθλεὲμ ἀνείλεν παῖδων τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος

ἡμῶν ἐπισχυλὴς ἐν δεικτάς ἐν Αἰγύπτω διατρίβοντι τῷ Ἰωσήφ ἀπάραι

άμα τῷ παίδι καὶ τῇ τούτου μητρὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰου-

δαίαν παρακελεύεται, τεθνηκέναι δηλῶν τοὺς ἀνα-

ζητοῦντας τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ παιδίου. τούτων δ' ὁ

ἐναγγελισθῆς ἐπισφέρει λέγων "ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ἀρχελάος βασιλεύει ἄντι Ἡρώ-

δου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐφοβηθη ἐκεί ἀπελθεῖν: χρηματισθεὶς δὲ

cατ' όναρ ἀνεχώρησε εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Γαλαλαίας."

IX. Τῇ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν μετὰ τὸν Ἡρώδην τοῦ

Ἀρχελάου καταστάσει συνάδει καὶ ὁ προερημένος

ἰστορικός, τόν τε τρόπον ἀναγράφων, καθ' ὁ δὲ

dιαθηκήν Ἡρώδου τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπικρίσεως τε

Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου τὴν κατὰ Ἰουδαίων βασιλείαν

dιεδέχοτο, καὶ ως τῆς ἀρχῆς μετὰ δεκατῆ χρόνον

ἀποπεσόντοις οἱ ἀδελφοὶ Φιλιππός τε καὶ ὁ νέος

Ἡρώδης ἁμα Λυσανία τὰς ἑαυτῶν διείπων τε-

παρχίας.

Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἐν ὀκτώκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς Ἀρχαίο-

λογίας κατὰ τὸ δωδέκατον ἔτος τῆς Τιβερίου

βασιλείας (τούτον γὰρ τὴν καθ' ὅλων ἀρχῆν

dιαδέχασθαι ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἐτέσων τὴν

ἡγεμονίαν ἐπικρατήσαντος Αὐγουστοῦ) Πόντιον

Πιλάτου τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπιτραπήναι δηλοὶ, ἐνταῦθα

dὲ ἐφ' ὅλως ἐτέσων δέκα σχεδὸν εἰς αὐτὴν παρα-

μείναι τῇ δυνατί τελευτήν. οὐκοῦν σαφώς 3

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making the third in addition to the two others already put to death, and immediately gave up his life, torn by great agony. Such was the end of Herod: he paid a just penalty for the children that he murdered at Bethlehem for the sake of his plot against our Saviour. After this an angel appeared in a dream to Joseph, who was staying in Egypt, and commanded him to return to Judaea with the child and his mother, and announced that those who sought the life of the little child were dead. The evangelist continues by saying, "Now when he heard that Archelaus was king in the room of Herod his father, he was afraid to depart there, and, being warned in a dream, retired to the districts of Galilee."

IX. The historian already mentioned corroborates the accession to power of Archelaus after Herod, describing both the way in which he succeeded to the kingdom of the Jews by the testaments of Herod his father and the decision of Caesar Augustus, and how, when he fell from power after ten years, his brothers Philip and the younger Herod, together with Lysanias, administered their own tetrarchies.

In the eighteenth book of the *Antiquities* the same Josephus explains how Pontius Pilate was given the administration of Judaea in the twelfth year of Tiberius (for he had succeeded to universal sovereignty after Augustus had held the government for fifty-seven years), and for ten whole years he remained in office, almost until the death of Tiberius.
Àπελήλεγκται τὸ πλάσμα τῶν κατὰ τὸν σωτήρος ἡμῶν ὑπομνήματα χθές καὶ πρῶτη διαδεδωκότων, ἐν οἷς πρώτος αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς παρασημειώσεως χρόνος τῶν πεπλακότων ἀπελέγχει τὸ θεῖον: ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης δὲ οὖν ὑπατείας Τιβέρίου, ἦ γέγονεν ἐτοὺς ἐβδόμου τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, τὰ περὶ τὸ σωτήριον πάθος αὐτοῖς τολμηθέντα περιέχει, καθ' ὃν δείκνυται χρόνον μηδ' ἐπιστάτας πιὸ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ Πιλάτος, εἴ γε τῷ Ἰωσήφῳ μάρτυρι χρήσασθαι δέον, σαφῶς οὕτως σημαίνοντι κατὰ τὴν δηλωθέοντα αὐτοῦ γραφήν ὅτι δὴ δωδεκάτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς Τιβέρίου βασιλείας ἐπίτροπος τῆς Ἰουδαίας ὑπὸ Τιβέρίου καθίσταται Πιλάτος.

X. Ἐπὶ τούτων δὴ οὖν, κατὰ τὸν εὐαγγελισμὸν ἐτος πεντεκαίδεκα τοῦ Τιβέρίου Καίσαρος ἄγνωτος τέταρτον δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Ποντίου Πιλάτου, τῆς τε λοιπῆς Ἰουδαίας τετραρχοῦντων Ἰραΐδου καὶ Ἑρώδου καὶ Λυσανίου καὶ Φιλίππου, σωτηρ καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀρχόμενος ὡς εἶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, ἐπὶ τὸ Ἰωάννου βάπτισμα παραγίνεται, καταρχὴν τε ποιεῖται τῆς καθαρίας τοῦ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγελίου κηρύγματος.

Φησίν δὲ αὐτὸν ἡ θεία γραφὴ τοῦ πάντα τῆς διδασκαλίας διατελέσαι χρόνον ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἄννα καὶ Καίαφα, δηλοῦσα ὅτι δὴ ἐν τοῖς μεταξὺ

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1 The word translated “reports” is used of official documents, such as the Acta Pilati claimed to be; the Latin is commentarii—well known from its use by Caesar. The Acta Pilati now extant are Christian forgeries of uncertain date. Those to which Eusebius refers were heathen forgeries introduced in the time of the great persecution under Maximin.

2 Eusebius reckons the baptism of Christ as taking place
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, I. ix. 3—x. 2

So that there is clear proof of the forgery of those who recently or formerly have issued a series of Pilate's Reports ¹ about our Saviour; for in them the dates mentioned convict the forgers of untruth. They relate that the crime of the Saviour's death fell in the fourth consulship of Tiberius, which was the seventh year of his reign, but at that time it has been shown that Pilate was not yet in charge of Judæa, if Josephus may be used as a witness, for he clearly shows, in the writing quoted from him above, that it was actually in the twelfth year of the reign of Tiberius that Pilate was appointed procurator of Judæa by Tiberius.

X. In the time of these rulers then, according to the evangelist, when Tiberius Caesar was in the fifteenth year of his reign and Pontius Pilate the fourth of his governorship, and Herod, Lysanias, and Philip were tetrarchs of the rest of Judæa, our Saviour and Lord, Jesus the Christ of God, "beginning to be about thirty years old," came to the baptism of John and there began the proclamation of the gospel.²

The divine Scripture says that he completed the whole time of his teaching while Annas and Caiaphas were high priest,³ showing that the in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, dating his accession from the death of Augustus. As he was then in his thirtieth year he was born in the forty-second year of Augustus, fourteen years before his death. This is the reckoning of time known as the Christian era (see p. 46).

³ The singular "high priest" is somewhat harsher in English than in Greek, but represents the fact that according to Jewish custom there was never more than one high priest at the same time. Luke's statement seems to contradict this fact, and Eusebius tries to explain it by interpreting the difficult phrase as meaning the period between the high priesthoods of Annas and Caiaphas.
τῆς τούτων ἔτεσιν λειτουργίας ὁ πᾶς τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτῇ συνεπεράθη χρόνος. ἀρξαμένου μὲν οὐν κατὰ τὴν τού Ἀννα ἄρχιερωσύνην, μέχρι δὲ τῆς ἄρχης τοῦ Καϊάφα παραμείναντος οὐδ’ ὀλος ο μεταξὺ τετραέτης παρίσταται χρόνος. τῶν γὰρ τοι κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἤδη πως καθαπο- μένων ἐξ ἐκείνου θεσμών, λέλυτο μὲν ὦ διὰ βίου καὶ ἐκ προγόνων διαδοχῆς τὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θερα- πείας προσήκοντα ἦν, ὡπο δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀλλοτε ἀλλοι τὴν ἄρχιερωσύνην ἐπιτρεπόμενοι, οὐ πλείον ἔτους ἐνὸς ἐπὶ ταύτης διετέλουν. ἑστορεῖ δ’ οὖν ὁ Ἰώσηπος τέσσαρας κατὰ διαδοχῆν ἐπὶ Καϊάφαν ἄρχιερείς μετὰ τὸν Ἀνναν διαγενέσθαι, κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς Ἀρχαιο- λογίας γραφὴν ὥδε πως λέγων ὁ Ὠθαλέριος Γράτος, παῦσας ιεράθαι Ἀνανον, Ἰσμάήλον ἄρχιερεά ἀποφαίνει τὸν τοῦ Φαβι, καὶ τοῦτον δὲ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ μεταστήσας, Ἑλέαζαρον τὸν Ἀνάνου τοῦ ἄρχιερέως νῦν ἀποδείκνυσιν ἄρχι- ερεὰ. ἐνιαυτῶν δὲ διαγενομηκόν καὶ τόνδε παῦσας, Σίμωνι τῷ Καμίθου τὴν ἄρχιερωσύνην ἐπαραδίδουσιν. οὐ πλέον δὲ καὶ τῶδε ἐνιαυτὸ τὸν τμῆμ ἔχοντι διεγένετο χρόνος, καὶ Ἰώσηπος, ὁ καὶ Καϊάφας, διάδοχος ἦν αὐτῷ.’ οὐκοῦν ὁ σύμπας οὐδ’ ὀλοσ τετραέτης ἀποδείκνυται τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν διδασκαλίας χρόνος, τεσσάρων ἐπὶ τέσσαρας ἔτεσιν ἄρχιερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀννα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Καϊάφα κατά- στασιν ἐνιαυσίων λειτουργίαν ἐκτετελεκότων. τὸν γέ τοι Καϊάφαν ἄρχιερέα εἰκότως τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, καὶ οὐ τὰ τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους ἐπετελείτο, ἡ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου παρεσημηνατο γραφή, ἐξ ἦς καὶ 76
whole time of his teaching was bounded by the years which cover their administration. Since, then, he began in the high priesthood of Annas and continued to the reign of Caiaphas the intervening time does not extend to a full four years. For since the regulations of the law were at that time already in process of destruction the rule had been relaxed by which the duties of the service of God were held for life and by inherited succession, and the Roman governors entrusted the high priesthood at different times to different men, who did not hold this office for more than one year. Moreover Josephus relates that four high priests intervened in succession between Annas and Caiaphas, and speaks as follows in the text of the *Antiquities*:

"Valerius Gratus, having deprived Ananus of the priesthood, appoints as high priest Ishmael the son of Phabi. Him, too, he removes shortly and nominates as high priest Eliezer the son of Ananus the high priest. But when a year was past he removes him also and hands over the high priesthood to Simon the son of Kamithus. But neither did his tenure of office last for more than a year, and Josephus, who is also called Caiaphas, was his successor.” Thus the whole time of the teaching of our Saviour is shown to be not even a full four years; since from Annas to the appointment of Caiaphas in four years four high priests held the yearly office. Naturally, then, the scripture of the gospel has indicated Caiaphas as high priest of the year in which the Saviour’s passion was completed, and from this also the time of the teaching of Christ is shown to be not
αὐτῆς οὖν ἀπάδων τῆς προκειμένης ἐπιτηρήσεως ὁ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας ἀποδείκνυται χρόνος. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ κύριος ἦμων οὐ μετὰ πλείστον τῆς καταρχῆς τοῦ κηρύγματος τοὺς δώδεκα ἀποστόλους ἀνακαλεῖται, οὐς καὶ μόνους τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν κατὰ τι γέρας ἔξαιρετον ἀποστόλους ὄνωμασεν, καὶ ἄδικα ἀνα- δείκνυσιν ἐτέρους ἐβδομήκοντα, οὐς καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλεν ἀνὰ δύο δύο πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ εἰς πάντα τόπον καὶ πόλιν οὐ ἦμελλεν αὐτὸς ἐρχεσθαι.

XI. Οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν δὲ τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου ὑπὸ τοῦ νέου Ἑρώδου τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀποτμηθέντος μνημονεύει μὲν καὶ ἡ θεία τῶν εὐαγγελίων γραφῆς, συνιστορεῖ γε μὴν καὶ ὁ Ἰωσήφος, ὑμοματὶ τῆς τε Ἑρωδίας μνήμην πεποιημένον καὶ ὡς ἀδελφὸς γυναῖκα οὗτον αὐτὴν ἡγάγετο πρὸς γάμον Ἑρώδης, ἀθετήσας μὲν τὴν προτέραν αὐτῷ κατὰ νόμους γεγαμημένην (Ἀρέτα δὲ ἦν αὐτῇ τοῦ Πετραίων βασιλέως θυγάτηρ), τὴν δὲ Ἑρωδίαδα ζῶντος διαστήσας τοῦ ἀνδρός. δι’ ἦν καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἄνελῶν πόλεμον ἀρέτας πρὸς τὸν Ἀρέταν, ὡς ἄν ήτοι μαθηματείς αὐτῷ τῆς θυγατρός, ἐν οἷς πολέμου μάχης γεγομένης πάντα φησίν τὸν Ἑρώδου στρατὸν διαφθαρήναι καὶ ταῦτα πεποιηθέναι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐνεκέν τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἰωάννου γεγενημένης. ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς Ἰωσήφος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα δικαιότατον καὶ βαπτιστῆν ὀμολογῶν γεγονέναι τὸν Ἰωάννην, τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν τῶν εὐαγγελίων γραφῆς ἀναγεγραμμένοις συμμαρτυρεῖ, ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἑρώδην τῆς βασιλείας ἀπο-πεπτωκέναι διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν Ἑρωδίαδα, μεθ’ ἡς αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν ἀπεληλάσθαι, Βίενναι 78
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, 1. x. 6—xi. 3

discordant with the preceding observation. However, our Lord and Saviour called the twelve apostles not long after the beginning of his preaching, and to them alone of all his disciples did he give the name of apostles as a special privilege. Afterwards he appointed seventy others, and them also he sent 1 out in advance of him, two by two, to every place and city where he was to come himself.

XI. The divine scripture of the gospels relates that not long afterwards John the Baptist was beheaded by Herod the younger, and Josephus confirms the narrative, mentioning Herodias by name, and telling how, though she was his brother’s wife, Herod took her in marriage, by putting aside her who had formerly been legally married to him (and she was the daughter of Aretas the king of the Petraeans) and separating Herodias from her husband who was alive. For her sake, too, after killing John, he waged war with Aretas for the dishonour done his daughter; and Josephus says that in a battle in this war the whole army of Herod was destroyed, and that he suffered this because of the plot against John. The same Josephus admits that John was peculiarly righteous, and a baptist, confirming the testimony recorded in the text of the gospels concerning him. He also relates that Herod was deprived of his kingdom for the sake of the same Herodias, and was exiled with

1 It is impossible in English to bring out the fact that the word “sent” is the same as that implied by the word “apostle.”
EUSEBIUS

tῆς Γαλλίας πόλων οίκείων καταδικασθέντα. καὶ ταύτα γε αὐτῷ ἐν ὁκτωκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς Ἀρχαιο-
λογίας διδήλωται, ἐνθα συλλαβαίς αὐταῖς περὶ τοῦ Ἰωάννου ταύτα γράφει

"Τισὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἑδόκει ὁλωλέναι τὸν Ἡρῴδου στρατὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ μάλα δικαῖας τινυμένου κατὰ ποιήν Ἰωάννου τοῦ καλού-
μένου βαπτιστοῦ. κτείνει γὰρ τούτον Ἡρώδης, ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κελεύοντα ἁρετὴν ἐπασκοῦσιν καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαιοσύνη καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβεῖα χρωμένους βαπτισμὸν συνιέναι. οὕτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν βάπτισιν ἀποδεκτὴν αὐτῶν φανεῖσθαι, μὴ ἐπὶ τινῶν ἁμαρτάδων παραι-
τῆσει χρωμένων, ἀλλ’ ἐφ’ ἁγίεια τοῦ σώματος, ἀτε δὴ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς δικαιοσύνη προεκκεκαθ-
αρμένης. καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συστρεφομένων (καὶ γὰρ ἠρθησαν ἐπὶ πλείστον τῇ ἀκροάσει τῶν λόγων),
δεῖσαι Ἡρώδης τὸ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο πιθανὸν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, μὴ ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει τοῖς φέροι (πάντα γὰρ ἐοίκεσαν συμβουλῇ τῇ ἑκεῖνω πράξοντες),
pολὺ κρείττον ἤγείται, πρὸ τι νεώτερον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι, προλαβὼν ἁναρεῖν, ἡ μεταβολὴς γενομένης εἰς πράγματα ἐμπεσόν μετανοεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑποψία τῇ Ἡρώδου δέσιμος εἰς τὸν Μαχα-
ροῦντα πεμφθείς, τὸ προερημένου φρούριον, ταύτῃ κτίνυνται."

Ταύτα περὶ τοῦ Ἰωάννου διελθὼν, καὶ τοῦ

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1 Eusebius has slightly altered the text of Josephus. This ran: “For Herod killed him, a good man and one who commanded the Jews training themselves in virtue and practising righteousness towards one another and piety towards God to come together for baptism.” It would seem to mean that John was preaching to ascetics and suggested

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her, being condemned to live in Vienne, a city of Gaul. The account of these things is given in the eighteenth book of the Antiquities, where he writes concerning John exactly as follows:

"Now to some of the Jews it seemed that the army of Herod had been destroyed by God and that he was paying a very just penalty for John who was called the Baptist. For Herod killed him, a good man and one who commanded the Jews, training themselves in virtue, to practise righteousness towards one another and piety towards God, and to come together for baptism. For he said that baptism would prove acceptable to him only in those who used it not to escape from any sins but for bodily purity, on condition that the soul also had been previously cleansed thoroughly by righteousness. And when the rest collected, for they were greatly excited at hearing his words, Herod feared his great persuasiveness with men lest it should lead to some rising, for they appeared ready to do everything under his advice. He therefore considered it much better, before a revolt should spring from John, to put him to death in anticipation, rather than be involved in difficulties through the actual revolution and then regret it. And John, through Herod's suspicion, was sent a prisoner to Macherus, the prison mentioned already, and was there put to death." ¹

After narrating these things about John in the baptism as a final act of perfection. This explains the reference to "when the rest collected." So long as John preached to ascetics Herod did not mind but was disturbed when the rest of the public manifested interest. Whiston's translation of Josephus and an unnecessary emendation in the text of Niese's edition of Josephus have conspired to obscure these facts.
σωτήρος ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ συγγράμματος ἱστορίαν ὡδὲ πως μέμνηται

"Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς, σοφὸς ἀνήρ, εἰ γε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή. ἦν γὰρ παραδόξων ἐργῶν ποιητὴς, διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν Ἑλλήνων τάλαθη δεχομένων, καὶ πολλούς μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐλληνικοῦ ἑπηγάγετο. ὃ Χριστὸς οὐδός ἦν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν πρῶτων ἄνδρῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν σταυρῷ ἐπιτετμηκότος Πιλάτου, οὔκ ἐπαύσαντο οἱ τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαπήσαντες· εφανὴ γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν, τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτα τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία περὶ αὐτοῦ θαυμάσια εἰρηκότων. εἰς ἐτὶ τε νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦτο ἀνομασμένων οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φύλον."

Ταύτα τοῦ ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἐβραίων συγγραφέως 9 ἀνέκαθεν τῇ ἐαυτοῦ γραφῇ περὶ τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν παραδεδωκότος, τίς ἢν ἢ ἐτι λειποῦτο ἀποφυγῆ τοῦ μὴ ἀναυσχύντως ἀπελέγχεσθαι τοὺς τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν πλασαμένους ὑπομνήματα; ἄλλα ταύτα μὲν ἔχετο ταύτῃ.

XII. Τῶν γε μὴν τοῦ σωτήρος ἀποστόλων παντὶ 1 των σαφῆς ἐκ τῶν εὐαγγελίων ἡ πρόσρησις· τῶν δὲ ἐβδομήκοντα μαθητῶν κατάλογος μὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδαμή φέρεται, λέγεται γε μὴν εἰς αὐτῶν Βαρναβᾶς γεγονέναι, οὗ διαφόρως μὲν καὶ αἱ Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμνημόνευσαν, οὐχ ἤκιστα δὲ καὶ Παύλος Γαλάταις γράφων. τούτων δὲ εἶναι φασὶ καὶ Σωσθένη τὸν ᾽Αμα Παύλῳ Κορινθίοις ἐπιστει- λαντα. ἡ δ’ ἱστορία παρὰ Κλήμεντι κατὰ τὴν 2 πέμπτην τῶν Ἰπτομπώσεων. εὖ ἦ καὶ Κηφᾶν, περὶ οὖ φησιν ὁ Παύλος ἡτε δὲ ἡλθεν Κηφᾶς 82
same historical work he speaks as follows concerning our Saviour:

"At this time arose Jesus, a wise man, if indeed he must be called a man, for he was a doer of marvellous deeds, a teacher of men who received the truth with pleasure, and he led after him many of the Jews and many also of the Gentile population. This was the Christ; and when Pilate had condemned him to the cross at the instigation of the leading men among us, those who had first loved him did not cease to do so, for he appeared to them when three days dead restored to life, and the divine prophets had told these and ten thousand other wonders concerning him. And up till now the tribe of Christians which are named after him has not died out."

When a writer sprung from the Hebrews themselves handed on in his own writing these details concerning John the Baptist and our Saviour, what alternative is there but to convict of shamelessness those who have concocted the Reports about them? But let this suffice.

XII. Now the names of the apostles of our Saviour are plain to everyone from the gospels, but no list of the Seventy is anywhere extant. It is said, however, that one of them was Barnabas, and of him the Acts of the Apostles has also made special mention, and so also has Paul when writing to the Galatians. And they say that Sosthenes too, who wrote with Paul to the Corinthians, was one of them. And there is the story in Clement, in the fifth book of the Hypotyposes, in which he says that Cephas, concerning whom Paul says "and when Cephas

1 The reference is again to the heathen Acts of Pilate.
εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν ἀντέστην, ἐνα φησί γεγονέναι τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα μαθητῶν, ὦμώνυμον Πέτρῳ τυγχάνοντα τῷ ἀποστόλῳ. καὶ Μαθθαῖον δὲ τῶν ἄντι Ἰουδᾶ τοίς ἀποστόλοις συγκαταλεγέντα τὸν τε σὺν αὐτῷ τῇ ὦμοιᾳ ψήφῳ τιμηθέντα τῆς αὐτῆς τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα κλήσεως ἥξιόθανε κατέχει λόγοι. καὶ Θαδδαίον δὲ ἐνα τῶν αὐτῶν εἶναι φασὶ, περὶ οὐ καὶ ἱστορίαν ἑλθοῦσαν εἰς ἡμᾶς αὐτίκα μάλα ἐκθέσθομαι. καὶ τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα δὲ πλείους τοῦ σωτῆρος πεφηνέναι μαθηταῖς εὐρίοις ἂν ἐπιτηρήσας, μάρτυρι χρώμενος τῷ Παύλῳ, μετὰ τὴν ἑκ νεκρῶν ἐγερσὶν ὡφθαί αὐτὸν φήσαντι πρῶτον μὲν Κηφᾶ, ἔπειτα τοῖς δώδεκα, καὶ μετὰ τούτους ἐπάνω πεντακοσίους ἀδελφόν ἐφάπαξ, ὥν τινὰς μὲν ἐφασκέν κεκοιμήσθαι, τοὺς πλείους δ' ἐτι τῷ βίῳ, καθ' ὃν καὶρόν αὐτῷ ταύτα συνετάττετο, περιμένειν ἐπειτά δ' ὡφθαί αὐτὸν Ἰακώβῳ φησίν· εἰς δὲ καὶ οὗτος τῶν φερομένων τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀδελφῶν ἰη. εἴθ' ὡς παρὰ τούτους κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν δώδεκα πλείστων οὖσων ὑπαρξάντων ἀποστόλων, οἷος καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Παύλος ἦν, προστίθησι λέγων "ἔπειτα ὡφθη τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν δε. 

XIII. Τῆς δὲ περὶ τὸν Θαδδαίον ἱστορίας τουουτος γέγονεν ὁ τρόπος. ἡ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ θείότης, εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους τῆς παραδοξοποιοῦ δυνάμεως ἔνεκεν βοωμένη, μυρίους ὠσοὺς καὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἀλλοδαπῆς πορρωτάτων ὄντων τῆς Ἰουδαίας νόσων καὶ παντοίων παθῶν ἔλπιδι θεραπείας ἐπήγετο. ταύτῃ τοις βασιλείσ Ἀβγαρος, τῶν ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ἐθνῶν ἐπισημα.
came to Antioch I withstand him to the face," was one of the seventy disciples, who had the same name as the apostle Peter. Tradition also relates that Matthias, who was reckoned with the apostles in the place of Judas, and he who was honoured with him at the same casting of lots had been called among the Seventy. They also say that Thaddaeus was one of them, and I will shortly recount a narrative which has reached us concerning him. And consideration would show you that there were more disciples of the Saviour than the Seventy, if you used Paul as a witness, for he says that after the resurrection from the dead Jesus was seen first by Cephas, afterwards by the twelve, and after these by above five hundred brethren at once; of whom he says that some had fallen asleep, but the majority remained alive at the time that he composed this account. He says that he was then seen by James, who was one of the alleged brethren of the Saviour, and then, as though in addition to these there had been numberless apostles, on the model of the twelve, like Paul himself, he goes on to say "then he was seen by all the apostles." This then suffices for them.

XIII. The manner of the narrative concerning Thaddaeus is as follows. The divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ became famous among all men because of his wonder-working power, and led to him myriads even of those who in foreign lands were far remote from Judaea, in the hope of healing from diseases and from all kinds of sufferings. In this way King Abgar, the celebrated monarch of the
μότα δυναστεύων, πάθει τὸ σῶμα δεινῷ καὶ οὐ θεραπευτῷ ὁσον ἐπ’ ἄνθρωπεία δυνάμει κατα-
θειρόμενος, ὡς καὶ τούνομα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πολὺ καὶ
taş δυνάμεις συμφώνως πρὸς ἀπάντων μαρτυ-
ρουμένας ἐπύθετο, ἰκήτης αὐτοῦ πέμψας δι’ ἐπι-
στοληφόρου γίνεται, τῆς νόσου τυχεῖν ἀπαλλαγῆς
ἀξιῶν. ὥ δὲ μὴ τότε καλοῦντι ὑπακούσας, ἐπι-
στολῆς γοῦν αὐτοῦ ἰδίας καταξιοῦ, ἕνα τῶν αὐτοῦ
μαθητῶν ἀποστέλλει ἐπὶ θεραπεία τῆς νόσου
ὀμοῦ τε αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας καὶ τῶν προσηκοντῶν
ἀπάντων ὑπισχυόμενος. οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν δὲ ἄρα
αὐτῷ ἐπληροῦτο τὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας. μετὰ γοῦν
τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς
ἀνοδον Θωμᾶς, τῶν ἀποστόλων εἰς τῶν δώδεκα,
Θαδδαίων, ἐν ἀριθμῷ καὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα
τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαθητῶν κατειλεγμένον, κινήσει
θειοτέρα ἐπὶ τὰ "Εδεσσα κήρυκα καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν
τῆς περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας ἐκπέμπει,
pάντα τε δι’ αὐτοῦ τὰ τῆς τοῦ σωτήρος ἦμων
tέλος ἑλάμβανεν ἐπαγγελίας. ἔχεις καὶ τούτων
ἀνάγραπτον τὴν μαρτυρίαν, ἐκ τῶν κατὰ "Εδεσσαν
tὸ τηνικάδε βασιλευομένην πόλιν γραμματο-
φυλακείων ληφθείσων· ἐν γοῦν τοῖς αὐτοῦ δη-
μοσίως χάρταις, τοῖς τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ τὰ ἄμφι
τὸν "Αβγαρον πραχθέντα περιέχουσι, καὶ ταῦτα
eἰς ἐτὶ νῦν ἐξ ἑκείνου πεφυλαγμένα εὑρήται,
οὐδὲν δὲ οἶνον καὶ αὐτῶν ἔπακουσα τῶν ἐπιστολῶν,
ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρχειν ἦμῖν ἀναληφθεισῶν καὶ τόνδε
αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν ἐκ τῆς Σύρων φωνῆς μεταβληθεισῶν
tὸν τρόπον."
nations beyond the Euphrates, perishing from terrible suffering in his body, beyond human power to heal, when he heard much of the name of Jesus and of the miracles attested unanimously by all men, became his suppliant and sent to him by the bearer of a letter, asking to find relief from his disease. Jesus did not give heed to his request at the time, yet vouchsafed him a letter of his own, promising to send one of his disciples for the cure of his disease, and for the salvation alike of himself and of all his relations. Nor were the terms of his promise long in being fulfilled. After his resurrection from the dead and return into heaven, Thomas, one of the twelve apostles, was divinely moved to send to Edessa Thaddaeus, who was himself reckoned among the number of the Seventy disciples, as herald and evangelist of the teaching about Christ, and through him all the terms of our Saviour's promise received fulfilment. There is also documentary evidence of these things taken from the archives at Edessa which was at that time a capital city. At least, in the public documents there, which contain the things done in antiquity and at the time of Abgar, these things too are found preserved from that time to this; but there is nothing equal to hearing the letters themselves, which we have extracted from the archives, and when translated from the Syriac they are verbally as follows:
ΤΑ ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΕΝΤΑ ΤΙΠΟ ΙΗΣΟΤ ΔΙΑ ΑΝΑΝΙΟΤ ΤΑΧΤ- 
ΔΡΟΜΟΤ ΤΟΠΑΡΧΗΙ ΑΒΓΑΡΩΙ

Matt. 11, 5
Luke 7, 22
Ecc. 9, 14
John 20, 29
Is. 6, 9 ff.
Matt. 13, 14 ff.
John 12, 39 ff.

1 άμφοτέρους ΑΤΜΣΛ: άμφοτέρους καὶ ταύτα μὲν οὖν οὖν [οὖν] B] ἔγραψεν [ἔγραψε R] τὴ̣ς θελασ αὐτὸν τέως μικρὸν αὐγασάσης ἐλλάμψεως άξιον δὲ καὶ τής προς τοῦ τοῦ αὐτώ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γραμματοκομίστου ἀποσταλέσθη ἐπακούσας ὁ λεγοστίχοι μὲν πολυ- 
δυνάμου δὲ ἐπιστολής τούτων ἐχοῦσα καὶ αὐτὴς τὸν τρόπον

ERBD.

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A copy of a letter written by Abgar the Toparch to Jesus and sent to him to Jerusalem by the courier Ananias.

"Abgar Uchama, the Toparch, to Jesus the good Saviour who has appeared in the district of Jerusalem, greeting. I have heard, concerning you and your cures, how they are accomplished by you without drugs and herbs. For, as the story goes, you make the blind recover their sight, the lame walk, and you cleanse lepers, and cast out unclean spirits and demons, and you cure those who are tortured by long disease and you raise dead men. And when I heard all these things concerning you I decided that it is one of the two, either that you are God, and came down from heaven to do these things, or are a Son of God for doing these things. For this reason I write to beg you to hasten to me and to heal the suffering which I have. Moreover I heard that the Jews are mocking you, and wish to ill-treat you. Now I have a city very small and venerable which is enough for both." ¹

The reply from Jesus to Abgar, the Toparch, by the courier Ananias.

"Blessed art thou who didst believe in me not having seen me, for it is written concerning me that those who have seen me will not believe on me, and that those who have not seen me will believe and live. Now concerning what you wrote to me,

¹ In some manuscripts the following is added: "9. And he wrote thus when the divine illumination had but a little shined on him. But it is also worth while to hear the letter sent to him by Jesus by the same bearer of the letter; it has only a few lines but great power, and runs as follows."
EUSEBIUS

ἐγραψάς μοι ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σέ, δεῦν ἐστὶ πάντα δι’ ἀ ἀπεστάλην ἐνταῦθα, πληρώσαι καὶ μετὰ τὸ πληρώσαι οὕτως ἀναληφθῆναι πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με. καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἀναληφθῶ, ἀποστελῶ σοὶ τινὰ τῶν μαθητῶν μου, ἵνα ἴσηται σου τὸ πάθος καὶ ζωήν σοι καὶ τοῖς σὺν σοὶ παράσχηται.

Ταύτας δὲ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἔτι καὶ ταύτα συνήηττο τῇ Σύρῳ φωνῇ. "Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀναληφθῆναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπεστείλει αὐτῷ Ἰουδαῖος, ὁ καὶ Θωμᾶς, Θαδδαίον ἀπόστολον, ἔνα τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα. δὲ ἐλθὼν κατέμενεν πρὸς Τωβίαν τὸν τοῦ Τωβία. ὃς δὲ ἦκοισθη περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἐμηνύθη τῷ Ἀβγάρῳ ὅτι ἐληλυθεν ἀπόστολος ἐνταῦθα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καθά ἐπέστειλεν σοι. ἦρξατο οὖν ὁ Θαδδαῖος ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ θεραπεύειν πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ μαλακίαν, ὥστε πάντας θαυμάζειν. ὡς δὲ ἦκουσεν ὁ Ἀβγαρὸς τὰ μεγαλεῖα καὶ τὰ θαυμάσια ἐποίει, καὶ ὡς ἐθεράπευσεν, ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ γέγονεν ὡς ὅτι αὐτὸς ἔστιν περὶ οὗ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐπέστειλεν λέγων 'ἐπειδὰν ἀναληφθῶ, ἀποστελῶ σοὶ τινὰ τῶν μαθητῶν μου, ὅσ τὸ πάθος σου ἴσηται.' μετακαλεσάμενος οὖν τὸν Τωβίαν, παρ’ ὃ κατέμενεν, ἔπειν ἦκουσα ὅτι ἄνηρ τῆς δυνάστης ἐλθὼν κατέμενεν ἐν τῇ σῇ οἰκίᾳ. ἀν-άγαγε αὐτὸν πρός με.' ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Τωβίας παρὰ Θαδδαίῳ, ἔπειν αὐτῷ ὁ τοπάρχης Ἀβγαρὸς μετακαλεσάμενος με εἰπεν ἀναγαγεῖν σε παρ’ αὐτῷ, ἵνα θεραπεύσῃς αὐτὸν.' καὶ ὁ Θαδδαῖος,

1 αὐτοῦ ΑΤΜΣΑ: αὐτοῦ καὶ δήλος γένον [γέγονεν D] διὰ τῶν ἐπιτελομένων παρ’ αὐτοῦ θαυμασίων ΤοEBBD.
2 ἀνάγαγε αὐτῶν πρὸς με ΑΤΜΣΑ: καὶ πολλὰς λάσεις ἐπ’ ὄνομας ἐν ἐργάζεται: ὁ δὲ εἰπεν [εἰπὲ R] ναὶ ἐξόν τις ἐλθὼν ἐνώκησεν.
to come to you, I must first complete here all for
which I was sent, and after thus completing it be
taken up to him who sent me, and when I have been
taken up, I will send to you one of my disciples to heal
your suffering, and give life to you and those with you.”

To these letters the following is further appended in the Syriac:

“Now after the ascension of Jesus, Judas, who
is also Thomas, sent Thaddaeus to him as an apostle,
being one of the Seventy, and he came and
stayed with Tobias, the son of Tobias. Now
when news of him was heard,¹ it was reported
to Abgar that an Apostle of Jesus has come here,
as he wrote to you. So Thaddaeus began in the power
of God to heal every disease and weakness so that
all marvelled. And when Abgar heard the great
and wonderful deeds which he was doing, and how
he was working cures, he began to suspect that
this was he of whom Jesus had written saying,
‘When I have been taken up, I will send you one
of my disciples who will heal your suffering.’ So he
summoned Tobias, with whom Thaddaeus was staying,
and said, ‘I hear that a certain man of power has
come and is staying in your house. Bring him to
me.’² And Tobias came to Thaddaeus and said to him,
‘The Toparch, Abgar, summoned me and bade me
bring you to him in order to heal him.’ And Thad-

¹ Some manuscripts add: “And he had become manifest
by the wonders wrought by him.”

² Some manuscripts continue: “‘And he is working many
cures in the name of Jesus.’ And he said, ‘Yes, Lord.
A certain stranger came and is living with me, and is working
many wonders.’ And Abgar said, ‘Bring him to me.’”
'ἀναβαίνω,' ἔφη, 'ἐπειδῆπερ δυνάμει παρ' αὐτῷ ἀπεσταλμα.' ὁρθώσας οὖν ὁ Τωβίας τῇ ἔξης καὶ παραλαβὼν τὸν Θαδδαίον ἠθεῖν πρὸς τὸν Ἀβγαρον. ώς δὲ ἀνέβη, παρόντων καὶ ἐστώτων τῶν μεγιστάνων αὐτοῦ, παραχρῆμα ἐν τῷ εἰσέναι αὐτὸν ὄραμα μέγα ἑφάνη τῷ Ἀβγάρῳ ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Θαδδαίου. ὅπερ ἴδὼν ὁ Ἀβγαρὸς προσεκύνησεν τῷ Θαδδαίῳ, θαύμα τε ἔσχεν πάντας τοὺς περιεστώτας: αὐτοῖ γὰρ οὐχ ἐφοράκασι τὸ ὄραμα, ὦ μόνῳ τῷ Ἀβγάρῳ ἑφάνη· ὅσι καὶ τὸν Θαδδαίον ἠρετο εἰ 'ἐπ' ἀληθείας μαθητὴς εἰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ νῦν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃς εἰρήκει πρὸς μὲ 'ἀποστελῶ σοὶ τινα τῶν μαθητῶν μου, ὅσις ἰάσεται σε καὶ ζωὴν σοι παρέξει.' καὶ ὁ Θαδδαίος ἔφη 'ἐπεὶ μεγάλως πεπίστευκας εἰς τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με, διά τούτο ἀπεστάλην πρὸς σέ. καὶ πάλιν, ἐὰν πιστεύσῃς ἐν αὐτῷ, ὡς ἄν πιστεύσῃς ἐσται σοι τὰ αὐτήματα τῆς καρδίας σου.' καὶ ὁ Ἀβγαρὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν 'οὔτως ἐπίστευσα,' φησίν, 'ἐν αὐτῷ, ὡς καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τοὺς σταυρώσαντας αὐτὸν βουληθήναι δύναμιν παραλαβῶν κατακόψαι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῆς 'Ῥωμαίων ἀνεκόπην τούτον.' καὶ ὁ Θαδδαίος εἶπεν ὃς κύριος ἦμῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ πεπλήρωκεν καὶ πληρώσας ἀνελήφθη πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.' λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀβγαρὸς 'κἀγὼ πεπίστευκα εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ.' καὶ ὁ Θαδδαίος διὰ τούτο, φησί, 'τίθημι τὴν χείρα μου ἐπὶ σὲ ἐν ὅνόματι αὐτοῦ.' καὶ τοῦτο πράξαντος, παραχρῆμα ἐθεραπεύθη τῆς νόσου καὶ τοῦ πάθους οὐ εἶχεν. ἐθαύμασέν τε ὁ Ἀβγαρὸς ὁτι καθὼς ἦκουσα αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, οὔτως 92
daeus said, 'I will go up since I have been miraculously sent to him.' So Tobias rose up early the next day and taking Thaddaeus came to Abgar. Now as he went up, while the king's magnates were standing present, as soon as he entered a great vision appeared to Abgar on the face of the Apostle Thaddaeus. And when Abgarsaw this, he did reverence to Thaddaeus, and wonder held all who were standing by, for they had not seen the vision, which appeared only to Abgar. And he asked Thaddaeus, 'Are you of a truth a disciple of Jesus, the Son of God, who said to me, "I will send you one of my disciples who will heal you and give you life"?' And Thaddaeus said, 'Since you have had great faith in him who sent me, I was sent to you for this reason. And again, if you believe in him, the request of your heart shall be to you as you believe.' And Abgar said to him, 'I have such belief in him as to have wished to take force and destroy the Jews who crucified him, had I not been prevented from this by the Roman Empire.' And Thaddaeus said, 'Our Lord has fulfilled the will of his Father, and after fulfilling it has been taken up to the Father.' And Abgar said to him, 'I too have believed on him and on his Father.' And Thaddaeus said, 'For this cause I put my hand on you in his name.' And when he did this immediately he was healed from the disease and the sufferings he had. And Abgar wondered that just as he had heard concerning Jesus
τοῖς ἔργοις παρέλαβεν διὰ τοῦ μαθητοῦ αὐτοῦ Θαδδαίου, ὃς αὐτὸν ἀνευ φαρμακείας καὶ βοτανῶν ἐθεράπευσεν, καὶ οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀβδον τοῦ τοῦ Ἀβδου, ποδάγραν ἔχοντα· ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς προσελθὼν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἔπεσεν, εὐχάς τε διὰ χειρὸς λαβὼν ἐθεραπεύθη, πολλοὺς τε ἄλλους συμπολίτας αὐτῶν ὧ αὐτὸς ἴσατο, θαυμαστὰ καὶ μεγάλα ποιῶν καὶ κηρύσσων τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀβγαρὸς 'σὺ Θαδ- δαίε,' ἔφη, 'οὖν δυνάμει τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα ποιεῖς καὶ Ἰμεῖς αὐτοῦ ἐθαυμάσασμεν· ἄλλ' ἔπι τούτους δέομαι σου, διήγησά μοι περὶ τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πῶς ἐγένετο, καὶ περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν ποίᾳ δυνάμει ταῦτα ἔποιει ἄτιμα ἥκουσταί μοι.' καὶ ὁ Θαδδαῖος 'νῦν μὲν σωπῆσομαι,' ἔφη, ἔπει δὲ κηρύξαι τὸν λόγον ἀπεστάλη, αὖριον ἐκκλησίασόν μοι τοὺς πολίτας σου πάντας, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν κηρύξω καὶ σπερῶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον τῆς ζωῆς, περὶ τε τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καθὼς ἐγένετο, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀποστολῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔνεκα τίνος ἀπεστάλη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός, καὶ περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ καὶ μυστηρίων ὡν ἐλάλησεν ἐν κόσμῳ, καὶ ποίᾳ δυνάμει ταῦτα ἔποιει, καὶ περὶ τῆς καίνης αὐτοῦ κηρύξεως, καὶ περὶ τῆς μικρότητος καὶ περὶ τῆς ταπεινώσεως, καὶ πῶς ἔταπείνωσεν ἐαυτὸν καὶ ἀπέθετο καὶ ἐσμύκρυνεν αὐτοῦ τὴν θεότητα, καὶ ἑσταυρώθη, καὶ κατέβη εἰς τὸν' Ἀδην, καὶ διέσχισε φραγμὸν τὸν ἐξ αἰώνος μὴ σχισθεντα, καὶ ἀν- ἤγειρεν νεκροὺς καὶ κατέβη μόνος, ἀνέβη δὲ μετὰ πολλοῦ ὀχλου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ. 1' ἐκέλευσεν 21.
so he had in fact received through his disciple Thaddaeus, who cured him without drugs and herbs, and not only him but also Abdus the son of Abdus who had the gout; for he too came and fell at his feet, and received his prayer at his hands, and was healed. And the same Thaddaeus healed many others of their fellow-citizens, performing many wonderful deeds and preaching the word of God. And after this Abgar said, 'O Thaddaeus, it is by the power of God that you do these things, and we ourselves have wondered. But in addition to this I beg you, explain to me concerning the coming of Jesus, how it happened, and concerning his power, and by what power he did these things of which I have heard.' And Thaddaeus said, 'I will now be silent, but since I was sent to preach the word, summon for me to-morrow an assembly of all your citizens, and I will preach before them, and sow in them the word of life, both concerning the coming of Jesus, how it happened, and concerning his mission, and for what reason he was sent by the Father, and concerning his power, and his deeds, and the mysteries which he spoke in the world, and by what power he did these things, and concerning his new preaching, and concerning his lowliness and humiliation, and how he humbled himself, and put aside and made little his divinity, and was crucified, and descended into Hades, and rent the partition which had not been rent from the beginning of the world, and raised the dead, and he went down alone, but with a great multitude did he go up to his

1 αὐτοῦ ΑΤΜΣΑ: αὐτοῦ καὶ πῶς κάθηται ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θυ καὶ πρὸ μετὰ δόξης ἐν τοῖς οὐνομα καὶ πῶς ἐλευθεραί μέλλει πάλιν μετὰ δυνάμεως κρίναι ζωντας καὶ νεκροὺς ΕΡΒΔ.
οὖν ὁ "Ἄβγαρος τῇ ἐσθεν συνάζει τοὺς πολίτας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκούσαι τὴν κήρυξιν Θαδδαίου, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα προσέταξεν δοθήναι αὐτῷ χρυσὸν καὶ ἀσημον. ὦ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξατο, εἰπὼν 'εἰ τὰ ἡμέτερα καταλελοίπαμεν, πῶς τὰ ἄλλοτρια ληφῶμεθα;' ἐπράξῃ ταῦτα τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ τριακοσιοστῷ ἔτει."

"Ἀ καὶ οὖν εἰς ἄχρηστον πρὸς λέξιν ἐκ τῆς Σύρων μεταβληθέντα φωνῆς ἐνταῦθα μοι κατὰ καιρὸν κεῖσθω.

1 Some manuscripts add: "And how he is seated on the right hand of God and the Father with glory in the Heavens, and how he will come again with power to judge the living and the dead."
Father.'⁠¹ So Abgar commanded his citizens to assemble in the morning and to hear the preaching of Thaddaeus, and after this he ordered him to be given gold and plate, but he did not receive it, saying, 'If we have left our own things, how shall we take those of others?' These things were done in the 340th year." ²

Let this valuable and literal translation from the Syriac suffice me for the present.

² The three hundredth and fortieth year of the Edessene era, which began 310 B.C., would be A.D. 30, which agrees with the date of the crucifixion given by Tertullian but is one year earlier than the date given in Jerome's version of the Chronicle of Eusebius and two years earlier than that given in the Armenian version of the same book.
Β
Τάδε καὶ ἡ Β περιέχει βιβλίον τῆς
Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας

Α Περὶ τῆς μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ
dιαγωγῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων.

Β Ὁπως Τιβέριος ὑπὸ Πιλάτου τὰ περὶ τοῦ
Χριστοῦ διδαχθεῖσ ἐκυβηθ.

Γ Ὁπως εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον ἐν βραχεὶ
χρόνῳ διέδραμεν ὁ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγος.

Δ Ὡς μετὰ Τιβέριον Γάιος Ἰουδαίων βασιλέα
καθίστησιν Ἀγρίππαν, τὸν Ἡρῴδην αἰδίῳ
ξημιώσας φυγῇ.

Ε Ὡς Φίλων ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων προσβείαν ἑστεί-
λατο πρὸς Γάιον.

Ξ Ὁσα Ἰουδαίως συνερρῆ κακὰ μετὰ τὴν
κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τόλμαν.

Ζ Ὡς καὶ Πιλάτος έαυτὸν διεχρήσατο.

Η Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Κλαύδιου λιμοῦ.

Θ Μαρτύριον Ιακώβου τοῦ ἀποστόλου.

Ι Ὡς Ἀγρίππας ὁ καὶ Ἡρῴδης τοὺς ἀπο-
στόλους διώξας τῆς θείας παραφθηκα δίκης
ζηθετο.

ΙΑ Περὶ Θεοῦ τοῦ γόητος.

ΙΒ Περὶ Ἐλενῆς τῆς τῶν Ἀδιαβηνῶν βασιλίδος.

ΙΓ Περὶ Σίμωνος τοῦ μάγου.

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CONTENTS OF BOOK II

The contents of the second book of the History of the Church is as follows:

I. On the life of the Apostles after the Ascension of Christ.

II. On the emotion of Tiberius at learning from Pilate the story of Christ.

III. How in a short time the message concerning Christ ran through the whole world.

IV. How after Tiberius Caius appointed Agrippa as King of the Jews and punished Herod with perpetual banishment.

V. How Philo was sent on an embassy to Caius on behalf of the Jews.

VI. All the evils which accumulated on the Jews after their crime against Christ.

VII. How Pilate, too, committed suicide.

VIII. Concerning the famine in the time of Claudius.

IX. The martyrdom of James the Apostle.

X. How Agrippa, who was also called Herod, persecuted the Apostles and at once felt the punishment of God.

XI. On Theudas the magician.

XII. On Helena the Queen of the Adiabeni.

XIII. On Simon Magus.
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣ

(Il) Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ἡρῴδην κηρύγματος Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου.

(II) Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκου εὐαγγελίου.

(Iς) Ὡς πρῶτος Μάρκος τοῖς κατ᾿ Αὐγυπτον τὴν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν γνώσων ἐκήρυξεν.

(IΖ) Οία περὶ τῶν κατ᾿ Αὐγυπτον ἀσκητῶν ὁ Φίλων ἰστορεῖ.

(IΗ) Ὁσα τοῦ Φίλωνοι εἰς ἡμᾶς περιήλθεν συγγράμματα.

(IΘ) Οία τοὺς ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωι Ἰουδαίοις συμφορὰ μετῆλθεν ἐν τῇ τοῦ πάσχα ἡμέρᾳ.

(IΚ) Οία καὶ κατὰ Νέρωνα ἐν τοῖς Ἰεροσολύμοις ἐπράξθη.

(IΚΑ) Περὶ τοῦ Αὐγυπτίου, οὐ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ Πράξεις ἐμνημόνευσαν.

(IΚΒ) Ὡς ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἰς τὴν Ἡρῴδην δέσμος ἀναπεμφθεὶς Παῦλος ἀπολογησάμενος πάσης ἀπελύθη αἰτίας.

(IΚΓ) Ὡς ἐμαρτύρησεν Ἰακώβος ὁ τοῦ κυρίου χρηματίσας ἀδελφός.

(IΚΔ) Ὡς μετὰ Μάρκον πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐκκλησίας Ἀννίανος κατέστη.

(IΚΕ) Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Νέρωνα διωγμοῦ, καθ’ ὃν ἔπι Ἡρῴδης Παῦλος καὶ Πέτρος τοῖς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας μαρτύρουσι κατεκοσμήθησαν.

(IΚΣ) Ὡς μυρίους κακοῖς περιήλθησαν Ἰουδαίοι, καὶ ὡς τὸν ὕστατον πρὸς Ἡρῴδης ἦραντο πόλεμον.

Συνήκται ἡμῖν ἡ βιβλικά ἀπὸ τῶν Κλήμεντος Τερτυλλιανοῦ Ἰωσήπου Φίλωνος.
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, II. CONTENTS

XIV. On the preaching of Peter the Apostle at Rome.
XV. On the Gospel according to Mark.
XVI. How Mark was the first to preach the knowledge of Christ to those in Egypt.
XVII. The narrative of Philo on the Ascetics in Egypt.
XVIII. The treatises of Philo which have come down to us.
XIX. The misfortunes which overtook the Jews in Jerusalem on the day of the Passover.
XX. What was done at Jerusalem under Nero.
XXI. On the Egyptian whom the Acts of the Apostles also mentioned.
XXII. How Paul was sent a prisoner to Rome from Judaea and after defending himself was acquitted of all guilt.
XXIII. How James who was called the brother of the Lord suffered martyrdom.
XXIV. How after Mark Annianus was the first to be appointed bishop of the church of the Alexandrians.
XXV. On the persecution under Nero in which Paul and Peter at Rome were adorned with martyrdom for religion's sake.
XXVI. How the Jews were pursued by countless evils and how they began the final war against the Romans.

Our book was compiled from those of Clement, Tertullian, Josephus, and Philo.
"Οσα μὲν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας ἔχρην ὡς ἐν προοιμίῳ διαστείλασθαι τῆς τε θεολογίας πέρι τοῦ σωτηρίου λόγου καὶ τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας τῶν τῆς ἡμετέρας διδασκαλίας δογμάτων ἀρχαϊότητος τε τῆς κατὰ Χριστιανοῦ εὐαγγελικῆς πολιτείας, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁσα περὶ τῆς γενομένης ἐναγχος ἐπιφανείας αὐτοῦ, τά τε πρὸ τοῦ πάθους καὶ τά περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐκλογῆς, ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦτου, συντειμόντες τάς ἀποδείξεις, διειλήφαμεν· φέρε δ’, ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἡδή καὶ τά μετὰ τήν ἀνάληψιν αὐτοῦ διασκεψώμεθα, τά μὲν ἐκ τῶν θείων παρασημανόμενοι γραμμάτων, τά δ’ ἐξωθεὶν προσιστοροῦντες ἐξ ὃν κατὰ καιρὸν μημονεύσομεν ὑπομνημάτων.

I. Πρῶτος τοιγαροῦν εἰς τήν ἀποστολήν ἀντί τοῦ προδότου Ἰωῦδα κληροῦται Μαθιαῖς, εἰς καὶ αὐτός, ὡς δεδήλωται, τῶν τοῦ κυρίου γενόμενος μαθητῶν. καθίσταται δὲ δι’ εὐχῆς καὶ χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως τῶν ἀποστόλων εἰς διακονίαν ὑπηρεσίας ἐνεκα τοῦ κοινὸν ἄνδρες δεδοκιμασμένοι, τῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐπτά, οἱ ἀμφί τοῦ Στέφανου. δι’ καὶ πρῶτος μετὰ τῶν κυρίων ἀμα τῇ χειροτονίᾳ, ὁσπέρ εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο προαχθείς, λίθος εἰς θάνατον πρὸς τῶν κυριοκτόνων βάλλεται, καὶ ταύτῇ πρῶ-
BOOK II

All that needed stating by way of preface in the history of the Church—the proof of the divinity of the saving Logos, the ancient history of our teaching, and the antiquity of the dogmas of the Christian life according to the Gospel, particularly all the points concerning his recently fulfilled advent, the events before his Passion, and the story of the choice of the Apostles—all this we traced in the preceding book, summarizing the demonstration. Let us now consider in the present book what followed his Ascension, noting some things from the divine writings, and adding what is taken from other sources from treatises which we will quote from time to time.

I. Matthias was the first to be chosen to the Apostolate instead of the traitor Judas. As has been shown, he had himself been one of the Lord’s disciples, for the administration of the common fund tried men, seven in number, led by Stephen, were appointed to the ministry by prayer and the laying on of the Apostles’ hands. And Stephen was first after his Lord not only in ordination, but, as though he had been put forward for this very purpose, also in that he was stoned to death by the Lord’s murderers, and so was the first to carry off the crown,
τος τὸν αὐτῷ φερώνυμον τῶν ἀξιονίκων τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαρτύρων ἀποφέρεται στέφανον.

Τότε δῆτα καὶ Ἰάκωβον, τὸν τοῦ κυρίου λεγό-μενον ἄδελφόν, ὦτι δῆ καὶ οὗτος τοῦ Ἰωσήφω ὕψώ-μαστο παῖς, τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ πατήρ ὁ Ἰωσήφ, ὃς μνηστευέισα ἡ παρθένος, πρὶν ἡ συνελθεῖν αὐτοῖς, εὐρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἐξούσα ἐκ πνεύματος ἀγίου, ὡς ἡ ἱερὰ τῶν εὐαγγελίων διδάσκει γραφή τοῦτον δῆ οὖν αὐτὸν Ἰάκωβον, ὅν καὶ δίκαιον ἐπίκλην οἳ πάλαι δι' ἀρετῆς ἐκάλουν προτερήματα, πρῶτον ἱστοροῦσιν τῆς ἐν Ἰεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίας τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐγχειρισθῆναι θρόνον. Κλήμης ἐν ἑκτὸς τῶν ὑποτυπώσεως γράφων ἦ νω δε παρίστησιν " Πέτρων γὰρ φησιν καὶ Ἰάκωβον καὶ Ἰωάννην μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ σωτήρος, ὡς ἂν καὶ ύπό τοῦ σωτήρος προτετημημένους, μὴ ἐπιδικάζεσθαι δόξης, ἀλλὰ Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπον τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων ἐλέησθαι." ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἐν ἐβδομῷ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως ἐτὶ καὶ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν " Ἰακώβῳ τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ Πέτρῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν παρέδωκεν τὴν γνώσιν τοῦ κύριος, οὗτοι τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις παρέδωκαν, οἳ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι τοῖς ἐβδομήκοντα· ὅπως ἂ ην καὶ Βαρνάβας. δύο δὲ γεγόνασα Ἰάκωβοι, εἰς δὲ δίκαιος, ὁ κατὰ τοῦ πτερυγίου βληθεὶς καὶ ὑπὸ γναφέως ξύλῳ πληγεὶς εἰς θάνατον, ἐτέρως δὲ ὁ καρατομηθεὶς."

Αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ ὁ Παύλος μνημονεύει γράφων " ἐτέρων δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον, εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἄδελφόν τοῦ κυρίου."

'Ἐν τούτωι καὶ τὰ τῆς τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν πρὸς τὸν τῶν Ὅσροην· βασιλέα τέλος ἐλάμβανεν
implied by his name,¹ which was gained by the martyrs of Christ found worthy of victory.

At that same time also James, who was called the brother of the Lord, inasmuch as the latter too was styled the child of Joseph, and Joseph was called the father of Christ, for the Virgin was betrothed to him when, before they came together, she was discovered to have conceived by the Holy Spirit, as the sacred writing of the Gospels teaches—this same James, to whom the men of old had also given the surname of Just for his excellence of virtue, is narrated to have been the first elected to the throne of the bishopric of the Church in Jerusalem. Clement in the sixth book of the Hypotyposes adduces the following: "For," he says, "Peter and James and John after the Ascension of the Saviour did not struggle for glory, because they had previously been given honour by the Saviour, but chose James the Just as bishop of Jerusalem." The same writer in the seventh book of the same work says in addition this about him, "After the Resurrection the Lord gave the tradition of knowledge to James the Just and John and Peter, these gave it to the other Apostles and the other Apostles to the seventy, of whom Barnabas also was one. Now there were two Jameses, one James the Just, who was thrown down from the pinnacle of the temple and beaten to death with a fuller's club, and the other he who was beheaded." Paul also mentions the same James the Just when he writes, "And I saw none other of the Apostles save James the brother of the Lord."

At this time too the terms of our Saviour's promise² to the king of the Osrhoenes were receiving fulfil-

¹ Stephen in Greek means crown.  
² See pp. 84 ff.
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣ

υποσχέσεως. ὁ γοῦν Θωμᾶς τῶν Θαδδαίων κινήσει θειοτέρα ἐπὶ τὰ Ἐδεσσα κήρυκα καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν τῆς περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας ἐκπέμπει, ὥς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐρεθείας αὐτοῦ γραφῆς μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἐδηλώσαμεν: ὁ δὲ τοῖς τόποις ἐπιστάσας, ἦ τὸν τε Ἀβγαρον ἱλατί τῷ Χριστοῦ λόγῳ καὶ τοὺς αὐτὸθε πάντας τοῖς τῶν θαυμάτων παραδόξως ἐκπλήττει, ἵκανὼς τε αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἔργοις διαθείς καὶ ἐπὶ σέβας ἀγαγών τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δυνάμεως, μαθήτας τῆς σωτηρίου διδασκαλίας κατεστήσατο, εἰς ἐτι τε νῦν εὖ ἐκείνον ἢ πάσα τῶν Ἐδεσσηνῶν πόλις τῇ Χριστοῦ προσανάκειται προσηγορία, οὐ τὸ τυχόν ἐπιφερομένη δείγμα τῆς τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν καὶ εἰς αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσίας. καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ὡς εὖ ἀρχαίων ἱστορίας εἰρήσθων: μετίωμεν δὲ αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν θείαν γραφὴν.

Acts 8, 1

Γενομένου δήτα ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Στεφάνου μαρτυρία πρῶτοι καὶ μεγίστοι πρὸς αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ τῆς ἐν Ἰεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας διωγμοῦ πάντων τε τῶν μαθητῶν πλὴν ὅτι μόνων τῶν δώδεκα ἀνὰ τῇ Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ Σαμάρειαν διασπαρέντων, τινὲς, ἢ φήσων ἢ θεία γραφή, διελθόντες ἐως Φοινίκης καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Ἄντιοχείας οὔπω μὲν ἐθνεοῦν οἶοι τε ἦσαν τοῦ τῆς πίστεως μεταδίδοναι λόγου τολμᾶν, μόνως δὲ τοῦτον Ἰουδαίως κατήγγελλον, τηνικάτα καὶ Παῦλος ἐλπιμαίνει τοῖς ἐπὶ τότε τῆς ἐκκλησίας, κατ' οἴκους τῶν πιστῶν εἰσπρεοῦμενοι σύρων τε ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ εἰς φυλακὴν παραδίδοις. 10

Acts 11, 19

Acts 8, 3

Acts 6, 5

Acts 8, 5–13

Acts 10, 11
ment. Thomas was divinely moved to send Thaddaeus to Edessa as herald and evangelist of the teaching concerning Christ, as we have shown just previously from the writing preserved there. When he reached the place Thaddaeus healed Abgar by the word of Christ, and amazed all the inhabitants by his strange miracles. By the mighty influence of his deeds he brought them to reverence the power of Christ, and made them disciples of the saving teaching. From that day to this the whole city of the Edessenes has been dedicated \(^1\) to the name of Christ, thus displaying no common proof of the beneficence of our Saviour to them. Let this suffice from the history of the ancients and let us pass again to the divine Scripture.

On the martyrdom of Stephen there arose the first and greatest persecution of the Church in Jerusalem by the Jews. All the disciples, with the single exception of the Twelve, were scattered throughout Judaea and Samaria; some, as the divine Scripture says, traversed as far as Phoenice, Cyprus and Antioch, but they were not yet in a position to venture to transmit the word of faith to Gentiles, and announced it only to Jews. At that time Paul also was still ravaging the Church, entering into the houses of the faithful, dragging out men and women, and handing them over to prison. Philip, however, one of those who with Stephen had been already ordained to the diaconate, was among those who were scattered abroad, and went down to Samaria, where, filled with divine

\(^1\) This seems merely to mean "became converted to Christianity."
καὶ δὲ ἐπεράσατο τὸν ἔμπεφτον ἐν τῇ ζωῇ τῷ ἄγιῳ πατρὶ τῷ ἔλεημον. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δὲ ὁ Σιμωνὸς δεδόμενος κατ’ ἐκείνου καύρου τῶν ἡπατημένων ἐκράτει γοητεία, ὡς τὴν μεγάλην αὐτὸν ἠγείρει· εἶναι δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ. τότε δ’ οὖν καὶ οὗτος τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου δυνάμει θεία τελευμένας καταπλαγεὶς παραδοξοποιημένα, ὑποδύεται καὶ μέχρι λουτροῦ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν καθυποκρίνεται· δ’ καὶ θαυμάζειν ἂξιον εἰς δεύτερο γυνόμενον πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ καὶ νῦν τὴν ἀπ’ ἐκείνου μιαρωτάτην μετόντων αἴρεσιν, οὐ τῇ τοῦ σφῶν προπάτορος μεθόδῳ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν λοιμόδους καὶ ψυραλέας νόσον δικήν ὑποδύμενοι, τὰ μέγιστα λυμαίνονται τοὺς οἰς ἐναπομάξασθαι οἴοι τε ἂν εἰεν τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀποκεκρυμμένοι δυσαλθῇ καὶ χαλεπὸν ἰόν. ἥδη γε τοῖς πλείους τούτων ἀπεσώμην, ὅποιοί τινες εἰεν τὴν μοχθηρίαν ἄλοντες, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ὁ Σιμωνὸς αὐτὸς πρὸς τοῦ Πέτρου καταφωραθεὶς ὃς ἦν, τὴν προσήκουσαν ἔτισεν τιμωρίαν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰς αὐξήν ὅσημέραι πρὸ ὧν σωτηρίου κηρύγματος, οἰκονομία τις ἤγεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίας ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτοθείς βασιλείας, κατὰ τὸ πάτριμον ἔθους ὑπὸ γυναῖκας τοῦ ἔθνους εἰς ἐτὶ νῦν βασιλευόμενον, δυνάστην· ὅν πρῶτον ἐξ ἐθνῶν πρὸς τοῦ Φιλίππου δι’ ἐπιφανείας τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου ὅργια μετασχάνει τῶν τε ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πιστῶν ἀπαρχὴν γενόμενον, πρῶτον κατέχει λόγος ἐπὶ τὴν πάτριμον παλινοστήρατα γῆν εὐαγγελίζοσασθαι τὴν τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ γνώσιν καὶ τὴν ζωοποιοῖν πάντων
power, he was the first to preach the word to those there. So great was the grace of God, which worked with him, that even Simon Magus, with countless others, was captivated by his words. At that time Simon had obtained such fame by his magical power over his victims that he was held to be the Great Power of God; but even he was then so overwhelmed by the marvels wrought by Philip by divine power, that he submitted, and feigned faith in Christ even to the point of baptism. It is worthy of wonder that this is still done by those who continue his most unclean heresy to the present day, for following the method of their progenitor they attach themselves to the Church like a pestilential and securby disease, and ravage to the utmost all whom they are able to inoculate with the deadly and terrible poison hidden in them. Most of these, however, have already been driven out, as many as have been detected in their wickedness, just as Simon himself, when his real nature was detected by Peter, paid the proper punishment. While the saving preaching was daily progressing and growing, some providence brought from the land of the Ethiopians an officer of the queen of that land, for the nation, following ancestral customs, is still ruled by a woman. Tradition says that he, who was the first of the Gentiles to receive from Philip by revelation the mysteries of the divine word, and was the first-fruits of the faithful throughout the world, was also the first to return to his native land and preach the Gospel of the knowledge of the God of the universe and the sojourn of our
EUSEBIUS

Psalm 67, 32
Acts 9, 15
Gal. 1, 1
Acts 9, 3–6
Tert. Apol. 21

eis ἀνθρώπους τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπιδημιῶν, ἔργῳ πληρωθείσης δι’ αὐτοῦ τῆς “Ἁλθωπία προφθάσει χείρα αὐτῆς τῷ θεῷ” περιεγχούσης προφητείας. επὶ τούτοις Παύλος, τὸ τῆς ἐκλογῆς σκεύος, οὐκ ἔξ ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι’ ἀνθρώπων, δι’ ἀποκαλύψεως δ’ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀπόστολος ἀναδείκνυται, δε’ ὀπτασίας καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν οὐρανίου φωνῆς ἀξιωθεῖς τῆς κλήσεως.

II. Καὶ δὴ τῆς παραδόξου τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀναστάσεως τε καὶ εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀναλήψεως τοῖς πλεῖστοις ἢδη περιβοητοῖς καθεστώσης, παλαιοῦ κεκρατηκότος ἑθους τοῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀρχοῦσα τὰ παρὰ σφίσιν καινοτομούμενα τῷ τὴν βασιλείαν ἄρχην ἐπικρατοῦντι σημαίνειν, ὡς ἂν μηδὲν αὐτῶν διαδιδάσκοι τῶν γνωμένων, τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ εἰς πάντας ἢδη καθ’ ὅλης Παλαιστίνης βεβοημένα Πιλάτος Τιβέριῳ βασιλεῖ κοινώται, τὰς τε ἄλλας αὐτοῦ πυθόμενος περαστίας καὶ ὡς ὅτι μετὰ θάνατον ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστὰς ἢδη θεὸς εἶναι παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς πεπίστευτο. τὸν δὲ Τιβέριον ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν σύγκλητον ἐκείνην τ’ ἀπώσασθαι φασὶ τὸν λόγον, τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν, ὦτι μὴ πρότερον αὐτῇ τούτῳ δοκιμάσασα ἢν, παλαιοῦ νόμου κεκρατηκότος μὴ ἄλλως τινὰ παρὰ Ἰουδαϊῶν θεοποιεῖσθαι μὴ οὐχὶ ψήφῳ καὶ δόγματι συγκλήτου, τῇ δ’ ἀληθείᾳ, ὅτι μηδὲ τῆς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐπικρίσεως τε καὶ συστάσεως ἢ σωτήρος τοῦ θείου κηρύγματος ἐδείτο διδασκαλία· ταύτῃ δ’ ὅτι ἀπωσαμένης τὸν προσαγγελθέντα περὶ τοῦ
Saviour which gives life to men, so that by him was actually fulfilled the prophecy which says, "Ethiopia shall stretch out her hand to God." In addition to these Paul, the chosen vessel neither of men nor through men but through revelation of Jesus Christ himself and God the Father who raised him from the dead, was appointed an Apostle, being vouchsafed this calling by a vision and the heavenly voice of revelation.

II. The wonderful resurrection and ascension into heaven of our Saviour was now already generally famous, and in accordance with an ancient custom that those who were ruling over the nations should report to him who held the imperial office any new movement among them, in order that no event might escape his notice, Pilate communicated to the Emperor Tiberius the story of the resurrection from the dead of our Saviour Jesus as already famous among all throughout all Palestine, together with the information he had gained of his other wonders and how he was already believed by many to be a God, in that after death he had risen from the dead. They say that Tiberius referred the report to the Senate, which rejected it ostensibly because it had not previously tested the matter, for an ancient law prevailed that no one should be held as a God by the Romans except by a vote and decree of the Senate, but in truth because the saving teaching of the divine message needed no ratification and commendation from men. In this way the council of

σωτῆρος ἡμῶν λόγον τῆς Πωμαιών βουλής, τοῦ Τιβέριου ἣν καὶ πρότερον εἶχεν γνώμην τηρήσαντα, μηδὲν ἀτοποῦν κατὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας ἐπινοῆσαι.

Ταύτα Τερτυλλιανὸς τοὺς Πωμαιῶν νόμους ἦκριτος, ἀνήρ τα τε ἄλλα ἐνδοξος καὶ τῶν μάλιστα ἐπὶ Ρώμης λαμπρῶν, ἐν τῇ γραφείᾳ μὲν αὐτῷ Ρωμαιῶν φωνῇ, μεταβληθείσῃ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα γλώτταν ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν ἀπολογίας τίθησιν, κατὰ λέξιν τούτων ἱστορῶν τὸν τρόπον "ίην δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς γενέσεως διαλεξώμεν τῶν τοιούτων νόμων, παλαιόν ἢν δόγμα μηδένα θεόν ὑπὸ βασιλέως καθιεροῦσα, πρὸς ἑαυτὴς συγκλήτου δοκιμασθήναι. Μάρκος Αἰμίλιος οὗτος περὶ τινός εἰδώλου πεποίηκεν Ἀλβούρνου. καὶ τοῦτο ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡμῶν λόγου πεποίηται, ὅτι παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἀνθρωπεῖα δοκιμὴ ἡ θεότης δίδοται. ἐὰν μὴ ἀνθρώπως θεὸς ἁρέσῃ, θεὸς οὐ γίνεται οὗτος κατὰ γε τοῦτο ἀνθρωπον θεῷ ἵλεο εἴναι προσήκειν. Τιβέριος οὖν, ἐφ᾽ οὗ τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ὅνομα εἰς τὸν κόσμον εἰσελήλυθεν, ἀγγελθέντος αὐτῷ ἐκ Παλαιστίνης τοῦ δόγματος τοῦτον, ἔνθα πρῶτον ἢξατο, τῇ συγκλήτῳ ἄνεκοιμώσατο, δῆλος ὅν ἐκείνος ὡς τῷ δόγματι ἀρέσκεται. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀυτῇ δεδοκιμάκει, ἀπώσατο· ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀποφάσει ἔμενεν, ἀπειλήσας θάνατον τοῖς τῶν Χριστιανῶν κατηγόρους."

Τῆς οὐρανίου προνοίας κατ᾽ ὀικονομίαν τοῦτον αὐτῷ πρὸς νοῦν βαλλομένης, ὡς ἂν ἀπαραποδίστος ἀρχάς ἔχων ὁ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου λόγος πανταχόσε γῆς διαδράμων.

III. Οὐτῶ δὴτα οὐρανίων δυνάμει καὶ συνεργίᾳ τινα ἐξηράνθησιν καὶ διεστραμμένην πάντων οὐρανίων ὅποια ἂν ἐπιτευχθήσεται τοιαύτης ἐξήρανσιν.
the Romans rejected the report sent to it concerning our Saviour, but Tiberius kept the opinion which he had formerly held and made no wicked plans against the teaching of Christ.

Tertullian, who had an accurate knowledge of Roman law, a man especially famous among those most distinguished in Rome, has noted this in the Apology for the Christians which was written by him in Latin but translated into the Greek language; he tells the story as follows: "But, in order that we may discuss such laws from their origin, there was an ancient decree that none should be consecrated as a god by an Emperor before being approved by the Senate. Marcus Aemilius has acted thus concerning a certain idol Alburnus. And this supports our argument that among you godship has been given by human approval. If a god does not please man, he does not become god, so that, according to this, man must be gracious to God. Tiberius, therefore, in whose time the name of Christian came into the world, when this doctrine was reported to him from Palestine, where it first began, communicated it to the Senate, and made it plain to them that he favoured the doctrine, but the Senate, because it had not itself tested it, rejected it; but he continued in his own opinion and threatened death to the accusers of the Christians."¹ For heavenly providence had designed putting this in his mind in order that the word of the Gospel might have an unimpeded beginning, and traverse the earth in all directions.

III. Thus by the power and assistance of Heaven

¹ Eusebius seems to imply that the following sentence is part of Tertullian. This is not so in the Latin manuscripts.
αθρῶς οίδα τις ἡλίου βολὴ τὴν σύμπασαν οἰκουμένην ὁ σωτήριος κατηγγάζει λόγος. αὐτίκα ταῖς θείαις ἐπομένως γραφαῖς ἐπὶ "πᾶσαν" προῆι σὴν γῆν ὁ φθόγγος" τῶν θεσπεσίων εὐαγγελιστῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποστόλων, "καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν." καὶ δήτα ἀνά πάσας πόλεις τε καὶ κώμας, πληθυνοῦσας ἄλλων δίκην, μυρίανδροι καὶ παμπληθείς αθρῶς ἐκκλησίαι συνεστήκεσαν, οἳ τε ἐκ προγόνων διαδοχῆς καὶ τῆς ἀνέκαθεν πλάνης παλαιών νόσων δεισιδαιμονίας εἰδώλων τὰς ψυχὰς πεπεδήμηνοι, πρὸς τὴν Ἑραστοῦ δυνάμεως διὰ τῆς τῶν φοιτητῶν αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας τε ὁμοῦ καὶ παραδοξοποιίας ὠσπερ δεινῶν δεσποτῶν ἀπηλλαγμένοι εἰργιμῶν τε χαλεπωτάτων λύσιν εὐράμενοι, πάσης μὲν δαμαυκής κατέπτυνον πολυθείας, ἕνα δὲ μόνον εἶναι θεὸν ὁμολόγουν, τῶν τῶν συμπάντων δημιουργῶν, τούτων τε αὐτῶν θεσμῶς ἀληθοὺς εὐσεβείς δι' ἐνθέου καὶ σώφρονος θρησκείας τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίω κατασπαρείσης ἐγέραμον. ἄλλα γὰρ τῆς χάριτος ἥδη τῆς θείας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ χειμένης ἔθνη καὶ πρώτου μὲν κατὰ τὴν Παλαιστίνων Καισάρειαν Κορυφῆλιον σὺν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ δι' ἐπιφανείας θειοτέρας ὑπογραφάς τε Πέτρου τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν καταδεψαμένον πλείστων τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας Ἐλλήνων, οἷς οἱ κατὰ τὸν Στεφάνου διωγμὸν διασπαρέντες ἐκήρυξαν, ἀνθοῦσης ἄρτι καὶ πληθυνοῦσης τῆς κατὰ Ἀντιοχείαν ἐκκλησίας ἐν τούτῳ τε ἑτεροτόνος πλείστων ὑσών τῶν τε ἀπὸ Ἑροδολύμων προφητῶν καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Βαρναβᾶ καὶ Παύλου ἔτερον τε
the saving word began to flood the whole world with light like the rays of the sun. At once, in accordance with the divine Scriptures, the voice of its inspired evangelists and Apostles "went forth to the whole earth and their words to the end of the world." In every city and village arose churches crowded with thousands of men, like a teeming threshing-floor. Those who by hereditary succession and original error had their souls bound by the ancient disease of the superstition of idols were set free as if from fierce masters and found release from fearful bondage by the power of Christ through the teaching of his followers and their wonderful deeds. They rejected all the polytheism of the demons, and confessed that there is only one God, the Creator of the universe. Him they honoured with the rites of true piety by the divine and rational worship which was implanted by our Saviour in the life of men. But indeed it was when the grace of God was already being poured out even on the other nations—when faith in Christ had been received, first by Cornelius with all his house in Palestinian Caesarea through divine manifestation and the ministration of Peter, and also by many other Greeks in Antioch, to whom those preached who had been scattered in the persecution about Stephen, and the Church in Antioch was already flourishing and multiplying—it was at that moment and in that place, when so many of the prophets from Jerusalem were also present, and with them Barnabas and Paul, and a number of the other
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πλήθους ἐπὶ τούτως ἀδελφῶν, ἦ Χριστιανῶν προσηγορία τότε πρῶτον αὐτόθι ὦσπερ ἀπ’ εὐθαλοῦς καὶ γονίμου πηγῆς ἀναδίδοται. καὶ Ἀγαθὸς μὲν, εἰς τῶν συνόντων αὐτοῖς προφητῶν, περὶ τοῦ μέλλεως ἐσεσθαι λυμὸν προθεστίζει, Παύλος δὲ καὶ Βαρναβᾶς ἐξυπηρετησόμενοι τῇ τῶν ἀδελφῶν παραπέμπονται διακοινία.

IV. Τιβέριος μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τὰ δύο καὶ εἰκοσι βαῖνοι συλεύσας ἔτη τελευτᾶ, μετὰ δὲ τούτων Γάϊος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραλαβὼν, αὐτίκα τῆς Ιουδαίων ἀρχῆς Ἀγρίππα τὸ διάδημα περιτίθησιν, βασιλεὰ καταστήσας αὐτὸν τῆς τε Φιλίππου καὶ τῆς Λυσανίου τετραρχίας, πρὸς αἰς μετ’ οὐ πολὺν αὐτῷ χρόνον καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου τετραρχίαν παραδίδωσιν, αἰδίως φυγῇ τὸν Ἡρώδην (οὗτος δ’ ἤν ὁ κατὰ τὸ πάθος τοῦ σωτῆρος) σὺν καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ Ἡρώδιάδι πλείστων ἐνεκα ζημιώσας αὐτῶν. μάρτυς Ἰωσήφου καὶ τούτων.

Κατὰ δὴ τούτων Φίλων ἐγνωρίζετο πλείστοις, τὰ ἁγία οὐ μόνον τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξωθεὶς ὅρμωμένων παιδείας ἐπισημότατος.

τὸ μὲν οὖν γένος ἀνέκαθεν Ἐβραῖος ἦν, τῶν δ’ ἐπ’ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐν τέλει διαφανῶν οὐδενὸς χείρων, περὶ δὲ τὰ θέα καὶ πάτρια μαθήματα ὅσον τε καὶ ὅπηλίκοι εἰσεισήκεται πόνον, ἐργὸν πάσι δήλος, καὶ περὶ τὰ φιλόσοφα δὲ καὶ ἐλευθέρα τῆς ἐξωθεὶς παιδείας οἶος τις ἤν, οὐδὲν δὲ λέγειν, ὅτε μάλιστα τὴν κατὰ Πλάτωνα καὶ Πυθαγόραν ἐξηλωκός ἀγωγήν, διενεγκεῖν ἀπαντα τοὺς καθ’ ἐαυτὸν ἰστορεῖται. Υ. καὶ δὴ τὰ κατὰ Γαίον οὕτως Ἰουδαίοις συμβάντα πέντε βιβλίων παραδίδωσιν, ὅμω τὴν Γαίου διεξεῖσθαι.
brethren besides them, that the name of Christian was first given, as from a fresh and life-giving fountain. Agabus also, one of the prophets with them, made predictions that there was to be a famine, and Paul and Barnabas were sent to give assistance to the ministry of the brethren.

IV. Tiberius died after reigning about twenty-two years.\(^1\) After him Caius received the sovereignty and at once gave to Agrippa\(^2\) the crown of the rule of the Jews. He made him king of the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, and after a short time added to them the tetrarchy of Herod, sentencing Herod (he was the Herod of the Passion of the Saviour) for many offences to perpetual banishment, together with his wife Herodias. Of this too Josephus is witness.

In his reign Philo became generally known as a man of the greatest distinction, not only among our own people but also among those of heathen education. He was a Hebrew by racial descent but inferior to none of the magnates in authority in Alexandria. The extent and quality of the labour he bestowed on the theological learning of his race is in fact patent to all, and it is not necessary to say anything of his position in philosophy and the liberal studies of the heathen world since he is related to have surpassed all his contemporaries, especially in his zeal for the study of Plato and Pythagoras. V. Now this writer has narrated in five books what happened to the Jews in the time of Caius; he has in this work combined the stories of the insanity of Caius,

\(^1\) He died March 16, A.D. 37.
\(^2\) See Introduction for the family of the Herod. This is Agrippa I., son of Aristobulus and grandson of Herod the Great. The Herod mentioned in the next sentence is Herod Antipas, Agrippa’s uncle.
φρενοβλάβειας, ὡς θεον ἐαυτον ἀναγορεύσαντος καὶ μυρία περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνυβρικότος, τὰς τε κατ’ αὐτὸν Ἰουδαϊὼν ταλαιπωρίας καὶ ἦν αὐτὸς στειλάμενος ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαιῶν πόλεως ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείαν ὁμοεθνῶν ἐποιήσατο πρεσβείαν, ὅπως τε ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαίου καταστᾶσ ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίων νόμων, οὐδέν τι πλέον γέλωτος καὶ διασυρμῶν ἀπηνέγκατο, μικρὸν δεῖν καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς ζωῆς ἀνατλᾶς κύδυνον.

Μέμνηται καὶ τούτων ὁ Ἰωσήφος, ἐν ὀκτώ ᾠδικέκατῳ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας κατὰ λέξιν ταῦτα γράφων ἡ καὶ δὴ στάσεως ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ γενομένης Ἰουδαϊών τε οἱ ἔνοικοι, καὶ Ἑλλήνων, τρεῖς ἀφ’ ἐκατέρας τῆς στάσεως πρεσβευταί αἰρεθέντες παρῆσαν πρὸς τὸν Γαίον. καὶ ἦν γὰρ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρείων πρέσβεων εἰς Ἀπίων, ὅς πολλὰ εἰς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐβλασφήμησεν, ἀλλὰ τε λέγων καὶ ὅς τῶν Καίσαρος τιμῶν περιορίζειν πάντων γοῦν, ὅσοι τῇ Ῥωμαιῶν ἀρχῇ ὑποτελεῖσ τελε, βωμοὺς τὸ Γαίω καὶ ναιοὺς ἱδρυμένων τὰ τε ἀλλὰ ἐν πάσιν αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς θεοὺς δεχομένων, μόνους τούσδε ἄδοξον ἡγεῖσθαι ἀνδριάσι τιμῶν καὶ ὅρκων αὐτοῦ τὸ ονόμα ποιεῖσθαι πολλὰ δὲ καὶ χαλεπὰ Ἀπίωνος εἰρηκότος, ὑφ’ ὄν ἀρθῆναι ἥλπισεν τὸν Γαίον καὶ ἑικός ἦν, Φίλων ὁ προεστῶς τῶν Ἰουδαϊών τῆς πρεσβείας, ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ἐνδοξος Ἀλεξανδρου τε τοῦ ἀλαβάρχου ἀδελφὸς ὑπὶ καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἀπειρος, οἷς τε ἦν ἐπ’ ἀπολογία χωρεῖν τῶν κατηγορημένων, διακλεῖει δ’ αὐτοῦ Γαίος, κελεύσας ἐκποδῶν ἀπελθεῖν, περιοργῆσι τε ὃν φανερὸς ἦν ἐργασομενός τι δεινὸν αὐτοὺς. ὁ δὲ Φίλων ἐξεισὶ περι-
how he announced himself as a god and perpetrated innumerable acts of insolence during his reign, of the misery of the Jews in his time, of the mission which he was himself entrusted to make to the city of the Romans on behalf of those of his own race in Alexandria, and of how, when he appeared before Caius on behalf of his ancestral laws, he received nothing but laughter and ridicule, and narrowly escaped risking his life.

Josephus also relates these facts and writes as follows in the eighteenth book of the Antiquities: "Now when a disturbance took place in Alexandria between the Jews who lived there and the Greeks, three of each side were chosen to go as representatives to Caius. One of the Alexandrian representatives was Apion, who uttered many calumnies against the Jews, saying especially that they neglected to give honour to Caesar, and that while all who are subject to the rule of the Romans build altars and temples to Caius, and in all other respects receive him as they do the gods, these men alone think it improper to honour him with statues or to swear by his name. Now though Apion had made many serious charges by which he naturally hoped that Caius would be roused, Philo, the chief of the embassy of the Jews, a man of high reputation in every respect, for he was the brother of Alexander the Alabarch and a philosopher of no little skill, was able in his reply to deal with the accusations, but Caius cut him short, bade him get out of the way, and was so enraged that he clearly was on the point of serious measures against them. So Philo went
υβρισμένος, καὶ φησιν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν, ὡς χρῆ θαρρεῖν, Γαῖον μὲν αὐτὸς ὄργισμένου, ἐργῷ δὲ ὡδη τὸν θεὸν ἀντιπαρεξάγοντος.’’

Ταῦτα ὁ Ἰώσηπος. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Φίλων ἐν ἡ συνέγραφεν Προσβεία τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀκριβῶς τῶν τότε πραγμάτων αὐτῷ δηλοί, ὡς τὰ πλείστα παρεῖ, ἐκεῖνα μόνα παραθήσομαι, δι’ ὅν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι προφανῆς γενήσεται δῆλοις τῶν ἀμα τε καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν τῶν κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τετολμημένων ἐνεκεν Ἰουδαίους συμβεβηκότων. πρῶτον δὴ οὖν κατὰ Τιβέριον ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως ἱστορεῖ Σημιανόν, τῶν τότε παρὰ βασιλεῖ πολλὰ δυνάμενον, ἀρδὴν τὸ πάν ἔθνος ἀπολέσθαι σπουδὴν εἰσαγαγονεῖ, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας Πιλᾶτον, καθ’ ὅν τὰ περὶ τὸν σωτηρία τετόλιμτο, περὶ τὸ ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωι ἐπὶ τότε συνεστὸς ἱερὸν ἐπιχειρήσαντα τῇ παρὰ τὸ Ἰουδαίως ἑξόν, τὰ μέγιστα αὐτοὺς ἀναταράξας, VI. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Τιβέριον τελευτήν Γαϊῶν τῆν ἀρχὴν παρειληφότα, πολλὰ μὲν εἰς πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλα ἐνυπρίασι, πάντων δὲ μάλιστα τὸ πάν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος οὐ σμικρὰ καταβλάβαι· ὁ καὶ ἐν βραχεὶ πάρεστιν διὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ καταμαθεῖν φωνῶν, ἐν αἷς κατὰ λέξην ταῦτα γράφει

"Τοσαύτη μὲν οὖν τις ἡ τοῦ Γαϊοῦ περὶ τὸ ἰθὸς ἢν ἀνωμαλία πρὸς ἀπαντας, διαφερόντως δὲ πρὸς τὸ Ἰουδαίων γένος, ὡς χαλεπῶς ἀπεχθανόμενος τὰς μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεως προσευχάς, ἀπὸ τῶν κατ’ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀρέσκειν, σφετερίζεται, καταπλήσας εἰκόνων καὶ ἀνδράντων τῆς ἰδίας μορφῆς (ὁ γὰρ ἐτέρων ἀνατιθέντων 120
out, deeply insulted, and told the Jews who were with him that they must keep up their courage, for though Caius was enraged against them he was in fact already fighting against God."

So far Josephus. Philo himself in the *Embassy* which he wrote gives an accurate and detailed account of what he did at the time. I shall pass over the greater part and cite only those points which plainly demonstrate to students the misfortunes which came upon the Jews, all at once and after a short time, in consequence of their crimes against Christ. In the first place he relates that, in the time of Tiberius, in the city of the Romans, Sejanus, the most influential of the Emperor's court at the time, took measures completely to destroy the whole race, and in Judaea Pilate, under whom the crime against the Saviour was perpetrated, made an attempt on the temple, still standing in Jerusalem, contrary to the privileges granted to the Jews, and harassed them to the utmost, (VI.) while after the death of Tiberius Caius received the sovereignty and inflicted many injuries on many, but more than all did the greatest harm to the whole nation of the Jews. This may be learned shortly from his own words, in which he writes exactly as follows: "Now the character of Caius was extremely capricious towards all, but particularly towards the race of Jews. He hated them bitterly; in other cities, beginning with Alexandria, he seized the synagogues and filled them with images and statues of his own form (for by giving permission to
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"Εφεις, αὐτὸς ἢδρυτε ὑμᾶς, τὸν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἱεροπόλει νεῶν, ὅς λοιπὸς ἢν ἠμαυστός, ἀσυλίαν ἤξωμένοις τῆς πάσης, μεθηρμόζετο καὶ μετεχματίζετο εἰς οἰκείον ἱερόν, ἵνα Διὸς Ἐπιφανεῖς Νέου χρηματίζῃ Γαῖαν."

Μυρία μὲν οὖν ἄλλα δεινὰ καὶ πέρα πάσης δυνήσεως ὁ αὐτὸς κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν συμβεβηκότα Ἰουδαίοις ἐπὶ τοῦ δηλομένου ἐν δευτέρῳ συγγράμματι ὁ ἔπεγραψεν "Περὶ ἄρετῶν" ἵστορεῖ: συνάδει δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Ἰωσήφος, ὦμοιος ἀπὸ τῶν Πιλάτου χρόνων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν σωτηρὸς τετολμημένων τὰς κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους ἐνάρξασθαι σημαίνων συμφοράς. ἀκονε δ' οὖν οἶα καὶ οὕτος ἐν δευτέρῳ τοῦ Ἰουδαίκου πολέμου αὐταῖς συλλαβαίς δηλοὶ λέγων

"Πεμφθεῖς δὲ εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἐπιτροπὸς ὑπὸ Τιβερίου Πιλάτος νῦκτωρ κεκαλυμμένας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παρεισκομίζει τὰς Καίσαρας εἰκόνας· σημαίαι καλοῦνται. τοῦτο μεθ' ἡμέραν μεγίστην παραχθῆν ἡγείρεν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. οἳ τε γὰρ ἐγγύς πρὸς τὴν οὖν ἔξεπλάγησαν, ὡς πεπαθμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν νόμων· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀξιοῦσαν ἐν τῇ πόλει δείκησιν τίθεσθαι."

Ταῦτα δὲ συγκρίνας τῇ τῶν εὐαγγελίων γραφῇ, 5 εἰσὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν αὐτοὺς μετήλθεν ἢν ἔρρηξαν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Πιλάτου φωνήν, δι' ἃς οὖκ ἄλλον ἢ μόνον ἔχειν ἐπεβόων Καίσαρα βασιλέα.

1 Schwartz prefers the reading of BD, ὁ ν ἔπεγραψεν, but to make sense this would require the article τῷ before δευτέρῳ. It is possible that the τῷ slipped out by a primitive error, in which case ὁν would be the better reading.

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others to install them he did in fact put them there), and in Jerusalem the temple, which had hitherto been untouched and held worthy of preservation from all violation, he tried to change and transform to a shrine of his own to be called that of ‘Caius the new Zeus manifest.’

The same writer narrates in a second treatise entitled On the Virtues\(^1\) innumerable other atrocities, beyond all description, perpetrated on Jews in Alexandria in the same reign, and Josephus confirms him, showing in the same way that the universal misfortunes of the nation began with the time of Pilate and the crimes against the Saviour. Listen then to the actual words of his statement in the second book of the Jewish War. ‘Now Pilate, sent as procurator to Judaea by Tiberius, brought into Jerusalem at night and covered up the images of Caesar which are called ensigns. When day came this roused the greatest commotion among the Jews, for they were horrified at what they saw close by since their laws had been trampled on, for they do not permit any image to be set up in the city.’

Now comparing this with the writing of the Gospels you will see that it was not long before they were overtaken by the cry which they uttered in the presence of Pilate himself, with which they shouted out that they had no other king than Caesar only. The same writer

\(^1\) This is the only possible translation of the Greek as it stands. Yet there is little doubt but that On the Virtues is an alternative title of the Embassy. Either Eusebius made a slip, or there is a primitive error in the text, which should be emended and translated in agreement with the rendering of Rufinus, ‘In the second of the books which he entitled On the Virtues.'
είτα δὲ καὶ ἀλλήν ἐξής ὁ αὐτὸς συγγραφεύς ἵστορεῖ μετελθεῖν αὐτοὺς συμφορὰν εὲ τούτοις "μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ταραχὴν ἔτεραν ἐκίνει, τὸν ἱερὸν θησαυρόν, καλεῖται δὲ κορβανας, εἰς καταγωγὴν ὑδάτων ἐξαναλίσκων. κατήγει δὲ ἀπὸ τριακσίων σταδίων, πρὸς τοῦτο τὸν πλῆθος ἀγανάκτησις ἦν, καὶ τοῦ Πιλάτου παρόντος εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα, περιστάντες ἢμα κατεβόων. ο δὲ προήδει γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν ταραχὴν καὶ τῷ πλῆθει τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐνόπλους, ἐσθήσεως ἰδωτικῖς κεκαλυμμένοι, ἐγκαταμίξας καὶ ξίφει μὲν χρήσαται κωλύσας, ξύλοις δὲ παίειν τοὺς κεκραγότας ἐγκελευσάμενος, σύνθημα δίδωσιν ἀπὸ τὸν βήματος. τυπτόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαίοι πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πληγῶν, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ καταπατηθέντες ἀπώλοντο, πρὸς δὲ τὴν συμφορὰν τῶν ἄνγημενων καταπλαγὲν τὸ πλῆθος ἐσιωπήσεν."

'Επὶ τούτων μυρίας ἄλλας ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἰεροσολύμοις κεκυνηθαί νεωτεροποιώς ὁ αὐτὸς ἐμφαίνει, παριστάς ὡς οὐδαμῶς ἔξ ἐκεῖνον διέλιπτον τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀπασαν στάσεις καὶ πόλεμοι καὶ κακῶν ἐπάληθελοι μηχαναί, εἰς ὅτε τὸ πανύστατον ἦ κατὰ Ὀὐσεπασιανὸν αὐτοῦς μετήλθεν πολυρκία. Ἰουδαίους μὲν οὖν ἃν κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τετολμήκασιν, ταύτη τὴ τὰ ἐκ τῆς θείας μετήμει δύκης.

VII. Οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν δὲ ἄξιον ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνον τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος Πιλάτου κατὰ Γάϊον, οὗ τοὺς χρόνους διέξης, τοσαύτας περιπέσειν κατέχει λόγος συμφοραῖς, ὡς ἐξ ἀνάγκης αὐτοφονετὴν ἔαυτον καὶ τιμωρον αὐτοχειρα γενέσθαι, τῆς θείας, ὃς 124
then goes on to relate another misfortune which overtook them, as follows: "And after this he roused another commotion by expending the sacred treasure, called Corban, for an aqueduct which he brought from a distance of three hundred stadia. Popular indignation was aroused at this, and when Pilate came to Jerusalem the people stood round with howls of execration; but he had foreseen their disturbance and had mixed with the crowd armed soldiers disguised in civilian clothes, with orders not to use their swords but to club those who had shouted. He gave the signal for this from his judgement-seat; and as the Jews were smitten many perished from the blows, many from being trampled upon by their fellows in their flight, and the mob, overcome at the calamity of those who perished, was silent."

The same writer shows that besides this innumerable other revolts were started in Jerusalem itself, affirming that from that time risings and war and the mutual contrivance of evil never ceased in the city and throughout Judaea, until the time when the siege under Vespasian came upon them as the last scene of all. Thus the penalty of God pursued the Jews for their crimes against Christ.

VII. It is also worthy of notice that tradition relates that that same Pilate, he of the Saviour's time, in the days of Caius, whose period we have described, fell into such great calamity that he was forced to become his own slayer and to punish himself with his own hand, for the penalty of God, as it seems,
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εὔκεν, δίκης οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν αὐτὸν μετελθοῦσις. ἤστοροῦσιν Ἑλλήνων οἱ τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας ἁμα τοὺς κατὰ χρόνους πεπραγμένους ἀναγράφαντες.

VIII. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ Γάιον οὖν ὁλος τέσσαρων ἔτερ δύον τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχόντα Κλαύδιος αὐτοκράτωρ διαδέχεται καθ᾽ ἃν λιμοῦ τὴν οἰκουμένην πιέσαντος (τοῦτο δὲ καὶ οἱ πόρρω τοῦ καθ᾽ ἓμᾶς λόγου συγγραφεῖς ταῖς αὐτῶν ἤστορίαις παρέδοσαν), ἥ κατὰ τὰς Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων Ἀγάβου προφήτου περὶ τοῦ μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι λιμοῦ ἐφ᾽ ὠλὴν τὴν οἰκουμένην πέρας ἔλαμβανεν πρόρρησις. τὸν δὲ κατὰ Κλαύδιον λιμὸν ἐπὶ σημείας ἐν ταῖς Πράξεις οὐκ ιστορήσας τε ὅσο ἀρα διὰ Παύλου καὶ Βαρναβᾶς οἱ κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν ἄδελφοι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐξ ὧν ἐκαστός ὑπόρει διαπεμψάμενοι εὑρησαν, ἐπιφέρει λέγων· (IX.) κατ᾽ ἐκείνων δὲ τὸν καιρόν, δὴλον δ′ στὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Κλαύδιον, ἐπέβαλεν Ἡρώδης οὐ βασιλεὺς τὰς χειρὰς κακῶσα τινας τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀνείλεν δὲ Ἰάκωβοι τοῖς ἄδελφον Ἰωάννου μαχαίρα. περὶ τούτου δ′ ὁ Κλήμης τοῦ Ἰακώβου καὶ ἤστορίαν μνήμης ἀξίαν ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἰπποτυπώσεως ἐβδόμη παρατίθεται ὦς ἃν ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν πρὸ αὐτῶν φάσκων δι᾽ ὧν ἐδειγμάζουν αὐτὸν ἐς δικαιοτήριον, μαρτυρίσαντα αὐτὸν ὡςν κυριεῖς, ὡμολογήσεν εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔαυτὸν Χριστιανόν. "συναπῆχθησαν παρὰ ὁμοίωμα," φησίν, "καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὄδον ἦξισαν ἀφεθήναι αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰακώβου· δὲ δὲ ὄλογον σκέψιμον, ἐφημηθεν σοι ἐπεν καὶ κατεφίλησεν αὐτόν. καὶ οὕτως ἀμφότεροι ὁμοί ἐκαρατομήθησαν." 1

1 Cf. George Syncellus 633, 11-18.
followed hard after him. Those who record the
Olympiads of the Greeks with the annals of events
relate this.¹

VIII. Caius had not completed four years of
sovereignty when Claudius succeeded him as
Emperor.² In his time famine seized the world
(and this also writers³ with a purpose quite other
than ours have recorded in their histories), and so
what the prophet Agabus had foretold, according
to the Acts of the Apostles, that a famine would
be over the whole world, received fulfilment. Luke
in the Acts describes the famine in the time of
Claudius and narrates how the Christians at
Antioch sent to those in Judaea, each according
to his ability, by Paul and Barnabas, and he goes
on to say, (IX.) “Now at that time,”—obviously
that of Claudius,—“Herod the king put forth his
hand to vex certain of the church and killed James
the brother of John with the sword.” Concerning
this James, Clement adds in the seventh book of the
Hypotyposes a story worth mentioning, apparently
from the tradition of his predecessors, to the effect
that he who brought him to the court was so moved
at seeing him testify as to confess that he also was
himself a Christian. “So they were both led away
together,” he says, “and on the way he asked for
forgiveness for himself from James. And James
looked at him for a moment and said, ‘Peace be to
you, and kissed him. So both were beheaded at the
same time.”

¹ No extant records confirm this statement.
² Jan. 24, A.D. 41.
³ Cf. Tacitus, Ann. xii. 13, and Dio Cassius lx. 11. But
Eusebius, influenced by Acts xi. 28, exaggerates the
universal character of the famine.
Acts 12, 3-17

Τότε δήτα, ὦς φησιν ἡ θεία γραφή, ἵδων Ἡρώδης ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἰακώβου ἀναρέει πρὸς ἡδονής γεγονός τὸ πραξθὲν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ἐπιτίθεται καὶ Πέτρω, δεσμοὶς τε αὐτοῦ παραδοῦσιν, ὅσον οὕτω καὶ τὸν κατ’ αὐτοῦ φόνον ἐνήργησεν ἃν, εἰ μὴ διὰ θείας ἐπιφανείας, ἐπιστάντος αὐτῷ νῦκτωρ ἀγγέλου, παραδόξως τῶν ἑργμῶν ἀπαλλαγείς, ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος ἀφεῖται διακονία. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Πέτρον οὕτως εἶχεν οἰκονομίας. Χ. Τά δέ γε τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγχειρίας 1 σεως τοῦ βασιλέως οὐκέτι ἀναβολής εἶχετο, ἀμα γε τοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς θείας δίκης τιμωρὸς διάκων 

Acts 12, 19.

21-23

1 The feast was probably that Pro salute Caesaris which was celebrated every four years (see E. Schwartz, “Zur 128
At that time, as the divine Scripture says, Herod, seeing that his action in the murder of James had given pleasure to the Jews, turned to Peter also, put him in prison, and would have perpetrated his murder also had it not been for Divine intervention at the last moment, for an angel appeared to him by night and he was miraculously released from his bonds and set free for the ministry of preaching. Such was the dispensation of heaven for Peter.

X. As to the king’s attempt on the Apostles there was no more delay, but the avenging minister of the sentence of God overtook him at once, immediately after his plot against the Apostles, as the Scripture relates in the Acts. He had gone to Caesarea, and there on the set day of the feast,\(^1\) adorned with splendid and royal robes, he addressed the people, standing on high before his judgement-seat. The whole people applauded his address, as though at the voice of a god and not of a man, and the story\(^2\) relates that an angel of the Lord smote him at once, and he was eaten of worms and expired. It is worthy of wonder how in this marvel also the narrative of Josephus agrees with the divine Scripture. He clearly testifies to the truth in the nineteenth book of the Antiquities, where the wonder is related in the following words: “Now the third year of his reign over all Judaea had been finished when he came to the city of Caesarea, which was formerly called the Chronologie des Paulus,” Götting. Nachr. 1907), and was due in A.D. 44 when Herod probably died.

\(^1\) Note that Eusebius uses the word \(\lambda\dot{\gamma}ι\nu\) of the Acts; in view of the fact that the word, literally “oracle,” is generally used of the Old Testament it might almost be rendered by “Scripture.”
λείτο. συνετέλει δ’ ἐνταῦθα θεωρίας εἰς τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν τιμήν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας ἐορτήν των ταύτην ἑπιστάμενος, καὶ παρ’ αὐτῆς ἢθροιστο τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἑπαρχίαν ἐν τέλει καὶ προβεβηκότων εἰς ἄξιαν πλῆθος. δευτέρα δὲ τῶν ἡθεωρίων ἠμέρα στολὴν ἐνδυσάμενος ἐξ ἀργύρου πεποιημένην πάσαν, ὡς θαυμάσιον ὑφήν εἶναι, παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἀρχομένης ἠμέρας. ἐνθα ταῖς πρώταις τῶν ἤλιοκάροις ἀκτίνων ἐπιβολαῖς ὁ ἄργυρος καταγνασθεὶς, θαυμασίως ἀπέστιλθεν, μαρμαίρων τι φοβερόν καὶ τοῦ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀτενίζοσι φρικῶδες. εὐθὺς δὲ οἱ κόλακες τὰς ουδέν ἐκείνω πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἄλλος ἀλλοθεν φωνᾶς ἀνεβόων, θεὸν προσαγορεύοντες ‘εὐμενής’ τε ‘εἰρής’ ἐπιλέγοντες, ‘εἰ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὡς ἀνθρωπον ἐφοβήθημεν, ἀλλὰ τούτῳ κρείττονα σε θυτήριον φύσεως ὀμολογοῦμεν.’ οὐκ ἐπέπληξεν τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐδὲ τὴν κολακείαν ἀσεβοῦσαν ἀπετύμβατο. ἄνακυψάδε δὲ μετ’ ὀλίγον, τῆς έαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς υπερκαθεζόμενον εἶδον ἄγγελον. τούτῳ εὐθὺς ἐνόησεν κακῶν εἶναι αἰτίων, τὸν καὶ ποτὲ τῶν ἁγαθῶν γενόμενον, καὶ διακάρδιον ἔσχεν ὀδύνην, ἄθροιν δ’ αὐτῷ τῆς κοιλίας προσέφυσεν ἀλγήμα, μετὰ σφοδρόττητος ἀρξάμενον. ἀναθεωρῶν οὐν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ‘ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν ἐγὼ, φησίν,’ ἢδη καταστρέφειν ἐπιτάττομαι τὸν βίον, παραχρήμα τῆς εἰμαρμένης τάς ἀρτι μου κατεφευγμένας φωνᾶς ἐλεγχούσῃς. ὁ κληθεὶς ἀθάνατος ὑψὸς ὑμῶν, ἢδη θανεῖν ἀπάγομαι. δεικτέον δὲ τὴν πεπρωμένην, ἢ θεὸς βεβούληται. καὶ

1 Eusebius is usually very accurate in his quotations, but here he varies from the text of Josephus, who says “he saw
tower of Strato. There he was celebrating games in honour of Caesar, because he knew that this was a kind of feast for his safety, and at it was assembled a multitude of those in office and of high rank in the province. On the second day of the games he put on a robe made entirely of silver, so that it was a wonderful fabric, and proceeded to the theatre at the beginning of the day. Then when the silver was resplendent with the first glint of the rays of the sun it gleamed marvellously with a peculiar sheen, fearful and terrifying to those who gazed at it. At once the flatterers raised their voices from various quarters—but no good did it do him—and addressed him as a god, saying, 'Be thou propitious! even if until now we feared thee as man, yet from henceforth we confess thee as of more than mortal nature.' The king was not dismayed at these words, nor did he reject the impious flattery.

But after a little looking up he saw an angel seated above his head.¹ This he at once perceived to be the harbinger of evil, as it had formerly been of good;¹ he had pain in his heart, and agony rapidly beginning spread increasingly through his stomach. So he looked up to his friends and said, 'I, who am your god, am now commanded to give up my life, for fate has immediately reproofed the lying words just uttered about me. I, whom you called immortal, am now being taken off to die. Fate must be accepted as God has willed, yet I have an owl sitting on a certain rope over his head, and at once understood that it was a messenger (ἄγγελος) of evil, as it had formerly been of good.' The allusion is to the story that when Agrippa, at the lowest ebb of his misfortunes, was in prison in Rome he saw an owl and regarded it as a harbinger of better days, which did indeed soon come (Josephus, Ant. xviii. 6. 7).
γὰρ βεβιώκαμεν οὐδαμὴ φαύλως, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῆς μακαριζομένης μακρότητος. ταῦτα δὲ λέγων ἐπιτάσει τῆς ὁδύνης κατεπνεύτο· μετὰ σπουδῆς οὖν εἰς τὸ βασιλείον ἐκομίσθη, καὶ διέζει λόγος ἐς πάντας ὡς ἔχω τοῦ τεθνάναι παντάπασι μετ’ ὀλύγον. ἡ πληθὺς δ’ αὐτίκα σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ἐπὶ σάκκον καθεσθείσα τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ τὸν θεόν ἱκέτευον ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως, οἴμων· τε πάντ᾽ ἦν ἀνάπλεα καὶ θρήνων. ἐν ψυχῇ δ’ οἱ βασιλεῖς δωματίω κατακείμενος καὶ κάτω βλέπων αὐτοὺς πρηνεῖς προπίπτοντας, ἀδακρυς οὐδ’ αὐτῶς ἔμενεν. συνεχεὶς δ’ εἴῃ ἡμέρας πέντε τῷ τῆς γαστρὸς ἀλγήματι διεργασθεῖς, τῶν βίων κατέστρεψεν, ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἄγων πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος καὶ τέταρτον, τῆς δὲ βασιλείας ἐβδομον. τέσσαρας μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Γαίου Κάισαρος ἐβασιλεύων ἐναιαυτοῦ, τῆς Φιλίππου μὲν τετραρχίας εἰς τριετίαν ἀρξασ, τῷ τετάρτῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν 'Ἡρώδου προσειληφώσ, τρεῖς δ’ ἔπιλαβάν τῆς Κλαύδου Κάισαρος αὐτοκρατορίας.' ταῦτα τὸν Ἰώσηπον μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ταῖς θείαις συναληθεύοντα γραφαῖς ἀποθαυμάζω· εἰ δὲ περὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως προσηγορίαν δοξείν τισιν διαφωνεῖν, ἀλλ’ ὁ γε χρόνος καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις τὸν αὐτὸν ὡς δείκνυσιν, ἦτοι κατὰ τὶ σφάλμα γραφικὸν ἐνηλπαμεῖν τοῦ ὄνοματος ἡ καὶ διωνυσία περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν, οἷα καὶ περὶ πολλοὺς, γεγενημένης.

Acts 5, 34–36

XI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν οὐκ ἔριμα ἐν ταῖς Πράξεωι εἰςάγαγε τὸν Γαμαλήλ ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων σκέψει λέγοντα ὡς ἄρα κατὰ τῶν δηλούμενον χρόνον ἀνέστη Θεουδᾶς λέγων εἰμι τινά, ὁς κατελύθη, καὶ πάντες ὡς τῷ ἐπείσθησαν αὐτῷ,
lived no mean life, but in the spaciousness which men deem happy.’ While he was saying this, he began to be overwhelmed by the intensity of his pain; he was therefore carried hastily into the palace, and the report was spread among all that he would certainly die shortly. But the multitude seated on sackcloth with their wives and children, according to the law of their fathers, at once began to beseech God for the king and the whole place was filled with wailing and lamentations. The king lying in a room on high, and looking down on them as they fell prostrate, did not remain without tears himself. After being racked by pain in the stomach for five successive days he passed from life in the fifty-fourth year of his age and the seventh of his reign.\footnote{This would be A.D. 44, which fits in well with all the other data, except the fact that there are coins of Agrippa referring to his eighth and ninth years: they are usually thought to be spurious, but the point is obscure.} He had reigned four years in the time of Caius Caesar. For three years he possessed the tetrarchy of Philip, but in the fourth received also that of Herod, and he continued for three more years in the reign of Claudius Caesar.” I am surprised how in this and other points Josephus confirms the truth of the divine Scriptures. Even if he seem to some to differ as to the name of the king, nevertheless the date and the events show that he is the same, and either that the name has been changed by some clerical error or that there were two names for the same man, as has happened with many.

XI. Since Luke in the Acts introduces Gamaliel as saying at the inquiry about the Apostles that at the time indicated Theudas arose, saying that he was somebody, and that he was destroyed and all who
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dielūthēsan. fēre, kai tēn peri toūtou paraθw-
meba toû 'Iwshîpou graφhîn. istorei toûwn aûthîs
kata toûn ârtywos deðhλwmeôn aûtou logou aûtâ
ðê tâûta kata lêxîn, 'Fáðou de tîs 'Ioudaías 2
épîtrôpeûontos, gôsîs tîs ânîrâ, Òeuðâs onômati,
péithî toûn plexîtou Òchlon anâlabîonta Ïás kîthseis
êpêsîâi prôs tîn 'Iordânhîn potamûn aûtwî pro-
phîthôs gâr êlêgen eînai, kai prôstâgmâti tîn
potamûn Òchîsas Òidîon êfê parêxei aûtoîs ba-
dîan, kai tâûta lêgôn potlou sîtâtîs. ou 3
mên eîasen aûtoûs tîs aphonesîs onâsîai Fáðos,
âllê êxêpemîse îîhîn îppêwv ëp' aûtoûs, ñîsî
êpîpësôûsa âprôsdoûkîtôs aûtoîs, potlouvs mên
âneîlên, potlouvs Òe Þwntas ëlabên, aûtoû te tîn
Òeuðân Þwgrîhîsantes âpôtêmnoûv sîn këfâlhîn
kai kokîzounv eîs 'Ierôsôlima.'

Toûtoûs êxîs kai tû tû kata Klauûdion genômênon
lîmòû muñmoneûî òðê pov's. XII. 'êpî toûtoûs 1
gê kai tûn mëgân lîmòûn kata tîn 'Ioudaîan súnebh
gevêsîhâ, kath' Ï'n kai h Òasîlîsòa 'Elênî potlîwv
xrhîmatwv wînhăsâmênî sîton ápô tîs Aîgûpîtou,
dèneimên tôis âpôrîmëvnois.' súmîfenw Ï's àn 2
eûrou kai tâûta tê tôwv Práxeiwn tôwv âpo-
stîlwv graφhî, periekhûseî wîs ãrâ tôwv kat'
'Antîcîkhaîn mabhtwv kathws ëwpopereîto tîs,
wîsâvî 'êkastos eîs diakônivan âposéîlai toûs
katôiîouvên en tê 'Ioudaîa. Ï kai êpôlsîsan,
âposéîlantwv prôs tôus pîresbîtêrous diâ cheiôs
Bàrnvabà kai Pauîlou. tîs gê toû 'Elênîs, ûs dhî 3
kai Ï suγgraφeûs êpouîsato muñmèn, eîs êti vîn

1 It is remarkable that Enusebius did not notice that this
obeyed him were scattered; come, let us compare the writing of Josephus with regard to him. In his work lately mentioned he gives the following narrative. "Now when Fadus was procurator of Judaea a certain impostor named Theudas persuaded a great multitude to take their possessions and follow him to the river Jordan, for he said that he was a prophet and undertook to divide the river by his commands and provide an easy crossing for them. By saying this he deceived many; Fadus, however, did not allow them to enjoy their delusion, but sent a squadron of cavalry against them which attacked them unexpectedly, killed many and took many alive, captured Theudas himself, cut off his head, and brought it to Jerusalem."

After this he also mentions as follows the famine which took place in the time of Claudius: XII. "At the same time it happened that the great famine took place in Judaea, in which Queen Helena bought corn from Egypt at great expense and distributed it to those who were in need." You would find that this too agrees with the writing of the Acts of the Apostles, which records how the disciples in Antioch, each according to his several ability, determined to send to the relief of the dwellers in Judaea, which they did, sending it to the elders by the hand of Barnabas and Paul. Splendid monuments of the Helena whom the historian has commemorated are

Theudas cannot really have been referred to by Gamaliel, who was speaking many years before the time of Fadus. Most modern writers on Acts think that nevertheless the Theudas of Acts is the Theudas of Josephus and explain the speech as literary fiction. Some think that "Luke" was misled by Josephus, who happens to mention Theudas in the same context as Judas of Galilee.
στήλαι διαφανεῖς ἐν προαστείοις δείκνυνται τῆς νῦν Αἰλίας· τοῦ δὲ 'Αδιαβητνῶν ἔθνους αὕτη βασιλεύσα τελέυτην.

XIII. Ἀλλά γὰρ τῆς εἰς τὸν σωτήρα καὶ κύριον ἡμᾶς Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκδιαδομένης πίστεως, ὅ τὴς ἀνθρώπων πολέμων σωτηρίας τὴν βασιλεύουσαν προαρπάσσαν πόλιν μηχανώμενος, ἐνταῦθα Σίμωνα τὸν πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένον ἄγε, καὶ δὴ ταῖς ἐντέχνοις τάνδρος συναιρόμενος γοητείας πλείους τῶν τὴν Ῥώμην οἰκούντων ἐπὶ τὴν πλάνην σφετερίζεται. δηλοὶ δὲ τοῦτ’ ὁ μετ’ ὑπὸ πολὺ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν τῷ καθ’ ἡμᾶς διαπρέσας λόγῳ Ἰουστίνος, περὶ οὗ τὰ προσήκοντα κατὰ καιρόν παραθέσαμε· δὴ δὴ ἐν τῇ προτέρα πρὸς Ἀντωνίνου ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς δόγματος ἀπολογία γράφων ὅδε φησιν.

“Καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ κυρίου εἰς οὐρανόν προεβάλλον τοῖς δαίμονες ἀνθρώπους τινὰς λέγοντας ἐστούν εἶναι θεοῦς, ὅιον ἐνέκοιτο αὐτὸν καὶ μέλαν ἑπέκειτο: ὅτε τῶν ἀνθρώπων ταύτης τῆς ἐνέργειας δαιμόνων τέχνης δυνάμεις μαγικάς ποιήσας ἐν τῇ πόλει ὕμων τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ῥώμηθεος ἐνομίσθη καὶ ἀνδριάντο παρ’ ὑμῶν ὡς θεὸς τετίμηται ἐν τῷ Τίβερι ποταμῷ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο γεφυρῶν, ἔχουν ἔπιγραφήν Ῥωμαίαν ταύτην: SIMONI DEO SANCTO,” ὅπερ ἐστὶν Σίμωνι θεῷ ἄγιος.¹ “καὶ σχεδὸν μὲν πάντες Σαμαρεῖς, ὁλίγοι δὲ καὶ 4 ἐν ἀλλοις ἐθνεσιν ὡς τὸν πρῶτον θεὸν ἐκεῖνον

still shown in the suburbs of the present Aelia; she was said to be queen of the nation of Adiabene.

XIII. Seeing that the faith in our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ was already being given to all men, the enemy of men’s salvation planned to capture the capital in advance, and sent there Simon, who was mentioned above, and by aiding the fellow’s tricky sorcery won over to error many of the inhabitants of Rome. This is told by Justin, who was an ornament of our faith not long after the Apostles, and I will set out the necessary information about him in due course. In his first Apology to Antoninus for our opinions he writes as follows: “And after the ascension of the Lord into heaven the demons put forward men who said that they were gods, and they not only escaped persecution by you but were even vouchsafed honours. There was a certain Simon, a Samaritan, from a village called Gittho, who in the time of Claudius Caesar worked miracles by magic through the art of the demons possessing him; he was reckoned as a god in Rome, your capital city, and honoured as a god among you by a statue on the river Tiber between the two bridges, with this inscription in Latin—SIMONI DEO SANCTO,” that is, to Simon a holy god, “and almost all Samaritans and a few in other nations as well, recognize him as the chief god and worship him, and

1 The name given to Jerusalem by Hadrian.

2 In 1574 a statue was found on the island of St. Sebastian to which Justin probably referred. Unfortunately for him it bears the inscription SEMONI SANCO DEO, that is to say, to THE GOD SEMO SANCUS, thus explaining but not confirming Justin’s improbable story. Semo Sancus was an old Sabine deity, not a Samaritan sorcerer.
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ομολογοῦντες προσκυνοῦσιν. καὶ Ἕλενην τινά, τὴν
συμπερινοστήσασαν αὐτῷ κατ’ ἐκείνο τοῦ καιροῦ,
πρότερον ἐπὶ τέγους σταθείσαν ’’ ἐν Τύρῳ τῆς
Φοινίκης, “τὴν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ πρώτην ἔννοιαν λέγουσιν.”

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως συνάδει δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ Εἰρή-
ναιος, ἐν πρώτῳ τῶν πρὸς τὰς αἱρέσεις ὁμοῦ τὰ
περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν ἀνοσίαν καὶ μιαρὰν αὐτοῦ
didaskalíán ὑπογράφων, ἡν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος
περιττὸν αὖ εἰη καταλέγειν, παρόν τοῖς βουλομέ-
νοις καὶ τῶν μετ’ αὐτὸν κατὰ μέρος αἱρεσιαρχῶν
τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τοὺς βίους καὶ τῶν ψευδῶν δογ-
mάτων τὰς ὑπόθεσεις τὰ τε πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπί-
tetēthēmēnā διαγνώναι, οὐ κατὰ πάρεργον τῇ
dedēlōmēn τοῦ Εἰρηναίου παραδεδομένα βιβλῳ.
pása μὲν οὖν ἀρχηγὸν αἱρέσεως πρώτον γενέσθαι
tὸν Σίμωνα παρειλήφαμεν· ἐξ οὗ καὶ εἰς ἐνερ
οὶ τὴν κατ’ αὐτὸν μετιόντες αἱρεσιν τὴν σώφρονα
καὶ διὰ καθαρότητα βίου παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν βεβοι-
μένην Χριστιανῶν φιλοσοφίαν ὑποκρινόμενοι, ὡς
μὲν ἔδοξαν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι περὶ τὰ ἐκδόλα δει-
σιδαιμονίας οὐδὲν ἦττον αὖθις ἐπιλαμβάνονται,
καταπίπτοντες ἐπὶ γραφὰς καὶ εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ τοῦ
Σίμωνος καὶ τῆς σὺν αὐτῶ δηλωθείσης Ἕλενης
θυμιάμασιν τε καὶ θυσίας καὶ σπονδάς τούτους
θησκεύων ἐγχειροῦντες, τά δὲ τούτων αὐτοῖς
ἀπορρητότερα, ὃν φασι τὸν πρώτον ἐπακούσαντα
ἐκπλαγῆσθαι καὶ κατὰ τι παρ’ αὐτοῖς λόγον
ἐγγραφόν θαμβωθήσεσθαι, θάμβους ὡς ἀληθῶς
καὶ ψευδῶν ἐκστάσεως καὶ μανίας ἐμπλεῖα τυγχά-
νει, τοιαῦτα οὖντα, ὡς μὴ μόνον μὴ δυνατὰ εἶναι

1 In the curious mixture of philosophical language with
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they say that a certain Helena, who travelled about with him at that time but had formerly lived in a house of ill-fame” in Tyre of Phoenicia, “was the first Idea 1 from him.”

This is what Justin says, and Irenaeus agrees with him in the first book against heresies where he collects the stories about Simon and his unholy and foul teaching. It would be superfluous to relate this in the present work since those who desire it can study in detail the origin and life and the false doctrinal principles of the heresiarchs who followed him and the customs introduced by them all, for they are carefully preserved in the above-mentioned book of Irenaeus. Thus we have received the tradition that Simon was the first author of all heresy. From him, and down to the present time, those who have followed, feigning the Christian philosophy, with its sobriety and universal fame for purity of life, have in no way improved on the idolatrous superstition from which they thought to be set free, for they prostrate themselves before pictures and images of Simon himself and of Helena, who was mentioned with him, and undertake to worship them with incense and sacrifices and libations. Their more secret rites, at which they say that he who first hears them will be astonished, and according to a scripture current among them will be “thrown into marvel,” truly are full of marvel and frenzy and madness; for they are of such a kind that they not merely

mythological concepts which characterized the theology of the Graeco-Roman world of the first four centuries after Christ, the word here translated “idea” was one of those used of the various beings proceeding from the original godhead, and bridging as it were the gap between God and Creation.

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παραδοθῆναι γραφῆς, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ χείλεσιν αὐτὸ
μόνον δι’ ἐπερβολὴν αἰσχρουργίας τε καὶ ἄρρη-
tοποιας ἀνδρᾶς σώφροσι λαληθῆναι. ὃ τι ποτὲ
γὰρ ἂν ἐπινοηθείη παντὸς αἰσχροῦ μιαρώτερον,
tοῦτο πάν ὑπερηκόντισεν ἡ τῶν δυσαρεστοῖς
ἀφεσις, ταῖς ἀθλίαις καὶ παντοῖών ὡς ἀλήθως
κακῶν σεσωρευμέναις γυναιξὶν ἐγκαταπαιζόντων.

XIV. τοιούτων κακῶν πατέρα καὶ δημοσιουργὸν τὸν
Σίμωνα κατ᾿ ἐκείνον καιρὸν ὡσπερ εἰ μέγαν καὶ
μεγάλων ἀντίπαλον τῶν θεσπεσίων τοῦ σωτῆρος
ήμων ἀποστόλων ἡ μισόκαλος καὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπων
ἐπίβουλος σωτηρίας πονηρὰ δύναμις προωτήσατο.
ὁμοιὸς δ’ οὖν ἡ θεία καὶ ὑπερουράνιος χάρις τοῖς
αὐτῆς συναιρομένη διακόνοις, δι’ ἐπιφανείας αὐτῶν
καὶ παρουσίας ἀναπτομένην τοῦ πονηροῦ τῆς
φλογὰ ἢ τάχος ἐσβέννυ, ταπεινοῦσα δι’ αὐτῶν καὶ
καθαυροῦσα πάν ὑψωμα ἐπαιρόμενον κατὰ τῆς
gνώσεως τοῦ θεοῦ. διὸ δὴ οὕτε Σίμωνος οὐτ’
ἀλλοι τοῦ τότε φιέρων συγκρότημα τι κατ’
αὐτοῦς ἐκείνοις τοὺς ἀποστολικοὺς ὑπέστη χρόνους.
ὑπερενίκα γὰρ τοῦ καὶ ὑπερίσχυσαν ἀπαντὰ τὸ τῆς
ἀληθείας φέγγος ὁ τε λόγος αὐτὸς ὁ θεῖος ἢ ἄρτι
θεόθεν ἀνθρώπως ἐπιλάμψας ἐπὶ γῆς τῆς ἀκμάζουν
καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀποστόλοις ἐμπολυτεύομενος. αὐ-
τίκα ὁ δηλωθεὶς γόης ὡσπερ ὑπὸ θείας καὶ παρα-
δόξου μαρμαρογῆς τὰ τῆς διανοιάς πληγεῖς
ἀμματα ὡτε πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐφ’ οἷς
ἐπονηρεύσατο πρὸς τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου κατε-
φωράθη, μεγίστην καὶ ὑπερπόντιον ἀπάρασ πορείαν
τὴν ἀπ’ ἀνατολῶν ἐπὶ δυσμᾶς ὄχετο φεύγων,
μόνως ταῦτῃ βιωτόν αὐτῶν κατὰ γνώμην εἴναι
οἰόμενος· ἐπὶ βᾶς δὲ τῆς Ἡρωμαίων πόλεως, συν-

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cannot be related in writing, but are so full of baseness and unspeakable conduct that they cannot even be mentioned by the lips of decent men. For whatever foulness might be conceived beyond all that is base, it is surpassed by the utter foulness of the heresy of these men, who make a mocking sport of wretched women, "weighed down," as is truly said, by every kind of evil. XIV. Of such evil was Simon the father and fabricator, and the Evil Power, which hates that which is good and plots against the salvation of men, raised him up at that time as a great antagonist for the great and inspired Apostles of our Saviour. Nevertheless the grace of God which is from heaven helped its ministers and quickly extinguished the flames of the Evil One by their advent and presence, and through them humbled and cast down "every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God." Wherefore no conspiracy, either of Simon, or of any other of those who arose at that time, succeeded in those Apostolic days; for the light of the truth and the divine Logos himself, which had shone from God upon men by growing up on the earth and dwelling among his own Apostles, was overcoming all things in the might of victory. The aforesaid sorcerer, as though the eyes of his mind had been smitten by the marvellous effulgence of God when he had formerly been detected in his crimes in Judaea by the Apostle Peter, at once undertook a great journey across the sea, and went off in flight from east to west, thinking that only in this way could he live as he wished. He came to the city of the Romans,
αιρομένης αὐτῷ τὰ μεγάλα τῆς ἐφεδρευόντης ἐνταῦθα δυνάμεως, ἐν ὅλῳ τουσοῦτων τὰ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἰτύστο, ὡς καὶ ἀνδριάντος ἀναθέσει πρὸς τῶν τῇδε ὁδα θεον τιμηθήναι. οὐ μὴν εἰς μακρὸν αὐτῷ τάυτα προχώρει. παρὰ πόδας γούν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς Κλαυδίου βασιλείας ἡ παν- ἀγαθος καὶ φιλανθρωποτάτη τῶν ὅλων πρόνοια τῶν καρτερῶν καὶ μέγαν τῶν ἀποστόλων, τὸν ἀρετής ἐνεκα τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπάντων προῆγορον, Πέτρον, ἐπὶ τῆν Ῥώμην ὡς ἐπὶ τηλικούτον λυμεώνα βίου χειραγωγεῖ· διὸ οἶα τις γενναῖος θεοῦ στρατηγὸς τοῖς θείοις ὁπλοὺς φραξάμενος, τὴν πολυτιμὴν ἐμπορίαν τοῦ νοητοῦ φωτὸς ἐξ ἀνατολῆς τοίς κατὰ δύσιν ἐκκόμιζεν, φῶς αὐτῷ καὶ λόγον ψυχῶν σωτηρίων, τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασι- λείας, εὐαγγελιζόμενος. XV. οὕτω δὴ οὐν ἐπιδημί- σαντοι αὐτοῖς τοῦ θείου λόγου, ἡ μὲν τοῦ Σίμωνος ἀπεσθει καὶ παραχρῆμα σύν καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ κατα- λέυτο δύναμις.

Τοσοῦτον δὲ έπελαμψεν ταῖς τῶν ἀκροατῶν τοῦ Πέτρου διανοίας εὐσεβείας φέγγος, ὡς μὴ τῇ εἰς ἀπαξ ἰκανῶς ἔχειν ἀρκεῖσθαι ἀκοὴ μηδὲ τῇ ἁγράφῳ τοῦ θείου κηρύγματος διδασκαλία, παρακλήσεων δὲ παντοῦας Μάρκου, οὐ τὸ εὐαγγελίου φέρεται, ἀκόλουθον ὄντα Πέτρου, λιπαρῆς ώς ἢν καὶ διὰ γραφῆς ὑπόμνημα τῆς διὰ λόγου παραδοσείς αὐτοὶς καταλείψοι διδασκαλίας, μὴ πρότερον τε ἀνείναι ἢ κατεργάσασθαι τὸν ἁνδρα, καὶ ταύτῃ αὐτίοις γενέσθαι τῆς τοῦ λεγομένου κατὰ Μάρκου εὐαγγελίου γραφῆς. γνώτα δὲ τὸ πραξθὲν φασι τῶν ἀποστόλον ἀποκαλύψαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πνεύ- ματος, ἴσθήναι τῇ τῶν ἁνδρῶν προθυμία κυρώσασι 142
where the power which obsessed him wrought with him greatly, so that in a short time he achieved such success that he was honoured as a god by the erection of a statue by those who were there. But he did not prosper long. Close after him in the same reign of Claudius the Providence of the universe in its great goodness and love towards men guided to Rome, as against a gigantic pest on life, the great and mighty Peter, who for his virtues was the leader of all the other Apostles. Like a noble captain of God, clad in divine armour, he brought the costly merchandise of the spiritual light from the east to the dwellers in the west, preaching the Gospel of the light itself and the word which saves souls, the proclamation of the Kingdom of Heaven. XV. Thus when the divine word made its home among them the power of Simon was extinguished and perished immediately, together with the fellow himself.

But a great light of religion shone on the minds of the hearers of Peter, so that they were not satisfied with a single hearing or with the unwritten teaching of the divine proclamation, but with every kind of exhortation besought Mark, whose Gospel is extant, seeing that he was Peter's follower, to leave them a written statement of the teaching given them verbally, nor did they cease until they had persuaded him, and so became the cause of the Scripture called the Gospel according to Mark. And they say that the Apostle, knowing by the revelation of the spirit to him what had been done, was pleased at their
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te τὴν γραφὴν εἰς ἑντευξὶν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Κλήμης ἐν ἔκτω τῶν Ἐποτυπώσεων παρα-
tέθεται τὴν ἱστορίαν, συνεσιμαρτυρεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Ἰεραπολίτης ἐπίσκοπος ὁνόματι Παπίας,
tοὺ δὲ Μάρκου μνημονεύειν τὸν Πέτρων ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐπιστολῇ ἤν καὶ συντάξαρ φασὶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ἄρωμα, σημαίνει τε τοῦτ' αὐτόν, τὴν πολὺν τροπικότερον Βαβυλώνα προσευκόντα διὰ τούτων "ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἢ ἐν Βαβυλώνι οἰκ-
λεκτῇ καὶ Μάρκος ὁ νεός μου."

XVI. Τούτων δὲ [Μάρκου] πρῶτὸν φασὶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀἰγύπτου στειλάμενον, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ὁ δὴ καὶ συνεγράψατο, κηρύσσαι, ἐκκλησίας τε πρῶτην ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ἀλεξάνδρείας συστήσασθαι. τοσοῦτη δ' ἀρα τῶν αὐτοῦ πεπιστευκότων πλήθυς ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν ἐκ πρώτης ἐπιβολῆς συνέστη διὰ ἀσκήσεως φιλοσοφικῆς τε καὶ σφοδροτάτης, ὡς καὶ γραφῆς αὐτῶν ἀξιώσαι τὰς διατριβὰς καὶ τὰς συνήλυσεις τὰ τε συμπόσια καὶ πάσαν τὴν ἀλλήν τοῦ βίου ἁγιότητα τῶν Φιλωνᾶ. XVII. ὅπως καὶ λόγος ἔχει κατὰ Κλαύδιον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀρωμῆς εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἐλθεῖν Πέτρω, τοὺς ἐκεῖσε τὸ τε κηρύσσειν. καὶ οὖν ἀπεικόσ ἀν εἰς τοῦτό γε, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ φαμεν αὐτὸ σύγγραμμα, εἰς ὑπερον καὶ μετὰ χρόνους αὐτῶν πεπονημένον, σαφῶς τοὺς εἰς ἔτι νῦν καὶ εἰς ἑμᾶς περιλαμβάνουσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας περιέχει κανόνας. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν βίον τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀσκητῶν ἢ ἕνι μάλιστα ἀκριβέστατα ἱστορῶν, γένουτ' ἃν ἐκδηλοῦν οὖν εἰδὼς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποδεχόμενος ἐκθειάζων τι καὶ σεμνών τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν ἀποστολικοῦς ἀνδράς, ἐξ Ἐβραίων, ὡς ἔοικε, γεγονότας ταύτη τε ἰουδαϊκότερον τῶν παλαιῶν 144
zeal, and ratified the scripture for study in the churches. Clement quotes the story in the sixth book of the *Hypotyposes*, and the bishop of Hierapolis, named Papias, confirms him. He also says that Peter mentions Mark in his first Epistle, and that he composed this in Rome itself, which they say that he himself indicates, referring to the city metaphorically as Babylon, in the words, "the elect one in Babylon greets you, and Marcus my son."

XVI. They say that this Mark was the first to be sent to preach in Egypt the Gospel which he had also put into writing, and was the first to establish churches in Alexandria itself. The number of men and women who were there converted at the first attempt was so great, and their asceticism was so extraordinarily philosophic, that Philo thought it right to describe their conduct and assemblies and meals and all the rest of their manner of life. XVII. Tradition says that he came to Rome in the time of Claudius to speak to Peter, who was at that time preaching to those there. This would, indeed, be not improbable since the treatise to which we refer, composed by him many years later, obviously contains the rules of the Church which are still observed in our own time. Moreover, from his very accurate description of the life of our ascetics it will be plain that he not only knew but welcomed, reverenced, and recognized the divine mission of the apostolic men of his day, who were, it appears, of Hebrew origin, and thus still preserved most of the ancient
Εὐσεβίου

ἐτί τὰ πλεῖστα διατηροῦντας ἑθῶν. πρῶτον γε τοῦ τὸ μηθὲν πέρα τῆς ἀληθείας οἴκοθεν καὶ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ προσβῆσειν ὅσι ἱστορήσεων ἐμελλεν, ἀπ’ ἑισχυρισάμενος ἐν ὦ ἐπέγραψεν λόγῳ Περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ ἢ ἱκετῶν, θεραπευτάς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς σύν αὐτοῖς γυναῖκας θεραπευτρίδας ἀποκαλεῖσθαι φήσιν, τὰς αἰτίας ἑπειπῶν τῆς τοιαῦτα προσφήτησεως, ἦτοι παρὰ τὸ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν προσόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀπὸ κακίας παθῶν ἱστρῶν δίκην ἀπαλλάττοντας ἀκείσθαι καὶ θεραπεύειν, ἡ τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον καθαρᾶς καὶ εἰλικρινοῦς θεραπείας τε καὶ θρησκείας ἑνεκα. εἶτ’ οὖν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ταύτην αὐτοῖς ἔπιτεθείται τῆς προσθηρίας, οἰκεῖως ἐπιγράψας τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων, εἶτε καὶ ὄντως οὐτ’ αὐτοὺς ἑκάλουν κατ’ ἀρχὰς οἱ πρῶτοι, μηδαμῶς τῆς Χριστιανῶν πως προσφήτησεως ἀνὰ πάντα τόπον ἐπιπεφημισμένης, οὐ τί πω διατείνεσθαι ἀναγκαίον; οὕτως δ’ οὖν ἐν πρῶτοι τήν ἀπόταξιν αὐτοῖς τῆς οὐσίας μαρτυρεῖ, φάσκων ἀρχομένους φιλοσοφεῖν ἕξιστασθαι τοῖς προσήκουσι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἔπειτα πάσαις ἀποταξαμένους ταῖς τοῦ βίου φροντίσσω, ἐξω τείχων προελθόντας, ἐν μοναγρίοις καὶ κήποις τὰς διατριβὰς ποιεῖσθαι, τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀνομοίων ἐπιμελίας ἀλυσιτελεῖς καὶ βλαβερὰς εὖ εἰδότας, τῶν κατ’ ἐκεῖνο καιρὸν τοῦθ’, ὡς εἰκός, ἐπιτελεύτων, ἐκθῆμω καὶ θερμοτάτη πίστει τῶν προφητικῶν ζηλοῦν ἁσκούντων βίων. καὶ γὰρ οὖν καὶ ταῖς ὁμολογουμέναις τῶν ἀποστόλων Πράξεων ἐμφέρεται ὅτι δὴ πάντες οἱ τῶν ἀποστόλων γνώριμοι

1 The ambiguity is due to the fact that the Greek word may mean “service” or “healing.”

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customs in a strictly Jewish manner. In the first place he promises not to go beyond the truth in any detail or to add anything of his own invention to what he was going to relate in the treatise which he entitled *On the Contemplative Life or Suppliants*. He then says that they and the women with them were called Therapeutae and Therapeutrides, and enters upon the reason for such a name. It was given either because, like physicians, they relieve from the passions of evil the souls of those who come to them and so cure and heal them, or because of their pure and sincere service\(^1\) and worship of the Divine. Thus it is not necessary to discuss at length whether he gave them this description of himself, naturally adapting the name to their manner of life, or whether the first ones really called themselves this from the beginning, since the title of Christian had not yet become well known everywhere. At any rate he bears witness especially to their abandonment of property, and states that when they begin to follow philosophy they give up their possessions to their relations, and then, having bade farewell to all the cares of life, go outside the walls to make their dwellings in deserts and oases,\(^2\) for they are well aware that intercourse with those of another way is unprofitable and harmful, and it was the practice at that time, so it seems, of those who were thus initiated to emulate the life of the prophets in zealous and warm faith. For even in the canonical Acts of the Apostles it is related that all the acquaintances of the Apostles

\(^2\) Literally "gardens."
τὰ κτήματα καὶ τὰς ὑπάρξεις διαπιπράσκοντες ἐμέριζον ἀπασών καθ’ ὅ ἂν τις χρείαν εἶχεν, ὡς μηδὲ εἶναι τινα ἐνδεῇ παρ’ αὐτοῖς· ὅσοι γοῦν κτήτορες χωρίων ἢ οἰκιῶν ὑπηρχον, ὡς ὁ λόγος φησίν, πωλοῦντες ἐφέρον τὰς τιμὰς τῶν πιπρα-
σκομένων, ἐτίθεσαν τε παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὥστε διαδίδοσθαι ἐκάστῳ καθ’ ὅτι ἂν
tις χρείαν εἶχεν.
Τὰ παραπλησία δὲ τούτων μαρτύρησα τοῖς 7
dηλουμένοις ὁ Φίλων συλλαβαῖς αὐταῖς ἐπιφέρει
lέγων· ὁ πολλαχὸν μὲν ὅσον τῆς οἰκουμένης ἔστω
tὸ γένος· ἔδει γὰρ ἀγαθὸν τελείον μετασχεῖν καὶ
tὴν Ἐλλάδα καὶ τὴν βάρβαρον· πλεονάζει ὃ ἐν
Αἰγύπτῳ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν τῶν ἐπικαλομένων
νομῶν καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρειας. οἱ δὲ 8
πανταχόθεν ἀριστοί, καθάπερ εἰς πατρίδα θερα-
pευτῶν, ἀποκιάων στέλλονται πρὸς τι χωρίον
ἐπιτηδειότατον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ λίμνης Μαρέιας
κείμενον ἐπὶ γεωλόφου χθαμαλωτέρου, σφόδρα
ἐυκαίρως ἀσφαλείας τε ἐνεκα καὶ ἀέρος ἐυκρασίας.
εἰθ’ ἐξῆς τὰς οἰκήσεις αὐτῶν ὅποιαί τινες ἴσαι 9
dιαγράφας, περὶ τῶν κατὰ χώραν ἐκκλησιῶν ταῦτα
φησίν· ὁ ἐκάστη δὲ οἰκία ἐστὶν οἰκήμα ιερὸν
ὁ καλεῖται σεμενεὶ καὶ μοναστήριον, ὅ ὁ μο-
νούμενοι ταῦ σεμνοῦ βίου μυστήρια τελοῦνται,
μηδὲν εἰσκομίζοντες, μῆ ποτὸν, μῆ σιτίον, μηδὲ
τι τῶν ἀλλῶν ὃσα πρὸς τὸν σώματος χρείας
ἀναγκαία, ἄλλα νόμους καὶ λόγια θεσπισθέντα διὰ
προφητῶν καὶ ύμνους καὶ τάλλα οἷς ἐπιστήμη καὶ
εὐσέβεια συναὐξῶνται καὶ τελειοῦνται.
Καὶ μεθ’ ἑτερά φησίν·
Τὸ δ’ ἔξ ἐωθινοῦ μέχρις ἐσπέρας διάστημα 10
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sold their goods and possessions and divided them to all according as anyone had need so that none was in want among them; and as many as were possessors of lands or houses, so the story says, sold them and brought the price of what had been sold and laid it at the feet of the Apostles, so that it might be divided to each according as any had need.

To practices like those which have been related Philo bears witness and continues in the following words: "The race is found in many places in the world, for it was right that both Greece and barbarism should share in perfect good, but it abounds in Egypt in each of the so-called nomes and especially around Alexandria. The noblest from every region send a colony to a district well suited for their purpose, as though it were the land of the Therapeutae. This district is situated above Lake Mareia¹ on a low hill, very convenient for its safety and the temperateness of the climate." He then goes on to describe the nature of their dwellings, and says this about the churches in various districts: "In each house there is a sacred dwelling which is called 'a sanctuary and monastery,' in which they celebrate in seclusion the mysteries of the sacred life, and bring nothing into it, either drink or food or any of the other things necessary for bodily needs, but law and inspired oracles given by the prophets and hymns and other things by which knowledge and religion are increased and perfected." And further on he says: "The whole period from dawn

¹ More often known as Lake Mareotis, a little south of Alexandria.
σύμπαν αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ἄσκησις. ἐνυγχάνοντες γὰρ τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν ψιλοσοφοῦσιν τὴν πάτριον ψιλοσοφίαν ἄλληγροῦντες, ἐπειδὴ σύμβολα τὰ τῆς ῥήτης ἐρμηνείας νομίζουσιν ἀποκεκρυμμένης φύσεως, ἐν ὑπονοίαις δηλουμένης. ἔστι δ' αὐτοῖς καί συγγράμματα παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ τῆς αἱρέσεως αὐτῶν ἀρχηγεῖται γενόμενοι, πολλὰ μνημεῖα τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἄλληγροουμένοις ἱδέας ἀπέλιπον, οἷς καθάπερ τισῶν ἀρχετύπων χρώμενοι μιμοῦνται τῆς προαιρέσεως τῶν τρόπων.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὐν ἐοικεν εἰρήνηθαι τῷ ἀνδρὶ ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἔξηγομένων αὐτῶν ἐπακροσαμένων γραφαῖς, τάχα δ' εἰκός, ἀ φησιν ἀρχαῖων παρ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι συγγράμματα, εὐαγγέλια καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀποστόλων γραφὰς διηγήσεις τε τινας κατὰ τὸ εἰκός τῶν πάλαι προφητῶν ἐρμηνευτικάς, ὅποιας ἢ τε πρὸς Ἐβραίους καὶ ἄλλα πλείους τοῦ Παύλου περιέχοσιν ἐπιστολαὶ, ταῦτ' εἶναι. εἶτα πάλιν ἐξῆς ἢ περὶ τοῦ νέους αὐτοῦς ποιεῖσθαι ψαλμοὺς οὕτως γράφει: ὡστ' οὐ θεωροῦσι μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ ποιοῦσιν ἀσματα καὶ ύμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν διὰ παντοῖων μέτρων καὶ μελῶν ἄρθροις σεμνοτέρους ἀναγκαίως χαράσσοντες.

Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα περὶ ὅν ὁ λόγος, ἐν ταύτῳ διεξεισιν, ἐκείνα δ' ἀναγκαίον ἐφανὴ δεῖν ἀναλέξασθαι, δι' ὅν τὰ χαρακτηριστικὰ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀγωγῆς ὑποτίθεται, εἰ δὲ τῷ μὴ δοκεῖ τὰ εἰρήμενα ἱδίᾳ εἶναι τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πολιτείας, δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλους παρὰ τούς δεδηλωμένους ἀρμόττειν, πειθότως καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξης αὐτοῦ φωνῶν, ἐν αἷς ἀναμφήριστον, εἰ εὐγνωμονοῖς, κομίσεται τῇ περὶ τούτῳ

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to eve is for them a religious exercise; they study the sacred scriptures and expound their national philosophy by allegory, for they regard the literal interpretation as symbolic of a concealed reality indicated in what is beneath the surface. They have also some writings of men of old, who were the founders of their sect, who left many memorials of the meaning allegorically expounded, which they use as models and copy their method of treatment.

This seems to have been said by a man who had listened to their expositions of the sacred scriptures, and it is perhaps probable that the writings of men of old, which he says were found among them, were the Gospels, the writings of the Apostles, and some expositions of prophets after the manner of the ancients, such as are in the Epistle to the Hebrews and many other of the epistles of Paul. He then goes on to write thus about their composition of new psalms: "So that they not only contemplate but make songs and hymns to God in all kinds of metres and melodies, though they perforce arrange them in the more sacred measures."

He discusses many other points as well in the same book, but it seemed necessary to enumerate those by which the characteristics of the life of the Church are exhibited; but if anyone doubt that what has been said is peculiar to life according to the Gospel, and think that it can be applied to others besides those indicated, let him be persuaded by the following words of Philo in which he will find, if he be fair, indisputable testimony on this point. He
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Philo, p. 476, 36-39

μαρτυρίαν. γράφει γάρ ὅδε: "ἐγκράτειαν δ' ὠσπερ τινὰ θεμέλιον προκαταβαλλόμενοι τῇ ψυχῇ, τὰς ἄλλας ἐποικοδομοῦσιν ἀρετάς. σιτίων ἢ ποτὸν οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτῶν προσενέγκαιον ἀπὸ ἡλίου δύσεως, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν φιλοσοφεῖν ἄξιον φωτὸς κρίνουσι εἶναι, σκότους δὲ τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἀνάγκας· οἶδεν τῷ μὲν ἡμέραν, ταῖς δὲ νυκτὸς βραχὺ τι μέρος ἔνεμαν. ἐνυσοὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὑπομνήσκονται τροφῆς, οἷς πλείων ὁ πόθος ἐπιστήμης ἐνδρυται, τωσὶ δὲ οὕτως ἐνευφραίνονται καὶ τριφῶσιν ὑπὸ σοφίας ἐστιώ- μενοι πλουτόνες καὶ ἀφθόνις τὰ δόγματα χορη- γοῦσιν, ὡς καὶ πρὸς διπλασίων χρόνον ἀντέχειν καὶ μόνης δι' ἐξ ἡμερῶν ἀπογενέσθαι τροφῆς ἀναγκαῖας, ἐθισθέντες."

Ταῦτα τοῦ Φίλωνος σαφεῖς καὶ ἀναντιρρήτους περὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ἡγούμεθα λέξεις. εἴ δ' ἐπὶ τούτους ἀντιλέγων τις ἐτὶ σκληρύνοιτο, καὶ οὕτος ἀπαλλαττέσθω τῆς δυσπιστίας, ἐναργε- στέραις πειθαρχῶν ἀποδείξεσιν, ὡς οὐ παρὰ τισιν ἡ μόνη τῆς Χριστιανῶν εὐρεῖν ἐνεστω κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγελιόν θρησκεία. φησίν γὰρ τοῖς περὶ ὅν τὸ λόγος καὶ γυναίκας συνεῖναι, ὡς αἱ πλείοντα γηρα- λέα παρθένους τυχάνουσιν, τὴν ἀγνείαν οὐκ ἀνάγκη, καθάπερ ἕναι τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησον ἱερεῖων, φυλάξασι μάλλον ἡ καθ' ἐκουσίων γνώμην, διὰ ἐξήλων καὶ πόθον σοφίας, ἡ συμβιοῦν σπουδά- σασαι τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἑδονῶν ἠλόγησαν, οὐθενητῶν ἐγκόνων, ἀλλ' ἀθανάτων ὀρεχθέσαι, ἡ μόνη τίκτειν ἄφ' ἐαυτῆς οἰα τε ἔστων ἡ θεοφιλὴς ψυχή. εἰθ' ὑποκαταβάσθας, ἐμφαντικώτερον ἐκτίθε- ται ταῦτα· "αἱ δ' ἐξηγήσεις τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων.

Philo, p. 482, 3-11

Philo, p. 483, 42-484, 1

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writes thus: "Having laid down for the soul continence as a foundation they build the other virtues on it. None of them would take food or drink before sunset, for they think that philosophy deserves the daylight and the necessities of the body darkness; for this reason they allot the day to the one, and a small part of the night to the others. Some of them neglect food for three days for the great love of knowledge dwelling in them, and some so delight and luxuriate in the banquet of doctrine, so richly and ungrudgingly presided over by wisdom, that they abstain for twice that time, and are accustomed scarcely to taste necessary food every six days."

We think that these words of Philo are clear and indisputably refer to our communion. But if after this anyone obstinately deny it let him be converted from his scepticism and be persuaded by clearer indications which cannot be found among any, save only in the worship of Christians according to the Gospel. For Philo says that women belong also to those under discussion and that most of them are aged virgins who kept their chastity from no compulsion, like some of the priestesses among the Greeks, but rather from voluntary opinion, from zeal and yearning for wisdom, with which they desired to live, and paid no attention to bodily pleasures, longing not for mortal but for immortal children, which only the soul that loves God is capable of bearing of itself. He then proceeds to expound this more clearly. "But the interpretations of the
γίνονται αὐτοῖς δι᾽ ὑπονοιῶν ἐν ἀλληγορίαις. ἀπα-
σα γὰρ ἡ νομοθεσία δοκεῖ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τούτοις ἐοικεῖν ζῶω καὶ σῶμα μὲν ἔχειν τὰς ρήτας δια-
tάξεις, ψυχὴν δὲ τὸν ἐναποκείμενον ταῖς λέξεσιν ἀόρατον νοῦν, ὃν ἦρξατο διαφερόντως ἡ οἰκία αὐτῆς θεωρεῖν, ὡς διὰ κατόπτρου τῶν ὀνομά-
tων ἐξαίσια κάλλη νοημάτων ἐμφανύμενα κατ-
ιδούσα.

Τί δεὶ τούτοις ἐπιλέγειν τὰς ἐπὶ ταῦτον συν-
όδους καὶ τὰς ἱδίας μὲν ἀνδρῶν, ἱδία δὲ γυναικῶν ἐν ταύτῳ διατριβάς καὶ τὰς ἔθους ἔτι καὶ

νῦν πρὸς ἡμῶν ἐπιτελουμένας ἀσκήσεις, ἃς δια-

φερόντως κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους ἐορτὴν ἐν ἀστίας καὶ διανυκτερεύσεως προσοχαὶ τε

τῶν θείων λόγων ἐκτελεῖν εἰώθημεν, ἀπερ ἐπὶ ἀκριβέστερον αὐτὸν ὅν καὶ εἰς δεύο τετήρηται

παρὰ μόνοις ἡμῖν τρόπον ἐπισημηνάμενος ὁ δηλωθεῖς ἀνὴρ τῇ ἱδίᾳ παρέδωκεν γραφῆ, τὰς τῆς μεγάλης ἐορτῆς παννυχίδας καὶ τὰς ἐν ταῦ-

ταις ἀσκήσεις τοὺς τε λέγεσθαι εἰωθοῦτα πρὸς ἡμῶν ὑμνους ἱστορῶν, καὶ ὡς ἐνὸς μετὰ ρυθμοῦ κοσμίως ἐπιψάλλοντος οἱ λοιποὶ καθ’ ἰδιχίαν ἀκρούμενοι τῶν ὑμνῶν τὰ ἀκροτελεύτα τυχε-

ηχοῦσιν, ὡς τε κατά τὰς δεδηλωμένας ἡμέρας ἐπὶ στιβάδων χαμενουντες ὅντων μὲν τὸ παρά-

παν, ὡς αὐτοῖς ἰῆμασιν ἄνεγραφεν, οὐδ’ ἀπο-

γευότατον, ἀλλ’ οὓδὲ τῶν ἐναίμων τυμὸς, ὡδώρ δὲ

μόνον αὐτοῖς ἔστι ποτὸν, καὶ προσοψήμα μετ’ ἀρτοῦ ἀλες καὶ ὤσσωπον. πρὸς τούτους γράφεις

τὸν τῆς προστασίας τρόπον τῶν τὰς ἐκκλησια-

σικάς λειτουργίας ἐγκεχειρισμένων διακονίας τε

καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀνωτάτω τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς προ-

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sacred scriptures are given them figuratively in allegories, for the whole law seems to these men to be like a living being; for a body it has the spoken precepts, but for a soul the invisible mind underlying the words; and it is this which this sect has begun especially to contemplate, so that in the mirror of the words it sees manifested surpassing beauty of thought."

What need is there to add to this a description of their meetings, and of how the men live separately and the women separately in the same place, and of the customary exercises which are still celebrated among us, particularly those which we are accustomed to celebrate at the feast of the Passion of the Saviour by abstinence from food and vigils and attention to the word of God? The writer referred to has given in his own writing a description of this, which exactly agrees with the manner which is still observed by us and by us alone; he relates the vigils for the entire night of the great feast, and the exercises during them, and the hymns which we are accustomed to recite, and how while one sings regularly with cadence, the rest listen in silence and join in singing only the refrain of the hymns, and how on stated days they sleep on the ground on straw, how they completely refrain from wine, as he expressly states, and from all kinds of flesh, drinking only water and using salt and hyssop to season their bread. In addition to this he writes of the order of precedence of those who have been appointed to the service of the Church, both to the diaconate and to the supremacy of the episcopate.
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edριάς. τούτων δ’ ὅτω πόθος ἔνεστι τῆς ἀκριβοῦς ἐπιστάσεως, καθόθοι ἃν ἐκ τῆς δηλωθείσης τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἴστορίας. ὡς δὲ τοὺς πρώτοις κήρυκας τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον διδασκαλίας τά τε ἀρχήθηκεν πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἡ παραδεδομένα καταλαβὼν ὁ Φίλων ταῦτ’ ἐγραφείν, παντί τω δήλον.

XVIII. Πολὺς γε μὴν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ πλατὺς ταῖς διανοίασι, ψηλὸς τε ὁ καὶ μετέωρος ἐν ταῖς εἰς τὰς θείας γραφὰς θεωρίας γεγενημένος, ποικίλην καὶ πολύτροπον τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων πεποίηται τὴν ὑφήγησιν, τούτῳ μὲν εἰρμῷ καὶ ἀκολούθια τὴν τῶν εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν διεξελθῶν πραγματείαν ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψεν Νόμων ἱερῶν ἀληθορίας, τούτῳ δὲ κατὰ μέρος διαστολὰς κεφαλαίων τῶν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς ξητουμένων ἐπιστάσεις τε καὶ διαλύσεις πεποιημένους ἐν οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς καταλήλως Τῶν ἐν Γενέσει καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἑξαγωγῇ ζητημάτων καὶ λύσεων τεθεῖται τὴν ἐπιγραφῆν. ἦστι δ’ αὐτῷ παρὰ ταῦτα προβλημάτων τυχῶν ἰδίως πεποιημένα σπουδάσματα, οὖν ἔστι τὰ Περὶ γεωργίας δύο, καὶ τὰ Περὶ μέθης τοσαῦτα, καὶ ἄλλα ἀττα διαφόρου καὶ οἰκείας ἐπιγραφῆς ἡξιωμένα, οἷος ὁ Περὶ δὲ ὅν νῆφας ὁ νοῦς εὐχεται καὶ καταράται καὶ Περὶ συγχύσεως τῶν διαλέκτων, καὶ Περὶ φυγῆς καὶ εὐρέσεως, καὶ Περὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰ παιδεύματα συνόδου, Περὶ τοῦ τίς ὁ τῶν θείων ἐστὶ κληρονόμος ἢ Περὶ τῆς εἰς τὰ ἱσα καὶ ἐναντία τομῆς, καὶ ἐτὶ τὸ Περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἄρετῶν ὅσ τὸν ἀλλὰς ἄνεγραψεν Μωυσῆς, πρὸς τούτοις ὁ Περὶ τῶν μετονομαζομένων καὶ ὅν ἔνεκα μετονομάζονται, ἐν οὗ φησί συντεταχέναι καὶ Περὶ διαθηκῶν α’ β’. ἦστιν δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ Περὶ ἀποκλίασ.
at the head over all. Anyone who has a love of accurate knowledge of these things can learn from the narrative of the author quoted already, and it is plain to everyone that Philo perceived and described the first heralds of teaching according to the Gospel and the customs handed down from the beginning by the Apostles.

XVIII. Philo was rich in language and broad in thought, sublime and elevated in his views of the divine writings, and had made various and diverse his exposition of the sacred words. He first went through the subject of the events in Genesis in connected sequence, in the books which he entitled "The Allegories of the Sacred Laws." He then made detailed arrangement into chapters of the difficulties in the Scriptures and gave their statement and solution in the books to which he gave the suitable title of "The Problems and Solutions in Genesis and in Exodus." There are, besides this, some specially elaborated treatises of his on certain problems, such as the two books "On Agriculture," and as many "On Drunkenness," and others with various appropriate titles, such as "The Things which the Sober Mind desires and execrates," "On the Confusion of Tongues," "On Flight and Discovery," "On Assembly for Instruction," and "On the Question who is Heir of the Divine Things," or "On the Distinction between Odd and Even," and further "On the three Virtues which Moses describes with others," in addition to this, "On those whose names have been changed and why they were," in which he says that he has also composed Books I. and II. "On the Covenants." There is also a book of his "On Migration and the wise life of the Man
καὶ βίου σοφοῦ τοῦ κατὰ δικαιοσύνην τελεωθέντος ἢ νόμων ἀγράφων, καὶ ἔτι Περὶ γιγάντων ἢ περὶ τοῦ μὴ τρέπεσθαι τὸ θείον, Περὶ τε τοῦ κατὰ Μωυσεά θεοπέμπτους εἶναι τοὺς ὀνείρους α'/ β' γ' δ' ε'. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα τῶν εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἐξοδον ἔγνωμεν αὐτοῦ Ζητημάτων καὶ λύσεων α'/ β' γ' δ' ε', καὶ τὸ Περὶ τῆς σκηνῆς, τὸ τε Περὶ τῶν δέκα λογίων, καὶ τὰ Περὶ τῶν ἀναφερομένων ἐν εἴδει νόμων εἰς τὰ συντείνοντα κεφάλαια τῶν δέκα λόγων α'/ β' γ' δ', καὶ τὸ Περὶ τῶν εἰς τὰς ἱερορυγίας ζῷων καὶ τίνα τὰ τῶν θυσίων εἴδη, καὶ τὸ Περὶ τῶν προκειμένων ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς ἄθλοις, τοῖς δὲ πνημοίς ἐπιτιμίων καὶ ἀρών. πρὸς τούτοις ἀπασίω καὶ μονόβιβλα αὐτοῦ φέρεται ὡς τὸ Περὶ προνοιῶν, καὶ ο Περὶ Ἰουδαίων αὐτοῦ συνταχθεῖς λόγος, καὶ ο Πολιτικός, ἐτι τε ο Ἀλέξανδρος ἡ περί τοῦ λόγου ἔχειν τὰ ἀλογα ζώα, ἐπὶ τούτοις ο Περὶ τοῦ δοῦλου εἶναι πάντα φαιλοῦ, ὦ εἰς ἔστι τὸ Περὶ τοῦ πάντα σπουδαῖον ἐλευθερον εἶναι. μεθ' οὗς συντετακταί αὐτώ ο Περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ ἡ ἱκετῶν, εἴο τε περὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ἀνδρῶν διεληλυθαμεν, καὶ τῶν ἐν νόμῳ δὲ καὶ προφήταις Ἐβραϊκῶν οἰκομάτων αἱ ἐρμηνεῖαι τοῦ αὐτοῦ σπουδὴ εἶναι λέγονται. οὕτως μὲν οὖν κατὰ Γαϊων ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀφικόμενος, τὰ περὶ τῆς Γαϊου θεοστυγίας αὐτοῦ γραφέντα, ἡ μετὰ ήθους καὶ εἰρωνείας Περὶ ἀρετῶν ἐπέγραψεν, ἐπὶ πάσης λέγεται τῆς Ῥωμαίων συγκλήτου κατὰ Κλαύδιον διελθεῖν, ὡς καὶ τῆς ἐν βιβλιοθήκαις ἀναθέσεως θαυμασθέντας αὐτοῦ καταξιωθήναι τοὺς λόγους.
initiated into Righteousness, or Unwritten Laws," and also "On Giants or the Immutability of God," and Books I., II., III., IV., V., "On the Divine Origin of Dreams according to Moses." These are the books which have come down to us dealing with Genesis. On Exodus we know Books I., II., III., IV., V. of his "Problems and Solutions," the book "On the Tabernacle," and that "On the Ten Commandments," and Books I., II., III., IV., "On the Laws specially referring to the principal divisions of the Ten Commandments," and the book "On Animals for Sacrifice and the Varieties of Sacrifice," and "On the Rewards fixed in the Law for the Good and the Penalties and Curses for the Wicked." In addition to all this there are also some single volumes of his, such as the book "On Providence," and the treatise composed by him "On the Jews," and "The Statesman," moreover "Alexander, or that irrational animals have reason." In addition to this the "That every wicked man is a slave," to which is appended the "That every good man is free." After these he composed the book "On the Contemplative Life, or Suppliants," from which we have quoted the passages dealing with the life of the men of the Apostolic age, and the interpretations of the Hebrew names in the Law and the Prophets are said to be his work. He came to Rome in the time of Caius, and in the reign of Claudius is said to have read before the whole Senate of the Romans his description of the impiety of Caius, which he entitled, with fitting irony, "Concerning Virtues," and his words were so much admired as to be granted pa lace in libraries.
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣ

Rom. 15, 19  Κατὰ δὲ τούσδε τοὺς χρόνους Παύλου τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ηεροουσιάς καὶ κύκλω πορείαν μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυ-μικοῦ διανύωντος, 'Ιουδαίους Ἰώμης ἀπελαύνει Κλαύδιος, ὁ τε Ἀκύλας καὶ Πρίσκιλλα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰουδαίων τῆς Ἰώμης ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν καταίρουσιν, ἐνταῦθα τε Παύλω τῷ ἀποστόλῳ συνδιατριβούσι πόσον ἀντὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀρτί πρὸς αὐτὸ καταβληθέντας θεμελίων ἐπιστηρίζοντι. διδάσκαλος καὶ τούτων ἡ ἱερὰ τῶν Πράξεων γραφῆ.

XIX. Ἐπὶ δὲ Κλαύδιον τὰ τῆς βασιλείας διέπον- τας, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πάσχα ἑορτὴν τοσαῦτην ἐπὶ τῶν Ιερουσαλήμων στάσιν καὶ ταραχὴν ἐγγενέσθαι συνέβη, ὡς μόνων τῶν περὶ τὰς ἐξόδους τοῦ ἱεροῦ βία συνωθομένων τρεῖς μυριάδας Ἰουδαίων ἀποθανεῖν πρὸς ἄλληλος καταπατηθέντων, γενέσθαι τε τὴν ἑορτὴν πένθος μὲν ὅλῳ τῷ ἔθνει, θρήνον δὲ καθ ἐκάστην οἰκίαν. καὶ ταῦτα δὲ κατὰ λέξιν ὁ Ἰώσηπος. Κλαύδιος δὲ Ἀγρίππαν, Ἀγρίπ- που παῖζε, Ἰουδαίων καθίστησι βασιλέα, Φήλικα τῆς χώρας ἀπάσης Σαμαρείας τε καὶ Γαλιλαίας καὶ προσέτι τῆς ἐπικαλουμένης Περαίας ἐπίτρο- που ἐκπέμψας, διοικήσας δὲ αὐτὸς τῇ ἤγεμονίᾳ ἔτεσιν τριῶν καὶ δέκα πρὸς μησίων ὄκτω, Νέρωνα τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον καταλιπὼν, τελευτά.

XX. Κατὰ δὲ Νέρωνα, Φήλικος τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπεύοντος, αὐτοῖς δήμασιν αὐθείς ὁ Ἰώσηπος τὴν εἰς ἄλληλους τῶν ἱερεὺς στάσιν ὅτε πως ἐν εἰκοστῷ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας γράφειν.

"Εξάπττεται δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄρχηριδοι στάσις πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τοῖς πλήθους τῶν Ἰερουσαλήμων, ἐκατόσες τε αὐτῶν στίφος 160
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At this time, while Paul was finishing his journey from Jerusalem and round about unto Illyricum, Claudius banished the Jews from Rome, and Aquila and Priscilla, with the other Jews, left Rome and came into Asia, and lived there with Paul the Apostle, while he was strengthening the foundations of the churches there which had recently been laid by him. The sacred Scripture of the Acts teaches this also.

XIX. Now while Claudius was still administering the Empire there was a riot and confusion in Jerusalem at the feast of the Passover so great that, merely among those who were violently crowded together at the ways leading out of the temple, thirty thousand Jews perished by trampling on each other, and the feast was turned into mourning for the whole nation and into lamentation in each house. This too Josephus relates in so many words. Claudius appointed Agrippa, the child of Agrippa, as king of the Jews, and sent out Felix as Procurator of the whole district of Samaria and Galilee, together with that called Peraea. He had administered the government for thirteen years and eight months when he died and left Nero his successor in the sovereignty.

XX. In the time of Nero, while Felix was Procurator of Judaea, Josephus again relates the quarrel of the priests with one another in the following words in a passage in the twentieth book of the Antiquities: “Now a quarrel arose between the High Priests and the priests and leaders of the people of Jerusalem.
ανθρώπων τῶν θρασυτάτων καὶ νεωτεριστῶν ἔαυ-
tῶ ποιήσας, ἥγεμών ἦν, καὶ συρράσσοντες ἐκακο-
λόγουν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ λίθους ἔβαλλον· ὦ δ' ἐπιπληξῶν ἦν οὐδὲ εἰς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ἀπροστάτητῳ
πόλει ταύτ' ἐπράσσετο μετ' ἔξουσίας. τοσαύτη ἦ
δὲ τοὺς ἄρχιστα σατελάβεν ἀναίδεια καὶ τόλμα,
ὡστε ἐκπέμπειν δούλους ἐτόλμων ἐπὶ τὰς ἀλώνας
tοὺς ληψομένους τὰς τῶν ἱερεύσιν οὔειλομένος
dεκάτας. καὶ συνέβαινε τοὺς ἀπορομένους τῶν
ἱερεῶν ὑπ' ἐνδείας ἀπολλυμένους θεωρεῖν· οὔτως
ἐκράτει τοῦ δικαίου παντὸς ἡ τῶν στασιαζόντων
βία.''

Πάλιν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς 4
χρόνους ἐν 'Ἱεροσολύμων ὑποφυήναι ληστῶν τι
εἶδος ἰστορεῖ, οἱ μὲθ' ἡμέραν, ὃς φησιν, καὶ
ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει ἐφόνευν τοὺς συναγωνίσκας.
μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς μιγνυμένους τῷ ἀ
πλήθει καὶ ταῖς ἐσθήσεσιν ὑποκρύπτοντας μικρὰ
ἐξείδια, τούτοις νῦτειν τοὺς διαφόρους· ἐπειτὰ
πεσόντων, μέρος γίνεσθαι τῶν ἐπαγαγκοῦντων
αὐτοῖς τοὺς πεφονευκότας· διὸ καὶ παντάπασιν
ὑπ' ἀξιοπιστίας ἀνευρέτους γενέσθαι· πρῶτον μὲν θ
οῦν ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἰωνάθην τὸν ἄρχιστα κατα-
σφαγῆναι, μετὰ δ' αὐτῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναίρεσθαι
πολλούς, καὶ τῶν συμφόρων τὸν φόβον εἶναι
χαλεπότερον, ἐκάστων καθάπερ ἐν πολέμῳ καθ'
ὁραν τὸν βάσανος προσδεχομένου.

XXI. 'Εξῆς δὲ τούτως ἐπιφέρει μεθ' ἐτερά λέγων· 1
"μείζονι δὲ τούτων πληγῆ Ἰουδαίων ἐκάκωσεν
ὁ Αἰγύπτιος πευδοπροφήτης. παραγενόμενος γὰρ
εἰς τὴν χώραν ἄνθρωπος γόνης καὶ προφήτου
πῖστιν ἐπιθεῖς ἑαυτῷ, περὶ τρισμυρίους μὲν ἀθροίζει

Joseph. B.I. 2, 254–256

XXI. 'Εξῆς δὲ τούτως ἐπιφέρει μεθ' ἐτερά λέγων· 1
"μείζονι δὲ τούτων πληγῆ Ἰουδαίων ἐκάκωσεν
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εἰς τὴν χώραν ἄνθρωπος γόνης καὶ προφήτου
πῖστιν ἐπιθεῖς ἑαυτῷ, περὶ τρισμυρίους μὲν ἀθροίζει

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Each of them made for himself a band of the boldest revolutionaries, of which he was the leader, and when they met they used to abuse each other and throw stones. There was not a single one to rebuke this, but it was done with licence as though in a city without government. Such shamelessness and audacity seized the High Priests that they ventured to send slaves to the threshing-floors to take the tithes owed to the priests, and it was a common occurrence to see destitute priests perishing of want. Thus the violence of the factions conquered all justice."

The same writer again relates that at the same time a certain kind of bandits arose in Jerusalem, who, as he says, murdered daily those whom they met, even in the midst of the city. In particular at the feasts they used to mingle with the crowd and concealing short daggers in their clothes used to stab distinguished people with them; then, when they had fallen, the murderers themselves shared in the indignation. In this way they evaded discovery through the confidence generally placed in them. Jonathan the High Priest was the first to be slain by them, but after him many were murdered daily, and fear was worse than the disasters, for as if in war every man was hourly expecting death.

XXI. He continues his narrative after other details as follows: "The Egyptian false prophet afflicted the Jews with a worse scourge than this, for this man appeared in the country as a sorcerer and secured for himself the faith due to a prophet. He assembled about thirty thousand who had been deceived and
τών ἡπατημένων, περιαγαγών ὁ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἔρημίας εἰς τὸ Ἑλαιών χαλοῦμενον ὄρος, ἐκεῖθεν οἶος τε ἢν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα παρελθεῖν βιάζεσθαι καὶ κρατήσας τῆς τε Ῥωμαϊκής φρουρᾶς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τυραννικῶς χρωμένος τοῖς συνεισπεσοῦσιν δορυφόροις. φθάνει δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ορμήν τις Φήλιξ, ὑπαντιάσας μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ὀπλιτῶν, καὶ πᾶς ὁ δήμος συνεφήματο τῆς ἀμύνης, ὡστε συμβολής γενομένης τοῦ μὲν Ἀιγύπτιον φυγεῖν μετ' ὀλίγων, διαφθαρῆναι δὲ καὶ ζωγρηθῆναι πλείστους τῶν σὺν αὐτῶ.

Ταῦτα ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Ἰστοριῶν ὁ Ἰώσηπος ο ἐπιστήσατε δὲ ἄξιον τοῖς ἐνταῦθα κατὰ τὸν Ἀιγύπτιον δεδηλωμένους καὶ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἐνθα κατὰ Φήλικα πρὸς τοῦ Ἐν Ἰεροσόλυμοι χυλιάρχου εἰρηται τῷ Παύλῳ, ὀπηνίκα κατεστασάζεται αὐτοῦ τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαϊῶν πλῆθος. ὡς ἱερὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀιγύπτιος ὁ πρὸ τοῦτων τῶν ἴμερῶν ἀναστατώσας καὶ ἐξαγαγόν ἐν τῇ ἔρημῳ τοὺς τετρακυκλίους ἄνδρας τῶν σικαρίων; ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Φήλικα τουαῦτα.

XXII. Τούτων ἐν Φήσις ὑπὸ Νέρωνος διάδοχος πεσμέται, καθ' ὑπὸ διακαιολογησάμενος ὁ Παύλος δέσμιος ἐπὶ Ρώμης ἄγεται. Ἀρισταρχὸς αὐτῷ συνήν, ὅν καὶ εἰκότως συναιχμάλωτον που τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀποκαλεί. καὶ Δούκας, ὁ καὶ τὰς πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων γραφῆναι παραδοῦσ, ἐν τούτοις κατέλυσε τὴν ἱστορίαν, διετίαν ὅλην ἐπὶ τῆς Ρώμης τὸν Παύλον ἀνετοῦ διατρίβαι καὶ τὸν θεοῦ λόγον ἀκμαλώτως κηρύξαι ἐπιστημηνάμενος. τότε μὲν οὖν ἀπολογησάμενον, αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος διακονίαν λόγον ἔχει.
led them round from the wilderness to the mount called Olivet, where he was in a position to force an entry into Jerusalem and overpower the Roman garrison and the people by a despotic use of the soldiers who had joined him. But Felix, anticipating his attack, met him with the Roman forces, and all the people agreed in the defence, so that when battle was joined the Egyptian fled with a few men and the greater part of those with him were destroyed or captured.”

Josephus relates this in the second book of the Wars, but it is worth noting what is said about the Egyptian there and in the Acts of the Apostles, where, in the time of Felix, the centurion at Jerusalem said to Paul, when the mob of the Jews was rioting against him, “Art thou not that Egyptian who before these days made an uproar and led out in the wilderness four thousand men of the Sicarii?" Such was the course of events under Felix.

XXII. Festus was sent as his successor by Nero, and Paul was tried before him and taken as a prisoner to Rome; Aristarchus was with him, and he naturally called him his fellow-prisoner in a passage in the Epistles. Luke also, who committed the Acts of the Apostles to writing, finished his narrative at this point by the statement that Paul spent two whole years in Rome in freedom, and preached the word of God without hindrance. Tradition has it that after defending himself the Apostle was again sent

1 The Sicarii were the special group of revolutionaries in Jerusalem who practised the assassination of their opponents by means of a short dagger or sica which could be conveniently concealed in the sleeve, see p. 163.
στείλασθαι τον ἀπόστολον, δεύτερον δ' ἐπιβάντα τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει τῷ κατ' αὐτῷ τελεωθήναι μαρτυρίῳ. ἐν δὲ δεσμοῖς ἔχομενος, τῇ πρὸς Τιμόθεου δευτέραν ἐπιστολὴν συντάττει, ὅμοιος χαμαῖνων τῇ τε προτέραν αὐτῷ γενομένην ἀπολογίαν καὶ τῇ παρὰ πόδας τελείωσαν. δὲχον δὴ καὶ τούτων τὰς αὐτοῦ μαρτυρίας: "ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ μου," φησίν, "ἀπολογία οὔδείς μοι παρεγένετο, ἀλλὰ πάντες με ἐγκατέλιπον (μη αὐτοίς λογισθεῖ), δὲ κύριός μοι παρέστη καὶ ἐνεδυνάμωσεν με, ἵνα δὴ ἐμοῦ τὸ κήρυγμα πληροφορηθῇ καὶ ἀκούσωσι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ ἔρρυσθην ἐκ στόματος λέοντος." σαφῶς δὴ παρίστησαν διὰ τούτων ὅτι δὴ τὸ πρότερον, ὥς ἄν τὸ κήρυγμα τὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ πληρωθεῖ, ἔρρυσθη ἐκ στόματος λέοντος, τῶν Νέρωνα ταύτης, ὡς ἐοικεν, διὰ τὸ ὁμοθύμοιο προσευκτέων. οὐκούν ἐξίς προστέθεικεν παραπληγίσαν τι τῷ "ῥύσεται μὲ ἐκ στόματος λέοντος" ἐώρα γὰρ τῷ πνεύματι τῆν ὅσον οὐπω μέλλουσαν αὐτοῦ τελευτήν, δι' ὁ φησιν ἐπιλέγων τῷ "καὶ ἔρρυσθη ἐκ στόματος λέοντος" τὸ "ῥύσεται μὲ ὁ κύριος ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ καὶ σώσει εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τῇ ἐπούρανίον," σημαίνων τὸ παρανύκτικα μαρτύριον: ὁ καὶ σαφέστερον ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ προλέγει γραφῆ, φάσκων "ἐγὼ γὰρ ἦδη σπέυδομαι, καὶ ὁ καιρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀναλύσεως ἐφέστηκεν." ¹ νῦν μὲν ὄνν ἐπὶ τῆς δεύτερας ἐπιστολῆς τῶν πρὸς Τιμόθεου τῶν Λουκᾶν μόνον γράφοντι αὐτῷ συνείλει δηλοῖ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν προτέραν ἀπολογίαν οὐδὲ τούτων ὑπεν εἰκότως τὰς τῶν ἀποστόλων Πράξεις ἐπ' 19

1 Cf. George Synecellus 634, 13–635, 21.
on the ministry of preaching, and coming a second time to the same city suffered martyrdom under Nero. During this imprisonment he wrote the second Epistle to Timothy, indicating at the same time that his first defence had taken place and that his martyrdom was at hand. Notice his testimony on this point: "At my first defence," he says, "no man was with me, but all deserted me (may it not be laid to their charge), but the Lord stood by me and strengthened me that the preaching might be fulfilled by me and all the Gentiles might hear, and I was delivered from the lion's mouth." He clearly proves by this that on the first occasion, in order that the preaching which took place through him might be fulfilled, he was delivered from the lion's mouth, apparently referring to Nero thus for his ferocity. He does not go on to add any such words as "he will deliver me from the lion's mouth," for he saw in the spirit that his death was all but at hand, wherefore after the words "And I was delivered from the lion's mouth," he goes on to say, "The Lord will deliver me from all evil and save me for his heavenly kingdom," indicating his impending martyrdom. And this he foretells even more clearly in the same writing, saying, "For I am already offered up and the time of my release is at hand." Now in the second Epistle of those to Timothy, he states that only Luke was with him as he wrote, and at his first defence not even he; wherefore Luke probably wrote the Acts of the Apostles at that time, carrying
ἐκεῖνον ὁ Λουκᾶς περιέγραψε τὸν χρόνον, τὴν μέχρις ὥστε τῷ Παύλῳ συνήν ἱστορίαν ὕφηγησά-


μένος. ταῦτα δ' ἦμιν εἴρηται παρισταμένους ὅτι 7
μὴ καθ' ἦν ὁ Λουκᾶς ἀνέγραψεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης
ἐπιθημίαν τοῦ Παύλου τὸ μαρτύριον αὐτῷ συν-
επεράνθη. εἰκός γε τοι κατὰ μὲν ἀρχὰς ἦπιστερον 8
τοῦ Νέρωνος διακειμένου, βάζον τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
dόγματος τοῦ Παύλου καταδεχθῆναι ἀπολογίαν,
προελθόντος δ' εἰς ἀθεμίτους τόλμας, μετὰ τῶν
ἀλλων καὶ τὰ κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγχειρηθῆναι.

Acts 25, 11.

XXIII. Ἰουδαιοί γε μὴν τοῦ Παύλου Καίσαρα 1
ἐπικαλεσάμενου ἐπὶ τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ὑπὸ
Φήστου παραπεμφθέντος, τῆς ἐλπίδος καθ' ἦν ἐξήρ-
tυνον αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν, ἀποπεσόντες, ἐπὶ Ἰάκω-
βον τοῦ τοῦ κυρίου τρέπονται ἀδελφόν, ὃ πρὸς τῶν
ἀποστόλων οὐ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωις
ἐγκεχείριστο θρόνος. τοιαῦτα δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ
κατὰ τούτου τολμᾶτα. εἰς μέσον αὐτῶν ἄγα- 2
γόντες ἀρνησάν τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πίστεως ἐπὶ
pαντὸς ἐξήτουν τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἀπάν-
tων γνώμην ἐλευθέρα φωνῇ καὶ μάλλον ἡ προσ-
edοκησάν ἐπὶ τῆς πληθύος ἀπάσης παρρησια-
sαμένου καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος ὑπὸν εἶναι θεοῦ τὸν
σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἦμων Ἰησοῦν, μηκέθ' ὅτι
tε τὴν τοῦ ἄνδρος μαρτύριαν φέρειν τῷ καὶ δι-
καίωταν αὐτὸν παρὰ τοῖς πάσιν δι' ἀκρότητα
ης μετήχει κατὰ τὸν βίον φιλοσοφίας τε καὶ θεο-
sεβείας πιστεύεσθαι, κτείνουσι, καιρὸν εἰς ἐξου-
σίαν λαβόντες τὴν ἀναρχίαν, ὅτι δὴ τοῦ Φήστου
κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦ καιροῦ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας τελευτή-
sαντος, ἀναρχα καὶ ἀνεπιτρέπετα τὰ τῆς αὐτοθ
διοικήσεως καθεστήκε. τὸν δὲ τῆς τοῦ Ἰακώ- 3

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down his narrative until the time when he was with
Paul. We have said this to show that Paul’s martyr-
dom was not accomplished during the sojourn in
Rome which Luke describes. Probably at the be-
ginning Nero’s disposition was gentler and it was
easier for Paul’s defence on behalf of his views to
be received, but as he advanced towards reckless
crime the Apostles were attacked along with the
rest.

XXIII. When Paul appealed to Caesar and was sent
over to Rome by Festus the Jews were disappointed
of the hope in which they had laid their plot against
him and turned against James, the brother of the
Lord, to whom the throne of the bishopric in Jeru-
salem had been allotted by the Apostles. The crime
which they committed was as follows. They brought
him into the midst and demanded a denial of the
faith in Christ before all the people, but when he,
contrary to the expectation of all of them, with a
loud voice and with more courage than they had
expected, confessed before all the people that our
Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is the son of God,
they could no longer endure his testimony, since he
was by all men believed to be most righteous because
of the height which he had reached in a life of
philosophy and religion, and killed him, using anarchy
as an opportunity for power since at that moment
Festus had died in Judaea, leaving the district with-
out government or procurator. The manner of

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βου τελευτής τρόπον ἦδη μὲν πρότερον αἱ παρα-
τεθείσαι τοῦ Κλήμεντος φωναὶ δεδηλώκασιν, ἀπὸ
τοῦ πτερυγίου βεβλήθαι ξύλῳ τῇ πρὸς θάνατον
πεπλήρθαι αὐτὸν ἰστορηκότος· ἀκριβέστατα γε μὴν
τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν ὁ Ὕγιςσουπος, ἵπτὶ τῆς πρώτης τῶν
ἀποστόλων γενόμενος διαδοχῆς, ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ
αὐτοῦ ὑπομνήματι τοῦτον λέγων ἰστορεῖ τὸν τρόπον·
„Διαδέχεται τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων
ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ κυρίου Ἰάκωβος, ὁ ὄνομασθεὶς
ὑπὸ πάντων δίκαιος ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ κυρίου χρόνων
μέχρι καὶ ἡμῶν, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ Ἰάκωβοι ἐκαλοῦντο,
οὕτος δὲ ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄγιος ἦν, οἴνον
καὶ σίκερα οὐκ ἔπιεν οὐδὲ ἐμψυχός ἔφαγεν, ἐνρὸν
ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἔλαιον οὐκ
ἠλείψατο, καὶ βαλανεύσα οὐκ ἐχρήσατο. τούτω
μόνῳ ἐξῆν εἰς τὰ ἁγία εἰσίεναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔρευν
ἐφόρει, ἀλλὰ συνδόνα. καὶ μόνος εἰσῆρχετο εἰς
tὸν ναὸν ἡπρίσκετο τε κείμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασιν
καὶ αὐτοῦμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ ἄφεσιν, ὡς ἀπ
εκληκτεὶν τὰ γόνατα αὐτοῦ δίκην καμήλου, διὰ
tὸ ἀεὶ κάμπτειν ἐπὶ γόνων προσκυνοῦντα τῷ θεῷ
καὶ αἰτεῖσθαι ἀφέσιν τῷ λαῷ. διὰ γε τὴν
tὴν υπερβολὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ
dίκαιος καὶ ὀβλίας, ὦ ἐστιν Ἑλληνιστὶ περιοχὴ
tοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ δικαιοσύνη, ὡς οἱ προφῆται δηλοῦσιν
περὶ αὐτοῦ. τινὲς οὖν τῶν ἐπτὰ αἰρέσεως τῶν
ev τῷ λαῷ, τῶν προγεγραμμένων μοι (ἐν τοῖς
Ὑπομνήμασιν), ἐπυνθάνοντο αὐτοῦ τὶς ἤ θύρα
tοῦ Ιησοῦ, καὶ ἔλεγεν τούτον εἶναι τὸν σωτήρα·
ἐξ ὅν τινες ἐπιστευοῦσαν ὅτι Ιησοῦς ἐστίν ὁ Χρι-
στός. αἱ δὲ αἰρέσεις αἱ προειρημέναι οὐκ ἐπὶ-
stευον οὔτε ἀνάστασιν οὔτε ἐρχόμενον ἀποδοῦναι
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James's death has been shown by the words of Clement already quoted, narrating that he was thrown from the battlement and beaten to death with a club, but Hegesippus, who belongs to the generation after the Apostles, gives the most accurate account of him speaking as follows in his fifth book: "The charge of the Church passed to James the brother of the Lord, together with the Apostles. He was called the 'Just' by all men from the Lord's time to ours, since many are called James, but he was holy from his mother's womb. He drank no wine or strong drink, nor did he eat flesh; no razor went upon his head; he did not anoint himself with oil, and he did not go to the baths. He alone was allowed to enter into the sanctuary for he did not wear wool but linen, and he used to enter alone into the temple and be found kneeling and praying for forgiveness for the people, so that his knees grew hard like a camel's (because of his constant worship of God, kneeling and asking forgiveness for the people.) So from his excessive righteousness he was called the Just and Oblias, that is in Greek, 'Rampart of the people and righteousness,' as the prophets declare concerning him.) Thus some of the seven sects among the people, who were described before by me (in the Commentaries), inquired of him what was the 'gate of Jesus,' and he said that he was the Saviour. Owing to this some believed that Jesus was the Christ. The sects mentioned above did not believe either in resurrection or in one who shall
Εὐσέβιος

ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ· ὅσοι δὲ καὶ ἐπίστευσαν, διὰ Ἰάκωβον. πολλῶν οὖν καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων πιστεύοντων, ἢν θόρυβος τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων λεγόντων ὅτι κινδυνεύει πᾶς ὁ λαὸς Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν προσδοκάν. ἔλεγον οὖν συνελθόντες τῷ Ἰακώβῳ· 'παρακαλοῦμέν σε, ἐπίσχης τὸν λαόν, ἐπεὶ ἐπλανήθη εἰς Ἰησοῦν, ὡς αὐτοῦ ὄντος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. παρακαλοῦμέν σε πείσαι πάντας τοὺς ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ πᾶσχα περὶ Ἰησοῦ· σοι γὰρ πάντες πειθόμεθα. ἢμεῖς γὰρ μαρτυροῦμέν σοι καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ὦτι δίκαιος εἰ καὶ ὦτι πρόσωπων οὐ λαμβάνεις. πείσον οὖν ὑπὸ τὸν ὄχλον περὶ Ἰησοῦ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι· καὶ γὰρ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς καὶ πάντες πειθόμεθα σοι. στῆθι οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ἵνα ἀνωθεν ἦς ἐπιφανής καὶ ἦν εὐάκουστα σου τὰ ῥήματα παντὶ τῶν λαῶν. διὰ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα συνεληλύθασι πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ μετὰ καὶ τῶν Θεῶν.' ἔστησαν οὖν οἱ προ-1
eρημένοι γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι τὸν Ἰάκωβον ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ναοῦ, καὶ ἐκραξαν αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπαν 'δίκαιε, καὶ πάντες πειθέσθαι οφείλομεν, ἐπεὶ ὁ λαὸς πλανᾶται ὅπιος Ἰησοῦ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος, ἀπάγγειλον ἡμῖν τίς ἡ θύρα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ· καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο φωνῇ μεγάλῃ 'τί με ἐπερωτᾷτε 1

1 The tradition is obviously confused. Oblias may be an

Luke 20, 21
Matt. 26, 64
Mark 14, 62

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come to reward each according to his deeds, but as many as believed did so because of James. Now, since many (even of the rulers) believed, there was a tumult of the Jews and the Scribes and Pharisees saying that the whole people was in danger of looking for Jesus as the Christ. So they assembled and said to James, 'We beseech you to restrain the people since they are straying after Jesus as though he were the Messiah. We beseech you to persuade concerning Jesus all who come for the day of the Passover, for all obey you. For we and the whole people testify to you that you are righteous and do not respect persons. (So do you persuade the crowd not to err concerning Jesus, for the whole people and we all obey you.) Therefore stand on the battlement of the temple that you may be clearly visible on high, and that your words may be audible to all the people, for because of the Passover all the tribes, with the Gentiles also, have come together.' So (the Scribes and Pharisees) mentioned before made James stand on the battlement of the temple, and they cried out to him and said, 'Oh, just one, to whom we all owe obedience, since the people are straying after Jesus who was crucified, tell us what is the gate of Jesus?' And he answered with a loud voice, 'Why do you ask me concerning the Son of Man? He is sitting in heaven on the right hand of the great power, and he will come on the clouds of heaven.' And many were convinced and confessed at the testimony of

inaccurate transliteration of the Hebrew for "Rampart of the People," but the reference to the prophets defies explanation. The "Gate" of Jesus is also a puzzle, but it may be connected with the early Christians' name for themselves of "the Way."

EUSEBIUS

Igneontwv 'óswann τῷ νῦν Δαυίδ,' τότε πάλιν οί αὐτοὶ γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαίοι πρὸς ἄλλη—
lous ἔλεγον 'κακῶς ἐπονήσαμεν τουαύτην μαρ-
typían parassχόντες τῷ Ἰσσοῦ. ἀλλὰ ἀναβάντες
catatβάλωμεν αὐτοῖν, ἵνα φοβηθέντες μὴ πιστεύ-
σοσιν αὐτῷ.' καὶ ἔκραζαν λέγοντες 'ὡ ω, 1 καὶ ὁ δίκαιος ἐπλανήθη,' καὶ ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν
graphὴν τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἰσσαίᾳ γεγραμμένην 'ἀρωμεν
tὸν δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχερος ἦμιν ἐστιν. τοίνυν
tὰ γενήματα τῶν ἑργῶν αὐτῶν φάγονται.' ἀνα-
bάντες ὦν κατέβαλον τὸν δίκαιον. καὶ ἔλεγον
ἀλλήλοις 'λιθάσωμεν Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον,
καὶ ἥρξαντο λιθάζειν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ καταβληθεῖσι
οὐκ ἀπέθανεν. ἀλλὰ στραφεὶς ἔθηκε τὰ γόνατα
λέγων 'παρακαλῶ, κύριε θεί πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς.'
oὐ γὰρ οἴδασιν τί ποιοῦσιν.' οὕτως δὲ κατᾳ-
λιθοβολοῦντων αὐτοῦ, εἰς τῶν ἱερέων τῶν νῦν
Ῥηχάβ νῦν Ῥαχαβείμ, τῶν μαρτυρουμένων ὑπὸ
Ἰερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου, ἔκραζαν λέγων 'παῦ-
σασθε. τί ποιεῖτε; εὐχεταί υπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ δίκαιος.'
καὶ λαβῶν τις ἀπ’ αὐτῶν, εἰς τῶν γναφέων, τὸ 1
ἐξέλευ, ἐν ὦ ἀποπείξει τὰ ἴματα, ἤγεγκεν κατὰ
τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ δίκαιου, καὶ οὕτως ἐμαρτύρη-
σεν. καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ τόπῳ παρὰ τῷ
ναῷ, καὶ ἔτι αὐτόν ἡ στήλη μένει παρὰ τῷ ναῷ.
μάρτυς οὗτος ἁληθῆς Ἰουδαίως τε καὶ Ἕλληνων
gegένηται ὅτι Ἰσσοῦς ὃ Χριστὸς ἔστων. καὶ
eὐθὺς Οὐσπασανοὺς πολιορκεῖ αὐτοῖς.' 1

1 Cf. George Syncellus 638, 3–641, 2.

1 The first part of the quotation is from the Wisdom of
Solomon, not Isaiah.
2 This story is confused and improbable. The text of
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James and said, 'Hosanna to the Son of David.' Then again the same Scribes and Pharisees said to one another, 'We did wrong to provide Jesus with such testimony, but let us go up and throw him down that they may be afraid and not believe him.' And they cried out saying, 'Oh, oh, even the just one erred.' And they fulfilled the Scripture written in Isaiah,¹ 'Let us take the just man for he is unprofitable to us. Yet they shall eat the fruit of their works.' So they went up and threw down the Just, and they said to one another, 'Let us stone James the Just,' and they began to stone him since the fall had not killed him, but he turned and knelt saying, 'I beseech thee, O'Lord, God and Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' And while they were thus stoning him one of the priests of the sons of Rechab, the son of Rechabim,² to whom Jeremiah the prophet bore witness, cried out saying, 'Stop! what are you doing? The Just is praying for you.' And a certain man among them, one of the laudrymen, took the club with which he used to beat out the clothes, and hit the Just on the head, and so he suffered martyrdom. And they buried him on the spot by the temple, and his grave-stone still remains by the temple. He became a true witness both to Jews and to Greeks that Jesus is the Christ, and at once Vespasian began to besiege them.”

Hegesippus must be corrupt, for Rechabim is only the Hebrew plural and merely repeats the previous phrase. Moreover the Rechabites were a tribe of Kenites who were adopted into Israel (cf. 1 Chron. ii. 55 and Jer. xxxv. 19). There is no evidence that a Rechabite was ever counted as a Levite, or that the name was that of a sect to which a priest or Levite could have belonged. Epiphanius (Haer. lxxviii. 14) replaces this mysterious Rechabite by Simeon the son of Clopas.
Ταύτα διὰ πλάτους, συνωδά γέ τοι τῷ Κλήμεντι καὶ ὁ Ὅησιππος. οὕτω δὲ ἀρα θεαματικός τις ἦν καὶ παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπασίν ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνης βεβόητο ὁ Ἰάκωβος, ὡς καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίων ἐμφρόνοις δοξάζειν ταύτην εἶναι τὴν αὐτίαν τῆς παραχρήμα μετὰ τὸ μαρτύριον αὐτοῦ πολυρκίας τῆς Ἰερουσαλήμ, ἢν δὲ οὐδὲν ἔτερον αὐτοῖς συμβῆναι ἦ διὰ τὸ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν τολμηθέν ἄγος.

Ἀμέλει γε τοι ὁ Ἰώσιππος οὐκ ἀπώκηνσεν καὶ τούτῃ ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτύρασθαι δι᾽ ὅν φησιν λέξεων "ταύτα δὲ συμβέβηκεν Ἰουδαίως κατ’ ἐκδίκησιν Ἰακώβου τοῦ δικαίου, οὐ τὴν ἀδελφός Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, ἐπειδήπερ δικαιότατον αὐτὸν ὄντα οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀπέκτειναν."

"Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐν εἰκοστῷ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας δηλοῖ διὰ τούτων. "πέμπει δὲ Καίσαρ Ἀλβίνον εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἔπαρχον, Φήστον τὴν τελευτὴν πυθόμενος. οὐ δὲ νεώτερος Ἀνανίων ὃν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην εἴπαμεν παρελθόντας, θρασύς ἦν τὸν τρόπον καὶ τολμητής διαφερόντως, αἴρεσιν δὲ μετέχει τὴν Σαδδουκαίαν, οὐπερ εἰσὶν περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ὑμῶν παρὰ πάντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, καθώς ἦδη δεδηλώκαμεν. ἂτε δὴ οὖν τοιοῦτος ὃν ὁ Ἀνανίων, νομίζασι ἔχειν καίρον ἐπιτήδειον διὰ τὸ τεθνάναι μὲν Φήστον, Ἀλβίνον δὲ ἔτι κατὰ τὴν ὦδὸν ὑπάρχειν, καθίζει συνέδριον κρῖτων, καὶ παραγάγων εἰς αὐτὸ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ, τοῦ Χριστοῦ λεγομένου, Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, καὶ τινὰς ἔτερους, ὡς παρανομοσάντων κατηγορίαν ποιησάμενος, παρέδωκεν λέουσθησαμένους. ὃςοι δὲ ἐδόκοιν ἐπιεικέστατοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους.
This account is given at length by Hegesippus, but in agreement with Clement. Thus it seems that James was indeed a remarkable man and famous among all for righteousness, so that the wise even of the Jews thought that this was the cause of the siege of Jerusalem immediately after his martyrdom, and that it happened for no other reason than the crime which they had committed against him.

Of course Josephus did not shrink from giving written testimony to this, as follows: "And these things happened to the Jews to avenge James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus the so-called Christ, for the Jews killed him in spite of his great righteousness." The same writer also narrates his death in the twentieth book of the Antiquities as follows: "Now when Caesar heard of the death of Festus he sent Albinus as governor to Judaea, but the younger Ananus, who, as we said, had received the High Priesthood, was bold in temperament and remarkably daring. He followed the sect of the Sadducees, who are cruel in their judgements beyond all the Jews, as we have already explained. Thus his character led Ananus to think that he had a suitable opportunity through the fact that Festus was dead and Albinus still on his way. He summoned a council of judges, brought before it the brother of Jesus, the so-called Christ, whose name was James, and some others, on the accusation of breaking the law and delivered them to be stoned. But all who were reputed the most reasonable of the citizens and strict observers of the law were

1 This passage is not in the traditional text of Josephus.
άκριβείας, βαρέως ἤνεγκαν ἐπὶ τούτων, καὶ περιπουσὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα κρύφα, παρακαλούντες αὐτὸν ἐπιστείλαι τῷ Ἀνάων μηκέτι τοιαῦτα πράσσειν· μηδὲ γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ὅρθως αὐτὸν πεποιηκέναι. τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν Ἀλβίνον ὑπαντίασον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ὁδόουροῦ, καὶ διδάσκουσιν ὡς οὐκ ἔξον ἦν Ἀνάων χωρίς αὐτοῦ γνώμης καθίσαι συνεδριον. Ἀλβίνος δὲ πεισθεὶς τοῖς λεγομένοις, γράφει μετ’ ὀργῆς τῷ Ἀνάων, λήσεσθαι παρ’ αὐτὸν δῖκας ἀπειλῶν, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἄρχιερωσύνην ἀφελόμενος αὐτοῦ ἄρξαντος μὴνας τρείς, Ἰησοῦν τὸν τοῦ Δαμαμίου κατέστησεν."^{1}

Τοιαύτα καὶ τὰ κατὰ Ἰάκωβον, οὐ ἡ πρώτη τῶν ὀνομαζομένων καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν εἶναι λέγεται· ἵστεον δὲ ὡς νοθεύεται μὲν, οὐ πολλοὶ γοῦν τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτῆς ἐμνημόνευσαν, ὡς οὐδὲ τῆς λεγομένης Ἰουδα, μιᾶς καὶ αὐτῆς οὗτης τῶν ἐπτα λεγομένων καθολικῶν· ὡμως δ’ ἵσμεν καὶ ταύτας μετὰ τῶν λουτῶν εν πλείσταις δεδημοσιευμέναι ἐκκλησίασ.

XXIV. Νέρωνος δὲ ὄγδοον ἄγοντος τῆς βασιλείας ἔτος, πρῶτος μετὰ Μάρκου τῶν εὐαγγελιστῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παροικίας Ἀνιανός τὴν λειτουργίαν διαδέχεται.

XXV. Κραταυμένης δ’ ἴδῃ τῷ Νέρων τῆς αρχῆς, εἰς ἄνουσους ἀκεῖλας ἐπιτηδεύσεις, κατ’ αὐτῆς ἐπιλίζετο τῆς εἰς τὸν τῶν ὀλων θεον εὐσεβείας. γράφειν μὲν οὖν οἶδο τις οὗτος γεγένηται τὴν μοχθηρίαν, οὐ τῆς παρούσης γένοιτ’ ἂν σχολῆς πολλῶν γε μὴν τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀκριβεστάτας ἐπαραδεδωκότων διηγήσεσιν, πάρεστιν ὦτῳ φί-

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1. The reference number is not clear from the text.
angered at this and sent secretly to the Emperor,\textsuperscript{1} begging him to write to Ananus to give up doing such things, for they said that he had not acted rightly from the very beginning. And some of them also went to meet Albinus as he journeyed from Alexandria, and explained that it was illegal for Ananus to assemble the council without his permission. Albinus was influenced by what was said and wrote angrily to Ananus threatening him with penalties, and for this reason King Agrippa deprived him of the High Priesthood when he had held it for three months, and appointed Jesus the son of Dammaeus.” Such is the story of James, whose is said to be the first of the Epistles called Catholic. It is to be observed that its authenticity is denied, since few of the ancients quote it, as is also the case with the Epistle called Jude’s, which is itself one of the seven called Catholic; nevertheless we know that these letters have been used publicly with the rest in most churches.

XXIV. In the eighth year of the reign of Nero Annnianus was the first after Mark the Evangelist to receive charge of the diocese\textsuperscript{2} of Alexandria.

XXV. When the rule of Nero was now gathering strength for unholy objects he began to take up arms against the worship of the God of the universe. It is not part of the present work to describe his depravity: many indeed have related his story in accurate narrative, and from them he who wishes can study

\textsuperscript{1} Or, possibly, to King Agrippa.
\textsuperscript{2} Literally, colony or province.

\textsuperscript{1} Cf. George Syncellus 641, 7-642, 9.
λον, εξ αυτών τῆς σκαίτης τῆς τάνδρος ἐκτόπου καταδεωρήσας μανίας, καθ' ἦν οὐ μετὰ λογισμῷ μυρίων ὅσων ἀπωλείας διεξελθὼν, ἐπὶ τοσαῦτην ἥλασε μυαλφονίαν, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων τε καὶ φιλτάτων ἐπισχείν, μητέρα δὲ ὁμοίως καὶ ἀδελφοὺς καὶ γυναῖκα σὺν καὶ ἄλλοις μυρίως τῷ γένει προσήκουσιν τρόπον ἐχθρῶν καὶ πολεμίων ποικίλαις θανάτων ἱδέας διαχρῆσασθαι. ἐνέδει δ' ἄρα τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ τούτῳ ἐπιγραφήναι 3 αὐτῷ, ὡς ἂν πρῶτος αὐτοκρατόρων τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἐυσεβείας πολέμιος ἁναδειχθεί. τούτου 4 πάλιν ὁ Ῥωμαίος Τερτυλλιανὸς ὃδε πως λέγων μνημονεύει ἴν τυχέσε τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ὑμῖν, ἐκεῖ εὐρήσετε πρῶτον Νέρωνα τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα, ἢ μίκα μάλιστα ἐν Ῥώμη, τὴν ἀνατολὴν πᾶσαν ὑποτάξας, ὡμός ἦν εἰς πάντας, διάξαντα. τοιοῦτω τῆς κολάσεως ὑμῶν ἀρχηγῷ καυχόμεθα. ὁ γὰρ εἰδὼς ἐκείνου νοήσαι δύναται ὡς οὐκ ἂν, εἰ μή μέγα τι ἀγαθὸν ἦν, ὑπὸ Νέρωνος κατακριθήναι.’

Ταύτη γοῦν οὕτος, θεομαχὸς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα 5 πρῶτος ἀνακηρυχθεῖς, ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπήρθη σφαγάς. Παύλος δὴ οὖν ἐπ’ αὐτῆς Ῥώμης τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτριήθηκαί καὶ Πέτρος ὡσαύτως ἀνασκολοπισθήκαί καὶ αὐτῶν ἰστοροῦνται, καὶ πιστοῦται γε τὴν ἱστορίαν ἢ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου εἰς δεύρο κρατήσασα ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν κυμητερίων πρόσρησις, οὐδὲν δὲ 6 ἦττον καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἀνήρ, Γάϊος ὄνομα, κατὰ Ζεφυρίνον Ῥωμαίων γεγονός ἐπίσκοπον, δι’ Ἕτο Πρόκλω τῆς κατὰ Φρύγας προϊσταμένω

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1 The Greek is scarcely translatable and is clearly a bad
the perversity of his degenerate madness, which made him compass the unreasonable destruction of so many thousands, until he reached that final guilt of sparing neither his nearest nor dearest, so that in various ways he did to death alike his mother, brothers, and wife, with thousands of others attached to his family, as though they were enemies and foes. But with all this there was still lacking to him this—that it should be attributed to him that he was the first of the emperors to be pointed out as a foe of divine religion. This again the Latin writer Tertullian mentions in one place as follows: “Look at your records: there you will find that Nero was the first to persecute this belief when, having overcome the whole East, he was specially cruel in Rome against all.” We boast that such a man was the author of our chastisement; for he who knows him can understand that nothing would have been condemned by Nero had it not been great and good.”

In this way then was he the first to be heralded as above all a fighter against God, and raised up to slaughter against the Apostles. It is related that in his time Paul was beheaded in Rome itself, and that Peter likewise was crucified, and the title of “Peter and Paul,” which is still given to the cemeteries there, confirms the story, no less than does a writer of the Church named Caius, who lived when Zephyrinus was bishop of Rome. Caius in a written discussion rendering of Tertullian: “Consulite commentarios uestros, illic reperietis primum Neronem in hanc sectam cum maxime Romae orientem Caesariano gladio ferocisse” (“Consult your records: you will find that Nero was the first to let the imperial sword rage against this sect when it was just springing up in Rome.”).
γνώμης ἐγγράφως διαλεξθεῖς, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν τῶν, ἐνθα τῶν εἰρημένων ἀποστολῶν τὰ ἱερὰ σκηνώματα κατατέθειται, φησὶν· "ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ἀποστολῶν ἐχω δείξαι. ἐὰν γὰρ θελήσῃ ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Βασιλεία μου ἐν τῇ ὀδον τῇ Ὄσιαν, εὐρήσεις τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ταύτην ἱδρυσαμένων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν."

Ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀμφω καιρὸν ἐμαρτύρησαν, Κορινθίων ἐπίσκοπος Διονύσιος ἐγγράφως Ὀμοιώματος ὁμιλῶν, ὥστε παρίστησιν "ταῦτα καὶ ύμεῖς διὰ τῆς τοσοῦτος νουθεσίας τὴν ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φυτεύαν γενηθείσαν Ὀμοιώματος τε καὶ Κορινθίων συνεκεράσατε. καὶ γὰρ ἀμφω καὶ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν Κόρινθον φυτεύσαντες ἠμᾶς ὁμοίως ἔδιδαξαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμόσε διδάσαντες ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν." ¹ καὶ ταῦτα δὲ, ὡς ἄν ἐτί μᾶλλον πιστωθεῖ ἡ τῆς ἱστορίας.

XXVI. Ἀδθὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰώσηπος πλεῖστα ὡσα περὶ 1 τῆς τὸ παν Ἰουδαίων ἔθους καταλαβοῦσας διελθῶν συμφορᾶς, δηλοὶ κατὰ λέξιν ἐπὶ πλεῖστος ἄλλους μυρίους ὄσους τῶν παρὰ Ἰουδαίως τετιμημένων μάστιξιν αἰκισθέντας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἰερουσαλήμ ἀνασταυρωθῆναι ὡς φλώρου τοῦτον δὲ εἶναι τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπον, ὑπηρίκα τῆς ἀρχήν ἀναρριπισθῆναι τοῦ πολέμου, ἔτους δωδεκάτου τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας, συνεβη. εἴτε δὲ καὶ 2 καθ’ ὅλην τὴν Συρίαν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀποστάσει δεινὴν φησὶ κατειληφεῖν ταραχῆν, πανταχόσε τῶν ἀπὸ τὸν έθνους πρὸς τῶν κατὰ πόλιν

¹ Cf. George Syncellus 644, 8–645, 9.
with Proclus, the leader of the Montanists,\textsuperscript{1} speaks as follows of the places where the sacred relics of the Apostles in question are deposited: "But I can point out the trophies of the Apostles, for if you will go to the Vatican or to the Ostian Way you will find the trophies of those who founded this Church."\textsuperscript{2} And that they both were martyred at the same time Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, affirms in this passage of his correspondence with the Romans: "By so great an admonition you bound together the foundations of the Romans and Corinthians by Peter and Paul, for both of them taught together in our Corinth and were our founders, and together also taught in Italy in the same place and were martyred at the same time." And this may serve to confirm still further the facts narrated.

XXVI. Josephus in the course of his extremely detailed description of the catastrophe which overcame the whole Jewish race, in addition to many other things explains exactly how many thousand Jews of high rank in Jerusalem itself were outraged, scourged, and crucified by Florus, and that he was procurator of Judaea when it happened that the beginning of the war blazed up in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero. He next says that throughout Syria terrible disturbances followed the revolt of the Jews. Everywhere the Gentiles mercilessly attacked

\textsuperscript{1} Literally, "the opinion among the Phrygians." Montanus was of Phrygian origin. His story is told by Eusebius in \textit{Hist. Eccl.} v. 14-18. Proclus was one of his successors.

\textsuperscript{2} According to the tradition that Peter was crucified on the Vatican (the exact spot is variously indicated), and Paul beheaded on the Via Ostia at Tre Fontane.
Ενοίκων ὡς ἂν πολεμίων ἀνηλεῶς πορθομένων, ὡστε ὅραν τὰς πόλεις μεστὰς ἀτάφων σωμάτων καὶ νεκροὺς ἄμα νηπίους γέροντας ἐρριμμένους γυναικὸς τῇ μηδέ τῆς ἐπ’ αἰδώ σκέπης μετειληφότα, καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἐπαρχίαν μεστὴν ἀδυνήτων συμφορῶν, μείζων δὲ τῶν ἐκάστωτές τολμωμένων τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπειλουμένοις ἀνάτασιν. ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν ὁ Ἰωσηπός. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Ἰουδαίους ἐν τούτοις ἦν.
the Jews in the cities as though they were foes, so that the cities could be seen full of unburied bodies, thrown out dead, old men and children, and women without covering for their nakedness; the whole province was full of indescribable misery and the strain of the threats for the future was worse than the crimes of the present. This Josephus narrates, and such was the condition of the Jews.
Τάδε καὶ ἡ γὰρ περιέχει βιβλίος τῆς Ἑκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας

Ἀ "Ὅποι γῆς ἐκήρυξαν τὸν Χριστὸν οἱ ἀπόστολοι.
Β Τῖς πρῶτος τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας προέστη.
Γ Περὶ τῶν ἑπιστολῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων.
Δ Περὶ τῆς πρώτης τῶν ἀποστόλων διαδοχῆς.
Ε Περὶ τῆς μετὰ τὸν Χριστὸν υπότατης Ἰουδαίων πολιορκίας.
€ Περὶ τοῦ πιέσαντος αὐτοῦς λιμοῦ.
Ζ Περὶ τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ προφήτων.
Η Περὶ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου σημείων.
Θ Περὶ Ἰωσήφου καὶ ὃν κατέλυπεν συγγραμμάτων.
Ι "Ὅποις τῶν θείων μνημονεύει βιβλίων.
ΙΑ 'Ὄς μετὰ Ἰάκωβον ἱγείτα τούς Συμεών τῆς ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωι ἐκκλησίας.
ΙΒ 'Ὄς Ὀυασπασιανὸς τούς ἐκ Δαυίδ ἀναζητεῖσθαι προστάτει.
ΙΓ 'Ὄς δεύτερος Ἀλεξανδρέων ἱγείτα Ἀβιλίου.
ΙΔ 'Ὄς καὶ Ῥωμαίων δεύτερος Ἀνέγκλητος ἐπισκοπεῖ.
ΙΕ 'Ὄς τρίτος μετ' αὐτοῦ Κλήμης.
ΙΞ Περὶ τῆς Κλήμεντος ἑπιστολῆς.
ΙΖ Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Δομιτιανὸν διωγμοῦ.
CONTENTS OF BOOK III

The contents of the third book of the History of the Church is as follows:

I. The parts of the world in which the apostles preached Christ.
II. Who was the first ruler of the church of the Romans.
III. On the letters of the apostles.
IV. On the first successors of the apostles.
V. On the last siege of the Jews after Christ.
VI. On the famine that oppressed them.
VII. On the prophecies of Christ.
VIII. On the signs before the war.
IX. On Josephus and the writings which he left.
X. How he quotes the sacred books.
XI. How after James Simcon ruled the church at Jerusalem.
XII. How Vespasian ordered the family of David to be sought out.
XIII. How Abilius was the second ruler of the Alexandrians.
XIV. How Anencletus was the second bishop of the Romans.
XV. How, after him, Clement was the third.
XVI. On the epistle of Clement.
XVII. On the persecution under Domitian.
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣ

Περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου καὶ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως.

Περὶ τῶν πρὸς γένους τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.

Περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐκκλησίας τρίτος ἡγεῖται Κέρδων.

Περὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας δεύτερος Ἰγνάτιος.

Περὶ τῆς Ἱστορίας περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου.

Περὶ τῆς τάξεως τῶν εὐαγγελίων.

Περὶ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων θείων γραφῶν καὶ τῶν μη τοιούτων.

Περὶ Μενάνδρου τοῦ γόντος.

Περὶ τῆς Ἑβρωναίων αἱρέσεως.

Περὶ Κηρύθου αἱρεσιάρχου.

Περὶ Νικολάου καὶ τῶν ἔξι αὐτοῦ κεκλημένων.

Περὶ τῶν ἐν συζυγίᾳ ἐξετασθέντων ἀποστόλων.

Περὶ τῆς Ἰωάννου καὶ Φιλίππου τελευτής.

"Ὅσως Συμεών ὁ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμωι ἐπίσκοπος ἐμαρτύρησεν.

"Ὅσως Τραϊάνος ζητεῖσθαι Χριστιανοὺς ἐκῴλυσεν.

"Ὅς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τέταρτος Εὐάρεστος ἡγεῖται.

"Ὅς τρίτος τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμωι Ἰουστος.

Περὶ Ἰγνατίου καὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν αὐτοῦ.

Περὶ τῶν εἰς ἐτὶ τότε διαπρεπόντων εὐαγγελιστῶν.

Περὶ τῆς Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τῶν ψευδῶς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένων.

Περὶ τῶν Παπία συγγραμμάτων.
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, III. CONTENTS

XVIII. On John the Apostle and the Apocalypse.
XIX. How Domitian commanded the family of David to be destroyed.
XX. On the family of our Saviour.
XXI. How Cerdo was the third to rule the church of the Alexandrians.
XXII. How Ignatius was the second of the Antiochians.
XXIII. A narrative about John the Apostle.
XXIV. On the order of the Gospels.
XXV. On the writings acknowledged as sacred and on those which are not.
XXVI. On Menander the Sorcerer.
XXVII. On the heresy of the Ebionites.
XXVIII. On Cerinthus the Heresiarch.
XXIX. On Nicholas and those called after him.
XXX. On the apostles who were tested by marriage.
XXXI. On the death of John and Philip.
XXXII. How Simeon, the bishop in Jerusalem, was martyred.
XXXIII. How Trajan forbade the Christians to be sought out.
XXXIV. How Evarestus was the fourth to rule the church of the Romans.
XXXV. How Justus was the third ruler of the church in Jerusalem.
XXXVI. On Ignatius and his letters.
XXXVII. On the evangelists who were still flourishing.
XXXVIII. On the letter of Clement and the writings falsely attributed to him.
XXXIX. On the writings of Papias.
Τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ Ἰουδαίους ἐν τούτοις ἦν·
τῶν δὲ ἱερῶν τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν ἀποστόλων τε
καὶ μαθητῶν ἔφ’ ἀπασαν κατασπαρέντων τὴν
οἰκουμένην, Ὁωμᾶς μὲν, ὡς ἡ παράδοσις περιέχει,
τὴν Παρθιαν εὐλήχεν, Ἀνδρέας δὲ τὴν Σκυθιαν,
Ἰωάννης τὴν Ἀσίαν, πρὸς οὓς καὶ διατρύφας ἐν
Ἐφέσῳ τελευτᾷ, Πέτρος δ’ ἐν Πόντῳ καὶ Γαλατίᾳ
καὶ Βιθυνία Καππαδοκία τε καὶ Ἀσία κεκηρυχέναι
τοῖς [ἐκ] διασποράς Ἰουδαίως ἔοικεν· δι’ οὗ καὶ ἐπὶ
tέλει ἐν Ῥώμῃ γενόμενος, ἀνεσκολοπισθῇ κατὰ
κεφαλῆς, οὕτως αὐτῶς ἀξιώσας παθεῖν. τί δεῖ
περὶ Παύλου λέγειν, ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλήμ μέχρι τοῦ
Ἰλλυρικοῦ πεπληρωκότος τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χρι
στοῦ καὶ ὑστεροῦν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος με-
μαρτυρηκότος; ταῦτα Ὀριγένει κατὰ λέξιν ἐν
τρίτῳ τόμῳ τῶν εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν ἔξηγητικῶν
εἴρηται.

Τῆς δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας μετὰ τὴν
Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου μαρτυρίαν πρῶτος κληροῦται
τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν Λίνος. μνημονεύει τούτου Τιμο-
θέω γράφων ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ὅ Παύλος κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ
tέλει τῆς ἐπιστολῆς πρόσρησιν.

Πέτρου μὲν οὖν ἐπιστολὴ μία, ἡ λεγομένη
αὐτοῦ προτέρα, ἀνωμολόγηται, ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ οἱ

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BOOK III

I. Such was the condition of things among the Jews, but the holy Apostles and disciples of our Saviour were scattered throughout the whole world. Thomas, as tradition relates, obtained by lot Parthia, Andrew Scythia, John Asia (and he stayed there and died in Ephesus), but Peter seems to have preached to the Jews of the Dispersion in Pontus and Galatia and Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia, and at the end he came to Rome and was crucified head downwards, for so he had demanded to suffer. What need be said of Paul, who fulfilled the gospel of Christ from Jerusalem to Illyria and afterward was martyred in Rome under Nero? This is stated exactly by Origen in the third volume of his commentary on Genesis.

II. After the martyrdom of Paul and Peter, Linus was the first appointed to the bishopric of the church of Rome. Paul mentions him when writing from Rome to Timothy in the salutation at the end of the Epistle.

III. Of Peter, one epistle, that which is called his first, is admitted, and the ancient presbyters used
πάλαι πρεσβύτεροι ὡς ἀναμφιλέκτω ἐν τοῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν κατακέχρηται συγγράμμασιν. τὴν δὲ φερο-
μένην δευτέραν οὐκ ἐνδιάθηκον μὲν εἶναι παρειλ-
φαμεν, ὡμως δὲ πολλοῖς χρήσιμος φανείσα, μετὰ
τῶν ἄλλων ἐσπονδάσθη γραφῶν. τὸ γα μὴ τῶν 2
ἐπικεκλημένων αὐτοῦ Πράξεων καὶ τὸ κατ’ αὐτὸν
ἀνομασμένων εὐαγγέλιον τὸ τε λεγόμενον αὐτοῦ
Κήρυγμα καὶ τὴν καλουμένην Ἀποκάλυψιν οὐδ’
οἶλας ἐν καθολικοῖς ἵσμεν παραδεδομένα, ὦτι μήτε
ἀρχαίων μὴτε μὴν καθ’ ἡμᾶς τις ἐκκλησιαστικὸς
συγγραφεύς ταῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν συνεχήσατο μαρτυ-
ρίας. προϊόνθης δὲ τῆς ἱστορίας προοργοὺς ποιή-
σομαι σὺν ταῖς διαδοχαῖς ὑποσημηνασθαί τίνες τῶν
catὰ χρόνους ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων ὁποῖας
κέχρηται τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων, τίνα τε περὶ τῶν
ἐνδιαθῆκων καὶ ὁμολογουμένων γραφῶν καὶ ὅσα
περὶ τῶν μὴ τοιούτων αὐτοῖς εὑρηται. ἀλλὰ τὰ 4
μὲν ὀνομαζόμενα Πέτρου, ὅν μόνην μίαν γνησίαν
ἐγγυών ἐπιστολὴν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πάλαι πρε-
σβύτεροι ὁμολογομένην, τοσοῦτο τοῦ δὲ Παύλου
πρόδηλοι καὶ σαφεῖς αἱ δεκατέσσαρες. ὦτι γα μὴν 5
τινες ἠθετήκασι τὴν πρὸς Ἐβραίους, πρὸς τῆς
Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ὡς μὴ Παύλου ὀδικον αὐτὴν
ἀντιλέγονται φήσαντες, οὐ δίκαιον ἀγνοεῖν καὶ
τὰ περὶ ταύτης δὲ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν εἰρήμενα κατὰ
καρόν παραθήσομαι. οὐδὲ μὴν τὰς λεγομένας
αὐτοῦ Πράξεως ἐν ἀναμφιλέκτω τοις παρεῖληφα. ἐπεὶ
δ’ ὁ αὐτοῖς ἀπόστολος ἐν ταῖς ἐπὶ τέλει προστή-
σεσιν τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους μνήμην πεποίηται μετὰ
tῶν ἄλλων καὶ Ἐφραίμ, οὗ φασιν ὑπάρχειν τὸ τοῦ
Πομενοῦ βιβλίου, ἱστεον ὡς καὶ τούτο πρὸς μὲν
τινων ἀντιλελεκται, δὲ οὖσι οὐκ ἃν ἐν ὁμολογου-

Rom. 16, 14

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this in their own writings as unquestioned, but the
so-called second Epistle we have not received as
canonical, but nevertheless it has appeared useful to
many, and has been studied with other Scriptures.
On the other hand, of the Acts bearing his name,
and the Gospel named according to him and Preach-
ing called his and the so-called Revelation, we have
no knowledge at all in Catholic tradition, for no
orthodox¹ writer of the ancient time or of our
own has used their testimonies. As the narrative
proceeds I will take pains to indicate successively
which of the orthodox writers in each period used
any of the doubtful books, and what they said about
the canonical and accepted Scriptures and what
about those which are not such. Now the above are
the books bearing the name of Peter, of which I
recognize only one as genuine and admitted by the
presbyters of old. And the fourteen letters of Paul
are obvious and plain, yet it is not right to ignore
that some dispute the Epistle to the Hebrews, saying
that it was rejected by the church of Rome as not
being by Paul, and I will expound at the proper time
what was said about it by our predecessors. Nor
have I received his so-called Acts among undisputed
books. But since the same Apostle in the salutations
at the end of Romans has mentioned among others
Hermas, whose, they say, is the Book of the Shepherd,
it should be known that this also is rejected by some,
and for their sake should not be placed among

¹ Gk. "ecclesiastic," that is, belonging to or recognized by
the Church, as opposed to heretics, Jews, or heathen.
μένοις τεθείη, ὃς ἑτέρων δὲ ἀναγκαῖοτατον οἷς μάλιστα δεὶ στοιχεῖοσεως εἰσαγωγικῆς, κέκριται· ὧθεν ήδη καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις ἵσμεν αὐτὸ δεδήμοςεμένον, καὶ τῶν παλαιτάτων δὲ συγγραφέων κεχρημένους τινὰς αὐτὸν κατείληφα. ταῦτα εἰς 7 παράστασιν τῶν τε ἀναντιρρήτων καὶ τῶν μὴ παρὰ πάσιν ὀμολογομεμένων θεῖων γραμμάτων εἰρήσθων.

IV. Ὕπειρεν μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐξ ἑθνῶν κηρύσσων δὲ Παύλος τοὺς ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλήμ καὶ κύκλῳ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καταβέβλητο θεμελίως, δὴλον ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ γένοιτ' ἄν φωνῶν καὶ ἀφ' ἐν τῷ Λουκᾶς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεων ἰστόρησεν καὶ 2 ἐκ τῶν Πέτρου δὲ λέξεων ἐν ὑπόσαις καὶ οὕτως ἑπαρχίαι τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς τῶν Χριστοῦ εὐ- αγγελιζόμενοι τῶν τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης παρεδίδου λόγων, σαφῆς ἐν εἰη ἀφ' ἵς εἰρήκαμεν ὀμολογομεμένης αὐτοῦ ἔπιστολῆς, ἡ τοῖς ἐξ Ἐβραίων οὕτων ἐν διασπορᾷ Πόντου καὶ Γαλατιᾶς Καππα- δοκίας τε καὶ Ἀσίας καὶ Βιθυνίας γράφει. ὅσοι 3 δὲ τούτων καὶ τίνες γνήσιοι ξηλωταὶ γεγονότες τὰς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἱδρυθέσις ἴκανοι ποιμαίνεσθε ἐδοκιμᾶσθησαν ἐκκλησίας, οὐ βάδιον εἰπεῖν, μὴ ὅτι γε ὁσοὺς ἄν τις ἐκ τῶν Παύλου φωνῶν ἀναλέξοιτο· τοῦτον γὰρ οὖν μυρίοι συνεργοὶ καὶ, ὡς 4 αὐτός ὠνόμασεν, συστρατίωται γεγόνασιν, ὡς οἱ πλείους ἀλήστου πρὸς αὐτοῦ μνήμης ἥξιονται, διηνεκὴ τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν μαρτυρίαν ταῖς ἴδιαις ἐπιστολαῖς ἐγκαταλέξαντος, οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεων τοὺς γνωρίμους αὐτοῦ καταλέγων ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτῶν μνημονεύει. Τιμώ- 5 θεὸς γε μὴν τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παροικίας ἰστορεῖται πρῶτος τὴν ἐπισκοπῆν εἰληχέναι, ὡς καὶ Τίτος 194
accepted books, but by others it has been judged
most valuable, especially to those who need elemen-
tary instruction. For this reason we know that it
has been used in public in churches, and I have found
it quoted by some of the most ancient writers. Let
this suffice for the establishment of the divine
writings which are undisputed, and of those which
are not received by all.

IV. Now it would be clear from Paul's own words
and from the narrative of Luke in the Acts that Paul,
in his preaching to the Gentiles, laid the foundations
of the churches from Jerusalem round about unto
Illyricum. And from the Epistle which we have
spoken of as indisputably Peter's, in which he writes
to those of the Hebrews in the Dispersion of Pontus
and Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, it
would be clear from his own words in how many
provinces he delivered the word of the New Testa-
ment by preaching the Gospel of Christ to those of
the circumcision. But it is not easy to say how
many of these and which of them were genuinely
zealous and proved their ability to be the pastors of
the churches founded by the Apostles, except by
making a list of those mentioned by Paul. For
there were many thousands of his fellow-workers and,
as he called them himself, fellow-soldiers, of whom the
most were granted by him memorial past forgetting,
for he recounts his testimony to them unceasingly in
his own letters, and, moreover, Luke also in the Acts
gives a list of those known to him and mentions them
by name. Thus Timothy is related to have been the
first appointed bishop of the diocese of Ephesus, as
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tων ἐπὶ Κρήτης ἐκκλησίων. Δουκάς δὲ τὸ μὲν 6
gένος ὃν τῶν ἀπ' Ἀντιοχείας, τὴν ἐπιστήμην δὲ
ιατρός, τὰ πλεῖστα συγγεγονός τῷ Παύλῳ, καὶ
τῶν λοιπῶν δὲ οὐ παρέργως τῶν ἀποστόλων
ἀκμαῖς, ἢς ἀπὸ τούτων προσεκτήσατο ἤτοι
ὑθεατικῆς ἐν δυσὶν ἡμῖν ὑποδείγματα 
θεο-
πνεύστοις κατέλυεν βιβλίου, τῷ τε εὐαγγελίῳ, δὲ
καὶ χαράξαι μαρτυρεῖν καθ’ ἀ παρέδοσαν αὐτῷ
οἱ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ παρατηρεῖ τινάμοιν τοῦ
λόγου, οἷς καὶ φησιν ἑτ’ ἀνωθὲν ἀπασι παρηκο-
λουθηκέναι, καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀποστόλων Πράξεσιν,
ἀς οὐκετί δὲ ἀκοῆς, ὑθεατικὸς δὲ παραλάβων συν-
ετάξατο. φασίν δ’ ὡς ἄρα τοῦ κατ’ αὐτὸν εὐαγ-
γελίον μνημονεύειν ὁ Παύλος ἐξωθεὶ, ὅπηθικὰ ὡς
περὶ ἱδίου τινὸς εὐαγγελίου γράφων ἐλεγεὶν "κατὰ
τὸ εὐαγγέλιον μου." τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἀκολουθὼν 8
τοῦ Παύλου Κρήσκης μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς Γαλλίας στειλά-
μενος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ μαρτυρεῖται, Δίνος δὲ, οὖ 
μέμηται
συνώντος ἐπὶ Ῥώμης αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν
πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολήν, πρῶτος μετὰ Πέτρου
τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἣδη πρὸ-
τερον κληρωθεῖς δεδήλωται: ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Κλήμης, 9
τῆς Ῥωμαίων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκκλησίας τρίτος ἐπί-
σκοπος καταστάσας, Παύλου συνεργὸς καὶ συναθλη-
τὴς γεγονέναι πρὸς αὐτοῦ μαρτυρεῖται. ἐπὶ τοῦ-
τοι καὶ τὸν Ἀρεοπαγίτην ἐκεῖνον, Διονύσιος
ὁνόμα αὐτῷ, ὅν ἐν τοῖς Πράξεσι μετὰ τὴν ἐν
Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους Παύλου δημη-
γορίᾳ πρῶτον πιστεύει ανέγραψεν ὁ Δουκᾶς,
τῆς ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἐκκλησίας πρῶτον ἐπίσκοπον
ἀρχαίων τις ἔτερος Διονύσιος, τῆς Κορινθίων παρ-
οικίας ποιμῆν, γεγονέναι ἱστορεῖ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅδι 11
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was Titus of the churches in Crete. Luke, who was by race an Antiochian and a physician by profession, was long a companion of Paul, and had careful conversation with the other Apostles, and in two books left us examples of the medicine for souls which he had gained from them—the Gospel, which he testifies that he had planned according to the tradition received by him by those who were from the beginning eyewitnesses and ministers of the word, all of whom he says,\(^1\) moreover, he had followed from the beginning, and the Acts of the Apostles which he composed no longer on the evidence of hearing but of his own eyes. And they say that Paul was actually accustomed to quote from Luke’s Gospel since when writing of some Gospel as his own he used to say, “According to my Gospel.” Of the other followers of Paul there is evidence that Crescens was sent by him to Gaul, and Linus, who is mentioned in the second Epistle to Timothy as present with him in Rome has already been declared to have been the first after Peter to be appointed to the bishopric of the Church in Rome. Of Clement too, who was himself made the third bishop of the church of Rome, it is testified by Paul that he worked and strove in company with him. In addition to these Dionysius, one of the ancients, the pastor of the diocese of the Corinthians, relates that the first bishop of the Church at Athens was that member of the Areopagus, the other Dionysius, whose original conversion after Paul’s speech to the Athenians in the Areopagus Luke described in the Acts. Now

\(^{1}\) The translation obscures the difficulty of the Greek. Is it the tradition or the eyewitnesses which Luke (in the opinion of Eusebius) claims to have followed? The Greek is quite ambiguous.
εὐσεβιοῦ "προβαίνουσιν, ἐπὶ καίρῳ τὰ τῆς κατὰ χρόνους τῶν ἀποστόλων διαδοχῆς ἦμιν εἰρήσεται· νῦν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξης ἱσμεν τῆς ἱστορίας.

V. Μετὰ Νέρωνα δέκα πρὸς τρισὶν ἔτεσιν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπικρατήσαντα τῶν ἀμφὶ Γάλβαν καὶ Ὀθωνα ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ μησίν ἐξ διαγενομένων, Οὐδεσποσισμός, ταῖς κατὰ Ἰουδαίων παρατάξεσιν λαμπρονύμενος, βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ αὐτῆς ἀναδείκνυται τῆς Ἰουδαίας, αὐτοκράτωρ πρὸς τῶν αὐτὸθει στρατοπέδων ἀναγορευθεῖς. τὴν ἐπὶ Ρώμης ὁν ἀνώτατα στειλάμενος, Τίτῳ τῶν παιδῶν κατὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐγχευρίζει πόλεμον. μετά γε μὴν τὴν τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν ἀνάληψιν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς τῷ κατ᾽ αὐτὸθεί τολμήματι ἦδη καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτὸθεί πλείστας ὅσα ἐπιβουλᾶς μεμηχανημένων, πρῶτον τε Στεφάνου λίθως ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀνηρμένου, εἶτα δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν Ἰακώβου, ὁς ἦν Ζεβεδαίου μὲν παῖς, ἄδελφος δὲ Ἰωάννου, τὴν κεφαλήν ἀποτμηθέντος, ἐπὶ πάσι τε Ἰακώβου, τοῦ τοῦ αὐτοθεί τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς θρόνον πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν ἀνάληψιν κεκληρωμένου, τὸν προδηλώθεντα τρόπον μεταλλάξαντος, τῶν τε λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων μυρία εἰσθανατον ἐπιβεβουλευμένων καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἰουδαίας γῆς ἀπεληλαμένων, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κριτήματος διδασκαλία τὴν εἰς σύμπαντα τὰ ἔθνη στειλαμένων πορείαν σὺν δυνάμει τοῦ Χριστοῦ, φήσαντος αὐτοὺς "πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου," οὐ

1 Nero died June 9, A.D. 68.
2 Eusebius accidentally omits Vitellius. Galba's reign was June 9, 68 to Jan. 15, 69. Otho's was Jan. 15 to April 20, 69. Vitellius was not killed until Dec. 20, 69, but Vespasian was proclaimed Emperor at Alexandria 198
as we go on our way the chronological details of the succession of the Apostles will be related, but at present let us go on to the next stage of the narrative.

V. After Nero had held the sovereignty for thirteen years the affairs of Galba and Otho occupied a year and six months, and then Vespasian, who had distinguished himself in the operations against the Jews, was proclaimed Emperor by the army there and appointed Emperor in Judaea itself. He at once set off for Rome and entrusted the war against the Jews to his son Titus. Now after the ascension of our Saviour in addition to their crime against him the Jews at once contrived numberless plots against his disciples. Stephen was first stoned to death by them and next after him James, the son of Zebedee and brother of John, was beheaded. In addition to all, James, who was the first after the ascension of our Saviour to be appointed to the throne of the bishopric in Jerusalem, passed away in the manner described above and the other Apostles were driven from the land of Judaea by thousands of deadly plots. They went on their way to all the heathen teaching their message in the power of Christ for he had said to them, “Go and make disciples of all the heathen in my name.”

July 1, 69; he was recognized by the Senate as soon as his soldiers had defeated Vitellius.

3 Cf. Acts vi. 8 ff. and xii. 2.

4 This is the form in which Eusebius usually quotes Matt. xxviii. 19, omitting the reference to baptism. It cannot be accidental, but there are no mss. of the N.T. with this text. Some think that the Eusebian text is an earlier form, some that Eusebius wished to keep secret the formula of baptism.

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μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τῆς ἐν Ἰεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίας κατὰ τινα χρησμόν τοῖς αὐτῶθι δοκίμωσιν ἀποκαλύψεως ἐκδοθέντα πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου μεταναστήναι τῆς πόλεως καὶ τινά τῆς Περαιάς πόλιν οἰκεῖν κεκελευσμένου, Πέλλαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζουσιν, [ἐν ἤ] τῶν εἰς Χριστὸν πεπιστευκότων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰερουσαλήμ μετωκισμένων, ὡς ἀν παντελῶς ἐπιλευστῶν ἀγίων ἀνδρῶν αὐτῆς τε τὴν Ἰουδαίαν βασιλικήν μητρόπολιν καὶ σύμπασαν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν γῆν, ἢ ἐκ θεοῦ δίκη λουπὸν αὐτοὺς ἀτες τοσαῦτα εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους αὐτοῦ παρηγομηκότας μετῆς, τῶν ἁσεβῶν ἁρδην τὴν γενεάν αὐτὴν ἐκείνην ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανίζουσα. ὡς μὲν οὖν την κάπατα κατὰ πάντα τόπον ὅλω τῶν ἐθνεῖς συνερρεή κακά, ὡς περὶ τὸ μάλιστα οἱ τῆς Ἰουδαίας οἰκήτορες εἰς ἐσχατὰ περιγλάθησαν συμφόρων, ὀπόσαι τε μυριάδες ἡβηδὸν γυναιξίν ἀμα καὶ παιοί ἔσθε καὶ λυμαὶ καὶ μυρίους ἄλλους εἴδεις περιπεπτὼκασιν θανάτου, πόλεων τε Ἰουδαίων ὅσαι τε καὶ οίαν γεγόνασιν πολυρκία, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅποσα οἱ ἐπ' αὐτὴν Ἰερουσαλήμ ὡς ἀν ἐπὶ μητρόπολιν ἄχρωταν καταπεφευγότες δεινὰ καὶ πέρα δεινῶν ἐσφάξασι, τοῦ τε παντὸς πολέμου τοῦ τρόπον καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτῳ γεγενημένων ἐν μέρει ἐκαστα, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τέλει τὸ πρὸς τῶν προφητῶν ἀνηγορευμένων βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως ἐν αὐτῷ κατέστη τῷ πάλαι τοῦ θεοῦ περιβοήτῳ νεφω, παντελῆ φθοράν καὶ ἀφανίσθαι ἐσχατον τοῦ διὰ πυρός υπομείναντι, πάρεστιν ὅτῳ φίλου, ἐπ' ἀκριβεῖς ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἰωσήπων γραφείσης ἀναλεξασθαι ἱστορίας, ὡς δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος τῶν ἄθροι-5 σθέντων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀπάσης ἐν ἡμέραις τῆς 200.
people of the church in Jerusalem were commanded by an oracle given by revelation before the war to those in the city who were worthy of it to depart and dwell in one of the cities of Perea which they called Pella. To it those who believed on Christ migrated from Jerusalem, that when holy men had altogether deserted the royal capital of the Jews and the whole land of Judaea, the judgement of God might at last overtake them for all their crimes against the Christ and his Apostles, and all that generation of the wicked be utterly blotted out from among men. Those who wish can retrace accurately from the history written by Josephus how many evils at that time overwhelmed the whole nation in every place and especially how the inhabitants of Judaea were driven to the last point of suffering, how many thousands of youths, women, and children perished by the sword, by famine, and by countless other forms of death; they can read how many and what famous Jewish cities were besieged, and finally how terrors and worse than terrors were seen by those who fled to Jerusalem as if to a mighty capital; they can study the nature of the whole war, all the details of what happened in it, and how at the end the abomination of desolation spoken of by the prophets was set up in the very temple of God, for all its ancient fame, and it perished utterly and passed away in flames. But it is necessary to point out how the same writer estimates at three millions the
τοῦ πάσχα ἐορτῆς ὠσπερ ἐν εἰρκτῇ ρήμασιν αὐτοῖς ἀποκλεισθῆναι εἰς τὰ Ἰεροσόλυμα ἀμφί τριακοσίας μυριάδας τὸ πλῆθος ιστορεῖ, ἀναγκαίον ὑποσημήνασθαι. χρῆν δὲ οὖν ἐν αἷς ἡμέραις τοῦ πάντων σωτήρα καὶ ἐνεργείτην Χριστὸν τε τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ κατὰ τὸ πάθος διατέθενται, ταῖς αὐταῖς ὠσπερ ἐν εἰρκτῇ κατακλεισθέντας τὸν μετελθόντα αὐτοὺς ὀλεθρον πρὸς τῆς θείας δίκης καταδέξασθαι.

Παρελθὼν δὴ τὰ τῶν ἐν μέρει συμβεβηκότων αὐτοῖς ὡς διὰ ξίφους καὶ ἄλλω τρόπῳ κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐγκεχείρηται, μόνας τὰς διὰ τοῦ λιμῷ ἀναγκαῖον ἡγούμαι συμφορᾶς παραθέσθαι, ὡς ἂν ἐκ μέρους ἔχοιεν οἱ τῇ ἐν γραφῇ ἐνυγχάνοντες εἰδέναι ὅπως αὐτοὺς τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ παρανομίας οὐν ἐν μακρῷ ἢ ἐκ θεοῦ μετήλθεν τιμωρία. VI. φέρε δὴ οὖν, τῶν Ἰστοριῶν τῆς πέμπτην τοῦ Ἰωσήπου μετὰ χειρᾶς αὕτης ἀναλαβῶν, τῶν τότε πραχθέντων διελθεὶς τὴν τραγωδίαν: "τοῖς γε μὴν εὐπόροις" φησὶ καὶ τὸ μένειν πρὸς ἀπωλείας ἱσοῦν ἢν προφάσει γὰρ αὐτομολίας ἀνηρεῖτο τὸς διὰ τὴν οὖσιν. τῷ λιμῷ δὲ ἡ ἀπόνοια τῶν στασιαστῶν συνήκμαζεν, καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀμφότερα προσεξεκακεῖ τὰ δεινὰ. φανέρος μὲν γε οὐδαμοὶ σίτος ἦν, ἐπισημαδύντες δὲ διηρεύσεις τὰς οἰκίας, ἐπεθ' εὑρόντες μὲν ὡς ἀρνησαμένους ἡκίζοντο, μὴ εὑρόντες δὲ ὡς ἐπιμελέστερον κρύψαντας ἐβασάνιζον. τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦ τ' ἔχειν καὶ μή, τὰ σώματα τῶν ἄθλιων· ὃν ὦς μὲν ἐτί συνεστώτες εὐπορεῖν τροφῆς ἐδόκουν, οἱ τηκόμενοι δὲ ἦδη παρωδεύοντο, καὶ κτείνειν ἄλογον ἐδόκει τοὺς ὑπ' ἐνδείας.
number of those who in the days of the Feast of the Passover thronged Jerusalem from all Judaea and, to use his own words, were shut up as if in prison. It was indeed right that on the same day on which they had perpetrated the passion of the Saviour and benefactor of all men and the Christ of God they should be, as it were, shut up in prison and receive the destruction which pursued them from the sentence of God.

Omitting then the details of their misfortunes from the sword and otherwise, I think it necessary to adduce only their sufferings from famine in order that those who study this work may have some partial knowledge of how the punishment of God followed close after them for their crime against the Christ of God. VI. Come, then, take up again the fifth book of the history of Josephus and go through the tragedy of what was then done. "For the rich," he says, "to remain was equal to destruction, since for the sake of their property they were murdered on the charge of intended desertion. But the madness of the rebels grew with the famine, and the terror of both blazed more fiercely day by day. No corn was visible anywhere, but they burst into houses and searched them. Then, if they found any, they tormented the inmates for their denying; if not, they tortured them for having hidden it too carefully. The bodies of the miserable creatures were evidence whether they had it or not. Those who were still in health seemed to be provided with food, while those who were already wasted away were passed by, and it seemed unreasonable to kill

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πολλοὶ δὲ λάθρα τὰς κτήσεις ἑνὸς ἀντικαταλάβατο μέτρου, πυρῶν μὲν, εἰ πλαυσιώτεροι τυγχάνοντες ὄντες, οἱ δὲ πενεύστεροι κριθῆς· ἐπεὶτα κατακλείοντες ἣντος εἰς τὰ μυχάτατα τῶν οἰκίῶν, τινὲς μὲν ὑπ᾽ ἄκρας ἐνδείᾳς ἀνέργαστον τὸν σιτῶν ἱσθίων, οὗ δ᾽ ἔπεσον ὡς ἦ τε ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ δέος παρῆνε, καὶ τράπεζα μὲν οὐδαμοῦ παρετίθετο, τοῦ δὲ πυρὸς ὑφέλκοντες ἐτ' ὡμὰ τὰ σιτία διήρπαζον. ἔλευνῃ δ᾽ ἢν ἡ τροφὴ καὶ δακρύων ἁξίωσ ἡ θεὰ, τῶν μὲν δυνατώτερῶν πλεονεκτοῦντων, τῶν δὲ ἀσθενῶν ὀδυρομένων. πάντων μὲν δὴ παθῶν ὑπερίσταται λιμός, οὐδὲν δ᾽ οὕτως ἀπόλλυσιν ὅς αἰήδω. τὸ γὰρ ἄλλως ἐντροπῆς ἁξίου εἰς τοῦτο καταφρονεῖται. γυναῖκες γοῦν ἄνδρῶν καὶ παῖδες πατέρων καὶ, τοῦ ἐκτρότατου, μητέρες νηπίων ἐξήρπαζον ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν στομάτων τὰς τροφὰς, καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων ἐν χερσὶ μαραθομένων οὐκ ἦν φείδω τοὺς τοῦ ἕξην ἀφελεσθαὶ σταλαγμοὺς. τοιαῦτα δ᾽ ἐσθίοντες, ὅμως οὐ διελάθανον, πανταχοῦ δ᾽ ἐφίσταντο οἱ στασιασταὶ καὶ τούτων ταῖς ἄρπαγαίς. ὅποτε γὰρ κατίδοιεν ἀποκεκλεισμένην οἰκίαν, σημεῖον ἦν τοῦτο τοῦσ ἐνδον προσφέρεσθαι τροφήν, εὐθέως δ᾽ ἐξαράξαντες τὰς θύρας εἰσεπήδων καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἕκ τῶν φαρύγγων ἀναθλίβοντες τὰς ἀκόλουθος ἀνέφερον. ἐτύπτοντο δὲ γέροντες ἀντεχόμενοι τῶν σιτίων, καὶ κόμης ἐσπαράσσοντο γυναῖκες συγκαλύπτουσαν τὰ ἐν χερσὶν, οὐδὲ τις ἦν ὁκτὼς πολιὰς ἡ νηπίων, ἀλλὰ συνεπαίροντες τὰ παιδία τῶν ψωμῶν ἐκκρεμάμενα κατέσευον εἰς ἔδαφος. τοῖς δὲ φθάσασι

1 The ms. read αἰδῶς, but αἰδῶ is necessary to the sense.

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those who would soon die of need. Many secretly exchanged their property for a single measure of wheat, if they were richer, of barley, if they were poorer. Then, shutting themselves up in the inmost recesses of their houses, some, in the extremity of their want, would eat the grain unprepared, others would cook it as necessity and fear dictated. No table was set anywhere, but snatching it from the fire they tore in pieces the still uncooked food. Their living was pitiable, and their appearance worthy of tears; the strong plundered and the weak wailed. Famine truly surpasses all sufferings, but it destroys nothing so much as shame\(^1\); for what is at other times worthy of respect is despised in famine; women took the food from the very mouths of their husbands, children from their fathers, and, most piteous of all, mothers from their children, and while their dearest were wasting away before them there was no scruple in taking away the last drop of life. Yet they did not escape detection when they thus ate, but everywhere the rioters arose to rob them even of this; for whenever they saw a house shut up it was a sign that those within had obtained food and at once they tore down the doors, rushed in, and seized the morsels, almost squeezing them out of their throats. Old men were beaten for withholding food, and women were dragged by the hair for concealing it in their hands. There was no pity for grey-headed age or for little children, but they picked up babies clinging to crusts and dashed them on the floor.

\(^{1}\) The Greek means rather more than this: it is almost a "sense of decency."
τὴν εἰσδρομὴν αὐτῶν καὶ προκαταπισκούσαν τὸ ἀρπαγησόμενον ὡς ἀδικηθέντες ἦσαν ὑμότεροι, δευτέρας δὲ βασάνων ὦδοις ἐπενόον πρὸς ἐρευναν τροφῆς, ὁρόβους μὲν ἐμφράττοντες τοῖς ἀθλίωσ τοὺς τῶν αἰδοῖων πόρους, βάρδους δὲ ὄξειας ἀναπείροντες τὰς ἔδρας· τὰ φρικτὰ δὲ καὶ ἄκοιαὶ ἐπασχὲ τις εἰς ἐξομολογήσων ἐνὸς ἄρτου καὶ ἡν ἡμυνήσῃ δράκα μίαν κεκρυμμένων ἀλφίτων. ὁ βασανιστάι δ’ οὗδ’ ἐπείνων (καὶ γὰρ ἤτοιν ἀν ὦμον ἦν τὸ μετὰ ἀνάγκης), γυμνάζοντες δὲ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν καὶ προπαρασκευάζοντες ἑαυτοῖς εἰς τὰς ἐξῆς ἡμέρας ἐφόδια. τοῖς δ’ ἐπὶ τὴν ἡρωμαίων φρούραν νῦκτιν ἐξερπύσασιν ἐπὶ λαχάνων συλλογῆν ἀγρίων καὶ πόας ὑπαντώτες, ὅτ’ ἦδη διαπεφευγέναι τοὺς πολεμίους ἔδοκον, ἀφήρπαζον τὰ κομισθέντα, καὶ πολλάκις ἱκετευόντων καὶ τὸ φρικτότατον ἑπικαλουμένων ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ μεταδοῦνα τι μέρος αὐτοῖς ὁν κινδυνεύσαντες ἑνεγκαίν, οὐδ’ ὤτιον μετέδοσαν, ἀγαπητὸν δ’ ἦν τὸ μὴ καὶ προσπαλοῦσαν σεσυλημένων.

Τούτους μεθ’ ἐτερα ἐπιφέρει λέγον. "Ἰουδαίως 1 δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐξόδων ἀπεκόπη πᾶσα σωτηρία ἐλπίς, καὶ βαθύνας ἑαυτὸν ὁ λμός κατ’ οἴκους καὶ γενεὰς τὸν δῆμον ἐπεβόσκετο, καὶ τὰ μὲν τέγη πεπληρωτο γυναικῶν καὶ βρεφῶν λευμένων, οἱ στενωποὶ δὲ γερόντων νεκρῶν, παῖδες 1 δὲ καὶ νεανίας διοιδοῦντες ὄσπον ἐδώλα κατὰ τὰς ἀγορὰς ἀνειλόντο καὶ κατέπιπτον ὅπῃ τινὰ τὸ πάθος καταλαμβάνει. θάπτειν δὲ τοὺς προσήκοντας οὔτε ἐςχον οἱ κάμνοντες καὶ τὸ διευ-

1 The mss. read “swelling up,” which is characteristic of 206
To those who had anticipated their entry, and had gulped down their expected prey, they were the more cruel, as though they had been injured by them. For the discovery of food they sought for terrible methods of torture, sewing up their victims and impaling them on sharp stakes. Men suffered things terrible even to hear to secure the confession of a single loaf, and to disclose a single pint of hidden barley. But the torturers suffered no hunger (and indeed their cruelty would have been less had it been from necessity) but there was method in their madness and they provided sustenance for themselves for days to come. When some crept out by night as far as the Roman lines to gather wild herbs and grass, they intercepted them when they thought that they had at last escaped the enemy, plundered them of what they were carrying, and for all their many entreaties and invocations of the awful name of God to give them some share of what they had brought at their own risk, they gave them nothing whatever, and he who was robbed was lucky not to be murdered too."

After some other details he continues: "Now when all hope of safety was cut off from the Jews by the closing of the exits from the city and famine deepening from house to house and family to family was eating up the people, the rooms were filled with dead women and children and the alley-ways with the corpses of old men. Boys and young men, wandering like ghosts through the market-place, were seized by death and lay each where the blow had stricken him. The sick had no strength to bury sufferers from famine, not of ghosts (and the text seems corrupt). Or it may be "swollen yet ghost-like"?
τονοῦν ὠκνεῖ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ τὸ κατὰ σφάς ἀδήλου πολλοὶ γοῦν τοίς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀπτομένους ἐπαπέθνησκον, πολλοὶ δ’ ἐπὶ τὰς θήκας, πρὶν ἐπιστήναι τὸ χρεών, προῆλθον. οὕτε δὲ θρήνος ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς οὔτε ὀλο- φυρμὸς ἦν, ἀλλ’ ὁ λιμὸς ἥλεγχε τὰ πάθη, ἔρησος δὲ τοῖς ὁμμασιν οἱ δυσθανατοῦντες ἔθεσαν τοὺς φθάσαντας ἀναπαύσασθαι, βαθεία δὲ τὴν πόλιν περιέχειν συγκαὶ νῦξ θανάτου γέμοισαν. καὶ τούτων οἱ λῃσταί χαλεπώτεροι. τυμβωρυχοῦν- τες γοῦν τὰς οὐκίας, ἑσύλων τοὺς νεκροὺς, καὶ τὰ καλύμματα τῶν σωμάτων περισσώντες, μετὰ γέλωτος ἐξήσαν, τὰς τε ἄκμας τῶν ξιφῶν ἐδοκί- μαζον ἐν τοῖς πτώμασιν, καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἐρρυμε- νῶν ἔτι ζῶντας διήλαυνον ἐπὶ πείρα τοῦ σιδήρου, τοὺς δ’ ἰκετεύοντας χρήσαι σφών δεξίαν καὶ ξίφος, τῷ λιμῷ κατέλιπον ὑπερηφανόντες, καὶ τῶν ἐκπνεοῦντας ἐκαστος ἀτένες εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἄφεώρα, τοὺς στασιαστὰς ζῶντας ἀπολιπὼν. οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου θησαυροῦ τοὺς νεκροὺς θάπτειν ἐκέλευον, τὴν ὁσμὴν οὐ φέ- rontes. ἔπειθ’ ὡς οὐ διήρκουν, ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐρρύσαν ποὺ τὰς φάραγγας. περιοῦν δὲ ταῦτας ὁ Τίτος ὦς ἐθεάσατο πεπλησμένας τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ βαθὺν ἰχώρα μυδώντων τὸν ὑπορρέοντα τῶν σωμά- των, ἐστέναξέν τε καὶ τὰς χείρας ἀνατείνας κατ- εμαρτύρα τὸν θεὸν, ὅς οὐκ εἶχ’ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ.”

Τούτως ἐπειπών τινα μεταξὺ ἐπιφέρει λέγων’ ὁ ὡκ’ ἄν ὑποστειλάμην εἰπέων ἂ μοι κελεύει τὸ πάθος’ ὁμοίας Ῥωμαίων βραδύναντων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλι- τηρίους, ἡ καταποθῆκα ἄν ὑπὸ χάσματος ἡ κατακλυσθῆναι τὴν πόλιν ἡ τοὺς τῆς Σωδομῆνῆς 208.
their families and the strong hesitated for the number
of the dead and their own doubtful fate. Many
indeed fell in death on those whom they were burying
and many went to their graves before the necessity
arose. There was no lamentation or wailing at
losses, but famine overcame emotion and those who
were dying in misery looked with dry eyes on those
who had found rest before them. Deep silence and
night pregnant with death encompassed the city.
Worse than these were the robbers. Breaking into
houses like body-snatchers they robbed the dead,
tearing the garments from their bodies, and went
out with laughter. They tried the edge of their
swords on the corpses, and to prove the steel ran
through some of the fallen who were still alive, but
those who begged for the kindliness of a mortal blow
they left in contempt to the famine. These all died
with eyes fixed on the temple and left the rebels to
life. At first orders were given to bury the dead at
the public expense because of the unbearable stench;
then afterwards when this was impracticable they
were thrown from the walls into the trenches. When
Titus, going round the trenches, saw them full of
the dead and the thick gore oozing from the rotting
bodies, he groaned, and raising his hands called God
to witness that this was not his doing."

After a little more he goes on: "I cannot refrain
from stating what emotion bids me. I think that
had the Romans delayed their attack on the scoundrels the city would have been engulfed by the earth
opening or overwhelmed by a flood or shared the
Καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔκτῳ δὲ βιβλίῳ οὕτως γράφει. "τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόγου φθειρομένων κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀπειρον μὲν ἐπιπτε τὸ πλῆθος, ἀδυνήγητα δὲ συνέβαινεν τὰ πάθη. καθ’ ἐκάστην γὰρ οἰκιάν, εἶ ὑπὸ τροφῆς παραφανείη σκιά, πόλεμος ἦν, καὶ διὰ χειρῶν ἐχώρων οἱ φίλτατοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐξαιράζοντες τὰ ταλαίπωρα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐφόδια, πίστις δ’ ἀπορίας οὐδὲ τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐμπνέοντας οἱ λῃσταὶ διηρεύνον, μή τις ὑπὸ κόλπων ἔχον τροφὴν, σκῆπτοτο τὸν θάνατον αὐτῶ. οἱ δ’ ὑπ’ ἐνδείας κεχηνότες ὦσπερ λυσόντες κόκκους ἐσφάλλοντο καὶ παρεφέροντο ταῖς τε θύραις ἐνεσίμινοι μεθυσόντων τρόπων καὶ ὑπ’ ἀμηχανίας τοὺς αὐτοὺς οὐκ οἰκεῖσθαι διὸ ἡ τρίς ὑφα μιᾷ. πάντα δ’ ὑπ’ ὀδόντας ἤγεν ἡ ἀνάγκη, καὶ τα μηδὲ τοῖς ῥυπαρωτάτοις τῶν ἀλόγων ἡμῶν πρόσφορα συλλέγοντες ἐσθεῖν ὑπέφερον. ἦσοτιρῶν γοῦν καὶ ὑποδημάτων τὸ τελευταίον οὐκ ἀπέσχοντο καὶ τὰ δέρματα τῶν θυρεῶν ἀποδέροντες ἐμασώντο, τροφὴ δ’ ἦν καὶ χόρτου τοῖς παλαιοῖς σπαράγματα· τὰς γὰρ ἔνας ένοις συλλέγοντες, ἐλάχιστον σταθμὸν ἐπίλουν Ἀττικῶν τεσσάρων.

"'Καὶ τί δεὶ τὴν ἐπ’ ἀφήχους ἀναίδειαν τοῦ λόγου 20 λέγειν; εἴμι γὰρ αὐτοῦ δηλώσων ἔργων ὀποῖον μήτε παρ’ Ἐλλησιον μήτε παρὰ βαρβάρους ἱστορεῖτα, φρικτὸν μὲν εἰπεῖν, ἀπιστον δ’ ἀκούσαι. καὶ ἐγώ, μὴ δόξαμι τερατεύσθαι τοὺς αὐθίνθ ἀνθρώποις, κἂν παρέλιπον τὴν συμφορὰν ήδέως,
thunderbolts of Sodom, for it had brought forth a generation far more ungodly than those who thus suffered. It was by their madness that the whole people perished.”

In the sixth book he writes thus: “Of those who perished in the city from the famine the number which fell was countless and their sufferings indescribable. For in each house if there appeared the very shadow of food there was fighting, and the dearest friends wrestled together for it, snatching the miserable sustenance of life. Nor were even the dying believed to be destitute, but while they were still breathing the robbers searched them, lest any should feign death while having food on his person. Others, gaping from lack of food, stumbled and hurried along like mad dogs, beating at the doors like drunken men, and rushing two or three times in a single hour into the same houses from sheer incompetence. Necessity brought all things to men’s teeth and they endured eating a collection of scraps unfit for the filthiest of brute beasts. At the last they abstained not even from belts and shoes and gnawed the hides stripped off their shields. Some fed on wisps of old straw, others collected stubble and sold a tiny portion for four Attic drachmae.¹

“But what need is there to speak of the shamelessness of the famine towards inanimate things? I purpose to relate a consequence of it such as has been narrated neither by the Greeks nor by the barbarians, horrible to tell, incredible to hear. I myself would have gladly omitted the tragedy to avoid

¹ About half a crown or sixty cents.
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣ

eἰ μὴ τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν εἴχον ἀπείρους μάρτυρας· ἀλλος τε καὶ ψυχρὰν ἂν καταθέμην τῇ πατρίδι χάριν, καθυφέμενος τὸν λόγον ὅπως πέπονθε τὰ ἔργα. γυνὴ τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἰορδάνης κατοικοῦντων, 23 Μαρία τούνομα, πατρὸς Ἐλεαζάρου, κόμης Βαθεζώρ (σημαίνει δὲ τούτο ὁ πνεῦμος ὑσσῶτον), διὰ γένος καὶ πλοῦτον ἐπίσημος, μετὰ τοῦ λουποῦ πλῆθους εἰς τὰ Ἰεροσόλυμα καταφυγόσα συν-επολιορκεῖτο. ταύτης τὴν μὲν ἄλλην κτήσων οἱ τύραννοι διήρπασαν, ὡς ἐκ τῆς Περαιάς ἀνασκευασμένη μετήνεγκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τὰ δὲ λείψανα τῶν κεμηλίων καὶ εἰ τὸ τροφῆς ἐπινοηθεὶς καθ' ἡμέραν εἰσπηδῶντες ἦρπαζον οἱ δορυ-φόροι. δευτέρη δὲ τὸ γύναιον ἀγανάκτησις εἰσῆξε, καὶ πολλάκις λοιδοροῦσα καὶ καταρωμένη τοὺς ἄρπαγας ἐφ’ ἐαυτὴν ἠρέθιζεν. ὡς δ’ οὕτε παρ-25 οὐνόμενός τις οὕτ’ ἔλεον αὐτῆς ἀνήρευ καὶ τὸ μὲν εὑρεῖν τι συτίον ἄλλοις ἐκοπία, πανταχόθεν δ’ ἀποροῦ ἢν ἢδη καὶ τὸ εὑρεῖν, ὁ λυμὸς δὲ διὰ σπλάγχνων καὶ μυελῶν ἔχωρε καὶ τοῦ λυμοῦ μᾶλλον ἐξεκαίον οἱ θυμοί, σύμβουλοι λαβοῦσα τὴν ὀργὴν μετὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἐπὶ τὴν φύσιν ἔχωρε, καὶ τὸ τέκνον, ἢν δ’ αὐτῇ παῖς ὑπομάστιος, ἀρπασμένη, ’βρέφος,’ εἶπεν, ’ἄθλιον, ἐν πολέμω καὶ 27 λυμῷ καὶ στάσει, τίνι σε τηρώ; τὰ μὲν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δουλεία καὶ καλύσομεν ἐπ’ αὐτούς, φθάνει δὲ καὶ δουλείαν ὁ λυμός, οἱ στασιασταὶ δὲ ἀμφότερων χαλεπώτεροι. ὢθί, γενοῦ μοι τροφῆ καὶ τοὺς στασιασταῖς ἐρνύς καὶ τῷ βίῳ μύθος, ὁ μόνος ἐλλείπων ταῖς Ἰουναίων συμφοραῖς; καὶ ταῦθ’ ἀμα λέγουσα κτείνει τοῖς νῦν, ἐπετεῖ 29 ὀπτήσασα, τὸ μὲν ἢμισιν κατεσθίει, τὸ δὲ λυποῦν 212
appearing to posterity to fabricate legend had I not had countless witnesses to it in my own generation. Certainly I should render cold comfort to my country were I to compromise the account of her sufferings. There was a woman among those who lived beyond Jordan named Mary whose father was Eliezer of the village Bathezor (which means "House of Hyssop"). She was famous for her family and wealth, and having fled with the rest of the population to Jerusalem was caught in the siege. The tyrants seized all her other possessions which she had brought from Perea and carried into the city, and the guards rushed in daily and seized the remnants of her property and any food which they perceived. Fierce indignation seized the woman and by her frequent abuses and curses she tried to irritate the robbers against herself. But when no one killed her either in anger or pity and she wearied of finding food for others, and indeed it was now impossible to do so anywhere, famine entered into her heart and marrow, and rage burnt more fiercely than famine. Anger and necessity were her councillors: she turned against nature and seized her child, a boy whom she was suckling. 'Miserable infant,' she said, 'amid war, famine, and rebellion for what am I keeping you? Slavery among the Romans faces us if they give us our lives; famine is overtaking slavery; the rebels are worse than both. Come, be food for me, an avenging fury to the rebels, and the one story still lacking to the sufferings of the Jews to be told to the world.' With these words she killed her son, and then cooked him, ate half, and covered

1 Or possibly "for whom."

1 καρ in most mss. and in Josephus, but it seems impossible.
κατακαλύψασα ἐφύλαττεν. εὐθέως δ' οἱ στα-
σιασταὶ παρῆσαν καὶ τῆς ἀδεμίτου κνίσης σπά-
santes, ἦπειλον, εἰ μὴ δεῖξειν τὸ παρα-
skeuασθὲν, ἀποσφάξειν αὐτὴν εὐθέως. ἢ δὲ καὶ μοι-
ραν αὐτοὶς εἰπόθα σαλὴν τετηρηκέναι, τὰ λείψανα 
tοῦ τέκνου διεκάλυψεν. τοὺς δ' εὐθέως φρίκη καὶ 20 
φρενῶν ἐκστασις ἦρει, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὅμιν ἐπεπή-
γεσαν. ἢ δ', 'ἐμών,' ἐφη, 'τοῦτο τὸ τέκνον 
γνήσιον, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐμῶν. φάγετε, καὶ γάρ 
ἐγὼ ἑβερωκα. μὴ γένησθε μήτε μαλακώτεροι 
γυναικὸς μήτε συμπαθέστεροι μητρὸς. εἰ δ' 
ὑμεῖς εὐσεβεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐμῆν ἀποστρέφεσθε θυσίαν, 
ἐγὼ μὲν ὅμων ἑβερωκα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δ' ἐμοί 
μεινάτω.' μετὰ ταῦτ' οἱ μὲν τρέμοντες ἔξησαν, 27 
πρὸς ἐν τούτῳ δειλοὶ καὶ μόλις ταῦτης τῆς τροφῆς 
tῆς μητρὶ παραχωρῆσαντες, ἀνεπλήθη σὲ εὐθέως 
ὅλη τοῦ μύσους ἡ πόλις, καὶ πρὸ ὄματῶν ἐκαστος 
tὸ πάθος λαμβάνων ὡς παρ' αὐτῷ τολμηθέν, 
ἐβριττεν. σπουδὴ δὲ τῶν λιμωττόντων ἐπὶ τὸν 28 
θάνατον ἦν καὶ μακαρίσμος τῶν φθασάντων 
πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι καὶ θέασοσθαι κακὰ τηλικάτα.'

VII. Τοιαῦτα τῆς Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν 1 
tοῦ θεοῦ παρανομίας τε καὶ δυσσεβείας τάπιχερα, 
παραθεῖναι δ' αὐτοῖς ἂξιον καὶ τὴν ἀφευδὴ τοῦ 
σωτήρος ἡμῶν πρόρρησιν, δι' ἢς αὐτὰ ταῦτα 
δηλοὶ ὅτε πως προφητεύων "οὐαὶ δὲ ταῖς ἐν 
γαστρὶ ἐχούσαις καὶ ταῖς θλαζούσαις ἐν ἐκείναις 
tαῖς ἡμέραις" προσεύχεσθε δὲ ἵνα μὴ γένηται 
ἡμῶν ἡ φυγὴ χειμώνος μηδὲ σαββάτῳ. έσται 
γὰρ τότε θλίψις μεγάλη, οἰα οὐκ ἔγενετο ἀπ' 
ἀρχῆς κόσμου ἐως τοῦ νῦν, οὐδὲ μὴ γένηται.'

Matt. 24, 19–21

Joseph. B.I. 6, 420. 417. 418, 420, 435

συναγαγὼν δὲ πάντα τὸν τῶν ἀνηρμηνεύων ἀριθμὸν 2

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up and kept the rest. At that moment the rebels came and smelling the horrible savour, threatened to kill her at once if they were not given what she had made ready. She told them that she had kept a good helping for them and uncovered the remains of the child. As for them, horror and amazement seized them at once, and they stood transfixed at the sight, but she said, 'This was my own child and the deed is mine. Eat, for I myself have eaten. Do not be more squeamish than a woman, or compassionate than a mother. But if you have scruples, and turn away from my sacrifice, what I have eaten was your share, let the rest remain for me.' At this they went out trembling, for only this made them cowards, and they scarcely yielded even this food to the mother; but the whole city was at once filled with the horror, and each, holding the tragedy before his eyes, shuddered as if it had been his own crime. And the sufferers from the famine sought for death and pronounced those blessed whom it had reached before they heard or saw such awful evils."

VII. Such was the reward of the iniquity of the Jews and of their impiety against the Christ of God, but it is worth appending to it the infallible forecast of our Saviour in which he prophetically expounded these very things,—"Woe unto them that are with child and give suck in those days, but pray that your flight be not in the winter nor on a Sabbath day, for there shall then be great affliction such as was not from the beginning of the world until now, nor shall be." And the historian, estimating the whole number
ο συγγραφέως λυμῷ καὶ ξίφει μυριάδας ἐκατὸν καὶ δέκα διαφθαρῆναι φήσιν, τούς δὲ λουποὺς στασιώδεις καὶ λῃστρικοὺς, ὑπ’ ἄλληλων μετὰ τὴν ἀλωσίαν ἐνδεικνυμένους, ἀνηρήσθαι, τῶν δὲ νεῶν τοὺς ψυχλοτάτους καὶ κάλλει σώματος διαφέροντας τετηρῆσθαι θριάμβῳ, τοὺς δὲ λουποὺ πλήθους τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐπτακαίδεκα ἔτη δεσμίως εἰς τὰ κατ’ Ἀγνυττόν ἔργα παραπεμφθήναι, πλείους δὲ εἰς τὰς ἐπαρχίας διανεμοῦσθαι φθαρ- ῥημοῦν; εν τοῖς θεάτροις σιδήρῳ καὶ θηρίῳ, τοὺς δ’ ἐντὸς ἐπτακαίδεκα ἔτων αἰχμαλώτους ἀξθέντας διαπεπρᾶσθαι, τούτων δὲ μόνων τῶν ἀριθμὸν εἰς ἑννέα μυριάδας ἄνδρῶν συναχθήναι.

Ταῦτα δὲ τούτων ἐπράξθη τῶν τρόπων δευτέρω 3 τῆς Οὐσεπασιανοῦ βασιλείας ἔτει ἀκολούθως ταῖς προγνωστικάς τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἥμων Ἡσιοῦ Χριστοῦ προρρήσεων, θεία δυνάμει ὦσπερ ήδη παρόντα προεορκότος αὐτὰ ἐπιδιακρύσσατος τε καὶ ἀποκλαυσαμένου κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν γραφήν, οἱ καὶ αὐτὰς αὐτῶν παρα- τέθενται τὰς λέξεως, τοτε μὲν φήσαντο ὡς πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν Ἱεροουσαλήμ “εἰ ἔγνως καὶ γε σὺ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην σοῦ νῦν δὲ ἐκρύβη ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν σου· ὅτι ἥξουσιν ἡμέραι ἐπὶ σέ, καὶ περιβαλοῦσιν σοι οἱ ἔχθροι σου χάρακα, καὶ περικυκλώσουσιν σε, καὶ συνεξοῦσιν σε πάντοθεν, καὶ ἐδαφιόσιν σε καὶ τὰ τέκνα σου,” τοτε δὲ 5 ως περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ “ἔσται γὰρ ἀνάγκη μεγάλη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ὅργῃ τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ καὶ πεσοῦνται ἐν στόματι μαχαίρας καὶ αἰχμαλωτισθήσονται εἰς πάντα τὰ έζην· καὶ Ἱεροουσαλήμ ἔσται πα- τουμένη ύπὸ ἔθνων, ἀχρις οὐ πληρωθῶσιν καιροί

Luke 19, 42–44

Luke 21, 23–24

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of those who were destroyed, says that 1,100,000 perished by famine and the sword, and that the rest of the rebels and bandits were pointed out by one another after the capture of the city and killed. The tallest of the youths, and those distinguished for physical beauty, were kept for a triumph, and of the remaining population those above seventeen years old were sent as prisoners to hard labour in Egypt, but more were distributed throughout the provinces to be destroyed in the theatres by the sword and by wild beasts. Those below seventeen years old were sold into slavery and these alone were 90,000.

These things happened in this way in the second year of the reign of Vespasian in accordance with the prophetic utterances of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who foreseeing them by divine power as though already present, shed tears at them and mourned according to the writing of the sacred evangelist, who appends his actual words. For once he said to Jerusalem herself, “If thou hadst known, even thou, in this day the things which belong to thy peace: but now they are hid from thine eyes, for the days will come upon thee when thine enemy shall cast a trench around thee and compass thee round and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee and thy children even with the ground.” And at another time, as if concerning the people, “For there shall be great distress on the earth and wrath upon this people, and they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and be sold into slavery to all the Gentiles, and Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles
Luke 21, 20

εὐνῶν." καὶ πάλιν ""οὐκαν δὲ ἱδήτε κυκλομένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων τὴν Ἱεροσαλήμ, τότε γνώτε ὅτι ἦγγικεν ἡ ἐρήμωσις αὐτῆς." συγκρίνας δὲ ὑπὸ τὰς ταῖς σωτήρος ἡμῶν λέξεις ταῖς λοιπαῖς τοῦ συγγραφέως ἰστορίας ταῖς περί τοῦ παντός πολέμου, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἀποδιαμάσεις, θεῖαν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ὑπερφυῶς παράδοξον τὴν πρόγνωσιν ὁμοί καὶ πρόρρησιν τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν ὁμολογήσας;

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν μετὰ τὸ σωτήριον πάθος καὶ τὰς φωνὰς ἐκείνας ἐν αἷς ἡ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πληθὺς τῶν μὲν ληστὴν καὶ φονέα τοῦ θανάτου παρῆκται, τὸν δ' ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ἡσυχίας ἐξ αὐτῶν ἰκέτευσεν ἀρθῆναι, τῷ παντὶ συμβεβηκότων ἐθνεῖ, οὐδὲν ἀν δειοῖ ταῖς ἰστορίαις ἐπιλέγειν, ταύτα δ' ἂν εἰὴ δίκαιον ἐπιθεῖναι, ἡ γενοῦτ' ἂν παραστατικὰ ἀφίλανθρωπίας τῆς παναγάθου προνοίας, τεσσαράκοντα ἐφ' ὀλοῖς ἔτεσιν μετὰ τὴν κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τόλμαν τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν ὀλέθρον ὑπερθεμένης, ἐν ὁσοὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν πλείους Ἰάκωβος τε αὐτὸς ὁ τῇ ἐπίκοπος, τὸν κυρίον χρηματίζων ἀδελφός, ἔτι τῷ βίῳ περίοντες καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων πόλεως τὰς διατριβὰς ποιοῦμενοι, ἐρκὸς ὀσπερ όχυρωτάτου παρέμενον τῷ τόπῳ, τῆς θείας ἐπισκοπῆς εἰς ἐν τότε μακροθυμουόμης, εἰ ἢ ἀρα ποτὲ δυνηθεὶς ἐφ' οἷς ἔδρασαν, μετανοήσατες συγγνώμης καὶ σωτηρίας τυχεῖν, καὶ πρὸς τῇ τοσαύτη μακροθυμίᾳ παραδόξους θεοσημείας τῶν μελλόντων αὐτοῖς μὴ μετανοήσαις συμβίβασθαι παρασχομένης· ἀ καὶ αὐτὰ μνήμης ἢξιωμένα πρὸς τὸν δεδηλωμένου συγγραφέως οὐδὲν οἶον τῶν τῇ ἐπιστολήν τῇ γραφῇ παραθεῖναι.

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be fulfilled.” And again, “And when ye see Jerusalem surrounded by armies then know that her desolation is at hand.” If anyone compare the words of our Saviour with the other narratives of the historian concerning the whole war, how can he avoid surprise and a confession of the truly divine and supernaturally wonderful character both of the fore-knowledge and of the foretelling of our Saviour?

There is no necessity to add to the narratives of what happened to the whole nation after the passion of the Saviour and those words in which the multitude of the Jews begged off from death the robber and murderer and besought that the author of Life should be taken from them; but it would be right to add a possible confirmation of the kindliness of beneficent Providence. For forty whole years it suspended their destruction, after their crime against the Christ, and during all of them many of the apostles and disciples, and James himself, who is called the Lord’s brother, the first bishop of the city, still survived in this world. By their dwelling in Jerusalem, they afforded, as it were, a strong protection to the place; for the government of God had still patience, if haply they might at last by repenting of their deeds, be able to obtain pardon and salvation; and in addition to such great long-suffering it sent wonderful tokens from God of what would happen to them if they did not repent. These things have been thought worthy of mention by the historian already quoted, and there is nothing better than to append them for the readers of this work.
VIII. Καὶ δὴ λαβὼν ἀνάγνωσθι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐκτὴν τῶν Ἰστοριῶν αὐτῶ δεδηλωμένα ἐν τούτοις.

“Τὸν γοῦν ἄθλιον δήμον οἰ μὲν ἀπατεῶν καὶ καταψευδόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ την κακία τὰ παρέπειθαν, τοὺς δὲ ἐναργεία καὶ προσημαίνουσι τὴν μέλλουσαν έρημίαν τέρασιν οὔτε προσείχον οὔτε ἐπίστευον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐμβεβροντημένοι καὶ μὴς ὡμματα μὴς ψυχῆς ἔχοντες τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ κηρυγμάτων παρῆκομεν, τούτῳ μὲν δὴ ὑπὲρ τὴν 20 πόλειν ἀστρον ἔστη ρομφαία παραπλήσιος καὶ παρατείνας ἐπ' ἐναυον κομήτης, τούτῳ δ' ἡμίκα πρὸ τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τῶν πόλεμων κινήματος, ἄθροιζομένου τοῦ λαοῦ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀξύμων ἐορτήν, ὑμείης Ἐανθικοῦ μηνὸς κατὰ νυκτὸς ἐνάθην ὦραν, τοσοῦτον φῶς περιέλαμψεν τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὸν ναὸν, ὡς δοκεῖν ἡμέραν εἶναι λαμπρὰν, καὶ τούτῳ παρέτειν τὸ ἡμίσειαν ὦραν· δ' τοῖς μὲν ἀπείροις ἀγαθὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τοῖς δὲ ἱερογραμματεύον πρὸ τῶν ἀποβεβηκότων εὐθέως ἐκρίθη. καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐορτὴν 30 βοῦς μὲν ἀχθείςα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ἔτεκεν ἄριστα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μέσῳ· ἡ δ' ἀνα- 4 τολικὴ πύλη τοῦ ἐνδοτέρω χαλκῆ μὲν οὐδὰ καὶ στιβαρωτάτη, κλειομένη δὲ περὶ δείλην μόλις ὑπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων εἰκοσι, καὶ μοχλοῖς μὲν ἐπερευ- δομένη σιδηροδέτους, καταπήγας δ' ἔχουσα βα- θυτάτους, ὕφθη κατὰ νυκτὸς ὦραν ἐκτὴν αὐτο- μάτως ἰνουγμένη. μετὰ δ' τὴν ἐορτὴν ἡμέρας 5 ὑπὸ πολλαῖς ύπερευν, μὴ καὶ εἰκάδι Ἀρτεμισίου μηνὸς, φάσμα τι δαμόνοιν ὕφθη μείζων πύστευς, τέρας δ' ἀν ἐδοξεῖ εἶναι τὸ ῥηθησόμενον, εἰ μή καὶ παρὰ τοῖς θεασαμένοις ἱστόρητο καὶ τὰ
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, III. viii. 1-5

VIII. Take, then, and read what is related in the sixth book of the Jewish War. "Now at that time impostors and lying prophets perverted the miserable people, but they gave neither attention nor credence to the clear marvels which foretold approaching desolation, but as though they had been thunder-struck and had neither eyes nor soul, they neglected the declarations of God. At one time a star stood over the city like a sword, and a comet which lasted for a year. At another time, before the insurrection, and the disturbance which led to the war, when the people were assembled for the Feast of Unleavened Bread, on the eighth of April, at the ninth hour of the night, a light shone on the altar and on the temple so brightly that it seemed to be full day, and this lasted for half an hour. To the inexperienced this seemed a good sign, but was at once interpreted by the scribes before the events which actually followed. And at the same feast a cow, which had been led by the high-priest for the sacrifice, gave birth to a lamb in the middle of the temple. And the eastern gate of the inner building, which was of bronze and very massive and was closed at evening time with difficulty by twenty men, and rested on beams bound with iron and had bars sunk deep, was seen at night at the sixth hour to have opened of itself. And after the feast, not many days later, on the twenty-first of May, a demonic phantom appeared of incredible size, and what will be related would have seemed a fairy-tale had it not been told by those who saw it, and been attended by suffering

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ἐπακολουθήσαντα πάθη τῶν σημείων ἦν ἀξια· πρὸ γὰρ ἡλίου δύσεως ὥφθη μετέωρα περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν ἀρματα καὶ φάλαγγες ἑνοπλοι δι· ἄττουσα τῶν νεφῶν καὶ κυκλούμεναι τὰς πόλεις. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑορτήν, ἡ πεντηκοστὴ καλείται, νύκτωρ οἱ ἰερεῖς παρελθόντες εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, ὠσπερ αὐτοίς ἔθος ἦν, πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας, πρῶτον μὲν κινήσεως ἐφασαν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ κτύπου, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φωνῆς ἀθρόας, 'μεταβαίνομεν ἐντεῦθεν.' 1 τὸ δὲ τούτων φοβερότερον, Ἰησοῦς γάρ τις ὄνομα, υἱὸς Ἄνανίου, τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, ἀγροικος, πρὸ τεσσάρων ἐτῶν τοῦ πολέμου, τὰ μάλιστα τῆς πόλεως εἰρηνευμένης καὶ εὐθυνού· σης, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑορτήν, ἐπεὶ σκηνοποιεῖσθαί πάντας ἔθος ἦν τῷ θεῷ, κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐξαπίνης ἀναβοῶν ἥρετο 'φωνὴ ἀπ' ἀνατολῆς, φωνὴ ἀπὸ δύσεως, φωνὴ ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, φωνὴ ἐπὶ 'Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν ναὸν, φωνὴ ἐπὶ νυμφίους καὶ νύμφας, φωνὴ ἐπὶ πάντα τοῦ λαοῦ.' τούτῳ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ κατὰ πάντας τοὺς στενωποὺς περιήκε κεκραγὼς. τῶν δ' ἐπισήμων τυνὲς δημοτῶν ἀγανακτήσαντες πρὸς τὸ κακόφημον, συλλαμβάνουσι τὸν ἀνθρωπον καὶ πολλαῖς αἰκίζονται πληγαῖς. δ' δ' οὖθ' ὑπὲρ ἐαυτοῦ φθεγξάμενος ὤυτε ἵδια πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας, δ' καὶ πρότερον φωνάς βοῶν διετέλει. νομίσαντες δ' οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὑπὲρ ἦν, δαμονιώτερον εἶναι τὸ κίνημα τάνδρος, ἀνάγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν παρὰ 'Ῥωμαίοις ἔπαρχον· ἐνθα μάστιξιν μέχρις ὥστεν εἰσανόμενος οὐθ' ἐκέτευνεν οὔτ' ἐδάκρυσεν, ἀλλ' 1 Cf. Eus. Dem. evangel. viii. 2. 121 and Eccl. prophet. 164. 2–6.

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worthy of the portent. For before sunset there appeared in the air over the whole country chariots and armed troops coursing through the clouds and surrounding the cities. And at the feast called Pentecost the priests passed into the temple at night, as was their custom, for their services, and said that they first perceived movement and noise and after that a sudden cry, 'We go hence.' But what was more terrible a man of the people named Jesus, the son of Ananias, a countryman, four years before the war, when the city was in complete peace and prosperity, came to the feast when it was the custom for all to make booths for God, and began suddenly to cry out opposite the temple, 'A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the temple, a voice against bridegrooms and brides, a voice against all the people.' With this cry night and day he passed through all the narrow streets. But some of the notables of the people were annoyed at the ill omen, seized the man and abused him with many stripes. But he uttered no word in his own behalf, nor in private to those present, but went on with the same cry as before. But the rulers thought that the man's action was inspired by some demon, as it indeed was, and brought him to the Roman governor\(^1\); there, though he was flayed to the bone with scourges, he uttered no plea and shed no tear, but raising his

\(^1\) That is, Albinus who was procurator from 61 to 64.
EUSEBIUS

ος ἐνή μάλιστα τὴν φωνὴν ὀλοφυρτικῶς παρεγκλίνων, πρὸς ἐκάστην ἀπεκρίνατο πληγὴν 'αἱ 'αἱ Ἰεροσολύμωιν. 1"

"Ετερον δ' ἐτι τούτων παραδοξότερον ὁ αὐτὸς ἰστορεῖ, χρησιμὸν των πάσων ἐν ιεροῖς γράμμασιν ἐνφῇσαι περέχοντα ὡς κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρξεῖ τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὃν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ Ὀνεσπασιανὸν πεπληρώθηκατε ἐξείληφεν, ἀλλ' οὕτω ἀπάσης γε οὕτος ἀλλ' ἡ μονής ἤρξεν τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους δικαιότερον δ' ἂν ἐπὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἀναχθεῖν, πρὸς δὲ εἰρήτῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς "αὐτῆς παρ' ἐμοῖ, καὶ δώσω σοι ἐθνή τῆν κληρονομίαν σου, καὶ τῆν κατάσχεσίν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς", οὐ δὴ κατ᾽ αὐτὸ δὴ ἐκείνῳ τοῦ καιροῦ "εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξήλθην ὁ φθόγγος" τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων "καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ βήματα αὐτῶν."

IX. Ἐπὶ τούτων ἀπαύγων ἀξίων μηδὲ αὐτὸν

1 After 'Ἰεροσολύμωιν the text of Josephus adds τοῦ δὲ ἀλβίνου διερωτῶνος, οὗτος γὰρ ἐπαρχος ἦν τὸν ἐλτ καὶ πόθεν καὶ διαταύτα φθέγγοιτο πρὸς ταύτα μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἀπεκρίνατο τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεις θύραν εἴρων οὐ διέλευσεν μέχρι καταγωγῆς μαίναν ὁ ἀλβίνος ἀπέλυσεν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ τὸν μέχρι τὴν πολέμου χρόνου οὔτε προσήνε τινί τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτε ἁβθή λαλῶν ἀλλὰ καθημερινῶς περευτε τοιχήν μεμελετηκός αἰ τοῖς Ἰεροσολύμοις ἐθνής αυτῶν τῶν τούς τυπότας αὐτὸν ὡσμῆρει κατήρατο οὔτε τοῦς τρόφος μεταδιδόντας εὐλόγει, μία δὲ πρὸς πάντας ἦν ἡ σκυθρωπῆς χλόης ἀπόκρισις. μάλιστα δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ ἐστάσει ἐκεκράγει καὶ τούτῳ ἐφεπτα ἐτή καὶ μήνας πέντε εἰρων, οὔτε ἡμικινηθήν τὴν φωνὴν οὔτε ἔκαμεν μέχρις οὐ κατὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἔρχοι τὸς κληρόνων ἰδίων ἀνεπαύσατα, περίων γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους αἰ τοῖς τῆς πόλεις καὶ τῷ λαῷ καὶ τῷ ναῷ διατρύσιον ἔβδοι. ὡς δὲ τελευταῖον προσέθηκεν αἰ τοῖς καιμοὶ λίθος ἐκ τοῦ πετροβόλου σχασθεῖν καὶ πληξός αὐτῶν, παραχρήμα κτείνει. θεογομονήν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸς κληρόνως ἐκείνου τῇ πυθήν ἁφῆκεν. This is also found in two late mss. (ER) of Eusebius.
voice with all his power, answered to every blow, 'Woe, woe to Jerusalem.'"  

The same writer has a still more remarkable account in which he alleges that an oracle was found in "sacred script" to the effect that at that time one from their country should rule the world and he himself considered that this was fulfilled by Vespasian. Yet he did not reign over the whole world, but only such part as was subject to the Romans, and it would be more justly referred to Christ, to whom it was said by the Father, "Ask of me and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance and the ends of the earth for thy possession." And it was of his holy apostles at that very time that "the sound went forth into all the earth and their words unto the end of the earth."

IX. In addition to all this, it is right not to ignore

1 Two late manuscripts make the following additions from Josephus. "And when Albinus, for he was governor, asked him who he was and whence he came and why he said these things, he made no answer but did not cease raising his lamentation against the city until Albinus considered him mad and let him go. Until the time of the war he neither approached any of the citizens nor was he seen talking, but daily, as though reciting a prayer, he waited 'Woe, woe to Jerusalem.' He never cursed those who struck him daily, nor did he bless those who gave him food, but all received the same melancholy wail as an answer. He howled with especial vigour on feast days, and this he kept up for seven years and five months, nor did his voice fail or grow weary until at the siege he rested, seeing his lamentations fulfilled. For he went round on the wall with the piercing cry, 'Woe, woe to the people, to the city, and to the temple,' and as at last he added 'Woe, woe to me also,' a stone flew out from a catapult and hit him; he died at once, and gave up his soul still uttering those lamentations."
τὸν Ἰώσηπον, τοσαῦτα τῇ μετὰ χειρας συμβεβλημένον ἱστορία, ὅποθεν τε καὶ ἀφ’ οὗν γένους ὄρματο, ἀγνοεῖν. ἐκλοί δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦτο, λέγων ὥδε "Ἰώσηπος Μαθίου παῖς, εξ Ἴεροσολύμων ἐρεύσ, αὐτὸς τε Ἦρωμαιόν πολεμήσας τὰ πρῶτα καὶ τοὺς υπέρον παρατυχὼν εξ ἀνάγκης." μάλιστα δὲ τῶν κατ’ ἐκείνο καρποῦ Ἦρωμαιῶν οὐ παρὰ μόνοις τοῖς ὁμοφθένσι, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Ἦρωμαιῶν γέγονεν ἀνήρ ἐπιδοξότατος, ὡς αὐτὸν μὲν ἀναθέσει ἀνδράντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἦρωμαιῶν τιμηθῆναι πόλεως, τοὺς δὲ σπουδασθήσας αὐτῷ λόγους βιβλιοθήκης ἀξιωθῆναι. οὕτως δὴ θάσαν τὴν Ἦρωμαικὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν ἐν ὅλοις εἴκοσι κατατέθεται συγγράμμασιν, τὴν δ’ ἱστορίαν τοῦ κατ’ αὐτὸν Ἦρωμαικοῦ πολέμου ἐν ἑπτά, ἀ καὶ οὐ μόνον τῇ Ἕλληνικῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίῳ φωνῇ παραδοθῆναι αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ μαρτυρεῖ, ἀξιός γε ὃν διὰ τὰ λοιπὰ πιστεύεσθαι καὶ ἔτερα δ’ αὐτοῦ φέρεται σπουδὴς ἀξια δύο, τὰ Περὶ τῆς Ἦρωμαιῶν ἀρχαιότητος, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἀντιρρήσεις πρὸς Ἀπίωνα τῶν γραμματικῶν, κατὰ Ἦρωμαιῶν τηνικάδε συντάξαντα λόγον, πεποίηται καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους, οἱ διαβάλλει καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πάρια τοῦ Ἦρωμαιῶν ἔθνους ἐπειράθησαν. τούτων ἐν τῷ ἤπειρῳ τῶν ἀρθμῶν τῆς λεγομένης παλαιᾶς τῶν ἐνδιαθήκης γραφῶν τίθησι, τίνα τὰ παρ’ Ἐβραίοις ἀναντίρρητα, ώσ ἄν εἰς ἀρχαιὰς παραδόσεως αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως ἔν τούτῳ διατίθεσκομεν. 

Χ. "Ὅδε μεριάδες οὐν βιβλίων εἰςι παρ’ ἤμεν ἅσυμφωνοις καὶ μαχομένοις, δύο δὲ μόνα πρὸς τοὺς εἴκοσι βιβλία, τοῦ παντὸς ἔχουτα χρόνου τὴν ἀναγραφὴν, τὰ δικαίως θεία πεπιστευμένα.

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the date and origin of the Josephus who collected so much material in the work just dealt with. He himself gives this information and says, "Josephus was a son of Matthias, a priest of Jerusalem, and at the beginning he fought against the Romans and was forced to take part in the later events." He was the most famous Jew of that time, not only among his fellow countrymen but also among the Romans, so that he was honoured by the erection of a statue in the city of Rome, and the inclusion of the works composed by him in its library. He compiled the whole ancient history of the Jews in twenty volumes,¹ and the history of the Roman War ² in his own time in seven; he testifies that he committed this not only to Greek but also to his native language, and he is for other reasons worthy of credence. Two other books of his, worthy of notice, are extant, entitled On the ancientness of the Jews,³ in which he controverts Apion the Scribe, who had composed a treatise against the Jews, and others who had tried to calumniate the ancestral customs of the Jewish nation. In the first of these he gives the number of the canonical scriptures of the so-called Old Testament, and showed as follows which are undisputed among the Hebrews as belonging to ancient tradition.

X. "We have no myriads of discordant and contradictory books, but only two and twenty, containing the narrative of all time, which have been justly believed to be divine. Of these five are those of

¹ Usually quoted as "Antiquities," from the Latin rendering of ἀρχαιολογία by antiquitates.
² Usually known as the "Wars" or the "Jewish war" and often quoted as B.I. (bellum judaicum).
³ Usually known as Contra Apionem.
καὶ τούτων πέντε μὲν ἐστὶν Ὁμουσίως, ἀ τοὺς δὲ νόμους περιέχει καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀνθρωπογονίας παράδοσιν μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς. οὔτος ὁ χρόνος ἀπολείπει τρισχιλίων ὀλίγον ἐτῶν· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ὁμουσίως τελευτῆς μέχρι τῆς Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ μετὰ Εὔρηθην Περσῶν βασιλέως οἱ μετὰ Ὁμουσίων προφήται τὰ κατ’ αὐτοῦς πραχθέντα συνέγραψαν ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα βιβλίοις· αἱ δὲ λοιπὰ τέσσαρες ὑμνοὺς εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑποθήκας τοῦ βίου περείχουσιν. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀρταξέρξου μέχρι τοῦ καθ’ ἡμῶν χρόνου γέγραπται μὲν ἕκαστα, πίστεως δ᾽ οὐχ ὁμοίας ἥξισται τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχὴν. ἔθηλον δ᾽ ἐστὶν ἣ ἔργῳ πῶς ἡμεῖς πρόσμεν τοὺς ἱδίους γράμμαζον· τοσοῦτον γὰρ αἰῶνος ἦδη παρωχηκότος οὕτε προσθειναί τις οὕτε ἀφελείν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν οὕτε μεταθειναι τετόλμηκεν, πάσι δὲ σύμφωνον ἐστὶν εὐθὺς ἐκ πρώτης γενέσεως Ἰουδαίων τὸ νομίζειν αὐτὰ θεοῦ δόγματα καὶ τούτοις ἐπιμένειν καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἰ δέοι, θυνήσειν ἱδέως." καὶ ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ συγγραφέως χρησίμως ἄδει παρατεθείσω. πεπόνηται δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ὦν ἀγεννῆς σπούδασμα τῷ ἄνδρί. Περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ, ὁ τινς Μακκαβαίκον ἐπέγραψαν τῷ τοὺς ἀγώνας τῶν ἐν τοῖς οὕτω καλομένους Μακκαβαίκοις συγγράμμασιν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας ἀνδρισαμένων Ἐβραίων περιέχειν, καὶ πρὸς τῷ τελεί δὲ τῆς εἰκοστῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας ἐπισημαίνεται ὁ αὐτὸς ὡς ἄν προηρμένοις ἐν τετταρσὶ συγγράφαι βιβλίοις κατὰ τὰς πατρίους δόξας τῶν Ἰουδαίων περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς οὐσίας 228
Moses and contain the Law and the tradition of human history until his death. This period covers almost three thousand years. From the death of Moses to Artaxerxes who succeeded Xerxes, king of the Persians, the prophets after Moses wrote the account of the events contemporary with them in thirteen books.¹ The remaining four books contain hymns to God and precepts for the life of men. From the time of Artaxerxes to our own the details have been written,² but are not considered worthy of equal credence with the rest because there has not been an accurate succession of prophets. And facts show plainly how we approach our own literature, for though so long a time has elapsed no one has dared to make additions, omissions, or changes, but it is innate in Jews from their very birth to regard them as the decrees of God, to abide in them and, if it need be, to die for them gladly.” This quotation from the author may be usefully appended.

Another work which is not without merit was produced by him on The Supremacy of Reason, which some entitled Maccabees³ because it contains the conflicts of those Hebrews mentioned in the so-called books of the Maccabees, who strove valiantly for the worship of God. At the end of the twentieth book of the Antiquities the same writer announces that he had planned to compose four books on the ancestral belief of the Jews concerning God and his nature and

¹ Josephus does not state which these are. Probably he means Joshua, Judges and Ruth, 1 and 2 Sam., 1 and 2 Kings, 1 and 2 Chron., Ezra and Neh., Esther, Isaiah, Jer. and Lam.; Ezek., Dan., the minor prophets, Job. The “remaining four books” would be Pss., Prov., Eccl., and the Song of Songs.
² He means 1 Maccabees and perhaps 2 Maccabees.
³ 4 Maccabees.
αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν νόμων, διὰ τὰς κατ’ αὐτὸς ἑξεστὶ πράττειν, τὰ δὲ κεκὼλυται, καὶ ἀλλὰ δὲ αὐτῶι σπουδασθῆναι ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ἱδίοις αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει λόγοις. πρὸς τούτοις εὐλογον καταλέξαι καὶ ἃς ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας τοῦ τέλους φωνὰς παρατέθειται, εἰς πίστωσιν τῆς τῶν ἐκ αὐτοῦ παραληφθέντων ἡμῶν μαρτυρίας. διαβάλλων δὴν Ἰουστὸν Τιβερία, ὀμοίως αὐτῷ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἰστορήσαι χρόνους πεπεραμένον, ὡς μὴ τάληθῃ συγγεγραφότα, πολλάς τε ἅλλας εὐθύνας ἐπαγαγὼν τῷ ἄνδρι, ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν ἐπιλέγει "οὐ μὴν ἐγὼ σοι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον περὶ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ γραφῆς ἐδείη, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῖς ἐπέδωκα τοῖς αὐτοκράτορι τὰ βιβλία, μόνον οὐ τῶν ἔργων ἤδη βλέπομεν· ςυνήδει γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ τετηρηκότι τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας παράδοσιν, ἐφ’ ἓ μαρτυρίας τεύξεσθαι προσδοκήσας οὐ διημαρτον. καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ ἐπέδωκα τὴν ἱστορίαν, δὲν ἐνιοι καὶ παρατετεύχεσαν τῷ πολέμῳ, καθάπερ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν συγγενῶν. δὲ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ Ἡττὸς οὕτως ἐκ μόνων αὐτῶν ἐβουλήθη τὴν γνώσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παραδοῦναι τῶν πράξεων, ὥστε χαράξας τῇ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ τὰ βιβλία δημοσιώσας προσέταξεν, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ἦ β εγραφεὶ ἐπιστολάς, τῇ τῆς ἀληθείας παραδόσει μαρτυρῶν." Ἀφ’ δὲν καὶ δύο παρατίθησαι. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τοῦτον ταὐτή την δεδηλώσθω.

XI. Ῥωμεν δ’ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξω. μετὰ τὴν Ἰακώβου μαρτυρίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτίκα γενομένην ἄλωσιν τῆς Ἰερουσαλήμ λόγος κατέχει τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν τοὺς εἰς ἐτί τῶν βίω λειτομένους 230
concerning the Laws, why they allow some actions and forbid others. He also mentions in his own treatises that he had produced other works. Moreover, it is right to mention the words which he appends to the end of the Antiquities to confirm our quotation of the passages taken from him. Accusing of false statements Justus of Tiberias, who had undertaken to write a similar account of the same period, and bringing many other charges against him, he continues as follows: "I had no such fear as you with regard to my own writing, but I gave the books to the Emperors themselves while the events were still almost before their eyes. For I was conscious of having kept the tradition of the truth and I did not fail in my expectation of obtaining their testimony to that effect. I also gave the narrative to many others, of whom some had actually taken part in the war, such as King Agrippa and some of his relations. For the Emperor Titus was pleased that from these books alone should information be given the public as to the events, and, writing with his own hand, he ordered the books to be published, and King Agrippa wrote sixty-two letters testifying that they were handing on the truth." Of these letters he append two, but let this suffice on the subject of Josephus and let us proceed.

XI. After the martyrdom of James and the capture of Jerusalem which immediately followed, the story goes that those of the Apostles and of the disciples of the Lord who were still alive came together from
επὶ ταύτων πανταχόθεν συνελθείν ἅμα τοῖς πρὸς γένους κατὰ σάρκα τοῦ κυρίου (πλείους γὰρ καὶ τούτων περιήγασαν εἰς ἐτι τότε τῷ βίῳ), βουλήν τε ὁμοῦ τοὺς πάντας περὶ τοῦ τίνα χρὴ τῆς Ἰακώβου διαδοχῆς ἐπικρίναν ἄξιον, ποιήσασθαι, καὶ δὴ ἀπὸ μιᾶς γνώμης τοὺς πάντας Συμεώνα τὸν τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, οὗ καὶ ἡ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου μνημονεύει γραφῆ, τοῦ τῆς αὐτῶθι παροικίας θρόνον ἄξιον εἶναι δοκιμάσαι, ἀνεμίστων, ὡς γέ φασι, γεγονότα τοῦ σωτῆρος, τὸν γὰρ οὖν Κλωπᾶν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ὑπάρχειν Ἡγήσιμος ἵστορεῖ, XII. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων Ὀυέσπασιανον μετὰ τῇ τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων ἀλωσιν πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ γένους Δαυίδ, ὡς μὴ περιλειφθεί γίνοι τις παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς φυλῆς, ἀναξιότειται προστάξαι, μέγιστον τε Ἰουδαίους αὐθεὶς ἐκ ταύτης διωγμὸν ἐπαρτηθήναι τῆς αἰτίας.

XIII. Ἐπὶ δέκα δὲ τὸν Ὀυέσπασιανον ἑτερων βασιλεύσαντα αὐτοκράτωρ Τίτος ὁ παῖς διαδέχεται· οὗ κατὰ δεύτερον ἑτος τῆς βασιλείας Λίνος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας δυοκαίδεκα τῆς λειτουργίας ἐνιαυτοῖς κατασχῶν, Ἰερόμνημος ταύτην παραδίδωσιν.

Τίτον δὲ Δομετιανὸς ἀδελφὸς διαδέχεται, δύο ἑτερως καὶ μησὶ τοῖς ὑσοις βασιλεύσαντα. XIV. τετάρτῳ μὲν οὖν ἑτερ Δομετιανοῦ τῆς κατ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παροικίας ὁ πρῶτος Ἀννιανὸς δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι ἀποπλήσας ἐτη, τελευτᾶ, διαδέχεται δὲ αὐτὸν δεύτερος Ἀβίλιος. XV. διεκάτω δὲ ἑτερ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡγεμονίας τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας Ἰερόμνημος ἑτερως ἐπισκοπεύσανται δεκαδύο διαδέχεται Κλήμης, δὲν συνεργὸν ἑαυτοῦ γενέσθαι Φιλιππησίων ἐπιστέλλων ὁ ἀπόστολος διδάσκει, λέγων "μετὰ 232.
every place with those who were, humanly speaking, of the family of the Lord, for many of them were then still alive, and they all took counsel together as to whom they ought to adjudge worthy to succeed James, and all unanimously decided that Simeon the son of Clopas, whom the scripture of the Gospel also mentions, was worthy of the throne of the diocese there. He was, so it is said, a cousin of the Saviour, for Hegesippus relates that Clopas was the brother of Joseph, (XII.) and in addition that Vespasian, after the capture of Jerusalem, ordered a search to be made for all who were of the family of David, that there might be left among the Jews no one of the royal family and, for this reason, a very great persecution was again inflicted on the Jews.

XIII. When Vespasian had reigned for ten years, his son Titus succeeded him as emperor,¹ and in the second year of his reign, Linus, bishop of the church of the Romans, after holding his office for twelve years, handed it on to Anencletus. After Titus had reigned for two years and as many months Domitian, his brother, succeeded him.² XIV. Now in the fourth year of Domitian, Annianus, the first of the see of Alexandria, died after completing twenty-two years, and Abilius succeeded him as the second. XV. And in the twelfth year of the same reign, Clement succeeded Anencletus after he had been bishop of the church of the Romans for twelve years. The apostle states that he had been his fellow-worker in his epistle to the Philippians saying; “With Clement and

¹ June 24, A.D. 79.
² Dec. 13, A.D. 81.
καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν συνεργῶν μου, ὅπερ τὰ οὖν ματαὶ ἐν βιβλίῳ ζωῆς.

XVI. Τούτῳ δὴ ὁ πρώτος ομολογούμενη μία ἐπιστολὴ 1 φέρεται, μεγάλη τε καὶ θαυμασία, ἵνα ἃ ἄπο τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τῇ Κορινθίων διετυπώσατο, στάσεως τηνικάδε κατὰ τὴν Κόρινθου γενομένης. ταύτην δὲ καὶ ἐν πλείσταις ἐκκλησίαις ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ δεδημοσιευμένην πάλαι τε καὶ καθ’ ἡμᾶς αὐτῶν ἔγγονεν. καὶ ὅτι γε κατὰ τὸν δηλωόμενον τὰ τῆς Κορινθίων κεκινητὸ στάσεως, ἀξιόχρεος μάρτυς ὁ Ἡγίστουπος.

XVII. Πολλὴν γε μὴν εἰς πολλοὺς ἐπιδειξάμενος ὁ 1 Δομετιανὸς ὑμοῖτα ὁλίγον τε τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης εὐπατριδῶν τε καὶ ἐπισήμων ἀνδρῶν πλῆθος ὑπὸ μετ’ εὐλόγων κρίσεως κτείνας μυρίων τέκνων ἐπιφανείς ἀνδρας ταῖς υπὲρ τὴν ἔνοριαν ζημιώσας φυγαίς καὶ ταῖς τῶν υἱῶν ἀποβολαίς ἀνατίνως, τελευτῶν τῆς Νέρωνος θεοεκθρίας τε καὶ θεομαχίας διάδοχων έαυτὸν κατεστήσατο. δεύτερος δὴ τοῦ καθ’ ἡμῶν ἀνεκίνη διωγμὸν, καίπερ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶς ὕπερ πασιανοῦ μηδέν καὶ καθ’ ἡμῶν ἀτόπον ἐπινοήσατο.

XVIII. Ἐν τούτῳ κατέχει λόγος τὸν ἀπόστολον 1 ἁμα καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν Ἰωάννην ἐτι τῶ βίῳ ἐνδιατρίβοντα, τῆς εἰς τὸν θείον λόγον ένεκεν μαρτυρίας Πάτμον οίκειν καταδικασθήναι τὴν νήσου. γράφων 2 γέ τοι ὁ Εἰρηναῖος περὶ τῆς ψήφου τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἀντίχριστον προσηγορίας φερομένης ἐν τῇ Ἰωάννου λεγομένη Ἀποκαλύψει, αὐταῖς συλλαβαῖς ἐν πέμπτῳ τῶν πρὸς τὰς αἰρέσεις ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ Ἰωάννου φησίν χεὶ δὲ ἐδει ἀναφανδέν ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ κηρύττεσθαι τούνομα αὐτῶν, δι’ ἐκείνου ἄν ἐρρέθη 234
my other fellow-workers whose names are in the book of Life.”

XVI. There is one recognized epistle of Clement, long and wonderful, which he drew up for the church of the Corinthians in the name of the church of the Romans when there had been dissension in Corinth. We have ascertained that this letter was publicly read in the common assembly in many churches both in the days of old and in our own time; and that the affairs of Corinth were disturbed by dissension in his day is adequately testified to by Hesegippus.

XVII. When Domitian had given many proofs of his great cruelty and had put to death without any reasonable trial no small number of men distinguished at Rome by family and career, and had punished without a cause myriads of other notable men by banishment and confiscation of their property, he finally showed himself the successor of Nero’s campaign of hostility to God. He was the second to promote persecution against us, though his father, Vespasian, had planned no evil against us.

XVIII. At this time, the story goes, the Apostle and Evangelist John was still alive, and was condemned to live in the island of Patmos for his witness to the divine word. At any rate Irenaeus, writing about the number of the name ascribed to the anti-Christ in the so-called Apocalypse of John, states this about John in so many words in the fifth book against Heresies. “But if it had been necessary to announce his name plainly at the present time, it would have
EUSEBIUS

toú kai tìn ápokálupsin éorakótos. oudè gár prò
pollou chronou eowrathì, allà schedon eipi tìs hìme-
terás geveàs, pròs tò téle tìs Dometiánou àrhìs."

Εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ ἀρα κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους ἢ τῆς 4
ἡμετέρας πίστεως διέλαμπεν διδασκαλία, ὡς καὶ
touς ἀποθεν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου συγγραφεῖς μὴ
ἀποκνήσαι ταῖς αὐτῶν ἱστορίαις τὸν τε διωγμὸν καὶ
τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ μαρτύρια παραδοῦναι, οἳ γε καὶ τὸν
καυρὸν ἐπὶ ἀκριβές ἑπεσημηνάντο, ἐν ἐτει πεντεκαι-
δεκάτῳ Νομετιάνοι μετὰ πλείστων ἐτέρων καὶ
Φλαύιαν Νομετίλλαν ἱστορήσαντες, ἐξ ἀδελφῆς
γεγονυῖαν Φλαύιοι Κλήμεντος, ἐνὸς τῶν τηνικάδε
ἐπὶ Ρώμης ὑπάτων, τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν μαρτύριας
ἐνεκεν εἰς νῆσον Ποντιάν κατὰ τιμωρίαν δεδοσθαί.

XIX. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ Νομετιάνοι τοὺς ἀπὸ γένους 1
Δαυίδ ἀναφεύγουσι προστάξαντος, παλαιὸς κατέχει
λόγους τῶν αἱρετικῶν τινας κατηγορήσαν τῶν ἀπο-
γόνων Ἰουδα (τοῦτον δ' εἶναι ἀδελφὸν κατὰ σάρκα
τοῦ σωτῆρος) ὡς ἀπὸ γένους τυγχανόντων Δαυίδ
καὶ ὡς αὐτοῦ συγγένειαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ φερόντων.
ταῦτα δὲ δηλοὶ κατὰ λέξιν ὅτι περὶ λέγων ὁ
'Ἡρῴντης. XX. "ἐτι δὲ περίησαν οἱ ἀπὸ γένους 1
τοῦ κυρίου ὑμῶν Ἰουδα τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα λεγομένου
αὐτοῦ ἁδελφοῦ; οὗς ἐδηλατόρευσαν₁ ὡς ἐκ γένους
ὀντας Δαυίδ. τούτους ὁ ἱενοκάτος ἠγ bagi πρòς
Dometiánov Kaísoara. ἐφοβεῖτο γὰρ τὴν παρου-
σίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὡς καὶ Ἡρώδης. καὶ ἐπηρώ-
tησεν αὐτοὺς εἰ ἐκ Δαυίδ εἶσιν, καὶ ὢμολογησαν.
tότε ἡρώτησεν αὐτοὺς τόσα κτήσεις ἐχουσιν ἢ

Matt. 13, 55
Mark 6, 3

1 A Latinism made out of delatus.

₁ A.D. 96. Cf. Suetonius, Dom. 15, who however says that
Domitilla was the wife of Clemens. Some think that
been spoken by him who saw the apocalypse. For it was not seen long ago but almost in our own time, at the end of the reign of Domitian.”

The teaching of our faith shone so brilliantly in the days described that even writers foreign to our belief did not hesitate to commit to their narratives the persecutions and the martyrdoms in it, and they even indicated the time accurately, relating that in the fifteenth year of Domitian, Flavia Domitilla, who was the niece of Flavius Clemens, one of the consuls at Rome at that time, was banished with many others to the island of Pontia as testimony to Christ.

XIX. The same Domitian gave orders for the execution of those of the family of David and an ancient story goes that some heretics accused the grandsons of Judas (who is said to have been the brother, according to the flesh, of the Saviour) saying that they were of the family of David and related to the Christ himself. Hegesippus relates this exactly as follows. XX. “Now there still survived of the family of the Lord grandsons of Judas, who was said to have been his brother according to the flesh, and they were delated as being of the family of David. These the officer brought to Domitian Caesar, for, like Herod, he was afraid of the coming of the Christ. He asked them if they were of the house of David and they admitted it. Then he asked them how much property they had, or how there were two Domitillas. Suetonius does not mention that she was a Christian.

2 The Greek represents the Latin evocatus, apparently the name of an official, but even Rufinus did not fully understand it and made out of it a proper name Revocatus quidam.
πόσων χρημάτων κυριεύουσιν. οί δὲ εἶπαν ἀμφοτε-
ροις ἐννακισχίλια δηνάρια ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς μόνα,
ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν ἀνήκοντος τοῦ ἡμίσεος, καὶ ταῦτα
οὐκ ἐν ἀργυρίοις ἐφασκὸν ἔχειν, ἀλλʹ ἐν διατμήσει
γῆς πλεθρῶν λθʹ μόνων, ἦς ὅν καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀνα-
φέρειν καὶ αὐτοὺς αὐτουργοῦντας διατρέφεσθαι." ¹
ἐίτα δὲ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας τὰς έαυτῶν ἐπιδεικνύναι, ³
μαρτύριον τῆς αὐτουργίας τήν τοῦ σώματος σκλη-
ρίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συνεχοῦς ἐργασίας ἐναποτυ-
pωθέντας ἐπὶ τῶν ἱδίων χειρῶν τύλους παριστάντας.
ἐρωτηθέντας δὲ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ⁴
αὐτοῦ ὅποια τις εἶχῃ καὶ ποί καὶ πότε φαντασμένη,
λόγον δούναι ὅσον κακομικὴ μὲν οὐδ' ἐπίγειος,
ἐποιράνος δὲ καὶ ἀγγελικὴ τυγχάνοι, ἐπὶ συντελεία
τοῦ αἵωνος γενησομένη, ὀπισθά ἐλθόν ἐν δόξῃ
κρινεῖ ζωῆς καὶ νεκροὺς καὶ ἀποδώσει ἐκάστῳ
κατὰ τά ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτοῦ: ἐφ' οἷς μηδὲν αὐτῶν
κατεγνωσότα τὸν Δομετιανὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς εὐτελῶν
καταφρονήσαντα, ἐλευθέρους μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀνείναι,
καταπαύσας δὲ διὰ προστάγματος τὸν κατὰ τῆς
ἐκκλησίας διωγμον. ² τοὺς δὲ ἀπολυθέντας ἡγήσα-
θαν τῶν ἐκκλησίων, ὡς ἅν δὴ μάρτυρας ὤμοι καὶ
ἀπὸ γένους ὄντας τοῦ κυρίου, γενομένης τε εἰρήνης
μέχρι Τραϊανοῦ παραμεῖναι αὐτοὺς τῷ βίῳ.
ταῦτα ⁷
μὲν ὁ Ἅγιος Ἐπίσκοπος· ὦ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Ῥητουλλιανὸς
τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ τοιαῦτην πεποίηται μνήμην "πεπε-
ράκει ποτὲ καὶ Δομετιανὸς τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἔκεινω,
μέρος ὅν τῆς Νέρωνος ὕμοιτιτος. ἀλλʹ, οἴμαι,
ἀπε ἔχων τι συνέσεως, τάχιστα ἐπαύσατο, ἀνακαλε-
σάμενος καὶ οἷς ἔξηλάκει." ¹

¹ Cf. George Syncellus 652. 5-14.
much money they controlled, and they said that all they possessed was nine thousand denarii\(^1\) between them, the half belonging to each, and they stated that they did not possess this in money but that it was the valuation of only thirty-nine plethra\(^2\) of ground on which they paid taxes and lived on it by their own work.” They then showed him their hands, adducing as testimony of their labour the hardness of their bodies, and the tough skin which had been embossed on their hands from their incessant work. They were asked concerning the Christ and his kingdom, its nature, origin, and time of appearance, and explained that it was neither of the world nor earthly, but heavenly and angelic, and it would be at the end of the world, when he would come in glory to judge the living and the dead and to reward every man according to his deeds. At this Domitian did not condemn them at all, but despised them as simple folk, released them, and decreed an end to the persecution against the church. But when they were released they were the leaders of the churches, both for their testimony and for their relation to the Lord, and remained alive in the peace which ensued until Trajan. Hegesippus tells this; moreover, Tertullian also has made similar mention of Domitian. “Domitian also once tried to do the same as he, for he was a Nero in cruelty, but, I believe, inasmuch as he had some sense, he stopped at once and recalled those whom he had banished.”

\(^1\) About £35.

\(^2\) The Greek plethron is not quite a quarter of an acre, but is used to represent the Latin *iugerum* = more than half an acre.
EUSEBIUS

Μετά δὲ τῶν Δομετιανοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν 8 κρατήσαντα Νερώνα τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδεξαμένου, καθαρεθῆναι μὲν τὰς Δομετιανοῦ τιμὰς, ἐπανελθεῖν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ οἴκετα μετὰ τοῦ καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἀπολαβεῖν τοὺς ἀδίκους ἐξεληλαμένους ἡ Ῥωμαίων σύγκλητος βουλή ψηφίζεται· ἱστοροῦσιν οἱ γραφὴ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους παραδόντες. τότε δὴ οὖν καὶ τὸν 9 ἀπόστολον Ἰωάννην ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον φυγῆς τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐφέσου διατριβήν ἀπεληφθέναι ὁ τῶν παρ᾿ ἡμῖν ἀρχαίων παραδίδωσι λόγος.

XXI. Μικρῶ δὲ πλέον ἐνιαυτὸ βασιλεύσαντα Νερώνα διαδέχεται Τραϊανός· οὗ δὴ πρῶτον ἔτος ἦν ἐν ὧ τῆς κατ᾿ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παροικίας Ἀβίλων δέκα πρὸς τρισιῶν ἔτεσιν ἡγησάμενον διαδέχεται Κέρδων· τρίτος οὖτος τῶν αὐτῶν μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον Ἀντιοχοῦ προέστη. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ῥωμαίων εἰς ἐτοί Κλήμης ἡγεῖτο, τρίτον καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπέχων τῶν τῇδε μετὰ Παύλου τε καὶ Πέτρου ἐπισκοπευσάντων βαθμῶν. Λίνος δὲ ὁ πρῶτος ἦν καὶ μετ᾿ αὐτὸν Ἀνέγκλητος.

XXII. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπ᾿ Ἀντιοχείας Εὐδούου πρῶ-1 του καταστάντων δεύτεροι εἰς τοὺς δηλουμένους Ἰγνά- τους ἐγνωρίζετο. Συμμεῖων ὅμοιως δεύτεροι μετὰ τὸν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἄδελφον τῆς ἐν Ἰεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίας κατὰ τούτους τὴν λειτουργίαν εἶχεν.

XXIII. Ἐπὶ τούτους κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐτὶ τῷ βίῳ 1 περιελεύθεροις αὐτὸς ἐκάνεις ὃν ἡγάπα ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἀπόστολος ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐναγγελιστὴς Ἰωάννης τὰς αὐτῶθι διεύθεν ἐκκλησίας, ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον μετὰ τὴν Δομετιανοῦ τελευτήν ἐπανελθόν την φυγῆς. ὅτι δὲ εἰς τούτους τῷ βίῳ περιῆρα, ἀπόχρη διὰ δύο 2 πιστῶσασθαι τὸν λόγον μαρτύρων, πιστοὶ δὲ ἐν εἰς ὁμοτον τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς προσβεβευστές ὀρθο-240

John 13, 23; 19, 26; 21, 7
After Domitian had reigned fifteen years, Nerva succeeded. The sentences of Domitian were annulled, and the Roman Senate decreed the return of those who had been unjustly banished and the restoration of their property. Those who committed the story of those times to writing relate it. At that time, too, the story of the ancient Christians relates that the Apostle John, after his banishment to the island, took up his abode at Ephesus.

XXI. After Nerva had reigned a little more than a year he was succeeded by Trajan, in whose first year Abilius, after leading the diocese of Alexandria for thirteen years, was succeeded by Cerdo; he was the third in charge of that see after the first, Annianus. At this time Clement was still governing the Romans and he, also, occupied the third place in the list of bishops in Rome after Paul and Peter; Linus was the first and after him Anencletus.

XXII. Moreover, at the time mentioned, Ignatius was famous as the second bishop at Antioch where Evodius had been the first. Likewise at this time, Simeon was second after the brother of our Saviour to hold the ministry of the church in Jerusalem.

XXIII. At this time that very disciple whom Jesus loved, John, at once Apostle and Evangelist, still remained alive in Asia and administered the churches there, for after the death of Domitian, he had returned from his banishment on the island. And that he remained alive until this time may fully be confirmed by two witnesses, and these ought to be trustworthy for they represent the orthodoxy of the

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1 Sept. 18, A.D. 96.  2 Jan. 27, A.D. 98.
EUSEBIUS

Iren. 2, 22, 5

δοξάς, εἰ δὴ τοιοῦτοι Εἰρηναῖος καὶ Κλήμης ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεύς· ὡν ὁ μὲν πρότερος ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν 3
πρὸς τὰς αἱρέσεις ὁδὲ πως γράφει κατὰ λέξιν· "καὶ πάντες οἱ προσβύτεροι μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν
'Ασίαν Ἰώάννη τῷ τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῇ συμβεβλη-
kότες παραδεδωκέναι τὸν Ἰώάννην." παρέμεινεν
γὰρ αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν Τραϊανοῦ χρόνων." 1 καὶ ἐν 4
τρίτῳ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως ταῦτα τοῦτο δήλοι
dιὰ τούτων: "ἀλλὰ καὶ ἣ ἐν Ἑφέσῳ ἐκκλησία ὑπὸ
Παύλου μὲν τεθεμελιωμένη, Ἰωάννου δὲ παραμει-
ναντος αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν Τραϊανοῦ χρόνων, μάρτυς
ἀληθῆς ἔστω τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως."

Ο δὲ Κλήμης ὁμοὶ τὸν χρόνον ἐπισημηνάμενος, 5
καὶ ἰστορίαν ἀναγκαιοτάτην ἀις τὰ καλὰ καὶ
ἐπιφελή φίλων ἄκουεν, προστίθησιν ἐν ὧ "Τίς ὁ
σωζόμενος πλοῦσιος" ἐπέγραψεν αὐτοῦ συγγράμ-
ματι· λαβών δὲ ἀνάγνωσθι ὁδὲ πως ἔχουσαν καὶ
αὐτοῖς τὴν γραφὴν· "ἀκουσόν μέθον οὐ μιθοῦν ἀλλὰ 6
ὅντα λόγον περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου παραδεδο-
μένον καὶ μνήμη πεφυλαγμένον. ἐπειδή γὰρ τοῦ
tυράννου τελευτήσαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νῆσου
μετήλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑφεσον, ἀπήει παρακαλοῦμενος
καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πλησιώδηρα τῶν ἑθνῶν, ὅπου μὲν
ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας
ἀρμόσων, ὅπου δὲ κλήρον ἕνα γε τυνα κληρώσων τῶν
ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σημανομένων. ἐλθὼν οὖν καὶ 7
ἐπὶ τινα τῶν οὐ μακρὰν πόλεων, ὡς καὶ τούνομα
λέγουσιν ένοι, καὶ τάλα ἀναπαύσας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς,
ἐπὶ πᾶσι τῷ καθεστῶτι προσβλέψας ἐπισκόπων,
νεανίσκουν ἰκανόν τῷ σῶματι καὶ τὴν ὁμον ἀστείον
καὶ θερμόν τὴν ψυχὴν ιδίων, τοῦτον ἐφη ' σοι
1 Cf. George Syncellus 653.9-11. 2 Cf. Chron. Pasc. 470.9. 242
church, no less persons than Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria. The former of these writes in one place in the second of his books Against the Heresies, as follows: "And all the presbyters who had been associated in Asia with John, the disciple of the Lord, bear witness to his tradition, for he remained with them until the times of Trajan." And in the third book of the same work he makes the same statement as follows: "Now the church at Ephesus was founded by Paul, but John stayed there until the times of Trajan, and it is a true witness of the tradition of the Apostles."

Clement indicates the same time, and in the treatise to which he gave the title Who is the rich man that is saved, adds a narrative most acceptable to those who enjoy hearing what is fine and edifying. Take and read here what he wrote. "Listen to a story which is not a story but a true tradition of John the Apostle preserved in memory. For after the death of the tyrant he passed from the island of Patmos to Ephesus, and used also to go, when he was asked, to the neighbouring districts of the heathen,¹ in some places to appoint bishops, in others to reconcile whole churches, and in others to ordain some one of those pointed out by the Spirit. He came to one of the cities which were near by (and some tell even its name),² and gave rest in general to the brethren; then, while looking before them all at the bishop who had been appointed, he saw a young man of strong body, beautiful appearance, and warm heart. 'I commend this man,' he said,

¹ ἐθνῶν possibly means "country-people" as opposed to "town-folk."
² According to the Chronicon Paschale it was Smyrna.
παρακατατέθηκαμε μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μάρτυρος, τοῦ δὲ δεχομένου καὶ πάνθυ ὑπισχυουμένου, καὶ πάλιν τὰ αὐτὰ διελέγετο καὶ διεμαρτύρετο. εἶτα ο μὲν ἀπε- 
ήρεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐφεσίου, ο δὲ πρεσβύτερος ἀναλαβὼν 
οὐκ θαμε τὸν παραδοθέντα νεανίσκον ἔτρεφεν, συνεῖχεν, 
ἐθαλπεν, τὸ τελευταῖον ἐφώτισεν. καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ 
ὑφήκεν τῆς πλείονος ἐπιμελείας καὶ παραφυλακῆς, 
ὡς τὸ τέλειον αὐτῷ φυλακτήριον ἐπιστήμης τῆν 
σφαγίδα κυρίον. τῷ δὲ ἀνέσεως πρὸ ὧρας 
λαβομένως προσφείροντα τινες ἤλικες ἄργοι καὶ 
ἀπερρωγότες, ἠθάδες κακών, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν δι' 
ἐστιάσεων πολυτελῶν αὐτὸν ἔπαγοντα, εἰτά ποὺ 
καὶ νῦκτωρ ἐπὶ λωποδυσίαν ἔξιόντες συνεπάγοντα, 
eἰτά τι καὶ μειζον συμπράττειν ἡξίουν· ὁ δὲ κατ' 
ὁλόγον προσευθήσετο, καὶ διὰ μέγεθος φύσεως 
ἐκστάσεις ἔσπερ ἀστομος καὶ εὐρωστος ἢπος ὀρθώς 
ὀδοὺ καὶ τὸν χαλινὸν ἐνδακῶν, μειζόνως κατὰ τῶν 
βαράθρων ἐφέρετο, ἀπογνώσσε ὑ τελέως τὴν ἐν θεῷ 
σωτηρίαν, οὐδὲν ἔτι μικρὸν διενοεῖτο, ἄλλα μέγα τι 
πράξας, ἐπειδήπερ ἀπαξ ἀπολῶλει, ἵνα τοῖς ἄλλοις 
pαθέσιν ἡξίου. αὐτοὺς δὴ τούτους ἀναλαβὼν καὶ 
ληστήριον συγκροτήσας, ἐτομος λήσταρχος ἢν, 
βιαστάτους μαυφωνώτατος χαλεπώτατος. χρόνος 
ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ τινος ἐπιπεσοῦσης χρείας ἀνακαλοῦσι 
tον Ἰωάννην. ὁ δὲ ἑπεί τὰ ἄλλα ὄν χάριν ἤκεν 
catestήσατο, ἄγε δὴ ἔφη ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, τὴν 
παραθήκην ἀπόδοσ ἦμιν, ἢν ἐγὼ τε καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς 
σοι παρακατεθέμεθα ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἢς προ- 
καθέξη, μάρτυρος. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξεπλάγη, 
χρήματα οἰόμενος, ἀπερ οὐκ ἔλαβεν, συκοφαντεί- 
σθαι, καὶ οὐτε πιστεύειν εἶχεν ὑπὲρ οὐκ οὐκ 
eἶχεν, 244
'to you with all diligence in the face of the church, and with Christ as my witness.' The bishop received him, and promised everything, and the same conversations and protestations were used. John then returned to Ephesus and the presbyter took to his house the young man entrusted to him, brought him up, looked after him, and finally baptized him. After this he relaxed his great care and watchfulness, because he had set upon him the seal of the Lord as the perfect safeguard. But some idle and dissolute youths, familiar with evil, corrupted him in his premature freedom. First they led him on by expensive feasts, then they started out at night for robbery and took him with them, then they urged him to greater crimes. He gradually became accustomed to this, and like an unbroken and powerful horse starting from the straight way and tearing at the bit, rushed all the more to the precipice because of his natural vigour. Finally he renounced salvation from God; and now he planned nothing small, but, having perpetrated some great crime, since he was ruined once for all, accepted the same lot as the others. He collected them and formed a band of brigands and was himself a born chief, excelling in violence, in murder, and in cruelty. Time went on and some necessity arose to summon John. When he had arranged the rest of his mission John said, 'Come now, bishop, pay me back the deposit which Christ and I left with you, with the church, over which you preside, as witness.' The bishop was at first amazed, thinking that he was being blackmailed for money which he had not received. He could neither show his faithfulness in

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1 Immediately above he is called a bishop.
οὔτε ἀπιστεῖν Ἰωάννην· ὅς δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκουν ἐπεν ἀπαίτω καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, στενάξας κατώθεν ὁ πρεσβύτης καὶ τι καὶ ἐπι-
δακρύσας, ἑκεῖνος ἐφη τέθυηκεν· 'πῶς καὶ τίνα θάνατον; 'θεώ τέθυηκεν ἐπεν ἀπέβη γὰρ
πονηρός καὶ ἐξώλης καὶ, τὸ κεφάλαιον, λήπτης, καὶ
νῦν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸ ὅρος κατείληφεν μεθ' ὁμοίου στρατιωτικοῦ.' καταρρηξάμενος τὴν ἐσθη-
τα ὁ ἀπόστολος καὶ μετὰ μεγάλης οἰμωγῆς πληξά-
μενος τὴν κεφάλην, 'καλὸν γε ἐφη 'φύλακα τῆς τάδελφου ψυχῆς κατέλυην. ἀλλ' ἵππος ἦδη
μοι παρέστω, καὶ ἥγεμον γενέσθω μοι τις τῆς
ὀδοῦ.' ἦλαυνεν, ὦσπερ εἰχεν, αὐτόθεν ἀπὸ τῆς
ἐκκλησίας. ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ χωρίον, ὑπὸ τῆς
προφυλακῆς τῶν ληστῶν ἄλισκεται, μήτε φεύγων
μήτε παρατιθομένος, ἀλλὰ βοῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτ ἐλη-
λυθα, ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα ὑμῶν ἀγάγετε με· ὃς τέως, ὦ
ωσπερ ὑπελίστο, ἀνέμενεν, ὡς δὲ προσιόντα ἐγνώ-
ρισε τὸν Ἰωάννην, εἰς φυγὴν αἰδευθεὶς ἐτράπετο.
ὁ δὲ ἐδίωκεν ἀνὰ κράτος, ἐπιλαθόμενος τῆς ἡλικίας
τῆς ἐαυτοῦ, κεκραγώς 'τι μὲ φεύγεις, τέκνον, τὸν
σαυτοῦ πατέρα, τὸν γυμνόν, τὸν γέροντα; ἔλεγον
με, τέκνον, μὴ φοβοῦ· 'έχεις ἐτὶ ζωῆς ἐλπίδας.
ἐγὼ Χριστῷ λόγων δώσω ὑπὲρ σοῦ· ἂν δὲ, τὸν
sonian θάνατον ἐκὼν ὑπομενῶ, ὡς ὁ κύριος τὸν ὑπὲρ
ἡμῶν· ὑπὲρ σοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀντιδόσω τὴν ἐμὴν.
στήθη, πέστευσον. Χριστός με ἀπέστειλεν.' ὁ δὲ 1
άκούσας, πρῶτον ἔστη μὲν κἀκεως βλέπων, εἶτα
ἐρρίψεν τὰ ὕπλα, εἶτα τρέμων ἐκλαυεν πικρῶς·
προσέλθοντα δὲ τὸν γέροντα περιέλαβεν, ἀπολογού-
μενος ταῖς οἰμωγαῖς ὡς ἐδύνατο καὶ τοῖς δάκρυσι
βαπτιζόμενος ἐκ δευτέρου, μόνην ἀποκρύπτων τὴν
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what he had never had, nor could he fail John. But when John said, 'I ask back the young man and the soul of the brother,' the old man groaned deeply and shedding tears, said, 'He has died.' 'How and with what death?' 'He has died to God,' he said, 'for he turned out wicked and abandoned and finally a brigand, and now instead of the church he has taken to the mountains with an armed band of men like himself.' Then the apostle rent his garments and beat his head with great lamentation. 'Well,' he said, 'it was a fine guardian whom I left for the soul of our brother. But let me have a horse and some one to show me the way.' So he rode, just as he was, straight from the church. When he came to the place he was seized by the sentinel of the brigands and neither fled nor made excuses, but called out, 'This is why I am come; take me to your leader.' The leader waited for him, armed as he was, but when he recognized John on his approach, he turned and fled in shame. But John pursued with all his might, forgetting his age and calling out, 'Why do you run away from me, child, your own father, unarmed and old? Pity me, child, do not fear me! You have still hope of life. I will account to Christ for you. If it must be, I will willingly suffer your death, as the Lord suffered for us; for your life, I will give my own. Stay, believe; Christ sent me.' When he heard this he first stood looking down, then he tore off his weapons, then he began to tremble and to weep bitterly. He embraced the old man when he came up, pleading for himself with lamentations as best he could, baptized a second time in his tears, but his right
δεξιάν. ο δ' ἐγγυώμενος, ἐπομνύμενος ὡς ἀφεσιν 191
αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ήφηται, δεόμενος, γονυ-
πετῶν, αὐτὴν τὴν δεξιάν ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς μετανοίας
κεκαθαρμένην καταφιλῶν, ἔπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπ-
ανήγαγεν, καὶ δαμιλέσαι μὲν εὐχαίς ἐξαυτοῦμενος,
συνεχέσι δὲ νηστείας συναγωνιζόμενος, ποικίλαις δὲ
σειρῇς λόγων κατεπάδων αὐτοῦ τὴν γνώμην, οὐ
πρότερον ἀπήλθεν, ὡς φασιν, πρὸ αὐτὸν ἐπιστῆσαι
τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, διδοὺς μέγα παράδειγμα μετανοίας
ἀληθινῆς καὶ μέγα γνώρισμα παλιγγενεσίας, τρό-
παιον ἀναστάσεως βλεπομένης.’’ 1 ταῦτα τοῦ
Κλήμεντος, ἱστορίας ὧμοι καὶ ὦφελείας τῆς τῶν
ἐντευξόμενων ἔνεκεν, ἐνταθά μοι κείσθω.

XXIV. Φέρε δὲ, καὶ τούδε τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὰς
αναντιρρήτους ἐπισημηνώμεθα γραφάς. καὶ δὴ
tὸ κατ’ αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον ταῖς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν
dιεγνωσμένον ἐκκλησίας, πρῶτον ἀνωμολογήσων
ὅτι γε μὴν εὐλόγως πρὸς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἑν τετάρτῃ
μοίρᾳ τῶν ἄλλων τριῶν κατείλεκται, ταύτῃ ἄν
γένοιτο δῆλον. οἱ θεοτέσσερι καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς
θεοπρεπεῖς, φημὶ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοὺς ἀποστόλους,
tὸν βίον ἀκρως κεκαθαρμένου καὶ ἀρετή πάση ὑπὸ
ψυχῶν κεκοσμημένου, τὴν ἀδιεσθόν ἰδιωτεύσεως,
tῇ γε μὴν πρὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος αὐτοῖς δεδωρημένη
θεία καὶ παράδοξοποιῶ δυνάμει χαράσοντες, τὸ μὲν
ἐν πειθὼ καὶ τέχνῃ λόγῳ τὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου
μαθήματα πρεσβεύειν οὔτε ἤδεσαι οὔτε ἐνεχείρουν,
tῇ δὲ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος τοῦ συνεργοῦντος αὐτοῖς
ἀποδείξεις καὶ τῇ δι’ αὐτῶν συνετολομένη δομμα-
τουργῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δυνάμει μόνη χρώμενοι, τῆς
tῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας τὴν γνώσιν ἐπὶ πάσαν

1 Cf. George Syncellus 653. 12-654. 16.

Acts 4, 13
2 Cor. 11
1 Cor. 2, 4

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hand he kept back. But John assured him by pledges and protestations that he had found forgiveness for him with the Saviour, led him back, prayed and kneeled and kissed that right hand as though cleansed by his repentance. He brought him to the church, he prayed with many supplications, he joined with him in the struggle of continuous fasting, he worked on his mind by varied addresses and did not leave him, so they say, until he had restored him to the church, and thus gave a great example of true repentance and a great testimony of regeneration, the trophy of a visible resurrection." These remarks of Clement may be quoted both for the sake of the narrative and the edification of those who shall read them.

XXIV. But come, let us indicate the undoubted writings of this Apostle.¹ Let the Gospel according to him be first recognized, for it is read in all the churches under heaven. Moreover, that it was reasonable for the ancients to reckon it in the fourth place after the other three may be explained thus. Those inspired and venerable ancients, I mean Christ's Apostles, had completely purified their life and adorned their souls with every virtue, yet were but simple men in speech. Though they were indeed bold in the divine and wonder-working power given them by the Saviour, they had neither the knowledge nor the desire to represent the teachings of the Master in persuasive or artistic language, but they used only the proof of the Spirit of God which worked with them, and the wonder-working power of Christ which was consummated through them. Thus they announced the knowledge of the Kingdom of Heaven

¹ John.
κατήγγελλον τὴν οἰκουμένην, σπουδῆς τῆς περὶ τὸ λογογραφεῖν μικρὰν πουόμενοι φροντίδα. καὶ
tοῦτ' ἔπραττον ἀτε μείζονι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπον
ἐξυπηρετούμενοι διακοinic. ὁ γοῦν Παῦλος πάν-
tων ἐν παρασκευῇ λόγων δυνατώτατος νοήμασιν τε
κανότατος γεγονός, οὐ πλέον τῶν βραχυτάτων
ἐπιστολῶν γραφῆ παραδέωκεν, καταὶ μυρία γε καὶ
ἀπόρρητα λέγειν ἔχων, ἀτε τῶν μέχρις οὐρανοῦ
tρίτου θεωρημάτων ἐπιφαύσας ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τε τὸν
θεοπροσπή παράδεισιον ἀναρπασθείς καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε
ῥημάτων ἀρρήτων ἀξιωθείς ἐπακούσα. οὐκ ἀπειροὶ
mὲν οὖν ὑπῆρχον τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ λοςοὶ
tοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν φοιτηταί, δόδεκα μὲν ἀπόστολοι,
ἐβδομήκοντα ἐκ μαθηταί, ἀλλοὶ τε ἐπὶ τούτων
μυρίοι· ὦμοις δ' οὖν ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν τοῦ κυρίου
dιατριβῶν ὑπομνήματα Μαθαίος ἡμῖν καὶ Ἰωάν-
νης μόνον καταλελοίπασιν· οὐς καὶ ἐπάνιγκες ἐπὶ
τὴν γραφὴν ἐλθεῖν κατέχει λόγοι. Μαθαίος τε ἔ
γαρ πρότερον Ἑβραίοις κηρύξας, ὡς ἡμελεῖν καὶ ἐφ'
ἐτέρους ίεῖαι, πατρίῳ γλώττῃ γραφῆ παραδοὺς το
κατ' αὐτοῦ εὐαγγέλιον, τὸ λείπον τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσία
tούτως ἀφ' ὤν ἐστέλλετο, διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἀπεπλη-
ρου. ἢδη δὲ Μάρκου καὶ Λουκᾶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοῦν
eὐαγγελίων τὴν ἐκδοσὺν πεποιημένων, Ἰωάννην
φασὶ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἀγράφῳ κεχρημένον κηρύ-
ματι, τέλος καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἐλθεῖν τοῦδε χάριν
αὐτίοις. τῶν προαναγραφέντων τριῶν εἰς πάντας
ηδὴ καὶ εἰς αὐτοῦ διαδεδομένων, ἀποδεξασθαί μὲν
φασιν, ἀληθείαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιμαρτυρήσαντα, μόνην δὲ
ἀρα λείπεσθαι τῇ γραφῆ τὴν περὶ τῶν ἐν πρώτοις
καὶ κατ' ἀρχὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ
πεπραγμένων διήγησιν. καὶ ἀληθῆς γε ὁ λόγος. 8
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to all the world and cared but little for attention to their style. And this they did inasmuch as they were serving a greater, superhuman ministry. Thus Paul, the most powerful of all in the preparation of argument and the strongest thinker, committed to writing no more than short epistles, though he had ten thousand ineffable things to say, seeing that he had touched the vision of the third heaven, had been caught up to the divine paradise itself, and was there granted the hearing of ineffable words. Nor were the other pupils of our Saviour without experience of the same things,—the twelve Apostles and the seventy disciples and ten thousand others in addition to them. Yet nevertheless of all those who had been with the Lord only Matthew and John have left us their recollections, and tradition says that they took to writing perforce. Matthew had first preached to Hebrews, and when he was on the point of going to others he transmitted in writing in his native language the Gospel according to himself, and thus supplied by writing the lack of his own presence to those from whom he was sent, and Mark and Luke had already published the Gospels according to them, but John, it is said, used all the time a message which was not written down, and at last took to writing for the following cause. The three gospels which had been written down before were distributed to all including himself; it is said that he welcomed them and testified to their truth but said that there was only lacking to the narrative the account of what was done by Christ at first and at the beginning of the preaching. The story is
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tous treis gouv euaggelistatas synideiv parostrion mona ta meta twn en tw deisimotirmoi 'Iowanou tou bapstistou kathierxen ef' ena eniautoi pepragmena tw swthri synygegrafoitas auto te tout episimh- namenos kat arxas tis auton istoriais. meta 9 gouv twn testaraakontahmeron ynestein kai ton epit taunie peirasmnon ton chrnon tis idias garphi de men Mathaios dhoi legov 'akousas de oti 'Iowanis parerdethi, anexorhseun' apo tis 'Ioudaias 'eis twn Galilaian,' o de 'Ioukos osatois 'meta de te paradothnai' fhosin 'Iowanin 'elthen 'Ioseous eis twn Galilaian,' kai o 'Loukas de prin arxasi tou twn 'Ioseou praxeoun, parapleniws epitheis, faskwn ws ara prosthies 'Hrphi osis diaprapzato ponnrois, 'katekleise ton 'Iowanin en fylakhi.'

paraklhentei de ou einai fasi ton aposolov 'Iowanin ton upo twn protereon euangge- livon parasiwptheventa chrnon kai ta kata tou- ton pepragmena twn swthri (tauta de hyn ta pro- tis tou bapstistou kadeirexew) tis kai auton euanggelion paradoynai, auton te tout epitse- mhnasthai, tote men fhisaata 'taunie arxhini
epoithen twn paradoxeon ou 'Ioseous,' tote de
mhnomenasthai tou bapstistou metazu twn 'Ioseou
praxeoon ws eti tiste bapiixonontos en Aiwnw egign

tou 'Salleum, safosis te touto dhlon en twn legein
ouw gary hyn 'Iowanis beblhmenos eis fylakei,
osti de men 'Iowanis t' tou kat' auton euag-

gelion garphi ta mhdetw tou bapstistou eis fylakein
beblhmenon pro sw tou Khrstou praxheventa para-
didwsw, o de loipoi treis euaggelios tis meta
twn eis to deisimotirmio kathierxen tou bapstistou

Matt. 14, 12
Mark 1, 14
Luke 3, 19, 20
John 2, 11
John 3, 23, 24

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surely true. It is at least possible to see that the three evangelists related only what the Saviour did during one year after John the Baptist had been put in prison and that they stated this at the beginning of their narrative. At any rate, after the forty days' fast, and the temptation which followed Matthew fixes the time described in his own writing by saying that "hearing that John had been betrayed, he retreated" from Judaea "into Galilee." Similarly Mark says, "and after John was betrayed Jesus came into Galilee." And Luke, too, makes a similar observation before beginning the acts of Jesus saying that Herod added to the evil deeds which he had done by "shutting up John in prison." They say accordingly that for this reason the apostle John was asked to relate in his own gospel the period passed over in silence by the former evangelists and the things done during it by the Saviour (that is to say, the events before the imprisonment of the Baptist), and that he indicated this at one time by saying, "this beginning of miracles did Jesus," at another by mentioning the Baptist in the midst of the acts of Jesus as at that time still baptizing at Aenon near Salem, and that he makes this plain by saying, "for John was not yet cast into prison." Thus John in the course of his gospel relates what Christ did before the Baptist had been thrown into prison, but the other three evangelists narrate the events after the imprisonment of the Baptist. If


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μημονεύουσων· οἷς καὶ ἐπιστήσαντι οὐκέτ᾿ ἂν ἔνοχοι διαφωνεῖν ἀλλήλους τὰ εὐαγγέλια τῷ τὸ μὲν κατὰ Ἰωάννην τὰ πρῶτα τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πράξεων περιέχειν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τὴν ἔπε τέλει τοῦ χρόνου αὐτῶ γεγενημένην ἱστορίαν· εἰκότως δ᾿ οὖν τὴν μὲν τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἦμων γενεαλογίαν ἀτε Ματθαίω καὶ Λουκᾶ προγραφεῖσαν ἀποστοπήσας τὸν Ἰωάννην, τῆς δὲ θεολογίας ἀπάρξασθαι ὡς ἂν αὐτῶ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος οἷα κρείττων παραπεφυλαγμένης.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἦμων περὶ τῆς τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου γραφῆς εἰρήνηθω, καὶ τῆς κατὰ Μάρκουν δὲ ἡ γενομένη αὐτία ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ἦμων δεδήλωται· ὁ δὲ Λουκᾶς ἀρχόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ κατ᾿ αὐτὸν 15 συγγράμματος τὴν αὐτίαν προϋθηκεν δι᾿ ἐν πεποίηται τὴν σύνταξιν, δηλὼν ὡς ἄρα πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων προπετέστερον ἐπιτετθεὶκτον δὴγγησιν ποιήσασθαι ὅν αὐτὸς πεπληροφόρητον λόγων, ἀναγκαῖος ἀπαλλάττων ἦμας τῆς περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀμφηρίστου ὑπολήψεως, τὸν ἀσφαλῆ λόγον ὅν αὐτὸς ἱκανὸς τῆν ἀληθείαν κατειλήφη ἐκ τῆς ἀμα Παύλου συνουσίας τε καὶ διατριβῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων ὀμηλίως ωφελημένος, διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου παρέδωκεν εὐαγγελίου. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἡμεῖς περὶ τούτων· οἰκείωτερον δὲ κατὰ καιρὸν διὰ τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων παραθέσεως τὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρημένα πειρασόμεθα δηλώσαι.

Τῶν δὲ Ἰωάννου γραμμάτων πρὸς τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ καὶ ἡ προτέρα τῶν ἐπιστολῶν παρὰ τοῖς νῦν καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀναμφίλεκτος ὀμολογηται, ἀντιληγοῦνται δὲ αἱ λοιπαὶ δύο, τῆς δ’ Ἀποκαλύψεως εἰς

1 The exact meaning of this word in Luke’s preface was
this be understood the gospels no longer appear to disagree, because that according to John contains the first of the acts of Christ and the others the narrative of what he did at the end of the period, and it will seem probable that John passed over the genealogy of our Saviour according to the flesh, because it had been already written out by Matthew and Luke, and began with the description of his divinity since this had been reserved for him by the Divine Spirit as for one greater than they.

The above must suffice us concerning the writing of the Gospel according to John, and the cause for that according to Mark has been explained above. Luke himself at the beginning of his treatise prefixed an account of the cause for which he had made his compilation, explaining that while many others had somewhat rashly attempted to make a narrative of the things of which he had himself full knowledge, he felt obliged to release us from the doubtful propositions of the others and related in his own gospel the accurate account of the things of which he had himself firmly learnt the truth from his profitable intercourse and life with Paul and his conversation with the other apostles. This must suffice us for the present, but at the proper time we will endeavour to explain by citation from the ancients what has been said on the point by others.

Of the writings of John in addition to the gospel the first of his epistles has been accepted without controversy by ancients and moderns alike but the other two are disputed, and as to the Revelation there probably as obscure in the fourth century as it is to us; but the “himself” in the Greek seems to imply that Eusebius thought that Luke was contrasting his own “full” knowledge with the imperfect efforts of his predecessors.
Εὐσεβίου ὁ ἐν Σιγεῖ, ἁγιασμένος ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰς δηλωθείσας τῆς κανόνης διαθήκης γραφάς. καὶ δὴ τακτέον ἐν πρώτοις τὴν ἀγίαν τῶν εὐαγγελίων τετρακτύν, οἷς ἔπεται ἡ τῶν Πράξεων τῶν ἀποστόλων γραφῆ. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὰς Παύλου καταλεκτέον ἐπιστολάς, αὐτὸς ἔξης τῆς φερομένης. Ἰωάννου προτέραν καὶ ὁμοίως τὴν Πέτρου κυρωτέον ἐπιστολήν. ἐπὶ τούτους τακτέον, εἰ γε φανείη, τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν Ἰωάννου, πέρι ἢς τὰ δόξαντα κατὰ καίρον ἐκθησόμεθα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν ὁμολογομένοις τῶν δ’ ἀντιλεγομένων, γνωρίμως δ’ οὖν ὁμοίως τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἡ λεγομένη Ἰακώβου φέρεται καὶ ἡ Ἰουδαὶ ἡ τε Πέτρου δευτέρα ἐπιστολῆ καὶ ἡ ὀνομαζομένη δευτέρα καὶ τρίτη Ἰωάννου, εἰτε τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ τυχχάνουσαι εἰτέ καὶ ἐτέρου ὁμωνύμου ἐκείνω. ἐν τοῖς νόθοις κατατεθάνθω καὶ τῶν Παύλου Πράξεων ἡ γραφῆ ὁ τε λεγόμενος Πομῆν καὶ ἡ Ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἡ φερομένη Βαρναβᾶ ἐπιστολῆ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι Διδαχὴ ἐτί τε, ὡς ἔφη, ἡ Ἰωάννου Ἀποκάλυψις, εἰ φανείη. ἢν τωσ, ὡς ἔφην, ἀθετοῦσιν, ἐτεροὶ δὲ ἐγκρίνουσιν τοῖς ὁμολογομένοις. ἢδη δὲ ἐν τούτους τινὲς καὶ τὸ καθ’ Ἑβραίους εὐαγγελίων κατέλεξαν, ὃ μάλιστα Ἑβραίως ὁ τὸν Χριστὸν παραδεξάμενον χαίροντοι. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων ἂν εἰη, ἀναγκαῖος δὲ καὶ τούτων ὁμοίως τῶν κατάλογον πεποίημεθα, διακρίνοντες τάς τε κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν παράδοσιν 256
have been many advocates of either opinion up to the present. This, too, shall be similarly illustrated by quotations from the ancients at the proper time.

XXV. At this point it seems reasonable to summarize the writings of the New Testament which have been quoted. In the first place should be put the holy tetrad of the Gospels. To them follows the writing of the Acts of the Apostles. After this should be reckoned the Epistles of Paul. Following them the Epistle of John called the first, and in the same way should be recognized the Epistle of Peter. In addition to these should be put, if it seem desirable, the Revelation of John, the arguments concerning which we will expound at the proper time. These belong to the Recognized Books. Of the Disputed Books which are nevertheless known to most are the Epistle called of James, that of Jude, the second Epistle of Peter, and the so-called second and third Epistles of John which may be the work of the evangelist or of some other with the same name. Among the books which are not genuine must be reckoned the Acts of Paul, the work entitled the Shepherd, the Apocalypse of Peter, and in addition to them the letter called of Barnabas and the so-called Teachings of the Apostles. And in addition, as I said, the Revelation of John, if this view prevail. For, as I said, some reject it, but others count it among the Recognized Books. Some have also counted the Gospel according to the Hebrews in which those of the Hebrews who have accepted Christ take a special pleasure. These would all belong to the disputed books, but we have nevertheless been obliged to make a list of them, distinguishing between those writings which, according to the tradition of
αληθείς καὶ ἀπλάστους καὶ ἀνωμολογημένας γραφὰς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας παρὰ ταύτας, οὐκ ἐνδιαθήκους μὲν ἄλλα καὶ ἀντιλεγομένας, ὡμος δὲ παρὰ πλείστους τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν γινωσκομένας, ἵν' εἰδέναι ἐξομεν αὐτάς τε ταύτας καὶ τὰς ὀνόματι τῶν ἀποστόλων πρὸς τῶν αἱρετικῶν προφερομένας ἦτοι ὧς Πέτρου καὶ Θωμᾶ καὶ Ματθία ἥ καὶ τῶν παρὰ τούτων ἄλλων εὐαγγέλια περιεχούσας ἥ ὡς Ἐνδρέου καὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων πράξεις· ὅν δὲν διδασκόν ἐν συγγράμματι τῶν κατὰ τὰς διαδοχὰς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τις ἀνὴρ εἰς μνήμην ἀγαγεῖν ἡξίωσεν, πόρρω δὲ που καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἐφραίμου παρὰ τὸ ἔθος τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ἐναλλάττει χαρακτήρ, ἢ τε γνώμη καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς φερομένων προαιρεσις πλείστον ὡς τῆς ἀληθοῦς ὁρθοδοξίας ἀπάδουσα, ὅτι δὴ αἱρετικῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀναπλάσματα τυχάνει, σαφῶς παράκτησιν· ὅθεν οὔδ' ἐν νόθοις αὐτὰ κατατάκτεον, ἄλλ' ὡς ἄτοπα πάντῃ καὶ δυσσεβῆ παρακτῆτεου.

Iren. 1, 23. 5

XXVI. Ἰωμεν δὴ λοιπὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξής ἡ ἱστορίαν. Σύμμων τοῦ μάγου Μένανδρος διαδεξάμενος, ὅπλον δεύτερον οὐν χειρὸν τοῦ προτέρου τῆς διαβολικῆς ἐνεργείας ἀποδείκνυτα τὸν τρόπον. ἢν καὶ ὁ ὄντος Σαμαρεύς, εἰς ἄκρον δὲ γοητείας οὐκ ἔλαττον τοῦ διδασκάλου προελθὼν, μείζονος ἐπιδαπεδεύεται τερατολογίας, ἑαυτὸν μὲν ὡς ἀρα εὖ, λέγων, ὅ σωτήρ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνωθέν ποθεν ἐξ ἀοράτων αἰώνων ἀπεσταλμένος σωτηρία, διδάσκοντες δὲ μὴ ἄλλως δύνασθαί τινα καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν κοσμοποιῶν ἄγγελων περιγεννήσθαι, μὴ πρότερον διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτοῦ παραδιδομένης μαγικῆς ἐμπειρίας ἀχθέντα καὶ διὰ τοῦ μεταδιδομένου πρὸς αὐτοῦ
the Church, are true, genuine, and recognized, and those which differ from them in that they are not canonical but disputed, yet nevertheless are known to most of the writers of the Church, in order that we might know them and the writings which are put forward by heretics under the name of the apostles containing gospels such as those of Peter, and Thomas, and Matthias, and some others besides, or Acts such as those of Andrew and John and the other apostles. To none of these has any who belonged to the succession of the orthodox ever thought it right to refer in his writings. Moreover, the type of phraseology differs from apostolic style, and the opinion and tendency of their contents is widely dissonant from true orthodoxy and clearly shows that they are the forgeries of heretics. They ought, therefore, to be reckoned not even among spurious books but shunned as altogether wicked and impious.

XXVI. Let us now continue the narrative. Menaander succeeded Simon Magus and showed himself as a weapon of the devil’s power not inferior to his predecessor. He, too, was a Samaritan, progressed to the highest point of sorcery not less than his master, and abounded in greater wonders. He said of himself that he was the saviour who had been sent from above for the salvation of men from invisible aeons¹ and taught that no one, not even of the angels who made the world, could survive unless they were first rescued through the magic art which was transmitted by him and through the baptism

¹ The Greek word literally means “age,” but in ecclesiastical Greek is sometimes used, as here, of the supernatural beings who form part of Gnostic theology.
βαπτίσματος, οὗ τούς καταξιομεμένους ἀθανασίαν ἀίδιον ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ μεθέξεων τῷ βίῳ, μηκέτι θυγάκοντα, αὐτοῦ δὲ παραμένοντας εἰς τὸ ἄει ἀγήρως τινὰς καὶ ἀθανάτους ἐσομένους. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐκ τῶν Εἰρηναίον διαγγέλοντες βράδυν· καὶ ὁ Ἰουστίνος δὲ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ Σίμωνος μνημονεύσας, καὶ τὴν περὶ τούτου διήγησιν ἐπιφέρει, λέγων: "Μένανδρον δὲ τινα καὶ αὐτὸν Σαμαρέα, τὸν ἀπὸ κώμης Καπαρατταίας, γενόμενον μαθητὴν τοῦ Σίμωνος, οἰστρηθέντα καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν δαμόνων καὶ ἐν Ἄντωνια τενόμενον, πολλοὺς ἐξαπατήσας διὰ μαγικῆς ἀναβάσεως οὐδὲνες· ὃς καὶ τοὺς αὐτῷ ἐπομένους ὡς μὴ ἀποδήμηκους, ἐπεισεν, καὶ νῦν τινὲς εἰσὶν, ἀπ' ἐκεῖνον τούτῳ ὤμολογοῦντες." Ὁ δ' ἁρὰ διαβολικῆς ἐνεργείας διὰ τοῦν τὴν Ἰχστιανῶν προσηγορίαν ὑποδομηνίων τὸ μέγα τῆς θεοσεβείας μυστήριον ἐπὶ μαγεία σπουδάσας διασυναρτά τε δι' αὐτῶν τὰ περὶ ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας καὶ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως ἐκκλησιαστικὰ δόγματα. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν τούτους σωτῆρας ἐπιγραψάμενοι τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀποπεπτώκασιν ἐξίδοσιν ΧΧΧVII. ἄλλους δ' ὁ πονηρὸς δαίμων, τῆς περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ διαθέσεως ἀδυνατῶν ἑκοτείνα, θατεραλήτους εὐρών ἐσφετερίζετο. Ἐβιωναῖοι τούτους οἰκείους ἐπεφήμιζον οἱ πρῶτοι, πτωχῶς καὶ ταπεινῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοξάζοντας. οὕτωι μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ κοινὸν ἤγοιντο, κατὰ προκοπὴν ἠθεοῦ αὐτὸ μόνον ἄνθρωπον δεδικασμένον ἐξ ἀνδρὸς τε κοινωνίας καὶ τῆς Μαρίας γεγενημένον· δεῖν δὲ πάντως αὐτοῖς τῆς νομικῆς θρησκείας ὡς μὴ ἂν διὰ μόνης τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πιστεύως καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν βίου σωθησομένους. ἄλλοι δὲ παρὰ τού·
which he delivered, for those who were vouchsafed
it would obtain a share of eternal immortality in
this life itself, no longer mortal but remaining here,
destined to everlasting and ageless immortality.
This point can also be easily studied from the writings
of Irenaeus. Justin, too, in the same way after
mentioning Simon continues his account of him by
saying, "We also know that a certain Menander,
who also was a Samaritan from the village of Caparattae,
became a disciple of Simon and being similarly
stimulated by the demons appeared in Antioch and
deceived many by magical arts. He persuaded
those who followed him that they would not die,
and there are still some of his followers who believe
this."

It was assuredly at the instigation of the devil
that the name of Christian was adopted by such
sorcerers to calumniate by magic the great mystery
of religion and through them to destroy the teaching
of the Church on the immortality of the soul and the
resurrection of the dead. Those who termed these
Saviours fell from the true hope. XXVII. But others
the wicked demon, when he could not alienate them
from God's plan in Christ, made his own, when he
found them by a different snare. The first Christians
gave these the suitable name of Ebionites because they
had poor and mean opinions concerning Christ. They
held him to be a plain and ordinary man who had
achieved righteousness merely by the progress of his
character and had been born naturally from Mary and
her husband. They insisted on the complete observa-
tion of the Law, and did not think that they would be
saved by faith in Christ alone and by a life in accord-
ance with it. But there were others besides these
τους τῆς αὐτῆς οὖντες προσηγορίαν, τῆν μὲν τῶν εἰρημένων ἐκτοποὺν διεδήδρασκον ἀτοπίαν, ἕκ παρθένον καὶ ἄγιον πνεύματος µὴ ἀρνούµενοι γεγονέναι τῶν κύριων, οὐ µὴν ἐθ’ ὁµοίως καὶ οὗτοι προὔπάρχειν αὐτῶν θεόν λόγον ὄντα καὶ σοφίαν ὁµολογοῦντες, τῇ τῶν προτέρων περιετρέποντο δυσσεβεία, μάλιστα ὅτε καὶ τὴν σωµατικῆν περὶ τὸν νόµον λατρεῖαν ὁµοίως ἑκεῖνος περὶ πεπούθαζον, οὗτοι δὲ τοῦ µὲν ἀποστόλου πάµ-παν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἁρνητέας ἡγούντο εἶναι δεῖν, ἀποστάτην ἀποκαλοῦντες αὐτὸν τοῦ νόµου, εὐαγγελίω δὲ µόνῳ τῷ καθ’ Ἐβραίους λεγοµένῳ χρώµενοι, τῶν λοιπῶν σµικρὸν ἐποιοῦντο λόγον· καὶ τὸ µὲν σάββατον καὶ τὴν ἀλλὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν δ ἀγωγὴν ὁµοίως ἑκεῖνος παρεφύλαττον, ταῖς δ’ αὐτοῖς ἱµέραις ἡµῶν τὰ παραπλήσια εἰς µνήµην τῆς σωτηρίου ἀναστάσεως ἐπέτελουν· οθὲν παρὰ τὴν τοιαύτην ἐγκείρησιν τῆς τοῦτος µετὰ ἐλογχασὶ προσηγορίας, τοῦ Ἐβιωναίων ὀνόµατος τῆς τῆς διανοίας πτωχεῖαν αὐτῶν ὑποφαίνοντος· ταύτη γὰρ ἐπίκλην δ’ πτωχὸς παρ’ Ἐβραίους ὁνοµάζεται.

XXVIII. Κατὰ τοὺς δηλουµένους χρώµους ἐτέ-1 ρας αἱρέσεως ἀρχηγῶν γενέσθαι Κήρυκθον παρει-2 λήψαμεν. Γάιος, οὔ φωνᾶς ἢδη πρότερον παρα-3 τέθειμαι, ἐν τῇ φεροµένῃ αὐτοῦ ζητήσει ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ γράφει·

"Ἀλλὰ καὶ Κήρυκθος ο δὲ ἀποκαλύφεως ὡς ὑπὸ 2 ἀποστόλου µεγάλου γεγραµµένων τερατολογίας ἡµῶν ὡς δὲ ἀγγέλῳ αὐτῶς δεδεγµένας ψευδόµενος ἐπεισάγει, λέγων µετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐπίγεευν 3 εἶναι τὸ βασιλείου τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πάλιν ἐπι-

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who have the same name. These escaped the absurd folly of the first mentioned, and did not deny that the Lord was born of a Virgin and the Holy Spirit, but nevertheless agreed with them in not confessing his pre-existence as God, being the Logos and Wisdom. Thus they shared in the impiety of the former class, especially in that they were equally zealous to insist on the literal observance of the Law. They thought that the letters of the Apostle\(^1\) ought to be wholly rejected and called him an apostate from the Law. They used only the Gospel called according to the Hebrews and made little account of the rest. Like the former they used to observe the sabbath and the rest of the Jewish ceremonial, but on Sundays celebrated rites like ours in commemoration of the Saviour’s resurrection. Wherefore from these practices they have obtained their name, for the name of Ebionites indicates the poverty of their intelligence, for this name means “poor” in Hebrew.\(^2\)

XXVIII. We have received the tradition that at the time under discussion Cerinthus founded another heresy. Gaius, whose words I have quoted before, in the inquiry attributed to him writes as follows about Cerinthus. “Moreover, Cerinthus, who through revelations attributed to the writing of a great apostle, lyingly introduces portents to us as though shown him by angels, and says that after the resurrection the kingdom of Christ will be on earth and that

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\(^1\) That is, Paul.

\(^2\) The word does mean “poor” in Hebrew; but it is not known why it was applied to the Jewish Christians. One guess is as good as another.
θυμίαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ τὴν σάρκα πολιτευμένην δουλεύειν. καὶ ἐξόρος ὑπάρχων ταῖς γραφαῖς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀριθμὸν χιλιοντατείας ἐν γάμῳ ἔορτής, θέλων πλανᾶν, λέγει γίνεσθαι.”

Καὶ Διονύσιος δὲ, ὁ τῆς κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν 3
παροικίας καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν εἰληχῶς, ἐν
dευτέρῳ τῶν Ἔπαγγελμῶν περὶ τῆς Ἰωάννου
Ἀποκάλυψεως εἰπὼν τινὰ ὡς ἐκ τῆς ἀνέκαθεν
παραδόσεως, τοῦ αὐτοῦ μέμνηται ἀνδρὸς τούτου
τοῖς ῥήμασιν:

“Κήρυκθον δὲ, τὸν καὶ τὴν ἀπ’ ἐκείνου κληθεὶς
Κήρυκθον ἀἱρέσιν συντησάμενον, ἀξιώπιστον ἐπιφημίσαι θελήσαντα τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πλάσματι ὅνομα. τούτῳ γὰρ εἶναι τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ 5
τὸ δόγμα, ἐπίγειον ἐσεθαί τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ
βασιλείαν, καὶ ὃν αὐτὸς ὧρέγετο, φιλοσώματος
καὶ πάνω σαρκικός, ἐν τούτῳ ὅνειροπολεῖν ἐσεθαί,
γαστρός καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γαστέρα πλησιμο
ναῖς, τούτῳ ἐστὶ σίτιος καὶ πότιος καὶ γάμος καὶ
δὴ ὃν εὐφημότερον ταῦτα ὑήθη πορείσθαι,
ἑορταῖς καὶ θυσίαις καὶ ἑρείων σφαγαῖς.”

Iren. 1, 26. 1
Ταῦτα Διονύσιος: ὁ δὲ Εἰρηναῖος ἀπορρητοτε
ρας δὴ τινας τοῦ αὐτοῦ ψευδοδοξίας ἐν πρῶτῳ
συγγράμματι τῶν πρὸς τὰς αἱρέσεις προθείς,
ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ καὶ ἱστορίαν οὐκ ἄξιαν λήθης τῇ γραφῇ
παραδέδωκεν, ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως Πολυκάρπου
φάσκων Ἰωάννην τῶν ἀπόστολον εἰσέλθειν ποτὲ
ἐν βαλανείῳ, ὡστε λούσασθαι, γνῶντα δὲ ἐνδο
οῦν τὸν Κήρυκθον, ἀποτιθῆκα τῷ τόπῳ καὶ
ἐκφυγεῖν θύρας, μηδὲ ὑπομείναντα τὴν αὐτὴν
αὐτῷ ὑποδύναι στέγην, ταῦτα δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τοῖς
σὺν αὐτῷ παραινέσαι, φήσαντα “φῦγωμεν, μὴ
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humanity living in Jerusalem will again be the slave of lust and pleasure. He is the enemy of the scriptures of God and in his desire to deceive says that the marriage feast\(^1\) will last a thousand years.” Dionysius, too, who held the bishopric of the diocese of Alexandria in our time, in the second book of his Promises makes some remarks about the Apocalypse of John as though from ancient tradition and refers to the same Cerinthus in these words, “Cerinthus too, who founded the Cerinthian heresy named after him, wished to attach a name worthy of credit to his own invention, for the doctrine of his teaching was this, that the kingdom of Christ would be on earth, and being fond of his body and very carnal he dreamt of a future according to his own desires, given up to the indulgence of the flesh, that is, eating and drinking and marrying, and to those things which seem a euphemism for these things, feasts and sacrifices and the slaughter of victims.”

Dionysius said this and Irenaeus in his first book Against Heresies quoted some of his more abominable errors, and in the third book has committed to writing a narrative, which deserves not to be forgotten, stating how, according to the tradition of Polycarp, the apostle John once went into a bath-house to wash, but when he knew that Cerinthus was within leapt out of the place and fled from the door, for he did not endure to be even under the same roof with him, and enjoined on those who were with him to do the same, saying, “Let us flee, lest the bath-house

\(^1\) This is the obvious sense of the Greek which is, however, clearly corrupt. It would appear that Gaius thought that Cerinthus was the writer of the Apocalypse.
καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον συμπέση, ἔνδον ὄντος Κηρίνθου τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθροῦ."  

XXIX. Ἐπὶ τούτων δὴ τα καὶ ἡ λεγομένη τῶν 1 Νικολαῖτῶν αἱρεσις ἐπὶ σμικρότατον συνέστη χρόνον, ἢς δὴ καὶ ἡ τοῦ 'Ιωάννου 'Ἀποκάλυψις μνημονεύει. οὕτω Νικόλαον ἕνα τῶν ἀμφὶ τῶν Στέφανον διακόνων πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἐνδείων θεραπείᾳ προκεχειρισμένων ἡγούν. ὃ γε μὴν Ἀλέξανδρεὺς Κλήμης ἐν τρίτῳ Στρωματεῖ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ λέξιν ἱστορεῖ: " "Ὡραίαν, φασί, γυναίκα ἔχων οὗτος, μετὰ τὴν 2 ἀνάλημν τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ὀνειδισθεὶς ζηλοτυπίαν, εἰς μέσον ἀγαγῶν τὴν γυναίκα γῆμα τῷ βουλομένῳ ἔπετρεψεν. ἀκολούθων γὰρ εἶναι φασὶ τὴν πράξιν ταύτην ἐκείνη τῇ φωνῇ τῇ ὅτι 'παραχράσθαι τῇ σαρκί δεῖ, καὶ δὴ κατακολούθησαντες τῷ γεγενημένῳ τῷ τε εἰρημένῳ ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀβασανίστως, ἀνέδην ἑκπορευόμενοι οἱ τὴν αἱρεσιν αὐτοῦ μετώντες. πυνθάνομαι δὲ ἐγὼ τὸν Νικόλαον μηδεμία ἐτέρα 3 παρ’ ἢν ἐγγίμα κεχρῆσθαι γυναίκι, τῶν τε ἐκείνου τέκνων τὰς μὲν θηλείας καταγγέλεσαι παρθένους, ἀφθορον δὲ διαμείναν τὸν νόεν. ὃν ὡς εἰρήνων ἀποβολὴ πάθους ἢν ἢ εἰς μέσον τῶν ἀποστόλων τῆς ζηλοτυπίας τεκμερίως γυναικός, καὶ ἡ ἐγκράτεια τῶν περισσουδάστων ἡδονῶν τὸ 'παραχράσθαι τῇ σαρκί' ἐδίδασκεν. οὐ γὰρ, ὁμιλεῖ, ἐβούλετο κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐντολῆν 'ὑστοι κυρίοις δουλεύειν,' ἡδονή καὶ κυρίω. λέγουσι 4 δ’ οὖν καὶ τὸν Μαθιάν οὕτω διδάσκει, σαρκὶ μὲν μάχεσθαι καὶ παραχράσθαι μηδὲν αὐτῇ πρὸς ἡδονῆν ἐνδιδόντα, ψυχὴν δὲ αὔξειν διὰ πίστεως καὶ 266
fall in, for Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is within."

XXIX. At this time, too, there existed for a short time the heresy of the Nicolaïtans of which the Apocalypse of John also makes mention. These claimed Nicolas, one of the deacons in the company of Stephen who were appointed by the Apostles for the service of the poor. Clement of Alexandria in the third book of the Stromata gives the following account of him. "He had, they say, a beautiful wife; but after the ascension of the Saviour he was accused of jealousy by the apostles, and brought her forward and commanded her to be mated to anyone who wished. They say that this action was in consequence of the injunction 'it is necessary to abuse the flesh,' and that by following up what had been done and said with simplicity and without perversion those who follow his heresy lead a life of unrestrained license. But I have learned that Nicolas had nothing to do with any other woman beside her whom he married, and that of his children the daughters reached old age as virgins, and that the son remained uncorrupted. Since this is the case it is clear that the exposure of the wife of whom he was jealous in the midst of the disciples was the abandonment of passion, and that teaching the abuse of the flesh was continence from the pleasures which he had sought. For I think that according to the command of the Saviour he did not wish to serve two masters—pleasure and the Lord. They also say that this was the teaching of Matthias, to slight the flesh and abuse it, yielding nothing to it for pleasure, but to make the soul grow through faith and knowledge."
γνώσεως.” ταύτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς
dηλομένους χρόνους παραβραβεύσαι τὴν ἁλήθειαν
ἐγκεχειρηκότων, λόγου γε μὴν θάττων εἰς τὸ
παντελὲς ἀπεσβηκότων εἰρήσθω.

XXX. Ὅ μέντοι Κλήμης, οὐ τὰς φωνὰς ἁρτίως 1
ἀνέγνωμεν, τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐξῆς διὰ τοὺς
ἀθετοῦντας τὸν γάμον τοὺς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐξ-
ετασθέντας ἐν συζύγιας καταλέγει, φάσκων· "ἡ
καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἀποδοκιμάσουν; Πέτρος
μὲν γὰρ καὶ Φίλιππος ἑπαιδοποιήσαντο, Φίλιππος
δὲ καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἀνδράσιν ἐξεδωκεν, καὶ ὃ γε
Παῦλος οὐκ ὁκνεῖ ἐν τινὶ ἐπιστολῇ τὴν αὐτοῦ
προσαγορεύσαι σύζυγον, ἢν οὐ περιεκόμιζεν διὰ
τὸ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας εὐσταλέσ.” ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτων 2
ἐμνήσθημεν, οὐ λυπεῖ καὶ ἄλλην ἀξιοδύνητον
ἰστορίαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραθέσαι, ἢν ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ
Στρωματεὶ τοῦτον ἱστορῶν ἀνέγραψεν τὸν ἐπόπον·
"φασὶ γοῦν τὸν μακάριον Πέτρον θεασάμενον τὴν
ἐαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἀπαγομένην τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ,
ἡσθήσαι μὲν τῆς κλῆσεως χάριν καὶ τῆς εἰς οἶκον
ἀνακομιδῆς, ἐπιφωνήσαι δὲ εὐ μάλα προτρεπτι-
kῶς καὶ παρακλητικῶς, ἐξ οὖν ματος προσεπτόντα
μέμνησον, ὃ αὐτὴ, τοῦ κυρίου’ τοιοῦτον ἢν
ὁ τῶν μακαρίων γάμος καὶ ἢ τῶν φιλτάτων
tελεία διάθεσις.” καὶ ταύτα δ’, οἰκεία ὄντα τῇ
μετὰ χείρας υποθέσει, ἐνταῦθα μοι κατὰ καιρὸν
κείσθω.

XXXI. Παῦλου μὲν οὖν καὶ Πέτρου τῆς 1
tελευτῆς ὁ τε χρόνος καὶ ὁ τρόπος καὶ πρὸς ἐτι
τῆς μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ βίου τῶν σκηνω-
mάτων αὐτῶν καταθέσεως ὁ χῶρος ἡδὴ πρότερον
ἡμῶν δεδήλωται· τοῦ δὲ Ἰωάννου τὰ μὲν τοῦ 2
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Let this suffice concerning the attempts made during this period to triumph against the truth which were, nevertheless, extinguished for ever more quickly than it takes to tell.

XXX. Clement, whose words we cited recently in the context of the previous quotation, enumerates, on account of those who reject marriage, those of the Apostles who were married, saying, "Or will they disapprove even of the Apostles? For Peter and Philip begat children, and Philip even gave his daughters to husbands, while Paul himself does not hesitate in one of his letters to address his wife whom he did not take about with him in order to facilitate his mission." Since we have made these quotations there is no harm in adducing another memorable narrative of Clement which he wrote down in the seventh book of the Stromata, and narrates as follows: "They say that the blessed Peter when he saw his own wife led out to death rejoiced at her calling and at her return home, and called out to her in true warning and comfort, addressing her by her name, 'Remember the Lord.' Such was the marriage of the blessed and the perfect disposition of those dearest to them." Let this, cognate to the present subject, suffice for the moment.

XXXI. The time and manner of the death of Paul and of Peter, and the place where their corpses were laid after their departure from this life, have been already described by us. The date of the death of

1 Philipp. iv. 3 γνήσιος σύζυγος, 'true yoke-fellow' or 'wife.'
χρόνον ἦδη πως εὑρηται, τὸ δὲ γε τοῦ σκηνώματος 
 αὐτοῦ χωρίων εξ ἐπιστολῆς Πολυκράτους (τῆς 
 δ' ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παρουκίας ἐπίσκοπος οὗτος ἦν) 
 επιδείκνυται, ἢν Οὐίκτορι Ρωμαίων ἐπισκόπῳ 
 γράφων, ὁμοί τε αὐτοῦ καὶ Φιλίππου μνημονεύει 
 τοῦ ἀποστόλου τῶν τε τούτων συγγατέρων ὡς 
 πως. "καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν μεγάλα στοιχεῖα 
 κεκοιμηται· ἀτινὰ ἀναστήσεται τῇ ἑσχάτῃ ἦμέρᾳ 
 τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου, ἐν ᾧ ἔρχεται μετα 
 δόξης εξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀναξιοθείς πάντας τοὺς 
 ἁγίους, Φιλίππου τῶν δωδεκα ἀποστόλων, οὗ 
 κεκοιμηται ἐν Ἰεραπόλει καὶ δύο συγγατέρες 
 αὐτοῦ γεγραμμέναι παρθένοι καὶ ἦ ἐτέρα αὐτοῦ 
 συγγάτη ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι πολυτευσμένη ἐν 
 Ἐφέσῳ ἀναπαύεται· ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης, ὁ ἐπὶ 
 τὸ στῆθος τοῦ κυρίου ἀναπεσὼν, ὅσ' ἐγενήθη 
 ἰερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορεκός καὶ μάρτυς καὶ 
 διδάσκαλος, οὗτος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κεκοιμηται." ταῦτα 
 καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν δε τελευτής· καὶ ἐν τῷ 
 Γαϊῳ δὲ, οὗ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθημεν, διαλόγῳ 
 Πρόκλου, πρὸς ὅν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ζήτησιν, περὶ 
 τῆς Φιλίππου καὶ τῶν συγγατέρων αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς, 
 συνάδων τοῖς ἐκτεθείσιν, οὗτος φησίν: "μετὰ 
 τούτων προφητίδες τέσσαρες αἱ Φιλίππου γεγένη 
 ἐν Ἰεραπόλει τῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν· ὁ τάφος αὐτῶν 
 ἔστω ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ τὸς πατρὸς αὐτῶν." ταῦτα 5 
 μὲν οὕτως· ὁ δὲ Λουκᾶς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι συν 
 ἀποστόλων τῶν Φιλίππου συγγατέρων ἐν Και 
 σαρείᾳ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἁμα τῷ πατρὶ τότε διατρι 
 βουσῶν προφητικοῦ τε χαρίσματος ἥξιωμένων

1 Bk. iii. 23. 4, where Irenaeus, Haer. ii. 22. 5 is quoted to show that John lived until the reign of Trajan:

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John has also been already\(^1\) mentioned, and the place of his body is shown by a letter of Polycrates (he was bishop of the diocese of Ephesus) which he wrote to Victor, bishop of Rome. In this he mentions both John, Philip the apostle,\(^2\) and Philip's daughters as follows: "For great luminaries sleep in Asia, and they will rise again at the last day of the advent of the Lord, when he shall come with glory from heaven and call back all the saints, such as was Philip, one of the twelve apostles, who sleeps at Hierapolis with his two daughters who grew old as virgins and his third daughter\(^3\) who lived in the Holy Spirit and rests in Ephesus. And there is also John, who leaned on the Lord's breast, who was a priest wearing the mitre,\(^4\) and martyr and teacher, and he sleeps at Ephesus." So far concerning their deaths. And in the dialogue of Gaius, which we mentioned a little earlier, Proclus, with whom he was disputing, speaks thus about the death of Philip and his daughters and agrees with what has been stated. "After him the four daughters of Philip who were prophetesses were at Hierapolis in Asia. Their grave is there and so is their father's." So he says. And Luke in the Acts of the Apostles mentions the daughters of Philip who were then living with their father at Caesarea in Judaea and were vouchsafed the gift of prophecy. He says as

\(^1\) Possibly Polycrates has confused Philip the Apostle and Philip the Deacon, and Eusebius did not notice it.

\(^2\) This must be the meaning unless the text be corrupt. The Greek word translated "third" ought to mean "the second of two."

\(^3\) The word πέταλον is used in the LXX. of the "plate" or "diadem" of the High Priest (cf. Exod. xxviii.), but what it means here has never been discovered.
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Acts 21, 8, 9 μνημονεύει, κατὰ λέξιν ὁδὲ πῶς λέγων· "ήλθομεν εἰς Καίσαρέαν, καὶ εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὸν οἶκον Φιλίππου τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ, ὄντος ἐκ τῶν ἔπτα, ἐμείναμεν παρ' αὐτῷ. τούτῳ δὲ ἦσαν παρθένοι θυγατέρες τέσσαρες προφητεύουσαι."

Τὰ μὲν οὖν εἰς ἡμετέραν ἐλθόντα γνώσιν περὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν χρόνων ὃν τε καταλελοίπασιν ἡμῖν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων καὶ τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων μὲν, ὁμως δ' ἐν πλείσταις ἐκκλησίαις παρὰ πολλοῖς δεδημοσιευμένων τῶν τε παντελῶς νόθων καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀλλοτρίων ἐν τούτους διειληφότες, ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἔξης προίωμεν ἱστορίαν.

XXXII. Μετὰ Νέρωνα καὶ Δομετιανὸν κατὰ τούτον οὐ νῦν τους χρόνους ἐξετάζομεν, μερικῶς καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἐξ ἐπαναστάσεως δήμων τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν κατέχει λόγος ἀνακινηθήναι διωγμὸν· ἐν ὧν ἡ Συμεώνα τὸν τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, ὁν δεύτερον καταστήματος ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοποι ἐνδηλώσαμεν, μαρτυρίῳ τὸν βίον ἀναλύσαι παρειλήφαμεν. καὶ τούτου μάρτυς αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος, οὐ διαφοροῖς ἦδη πρότερον ἐχρησάμεθα φωναῖς, Ἡγησιππος· διὸ δὴ περὶ τῶν αἱρετικῶν ἱστοριῶν, ἐπιφέρει δηλῶν ὡς ἄρα ὑπὸ τούτων κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ὑπομείνας κατηγορίαν, πολυτρόπως ὁ δηλούμενος ὡς ἀν Χριστιανὸς ἐπὶ πλεῖσταις αἰκισθεὶς ἡμέραις αὐτὸν τε τὸν δικαστήν καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ μέγιστα καταπλήξας, τῷ τοῦ κυρίου πάθει παραπλήσιον τέλος ἀπηνέγκατο· οὔτε δ' ὁλοκαί ὁ καὶ τοῦ συγγραφέως ἔπακούσαι, αὐτὰ δὲ ταύτα κατὰ λέξιν ὁδὲ πὼς ἱστοροῦτος ἀπὸ τούτων δηλαδὴ τῶν αἱρετικῶν κατηγοροῦσι.
follows: "We came to Caesarea and entered into the house of Philip the Evangelist, one of the seven, and remained with him. And he had four daughters who were prophetesses."

We have now described the facts which have come to our knowledge concerning the Apostles and their times, the sacred writings which they have left us, those books which are disputed yet nevertheless are used openly by many in most churches, and those which are altogether fictitious and foreign to our historic orthodoxy. Let us now continue the narrative.

XXXII. After Nero and Domitian tradition says that under the Emperor whose times we are now describing persecution was raised against us sporadically, in some cities, from popular risings. We have learnt that in it Symeon, the son of Clopas, whom we showed to have been the second bishop of the church at Jerusalem, ended his life in martyrdom. The witness for this is that same Hegesippus, of whom we have already quoted several passages. After speaking of certain heretics he goes on to explain how Symeon was at this time accused by them and for many days was tortured in various manners for being a Christian, to the great astonishment of the judge and those with him, until he suffered an end like that of the Lord. But there is nothing better than to listen to the historian who tells these facts as follows. "Some of these (that
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tives Σίμωνος τοῦ Κλωπᾶ ὡς ὄντος ἀπὸ Δαυίδ καὶ Χριστιανοῦ, καὶ οὕτως μαρτυρεῖ ἐτῶν ὡς ῥῆ ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ὑπατικοῦ 'Αττικοῦ." φησὶν δὲ ὃ αὐτὸς ὡς ἀρα καὶ τοὺς κατηγόροὺς αὐτοῦ, ξητουμένων τότε τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς Ιουδαίων φυλῆς, ὡς ἂν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὄντας ἄλωναι συνέβη. λογισμῷ δ' ἂν καὶ τὸν Συμεώνα τῶν αὐτοπτῶν καὶ αὐτηκόων εἶπον ἂν τις γεγονέναι τοῦ κυρίου, τεκμηρίῳ τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου τῆς αὐτοῦ ζωῆς χρώμενος καὶ τῷ μνημονεύειν τὴν τῶν εὐαγγελιῶν γραφὴν Μαρίας τῆς τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, οὗ γεγονέναι αὐτὸν καὶ πρότερον ὁ λόγος ἐθήλωσεν.

'Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς καὶ ἐτέρους ἀπογόνους ἐνὸς τῶν φερομένων ἀδελφῶν τοῦ σωτῆρος, ὃ ὄνομα 'Ιουώδας, φησίν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιβιώναι βασιλεῖαν μετὰ τὴν ἡδή πρότερον ἱστορηθεὶσαν αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πίστεως ἐπὶ Δομετιανοῦ μαρτυρίαν, γράφει δὲ οὕτως: "ἔρχονται οὖν καὶ προηγοῦνται πάσης ἐκκλησίας ὡς μάρτυρες καὶ ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ γενομένης εἰρήνης βαθείας ἐν πάσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, μένουσι μέχρι Τραϊανοῦ Καίσαρος, καθὼς οὖ ὁ ἐκ θείου τοῦ κυρίου, ὁ προειρημένος Σίμων υἱὸς Κλωπᾶ, συνοφαντηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν αἵρεσεων ὑσαύτως κατηγορηθῆ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ ἐπὶ 'Αττικοῦ τοῦ ὑπατικοῦ. καὶ ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις αἰκιζόμενος ἐμαρτύρησεν, ὡς πάντας ὑπερθαυμάζειν καὶ τὸν ὑπατικὸν πῶς ῥῆ τυχάνων ἑτῶν ὑπέμεινεν, καὶ ἐκελεύσθη σταυρωθῆναι."

'Επὶ τούτων ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ δηηγούμενος τά κατὰ 7

1 The date of Atticus is unknown, but in the Chronicon
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is to say the heretics) accused Simon the son of Clopas of being descended from David and a Christian and thus he suffered martyrdom, being a hundred and twenty years old, when Trajan was emperor and Atticus was Consular.¹" The same writer says that his accusers also suffered arrest for being of the royal house of the Jews when search was made at that time for those of that family. And one would reasonably say that Symeon was one of the eyewitnesses and actual hearers of the Lord on the evidence of the length of his life and the reference in the Gospels to Mary the wife of Clopas whose son the narrative has already shown him to be.

The same writer says that other grandsons of one of the so-called brethren of the Saviour named Judas survived to the same reign after they had given in the time of Domitian the testimony already recorded of them in behalf of the faith in Christ. He writes thus: "They came therefore and presided over every church as witnesses belonging to the Lord's family, and when there was complete peace in every church they survived until the reign of the Emperor Trajan, until the time when the son of the Lord's uncle,² the aforesaid Simon the son of Clopas, was similarly accused by the sects on the same charge before Atticus the Consular. He was tortured for many days and gave his witness, so that all, even the consular, were extremely surprised how, at the age of one hundred and twenty, he endured, and he was commanded to be crucified." Besides this the same writer, explaining the events

Eusebius dates the martyrdom of Symeon in the ninth or tenth year of Trajan (A.D. 106 or 107).

¹ He was the brother of Joseph; see iii. 11. 1.

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τοὺς δηλουμένους, ἐπιλέγει ὡς ἄρα μέχρι τῶν τότε χρόνων παρθένος καθαρὰ καὶ ἀδιάφθορος ἔμεινεν ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἐν ἀδήλῳ που σκότει ὡς εἰ φωλευότων εἰς ἔτε τότε τῶν, εἰ καὶ τινὲς ύπήρχον, παραφθείρειν ἐπιχειροῦντων τὸν ὑγῆ κανόνα τοῦ σωτηρίου κηρύγματος· ὡς δ' ὁ ἱερὸς τῶν ἀπο-στόλων χορὸς διάφορον εἰλήφει του βίου τέλος παρ-εληλύθει τε ἡ γενεὰ ἐκείνη τῶν αὐταῖς ἀκοαῖς τῆς ἐνθέου σοφίας ἐπακούσας κατηξιωμένων, τη-νικάτα τῆς ἀθέου πλάνης ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανεν ἡ σύντασις διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐτεροδιδασκάλων ἀπάτης, οὐ καὶ ἀτε μηδενὸς ἐτι τῶν ἀποστόλων λειπο-μένου, γυμνῇ λοιπὸν ἥδη κεφαλῇ τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας κηρύγματι τῆς ψευδάωνυμον γνῶσιν ἀντικηρύττεων ἐπεχείρουν.

XXXIII. Τοσοῦτος γε μὴν ἐν πλείοσι τόποις ἡ καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπετάθη τότε διωγμός, ὡς Πλύνον Σεκούνδου, ἐπισημότατον ἡγεμόνων, ἐπὶ τῷ πλῆθει τῶν μαρτύρων κινηθέντα, βασιλεῖ κοινώσασθαι περὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἀναρρο-μένων, ἀμα δ' ἐν ταύτῳ μηνύσαι μιθὸν ἀνόσιων μηδὲ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους πράττειν αὐτοὺς κατ-ειληφέναι, πλὴν τό γε ἀμα τῇ ἔως διεγειρομένου τῶν Χριστοῦ θεοῦ δίκην ὡμεν, τὸ δὲ μοιχεύειν καὶ φονεύειν καὶ τὰ συγγενῆ τούτοις ἀδέμιτα πλημμελήματα καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπαγορεῦει πάντα τε πράττειν ἀκολούθως τοῖς νόμοις· πρὸς ἄ τῶν Ἰ τραϊανὸν δόγμα τοιόνδε τεθεικέναι, τὸ Χριστιανῶν φύλον μὴ ἐκζητεῖσθαι μέν, ἐμπεσόν δὲ κολάζεσθαι· δι' οὐ ποσῶς μὲν τοῦ διωγμοῦ σβεσθήναι τὴν ἀπειλὴν σφοδρότατα ἐγκεκριμένην, οὐ χειρὸν γε μὴν τοῖς κακουργεῖν περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐθέλουσιν λείπεσθαι.
of these times, adds that until then the church remained a pure and uncorrupted virgin, for those who attempted to corrupt the healthful rule of the Saviour's preaching, if they existed at all, lurked in obscure darkness. But when the sacred band of the Apostles and the generation of those to whom it had been vouchsafed to hear with their own ears the divine wisdom had reached the several ends of their lives, then the federation of godless error took its beginning through the deceit of false teachers who, seeing that none of the Apostles still remained, barefacedly tried against the preaching of the truth the counter-proclamation of "knowledge falsely so-called."

XXXIII. The persecution which at that time was extended against us in many places was so great that Plinius Secundus, one of the most distinguished governors, was disturbed at the number of the martyrs, and reported to the Emperor the number of those being put to death for the faith, and in the same document mentioned that he understood them to do nothing wicked or illegal except that they rose at dawn to sing to Christ as though a God, and that they themselves forbade adultery, murder and similar terrible crimes, and that they did everything in obedience to the law. In answer to this Trajan issued a decree to the effect that the tribe of Christians should not be sought for but punished when it was met with. By this means the imminent threat of persecution was extinguished to some extent, but none the less opportunities remained to those who wished to harm
εὐσθοῦ ὁπι μὲν τῶν δήμων, ἐσθοῦ ὁπηδὲ καὶ τῶν κατὰ χώρας ἀρχόντων τὰς καθ’ ἡμῶν συσκευαζόμενων ἐπιβουλάς, ὡς καὶ ἀνευ προφανῶν διωγμῶν μερικοὺς κατ’ ἐπαρχίαν ἐξάπτεσθαι πλείους τε τῶν πιστῶν διαφόρως ἐναγωνίζεσθαι μαρτυρίοις. ἐιληπται δ’ ἡ ἱστορία ἐξ ἦς ἀνώτερον διδηλώκαμεν τοῦ Τερτυλλιανοῦ Ρωμαϊκῆς ἀπολογίας, ᾧ ἡ ἐρμηνεία τούτων ἔχει τὸν τρόπον "καίτοι εὑρήκαμεν καὶ τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπιζητημένην κεκωλυμένην. Πλίνιος γὰρ Σεκοῦνδος ἡγούμενος ἐπαρχίου κατακράνας Χριστιανοὺς τινας καὶ τῆς ἀξίας ἐκβαλών, ταραξθεὶς τῷ πλήθει, διὸ ἢγνώει τι αὐτῷ λοιπὸν εἰς πρακτέον, Τραϊάνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀνεκονώσατο λέγων ἔξω τοῦ μὴ βούλεσθαι αὐτῶς εἰδωλολατρεῖν οὐδὲν ἀνόσιον ἐν αὐτοῖς εὑρηκέαν. ἐμήνυεν δὲ καὶ τούτο, ἀνίστασθαι ἔωσθεν τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς καὶ τὸν Χριστόν θεοῦ δίκην ὑμνεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἐπιστήμης αὐτῶν διαφυλάσσειν κωλύεσθαι φονεύειν, μυχεύειν, πλεονεκτεῖν, ἀποστερεῖν καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὁμοία. πρὸς ταύτα ἀντέγραψεν Τραϊάνος τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν φυλὸν μὴ ἐκζητεῖσθαι μὲν, ἐμπεσοῦν δὲ κολαζοῦσθαι." καὶ ταύτα μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

XXXIV. Τῶν δ’ ἐπὶ Ρώμης ἐπισκόπων ἔτει 1 τρίτῳ τῆς τοῦ προερημενοῦ βασιλέως ἀρχῆς Κλήμης Εὐαρέστῳ παραδόσει τὴν λειτουργίαν ἀναλύει τὸν βίον, τὰ πάντα προστάσι έτεσιν ἐννέα τῆς τοῦ θείου λόγου διδασκαλίας.

XXXV. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Συμεώνος τῶν δηλωθέντα 1 τελειωθέντος τρόπον, τῆς καὶ Ἰεροσολύμων ἐπισκοπῆς τῶν ἄρονον Ἰουδαίων τῶν ὄνομα Ἰουστος, μυρίων ὀσων ἐκ περιτομῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν την...
us. Sometimes the populace, sometimes even the local authorities contrived plots against us, so that with no open persecution partial attacks broke out in various provinces and many of the faithful endured martyrdom in various ways. The narrative has been taken from the Latin apology of Tertullian mentioned above of which the translation is as follows: “Yet we found that this attempt against us was also prevented, for the governor of the province, Pliny Secundus, after condemning certain Christians and depriving them of their rank, was troubled at their number and, not knowing what to do in the future, communicated with the Emperor Trajan, saying that beyond their unwillingness to offer sacrifice to idols, he had found nothing wicked in them. He also mentioned this, that the Christians arose at dawn and sang a hymn to Christ as a God, and in order to preserve their teaching forbade murder, adultery, covetousness, robbery, and suchlike. To this Trajan sent a rescript that the tribe of Christians should not be sought out but punished if met with.” Such were the events at that time.

XXXIV. In the third year of the afore-mentioned emperor, Clement handed over the ministry of the bishops of Rome to Evarestos and departed this life, having been in charge of the teaching of the divine word for nine years.

XXXV. Moreover, when Symeon suffered martyrdom in the manner already described a certain Jew named Justus, who was one of the many thousands of the circumcision who by that time had believed on

1 The Greek word means knowledge which is meaningless and clearly a mistaken translation of the Latin. Tertullian wrote disciplinam.
καῦτα πεπιστευκότων εἰς καὶ αὐτὸς ὃν, δια-
δέχεται.

XXXVI. Διέπρεπέν γε μὴν κατὰ τούτους ἐπὶ τῆς Ἁσίας τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁμιλητῆς Πολύκαρπος, τῆς κατὰ Σμύρναν ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τῶν ἀυτοπτῶν καὶ ὑπηρέτῶν τοῦ κυρίου τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐγκε-
χειρομένων· καθ’ ὃν ἐγνωρίζετο Παπίας, τῆς ἐν 2 Ἱεραπόλει παρουκίας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίσκοπος, δ’ ἐν τε παρὰ πλείστοις εἰς ἐτὶ νῦν διαβόθος Ἰγνάτιος, τῆς κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν Πέτρου διαδοχῆς δεύτερος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς κεκληρωμένος. λόγος δ’ ἤχει 3 τοῦτον ἀπὸ Συρίας. ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἀναπεμφθέντα, θηρίων γενέσθαι βορὰν τῆς εἰς Ἑροττόν μαρτυρίας ἐνεκεν· καὶ δὴ τὴν δι’ Ἁσίας 4 ἀνακομιδὴν μετ’ ἐπιμελεστάτης φρουρῶν φυλακῆς ποιούμενος, τὰς κατὰ πόλιν αἷς ἐπεδῆμει, παρουκίας ταῖς διὰ λόγων ὁμιλίας τε καὶ προτροπαῖς ἐπιρρο-
ωνύς, ἐν πρώτοις μάλιστα προφυλάττεσθαι τὰς αἱρέσεις ἀρτὶ τότε πρώτον ἐπιπολαξοῦσας παρῆμεν προὔτρεπεν τε ἄπριξ ἤχεσθαι τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως, ἢν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας καὶ ἐγγράφως ἡδ’ μαρτυρόμενος διατυπώθηκαν ἀναγκαίον ἡγεῖτο.

οὕτω δὴ ἡ Ἴν Σμύρνη γενούμενος, ἐνθὰ ὁ Πολύκαρπος 5 ἦν, μίαν μὲν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἐφεσον ἐπιστολήν ἐκκλησία γράφει, ποιούμενος αὐτῆς μνημονεύων Ὀνησίμοιον, ἐτέραν δὲ τῇ ἐν Μαγνησία τῇ πρὸς Μαϊάνδρῳ, ἐνθὰ πάλιν ἐπισκόπου Δαμαὸς μνῆμην πεποίηται, καὶ τῇ ἐν Τράλλεσι δὲ ἄλλην, ἢς ἀρχοντα τότε ὄντα Πολύβιον ἱστορεῖ. πρὸς ταῦ-
τας καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησία γράφει, ἢ καὶ παράκλησιν προτείνει ὡς μὴ παραιτησάμενοι τοῦ μαρτυρίου τῆς ποθομένης αὐτῶν ἀποστερήσαμεν 280

1 Ign. Eph. 21
2. 6
Ign. Magn. 2. 15
Ign. Trall. 1. 12
Ign. Rom. 5
Christ, succeeded to the throne of the bishopric of Jerusalem.

XXXVI. At this time there flourished in Asia Polycarp, the companion of the Apostles, who had been appointed to the bishopric of the church in Smyrna by the eyewitnesses and ministers of the Lord. Distinguished men at the same time were Papias, who was himself bishop of the diocese of Hierapolis, and Ignatius, still a name of note to most men, the second after Peter to succeed to the bishopric of Antioch. The story goes that he was sent from Syria to Rome to be eaten by beasts in testimony to Christ. He was taken through Asia under most careful guard, and strengthened by his speech and exhortation the diocese of each city in which he stayed. He particularly warned them to be on their guard against the heresies which then for the first time were beginning to obtain, and exhorted them to hold fast to the tradition of the Apostles, to which he thought necessary, for safety’s sake, to give the form of written testimony. Thus while he was in Smyrna where Polycarp was, he wrote one letter to the church at Ephesus, mentioning their pastor Onesimus, and another to the church at Magnesia on the Meander (and here, too, he mentioned the bishop Damas), and another to the church in Tralles, of which he relates that Polybius was then the ruler. In addition to these he also wrote to the church at Rome, and to it he extended the request that they should not deprive him of the hope for which he longed by begging him off from his martyrdom. It
1 Cor. 4, 4

ελπίδος· ἐξ ὧν καὶ βραχύτατα εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τῶν εἰρημένων παραθέσθαι ἅξιον. γράφει δὴ οὖν κατὰ λέξιν ἂν ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριωμαχῶ διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, ἐν-δεδεμένος δέκα λεοπάρδοις, ὅ ἐστιν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα, οἱ καὶ ἐνεργετούμενοι χείρονες γίνονται, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι· ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδικαίωμαι. ὅναμην τῶν ῥηήσεων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἐτοίμων, ἀ καὶ εὐχομαι σύντομα μοι εὐρηθήναι· ἀ καὶ κολακεύσω συντόμως με καταφαγείν, οὐχ ἄσπερ τυνὼν δειλαιώμενα οὐχ ἦμαντο, κἂν αὐτὰ δὲ ἀκοντα μὴ θέλη, ἐγὼ προσβιάσομαι. συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε· τί μοι συμφέρει, ἐγὼ γινώσκω, νῦν ἄρχομαι μαθητής εἰμι. μηδὲν με ξηλώσαι τῶν ὀρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων, ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω· πῦρ καὶ σταυρὸς ῥηὴν τε συντάσσεις, σκορπισμοῦ ὀστέων, συγκοπαὶ μελῶν, ἀλεσμοὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος, κολάσεις τοῦ διαβόλου εἰς ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθωσαν, μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω." 

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς δηλωθείσης πόλεως ταῖς καταλεχθείσαις ἐκκλησίαις διετυπώσατο· ἡ δ' ἐπέκεινα τῆς Σμύρνης γενόμενος, ἀπὸ Τρωάδος τοῖς τε ἐν Φιλαδέλφιᾳ αὐτίς διὰ γραφής ὁμιλεί καὶ τῇ Σμυρναίων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἱδίως τε τῷ ταύτης προηγουμένω Πολυκάρπῳ· ὅν οίδα δ' ἀποστολικῶν ἄνδρα εὐ μᾶλα γνωρίζων, τὴν κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν αὐτῷ ποιμὴν οίας γνήσιος καὶ ἀγαθὸς ποιμὴν παρατίθεται, τὴν περὶ αὐτὴς φροντίδα διὰ ὁποιόν παραχώ ἐχειν αὐτῶν ἅξιον. ὅ δ' αὐτὸς Σμυρναίοις γράφων, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅποθεν ῥητοῖς συγκέχρηται, τοιαύτα τινα περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διεξόμων· "ἐγὼ δὲ

Ign. Philad. 11
Ign. Smyrn. 12
Ign. To Polycarp 8
Ign. To Polycarp 7

Ign. Smyrn.
is worth while appending a short extract from this in support of what has been said. He writes as follows: "From Syria to Rome I am fighting with wild beasts, by land and sea, by night and day, bound to ten 'leopards' (that is, a company of soldiers), and they become worse for kind treatment. Now I become the more a disciple for their ill deeds, 'but not by this am I justified.' I long for the beasts that are prepared for me; and I pray that they may be found prompt for me; I will even entice them to devour me promptly; not as has happened to some whom they have not touched from fear; even if they be unwilling of themselves, I will force them to it. Grant me this favour. I know what is expedient for me; now I am beginning to be a disciple. May I envy nothing of things seen or unseen that I may attain to Jesus Christ. Let there come on me fire, and cross, and struggles with wild beasts, cutting, and tearing asunder, rackings of bones, mangling of limbs, crushing of my whole body, cruel tortures of the devil, may I but attain to Jesus Christ!"

This he put into words from the city mentioned to the churches named. When he had already passed beyond Smyrna he also again conversed in writing from Troas with those in Philadelphia and with the church of the Smyrnaeans, and especially with Polycarp who was then the head of this church. He knew well that Polycarp was an apostolic man and like a true and good shepherd commends the flock at Antioch to him, asking him to be zealous in his care for it. He also wrote to the Smyrnaeans quoting words from I know not what source and discoursing thus about Christ: "For I know and believe that
καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτῶν ὁδὸν καὶ πιστεύω ὅντα. καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρου ἐλήλυθεν, ἐφη αὐτοῖς: ‘λάβετε, ψηλαπόσατε ὡς καὶ ἵδετε ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαμόνιον ἀσώματον’ καὶ εὐθύς αὐτοῦ ἤψαντο καὶ ἐπίστευσαν.’

Οἶδεν δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ μαρτύριον καὶ ὁ Ἐἰρηναῖος, καὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει, λέγων οὕτως: “ὡς εἶπέν τις τῶν ἡμετέρων, διὰ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν μαρτυρίαν κατακριθεὶς πρὸς θηρία, ὅτι ‘σῶτος εἰμὶ θεοῦ καὶ δι’ ὀδύντων θηρίων ἀλήθομαι, ἵνα καθαρὸς ἄρτος εὑρεθῶ.’

Καὶ ὁ Πολύκαρπος δὲ τούτων αὐτῶν μέμνηται ἐν τῇ φερομένῃ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους ἐπιστολὴ φάσκων αὐτοῖς ρήμασιν: “παρακαλῶ οὖν πάντας ὑμᾶς πειθαρχεῖν καὶ ἀσκεῖν πᾶσαν ὑπομονήν, ἢν εἴδετε καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς μακαρίων Ἰγνατίω καὶ Ῥούφω καὶ Ζωσίμῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἀλλοις τοῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις, πεπεισμένους ὅτι οὕτω πάντες ὑμᾶς εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον, ἀλλ’ ἐν πίστει καὶ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ ὅτι εἰς τοὺς ὁφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τόπου εἰσὶν παρὰ κυρίῳ, ὡ καὶ συνεπαθὼν, οὐ γὰρ τὸν νῦν ἡγαπησαν αἰώνα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα καὶ δι’ ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναστάντα.’ καὶ ἐξῆς ἐπιφέρει: ἐγράψατε μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ Ἰγνατίως, ἵν’ εἶν τις ἀπέρχηται εἰς Συρίαν, καὶ τὰ παρ’ ὑμῶν ἀποκομίσῃ γράμματα· ὅπερ ποιῆσαι, εὰν λάβω καὶ ρών ἐὐθέτων, εἰτέ ἐγώ εἰτε ἐν πέμπω προσβεύσοντα καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν. τὰς ἐπιστολὰς Ἰγνατίου τὰς πεμφθείσας ἡμῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀλλας ὡς εἶχομεν παρ’ ἡμῖν, ἐπέμψαμεν ὑμῖν, καθὼς ἐνετείλασθε· αἰτήσεις ὑπὸ 284
he was in the flesh even after the Resurrection. And when he came to those with Peter he said to them: 'Take, handle me and see that I am not a phantom without a body.' And they immediately touched him and believed.'

Irenaeus also knew of his martyrdom and quotes his letters saying thus: "As one of the Christians said when he was condemned to the beasts as testimony for God, 'I am the wheat of God and I am ground by the teeth of beasts that I may be found pure bread.'"

Polycarp, too, mentions these same things in the letter to the Philippians bearing his name and says: "Now I beseech you all to obey the word of righteousness, and to practise all the endurance which you also saw before your eyes, not only in the blessed Ignatius, and Zosimus, and Rufus, but also in others among yourselves, and in Paul himself, and in the other Apostles; being persuaded that all of these 'ran not in vain,' but in faith and righteousness, and that they are with the Lord in the 'place which is their due,' with whom they also suffered. For they did not 'love this present world' but him who died on our behalf, and was raised by God for our sakes." And he continues later, "Both you and Ignatius wrote to me that if anyone was going to Syria he should also take your letters. I will do this if I have a convenient opportunity, either myself or the man whom I am sending as a representative for you and me. We send you, as you asked, the letters of Ignatius, which were sent to us by him, and others which we had by us. These are subjoined

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τεταγμέναι εἰσὶν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ταῦτη. ἐξ ὧν μεγάλα ὄψιν ἠφελήθηναι δυνήσετε. περεχομένη γὰρ πίστιν καὶ ὑπομονὴν καὶ πᾶσαν οἰκοδομήν τὴν εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἀνήκουσαν.· καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦτο τοιαῦτα διαδέχεται δὲ μετ’ αὐτὸν τὴν Ἀντιοχείας ἐπισκοπὴν Ἡρως.

XXXVII. Τῶν δὲ κατὰ τούτους διαλαμψάντων καὶ Κοδράτου ἢν, ὃν ἀμα ταῖς Φιλίππου θυγατράσεις προφητικῷ χαρίσματι λόγος ἔχει διαπρέπει, καὶ ἀλλοί δ’ ἐπὶ τούτους πλείους ἐγνωρίζοντο κατὰ τούτῳ, τὴν πρώτην τάξιν τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπέχοντες διαδοχῆς· οὐ καὶ, ἀτε τηλικώνδε ὄντες θεοπρεπεῖς μαθηταί, τοὺς κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προκαταβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων θεμελίους ἐπικοδόμουν, αὔξοντες εἰς πλέον τὸ κήρυγμα καὶ τὰ σωτηρία σπέρματα τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας ἀνὰ πᾶσαν εἰς πλάτος ἐπι- σπείροντες τὴν οἰκουμένην. καὶ γὰρ δὴ πλείστοι τῶν τότε μαθητῶν σφοδροτέρῳ φιλοσοφίᾳ ἐρωτὶ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου τὴν ψυχὴν πληττόμενοι, τὴν σωτηρίου πρότερον ἀπεπλήρουν παρακέλευσιν, ἐνδεέσω νέμοντες τὰς οὐσίας, εἶτα δὲ ἀποδημίας στελλόμενοι ἔρχον ἐπετέλουν εὐαγγελιστῶν, τοῖς ἐπὶ πάμπαν ἀνήκοις τοῦ τῆς πίστεως λόγου κηρύττειν φιλοτιμούμενοι καὶ τὴν τῶν θείων εὐαγγελίων παραδιδόναι γραφῆν. οὗτοι δὲ θεόν μελίους τῆς πίστεως ἐπὶ ξένους τοῖς τόποις αὐτὸ μόνον καταβαλλόμενοι ποιμένας τε καθιστάντες ἐτέρους τούτους τε αὐτοῖς ἐγχειρίζοντες τῆς τῶν ἀρτίως εἰσαχθέντων γεωργίαν, ἐτέρας αὐτοῖς πάλιν χώρας τε καὶ ἐθνός μετήσαν σὺν τῇ ἐκ θεοῦ χάριτι καὶ συνεργίᾳ, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος εἰς

1 Cor. 3, 10

Matt. 10, 9
Mark 6, 8
Luke 9, 3

Rom. 15, 20. 21

Eph. 2, 19. 20

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to this letter, and you will be able to benefit greatly from them. For they contain faith, patience, and all the edification which pertains to our Lord.” Such is the story concerning Ignatius, and Heros succeeded to the bishopric of Antioch after him.

XXXVII. Among those who were famous at this time was also Quadratus, of whom tradition says that he shared with the daughters of Philip the distinction of a prophetic gift. And many others besides them were well known at this time and take the first rank in the Apostolic succession. These pious disciples of great men built in every place on the foundations of the churches laid by the Apostles. They spread the preaching and scattered the saving seeds of the kingdom of Heaven, sowing them broadcast through the whole world. Many of those then disciples, smitten in the soul by the divine Logos with an ardent passion for the love of wisdom, first fulfilled the Saviour’s command and distributed their property to the needy, then, starting on their journey, took up the work of evangelists and were zealous to preach to all who had not yet heard the word of the faith, and to transmit the writing of the divine Gospels. As soon as they had no more than laid the foundations of the faith in some strange place, they appointed others as shepherds and committed to them the task of tending those who had been just brought in, but they themselves passed on again to other lands and peoples, helped by the grace and co-operation of God, seeing that

1 The Greek word is “philosophy”; but Eusebius does not mean metaphysics.
ἐτι τότε δ’ αὐτῶν πλείσται παράδοξοι δυνάμεις ἐνήργουντο, ὦστε ἀπὸ πρώτης ἀκροάσεως ἀθρώπως αὐτανδρα πλήθη προθύμως τὴν εἰς τὸν τῶν ὄλων δημουργον εὐσέβειαν ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς καταδέχονται.

'Αδυνάτου δ’ ὅντος ἡμῖν ἀπαντας εξ ὀνόματος ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι ὡσοι ποτὲ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην τῶν ἀποστόλων διαδοχὴν ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησίας γεγόνασιν ποιμένες ἢ καὶ εὐαγγελισταῖ, τούτων εἰκότως εξ ὀνόματος γραφῆ μόνων τὴν μνήμην κατατεθείμεθα, ὥν ἔτι καὶ νῦν εἰς ἡμᾶς δι’ ὑπομνημάτων τῆς ἀποστολικῆς διδασκαλίας ἡ παράδοσις φέρεται, XXXVIII. ὥσπερ οὖν ἀμέλει τοῦ Ἰγνατίου ἐν αἷς κατελέξαμεν ἐπιστολαῖς, καὶ τοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐν τῇ ἀνωμολογημένῃ παρὰ πάσιν, ἢν ἐκ προσώπου τῆς Ῥωμαιῶν ἐκκλησίας τῇ Κορινθίων διευκοπώσατο· ἐν ἂν ἡ τῆς πρὸς 'Εβραίον πολλὰ νοήματα παραθείς, ἢ ἡ δὲ καὶ αὐτολέξει βητοῖς τισιν εξ αὐτῆς χρησάμενος, σαφέστατα παρίστησιν ὅτι μὴ νέον ὑπάρχει τὸ σύγγραμμα, οἴκεν δὴ καὶ εἰκότως ἐδοξέν αὐτὸ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐγκαταλεξθῆναι γράμμασι τοῦ ἀποστόλου. 'Εβραῖοις γὰρ διὰ τῆς πατρίου γλώττης ἐγγράφως ὑμιληκότος τοῦ Παύλου, οἱ μὲν τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν Δουκάν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Κλήμεντος τούτου αὐτὸν ἔριμπεσαί λέγουσι τὴν γραφήν· δ’ καὶ μᾶλλον ἄν εὖ ἄληθες τῷ τὸν ὦμουν τῆς φράσεως χαρακτῆρα τῆς τε τοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολῆν καὶ τῆς πρὸς 'Εβραίους ἀποστάξεων καὶ τῷ μὴ πόρρῳ τὰ ἐν ἐκατέροις τοῖς συγγράμμασι νοήματα καθεστάναι.

'Ιστέον δ’ ὃς καὶ δευτέρα τις εἶναι λέγεται τοῦ
many strange miracles of the divine spirit were at that time still being wrought by them, so that whole crowds of men at the first hearing eagerly received in their souls the religion of the Creator of the universe.

It is impossible for us to give the number and the names of all who first succeeded the Apostles, and were shepherds or evangelists in the churches throughout the world. It was, therefore, natural for us to record by name the memory only of those of whom the tradition still survives to our time by their treatises on the Apostolic teaching. XXXVIII. Such writings, of course, were the letters of Ignatius of which we gave the list, and the Epistle of Clement which is recognized by all, which he wrote in the name of the church of the Romans to that of the Corinthians. In this he has many thoughts parallel to the Epistle to the Hebrews, and actually makes some verbal quotations from it showing clearly that it was not a recent production, and for this reason, too, it has seemed natural to include it among the other writings of the Apostle. For Paul had spoken in writing to the Hebrews in their native language, and some say that the evangelist Luke, others that this same Clement translated the writing. And the truth of this would be supported by the similarity of style preserved by the Epistle of Clement and that to the Hebrews, and by the little difference between the thoughts in both writings.

It must be known that there is also a second

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1 So Wendland: the mss. read ἐνήργουν.
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣ

Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολή, οὐ μὴν ἔθ’ ὀμοίως τῇ προτέρᾳ καὶ ταύτῃ γνώριμον ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι μηδὲ τοὺς ἀρχαίους αὐτῆς κεχρημένους ἴσμεν. Ἡδή δὲ καὶ ἐτέρα πολυεπὴ καὶ μακρὰ συγγράμματα ὡς τοῦ αὐτοῦ χθές καὶ πρῶτη τινὲς προῆγαγον, Πέτρου δὴ καὶ Ἀπίωνος διαλόγους περιέχοντα: ἃν οὖν ὡλὺς μνήμη τὶς παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς φέρεται, οὐδὲ γὰρ καθάρον τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀποσώζει τὸν χαρακτῆρα.

XXXIX. Ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Κλήμεντος ὀμολογούμενη γραφὴ πρόδηλος, εἴρηται δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἰγνατίου καὶ Πολυκάρπου. τοῦ δὲ Παπία συγγράμματα πέντε τὸν ἀρίθμον φέρεται, ἃ καὶ ἐπιγέγραμμα τοῦτον κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεως. τούτων καὶ Εἰρηναίος ὡς μόνων αὐτῶ γραφέντων μνημονεύει, ὡδὲ πως λέγων: „ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Παπίας ὁ Ἰωάννου μὲν ἄκουστής, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἑταῖρος γεγονός, ἀρχαῖος ἀνήρ, ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἑαυτου βιβλίων. ἔστω γὰρ αὐτῷ πέντε βιβλία συντεταγμένα.” καὶ ὃ μὲν Εἰρηναίος οὐκ ἐπὶ ταύτα: αὐτὸς γε μὴν ο Παπίας κατὰ τὸ προσόμοιν τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων ἀκροατὴν μὲν καὶ αὐτόπτην οὐδαμῶς ἑαυτὸν γενέοθα τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμφαίνει, παρειληφέναι δὲ τὰ τῆς πίστεως παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖνως γνωρίμων διδάσκει δι’ ὧν φησὶν λέξεως: „οὐκ ὁκνήσω δὲ σοι καὶ ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καλῶς ἔμαθον καὶ καλῶς ἔμνημον, συγκατάταξαι ταῖς ἔμνημεναις, διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν. οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ πολλὰ λέγουσιν ἔχαιρον ὡσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τάληθε διδάσκοντον, οὐδὲ τοῖς τὰς

Iren. 5, 33, 4

1 This may refer to the Clementine Homilies.
letter ascribed to Clement, but we have not the same knowledge of its recognition as we have of the former, for we do not even know if the primitive writers used it. Some have also quite recently put forward other verbose and long treatises, purporting to be Clement's, containing dialogues with Peter and Apion, but there is absolutely no mention of them among the ancient writers nor do they preserve the pure type of apostolic orthodoxy.

XXXIX. Thus the recognized writing of Clement is well known and the works of Ignatius and Polycarp have been spoken of, and of Papias five treatises are extant which have also the title of "Interpretation of the Oracles of the Lord." These are also mentioned by Irenaeus as though his only writing, for he says in one place, "To these things also Papias, the hearer of John, who was a companion of Polycarp and one of the ancients, bears witness in writing in the fourth of his books, for five books were composed by him." So says Irenaeus. Yet Papias himself, according to the preface of his treatises, makes plain that he had in no way been a hearer and eye-witness of the sacred Apostles, but teaches that he had received the articles of the faith from those who had known them, for he speaks as follows: "And I shall not hesitate to append to the interpretations all that I ever learnt well from the presbyters and remember well, for of their truth I am confident. For unlike most I did not rejoice in them who say much, but in them who teach the truth, nor in

2 "Primitive" would perhaps be a better rendering for the Greek, which at least sometimes seems to mean a man who belonged to "the beginning," cf. the application of the adjective to Mnason (ἀρχαίῳ μαθητῇ) in Acts xxii. 16.
ἀλλοτρίας ἐντολὰς μνημονεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τὰς παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τῇ πίστει δεδομένας καὶ ἄπτωσις παραγωγομένας τῆς ἀληθείας· εἰ δὲ που καὶ παρηκολουθήκως τις τοὺς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθου, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους, τί Ἀνδρέας ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν ἢ τί Φίλιππος ἢ τί Θωμᾶς ἢ Ἰάκωβος ἢ τί Ἰωάννης ἢ Μαθαίος ἢ τις ἐτέρως τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν ἃ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβυτέρος Ἰωάννης, τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταὶ, λέγουσιν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσούτον με ὠφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης.

"Ενθα καὶ ἐπιστήσαταί ἄξιον διὸς καθαρθημόντι αὐτῶ καὶ Ἰωάννου ὄνομα, ἃν τὸν μὲν πρότερον Πέτρῳ καὶ Ἰακώβῳ καὶ Μαθαίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις συγκαταλέγειν, σαφῶς δηλών τὸν εὐαγγελισθῆν, τὸν δὲ ἐτέρων Ἰωάννην, διαστείλας τὸν λόγον, ἐτέρως παρὰ τὸν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀριθμὸν κατατάσσει, προτάξας αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀριστίωνα, σαφῶς τε αὐτὸν πρεσβυτέρον ὄνομάζει· ὅς καὶ διὰ τούτων ἀποδεικνύσθαι τὴν ἑστορικὴν ἅληθῆ τῶν δύο κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὁμονομία κεχρήσατε εἰρηκότων δύο τε ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γενέσθαι μνήματα καὶ ἐκάτερον Ἰωάννου ἐτί νῦν λέγεσθαι· ὅς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον προσέχειν τῶν νοῦν, εἰκὸς γὰρ τὸν δευτέρον, εἰ μὴ τις ἐθέλοι τὸν πρῶτον, τὴν ἐπὶ ὀνόματος φερομένην Ἰωάννου ἀποκάλυψιν ἑσάκειν. καὶ δὲ νῦν ἢ μὲν δηλούμενος Πατίας τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀποστόλων λόγους παρὰ τῶν αὐτοίς παρηκολουθηκότων ὁμολογεῖ παρειληφέναι, Ἀριστίωνος δὲ καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἰωάννου αὐτήκοιν ἐαυτῶν φησὶ γενέσθαι· ὄνομαστὶ γοῦν πολλάκις

Luke 1:3
them who recount the commandments of others, but in them who repeated those given to the faith by the Lord and derived from truth itself; but if ever anyone came who had followed the presbyters, I inquired into the words of the presbyters, what Andrew or Peter or Philip or Thomas or James or John or Matthew, or any other of the Lord’s disciples, had said, and what Aristion and the presbyter John, the Lord’s disciples, were saying. For I did not suppose that information from books would help me so much as the word of a living and surviving voice.”

It is here worth noting that he twice counts the name of John, and reckons the first John with Peter and James and Matthew and the other Apostles, clearly meaning the evangelist, but by changing his statement places the second with the others outside the number of the Apostles, putting Aristion before him and clearly calling him a presbyter. This confirms the truth of the story of those who have said that there were two of the same name in Asia, and that there are two tombs at Ephesus both still called John’s. This calls for attention: for it is probable that the second (unless anyone prefer the former) saw the revelation which passes under the name of John. The Papias whom we are now treating confesses that he had received the words of the Apostles from their followers, but says that he had actually heard Aristion and the presbyter John. He often quotes them by name and gives

1 The meaning of the Greek is doubtful; see Jackson and Lake, Beginnings of Christianity, vol. ii. p. 501.

1 Cf. vii. 25. 16 (excerpt from Dionysios).
αὐτῶν μνημονεύσας ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν συγγράμμασιν τίθησιν αὐτῶν παραδόσεις. καὶ ταῦτα δ’ ἡμῖν 8
οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἄχρηστον εἰρήσθων ἄξιον δὲ ταῖς ἀποδοθείσαις τοῦ Παπία φωναῖς προσάψαι λέξεις ἑτέρας αὐτοῦ, δι’ ἃν παράδοξα τινα ἱστορεῖ καὶ ἄλλα ὡς ἃν ἐκ παραδόσεως εἰς αὐτὸν ἔλθοντα.
τὸ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν 'Ιεράπολιν Φιλίππον τὸν ἀπόστολον ἅμα ταῖς θυγατράσιν διατρίψας διὰ τῶν πρόσθεν δεδηλωται ὡς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁ Παπίας γενόμενος, διηγήσας παρειληφέναι θαυμασίαν ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Φιλίππον θυγατέρων μνημονεύει, τὰ νῦν σημειωτέον νεκροῦ γὰρ ἀνάστασιν κατ’ αὐτὸν γεγονόταν ἱστορεῖ καὶ ἀδίκως ἑτέρων παράδοξων περὶ Ἰουστον τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Βαρσαβάν γεγονός, ὡς δηλητηρίων φάρμακον ἐμπιόντος καὶ μηδὲν ἀνδὲς διὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου χάρων ύπομείναντος. 1 τούτον δὲ τὸν Ἰουστον μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ισωτήρος ἀνάληψιν τοὺς ἱερούς ἀποστόλους μετὰ Ματθία στήσας τε καὶ ἐπεύξασθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ προδότου Ἰουδά ἑτὶ τὸν κλήρον τῆς ἀναπληρώσεως τοῦ αὐτῶν ἀριθμοῦ ἡ τῶν Πράξεων ὁδέτως ἱστορεῖ γραφῆ: "καὶ ἐστησαν δύο, Ἰωσήφ τὸν καλούμενον Βαρσαβάν, ὡς ἐπεκλήθη Ἰουστος, καὶ Ματθίαν. καὶ προσευξάμενοι εἶπαν." καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀγράφου εἰς αὐτὸν ἠκούσαν παρατέθειται ἑνεσας τε τινας παραβολὰς τοῦ σωτήρος καὶ διδασκάλιας αὐτοῦ καὶ τινὰ ἄλλα μυθικῶτερα. ἐν οἷσ καὶ χυλιάδα τινὰ φησιν ἐτῶν ἔσεσθαι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἁνάστασιν, σωματικῶς τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας ἐπὶ ταυτηθι τῆς γῆς ὑποστηρισμένης ὥς καὶ ἁγοῦμαι τὰς ἀποστολικὰς παρεκδεξάμενον διηγήσεις ὑπολαβεῖν, 294
their traditions in his writings. Let this suffice to good purpose. But it is worth while to add to the words of Papias already given other sayings of his, in which he tells certain marvels and other details which apparently reached him by tradition. It has already been mentioned that Philip the Apostle lived at Hierapolis with his daughters, but it must now be shown how Papias was with them and received a wonderful story from the daughters of Philip; for he relates the resurrection of a corpse in his time and in another place another miracle connected with Justus surnamed Barsabas, for he drank poison but by the Lord’s grace suffered no harm. Of this Justus the Acts relates that the sacred Apostles set him up and prayed over him together with Matthias after the ascension of the Lord for the choice of one to fill up their number in place of the traitor Judas, “and they set forth two, Joseph called Barsabas, who was called Justus, and Matthias; and they prayed and said.” The same writer adduces other accounts, as though they came to him from unwritten tradition, and some strange parables and teachings of the Saviour, and some other more mythical accounts. Among them he says that there will be a millennium after the resurrection of the dead, when the kingdom of Christ will be set up in material form on this earth. I suppose that he got these notions by a perverse

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1 Cf. C. de Boor’s fragments of Papias in Texte und Untersuchungen, v. 2. 170.


EUSEBIUS

τὰ ἐν ύποδείγμασι πρὸς αὐτῶν μυστικῶς εἰρημένα μὴ συνεορακότα. σφόδρα γάρ τοι σμικρὸς ὡς τὸν νῦν, ὅς ἂν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων τεκμηρίαν εἰπεῖν, φαίνεται, πλὴν καὶ τοῖς μετ’ αὐτὸν πλείστοις ὅσοις τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τῆς ὁμοίας αὐτῶν δόξης παράτιος γέγονεν τὴν ἁρχαίοτητα τὰνδρὸς προβεβλημένοις, ὥσπερ οὖν Εἰρηναῖω καὶ εἰ τις ἄλλος τὰ ὁμοία φρονῶν ἀναπέφηνεν.

Καὶ ἄλλας δὲ τῇ ἰδίᾳ γραφῇ παραδίδωσιν Ἀρι-στίωνος τοῦ πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένου τῶν τοῦ κυρίου λόγων δυνηθέσεως καὶ τοῦ προσβύτεροῦ Ἰωάννου παραδόσεως. ἐφ’ ὧς τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς ἀναπεμφάντες, ἀναγκαίοις νῦν προσθήσομεν ταῖς προεκτεθείσαις αὐτῶν φωναῖς παράδοσιν ἢν περὶ Μάρκου τοῦ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον γεγραφότος ἐκτεθέται διὰ τούτων. “καὶ τοῦθ’, ὁ προσβύτερος ἔλεγεν” 15 Μάρκος μὲν ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἐγραφεῖν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει, τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα. οὔτε γὰρ ἢκουσεν τοῦ κυρίου οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ, ὦστερον δὲ, ὡς ἐφη, Πέτρως ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ’ οὖν χώστερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιοῦμενος λογίων, ὥστε οὐδὲν ἢμαρτεν Μάρκος οὕτως ἐνιὰ γράφας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν. ἐνὸς γὰρ ἐποιήσατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὡς ἢκουσεν παραλιπεῖν ἢ ψεύσα-σθαι τι ἐν αὐτοῖς." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἱστόρηται 16 τῷ Πατρία περὶ τοῦ Μάρκου· περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ματθαίου ταῦτ’ εἰρηται. “Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἐβραῖδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνετάζατο, ἠρμηνεύσεν δ’ αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνάτος ἐκαστος.”

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reading of the apostolic accounts, not realizing that they had spoken mystically and symbolically. For he was a man of very little intelligence, as is clear from his books. But he is responsible for the fact that so many Christian writers after him held the same opinion, relying on his antiquity, for instance Irenaeus and whoever else appears to have held the same views.

In the same writing he also quotes other interpretations of the words of the Lord given by the Aristion mentioned above and traditions of John the presbyter. To them we may dismiss the studious; but we are now obliged to append to the words already quoted from him a tradition about the Mark who wrote the Gospel, which he expounds as follows. "And the Presbyter used to say this, 'Mark became Peter's interpreter and wrote accurately all that he remembered, not, indeed, in order, of the things said or done by the Lord. For he had not heard the Lord, nor had he followed him, but later on, as I said, followed Peter, who used to give teaching as necessity demanded but not making, as it were, an arrangement of the Lord's oracles, so that Mark did nothing wrong in thus writing down single points as he remembered them. For to one thing he gave attention, to leave out nothing of what he had heard and to make no false statements in them.' " This is related by Papias about Mark, and about Matthew this was said, "Matthew collected the oracles in the Hebrew language, and each interpreted them as best he could."
Κέχρηται δ' ὁ αὐτὸς μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρου ὁμοίως, ἐκτεθείται δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἱστορίαν περὶ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἀμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἑπὶ τοῦ κυρίου, ἣν τὸ καθ' Ἐβραίους εὐαγγέλιον περιέχει. καὶ ταῦτα δ' ἦμῖν ἀναγκαῖος πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτεθείσων ἐπιτετηρήσθω.
The same writer used quotations from the first Epistle of John, and likewise also from that of Peter, and has expounded another story about a woman who was accused before the Lord of many sins, which the Gospel according to the Hebrews contains. Let this suffice us in addition to the extracts made.
Δ

Τάδε καὶ ἡ τετάρτη περιέχει βίβλος τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας

Ἄ Τίνες ἐπὶ τῆς Τραϊανοῦ βασιλείας Ἄρωμαίων γεγόνασι καὶ Ἀλεξανδρόων ἐπίσκοποι.
Β Ὅποια Ἰουδαῖοι κατ’ αὐτὸν πεπόνθασιν.
Γ Οἱ κατὰ Ἀδριανὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἀπολογησάμενοι.
𝐃 Οἱ κατ’ αὐτὸν Ἄρωμαίων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐπίσκοποι.
Ε Οἱ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς δηλουμένους Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοποι.
Ξ Ἡ κατὰ Ἀδριανὸν ὑστάτη Ἰουδαίων πολιορκία.
𝐙 Τίνες κατ’ ἐκείνο καιρὸν γεγόνασιν ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως ἄρχηγοι.
Ｈ Τίνες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ συγγραφεῖς.
Θ Ἐπιστολὴ Ἀδριανοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ἀκρίτως ἡμᾶς ἐλαύνει.
Ｉ Τίνες ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίνου βασιλείας ἐπίσκοποι Ἄρωμαίων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων γεγόνασιν.
ＩΑ Περὶ τῶν κατ’ αὐτοὺς αἱρεσιαρχῶν.
ＩΒ Περὶ τῆς Ἰουστίνου πρὸς Ἀντωνίνου ἀπολογίας.
ＩΓ Ἀντωνίνου πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπιστολὴ περὶ τοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς λόγου.

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CONTENTS OF BOOK IV

The contents of the fourth book of the History of the Church is as follows:

I. Who were the bishops of Rome and Alexandria in the reign of Trajan.
II. What the Jews suffered in his time.
III. The apologists for Christianity in the time of Hadrian.
IV. The bishops of Rome and Alexandria in his time.
V. The bishops of Jerusalem, beginning from the Saviour down to the time mentioned.
VI. The last siege of the Jews under Hadrian.
VII. Who were the leaders of Knowledge, falsely so-called, at that time.
VIII. Who are the writers of the church.
IX. A letter of Hadrian to the effect that we must not be persecuted without being tried.
X. Who were the bishops of Rome and Alexandria in the reign of Antoninus.
XI. On the leaders of heresy in their times.
XII. On the apology of Justin to Antoninus.
XIII. A letter of Antoninus to the Council of Asia on our religion.
Εὐσεβίους

ΓΔ Τὰ περὶ Πολυκάρπου τοῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων
gνωρίμου μνημονεύμενα.
ΓΕ Ὅπως κατὰ Οὔηρον ὁ Πολυκάρπος ἄμη
ἐτέρους ἐμαρτύρησεν ἐπὶ τῆς Συμναίων
πόλεως.
ΓΣ Ὅπως Ἰουστῖνος ὁ φιλόσοφος τὸν Χριστοῦ
λόγον ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως πρεσβεύων
ἐμαρτύρησεν.
ΓΖ Περὶ δὲν Ἰουστῖνος ἐν ἰδίῳ συγγράμματι
μνημονεύει μαρτύρων.
ΓΗ Τίνες εἰς ἡμᾶς ἠλθον τῶν Ἰουστῖνος λόγων.
ΓΘ Τίνες ἐπὶ τῆς Οὐήρου βασιλείας τῆς Ῥωμαίων
καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίας προέστησαν.
Κ Τίνες οἱ τῆς Ἀντιοχείων.
ΚΑ Περὶ τῶν κατὰ τούτους διαλαμψάντων ἐκ-
κλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων.
ΚΒ Περὶ Ἡγιάσσου καὶ δὲν αὐτὸς μνημονεύει.
ΚΓ Περὶ Διονυσίου Κορινθίων ἐπισκόπου καὶ δὲν
ἐγραφεν ἐπιστολῶν.
ΚΔ Περὶ Θεοφίλου Ἀντιοχείων ἐπισκόπου.
ΚΕ Περὶ Φιλίππου καὶ Μοδέστου.
ΚΣ Περὶ Μελέτων καὶ δὲν αὐτός ἐμνημόνευσεν.
ΚΖ Περὶ Ἀπολυναρίου.
ΚΗ Περὶ Μουσανοῦ.
ΚΘ Περὶ τῆς κατὰ Τατιανὸν αἱρέσεως.
Λ Περὶ Βαρδησάνου τοῦ Σύρου καὶ τῶν φερο-
μένων αὐτοῦ λόγων.
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, IV. CONTENTS

XIV. The story of Polycarp who had known the apostles.

XV. How in the time of Verus Polycarp with others was martyred in the city of Smyrna.

XVI. How Justin the philosopher was martyred in the city of Rome as an ambassador for the word of Christ.

XVII. On the martyrs whom Justin mentions in his own writings.

XVIII. What writings of Justin have come down to us.

XIX. Who were the leaders of the churches of Rome and Alexandria in the reign of Verus.

XX. Who were the bishops of Antioch.

XXI. On the ecclesiastical writers who were famous in their time.

XXII. On Hegesippus and what he relates.

XXIII. On Dionysius, the bishop of Corinth, and the letters which he wrote.

XXIV. On Theophilus, bishop of Antioch.

XXV. On Philip and Modestus.

XXVI. On Melito and the statements which he makes.

XXVII. On Apolinarius.

XXVIII. On Musanus.

XXIX. On the heresy of Tatian.

XXX. On Bardesanes the Syrian and his extant books.
Δ

I. Ἀμφὶ δὲ τὸ δωδέκατον ἔτος τῆς Τραϊανοῦ βασιλείας ὁ μικρὸς πρόσθεν ἢμῶν τῆς ἐν Ἄλεξανδρείᾳ παροικίας δηλώθεις ἐπίσκοπος τὴν ζωὴν μεταλάττει, τέταρτος δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν τῶν αὐτοῦ λειτουργίαν κληροῦται Πρίμος. ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἄλεξανδρος ἐπὶ Ρώμης, ὅγδοον ἔτος ἀποπλήσαντος Εὐαρέστου, πέμπτην ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου κατάγων διαδοχήν, τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ὑπολαμβάνει.

II. Καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς τοῦ σωτήρος ἢμῶν διδασκαλίας τε καὶ ἐκκλησίας ὁσιμέραι ἀνθοῦντα ἔπι μείζον ἐχώρει προκοπῆς, τὰ δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίων συμφορᾶς κακοῖς ἐπαλλήλως ἤκμαζεν. ἦδη γοῦν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος εἰς ἐναυτὸν ὀκτωκαθιδέατον ἐλαύνοντος, αὕτης Ἰουδαίων κίνησις ἐπαναστάσα σάμπολυ πλῆθος αὐτῶν διαφθείρει. ἐν τε γὰρ Ἄλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ Αἰγύπτω καὶ προσέτι κατὰ Κυρήνην, ὡσπερ ὑπὸ πνεύματος δεινοῦ τινος καὶ στασίωδους ἀναρρητισθέντες, ὧμωντι πρὸς τοὺς συνοίκους Ἐλλήνας στασάζετε, αὐξῆσαντες τε εἰς μέγα τὴν στάσιν, τῷ ἐπίοντι ἐναυτῷ πόλεμον οὐ σμικρῶν συνήπαντα ἤγομενον την κατὰ Λούπου τῆς ἀπάσης Αἰγύπτου. καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συμβολῇ ἐπικρατήσαι αὐτοὺς συνέβη τῶν Ἐλλήνων.
BOOK IV

I. About the twelfth year of the reign of Trajan the bishop of the diocese of Alexandria, whom we mentioned a little earlier, passed away, and Primus, the fourth from the Apostles, received the charge of those in that place. At this time, too, at Rome Alexander, when Evarestus had completed his eighth year, was the fifth to succeed Peter and Paul, and took up the bishopric.

II. While the teaching of our Saviour and the church were flourishing daily and moving on to further progress the tragedy of the Jews was reaching the climax of successive woes. In the course of the eighteenth year of the reign of the Emperor a rebellion of the Jews again broke out and destroyed a great multitude of them. For both in Alexandria and in the rest of Egypt and especially in Cyrene, as though they had been seized by some terrible spirit of rebellion, they rushed into sedition against their Greek fellow citizens, and increasing the scope of the rebellion in the following year started a great war while Lupus was governor of all Egypt. In the first engagement they happened to overeome

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1 A.D. 109.  
2 Cerdon, cf. iii. 21.  
3 A.D. 115.  
4 Cf. Dio Cassius, lxviii. 32 and lxix. 12 f.
EUSEBIUS

οἱ καὶ καταφυγόντες εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἰουδαίοις ἔζωγγησάν τε καὶ ἀπέκτειναν, τῆς δὲ παρὰ τούτων συμμαχίας ἀποτυχόντες οἱ κατὰ Κυρήνην τὴν χώραν τῆς Αἰγύπτου λεη- λατοῦντες καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ νομοὺς φθείρωντες διετέλουν, ἡγουμένου αὐτῶν Λουκοῦα. ἐφ’ οὐς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἔπεμψε Μάρκιον Τούρβωνα σὺν δυνάμει πεζῆ τε καὶ ναυτικῆ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἱππικῆ. ὁ δὲ πολλαῖς μάχαισ ὡκ ὀλίγῳ τε χρόνῳ τὸν 4 πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαπονήσας πόλεμον, πολλὰς μυρίδας Ἰουδαίων, οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀπὸ Κυρήνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου συναιρομένων Λουκούα τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν, ἀναρεῖ. ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπ’ ὄπτεύσας καὶ τοὺς ἐν Μεσοποταμία Ἰουδαίους ἐπιθῆσεσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς, Λουσίω Κυήτῳ προσ- ἐταξαν ἐκκαθάραι τῆς ἐπαρχίας αὐτοὺς· δὲ καὶ παραταξάμενος, πάμπολυ πλῆθος τῶν αὐτοῦ φονεύει, ἐφ’ ὡ κατορθώματι Ἰουδαίος ἡγεμών ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀνεδείχθη. ταῦτα καὶ Ἑλληνῶν οἱ τα κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους γραφῆ παραδόντες αὐτοῖς ἡστόρησαν ῥήμασιν.

III. Τραϊάνοῦ δὲ ἐφ’ ὅλοις ἔτεσιν ἐκείσι τῇ 1 ἀρχῇ μηνῶν ἐξ δεόσιν κρατήσαντος, Αὐλος Ἀδρια- νὸς διαδέχεται τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ. τοῦτος Κοδράτος λόγον προσφωνήσας ἀναδίδωσιν, ἀπολογίαν συν- τάξας ὑπὲρ τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς θεοσβείας, ὅτι ὑδ’ τινς πονηρὸι ἄνδρες τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐνοχλεῖν ἐπειρώντο· εἰς ἔτι δὲ φέρεται παρὰ πλείστοις τῶν ἄδελφῶν, ἀτὰρ καὶ παρ’ ἡμῖν τὸ σύγγραμμα: ἐξ οὗ κατιδεῖν ἔστιν λαμπρά τεκμήρια τῆς τοῦ ἄνδρος διανοίας καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὀρθοτομίας. ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς τῇ 2 καθ’ ἐαυτὸν ἀρχαιότητα παραφαίνει δι’ ὧν ἔστορεῖ.
the Greeks, who fled to Alexandria and captured and killed the Jews in the city, but though thus losing the help of the townsmen, the Jews of Cyrene continued to plunder the country of Egypt and to ravage the districts in it under their leader Lucuas. The Emperor sent against them Marcius Turbo with land and sea forces including cavalry. He waged war vigorously against them in many battles for a considerable time and killed many thousands of Jews, not only those of Cyrene but also those of Egypt who had rallied to Lucuas,¹ their king. The Emperor suspected that the Jews in Mesopotamia would also attack the inhabitants and ordered Lusius Quietus to clean them out of the province. He organized a force and murdered a great multitude of the Jews there, and for this reform was appointed governor of Judaea by the Emperor. The Greek authors ² who chronicle the same period have related this narrative in these very words.

III. When Trajan had reigned for nineteen and a half years Aelius Hadrian succeeded ³ to the sovereignty. To him Quadratus addressed a treatise, composing a defence for our religion because some wicked men were trying to trouble the Christians. It is still extant among many of the brethren and we have a copy ourselves. From it can be seen the clear proof of his intellect and apostolic orthodoxy. He shows his early date by what he says as follows

¹ Dio Cassius (lxxvi. 32) gives his name as Andreas.
² Except for Dio Cassius these cannot be identified.
³ A.D. 117.
ταύτα ἰδίας φωναῖς· "τοῦ δὲ σωτηρός ἦμων τὰ ἔργα αἰεὶ παρῆν ἀληθῆ γὰρ ἐν, οἱ θεραπευόμενες, οἱ ἀναστάντες ἐκ νεκρῶν, οἱ οὐκ ἠφθησαν μόνον θεραπευόμενοι καὶ ἀνυπάτημοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰεὶ παρόντες, οὐδὲ ἐπιδημούντως μόνον τοῦ σωτηρός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπαλλαγέντως ἦσαν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἰκανόν, ὡστε καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους χρόνους τινὲς αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο."¹ τοιούτος μὲν οὖτος· καὶ Ἀριστείδης ἔδε, πιστὸς ἀνήρ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ὅρμωμενος εὐσεβείας, τῷ Καρατῶ παραπλησίως ύπέρ τῆς πίστεως ἀπολογίαν ἐπιφωνήσας Ἀδριανῷ καταλέλοιπεν· σώζεται δὲ γε εἰς δεύο παρὰ πλείστος καὶ ἡ τοῦτον γραφή.

IV. Ἔτει δὲ τρίτῳ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡγεμονίας Ἀλέξανδρος Ῥωμαίων ἐπίσκοπος τελευτᾷ, δεκατὼν τῆς οἰκονομίας ἀποτλῆσας ἔτος. Εὐστός ἦν τούτῳ διάδοχος. καὶ τῆς Ἀλέξανδρεῶν δὲ παροικίας ἀμφὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Πρῶμον μεταλλάξαντα διωδεκάτῳ τῆς προστασίας ἐτει διαδέχεται Ἰουστός.

V. Τῶν γε μὴν ἐν Ἰεροσολύμοισ ἐπισκόπων τοὺς χρόνους γραφῆ σωζόμενοι οὐδαμῶς εὑρῶν (κομιδῇ γὰρ οὖν βραχυβίους αὐτοὺς λόγους κατέχει γενέσθαι), τοσοῦτον ἔξ ἐγγράφων παρεῖληφα, ὡς μέχρι τῆς κατὰ Ἀδριανὸν Ἰουδαίων πολιορκίας πεντεκαίδεκα τῶν ἀριθμῶν αὐτὸθε γεγονως ἐπισκόπων διαδοχία, οὗς πάντας Ἐβραίων φασίν ὁντας ἀνέκαθεν, τὴν γνώσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ γνησίως καταδέχασθαι, ὡστ' ἤδη πρὸς τῶν τὰ τοιάδε ἐπικρίνειν δυνατῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐπισκόπων λειτουργίας ἡξίους δοκιμασθήναι· συνεστάναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τότε τὴν πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν ἐξ Ἐβραίων πιστῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπο-

1 Cf. George Syncellus, 658. 8-13.
in his own words: "But the works of our Saviour were always present, for they were true, those who were cured, those who rose from the dead, who not merely appeared as cured and risen, but were constantly present, not only while the Saviour was living, but even for some time after he had gone, so that some of them survived even till our own time." Such was he. Aristides too, a man of faith and devoted to our religion, has, like Quadratus, left behind a defence of the faith addressed to Hadrian. His writing, too, is still preserved by many.\(^1\)

IV. In the third year of the same reign\(^2\) Alexander, the bishop of the Romans, died after completing the tenth year of his ministry; Xystus was his successor. And at the same time, in the diocese of the Alexandrians, Justus succeeded Primus, who died in the twelfth year of his rule.

V. I have not found any written statement of the dates of the bishops in Jerusalem, for tradition says that they were extremely short-lived, but I have gathered from documents this much—that up to the siege of the Jews by Hadrian the successions of bishops were fifteen in number. It is said that they were all Hebrews by origin who had nobly accepted the knowledge of Christ, so that they were counted worthy even of the episcopal ministry by those who had the power to judge such questions. For their whole church at that time consisted of Hebrews who

\(^1\) The Syriac text was discovered by J. Rendel Harris on Mt. Sinai and published by him in *Texts and Studies*, i. 1. See Introduction p. xlix.

\(^2\) A.D. 120.
στόλων καὶ εἰς τὴν τότε διαρκεσάντων πολυρκίαν, καθ' ἡν Ἰουδαίοι Ρωμαίων αὕθις ἀποστάντες, οὐ μικροῖς πολέμοις ἠλωσαν. διαλειτούργων δ' οὖν 3 την καύτα τῶν ἐκ περιτομῆς ἐπισκόπων, τοὺς ἀπὸ πρῶτου νῦν ἀναγκαῖον ἄν εἶνα καταλέξαι. πρῶτος τουγαροῦν Ἰάκωβος δ' τοῦ κυρίου λεγόμενος ἀδελφὸς ἦν; μεθ' ὅν δεύτερος Συμεών' τρίτος Ἰούστος· Ζακχαῖος τέταρτος· πέμπτος Τωβίας· ἐκτὸς Βενιαμίν' Ἰωάννης ἐβδομος· ὄγδοος Μαθίας· ἐκατός Φιλίππος· δέκατος Ζενέκας· εινδέκατος Ἰούστος· Λευίς δωδέκατος· Ἐφρύς τρισκαί· δέκατος· τεσσαρεσκαίδεκατος Ἰωσήφ· ἐπὶ πᾶσι πεντεκαίδεκατος Ἰουδάς. τοσοῦτοι καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς 4 Ἱεροσολύμων πόλεως ἐπίσκοποι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων εἰς τὸν δηλούμενον διαγενόμενον χρόνον, οἱ πάντες ἐκ περιτομῆς. ἦδη δὲ δωδέκατον 5 ἐχούσης ἐτος τῆς ἡγεμονίας, Ἐνύστον δεκαέτη χρόνον ἀποπλῆσαντα ἐπὶ τῆς Ρωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς ἐβδομος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων διαδέχεται Τελεσφόρος· ἐνιαυτός δὲ μεταξὺ καὶ μηνῶν διαγενομένου, τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων παροικίας τῆς προστασίαν Ἐυμένης ἐκτῷ κλήρῳ διαδέχεται, τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐτεσίν εἰνδεκα διαρκεσάντος. VI. Καὶ δὴ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀποστασίας αὕθις 1 εἰς μέγα καὶ πολὺ προελθούσης, Ἐρώφος ἐπάρχων τῆς Ἰουδαίας, στρατιωτικῆς αὐτῶν συμμαχίας ὑπὸ βασιλέως πεμφθείσης, ταῖς ἀπονοίαις αὐτῶν ἀφειδῶς χρώμενος ἐπεξήγη, μυρίας ἀθρόως ἄνδρῶν ὄμολο καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν διαφθείρων πολέμου τε νόμω τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν ἑξανδροπολισάμενος. ἐστρατήγη ἐδὲ τότε Ἰουδαίων Βαρ. 2 χωρεῖς ὅνωμα, ὅ δὴ ἄστερα δηλοῖ, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα 310
had continued Christian from the Apostles down to the siege at the time when the Jews again rebelled from the Romans and were beaten in a great war. Since the Jewish bishops then ceased, it is now necessary to give their names from the beginning. The first was James who was called the Lord’s brother, and after him Simeon was the second. The third was Justus, Zacchaeus was the fourth, Tobias the fifth, the sixth Benjamin, the seventh John, the eighth Matthias, the ninth Philip, the tenth Seneca, the eleventh Justus, the twelfth Levi, the thirteenth Ephres, the fourteenth Joseph, and last of all the fifteenth Judas. Such were the bishops in the city of Jerusalem, from the Apostles down to the time mentioned, and they were all Jews. Now during the twelfth year of the reign of Hadrian, Telesphorus, the seventh from the Apostles, succeeded Xystus who had completed ten years in the bishopric of the Romans, and one year and some months later Eumenes succeeded to the government of the diocese of Alexandria as the sixth bishop, when his predecessor had completed eleven years.

VI. The rebellion of the Jews had once more progressed in character and extent, and Rufus, the governor of Judaea, when military aid had been sent him by the Emperor, moved out against them, treating their madness without mercy. He destroyed in heaps thousands of men, women, and children, and, under the law of war, enslaved their land. The Jews were at that time led by a certain Bar Chocheba, which means “star,” a man who was

1 Cf. Dio Cassius, lxix. 12-14.
2 Literally “son of a star,” with a probable reference to Numbers xiv. 17. After his defeat the Jews called him Bar Choziba, “son of a lie.”

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φοινικὸς καὶ λιθαρχικός τίς ἀνήρ, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ προσ-
ηγορίᾳ, οἶα ἐπ’ ἀνδραπόδων, ὡς δὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ
φωστήρ αὐτοῖς κατεληκυθῶς κακομενοῖς τε ἐπι-
lάμβανε τερατεύομενος. ἀκμαίσαντος δὲ τοῦ πο-
λέμου ἔτους ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου τῆς ἡγεμονίας κατὰ
Βηθθερα (πολίχνη τις ἡ ὄχυρωτάτη;) τῶν Ἱερο-
σολύμων οὐ σφόδρα πόρρω διεστῶσα; τῆς τε
ἐξωθεν πολιορκίας χρονίου γενομένης λίμῷ τε
καὶ δίψῃ τῶν νεωτεροτοιῶν εἰς ἐσχατὸν ὀλέθρου
περιελατῶν καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἀπονοιας αὐτοῖς αἰτίου
τῆς ἄξιαν ἐκτίσαντος δίκην, τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος ἐξ
ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα γης πάμ-
παν ἐπιβαίνειν εἴργεται νόμου δόγματι καὶ διατάξειν
Ἀδριανοῦ, ὡς ἄν μη' ἐξ ἀπόπτου θεωρεῖτο τὸ
πατρῷων ἔδαφος, ἐγκελευσαμένην 'Αρίστων ὁ
Πελλαῖος ἱστορεῖ. οὕτω δὴ τῆς πόλεως εἰς
ἐρημιάν τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους παντελῆ τε φθοράς
τῶν πάλαι οἰκητῶν ἐλθούσης ἐξ ἀλλοφύλιον τε
gένους συνοικισθέησης, ἡ μετέπειτα συστάσα Ἐρω-
μαϊκή πόλις τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀμείβασα, εἰς τὴν
τοῦ κρατοῦντος Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ τιμήν Αἰλία
προσαγορεύεται. καὶ δὴ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας ἐξ
ἀθών συγκροτηθείσης, πρῶτος μετὰ τῶν ἐκ περι-
tομῆς ἐπισκόπους τῆν τῶν ἐκείσε λειτουργίαν
ἐγχειρίζεται Μάρκος.

VII. Ἡδὴ δὲ λαμπροτάτων δίκην φωστήρων τῶν
ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀποστιλβοῦσών ἐκ-κλησιῶν
ἀκμαζούσης τε εἰς ἀπαν τὸ τῶν ἄνθρωπων γένος
τῆς εἰς τὸν σωτήρα καὶ κύριον ήμῶν Ἰησοῦν
Χριστὸν πίστεως, ὁ μισόκαλος δαίμων οἶνα τῆς
ἀληθείας ἕθθρος καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄνθρωπων σωτηρίας
ἀεὶ τυγχάνων πολεμιώτατος, πάσας στρέφων κατο.
murderous and a bandit, but relied on his name, as if dealing with slaves, and claimed to be a luminary who had come down to them from heaven and was magically enlightening those who were in misery. The war reached its height in the eighteenth year of the reign of Hadrian in Beththera, which was a strong citadel not very far from Jerusalem; the siege lasted a long time before the rebels were driven to final destruction by famine and thirst and the instigator of their madness paid the penalty he deserved. Hadrian then commanded that by a legal decree and ordinances the whole nation should be absolutely prevented from entering from thenceforth even the district round Jerusalem, so that not even from a distance could it see its ancestral home. Ariston of Pella tells the story. Thus when the city came to be bereft of the nation of the Jews, and its ancient inhabitants had completely perished, it was colonized by foreigners, and the Roman city which afterwards arose changed its name, and in honour of the reigning emperor Aelius Hadrian was called Aelia. The church, too, in it was composed of Gentiles, and after the Jewish bishops the first who was appointed to minister to those there was Marcus.

VII. Like brilliant lamps the churches were now shining throughout the world, and faith in our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ was flourishing among all mankind, when the devil who hates what is good, as the enemy of truth, ever most hostile to man's salvation, turned all his devices against the church.

1 It has not been identified.
2 The book is not extant.
τῆς ἐκκλησίας μηχανός, πάλαι μὲν τοῖς ἐξωθεν διωγμοῖς κατ’ αὐτὴς ὕπλιζετο, τότε γε μὴν δυτικῶν ἀποκεκλεισμένοις, πονηροῖς καὶ γόησιν ἀνδράσιν ὠσπερ τισῶν θλεθρίων ψυχῶν ὀργάνης διακόνης τε ἀπωλείας χρώμενος, ἑτέραις κατεστράτηγες μεθόδους, πάντα πόρον ἐπινοῶν, τὸ ἀν ὑποδύντες γόητες καὶ ἀπατηλοὶ τὴν αὐτὴν του δόγματος ἡμῖν προσηγορίαν, ὁμοῦ μὲν τῶν πιστῶν τοὺς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἁλισκομένους εἰς βυθὸν ἀπωλείας ἀγνωτας δι’ ὃν αὐτοὶ δρῶντες ἐπιχειροῦν, ἀποτρέποντο τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς σωτηρίου λόγον παρόδου. ἀπὸ γοῦν τοῦ Μενανδροῦ, ὁν διάδοχον τοῦ Σύμωνος ἡδὴ πρὸτερον παραδεδώκαμεν, ἀμφίστομοι ὠσπερ καὶ δικέφαλος ὀφιώδης τις προελθοῦσα δύναμις δυνών νεών ἀνέρεσεοι διαφόρων ἀρχηγοὺς κατεστήσατο, Σατορίνων τε Ἀντιοχέα τὸ γένος καὶ Βασιλείδην Ἀλέξανδρεά. ὡς μὲκατά Συρίαν, ὅ δὲ κατ᾽ Αἴγυπτον συνεστήσατο θεομισῶν αἱρέσεων διδασκαλεῖα. τὰ μὲν οὖν πλείστα τῶν Σατορίνων τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Μενανδρῷ ψευδολογήσας ὁ Εἱρηναῖος δήλοι, προσχήματι δὲ ἀπορρητοτέρων τῶν Βασιλείδην εἰς τὸ ἀπειρον τείναι τὰς ἐπινοιας, δυσεοβίως αἱρέσεως ἐαυτῷ τερατώδεις ἀναπλάσαντα μυθοποιίας. πλείστων οὖν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀνδρῶν κατ’ ἐκεῖνο καὶροῦ τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπεραγωγικῇς λογικότερον τε τῆς ἀποστολικῆς καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς δόξης ὑπερμαχοῦντων, ἡδὴ τινὲς καὶ διὰ συγγραμμάτων τοῖς μετέπειτα προφυλακτικάς αὐτῶν δὴ τούτων τῶν δηλωθεισῶν αἱρέσεων παρεῖχον ἐφόδους· ὧν εἰς ἡμᾶς κατηλθεν ἐν τοῖς τότε γνωριμωτάτου συγγραφέως Ἀγρίππα Κάστορος ἱκανῶτατος κατὰ 314
Formerly he had used persecutions from without as his weapon against her, but now that he was excluded from this he employed wicked men and sorcerers, like baleful weapons and ministers of destruction against the soul, and conducted his campaign by other measures, plotting by every means that sorcerers and deceivers might assume the same name as our religion and at one time lead to the depth of destruction those of the faithful whom they caught, and at others, by the deeds which they undertook, might turn away from the path to the saving word those who were ignorant of the faith. Thus from Menander, whom we have already mentioned as the successor of Simon, there proceeded a certain snake-like power with two mouths and double head, and established the leaders of two heresies, Saturninus, an Antiochian by race, and Basilides of Alexandria. The first established schools of impious heresy in Syria, the latter in Egypt. Irenaeus makes it plain that Saturninus uttered for the most part the same falsehoods as Menander, but Basilides, under the pretext of secret doctrine, stretched fancy infinitely far, fabricating monstrous myths for his impious heresy. Now while most of the orthodox at that time were struggling for the truth, and fighting with great eloquence for the glory of the Apostles and of the Church, some also by their writings provided for their successors methods of defence against the heresies which have been mentioned. Of these a most powerful refutation of Basilides has reached us from Agrippa Castor, a most famous

1 The Greek might naturally mean "logically," but the antithesis with written defences shows what is intended.
2 Not extant.
Βασιλείδου ἔλεγχος, τὴν δεινότητα τῆς τάνδρος 7 ἀποκαλύπτων γοητείας. ἐκφαίνων δ᾿ οὖν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀπόρρητα, φησίν αὐτὸν εἰς μὲν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τέσσαρα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι συντάξαι βιβλία, προ- φήτας δὲ ἑαυτῷ ὁνομάζει Βαρκαββαν καὶ Βαρκωφ καὶ ἄλλους ἀνυπάρκτους τυνὰς ἑαυτῷ συμπεριλήμενος, ἐκαβάρους τε αὐτοῖς εἰς κατάπληξιν τῶν τα τοιαῦτα τεθητότων ἐπιφημίσαι προσηγορίας, διδάσκει τε ἐδιαφορεῖν εἰδωλοθύτων ἀπογενο- μένους καὶ ἐξομυνμένους ἀπαραφολάκτως τὴν πίστιν κατὰ τοὺς τῶν διώγμων καινούς, Πυθα- γορικῶς τε τοῖς προσκυόμενοι αὐτῷ πενταέτη σωμήν παρακελεύεσθαι καὶ ἔτερα δὲ τούτοις παραπλήσια 8 ἁμβὶ τοῦ Βασιλείδου καταλέξας ὁ εἰρημένος οὐκ ἄγεννος τῆς δηλωθείσης αἱρέσεως εἰς προπότον ἐφώρασε τὴν πλάνην. γράφει δὲ καὶ Εἰρηναῖος 9 συγχρονίσαι τούτοις Καρποκράτην, ἄτερας αἱρέσεως τῆς τῶν Γνωστικῶν ἐπικληθείσης πατέρα. ὃι καὶ τοῦ Σύμωνος οὐχ ὡς ἐκεῖνος κρύβοτοι, ἀλλ᾿ ἤδη καὶ εἰς φανερὸν τὰς μαγείας παραδίδοναί ἥξιον, ὡς ἐπὶ μεγάλους δὴ, μόνον οὐχὶ καὶ σεμνομένοι τοῖς κατὰ περιεργίαν πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπιτελουμένους φίλ- τρους ὑμεροπομποῖς τε καὶ παρέδρους τοις δαίμοσιν καὶ ἄλλας ὑμεροστάτους τοῖς ἄγωγαίς· τοῦτοις τε ἀκολούθως πάντα δρᾶν χρῆναι διδάσκει τὰ ἀισχροφυγότατα τοὺς κèlesτας εἰς τὸ τελείον τῆς καὶ αὐτοὺς μυσταγωγίας ἥ καὶ μᾶλλον μυσαρ- ποιίας ἐλεύσεσθαι, ὡς μὴ ἄν ἄλλως ἐκφευξομένους τοὺς κοσμίκους, ὡς ἄν ἐκεῖνοι φαίνει, ἀρχοντας, μὴ οὖχι πάσιν τὰ δι᾿ ἀρρητοποιίας ἀπονείμαται χρέα. τοῦτοις δὴ τα ἐνεβαίνειν διακόνους χρώμενον 10 τὸν ἐπιχαρέσικακον δαίμονα τοὺς μὲν πρὸς αὐτῶν

Iren. 1, 25, 1, 6, 3, 4
writer of that time, revealing the cleverness of the man’s deception. In expounding his mysteries he says that he compiled twenty-four books on the gospel, and that he named his own prophets Bar Cabbas and Bar Coph,¹ and that he set up some others for himself who had never existed, but that he invented barbarous names for them to astonish those who were influenced by such things. He taught that there was no harm in eating things offered to idols, or in light-heartedly denying the faith in times of persecution. Like Pythagoras he enjoined those who came to him to keep silence for five years. The same writer tells other similar things about Basilides, and offers a magnificent refutation of the error of the heresy described. Irenaeus also writes that Carpocrates was a contemporary of these, the father of another heresy which was called that of the Gnostics. These did not, like Basilides, desire to transmit the magic of Simon secretly but openly, as though it was some great thing, speaking almost with awe of their magical ceremonies, of love charms, of the bringers of dreams and familiar spirits, and of other similar performances. In accordance with this they teach that those who purpose coming to initiation in their mysteries, or rather in their obscenities, must perform all the shocking deeds because in no other way can they escape the “rulers of the world,” as they would say, except by fulfilling to all of them what was necessary through their mysteries. By using these ministers the demon who rejoices in evil accomplished the piteous enslavement

¹ Nothing is known of these persons, but for a suggested connexion of Gnostic prophecy with Zoroastrian writings see Hort’s article on Barcabras in the Dictionary of Christian Biography.
απατωμένους οίκτρως οὕτως εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι, τοῖς δ' ἀπίστοις ἔθνεσιν πολλῆν παρέχειν κατὰ τοῦ θείου λόγου δυσφημίας περιουσίαν, τῆς εἴς αὐτῶν φήμης εἰς τὴν τοῦ παντὸς Χριστιανῶν ἔθνους διαβολήν καταχεομένης. ταύτη 11 δ' οὖν ἐπὶ πλείστον συνέβαινεν τὴν περὶ ἡμῶν παρὰ τοῖς τότε ἀπίστοις ὑπόνοιαι δυσσεβῆ καὶ ἀτοπωτάτην διαδίδοσθαι, ὡς δὴ αθεμίτους πρὸς μητέρας καὶ ἀδελφᾶς μίξεων ἀνοσίας τε τροφαῖς χρωμένων. οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν γε μὴν αὐτῷ ταῦτα 12 προφέρει, τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτῆς ἐαυτὴν συνιστώσης ἐπὶ μέγα τε φῶς κατὰ τὸν προϊόντα χρόνον διαλαμπουσῆς. ἐσβεστο μὲν γὰρ αὐτικὰ πρὸς αὐτῆς 13 ἐνεργείας ἀπελεγχόμενα τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιτεχνηματα, ἄλλων ἐπ' ἄλλας αἱρέσεως κανονομομυμένων ὑπορρεουσῶν ἄει τῶν προτέρων καὶ εἰς πολυτρόπους καὶ πολυμόρφους ἴδεας ἀλλοτε ἄλλως φθειρομεῖνον προάγει δ' εἰς αὐξήσιο καὶ μέγεθος, ἂει κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχουσα, ἡ τῆς καθόλου καὶ μόνης ἀληθοῦς ἐκκλησίας λαμπρότης, τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ εἰλικρινὲς καὶ ἐλευθερίων τὸ τε σώφρον καὶ καθαρὸν τῆς ἐνθέου πολιτείας τε καὶ φιλοσοφίας εἰς ἀπαν γένος Ἕλληνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων ἀποστίλβουσα. συναπεσθῇ δ' οὖν ἀμα τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ η ἑκατὼ παντὸς 14 τοῦ δόγματος διαβολῆ, ἐμενεν δὲ ἄρα μόνη παρὰ πᾶσι κρατοῦσα καὶ ἄνωμολογουμένη τὰ μάλιστα διαπρέπειν ἐπὶ σεμνότητι καὶ σωφροσύνη θείοις τε καὶ φιλοσόφοις δόγμαισιν ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς διδασκαλία, ως μηδένα τῶν εἰς νῦν αἰσχρὰν ἐπιφέρειν τολμᾶν

1 The reference is to the story which was at that time told by the heathen of the Christians and has since been told among Christians of the Jews that they kill and eat small children. 318
to perdition of those who were thus deceived by them, and brought much weight of discredit upon the divine word among the unbelieving Gentiles, because the report which started from them was scattered calumniously on the whole race of Christians. It was especially in this way that it came to pass that a blasphemous and wicked suspicion concerning us was spread among the heathen of those days, to the effect that we practised unspeakable incest with mothers and sisters and took part in wicked food.¹ Yet this did not long succeed, for the truth vindicated itself and as time went on shone ever more brightly. For by its power the machinations of its enemies were refuted; though new heresies were invented one after another, the earlier ones flowed into strange multiple and multifarious forms and perished in different ways at different times. But the brightness of the universal and only true church proceeded to increase in greatness, for it ever held to the same points in the same way, and radiated forth to all the race of Greeks and barbarians the reverent, sincere, and free nature, and the sobriety and purity of the divine teaching as to conduct and thought. Thus with the lapse of time the calumnies against the whole teaching were extinguished, and our doctrine remained as the only one which had power among all and was admitted to excel in its godliness and sobriety,² and its divine and wise doctrines. So that no one has dared to

² These two words are peculiarly difficult to translate. The first means the quality which demands reverence from others. The second is the moderation, self-restraint, and sobriety which are essential to a good life. There is no word in English which adequately translates either.
κατὰ τῆς πίστεως ἦμων δυσφημίαν μηδὲ τινα τοιαύτην διαβολὴν οἷας πάλαι πρότερον φίλον ἦν χρήσθαι τοῖς καθ᾽ ἦμῶν ἐπισυνισταμένοις.

"Ὅμως δὲ οὖν κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους αὕτις παρῆγεν εἰς μέσον ἡ ἁλήθεια πλείους ἑαυτῆς ύπερμάχους, οὐ δὲ ἀγράφων αὐτῷ μόνον ἐλέγχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δὴ ἑγγράφων ἀποδείξεων κατὰ τῶν ἀθέων αἰρέσεων στρατευομένους. VIII. ἐν τούτοις ἐγνωρίζετο Ἡγησυππος, οὐ πλείοται ἡ ἀλήθεια πρότερον κεχρήμεθα φωναῖς, ὡς ἐὰν ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ παραδόσεως τινὰ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους παραθέμενοι. ἐν πέντε δὲ οὖν συγγράμμασιν οὕτως τὴν ἀπλανὴ παράδοσιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος ἀπλουστάτη συντάξει γραφῆς ὑπομνηματισμένος, καθ’ ὅν ἐγνωρίζετο σημαινεῖ χρόνον, περὶ τῶν ἀρχῆς ἰδρυσάντων τὰ εἰδώλα οὕτω πως γράφων. ‘‘οἷς κενοτάφια καὶ ναοὺς ἐποίησαν ὡς μέχρι νῦν. ἦν ἐστιν καὶ Ἀντίνους, δοῦλος Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος, οὐ καὶ ἁγίων ἄγεται Ἀντιόχειος, ὁ ἐφ’ ἦμῶν γενόμενος. καὶ γὰρ πόλιν ἔκτισεν ἐπώνυμον Ἀντίνου καὶ προφήτας.’’ καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ Ἰουνιστίνους, γνήσίους τῆς ἁλήθεις φιλοσοφίας ἐραστῆς, ἐτὶ τοῖς παρ’ Ἕλληνων ἀσκούμενος ἐνδιέτριβεν λόγοις: σημαίνει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τούτοις τῶν χρόνων ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀντωνῖνον ἀπολογία ὅδε γράφων‘‘ ὅπκ ἄτοπον δὲ ἐπιμνησθῆναι ἐν τούτοις ἡγούμεθα καὶ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ νῦν γενομένου, ὅν καὶ ἄπαντες ὡς θεόν διὰ φόβου σὲβεται ὄρμητο, ἐπιστάμενοι τῖς τῇ ἦν καὶ πόθεν ὑπήρξεν.’’

Justin, Apol. 1, 29

1 The word ὑπομνήματα, which was translated in Latin by commentarii, means a report made by an official to the emperor or other authority, and so came to be used of an
continue the base implications of calumny against our faith, such as those who were opposed to us were formerly accustomed to use.

Nevertheless, at the time spoken of, the truth again brought forward for itself more champions who campaigned against the godless heresies not only by unwritten arguments but also in written demonstrations. VIII. Among these Hegesippus was famous and of his words we have already made much use, for from his tradition we have quoted details as to the apostolic age. He collected his material in five books, giving in the simplest style of writing the unerring tradition of the apostolic preaching. He indicates the time in which he flourished by writing thus about those who had made idols: "To them they made cenotaphs and shrines until now, and among them is Antinous, a slave of the Emperor Hadrian, in whose honour the Antinoian games are held, though he was our contemporary. For he also built a city called after Antinous, and instituted prophets for him." At the same time too, Justin, a genuine lover of true philosophy, was still continuing to practise the learning of the Greeks. And he also himself indicates this period in his Apology to Antoninus by writing thus, "And we thought it not out of place to mention at this point Antinous of the present day whom all were intimidated to worship as a god, though they knew his nature and origin."

historical work which had not yet been put into literary form. As to Hegesippus see Introduction, pp. xlvii sq.

2 A cenotaph is a monument in the form of a tomb but with no body in it.

3 The sentence seems to break off in the middle, but the subject of the verb, though not expressed, is doubtless Hadrian.
‘Ο δ’ αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦ τότε κατὰ 'Ἰουδαῖον πολέμου μνημονεύων ταῦτα παρατίθεται: "καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ νῦν γενομένῳ 'Ἰουδαϊκῷ πολέμῳ Βαρχωχεβας, ὁ τῆς 'Ἰουδαίων ἀποστάσεως ἀρχηγότης, Χριστιανός μόνος εἰς τιμωρίας δεινάς, εἰ μὴ ἄρνοιντο Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ βλασφημοῦνεν, ἐκέλευεν ἀγεσθαι.”

'Ἐν ταύτῳ δὲ καὶ τῆν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐπὶ τὴν θεοσέβειαν μεταβολὴν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι μὴ ἀλόγως, μετὰ κρίσεως δὲ αὐτῶ γεγόνει, δηλών, ταύτα γράφει: "καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐγώ, τοῖς Πλάτωνος χαίρων διδάγμασιν, διαβαλλόμενος ἀκούσαν Χριστιανοὺς, ὅρων δὲ καὶ ἀφόβους πρὸς θάνατον καὶ πάντα τὰ νομιζόμενα φοβερά, ἐνεύοιν ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἐν κακίᾳ καὶ φιληδονίᾳ ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῦς. τὸς γὰρ φιλόδονος ἡ ἀκρατία καὶ ἀνθρωπείων σαρκῶν ἐπεξερευνήσατο, ὅπως τῶν ἑαυτῷ στερηθείζεται ἐπιθυμῶν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔκ παντὸς ζῆν ἐὰν τὴν ἐνθάδε βιοτὴν καὶ λανθάνειν τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἐπειράτο, οὐχ ὅτι ἑαυτὸν κατηγγελλέννεν φονευθησόμενον;"

"Ετι δ’ ὁ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ δεξάμενον τὸν 'Ἄδριανον παρὰ Σερενίου Ἐρανίου, λαμπροτάτου ἡγουμένου, γράφει ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν περιέχοντα ὡς οὖ δίκαιοι εἰς ἐπὶ μηδενὶ ἐγκλήματι βοᾶίς δήμου χαριζομένους ἀκρατῶς κτείνειν αὐτούς, ἀντιγράφαι Μινουκίων Φουρνανδῆ, ἀνθυπάτῳ τῆς Ἀσίας, προστάτων μηδένα κρίνειν ἄνευ ἐγκλήματος καὶ εὐλόγου κατηγορίας καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς δὲ ἀντι-7 γραφον παρατέθειται, τὴν 'Ῥωμαϊκήν φωνήν, ὡς εἰχὲν, διαφυλάξας, προλέγει δ’ αὐτῆς ταῦτα." καὶ 322
The same writer mentions the war of that time against the Jews and makes this observation, "For in the present Jewish war it was only Christians whom Bar Chocheba, the leader of the rebellion of the Jews, commanded to be punished severely, if they did not deny Jesus as the Messiah and blaspheme him."

In the same book he shows that his conversion from Greek philosophy to true religion did not take place irrationally, but as an act of deliberate judgment; for he writes thus: "For I myself, while I was rejoicing in the teaching of Plato, heard the Christians abused. But I saw that they were afraid neither of death, nor of anything usually thought fearful, and I considered it was impossible that they were living in wickedness and libertinism. For what libertine or incontinent person, or one who finds good in the eating of human flesh, could greet death, that it might take away all his lusts, and would not try to prolong by all means his present life and to avoid the notice of the rulers, and not give himself up to be murdered?"

Moreover, the same writer relates that Hadrian received a dispatch in favour of the Christians from Serennius Granianus, a most distinguished governor, to the effect that it was not just to put them to death, without accusation or trial, to appease popular clamour, and that he wrote an answer to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia, ordering him to try no one without indictment and reasonable accusation, and Justin append a copy of the letter, preserving the original Latin ¹ as he had it, and prefixing these

¹ This is not so in the extant ms. of Justin, which has replaced the Latin by the Greek of Eusebius. The authenticity of the document has been warmly disputed, and there is not yet any agreement on the point among critics.
EUSEBIUS

Justin, Apol. 1, 68

εὖ ἐπιστολῆς δὲ τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ ἑπιφανεστά
tου Καίσαρος Ἦδριανοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν ἔχοντες
ἀπαιτεῖν ὑμᾶς, καθὰ ἡξιώσαμεν, κελεύσας τὸς
κρίσεις γίνεσθαι, τοῦτο ὦχ ὡς ὑπὸ Ἦδριανοῦ
κελευσθέν μᾶλλον ἡξιώσαμεν, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπι-
στασθαι δικαίων ἀξιῶν τὴν προσφώνησιν. ὑπε-
etάξαμεν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς Ἦδριανοῦ τὸ
ἀντίγραφον, ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο ἀληθεύειν ὑμᾶς γνωρί-
ζητε, καὶ ἔστω τὸδε.

Τούτοις ὁ μὲν δηλωθεὶς ἀνήρ αὐτὴν παρατέθεται στῇν Ὁρωμαίην αὐτὴν ἀντιγραφὴν, ἱμεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν κατὰ δύναμιν αὐτὴν μετειλήφαμεν, ἔχουσαν ὦδε:

Justin, Apol. 1, 68.

IX. Ὅθεν οὖν Φουνδανῷ ἐπιστολῆς ἐδεξάμην γραφεῖσαν μοι ἀπὸ Σερενίου Γρανιανοῦ, λαμπ-

 porówny άνδρός, ὡς τινα ς διδέξιε. οὐ δοκεῖ

μοι οὖν τὸ πράγμα ἀξιότητον καταλίποι, ἵνα μήτε

οἱ ἄνθρωποι ταράττωνται καὶ τοῖς συκοφάνταις

χορηγία κακουργίας παρασχεθή. εἰ οὖν σαφῶς

eis ταύτην τὴν ἀξίωσιν οἱ ἑπαρξιῶσί τινα

διωσχυρίζεσθαι κατὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ὡς καὶ πρὸ

βήματος ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἐπὶ τοῦτο μόνον τραπώσις,

ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἀξιώσεων οὐδὲ μόναις βοῶς. πολλῷ

γὰρ μᾶλλον προσήκεν, εἰ τις κατηγορεῖν βούλοιτο,

tοῦτο σε διαγωνώσιεν. εἰ τις οὖν κατηγορεῖ καὶ

deίκνυσι τὸ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους πράττοντας, οὕτως

ὁρίζε κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἀμαρτήματος· ὡς μὰ

tὸν Ἡρακλέα εἰ τις συκοφάνταις χάριν τοῦτο

προτείνω, διαλάμβανε ὑπὲρ τῆς δεινότητος καὶ

φρόντιζε ὅπως ἂν ἐκδικήσεις." καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς

Ἤδριανοῦ ἀντιγραφῆς τοιαῦτα.

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remarks: "Though we might have begged you to order trials to be held, as we desired, on the strength of a letter from the great and glorious Emperor Hadrian, we preferred to rest our request not on the command of Hadrian but on our knowledge that we are making a righteous request. However, we also append a copy of the letter of Hadrian, that you may know that we are speaking the truth on this point, and here it is."

The author quoted then appends the Latin rescript itself, but we have translated it to the best of our power into Greek as follows:

IX. "To Minucius Fundanus. I received a letter written to me from his Excellency Serennius Grani- nus, your predecessor. I think that the matter ought not to remain without inquiry, to prevent men from being harassed or helping the rascality of informers. If then the provincials can make out a clear case on these lines against the Christians so as to plead it in open court, let them be influenced by this alone and not by opinions or mere outcries. For it is far more correct if anyone wishes to make an accusation for you to examine this point. If then anyone accuses them, and shows that they are acting illegally, decide the point according to the nature of the offence, but by Hercules, if anyone brings the matter forward for the purpose of blackmail, investigate strenuously and be careful to inflict penalties adequate to the crime."¹ Such was the rescript of Hadrian.

¹ The Latin of Rufinus (see Introduction, p. xxviii) may be the original: "in hunc pro sui nequitia suppliciis severioribus vindices".
X. Τούτου δὲ τὸ χρεών μετὰ πρῶτον καὶ εἰς κοστὸν ἔτος ἐκτίσαντος, Ἀντωνίνος δὲ κληθεὶς Εὐσέβης τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν διαδέχεται. τούτου δὲ ἐν ἐτεὶ πρῶτῳ Τελεσφόρου τὸν βίον ἐνδεκάτῳ τῆς λειτουργίας ἐνιαυτῷ μεταλλάξαντος, Ἕγινος τὸν κλήρον τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς παραλαμβάνει. ἰστορεῖ γε μὴν ὁ Εἰρηναῖος τὸν Τελεσφόρον μαρτυρίῳ τὴν τελευτήν διαπρέπαι, δηλών ἐν ταύτῳ κατὰ τὸν δηλούμενον Ῥωμαίων ἐπίσκοπον Ἕγινον Οὐαλεντῖνον ἰδίας αἰρέσεως εἰσηγητὴν καὶ Κέρδωνα τῆς κατὰ Μαρκίωνα πλάνης ἀρχηγὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἄμφοτε γνωρίζεσθαι, γράφει δὲ οὕτως:

XI. "Οὐαλεντῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἤλθεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ Ἕγινον, ἤκμασεν δὲ ἐπὶ Πίου, καὶ παρέμεινεν ἦς Ἀνικήτου. Κέρδων δὲ ὁ πρὸ Μαρκίωνος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Ἕγινον, ὁς ἦν ἐνατος ἐπίσκοπος, εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἐξομολογούμενος, οὕτως διετέλεσεν, ποτὲ μὲν λαθροδιασκαλῶν, ποτὲ δὲ πάλιν ἐξομολογούμενος, ποτὲ δὲ ἐλεγχόμενος ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐδίδασκεν κακῶς, καὶ ἀψυχήμενος τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν συνοδίας." ταύτα δὲ φήσιν ἐν τρίτω τῶν 2 πρὸς τὰς αἰρέσεις: ἐν γε μὴν τῶν πρῶτων αὕτης περὶ τοῦ Κέρδωνος ταύτα διέξεισιν. "Κέρδων δὲ τις ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τῶν Σιμωνα τὰς ἀφορμὰς λαβὼν καὶ ἐπιδημήσας ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Ἕγινον ἐνατον κλήρον τῆς ἐπισκοπικῆς διαδοχῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχοντος, ἐδίδαξεν τὸν ὕπο τοῦ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν κεκηρυγμένον θεὸν μὴ εἶναι πατέρα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. τὸν μὲν γὰρ γνωρίζεσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἀγνώτα εἶναι, καὶ τὸν μὲν δίκαιον, τὸν δὲ ἀγαθὸν ὑπάρχειν. διαδεξάμενος
X. After twenty-one years Hadrian paid the debt of nature, and Antoninus, called Pius, received the sovereignty of Rome. In his first year Telesphorus passed away in the eleventh year of his ministry, and Hyginus received the lot of the bishopric of the Romans. Irenaeus relates that Telesphorus gained renown in his death by martyrdom, and states in the same place that in the time of Hyginus, the aforementioned bishop of Rome, Valentinus, the founder of a special heresy, and Cerdo, the founder of the Marcionite error, were both famous in Rome. He writes thus:

XI. "Valentinus came to Rome in the time of Hyginus, but he flourished under Pius, and remained until Anicetus, and Cerdo, who before the time of Marcion, in the days of Hyginus, the ninth bishop, had come to the church and confessed, went on in the same way, sometimes teaching heresy, sometimes confessing again, and sometimes convicted by his evil teaching and separated from the assembly of the brethren." This he says in the third book against the heresies. Moreover, in the first book he makes the following statement about Cerdo: "A certain Cerdo had come originally from the circle of Simon and settled in Rome in the time of Hyginus, who held the ninth place in the apostolic succession from the apostles. He taught that the God preached by the Law and the Prophets was not the father of our Lord Jesus Christ, for the one was known, the other unknown, the one was righteous and the other
δὲ αὐτὸν Μαρκίων ὁ Ποντικὸς ἑξέσευν τὸ δι-
δασκαλεῖν, ἀπηρυθρασμένως βλασφημῶν.'

'Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς Εἰρηναῖος τὸν ἀπειρον βυθὸν τῆς ὁμαλεντίνου πολυπλανοῦς ὑλῆς εὐτονώτατα δια-
πλώσας, ἔρτετο δύχην φωλευόντος ἀπόκρυφον
οὕςαν αὐτὸν καὶ λεληθυίαν ἀπογυμνοῖ τὴν κακίαν·
πρὸς τοὺς καὶ ἄλλον τινά, Μάρκος αὐτῷ ὄνομα, 4
κατ' αὐτὸς γενέσθαι λέγει μαγικὴς κυβείας
ἐμπερότατον, γράφει δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀτελέστους
αὐτῶν τελετὰς μυσεράς τε μυσταγωγίας ἐκφαίνων
αὐτοῖς δὴ τοὺς τοῖς γράμμασιν: 'οὐ μὲν γὰρ 5
αὐτῶν ομφάνα κατασκευάζουσιν καὶ μυστ-
αγωγίαν ἐπιτελοῦσιν μετ' ἐπιρρήσεων των τῶν
telouμένους καὶ πνευματικὸν γάμον φάσκουσιν
eίναι τὸ υπ' αὐτῶν γινόμενον κατὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα
tῶν ἀνω συζυγιῶν, ὦ δὲ ἄγουσιν ἐφ' ύδωρ καὶ
βαπτίζοντες οὕτως ἐπιλέγουσιν: 'εἰς ὀνόμα α-
γνώστου πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων, εἰς ἀλήθειαν μητέρα
tῶν πάντων, εἰς τὸν κατελθόντα εἰς τὸν Ἐσχοῦν.
ἄλλοι δὲ Ἑβραϊκά ὀνόματα ἐπιλέγουσιν πρὸς τὸ
μᾶλλον καταπλήξασθαι τοὺς τελομένους.'

'Αλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ τέταρτον τῆς ἑπισκοπῆς ἦτο 6
'Ὑγίου τελευτήσαντος, Πιὸν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἐγ-
χειρίζεται τὴν λειτουργίαν· κατὰ γε μὴν τὴν
'Αλεξάνδρειαν Μάρκος ἀναδείκνυται ποιμήν Εὐ-
μένους ἦτη τὰ πάντα δέκα πρὸς τρισὶν ἐκπλήσσαντος,
tοῦ τε Μάρκου ἐπὶ δέκα ἐτή τῆς λειτουργίας ἀναπαυσμένου, Κελαδίων τῆς 'Αλεξάνδρεων ἐκ-
κλησίας τῆς λειτουργίας παραλαμβάνει. καὶ κατὰ 7
tῆς Ῥωμαίων δὲ πόλιν πεντεκαιδεκάτω τῆς
ἐπισκοπῆς ἐνιαυτῷ Πίον μεταλλάξαντος, 'Ανίκητος
tῶν ἑκείσε ἑρωτότατος οὖν Ἡγήσιμος

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good. Marcion of Pontus succeeded him and increased the school, blaspheming unblushingly."

The same Irenaeus powerfully exposed the bottomless pit of the system of Valentinus with its many errors, and unbared his secret and latent wickedness while he was lurking like a reptile. Furthermore he says that there was in their time 1 another named Marcus, most experienced in the magic arts, and he writes of his initiations, which could not initiate, and of his foul mysteries, 2 expounding them in these words: "Some of them construct a bride-chamber, and celebrate a mystery with certain invocations on their initiate, and say that what they do is a spiritual marriage, according to the likeness of the unions above; others bring them to water and baptize them with this invocation, 'To the name of the unknown Father of the universe, to Truth, the mother of all things, to him who descended into Jesus,' and others invoke Hebrew words in order more fully to amaze the initiate."

After the fourth year of his episcopate Hyginus died and Pius undertook the ministry of Rome. In Alexandria Marcus was appointed after Eumenes had completed thirteen years, and when Marcus rested from the ministry after ten years, Celadion received the ministry of the church of the Alexandrians. In the city of the Romans Pius passed away in the fifteenth year of his ministry and Anicetus presided over those there. In his time

1 Apparently "in the time of Valentinus and Cerdo."
2 The play on the words in the Greek is untranslatable.
ίστορεῖ ἕαυτὸν ἐπιδημήσαι τῇ Ῥώμῃ παραμεῖναι τε αὐτὸθι μέχρι τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς Ἑλευθέρου. μάλιστα δ’ ἦκμαζεν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰουστίνου, ἐν φιλοσόφου σχήματι προσβεύων τὸν θείον λόγον καὶ τοῖς ύπερ τῆς πίστεως ἐναγωνιζόμενος συγγράμμασιν. ὃς δὴ καὶ γράφας κατὰ Μαρκίωνος σύγγραμμα, μνημονεύει ὡς καθ’ ὁν ὑπνάτατε καρον γνωριζομένον τῷ βίῳ τἀνδρός, φησίν δὲ οὕτως: "Μαρκίωνα δὲ τινα Ποντικόν, ὃς καὶ νῦν ἐτὶ ἐστὶν διδάσκων τοὺς πειθομένους ἄλλον τινὰ νομίζειν μείζονα τοῦ δημιουργοῦ θεοῦ. δὲ καὶ κατὰ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῆς τῶν δαίμονων συλλήψεως πολλοὺς πεποίηκε βλάσφημα λέγειν καὶ ἀρνεῖσθαι τὸν ποιητὴν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς πατέρα εἶναί τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἄλλον δὲ τινὰ ὃς ὄντα μείζονα παρὰ τοῦτον ὁμολογεῖν [πεποιηκέναι]. καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦτων ὁρμημένοι, ὃς ἔφαμεν, Χριστιανοῖ καλοῦνται, ὃν τρόπον καὶ οὐ κοινῶν ὄντων δογμάτων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις τὸ ἐπικαλούμενον ὄνομα τῆς φιλοσοφίας κοινὸν ἐστὶν." τούτῳ ἐπιφέρει λέγων "ἐστὶν δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ σύνταγμα κατὰ πασάν τῶν γεγενημένων αἱρέσεων, ὃ εἰ βούλεσθε ἐντυχεῖν, δώσομεν."

'Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς οὗτος Ἰουστίνος καὶ πρὸς Ἑλληνας ἵκανωτάτα ποιήσας, καὶ ἐτέρους λόγους ύπερ τῆς ἥμετέρας πίστεως ἀπολογίαν ἔχοντας βασιλεῖ Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ δὴ ἐπικληθέντι Εὐσεβεῖ καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίῳ συγκλήτῳ βουλῇ προσφωνεῖ καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιεῖτο. ἐμφαίνει δὲ ἕαυτὸν ὅσις καὶ πόθεν ἦν, διὰ τῆς ἀπολογίας ἐν τούτοις. XII. "Αὐτοκράτορι Τίτῳ Ἀλίῳ Ἀδριανῷ Ἀντωνίῳ Εὐσεβεῖ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ καὶ Ὀνή-
Hegesippus states that he stayed in Rome and remained there until the episcopate of Eleutherus. In their time Justin was at the height of his fame; in the garb of philosopher he served as ambassador of the word of God and contended in his writings for the faith. He wrote a treatise against Marcion and mentions that at the time he was writing the heretic was alive and notorious. He speaks thus: "And there was a certain Marcion of Pontus who even now is still teaching those who believe him to think that there is another God greater than the creator. Throughout the whole race of men by the instigation of demons he has made many to speak blasphemously and to deny that the Maker of this universe is the Father of Christ, and to confess that there is another greater than He. All those who begin from them, as we said, are called Christians just as the name of philosophy is common to philosophers though their doctrines vary." He goes on to say, "And we have a treatise against all the heresies which have arisen which we will give to any who wish to study it."

The same Justin laboured powerfully against the Gentiles, and addressed other arguments, affording a defence for our faith, to the Emperor Antoninus, called Pius, and to the Senate of the Romans, for he was living in Rome. In his Apology he explains his position and origin as follows: XII. "To the Emperor Titus Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Pius, Caesar Augustus, and to Verissimus, his son the philosopher,
EUSEBIUS

ρισσίμω νυώ φιλοσόφω καὶ Λουκίω φιλοσόφων Καίσαρος φύσει νυώ καὶ Εὐσεβοῦς εἰσποιητῷ, ἔραστῇ παιδείας, ἵσα ὑπὸ τὸν Καύσωνα γένους ἀνθρώπων ἀδικώς μισουμένων καὶ ἐπηρεαζομένων Ἰουστίνος Πρίσκου τοῦ Βακχείου τῶν ἀπὸ Φλανίας Νέας πόλεως τῆς Συρίας Παλαιστίνης, εἰς αὐτῶν, τῆν προσφώνησιν καὶ ἐντευξίν πεποίημαι."

Ἐντευχθεὶς δὲ καὶ ὑφ' ἑτέρων ὁ αὐτῶς βασιλεὺς ἔπι τῆς Ἀσίας ἀδελφῶν παντοίας ὑβρεσιν πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων δήμων καταπονομένων, τοιαύτης ἤξιώσεν τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας διατάξεις. XIII. 1

"Ἀὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς, Ἀρμένιος, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγυστος, δημαρχικής ἐξουσίας τὸ πέμπτον καὶ τὸ δέκατον, ὑπατος τὸ τρίτον, τῷ κοινῷ τῆς Ἀσίας χαίρειν. ἐγὼ μὲν οἶδ᾽ ὅτι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔπιμελές ἔστι μὴ 2 λανθάνειν τοὺς τοιούτους· πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνοι κολάσαιεν ἂν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους αὐτοῖς προσκυνεῖν ἡ ὑμεῖς. οὐς εἰς ταραγῆ ἐμβάλλετε, βεβαιοῦντες 3 τὴν γνώμην αὐτῶν ἢπερ ἔχουσιν, ὡς ἀθέως κατηγοροῦντες· εἶθ᾽ δὲ ἂν κακεῖνος αἱρέτον τῷ δοκεῖν κατηγορομένοις τεθναίει μᾶλλον ἡ ζῆν ὑπὲρ τοῦ οἰκείου θεοῦ· ὁδὲ καὶ νικῶσι, προϊέμενοι τᾶς ἐαντῶν ψυχὰς ἢπερ πειθόμενοι οἷς ἄξιοῦτε

1 The Council of Asia was one of the provincial councils to the emperor. It consisted of deputies from the various states and provinces. Among other things they were responsible for the religious life of the province. The Council of Asia met originally in the temple of the emperor and city of Rome at Pergamon; later on it met in various other centres, Ephesus, Sardis, Smyrna, Laodicea, Philadelphia and Cyzicus. Cf. Guiraud, Assemblées provinciales dans l'Empire romain.
and to Lucius, the lover of instruction, the son by nature of the philosopher-emperor, and by adoption of Pius, and to the holy Senate and to the whole people of Rome, on behalf of those men of every race who are unjustly hated and abused, I, Justin, the son of Priscus, the son of Baccheius, of Flavia Neapolis in Palestinian Syria, myself a Christian, offer an address and entreaty."

The same Emperor was entreated by other Asiatic Christians who had suffered all manner of injury from the local population and he thought fit to send the following decree to the Council of Asia.¹ XIII.

"The Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armenianus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribune for the fifteenth time, Consul for the third time, to the Council of Asia, greeting.² I know that the gods also take care that such men should not escape notice, for they would be far more likely to punish those who are unwilling to worship them than you are. But you drive them into tumult, for you confirm them in the opinion which they hold by accusing them as atheists, and they too when so accused might well prefer apparent³ death rather than life for the sake of their own God. Wherefore they are also conquerors because they sacrifice their lives rather

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¹ The date indicated is between March 7 and December 9, A.D. 161. This rescript is usually regarded as spurious, but Harnack, Texte und Untersuchungen xiii. 4, has tried to explain it as a genuine document with Christian interpolations. Schwartz thinks it is a translation of a Latin forgery. It is found in cod. Paris. 450 after the Apology of Justin, and is there attributed to Antoninus Pius when tribune for the 24th time, i.e. between Dec. 10, A.D. 160 and March 7, A.D. 161.

² This translation would better suit τὸ δοκεῖν, but τὸ δοκεῖν may be a phrase qualifying τεθνάναι. It is not improbable that it is a gloss.
πράττειν αὐτοὺς. περὶ δὲ τῶν σεισμῶν τῶν 4 γεγονότων καὶ γινομένων, οὐκ ἄτοπον ὑμᾶς ὑπομνῆσαι ἀθυμοῦντας μὲν ὅταν περὶ ὅσιν, παραβάλλοντας δὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα πρὸς τὰ ἐκεῖναν. οἱ 5 μὲν οὖν εὐπαρρησιαστότεροι γίνονται πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ὑμεῖς δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον καθ’ δὲν ἀγνοεῖν δοκεῖτε, τῶν τε θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἀμελεῖτε καὶ τῆς θρησκείας τῆς περὶ τὸν ἀδάνατον. ὅπως δὲ τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς θρησκεύοντας ἐλαύνετε καὶ διώκετε ἐως θανάτον. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων 6 ἡδὴ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς ἑπαρχίας ἡγεμόνων καὶ τῶι θειοτάτω ἡμῶν ἔγραφαν πατρὶ, οἷς καὶ ἀντέγραφεν μηδὲν ἐνοχλείν τοὺς τοιούτοις, εἰ μὴ ἐμφαίνουτό τι περὶ τῇ 'Ρωμαιόν ἡγεμονίαν ἐγχειροῦντες. καὶ ἐμοὶ δὲ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων πολλοὶ ἐσήμαναν· οὐ δὴ καὶ ἀντέγραφα κατ- ακολουθῶν τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμῃ. εἰ δὲ τίς ἐπιμένει 7 τινὰ τῶν τοιούτων εἰς πράγματα φέρων ὡς δὴ τοιοῦτον, ἐκεῖνος δὲ καταφέρομεν ἀπολελύσθω τοῦ ἐγκλήματος καὶ ἐὰν φαινήται τοιοῦτος ὡν, δὲ καταφέρων ἐνοχὸς ἐσται δίκης. προετέθη ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῆς Ἀσίας.'

Τούτους οὖν χωρῆσασαν ἑπιμαρτυρῶν Μελίτων, 8 τῆς ἐν Σάρδησι ἐκκλησίας ἑπίσκοπος καὶ αὐτὸ γνωρίζομεν τοῦ χρόνου, δῆλος ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων αὐτῷ ἐν ἦ πεποίηται πρὸς αὐτοκράτορα Οὐήρων ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς δόγματος ἀπολογία.

XIV. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν δηλομένων, Ἀνικήτου τῆς 1 Ῥωμαιῶν ἐκκλησίας ἡγουμένου, Πολύκαρπον ἐπὶ περιόντα τῷ βίω γενέσθαι τε ἐπὶ Ῥώμης καὶ εἰς ὀμιλίαν τῷ Ἀνικήτῳ ἐλθεῖν διὰ τὰ ζήτημα περὶ

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than obey and do what you command. With regard to the earthquakes which have taken place and are still going on it is not out of place to remind you that when they happen you are depressed, and so set up a comparison between our position and theirs. They obtain increased confidence towards God, but you the whole of the time neglect the other gods and the worship of the immortal. But when the Christians worship him you harry and persecute them to death. And many of the provincial governors wrote formerly on behalf of such men to our divine father, and he replied that they were not to be interfered with unless they appeared to be plotting against the Roman government. And to me also many reported about such men, and to them I too replied consistently with my father’s opinion. But if anyone persist in taking action against any one of such persons, on the ground that he is so, let that one who is accused be released from the charge, even if it appear that he is such, but the accuser shall be liable to penalty. Published at Ephesus in the Council of Asia.”

Further testimony to these events is given by Melito, the famous bishop of the church in Sardis at that time, as is clear from what he says in the Apology which he made to the Emperor Verus on behalf of our faith.

XIV. During the time of the emperors referred to, while Anicetus was ruling the church of Rome, Irenaeus relates that Polycarp was still alive and came to Rome and conversed with Anicetus about

1 The text as it stands in the Greek is hopeless. Possibly καθ’ δὲ ἄγνωσίν δοκεῖτε have been displaced and refer to the “immortal” or the emendation of καθ’ δὲ τὸ καὶ θεόν might be accepted.
τῆς κατὰ τὸ πάσχα ἡμέρας Ἐιρναιῶς ἱστορεῖ. καὶ ἄλλην δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς περὶ τοῦ Πολυκάρπου παραδίδωσιν διήγησιν, ὡς ἀναγκαίων τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ δηλουμένους ἐπισυνάψαι, οὕτως ἔχουσαν.

ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΤΡΙΤΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΣ ΑΙΡΕΣΕΙΣ ΕΙΡΝΗΑΙΟΥ

Iren. 3, 3, 4

"Καὶ Πολύκαρπος δὲ οὗ μόνον ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων μαθητευθεῖς καὶ συναναστραφεῖς πολλοῖς τοῖς τῶν κύριον ἔφραχσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων κατασταθεῖς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔφρακμεν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἡλικίᾳ (ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ παρέμεινεν καὶ πάνη γηραλέος ἐνδόξως καὶ ἐπιφανέστατα μαρτυρήσας ἐξῆλθεν τοῦ βίου), ταῦτα διδάσας αἰὲ ἀ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμαθεν, ὁ καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία παραδίδωσιν, ὃ καὶ μόνα ἑστὶν ἄληθῆ. μαρτυροῦσα τούτοις αἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκκλησίας πᾶσαι καὶ οἱ μέχρι νῦν διαδεδεμένου τὸν Πολύκαρπον, πολλῷ ἀξιοπιστότερον καὶ βεβαιότερον ἄληθείας μάρτυρα ὅντα Οὐαλεντῖνος καὶ Μαρκίωνος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κακογνωμόνων· ὃς καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀνυκήτου ἐπιδημήσας τῇ Ρώμῃ, πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν προειρημένων αἱρετικῶν ἐπέστρεφεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, μίαν καὶ μόνην ταῦτην ἀληθείαν κηρύξας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων παρειδηθέναι τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παραδεδομένην. καὶ εἰς ᾧ οἱ ἀκηκοοίτες αὐτοῦ ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ κυρίου μαθητής ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ πορευθεῖς λουσάζαται καὶ ἱδὼν ἐσοῦ Κηρύχου ἐξήλατο τοῦ βαλανείου μὴ λουσάμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπειπών 'φύγωμεν, μὴ καὶ τὸ βαλανείον συμπέσῃ, ἐνδον ὡντος Κηρύχου τοῦ τῆς ἄληθείας ἐχθροῦ'.

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some difficulty as to the day of the Passover. The same writer tells another story about Polycarp which it is necessary to add to what has been said about him. It runs as follows:

From the third book of Irenaeus against Heresies

"And Polycarp also was not only instructed by apostles and conversed with many who had seen the Lord, but was also appointed bishop by apostles in Asia in the church in Smyrna. We also saw him in our childhood, for he lived a long time and in extreme old age passed from life, a splendid and glorious martyr. He constantly taught those things which he had learnt from the apostles, which also are the tradition of the church, which alone are true. To these facts all the churches in Asia bear witness, and the present successors of Polycarp, and he is a far more trustworthy and reliable witness of the truth than Valentinus and Marcion and the others who hold wrong opinions. In the time of Anicetus he visited Rome and converted many of the above-mentioned heretics to the church of God, preaching that the one and only truth which he had received from the apostles was that which is the tradition of the church. And there are those who heard him tell that John the disciple of the Lord went in Ephesus to bathe and seeing Cerinthus within, sprang out of the baths without bathing calling out, 'Let us fly lest the baths fall in, since Cerinthus, the enemy of
καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Πολύκαρπος Μαρκίωνι ποτε ἕις ἐν ὑμῖν αὐτῷ ἐλθόντι καὶ φήσαντι ἑπιγίνωσκε ἡμᾶς ἀπεκρίθη ἑπιγίνωσκω ἑπιγίνωσκῳ τὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ σατανᾶ. τοσαύτην οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτῶν ἐσχόν εὐλαβεῖαν πρὸς τὸ μηδὲ μέχρι λόγου κοινωνεῖν τινὶ τῶν παραχάρασιν τῆς ἀλήθειας, ὡς καὶ Παύλος ἔφησεν 'αἱρετικὸν ἄνθρωπον μετὰ μίαν καὶ δευτέραν νουθεσίαν παραίτο, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐξεστραπται ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ ἀμαρτάνει ὃν αὐτοκατάκριτος.' ἔστων 8 δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴ Πολύκαρπον πρὸς Φίλιππησίους γεγραμμένη ἱκανωτάτη, ἦς ἦς καὶ τὸν χαρακτῆρα τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς ἀληθείας οἱ βουλόμενοι καὶ φροντίζοντες τῆς ἐαυτῶν σωτηρίας δύνανται μαθεῖν.' ταύτα ὁ Εἰρηναῖος. ὁ 9 γέ τοι Πολύκαρπος ἐν τῇ δηλωθείσῃ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους αὐτοῦ γραφῇ, φερομένῃ εἰς δεύο, κεχρηταί τυχων μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς.

'Αντωνίνων μὲν δὴ τὸν Εὐσεβῆ κληθέντα, εἰκοστὸν 10 καὶ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς ἁρχῆς διανύσαντα, Μάρκος Λύδιος Οὐήρος, ὁ καὶ Ἀντωνίνος, ύδας αὐτοῦ, σὺν καὶ Λουκίω ἅδελφῳ διαδέχεται. XV. ἐν τούτῳ 11 δὲ ὁ Πολύκαρπος μεγίστων τῆς Ἀσίαν ἀναθορυβησάντων διωγμῶν μαρτυρίῳ τελειοῦται, ἀναγκαίοταυτον δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ τέλος ἐγγράφως ἐτι φερόμενον ἢγούμαι δεῖν μνήμη τῆς τής ἡστορίας καταθέσθαι. ἔστων δὲ ἡ γραφὴ ἐκ προσώπου ἦς 2 αὐτὸς ἐκκλησίας ἦγεῖτο, ταῖς κατὰ τόπον παροικίαις 338.
the truth, is within.' And Polycarp himself when Marcion once met him and said, 'Recognize us,' answered, 'I do, I recognize the first-born of Satan.' Such care did the apostles and their disciples take not even to join in conversation with any of those who mutilate the truth, as Paul also said, 'A man that is heretical after a first and second exhortation, refuse, knowing such a one is perverted and sinneth, being self-condemned.' There is also a most powerful letter of Polycarp's written to the Philippians, from which those who wish and care for their own salvation can learn both the character of his faith and the preaching of the truth." So says Irenaeus. Moreover, Polycarp, in his above-mentioned letter to the Philippians, which is still extant, has made some quotations from the first Epistle of Peter.  

Antoninus, called Pius, held the sovereignty for twenty-two years and was succeeded by Marcus Aurelius Verus, also called Antoninus, his son, together with his brother Lucius. XV. At this time Polycarp was consecrated by martyrdom when great persecutions again disturbed Asia, and I think it most necessary to give in this history the account of his end, which is still extant in writing. The document purports to be from the church of which he was the leader, and gives to the neighbouring

1 The references to 1 Peter in Polycarp's Epistle are: i. 3=1 Pet. i. 8; ii. 1=1 Pet. i. 13, 21; ii. 2=1 Pet. iii. 9; v. 3=1 Pet. ii. 11; vii. 2=1 Pet. iv. 7; viii. 1=1 Pet. ii. 24, 22; x. 2=1 Pet. ii. 12.

2 Antoninus Pius died March 7, A.D. 161. Marcus Aurelius and Lucius were two adopted sons.

3 This seems to be a mistake. It is almost certain that the death of Polycarp was in A.D. 156. See Studia Biblica, ii. pp. 105 ff.
тα κατ’ αυτόν ἀποσημαίνοντα διὰ τούτων. "'Η 3 έκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ παροικούσα Σμύρναν τῇ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ ἐν Φιλομηλίῳ καὶ πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ πάντα τόπων τῆς ἀγίας καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παροικίας ἔλεος εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη θεοῦ πατρῶς καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη. ἐγράφαμεν ύμῖν, ἄδελφοι, τὰ κατὰ τοὺς μαρτυρήσαντας καὶ τὸν μακάριον Πολύκαρπον, οὕτως ὧσπερ ἐπισφραγίσας διὰ τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτοῦ κατέπαυσε τὸν διωγμόν."

Τούτοις ἔξης πρὸ τῆς ἀμβί τοῦ Πολυκάρπου διηγήσεως τὰ κατὰ τοὺς λουποὺς ἀνιστοροῦσι μάρτυρας, οἷς ἐνστάσεις πρὸς τὰς ἀληθινὰς ἐνεδείξατο, διαγράφοντες. καταπλήξαι γάρ φασι τοὺς ἐν κύκλῳ περιεστώτας, θεωρέοντο τοτὲ μὲν μάστιξι μέχρι καὶ τῶν ἐνδοτάτω φλεβῶν καὶ ἀρτηριῶν καταξιωμένους, ὡς ἡδη καὶ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς ἀπόρρητα τοῦ σώματος σπλάγχνα τε αὐτῶν καὶ μέλη κατοπτεύοντα, τοτὲ δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ βαλάντις κήρυκας καὶ τινὰς οξεῖς ὀβελίσκους ὑποστρωνυμένους, καὶ διὰ παντὸς εἰδοὺς κολάσεως καὶ βασάνων προϊόντας καὶ τέλος θηρῶν εἰς βοραν παραδιδομένους. μάλιστα δὲ ὑστοροῦσι διαπρέποι τὸν γενναίοτατον Γερμανικοῦ, ὑπορροφύντα σὺν θείᾳ χάριτι τὴν ἐμφυτὸν περὶ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ σώματος δελίαν. βουλομένου γέ τοι τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου πείθειν αὐτὸν προβαλλόμενου τε τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ ἀντιβολοῦντος κομιδῇ νέον ὄντα καὶ ἀκμαίον

1 Literally "place of sojourn." The word probably embodies the recognition that Christians are those whose citizenship is above. It seems to have been used originally
dioceses the following account of what happened to
him. “The Church of God which sojourns in
Smyrna, to the Church of God which sojourns in
Philomelium, and to all the sojournings of the Holy
Catholic Church in every place. Mercy, peace, and
love of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ
be multiplied. We write to you, brethren, the story
of the martyrs and of the blessed Polycarp, who
put an end to the persecution by his martyrdom as
though adding the seal.”

They then go on, before the narrative about
Polycarp, to give the story of the other martyrs,
describing the constancy which they showed against
torture, for they say that those who were standing
around were amazed when they saw that at one
time they were torn by scourges down to deep-
seated veins and arteries, so that the hidden con-
tents of the recesses of their bodies, their entrails
and organs, were exposed to sight. At another time
they were stretched on seashells and on sharp points,
were taken through all kinds of punishment and
torture, and finally were given to be eaten by wild
beasts. They say that the noble Germanicus was
especially distinguished, being strengthened by the
grace of God to overcome the natural cowardice of
the body for death. Even when the proconsul wished
to dissuade him, urging his youth and entreating
him as he was still just in the flower of his youth

of the district dominated by some great church and corre-
sponds roughly to the modern use of the word diocese, but
its meaning was gradually restricted to smaller districts and
it is etymologically still current in the word parish.

In Phrygia, not far from Pisidian Antioch. This letter
is usually called the Martyrdom of Polycarp. It is published

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οἶκτον ἐαυτοῦ λαβεῖν, μὴ μελλῆσαι, προθύμως δ' ἐπισπάσασθαι εἰς ἐαυτὸν τὸ θηρίον, μόνον οὐχὶ βιασάμενον καὶ παροξύναντα, ὡς ἂν τάξιν τοῦ ἀδίκου καὶ ἀνόμου βίου αὐτῶν ἀπαλαγεῖν. τοῦτον δ' ἐπὶ τῷ διαπρεπεῖς θανάτῳ τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος ἀποθαυμάσαν τῆς ἀνδρείας τὸν θεοφιλή μάρτυρα καὶ τὴν καθόλου τοῦ γένους τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἅρετήν, ἀθρόως ἐπιβοῶν ἀρξασθαὶ "αἰρε τοὺς ἀθέους· ζητεῖσθω Πολύκαρπος." καὶ δὴ πλείοτης ἐπὶ ταῖς βοᾷς γενομένης παραχής, Φρύγα τυλὰ τὸ γένος, Κόψτην τούνομα, νεωτέρ' ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίας ἐπιστάντα, ἐδόθη τοὺς θήρας καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τούτους ἀπειλάς, καταπτῆξα τὴν ψυχήν μαλακυσθέντα καὶ τέλος τῆς σωτηρίας ἐνδοῦναι. ἐδήλου δὲ τούτον ὁ τῆς προερημένης γραφῆς λόγος προπετέσπερον ἀλλ' οὔ κατ' εὐλάβειαν ἐπιτηδῆσαι τῷ δικαστηρίῳ σὺν ἐτέρους, ἀλόντα δ' οὖν ὁμος καταφανεῖς ὑπόδειγμα τοῖς πᾶσιν παρασχεῖν, ὅτι μὴ δέοι τοῖς τοιούτοις ρύθμωσιν καὶ ἀνευλαβῶς ἐπιτολμᾶν. ἀλλὰ ταύτη μὲν εἰχεν πέρας τὰ κατὰ τούτους· τὸν γε μὴν βαυμασιώτατον Πολύκαρπον τὰ μὲν πρώτα τούτων ἀκοῦσαντα ἀτάραχον μεῖναι, ἐνσταθεὶς τὸ ἂδος καὶ ἀκίνητον φυλάζαντα, βούλεθαι τε αὐτοῦ κατὰ πόλιν περιμένειν· πειθοῦσα γε μὴν ἀντιβολοῦσι τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐὰν ἡ ὑπεξέλθοι παρακαλοῦσι, προελθεῖν εἰς οὐ πόρρω διεστώτα τῆς πόλεως ἅγρον διατρίβειν τε σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐνταῦθα, νῦκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν οὕτω ἐτερον πράττοντα ἢ ταῖς πρὸς τὸν κύριον διακατεροῦσα εὐχαῖς· δι' ὅν δεῖσθαι καὶ ἰκετεύειν εἰρήνην ἐξαιτούμενον ταῖς ἀνὰ πάσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησίας, τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ εἶναι ἔκ τοῦ
to have pity on himself, he did not hesitate, but took
pains to drag the beast to himself, almost forcing
him and provoking him in order that he might be
the sooner free from an unjust and wicked life. At
his glorious death the whole crowd was amazed at
the God-loving martyr for his bravery, and at the
courage of the whole race of Christians, and began
to howl out together, "Kill the atheists! Let
Polycarp be sent for." When a great uproar arose
at this cry, a certain native of Phrygia named
Quintus, lately arrived from Phrygia, seeing the
beasts and the other threats, was overcome in his
mind and weakened and finally abandoned his
salvation. The narrative of the above-mentioned
document shows that this man had rushed to
the tribunal with the others in a headstrong but
irreligious spirit; but that nevertheless when he
was convicted he gave manifest proofs to all that
such men ought not to make foolhardy ventures
which do not spring from religion. Such was the fate
of these men. Yet the wonderful Polycarp, when
he first heard this, remained undisturbed, keeping
his mind steadfast and unmoved, and wished to stay
there in the city. But the urgency of his friends
and their entreaty that he should go out persuaded
him, and he departed to a farm not far from the city
where he stayed with a few others, and night and
day did nothing but persevere in prayers to the Lord.
In them he entreated and supplicated for peace,
begging that it be given the churches throughout
the world, for this was his invariable custom.
παντὸς αὐτῶν σύνηθες. καὶ δὴ εὐχόμενον, ἐν ἰδίῳ ὁπτασίᾳ τριῶν πρότερον ἥμερῶν τῆς συλλήψεως νῦκτωρ ἰδείν τὸ ὑπὸ κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν στρῶμα ἄθρως ὁὐτως ὑπὸ πυρὸς φλεχθὲν δεδαπανήθαι, ἐξυπνον δὲ ἐπὶ τούτων γενόμενον, εὐθὺς ὑφερμηνεύσαι τοῖς παροῦσι τὸ φανέν, μονὸν οὐχὶ τὸ μέλλον προθεσπίζαντα σαφῶς τε ἀνεπόντα τοῖς ἀμφοτέρων ὁτι δέοι αὐτὸν διὰ Χριστὸν πυρὶ τὴν ζωὴν μεταλάξαι. ἐπικειμένων δὴ οὖν σὺν πάσῃ σπουδῇ τῶν ἀναζητοῦντων αὐτῶν, άθρισ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἄδελφῶν διαθέσεως καὶ στοργῆς ἐκβεβιασμένον μεταβήναι φασιν ἑξ' ἐτερν ἀγρόν. ἐνθα μετ' οὐ πλείστον τούς συνελαύνοντας ἐπελθεῖν, δύο δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν συλλαβεῖν παΐδων. ὁν θάτερον αἰκίσαμένους ἐπιστήναι δι' αὐτοῦ τῇ τοῦ Πολυκάρπου καταγωγῇ, ὅβε δὲ τῆς ὄρασι ἐπελθόντας, αὐτῶν μὲν εὐρεῖν ἐν ὑπεράφω κατακείμενον, οθὲν δυνατόν ὁν αὐτῶν ἑξ' ἐτεραν μεταστήναι οἰκίαν, μὴ βεβουλήσθαι, εἰπόντα "τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ γινέσθαι." καὶ δὴ μαθῶν παρόντας, ὡς ὁ λόγος φησί, καταβάς αὐτοῖς διελέξατο εὖ μᾶλα φανάρῳ καὶ προστάτῳ προσώπῳ, ὡς καὶ θαῦμα δοκεῖν ὅραν τοὺς πάλαι τοῦ ἄνδρος ἀγνώτας, ἐναποβλέποντας τῷ τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτοῦ παλαιῷ καὶ τῷ σεμνῷ καὶ εὐσταθεὶ τῷ τρόπῳ, καὶ εἰ τοσαύτη γένοιτο σπουδὴ ὕπερ τοῦ τοιούτου συλληφθῆναι πρεσβύτην. δὲ οὐ μελήσας εὐθέως τράπεζαν αὐτοῖς παρατεθῆναι προστάτη, εἰτα τροφῆς ἀφθόνου μεταλαβείν ἄξιοι, μίαν τε ύραν, ὡς αὖ προσεύξοιτο ἀδεως, παρ' αὐτῶν αἰτεῖται· ἐπιτρεφάντων δὲ ἀναστάς ἡχετο, ἐμπλεώς τῆς χάριτος ὅν τοῦ κυρίου, ὡς ἐκπλήττεσθαι τοὺς παρόντας εὐχομένου αὐτοῦ ἀκρωμένους πολλοὺς.
While he was praying, in a vision at night three days before his capture, he saw the pillow under his head suddenly flaming with fire and so destroyed, and when he woke up at this he at once interpreted what he had seen to those present, all but foretelling the future and clearly announcing to his friends that in fire he must give up his life for Christ's sake. While those who were seeking for him were pressing on with great zeal, he was again constrained by the affection and love of the brethren to move to another farm. Shortly after the pursuers came up and arrested two of the slaves there. They tortured one of them and were brought by him to the abode of Polycarp. They entered in the evening and found him lying in an upper chamber. It was possible for him to have moved thence to another house, but he was not willing and said, "The Lord's will be done." When he heard that they had come, so the story says, he went down and conversed with them with a bright and gentle countenance, so that those who did not know him before thought that they saw a marvel when they regarded his old age and his venerable and steadfast behaviour, and they wondered that there should be such activity for the arrest of an old man of such character. He did not delay but immediately ordered a table to be set for them and invited them to partake of plentiful food, asking from them a single hour that he might pray undisturbed. They gave him leave, and he arose and prayed, filled with the grace of the Lord, so that those who were present were astonished when they heard his prayer, and many of them already began
τε αυτῶν μετανοεῖν ἡδη ἐπὶ τῷ τοιούτου ἀναρείσθαι μέλλειν σεμνὸν καὶ θεοπρεπῆ πρεσβύτην.

'Επὶ τούτους ἡ περὶ αυτοῦ γραφῆ κατὰ λέξιν ἂν δὲ πως τὰ ἑξῆς τῆς ἱστορίας ἔχει. Ἔπει δὲ ποτε κατέπαυσε τὴν προσευχὴν μνημονεύσας ἀπάντων καὶ τῶν πώποτε συμβεβληκότων αὐτῷ, μικρῶν τε καὶ μεγάλων, ἐνδόξων τε καὶ ἀδόξων, καὶ πάσης τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, τῆς άρας ἐλθούσης τοῦ ἐξιέναι, ἐνω καθίσαντες αὐτὸν ἔγαγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὄντος σαββάτου μεγάλου. καὶ ὑπήντα αὐτῷ ὁ εἰρήναρχος 'Ηρώδης καὶ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ Νικήτης· οἱ καὶ μεταθέντες αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ὀχήμα, ἔπειθον παρακαθέζομενοι καὶ λέγοντες 'τι γάρ κακὸν ἐστὶν εἰπέων, κύριος Καίσαρ, καὶ θύσαι καὶ διασῳζεσθαι;' ὃ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο, ἐπιμενόντων δὲ αὐτῶν, ἔφη 'οὐ μέλλω πράττειν ὁ συμβουλευστὲ μοι· οἱ δὲ ἀποτυχόντες τοῦ πείσαν αὐτῶν, δεινὰ ρήματα ἔλεγον καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς καθήρουν, ὡς κατώντα απὸ τοῦ ὀχήματος ἀποσύραι τὸ ἀντικήμιον· ἀλλὰ γάρ μη ἐπιστραφεῖς, οὐ μηδὲν πεπονθὼς, προθύμως μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐπορεύετο, ἄγομενος εἰς τὸ στάδιον. θορύβου δὲ τηλικοῦτον ὄντος ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ, ὡς μηδὲ πολλοὶ ἀκουσθήναι, τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ εἰσίντοι εἰς τὸ στάδιον φωνῇ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ γέγονεν ἱσχυε, Πολυκαρπε, καὶ ἀνδρίζουν· καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰπόντα οὐδείς εἶδεν, τὴν δὲ φωνὴν τῶν ἠμετέρων πολλοὶ ἤκουσαν. προσαχθέντος οὖν αὐτοῦ, θόρυβος δὲν μέγας ἀκουσάντων ὅτι Πολυκαρπος συνειλημμαίνου δια 

1 The preceding paragraphs are all based on the Martyrdom of Polycarp, but Eusebius has abbreviated it.

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to repent that so venerable and godlike an old man was going to be killed.

After this the document concerning him continues as follows\(^1\): "Now when he had at last finished his prayer, after remembering all who had ever even come his way, both small and great, high and low, and the whole Catholic Church throughout the world, the hour came for departure, and they set him on an ass, and led him into the city, on a 'great Sabbath day.'\(^2\) And the police captain Herod and his father Niketas met him and removed him into the wagon, and sat by his side trying to persuade him and saying: 'But what harm is it to say, "Lord Caesar," and to offer sacrifice, and to be saved?' But he at first did not answer them, but when they continued he said: 'I am not going to do what you counsel me.' And they gave up the attempt to persuade him, and began to speak fiercely, and turned him out in such a hurry that in getting down from the wagon he scraped his shin; and without turning round, as though he had suffered nothing, he walked on promptly and quickly, and was taken to the arena, while the uproar in the arena was so great that no one could even be heard. Now when Polycarp entered into the arena there came a voice from heaven: 'Be strong, Polycarp, and play the man.' And no one saw the speaker, but many of our friends who were there heard the voice. And when he was brought forward, there was a great uproar of those who heard that Polycarp had been arrested. Next

\(^2\) The traditional date of Polycarp's martyrdom was Feb. 23. If so, "a great Sabbath" may mean the feast of Purim, or it may mean the Sabbath after the Passover. See C. H. Turner in \textit{Stud. Bib.} ii. pp. 105, and E. Schwartz in \textit{Abhandl. der k. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen.} viii. (1905) 6, pp. 125 ff.
ηρώτα ὁ ἀνθύπατος εἰ αὐτὸς εἶναι Πολύκαρπος,
καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος, ἔπειθεν ἀρνεῖσθαι, λέγων
‘αἰδέσθητί σου τὴν ἡλικίαν’ καὶ ἔτερα τοῦτος ἀκόλουθα, ἃ σύνθεσις αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ λέγειν, ὁμοσον
τὴν Καῖσαρος τύχην, μετανόησον, εἰπόν, αἴρε τοὺς ἄθεους.’ ὁ δὲ Πολύκαρπος ἐμβριθεὶ τῷ προσώπῳ
eiς πάντα τὸν ὄχλον τὸν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ἐμβλέψας,
ἐπισείσας αὐτοῖς τὴν χείρα στενάξας τε καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, εἶπεν ‘αἴρε τοὺς ἄθεους.’ ἐγκείμενον δὲ τοῦ ἴγουμένου καὶ λέ-γοντος ὁμοσον, καὶ ἀπολύσω σε, λοιδόρησον τὸν Χριστόν,’ ἔφη ὁ Πολύκαρπος ὁγοδοήκοντα καὶ
ἐξ ἔτη δουλεύω αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐδένε με ἡδίκησεν·
καὶ πῶς δύναμαι βλασφημήσα τὸν βασιλέα μου,
τὸν σώσαντα με; ἐπιμένοντος δὲ πάλιν αὐτοῦ καὶ
λέγοντος ὁμοσον τὴν Καῖσαρος τύχην,’ ὁ
Πολύκαρπος ἐἰ κενοδοξεῖς, φησίν, ἵνα ὁμόσω
τὴν Καῖσαρος τύχην, ὅσ τερεν προσποιοῦμενος
ἀγνοεῖν ὅστις εἰμί, μετὰ παρρησίας ἄκουε· Χρις-
τιανός εἰμι. εἰ δὲ θέλεις τὸν τοῦ Χριστιανισμὸν
μαθεῖν λόγον, δὸς ἴμέραν καὶ ἄκουσον.’ ἔφη ὁ ἄνθυπατος πείσων τοῦ δήμον. Πολύκαρπος ἔφη,
‘σὲ μὲν καὶ λόγου ἡξιώκα, δεδιδάγμεθα γὰρ
ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίας ὑπὸ θεοῦ τεταγμένας τιμὴ
catat τὸ προσήκον τὴν μὴ βλάπτουσαν ἡμᾶς
ἀπονέμειν. ἐκεῖνους δὲ οὐκ ἄξιοις ἠγοῦμαι τοῦ
ἀπολογεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς.’ ὁ δὲ ἀνθύπατος εἶπεν ἔθηρὰ τῆ
ἐχω τούτοις σε παραβαλῶ, ἐὰν μὴ metanovôsia.
ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ‘κάλει: ἁμετάθετος γὰρ ἡμῖν ἂπο
τῶν κρειττόνων ἐπὶ τὰ χείρω μετάνοια, καλὸν δὲ
metatíthesai ἀπὸ τῶν χαλεπῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δίκαια.’
ὁ δὲ πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ‘πυρὶ σε ποιήσω δαμασθῆναι, 2
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when he approached the proconsul asked him if he were Polycarp, and when he admitted it he tried to persuade him to deny, saying: 'Respect your age,' and so forth, as they are accustomed to say: 'Swear by the genius of Caesar, repent, say: "Away with the Atheists"'; but Polycarp, with a stern countenance looked on all the crowd in the arena, and waving his hand at them, he groaned and looked up to heaven and said: 'Away with the Atheists.' But when the Governor pressed him and said: 'Take the oath and I will let you go, revile Christ,' Polycarp said: 'For eighty and six years have I been his servant, and he has done me no wrong, and how can I blaspheme my King who saved me?' But when he persisted again, and said: 'Swear by the genius of Caesar,' he said: 'If you vainly suppose that I will swear by the genius of Caesar, as you say, and pretend that you are ignorant who I am, listen plainly: I am a Christian. And if you wish to learn the doctrine of Christianity fix a day and listen.' The proconsul said: 'Persuade the people.' And Polycarp said: 'You I should have held worthy of discussion, for we have been taught to render honour, as is meet, if it hurt us not, to princes and authorities appointed by God; but as for those, I do not count them worthy that a defence should be made to them.' And the proconsul said: 'I have wild beasts, I will deliver you to them, unless you change your mind.' And he said: 'Call for them, for change of mind from better to worse is a change we may not make; but it is good to change from evil to righteousness.' And he said again to him: 'I

1 Literally "fortune"; but the Greeks thus translated the Latin oath, "per genium Caesaris," or "per genios Caesarum," which was introduced at the beginning of the Empire.
ἐὰν τῶν θηρίων καταφρονήσῃ, ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσῃς. Πολύκαρπος ἔσπευ πῦρ ἀπειλεῖς πρὸς ὀφραν καἰόμενον καὶ μετ’ ὅλιγον σβεννύμενον· ἀγνοεῖς γὰρ τὸ τῆς μελλούσης κρίσεως καὶ αἰωνίου κολά- σεως τοῖς ἀσεβέσι τηρούμενον πῦρ. ἀλλὰ τί βραδύνεις; φέρε ὁ βούλει. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἐτέρα 2 πλείονα λέγων, θάρσους καὶ χαρᾶς ἐνεπίμπλατο καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ χάριτος ἐπιηροῦτο, ὥστε μὴ μόνον μὴ συμπεσείν ταραχθεῖνα ὑπὸ τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ τοῦναιν τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἐκστήναι πέμψαι τε τὸν κήρυκα καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῷ σταδίῳ κηρύξαι τρίς Πολύκαρπος ὁμολογήσειν έαυτὸν Χριστιανὸν εἶναι. τούτου 2 λεχθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ κήρυκος, πάν τὸ πλῆθος ἠθνῶν τε καὶ Ἰουδαίων τῶν τῆς Σμύρνας κατοικοῦντων ἀκατασχέτω θυμῶ καὶ μεγάλη φωνῆ ἐβοᾷ ὅτι ἐστιν ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας διδάσκαλος, ὁ πατὴρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ὁ τῶν ἁμετέρων θεῶν καθαρήτης, ὁ πολλοὺς διδάσκων μὴ θύειν μηδὲ προσκυνοῦν. ταῦτα λέγωντες, ἐπεβοῦ καὶ ἡρώτων τὸν ἀσιάρχην 2 Φιλίππων ἱνα ἐπαφῇ τῷ Πολύκαρπῳ λέοντα· ὁ δὲ ἔφη μὴ εἶναι ἐξὸν αὐτῷ ἐπειδῆ πεπληρώκει τὰ κυνηγέσια. τότε ἐδοξεῖν αὐτοῖς ὁμοθυμάδων ἐπι- βοήσας ὡστε ζώντα τὸν Πολύκαρπον κατακαίσαι. ἔδει γὰρ τὸ τῆς φανερωθείσης αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ 2 προσκεφαλαίου ὀπτασίας πληρωθῆναι, ὅτε ἴδων αὐτὸ καἰόμενον προσευχόμενον, ἔπειν ἐπιστραφεὶς τοῦς μετ’ αὐτοῦ πιστοῖς προφητικῶς ‘δεὶ με ζώντα καθῆναι.’ ταῦτα οὖν μετὰ τοσοῦτον τάχους 2 ἐγένετο θάττου ἡ ἐλέγετο, τῶν ὅχλων παραχρήμα συναγόντων ἐκ τῶν ἐργαστηρίων καὶ ἐκ τῶν βαλανείων ξύλα καὶ φρύγανα, μάλιστα Ἰουδαίων 350
will cause you to be consumed by fire, if you despise the beasts, unless you repent.' But Polycarp said: 'You threaten with the fire that burns for a time, and is quickly quenched, for you do not know the fire which awaits the wicked in the judgement to come and in everlasting punishment. But why are you waiting? Come, do what you will.' And with these and many other words he was filled with courage and joy, and his face was full of grace, so that it not only did not fall with trouble at the things said to him, but that the proconsul, on the other hand, was astounded and sent his herald into the midst of the arena to announce three times: 'Polycarp has confessed that he is a Christian.' When this had been said by the herald, all the multitude of heathen and Jews living in Smyrna cried out with uncontrollable wrath and a loud shout: 'This is the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the destroyer of our Gods, who teaches many neither to offer sacrifice nor to worship.' And when they said this, they cried out and asked Philip the Asiarch to let loose a lion on Polycarp. But he said he could not legally do this, since he had closed the sports. Then they found it good to cry out with one mind that he should burn Polycarp alive, for the vision which had appeared to him on his pillow must be fulfilled, when he saw it burning, while he was praying and he turned and said prophetically to those of the faithful who were with him, 'I must be burnt alive.' These things then happened with so great speed, quicker than it takes to tell, and the crowd came together immediately, and prepared wood and faggots from the workshops and baths and the Jews were extremely zealous, as
προθύμως, ὡς ἰθος αὐτοῖς, εἰς τὰ ὑποργοῦντων. ἀλλ' ὅτε ἡ πυρὰ ἡτομάσθη, ἀποθέμενος ἐαυτῷ 3
πάντα τὰ ἰμάτια καὶ λύσας τὴν ζώνην, ἐπειράτο καὶ ὑπολύειν ἐαυτὸν, μὴ πρότερον τοῦτο ποιῶν διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ ἐκαστὸν τῶν πιστῶν σπουδάζειν ὡστὶς τάχιον τοῦ χρωτὸς αὐτοῦ ἐφάψηται· ἐν παντὶ γὰρ ἀγαθῆς ἔνεκεν πολιτείας καὶ πρὸ τῆς πολιάς ἐκεκόσμητο. εὐθέως οὖν αὐτῷ περιετίθετο τὰ 3
πρὸς τὴν πυρὰν ἠρμοσμένα ὄργανα· μελλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ προσηλοῦν αὐτόν, εἶπεν 'ἀφετέ με οὕτως· ὁ γὰρ διδοὺς ὑπομείναι τὸ πῦρ δώσει καὶ χωρίς τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐκ τῶν ἡλίων ἀσφαλείας ἀσκύλτως ἐπιμείναι τῇ πυρᾷ.' οἱ δὲ οὐ καθήλωσαν, προσέδησαν δὲ αὐτὸν. ὁ δ' ὅπισώ ταῖς χείρας 3
ποιήσας καὶ προσδεθεὶς ὁσπερ κρίος ἐπίσημος, ἀναφέρομεν ἐκ μεγάλου πομηνίου ὅλοκαυτώμα 3
dekton thew pantoikratore, eitpen ὁ tov agaphtov kai euologhtov pайдos sou 'Ihsoh Khrstov pathe, 3
di' oth tĩn peri se epignwos eułfhamen, o theos aggelon kai dynamein kai pashe kúsew panto to 3
tov gēnous tōn dikaiōn ou ἔσων ἐνωπιον sou, euologw se osi ςξιωσας me tης ημέρας και άρας tautes, tov labein meros en árithm thew tōn martypōn en tōn poteirōn tōn Khrstov sou eis anastasian zeiηs aiwnion psikhēs te kai swmatos en aftharxia pneu- 3
matos ãgιou: en ois prosdekhēiν enωtpion sou 3
simeron en thsia plion kai prosdektē, kathws 3
proptoiμasas, prophanerwvas kai plērwvαs 3
âψευδης kai alētheinōs theōs. dia toûto kai peri 3
pántων se aiwν, se euologw, se doξαζων dia toû 3
aiwnion arχierēwos 'Ihsoh Khrstov toû agaphtov 3

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is their custom, in assisting at this. Now when the fire was ready he put off all his clothes, and loosened his girdle and tried also to take off his shoes, a thing he was not used to doing, because each of the faithful was always zealous, which of them might the more quickly touch his flesh. For he had been treated with all respect because of his noble life, even before his old age. Immediately, therefore, he was fastened to the instruments which had been prepared for the fire, but when they were going to nail him as well he said: 'Leave me thus, for He who gives me power to endure the fire, will grant me to remain in the flames unmoved even without the security you will give by the nails.' So they did not nail him, but bound him, and he put his hands behind him and was bound, as a noble ram that is offered out of a great flock as a whole burnt offering acceptable to Almighty God; and he said: 'O Father of thy beloved and blessed Child, Jesus Christ, through whom we have received full knowledge of thee, the God of angels and powers, and of all creation, and of the whole family of the righteous, who live before thee! I bless thee, that Thou hast granted me this day and hour, that I may share, among the number of the martyrs, in the cup of thy Christ, for the Resurrection to everlasting life, both of soul and body in the immortality of the Holy Spirit. And may I, to-day, be received among them before Thee, as a rich and acceptable sacrifice, as Thou, the God who lies not and is truth, hast prepared beforehand, and shown forth, and fulfilled. For this reason I also praise Thee for all things, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee through the everlasting and heavenly high priest, Jesus Christ, thy beloved Child, through
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σον παιδός, δι’ οδ ου συν αυτῷ ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίως
dόξα καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰώνας, ἁμὴν:
ἀναπέμφισαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀμὴν καὶ πληρώσαντος τὴν προσευχὴν, οἱ τοὺς πυρὸς ἀνθρωποὺς ἐξῆλθαν τὸ πῦρ, μεγάλης δὲ ἐκλαμψάσης φλογὸς θαύμα εἴδομεν
οἷς ἱδείν ἐδόθη, οἱ καὶ ἐτηρήθησαν εἰς τὸ ἀν-
αγγείλαι τοὺς λοιπὸς τὰ γενόμενα. τὸ γὰρ πῦρ ἀπὸ καμάρας εἴδος πούζου ὅσπερ θόνης πλοίου ὑπὸ πνεύματος πληρομένης, κύκλω περιπετείχε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ μάρτυρος, καὶ ἤν μέσον οὐχ ὡς σαρκεὶ 
καιομένη, ἀλλ’ ὡς χρυσὸς καὶ ἀργυρός ἐν καμίνῳ
πυρούμενος. καὶ γὰρ εὐωδίας τοσαύτης ἀντελαβο-
μεθα ὡς λιβανωτοῦ πνέουντος ἣ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν
tιμῶν ἀρωμάτων. πέρας γοῦν ἴδοντες οἱ ἄνομοι τῆς 
μῆ δυνάμενον τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς δαπανηθῆναι, 
ἐκελευσαν προσελθόντα αὐτῷ κομβέκτορα παρα-
βύσαι ξίφος, καὶ τούτο πούζουντος, ἐξῆλθεν πλῆθος 
αἵματος, ὡστε καταβέβαια τὸ πῦρ καὶ θαυμάσαι 
pάντα τὸν ὅχλον εἰ τοσαύτη τις διαφορὰ μεταξὺ 
tῶν τε ἀπίστων καὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν. ὡς εἰς καὶ
οὕτως γέγονεν ὁ θαυμασιώτατος ἐν τοῖς καθ’ ἡμᾶς
χρόνοις διδάσκαλος ἀποστολικὸς καὶ προφητικὸς
γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθολικῆς
ἐκκλησίας. πάν γὰρ ῥήμα ὁ ἄφηκεν έκ τοῦ στόματος
αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐτελεύωθη καὶ τελειωθῆται.

“Ό δὲ ἀντίξηλος καὶ βάςκανος ποιηρὸς, ὁ ἀντικείμενος τῷ γένει τῶν δικαίων, ἵνα τὸ
μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς μαρτυρίας καὶ τῆς ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς
ἀνεπίληπτον πολιτείαν ἑστεφανωμένον τε τὸν τῆς
ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον καὶ βραβεῖον ἀναντίρρητον
ἀπεννεγμένον, ἐπετήθησαν ὡς μηδὲ τὸ σωμάτιον
αὐτοῦ ὑφ’ ἡμῶν λήφθει, καὶ πολλῶν ἐπι-
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whom be glory to Thee with Him and the Holy Spirit, both now and for the ages that are to come, Amen.' Now when he had uttered his Amen and finished his prayer, the men in charge of the fire lit it, and a great flame blazed up and we, to whom it was given to see, saw a marvel. And we have been preserved to report to others what befell. For the fire made the likeness of a room, like the sail of a vessel filled with wind, and surrounded the body of the martyr as with a wall, and he was within it not as burning flesh, but as gold and silver being refined in a furnace. And we perceived such a fragrant smell as the scent of incense or other costly spices. At length the lawless men, seeing that his body could not be consumed by the fire, commanded an executioner to go up and stab him with a dagger, and when he did this, there came out much blood, so that the fire was quenched, and all the crowd marvelled that there was such a difference between the unbelievers and the elect. And of the elect was he indeed one, the wonderful martyr, Polycarp, who in our days was an apostolic and prophetic teacher, bishop of the Catholic Church in Smyrna. For every word which he uttered from his mouth both was fulfilled and will be fulfilled.

But the jealous and envious evil one who resists the family of the righteous, when he saw the greatness of his martyrdom, and his blameless career from the beginning, and that he was crowned with the crown of immortality, and had carried off the unspeakable prize, took care that not even his poor body should be taken away by us, though many
θημούντων τούτο ποιήσαι καὶ κοινωνήσαι τῷ ἀγίῳ αὐτοῦ σαρκίῳ. ὑπέβαλον γοῦν τινες Νικήτην, τὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου πατέρα, ἀδελφὸν δ’ Ἀλκή, ἐντυχεῖν τῷ ἡγεμόνι ὥστε μὴ δοῦναι αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα, ‘μή’, φησίν, ἀφέντες τὸν ἑσταυρωμένον, τοῦτον ἀρξώνται σέβειν.’ καὶ ταῦτα εἶπον ὑποβαλόντων καὶ ἐνυχυσάντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων· οἱ καὶ ἐτήρησαν μελλόντων ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι οὖτε τὸν Χριστὸν ποτε καταλιπεῖν δυνησόμεθα, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τῶν σωζομένων σωτηρίας παθόντα, οὔτε ἐτερὸν τινα σέβειν. τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ ὑών οὖν τοῦ θεοῦ προσκυνοῦμεν, τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας ὡς μαθητὰς καὶ μυητὰς τοῦ κυρίου ἀγαπῶμεν ἄξιώς ἔνεκα εὐνοίας ἀνυπερβλήτου τῆς εἰς τὸν ἱδίον βασιλέα καὶ διδάσκαλον· διν γένοιτο καὶ ἡμᾶς συγκοινωνοῦσι τε καὶ συμμαθητὰς γενέσθαι. ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ ἐκατοντάρχης τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων γενομένην φιλονεικίαν, θεῖς αὐτὸν ἐν μέσῳ, ὑς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, ἐκαυσεν, οὕτως τῇ ἡμείς υἱοτήν ἀνελόμενοι τὰ τμιώτερα λίθων πολυτελῶν καὶ δοκιμότερα ὑπὲρ χρυσῶν ὡστά αὐτοῦ ἀπεθέμεθα ὅπου καὶ ἀκόλουθον ἦν. ἐνθά, ὡς δυνατόν, ἡμῖν συναγομένοι ἐν ἀγαλλίασε καὶ χαρά παρέξει ὁ κύριος ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον εἰς τῇ τῶν προηθήκτων μνήμῃ καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἀσκήσιν τε καὶ ἐτομασίαν. τοιαύτα τὰ κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Πολύκαρπον· σὺν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φιλαδελφείας διωδεκάτου ἐν Σιμύρῃ μαρτυρήσαντος, [ὁ] μόνος ὑπὸ πάντων μᾶλλον μνημονεύεται, ὡς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἑθνῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ λαλεῖσθαι·"

Τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν θαυμάσιον καὶ ἀποστολικὸν 356
desired to do so, and to have fellowship with his holy flesh. Therefore he put forward Niketas, the father of Herod, and the brother of Alce, to ask the Governor not to give his body, 'lest,' he said, 'they leave the crucified one and begin to worship this man.' And they said this owing to the suggestions and pressure of the Jews, who, also watched when we were going to take it from the fire, for they do not know that we shall not ever be able either to abandon Christ, who suffered for the salvation of those who are being saved in the whole world, or to worship any other. For him we worship as the Son of God, but the martyrs we love as disciples and imitators of the Lord; and rightly, because of their unsurpassable affection toward their own King and Teacher. God grant that we too may be their companions and fellow-disciples. When therefore the centurion saw the contentiousness caused by the Jews, he put the body in the midst, as was their custom, and burnt it. Thus we, at last, took up his bones, more precious than precious stones, and finer than gold, and put them where it was meet. There the Lord will permit us to come together according to our power in gladness and joy, and celebrate the birthday of his martyrdom, both in memory of those who have already contested, and for the practice and training of those whose fate it shall be. Such was the lot of the blessed Polycarp, who though he was, together with those from Philadelphia, the twelfth martyr in Smyrna, is alone especially remembered by all, so that he is spoken of in every place, even by the heathen.'

This great end was vouchsafed to the life of the
Πολύκαρπος τοιούτου κατηγίωτο τέλους, τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σμύρναιαν ἐκκλησίαν ἀδελφῶν τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐν ὣς δεδηλώκαμεν αὐτῶν ἐπιστολῆς κατατεθειμένων· ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφῇ καὶ ἄλλα μαρτύρια συνήθητο κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν Σμύρναν πεπραγμένα ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν περίοδον τοῦ χρόνου τῆς τοῦ Πολυκάρπου μαρτυρίας, μεθ’ ὅν καὶ Μητρώδωρος τῆς κατὰ Μαρκίωνα πλάνης πρεσβύτερος δὴ εἰναι δοκῶν πυρὶ παραδοθεῖς ἀνήρρηται. τῶν γε μὴν τότε περιβόητοι μάρτυρες εἰς τις ἔγνωρίζετο Πίονος· οὗ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ὁμολογίας τὴν τῇ τοῦ λόγου παρρησίαν καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν ἄρχοντων ἁπολογίας διδασκαλικά τε δημηγορίας καὶ ἐτὶ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ὑποπεπτωκότας τῷ κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν πεπρασμῶ δεξιώσεις παραμυθίας τε ἃς ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρκτῆς τοὺς παρ’ αὐτὸν εἰσαφικνουμένους ἀδελφοῖς παρετίθετο, ἃς τε ἐπὶ τοὺς ύπέμεινεν βασάνους, καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ ταύτας ἀληθοδόνας καθηλώσεις τε καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς πυρᾶς καρτερίαν τὴν τὲ ἐφ’ ἀπασω τοὺς παραδόξους αὐτοῦ τελευτὴν πληρέστατα τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφῆς περιεχοῦσης, τοὺς οἰς φίλον ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀναπέμψωμεν τόις τῶν ἀρχαίων συν- αχθείσων ἡμῶν μαρτυρίως ἐντεταγμένη. ἔξης δὲ 4 καὶ ἄλλως ἐν Περγάμῳ πόλει τῆς Ἁσίας ὑπομνήματα μεμαρτυρηκότων φέρεται, Κάρπου καὶ Πατύλου καὶ γυναικὸς ᾿Αγαθονίκης, μετὰ πλείστας καὶ διαπρεπεῖς ὁμολογίας ἐπιδόξως τετελειωμένων.

XVI. Κατὰ τούτους δὲ καὶ ὁ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἡμῖν διηλωθεῖς ᾿Ιουστίνους δεύτερον ὑπὲρ τῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς δοχιμάτων βιβλίων ἀναδοὺς τοὺς δεδηλωμένους ἄρχουσιν, θείω κατακοσμεῖται μαρτυρίως, φιλοσόφου.
marvellous and apostolic Polycarp, as the Christians of the church at Smyrna have given the story in their letter which we have quoted. In the same document concerning him other martyrdoms are appended which took place in the same Smyrna at the same time as the martyrdom of Polycarp, and among them Metrodorus, who seems to have been a presbyter of the Marcionite error, was given to the fire and put to death. A famous martyr of those at that time was Pionius. The document concerning him gives a full account of his special confession, his boldness of speech, the instructive apologies for the faith and popular addresses before the people and magistrates, as well as the correction and comfort to those who had succumbed to temptation in the persecution, which he addressed during his imprisonment to the brethren who visited him, in addition to this the tortures which he underwent, added to pain, nailing, the enduring of the flame, and, after all his marvellous deeds, his death; and to it we will refer those interested, for it is included in the martyrdoms of the ancients collected by us.\footnote{See Introduction, pp. li, lii.}

There are also memoirs extant of others who were martyred in the city of Pergamon in Asia, Carpus and Papylas, and a woman, Agathonice, who died after many glorious confessions.

XVI. In their time too Justin,\footnote{See Introduction, pp. l, li.} whom we mentioned a little earlier, after delivering to the rulers mentioned a second book in behalf of our opinions, was adorned with divine martyrdom when the philosopher
Κρήσκεντος (τὸν φερώνυμον δ' οὗτος τῇ Κυνικῇ προσηγορίᾳ βίων τε καὶ τρόπον εξήλου) τὴν ἐπι-
βουλὴν αὐτῷ καττύσαντος, ἐπειδὴ πλεονάκις ἐν
dιαλόγοις ἀκροατῶν παρόντων εὐθύνας αὐτὸν,
tὰ νυκτήρια τελευτῶν ἢς ἐπρέπεβεν ἀληθείας
dιὰ τοῦ μαρτυρίου τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνεδήσατο.
Τούτῳ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ταῖς ἀληθείαις φιλο-
σοφῶτατος ἐν τῇ δεδηλωμένῃ ἀπολογίᾳ σαφῶς
οὕτως, ὅσπερ οὖν καὶ ἔμελλεν ὡσον οὕτως περὶ
αὐτὸν συμβηγεσθαι, προλαβὼν ἀποσημαινεῖ τοὺς
toῖς τοῖς ῥήμασιν· "κἄγω οὖν προσδοκῶ ἔπο τὸς ἐ
tινος τῶν ὁνομασμένων ἐπιβουλεύσει καὶ ξύλῳ
ἐντυπαγῆ ἢ κἂν ὑπὸ Κρήσκεντος τοῦ ἄφιλο-
σοφοῦ καὶ φιλοκόμπου ὦ γὰρ φιλόσοφον εἰπεῖν
ἀξίον τὸν ἄνδρα, ὥσ ἐπὶ τὸν ἦ λῃσταὶ,
δημοσίᾳ καταμαρτυρεῖ ὡς ἄθεων καὶ ἀσεβῶ
Χριστιανῶν ὄντως, πρὸς χάριν καὶ ἕδυνη τῶν
πολλῶν τῶν πεπλανημένων τούτο πράττων. εἴτε
γὰρ μὴ ἐντυχὼν τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδάγμασιν
κατατρέχῃ ἡμῶν, παμπόνηρὸς ἔστω καὶ ἱδιωτῶν
πολὺ χείρων, οἱ φυλάττονται πολλάκις περὶ δὴν
ὀνκ ἐπιταντὶ, διαλέγεσθαι καὶ ψευδομαρτυρεῖν
καὶ εἰ ἐντυχὼν μὴ συνῆκεν τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς μεγαλεῖν
ἡ συνεῖς πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὑποπτεύσειν τοιοῦτο ταῦτα
ποιεῖ, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἁγενής καὶ παμπόνηρος,
ἱδιωτικῆς καὶ ἄλογον δόξης καὶ φόβου ἑλάττων
ὡν. καὶ γὰρ προδέντα μὲ καὶ ἐρωτήσαντα αὐτὸν
ἐρωτήσεις τινὰς τοιαύτας, μαθεῖν καὶ ἐλέγξαι
ὅτι ἀληθῶς μηδὲν ἐπίσταται, εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς βουλομαι,
καὶ ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, εἰ μὴ ἁνηνέχθησαν ὑμῖν αἰ
κοινωνία τῶν λόγων, ἔτομος καὶ ἐφ' ὑμῶν
Crescens, who strove in life and behaviour to justify the name of cynic which he bore, instigated the plot against him, for Justin had often defeated him in debate in the presence of hearers, and finally bound on himself the trophies of victory by his martyrdom for the truth of which he was an ambassador.

This he, who was in truth a supreme philosopher, sets forth in advance, in the above-mentioned Apology, just as clearly as in fact it was almost at once to happen to him, using these words: "I too expect to be plotted against by one of those who have been mentioned, and to be stretched on the rack, or even by Crescens, that lover not of wisdom but of boasting, for the man is not worthy to be called 'philosopher' seeing that he publicly testifies about what he does not know, to the effect that the Christians are atheists and impious, and he does this to gain the grace and pleasure of the many who have been deceived. For either he controverts us without attending to the teachings of Christ, and is a complete rascal and far worse than the uneducated, who often avoid discussing and giving false testimony on subjects of which they have no knowledge; and if he has studied and does not understand the greatness in them, or though he does understand them is base enough to do what he does to avoid suspicion, he is more ignoble and rascally, for he succumbs to ignorant and unreasonable opinion and fear. For I would have you to know that I put forward and asked him certain questions of this kind in order to find out and prove that he really knows nothing; and to show that I am speaking the truth, in case the information as to the arguments was not brought to you, I am ready to communicate the
κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἐρωτήσεων πάλιν· βασιλικὸν δ’ ἀν καὶ τούτο ἐργον εὐη. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐγνώσθησαν ὑμῖν αἱ ἐρωτήσεις μου καὶ αἱ ἐκείνου ἀποκρίσεις, φανερῶν ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν ἠμετέρων ἐπισταταί. ἢ εἰ ἐπισταταί, διὰ τοὺς ἀκούοντας δὲ οὐ τολμᾶ λέγειν, ὡς πρότερον ἐφην, οὐ φιλόσοφος, ἀλλὰ φιλόδοξος ἀνὴρ δείκνυται, ὃς γε μηδὲ τὸ Σωκρατικὸν, ἀξιέραστον οὐ, τιμᾶ.”

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἰουστίνως· ὅτι δὲ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόρρησιν πρὸς τὸν Κρήσκεντος συσκέψεις ἐτελεύτη, Τατιανός, ἀνὴρ τὸν πρώτον αὐτοῦ βίον σοφιστεύσας ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήνων μαθήμασι καὶ δόξαν οὐ συμφάν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπευθειμένος πλείστα τε ἐν συγγράμμασιν αὐτοῦ καταληπτῶν μνημεία, ἐν τῷ Πρὸς Ἔλληνα ἴστορει, λέγων ὡδε. “καὶ ὁ θαυμασιώτατος Ἰουστίνως ὀρθῶς ἔξεφώνησεν ἐοικέναι τοὺς προερημένους λησταῖς.” εἰτ’ ἐπει-πάν τινα περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων, ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα: “Κρήσκης γοῦν ὁ ἐννεοτεύσας τῇ μεγάλῃ πόλει παιδεραστία μὲν πάντας ὑπερήνεγκεν, φιλαργυρίᾳ δὲ πάνω προσεχῆς ἢν· θανάτου δὲ ὁ καταφρονεῖν συμβουλεύων οὕτως αὐτὸς ἐδεδεῖ τὸν θάνατον, ὡς καὶ Ἰουστίνων, καθάπερ μεγάλω κακῷ, τῷ θανάτῳ περιβαλεῖν πραγματεύσασθαι, διότι ἱεροτης τῷ ἐλήθειν λίχνους τοὺς φιλοσοφοὺς καὶ ἄπατεώνας συνήλεγχεν.” καὶ τοῦ μὲν κατὰ Ἰουστίνον μαρτύριον τοιαύτην εἶληχεν αὐτίαν.

XVII. Ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς ἀνήρ πρὸ τοῦ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀγὼν ἔτερων πρὸ αὐτοῦ μαρτυρησάντων ἐν τῇ προτέρα μνημονεύει ἀπολογία, χρησίμως τῇ ὑποθέσει καὶ ταῦτα ἴστοροι γράφει δὲ ὡδε: “γνωτί τις συνεβίου ἀνδρὶ ἀκολασταίνοντι, ἀκολασταίνουσα καὶ αὐτή

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questions again before you, and this would be a task worthy of an Emperor. But if my questions and his answers are known to you, it is plain to you that he knows nothing of our position, or, if he does know, does not dare say so because of the listeners, and, as I said before, is proved to be a man who loves not wisdom but reputation and does not even honour the saying of Socrates, worthy of affection as it is.”

So says Justin; and that, according to his own prophecy, he was caught by Crescens and suffered martyrdom, Tatian, a man who in early life was trained in the learning of the Greeks and gained great distinction in it and has left many monuments of himself in writing, narrates as follows in his treatise against the Greeks: “And the wonderful Justin rightly exclaimed that those mentioned are like brigands.” Then continuing about the philosophers, he proceeds: “Crescens, who lurked in the great city, surpassed all in unnatural vice and was also wholly devoted to the love of money. He counselled others to despise death but himself was so afraid of it that he intrigued to inflict death on Justin, as though it were a great evil, because Justin by preaching the truth convicted the philosophers as gluttons and impostors.” Such was the cause of the martyrdom of Justin.

XVII. The same writer mentions in his first Apology that before his own contest others had been martyrs before him. He narrates this profitably to our subject and he writes thus: “A certain woman lived with a dissipated husband, and at first she too

1 Eusebius forgot to copy the passage quoted by Justin, “A man must not be honoured above the truth” (Plato, Republic, x. 595 c).
πρότερον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδάγματα ἔγνω, ἐσωφρονίσθη, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ὁμοίως σωφρονεῖν πέλθεν ἐπειρᾶτο, τὰ διδάγματα ἀναφέρουσα τὴν τε μέλλουσαν τοῖς. οὐ σωφρόνως καὶ μετὰ λόγου ὁρθοῦ βιούσιν ἐσεσθαί ἐν αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ κόλασιν ἀπαγγέλλουσα. ο δὲ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἁσελ-3
gείαις ἐπιμένων, ἀλλοτρίαν διὰ τῶν πράξεων ἐποιεῖτο τὴν γαμετὴν. ἀσεβεῖς γὰρ ἤγουμεν τὸ λοιπὸν ἡ γυνὴ συγκατακλίνεσθαι ἄνδρὶ παρὰ τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον καὶ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον πόρους ἡδονῆς ἐκ παντὸς πειρωμένῳ ποιεῖσθαι, τῆς συζυγίας χωρίσθηναι εἶβουλὴ. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐξ-
edυσωπεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῆς, ἐτί προσμενεῖν συμ-
βουλεύοντων ὡς εἰς ἐλπίδα μεταβολῆς ἦξοντός ποτε τοῦ ἄνδρός, βιαζομένη ἔαυτὴν ἐπέμενεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ ταύτης ἀνήρ εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν 5-
πορευθεῖς, χαλεπώτερα πράττειν ἀπηγγέλθη, ὅπως μῇ κοινωνίας τῶν ἄδικημάτων καὶ ἁσθημάτων
gένηται μένουσα εἰς τῇ συζυγίᾳ καὶ ὁμοδίαιτος καὶ ὁμόκοιτος γινομένη, τὸ λεγόμενον παρ’ ὑμῖν ῥɛποῦδιον δουσα ἐχωρίσθη. δὲ καλὸς καγάθος ὁ
tαύτης ἀνήρ, δεόν αὐτὸν χαίρειν ὅτι ἀ πάλαι μετὰ
tῶν ὑπηρετῶν καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων εὐχερῶς ἔπραττε μέθαις χαίρουσα καὶ κακία πάση, τούτων μὲν τῶν πράξεων πέπαιντο καὶ αὐτὸν τὰ αὐτὰ
pαύσασθαι πράττοντα ἐβούλετο, μὴ βουλομένου ἀπαλλαγείσης, κατηχορίαν πεποίηται, λέγων αὐτὴν Χριστιανήν εἶναι. καὶ ἡ μὲν βιβλιδίων σοι τῷ
c Archbishop of Constantinople, Eusebius, in his work *Church History*, describes the influence of his faith on a young woman who, as a result of her experiences, came to understand and accept the teachings of Jesus Christ. The excerpt highlights the transformative power of faith and the importance of adhering to the commandments and the will of God. Eusebius emphasizes the contrast between the woman's initial struggles and her eventual commitment to a life of virtue and exemplary behavior. The text underscores the role of faith and divine guidance in reshaping one's life, emphasizing the importance of following the commandments and the divine will in order to achieve a life of holiness and virtue.
was dissipated, but when she knew the doctrine of Christ she reformed, and tried to persuade her husband to reform likewise, relating the doctrine to him, and announcing the punishment in eternal fire which will be the lot of those who do not live soberly and in accordance with right teaching. But he remained in his dissoluteness, and through his acts broke up his marriage, for his wife thought it was wicked to continue consorting with a husband who tried every kind of pleasure contrary to the law of nature and to righteousness, and wished to be separated from wedlock. Owing to the importunity of her family, who counselled her to stay with him because there was always a hope that the husband would change, she constrained herself to stay with him, but when her husband went to Alexandria, and she heard that he was behaving worse, in order not to be a partner of wickedness and impiety by remaining in wedlock and sharing in his board and bed, she gave him what you call a writ of divorce and was separated. But though her noble husband ought to have rejoiced that she, who had formerly light-heartedly engaged with servants and hirelings in drunken pleasure and in all vices, had given up these habits and wished him too to give up following them, he disliked her conversion and brought an accusation alleging that she was a Christian. She filed a petition with you, as Emperor, begging that she be allowed first to settle her affairs and then to answer the accusation after the settlement of her
EUSEBIUS

εχώρησας τούτο· ὃ δὲ ταύτης ποτὲ ἀνήρ πρὸς ἐκείνην μὲν μὴ δυνάμενος τὰ νῦν ἔτι λέγειν, πρὸς Πτολεμαίον τινα, δὲν Οὐρβίκιος ἐκολάσατο, δι-δάσκαλον ἐκείνης τῶν Χριστιανῶν μαθημάτων γενόμενον, ἔτραπετο διὰ τούτω τοῦ τρόπου. ἐκατόνταρχον εἰς δεσμὰ ἐμβαλόντα τὸν Πτολεμαίον, φίλον αὐτῷ ὑπάρχοντα, ἔπεισε λαβέσθαι τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ ἀνερωτήσαι εἰ, αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον, Χριστιανὸς ἔστω. καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαίον, φιλαλήθη ἂλλ᾽ οὐκ ἀπατηλῶν οὐδὲ ψευδολόγον τὴν γνώμην ὄντα, ὁμολογήσαντα ἑαυτὸν εἶναι Χριστιανὸν, ἐν δεσμοῖς γενέσθαι ὁ ἐκατόνταρχος πεποίηκεν, καὶ ἐπὶ πολν ἁρόν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ ἐκολάσατο· τελευταίον δὲ ὅτε ἐπὶ Οὐρβίκιον ἤκουσα τὸ ἀνθρωπος, ὁμοίως αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ἔξητάσθη, εἰ εἰ Χρι-στιανὸς· καὶ πάλιν, τὰ καλὰ ἑαυτῷ συνεπιστάμενος διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδαχῆν, τὸ διδασκαλεῖν τῆς θείας ἀρετῆς ωμολόγησεν. ὁ γὰρ ἄρνομενος ὅτι οὖν ἡ κατεγωγικὸς τοῦ πράγματος ἔξαρνος γίνεται ἡ ἑαυτὸν ἀνάξιον ἐπιστήμονας καὶ ἀλλότριον τοῦ πράγματος τὴν ὁμολογίαν φεύγει: ὃν οὐδὲν πρόσεστον τῷ ἀληθινῷ Χριστιανῷ, καὶ τοῦ Οὐρβίκιον κελεύσαντος αὐτὸν ἀπαχθῆναι, Δούκιος τις, καὶ αὐτὸς ὃν Χριστιανὸς, ὃς τὴν ἀλώγον οὐτως γενομένην κρίσιν, πρὸς τὸν Οὐρβίκιον ἔφη 'τίς ἡ αὐτία τοῦ μήτε μοιχῶν μήτε πόρνων μήτε ἀνδροφόνων μήτε λωποδύτην μήτε ἄρπαγα μήτε ἀπλῶς ἀδίκημα τι πράξαντα ἐλεγχόμενον, ὁνόματος

1 The point appears to be that the settlement of the lady’s estate meant an accounting to her by her husband, and probably considerable payment by him to her, so that the situation

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affairs. This you granted. But her former husband being now unable to attack her,¹ turned in the following way against a certain Ptolemy, who had been her teacher in Christian doctrines and was punished by Urbicius. He persuaded a centurion who was a friend of his to arrest Ptolemy, and to ask him this one thing, whether he was a Christian. And Ptolemy, being a lover of the truth, and not deceitful nor of false disposition, confessed that he was a Christian. The centurion caused him to be put in prison and tortured him for a long while in the jail. Finally, when the man was brought before Urbicius he was similarly asked only this same question, whether he was a Christian, and again, conscious of the good which came to him because of the teaching of Christ, he confessed the school of divine virtue. For he who denies anything either condemns the fact and rejects it, or knowing that he is himself unworthy and alien from the fact, avoids confession, and neither of these is the case with the real Christian. When Urbicius ordered him to be executed, a certain Lucius, who was himself a Christian, seeing the verdict which was thus given contrary to all reason, said to Urbicius, 'What is the reason for punishing this man who has not been convicted of adultery or fornication or murder or theft or robbery or, in a word, of having done anything was that if he wished to gratify his grudge against her he would have to pay more than he desired, while if she wished to escape a martyr's crown she must sacrifice some of her property to her husband. Justin's point of view is obvious, but the emperor may have thought that wives who refused to join in their husband's amusements scarcely deserved to be executed yet might well pay for the privilege of having failed to convert their husbands to their own way of thinking.
δὲ Χριστιανοῦ προσωνυμίαν ὁμολογοῦντα, τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν τοῦτον ἐκολάσω; οὐ πρέποντα Εὐσεβεῖ αὐτοκράτορι οὐδὲ φιλοσόφῳ Καίσαρος πωδὶ οὐδὲ ίερὰ συγκλήτων κρίνεις, ὃ Οὐρβίκιε· καὶ ὃς, ὃς, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἀποκρινόμενος, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δούκιον ἐφῄ 'δοκεῖς μοι καὶ σὺ εἶναι τοιοῦτος,' καὶ τὸν Δούκιον φήσαντος 'μάλιστα,' πάλιν καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπαχθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν· ο ὃ δὲ χάριν εἰδέναι ὠμολόγησεν πονηρῶν γὰρ δεσποτῶν τῶν τοιούτων ἀπηλλάχθαι ἐπείπεν καὶ παρὰ ἀγαθὸν πατέρα καὶ βασιλέα τὸν θεοῦ πορεύεσθαι. καὶ ἄλλος δὲ τρίτος ἐπελθὼν κολασθῆναι προσετιμήθη.' τούτοις ὁ Ἰουστῖνος εἰκότως καὶ ἀκολούθως ἃς προεμνημονεύσαμεν αὐτὸν φωνᾶς ἐπάγει λέγων "κἀγὼ οὖν προσδοκῶ ὑπὸ τινὸς τῶν ἀνομασμένων ἐπιβουλευθῆναι" καὶ τὰ λοιπά.

XVIII. Πλείστα δὲ οὕτως καταλέλουπεν ἡμῖν περὶ παιδευμένης διανοίας καὶ περὶ τὰ τεθα ἑσπουδακυιάς ύπομνήματα, πάσης ὠφελείας ἐμπλεά· ἐφ' ὃ τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς ἀναπέμψωμεν, τὰ εἰς ἡμετέραν γνῶσιν ἔλθοντα χρησίμως παρασημονάμενοι. ο μὲν τὸς ἐστὶν αὐτῷ λόγος πρὸς Ἀντωνίνον τὸν Εὐσεβῆ προσαγορευθέντα καὶ τοὺς τοῦτον παίδας τὴν τε Ῥωμαίων σύγκλητον προσφωνητικὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς δογμάτων, ὃ δὲ δευτέραν περίέχων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας πίστεως ἀπολογίαν, ἢν πε- ποίηται πρὸς τὸν τοῦ δεδηλωμένου αὐτοκράτορος διάδοχον τε καὶ ὁμώνυμων Ἀντωνίνον Οὐήρον, οὐ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος διεξῆμεν· καὶ ἄλλος ὁ πρὸς Ἕλληνας, ἐν ὧν μακρὸν περὶ τῶν πλεῖστων παρ' ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς Ἕλληνων φιλοσόφων ζητούμενων κατατεῖνας λόγου, περὶ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων διαλαμβάνει φύσεως· ὃ οὐδὲν ἂν ἐπείγον 368
wrong, but merely confesses that he bears the Christian name? Your judgement, Urbicius, is unworthy of the emperor called Pius, or of Caesar's son, the philosopher, or of the sacred Senate.' And Urbicius made no reply except to say to Lucius, 'You seem to me to be a Christian yourself.' And when Lucius said, 'Certainly,' he ordered him to be executed also. Lucius expressed his gratitude, for he said he was being removed from wicked lords like these and going to God, the good Father and King. A third man, who also came forward, Urbicius commanded to be punished.' To this Justin naturally and suitably adds the words which we quoted above, "So I expect myself to suffer a plot from one of those named," etc.

XVIII. Justin has left us treatises of an educated intelligence trained in theology, which are full of helpfulness, and to them we will refer students, indicating what has come usefully to our knowledge. There is a treatise by him, on behalf of our opinions, addressed to Antoninus, surnamed Pius, and his children, and to the Roman Senate another, containing a second Apology for our defence, which he made to the successor and namesake of the above mentioned emperor, Antoninus Verus, whose period we are at present discussing; and another to the Greeks, in which, after a long and expanded argument about very many things inquired into both by Christians and the philosophers of the Greeks, he discourses on the nature of demons, which there is no urgency to quote at present.
τὰ νῦν παρατίθεσθαι. καὶ ἀδύς ἔτερον πρὸς ὁ Ἑλληνικὰς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλήλυθην αὐτοῦ σύγγραμμα, ὡ καὶ ἐπέγραψεν ὁ Ἑλεγχος, καὶ παρὰ τούτους ἄλλο περὶ θεὸν μοναρχίας, ἢν οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν γραφῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν συνίστησιν βιβλίων· ἐπὶ τούτους ἐπιγεγραμμένον Ψάλτης, καὶ ἄλλο σχολικὸν Περὶ ψυχῆς, ἐν ὧ διαφόρους πεύκεις προτεῖνας περὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν προβλήματος, τῶν παρ᾽ ὁ Ἑλλησοφῶν παρατίθεται τὰς δόξας, αἷς καὶ ἀντιλέξειν ὑπισχνεῖται τὴν τε αὐτῶς αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἐν ἐτέρῳ παραθήσεθαι συγγράμματι. καὶ διάλογον δὲ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους συνέταξεν, ὃν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως πρὸς Τρύφωνα τῶν τότε Ἐβραίων ἐπισημότατον πεποίηται· ἐν ὧ τίνα τρόπον ἢ θεία χάρις αὐτόν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πίστεως παρώρμησε λόγον, δηλοὶ ὅπιον τε πρότερον περὶ τὰ φιλόσοφα μαθήματα σπουδὴν εἰσενήκεται καὶ ὅσην ἐποιήσατο τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκθυμοτάτην ζήτησιν. ἑστορεὶ δ᾽ ἐν ταύτῳ περὶ Ἰουδαίων ωσ κατὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας ἐπιβουλὴν συσκευασμένων, αὐτὰ ταύτα πρὸς τὸν Τρύφωνα ἀποτευόμενος· "οὐ μόνον δὲ οὐ μετενοήσατε ἐφ᾽ ὦς ἐπράξατε κακῶς, ἀλλὰ ἄνδρας ἐκλεκτοὺς ἐκλεξάμενοι τὸτε ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλήμ ἔξεπισματο εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, λέγουντες αἴρεσιν ἄθεον Χριστιανῶν πεφάνθαι καταλέγοντες τε ταύτα ἀπερ καθ᾽ ἡμῶν οἱ ἀγνοοῦντες ἡμᾶς πάντες λέγουσιν, ὡστε οὐ μόνον εαυτοῖς ἀδικίας αἰτίοι ὑπάρχετε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασθ ἀπλῶς ἀνθρώποις."
Again a second treatise against the Greeks has reached us, which he entitled *A Conflagration*, and besides them another about the Sovereignty of God which he compiled not only from our own scriptures but also from the books of the Greeks. Besides these he wrote the book entitled *Psalms* and another disputation *On the Soul*, in which he propounds various questions concerning the problem under discussion and adduces the opinion of the Greek philosophers; these he promises to refute and to give his own opinion in another book. He also composed a dialogue against the Jews, which he held in the city of Ephesus against Trypho, the most distinguished Jew of the day. In this he explains how the grace of God brought him to the word of the faith, and how he had formerly been zealous for philosophic learning and made deep and enthusiastic inquiry into the truth. In the same book he narrates about the Jews how they plotted against the teaching of Christ, and presses the same point against Trypho. "Not only did you not repent of the evil that you did but you chose out picked men at that time and sent them from Jerusalem to the whole world saying that a seditious sect of Christians had arisen, and uttering the calumnies which all those who do not know us make against us, so that you are not only guilty of unrighteousness against yourselves but also against absolutely all other men."

He also writes that even up to his own time prophetic gifts illuminated the church, and quotes the Apocalypse of John, saying clearly that it is the work
Justin, Dial. ἀποστόλου αὐτὴν εἶναι λέγων· καὶ ὑητῶν δὲ τινῶν προφητικῶν μνημονεύει, διελέγχων τὸν Τρύφωνα ὡς δὴ περικοπάς των αὐτὰ Ἰουδαίων ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς. πλείστα δὲ καὶ ἐσταρα παρὰ πολλοῖς φέρεται ἀδελφοὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ πόνων, οὕτωσί δὲ σπουδῆς εἶναι ἥξιοι καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐδόκουν οἱ τάνδρος λόγοι, ὡς τὸν Εἰρηναίον ἀπομνημονεύειν αὐτὸν φωνάς, τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ Ἰδρος τὰς αἰρέσεις αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα ἐπιλέγοντα: "καὶ καλῶς ὁ Ἰουστῖνος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μαρκίωνα συντάγματι φήσιν ὅτι αὐτω τῷ κυρίῳ οὐκ ἂν ἐπείσθην ἄλλον θεόν καταγγέλλοντι παρὰ τὸν δημοσφῆτον," τούτο δὲ ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως διὰ τούτων: "καὶ καλῶς ὁ Ἰουστῖνος ἔφη ὅτι πρὸ μὲν τῆς τοῦ κυρίου παρουσίας οὐδὲντε ἐπολήμησεν ὁ σατανᾶς βλασφημήσαι τὸν θεόν, ἂτε μηδέποτε εἰδώς αὐτοῦ τὴν κατάκρισιν." καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἀναγκαῖως εἰρήσθων εἰς προτροπὴν τοῦ μετὰ σπουδῆς τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς καὶ τοὺς τούτου περιέπειν λόγοι. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὸν δε τοιαῦτα ἦν.

XIX. Ἡδὴ δὲ εἰς οὖν ἐλαυνοῦσης ἐτος τῆς δηλομένης ἤγειρον, τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἐπισκοπήν Ἀνίκητον ἑνδέκα τοῖς πάσιν ἔτεσιν διελήφθη Σωτήρ διαδέχεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἀλεξικρέων παρουσίας Κελαδίωνος τεττάρους ἐπὶ δέκα ἐτεσιν προστάτως. XX. τῆν διαδοχὴν Ἀγριππίνων διαλαμβάνει, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας δέ ἐκκλησίας Θεόφιλος ἔκτος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγνωρίζετο, τετάρτου μὲν τῶν ἐκείσε μετὰ Ἡρωνοκαταστάντως Κορνήλιον, μετὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ πέμπτων βαθμῶν τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν Ἐρωτος διαδέχατον.

XXI. Ἡ κιμαζον δὲ ἐν τούτοις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας 372
of the apostle. And he also quotes some texts from the prophets bringing the charge against Trypho that the Jews had cut them out of the Scripture. There are also many works of his extant among many Christians, and thus the books of this writer seemed even to the ancients worthy of study, for Irenaeus quotes his works, doing so in the fourth book Against Heresies in these very words: "And well does Justin say in his treatise against Marcion that he would not have believed the Lord himself had he preached a God other than the Creator." Again, in the fifth book of the same treatise he quotes him as follows: "And well did Justin say that before the coming of the Lord Satan dared not blaspheme God, seeing that he did not yet know his condemnation." These points must serve to encourage students to follow his arguments zealously and such are the facts about him.

XIX. Now when the reign of this emperor was approaching the eighth year Soter succeeded Anicetus in the bishopric of Rome, who had completed eleven years altogether, and when Celadion had presided over the diocese of the Alexandrians for fourteen years, XX. Agrippinus took up the succession, and in the church of the Antiochians, the famous Theophilus was the sixth from the Apostles, the fourth having been Cornelius, who was appointed after Hero, and after Cornelius Eros had succeeded to the bishopric in the fifth place.

XXI. At this time there flourished in the church

1 A.D. 168.
'Ηγήσιππος τε, διν άσκεν ἐκ τῶν προτέρων, καὶ Διονύσιος Κορινθίων ἐπίσκοπος Πιννυτός τε ἄλλος τῶν ἐπὶ Κρήτης ἐπίσκοπος Φίλιππός τε ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ Ἀπολλινάριος καὶ Μελίτων Μουσανός τε καὶ Μόδεστος καὶ ἐπὶ πάσιν Εἰρηναῖος, δὲν καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς τῆς ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως ἣ τῆς ἱγμος πίστεως ἔγγραφος κατηλθεν ὀρθοδοξία.

XXII. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἡγήσιππος ἐν πέντε τοῖς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἑλθοῦσιν ὑπομνήμασιν τῆς ἰδίας γνώμης πληρεστάτην μνήμην καταλέλοιπεν; ἐν οἷς δηλοὶ ὡς πλείστοις ἐπισκόποις συμμίμησεν ἀποδημιὰν στειλάμενος μέχρι Ὀρμη, καὶ ὡς ὅτι τὴν αὐτῆν παρὰ πάντων παρείληφεν διδασκαλίαν. ἀκοῦσαι γέ τοι πάρεστιν μετὰ των περὶ τῆς Κλήμεντος πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολῆς αὐτῷ εἰρημένα ἐπιλέγοντος ταῦτα. "καὶ ἐπέμενεν ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡ Κορινθίων ἐν τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ μέχρι Πρύμου ἐπισκοπεύοντος ἐν Κορινθοῖς συνέμιζα πλέων εἰς Ὀρμη καὶ συνεδρύφα τοῖς Κορινθίοις ἡμέρας ἰκανάς, ἐν αῖς συνανεπάθμεν τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Ὀρμη, 3 διαδοχὴν ἐποιησάμην μέχρις Ἀνικήτου ὡς δίκην ἢν Ἔλευθερος, καὶ παρὰ Ανικήτου διαδέχεται Σωτήρ, μεθ’ ἐν Ἐλευθερος. ἐν ἐκάστη δὲ διαδοχῇ καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει οὕτως ἔχει ὡς ὁ νόμος κηρύσσει καὶ οἱ προφήται καὶ ὁ κύριος." "Ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν αἱρέσεων τὰς ἀρχὰς ὑποτίθεται διὰ τούτων. "καὶ μετὰ τὸ μαρτυρῆσαι Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον, ὃς καὶ ὁ κύριος, ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ, πάλιν ὁ ἐκ θείου αὐτοῦ Συμεών ὁ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ καθίσταται ἐπίσκοπος, ὃν προεθεντὸ πάντες, διὸντα ἀνεψιόν τοῦ κυρίου δεύτερον. διὰ τούτο ἐκάλουν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρθένον, οὕτω γὰρ 374
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Hegesippus, whom we know from former narratives, and Dionysius, bishop of the Corinthians, and Pinytus, another bishop of the Cretans, and Philip, and in addition to them Apolinarius and Melito and Musanus and Modestus and, above all, Irenaeus, and their correct opinions on the sound faith of the apostolic tradition have come down to us in writing.

XXII. Hegesippus has left a complete record of his own opinion in five treatises which have come down to us. In them he explains how when travelling as far as Rome he mingled with many bishops and that he found the same doctrine among them all. But it is well to listen to what he said after some remarks about the epistle of Clement to the Corinthians: “And the church of the Corinthians remained in the true doctrine until Primus was bishop of Corinth, and I conversed with them on my voyage to Rome, and spent some days with the Corinthians during which we were refreshed by the true word. When I was in Rome I recovered the list of the succession until Anicetus, whose deacon was Eleutherus; Soter succeeded Anicetus, and after him came Eleutherus. In each list and in each city things are as the law, the prophets, and the Lord preach.”

The same writer also describes the beginning of the heresies of his time as follows: “After James the Just had suffered martyrdom for the same reason as the Lord, Symeon, his cousin, the son of Clopas was appointed bishop, whom they all proposed because he was another cousin of the Lord. For this cause they called the church virgin, for it had not
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ἔφθαρτο ἀκοιαὶς ματαίας· ἀρχεῖαι δὲ ὁ Θεοβουθισ 5
dia τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὕποβεις εἰρη
ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπτὰ αἱρέσεων, ὅν καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν, ἐν τῷ
λαῷ, ἀφ' ὅν Σίμων, ὅθεν Σιμωνιανοί, καὶ Κλεόβιος,
ὁθεν Κλεοβινοί, καὶ Δοσίθεος, ὅθεν Λοσιβιανοί,
καὶ Γορθαιος, ὅθεν Γοραθηνοί, καὶ Μασβωθεοι.
ἀπὸ τούτων Μενανδριανισταὶ καὶ Μαρκιανισταὶ
cαὶ Καρποκρατιανοὶ καὶ Οὐαλετυνιανοὶ καὶ Βασιλειανοὶ
cαὶ Σατορνυλιανοὶ ἔκαστος ἰδίως καὶ
ἐτεροίς ἰδιαν δόξαν παρεισηγάγοσαν, ἀπὸ τούτων 6
ψευδόχριστοι, ψευδοπροφήται, ψευδαπόστολοι, οἰ-
t̄νες ἐμέρισαν τὴν ἐνωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας φθορι-
μαίοις λόγοις κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ
αὐτοῦ."

"Ετι δ' ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ τὰς πάλαι γεγενημένας παρὰ 7
Ἰουδαίους αἱρέσεις ἱστορεῖ λέγων. "νὰν δὲ
gνῶμαι διάφοροι ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ ἐν υἱοὶ Ἰσραηλ-
tῶν κατὰ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰουδαὶ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ
αὐτοῦ. Ἐσσαίοι Γαλιλαῖοι Ἡμεροβαπτισταὶ Μασ-
βωθεοι Σαμαρεῖται Σαδδουκαίοι Φαρισαῖοι."

Καὶ ἐτερα δὲ πλείστα γράφει, ὡς ἐκ μέρους θ' ὅτι 8
πρότερον ἐμνημονεύσαμεν, οἴκειως τοῖς καροίς
tὰς ἱστορίας παραθέμενοι, ἐκ τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίους
eὐαγγελίω καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ καὶ ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς
Ἑβραίδος διάλεκτο τινά τίθησιν, ἐμφάνων ἐξ
Ἑβραίων ἑαυτῶν πεπιστευκέναι, καὶ ἀλλα δὲ ὡς
ἐξ Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἀγράφου παραδόσεως μνημονεύει. οὐ
μόνος δὲ οὕτως, καὶ Ἐἰρηναῖος δὲ καὶ ο ὑπὲ τῶν 9
ἄρχαίων χορὸς πανάρετον Σοφίαν τὰς Σολομώνος
Παροιμίας ἐκάλουν. καὶ περὶ τῶν λεγομένων δὲ

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1 “The people” usually means the Jews, but here it

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yet been corrupted by vain messages, but Thebouthis, because he had not been made bishop, begins its corruption by the seven heresies, to which he belonged, among the people.\(^1\) Of these were Simon, whence the Simonians, and Cleobius, whence the Cleobians, and Dositheus, whence the Dositians, and Gorthaeus, whence the Goratheni and the Masbothei. From these come the Menandrianists and the Marcianists and the Carpocratians and the Valentinians and the Basilidians and Saturnilians; each of these puts forward in its own peculiar way its own opinion, and from them come the false Christs and false prophets and false apostles who destroy the unity of the church by their poisonous doctrine against God and against his Christ.”

The same writer also described the sects which once existed among the Jews as follows: “Now there were various opinions among the circumcision, among the children of Israel, against the tribe of Judah and the Messiah, as follows: Essenes, Galileans, Hemerobaptists, Masbothei, Samaritans, Sadducees, and Pharisees.”

He also wrote much more, from which we have already made some quotations, arranging the narratives chronologically, and he makes extracts from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and from the Syriac and particularly from the Hebrew language, showing that he had been converted from among the Hebrews, and he mentions points as coming from the unwritten tradition of the Jews. And not only he but also Irenæus and the whole company of the ancients called the Proverbs the All-virtuous Wisdom. And in dis-

seems to mean Palestinian Christians. But the passage is not clear, and possibly the text is corrupt.
ἀποκρύψων διαλαμβάνων, ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ χρόνων πρὸς τινῶν αἱρετικῶν ἀναπεπλάσθαι τινὰ τούτων ἱστορεῖ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐφ’ ἐτερον ἤδη μεταβατέον.

XXIII. Καὶ πρῶτον γε-περὶ Διονυσίου φατέον ότι τε τῆς ἐν Κορίνθῳ παροικίας τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐγκεχείριστο θρόνον, καὶ ως τῆς ἐνθέου φιλοποιίας οὐ μόνοις τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτόν, ἀλλ’ ἥδη καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς ἀφθόνως ἐκοινώνει, χρησιμώτατον ἀπασιν ἑαυτοῦ καθιστὰς ἐν αἷς ὑπετυπώτῳ καθολικαῖς πρὸς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιστολαίς· ὃν ἐστὶν ἢ μὲν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ὀρθοδοξίας κατηχητική εἰρήνης τε καὶ ἐνώσεως ὑποθετικῆ, ἢ δὲ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους διεγερτικὴ πίστεως καὶ τῆς κατά τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πολυτείας, ἢς ὀλυγωρῆσαντας ἐλέγχει ὡς ἀν μικροῦ δειν ἀποστάντας τοῦ λόγου ἑξ οὔτε πρὸς τὸν προεστότα αὐτῶν Πούπλιων μαρτυρήσας κατὰ τοὺς τότε συνέβη διωγμοῦς. Κοιδράτου δὲ μετὰ τὸν μαρτυρήσαντα Πούπλιων καταστάντος αὐτῶν ἐπισκόπου μέμνηται, ἐπιμαρτυρῶν ὡς διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ σπουδῆς ἐπισυναχθέντων καὶ τῆς πίστεως ἀναξιωπύρηνοι εἰληχότων· δῆλοι δ’ ἐπὶ τούτους ὡς καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρεοπαγίτης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου προτραπεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν πίστιν κατὰ τὰ ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι δεδηλωμένα, πρῶτος τῆς Ἀθηναῖοι παροικίας τὴν ἐπισκοπῆν ἐγκεχείριστο. ἀλλ’ δ’ ἐπιστολῆ τις αὐτοῦ πρὸς Νικομηδεὰς φέρεται, ἐν ἢ τὴν Μαρκίωνος αἱρεσιν πολεμῶν τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας παρίσταται κανόνι. καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας δὲ τῆς παροικιοὐγ Γόρτυναν ἀμα ταῖς λοιπαῖς κατὰ Κρήτην παροικίας ἐπιστείλας, Φίλιππον ἐπίσκοπον αὐτῶν ἀποδέχεται ἀτε δὴ ἐπὶ πλείστως μαρτυρουμένης ἀνδραγαθίας τῆς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐκ-

Acts 17, 34

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cussing the so-called Apocrypha, he relates that some of them were fabricated by certain heretics in his own time. But we must now pass on to another writer.

XXIII. Concerning Dionysius it must first be said that he was appointed to the throne of the episcopate of the diocese of Corinth, and that he communicated his divine industry ungrudgingly not only to those under him but also to those at a distance, rendering himself most useful to all in the general epistles which he drew up for the churches.¹ Among them the letter to the Lacedaemonians is an instruction in orthodoxy on the subject of peace and unity, and the letter to the Athenians is a call to faith and to life according to the gospel, and for despising this he rebukes them as all but apostates from the truth since the martyrdom of Publius,² their leader, in the persecution of that time. He mentions that Quadratus was appointed their bishop after the martyrdom of Publius and testifies that through his zeal they had been brought together and received a revival of their faith. Moreover, he mentions that Dionysius the Areopagite was converted by the Apostle Paul to the faith, according to the narrative in the Acts, and was the first to be appointed to the bishopric of the diocese of Athens. There is another extant letter of his to the Nicomedians in which he combats the heresy of Marcion and compares it with the rule of the truth. He also wrote to the church sojourning in Gortyna together with the other Cretan dioceses, and welcomes their bishop Philip for the reputation

¹ None of his writings are extant.
² Nothing more is known of this Publius.
κλησίας, τὴν τε τῶν αἱρετικῶν διαστροφῆν ύπο-
μιμνήσκει φυλάττεσθαι. καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ δὲ τῇ
παρουκούσῃ Ἀμαστρών ἀμα ταῖς κατὰ Πόντου
ἐπιστείλας, Βακχυλίδου μὲν καὶ Ἐλπίστου ὡς ἂν
αυτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ γράψαι προτρεπόντων μέμνηται,
γραφῶν τε θείων ἐξηγήσεις παρατέθειται, ἐπι-
σκοπον αὐτῶν ὑπόμακτι Πάλμαν ὑποσημαίνων
πολλὰ δὲ περὶ γάμου καὶ ἀγνείας τοῖς αὐτοῖς
παρανεῖ, καὶ τοὺς ἐξ οἷας δ’ οὖν ἀποπτώσεις,
εἰτε πλημμελείας εἰτε μὴν αἱρετικῆς πλάνης,
ἐπιστρέφοντας δεξιοῦσθαι προστάτητε. ταύτας
ἀλλὰ ἐγκατείλεκται πρὸς Κυνωσίους ἐπιστολὴν, ἐν
ἡ Πινυτοῦ τῆς παρουκίας ἐπίσκοπον παρακάλει
μὴ βαρὺ φορτίον ἐπάναγκες τὸ περὶ ἀγνείας τοῖς
ἀδελφοῖς ἐπιτιθέναι, τῆς δὲ τῶν πολλῶν κατα-
στοχάζεσθαι ἀσθενείας: πρὸς ἄν ὁ Πινυτὸς ἄντι-
γράφων, θαυμάζει μὲν καὶ ἀποδέχεται τὸν Διονύσιον,
ἀντιπαρακαλεῖ δὲ στερροτέρας ἢ δὴ ποτὲ μεταδιδόναι
τροφῆς, τελειοτέρους γράμμασιν εἰς αὐθεῖς τὸν παρ’
αὐτῷ λαὸν ὑποθρέψαντα, ως μὴ διὰ τέλους τοῖς
γαλακτώδεσιν ἐνδιατριβοῦσιν λόγους τῇ νηπιῶδει
ἀγωγῇ λάθους καταγγέλλοντες· δι’ ἂν ἐπιστολῆς
καὶ ἡ τοῦ Πινυτοῦ περὶ τὴν πίστιν ὀρθοδοξία τε
καὶ φροντὶς τῆς τῶν ὑπηκόων ωφελείας τὸ τε
λόγιον καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰ θεία σύνεσις ως δι’ ἀκρι-
βεστάτης ἀναδείκνυνται εἰκόνος.

"Ἐπὶ τοῦ Διονύσιον καὶ πρὸς Ἔρωμαίους ἐπὶ-
στολὴ φέρεται, ἐπισκόπως τῷ τότε Ἑωτῆρι προσ-
φωνούσα· εἴς ἂν οὐδὲν οἶον τὸ καὶ παραθέσαι
λέξεις δι’ ὅν τὸ μέχρι τοῦ καθ’ ἡμῶν δωμιμοῦ
φυλαχθὲν Ἔρωμαίων ἐδοὺς ἀποδεχομένος ταῦτα
γράφει· "ἐὰν ἄρχης γὰρ ὑμῖν ἔδος ἐστὶν τοῦτο, 1
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of the church in his charge for many noble acts, and he enjoins care against heretical error. He also wrote to the church sojourning in Amastris, together with the churches in Pontus, and mentions that Bacchylides and Elpistus had urged him to write; he adduces interpretations of the divine scriptures, and mentions by name their bishop Palmas. He gave them many exhortations about marriage and chastity, and orders them to receive those who are converted from any backsliding, whether of conduct or heretical error. To this list has been added another epistle to Cnossus, in which he exhorts Pinytos, the bishop of the diocese, not to put on the brethren a heavy compulsory burden concerning chastity and to consider the weaknesses of the many. To this Pinytos replied that he admired and welcomed Dionysius, but exhorted him in turn to provide at some time more solid food, and to nourish the people under him with another more advanced letter, so that they might not be fed continually on milky words, and be caught unaware by old age while still treated as children. In this letter the orthodoxy of Pinytos in the faith, his care for those under him, his learning and theological understanding are shown as in a most accurate image.

There is, moreover, extant a letter of Dionysius to the Romans addressed to Soter who was then bishop, and there is nothing better than to quote the words in which he welcomes the custom of the Romans, which was observed down to the persecution in our own times. "This has been your custom from the be-
πάντας μὲν ἀδελφοὺς ποικίλως ἐνεργετεῖν ἐκ-κλησίας τε πολλαίς ταῖς κατὰ πάσαν πόλιν ἔφοδια πέμπειν, ὥστε μὲν τὴν τῶν δειμένων πενίαν ἀνα-ψύχοντας, ἐν μετάλλοις δὲ ἀδελφοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἐπιχορηγοῦντας διὰ τῶν πέμπτες ἀρχὴθεν ἐφοδίων πατροπαράδοτον ἔθος Ἡρωμάιων Ἡρωμαίων φυλή-τοντες, ὅ οὐ μόνον διατετήρηκεν ὁ μακάριος ὑμῶν ἐπίσκοπος Σωτήρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ηὐζηκεν, ἐπιχορηγῶν μὲν τὴν διαπεμπομένην δαμάλειαν τὴν εἰς τοὺς ἄγιους, λόγους δὲ μακάριος τοὺς ἀνίοντας ἀδελ-
φοὺς, ὡς τέκνα πατὴρ φιλόστοργος, παρακαλών.’’

Ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ ταύτῃ καὶ τῆς Ἐλήμεντος πρὸς Ὀρινθίους μεμνημα τοῦ ἐπιστολῆς, δηλῶν ἀνέκαθεν ἐξ ἀρχαίον ἔθους ἕπ᾽ τῇ ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι. λέγει γοῦν· ‘‘πὴ τὴν σήμερον οὐν κυριακὴν ἄγιαν ἡμέραν διηγάγομεν, ἐν ἑαυτῇ ἄγνωμεν ύμῶν τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἢν ἔχομεν οἴποτε ἀναγινώσκοντες νοὐθετεῖσθαι, ὡς καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἡμῶν διὰ Ἐλήμεντος γραφεῖσαν.’’

‘‘Ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱδίων ἐπιστολῶν ὡς ῥάδιουργηθεισῶν ταύτα φησιν: ‘‘ἐπιστολάς γὰρ ἀδελφῶν ἄξιωσάντων με γράφαι ἐγράφαι. καὶ ταύτας οἱ τοῦ διαβόλου ἀπόστολοι ἥξιαν γεγέμικαν, ἢ μὲν ἐξαιροῦντες, ἢ δὲ προστεθέντες· οἷς τὸ οὐαί κεῖται· οὐ θαυμαστὸν ἄρα εἰ καὶ τῶν κυριακῶν ῥάδιουργήσασι τινὲς ἐπιβέβληται γραφῶν, ὅποτε καὶ ταῖς οὐ τοιαύτας ἐπιβεβουλεύκασιν.’’

Καὶ ἄλλη δὲ τις παρὰ ταύτας ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Διονυσίου φέρεται Χρυσοφόρα πιστοτάτη ἀδελφὴ

1 The mines were constantly used by the Romans as convict establishments, as work in them was regarded as unfit even for slaves.
beginning, to do good in manifold ways to all Christians, and to send contributions to the many churches in every city, in some places relieving the poverty of the needy, and ministering to the Christians in the mines,\(^1\) by the contribution which you have sent from the beginning, preserving the ancestral custom of the Romans, true Romans as you are. Your blessed bishop Soter has not only carried on this habit but has even increased it, by administering the bounty distributed to the saints and by exhorting with his blessed words the brethren who come to Rome, as a loving father would his children.”

In this same letter he also quotes the letter of Clement to the Corinthians, showing that from the beginning it had been the custom to read it in the church. “To-day we observed the holy day of the Lord, and read out your letter, which we shall continue to read from time to time for our admonition, as we do with that which was formerly sent to us through Clement.”\(^2\)

The same writer speaks as follows about the falsification of his own letters. “When Christians asked me to write letters I wrote them, and the apostles of the devil have filled them with tares, by leaving out some things and putting in others. But woe awaits them. Therefore it is no wonder that some have gone about to falsify even the scriptures of the Lord when they have plotted against writings so inferior.”

Besides these there is extant another letter of Dionysius to Chrysophora, a most faithful Christian, 

\(^2\) It is to be noticed that Dionysius regards both the letter of Soter and the letter of Clement as coming from the church of Rome of which they are the first and second epistles. There is much to be said for A. von Harnack’s view that the letter which we call II. Clement is really the letter of Soter.
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επιστείλαντος, ἵ τὰ κατάλληλα γράφων, τῆς προσηκουσθῆς καὶ αὐτῆς μετεδίδου λογικῆς τροφῆς. καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ Διονυσίου τοσαῦτα.

XXIV. Τοῦ δὲ Θεοφίλου, ὁν τῆς 'Αντιοχέων 1 ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπον δεδηλώκαμεν, τρία τὰ πρὸς Αὐτόλυκον στοιχειώδη φέρεται συγγράμματα, καὶ ἄλλο Πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν Ἐρμογένους τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον, εἰν ὡ ἐκ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου κέχρηται μαρτυρίαις. καὶ ἐτερα δὲ των κατηχητικὰ αὐτοῦ φέρεται βιβλία. τῶν γε μὴν αἵρετικῶν οὐ χείρον καὶ τότε Ἰζανινών δίκην λυμαινομένων τὸν εἰλικρινῆ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς διδασκαλίας σπόρον, οἱ πανταχόσε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ποιμένες, ἀσπερ τινὰς θήρας ἀγρίους τῶν Χριστοῦ προβάτων ἀποσοβοῦτες, αὐτοὺς ἀνείργων τοτὲ μὲν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς νουθεσίαις καὶ παραιέσεωιν, τοτὲ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς γυμνότερον ἀποδύομενοι, ἀγράφοισι τε εἰς πρόσωπον ζητήσει καὶ ἄνατραπάται, ἤδη δὲ καὶ δὴ ἐγγράφων ὑπομνημάτων τὰς δόξας αὐτῶν ἀκριβεστάτους ἔλεγχοις διευθύνοντες. ο γέ τοι Θεόφιλος σὺν τοῖς ἀλλοις κατὰ τούτων στρατευσάμενος δῆλος ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τινὸς οὐκ ἀγεννᾶς αὐτῶν κατὰ Μαρκίωνος πεπονημένου λόγου, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς μεθ' ὅν ἄλλων εἰρήκαμεν εἰς ἐτὶ νῦν διασέσωσται. τούτων μὲν οὖν ἔβδομος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τῆς Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησίας διαδέχεται Μαξιμίνος.

XXV. Φίλιππος γε μὴν, ὃν ἐκ τῶν Διονυσίου 1 φωνῶν τῆς ἐν Γορτύνῃ παροικίας ἐπίσκοπον ἐγγονομένον, πάνυ γε σπουδαιότατον πεποιηταὶ καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ Μαρκίωνος λόγου, Εἰρηναῖος τε ὁσαύτως καὶ Μόδεστος, ὃς καὶ διαφερόντως παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους 384.
in which he writes to her, suitably imparting to her the proper spiritual food. Such are the facts about Dionysius.

XXIV. Of Theophilus, whom we have mentioned as bishop of the church of the Antiochians, three elementary treatises are extant, addressed to Autolycus, and another with the title, *Against the Heresy of Hermogenes*, in which he has quoted the Apocalypse of John, and there are also extant some other books of his on instruction. Heretics were even then no less defiling the pure seed of apostolic teaching like tares, and the shepherds of the churches in every place, as though driving off wild beasts from Christ’s sheep, excluded them at one time by rebukes and exhortations to the brethren, at another by their more complete exposure, by unwritten and personal inquiry and conversation, and ultimately correcting their opinions by accurate arguments in written treatises. It is clear that Theophilus joined with the others in this campaign against them from a noble treatise which he made against Marcion, which has been preserved until now with the others that we have mentioned. His successor in the church of the Antiochians was Maximinus, seventh from the apostles.

XXV. Philip, whom we know from the words of Dionysius as bishop of the diocese in Gortyna, also made a most excellent treatise against Marcion. Irenaeus, likewise, and Modestus,¹ who excels beyond

¹ Nothing more is known of Modestus, though Jerome appears to have been acquainted with his writings (*De vir. ill. 32*).
XXVI. 'Επὶ τῶνδε καὶ Μελίτων τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσιν παρουκίας ἐπίσκοπος Ἀπολινάριός τε τῆς ἐν Ἰεραπόλει διαπρεπῶς ἤκμαζον, οἱ καὶ τῷ δηλωθέντι κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ρωμαίων βασιλεί λόγους ύπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἰδίως ἐκάτερος ἀπολογίας προσεφώνησαν. τούτων εἰς ἠμετέραν γνώσιν ἀφίκται τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα· Μελίτωνος, τὰ Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα δύο καὶ τὸ Περὶ πολυτείας καὶ προφητῶν καὶ ὁ Περὶ ἀκκλησίας καὶ ὁ Περὶ κυριακῆς λόγος, ἐτι δὲ ὁ Περὶ πίστεως ἀνθρώπου καὶ ὁ Περὶ πλάσεως, καὶ ὁ Περὶ ὑπακοῆς πίστεως [καὶ Περὶ] αἰσθητήριων καὶ πρὸς τούτους ὁ Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος [ηνενοῦ] καὶ ὁ Περὶ λουτροῦ καὶ Περὶ ἀληθείας καὶ Περὶ πίστεως καὶ γενέσεως Χριστοῦ καὶ λόγου αὐτοῦ προφητείας καὶ Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος καὶ ὁ Περὶ φιλοξενίας καὶ ἡ Κλείς καὶ τὰ Περὶ τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου καὶ ὁ Περὶ ἐνσωμάτων θεοῦ, ἐπὶ πάσι καὶ τὸ Πρὸς Ἀντωνινὸν βιβλίδιον.

Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα τοῦ χρόνου καθ’ ὃν συνεταττεν, ἀρχόμενος σημαίνει ἐν τούτους· "ἐπὶ Σερουμλίου Παύλου ἀνθυπάτου τῆς Ἀσίας, ὦ Σάγαρις καιρῷ ἐμαρτύρησεν, ἐγένετο ζήτησις.

1 Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180).
2 This conjecture seems necessary and was made by Rufinus and Jerome, but the words bracketed in Greek are omitted in all the Greek manuscripts.
3 Some Greek manuscripts add "or mind" and others three words which make no sense. The most probable
the rest in exposing to everyone the man's error, did the same, and there are many others, too, whose works are still preserved among many Christians.

XXVI. In their time, too, Melito, bishop of the diocese of Sardis, and Apolinarius, bishop of Hierapolis, were at the height of their fame, and each addressed apologetic arguments of their own to the emperor of the Romans of that day, who has been already mentioned. The following of their works have come to our knowledge. Of Melito two books On the Passover, a treatise On Christian Life and the Prophets, On the Church, and On the Lord's Day; besides these On the Faith of Man, and On Creation, and On the Obedience of Faith, and On the Senses; besides these, On the Soul and Body, and On Baptism and Truth and Faith and Christ's Birth, and a treatise of his prophecy and On Soul and Body, and On Hospitality, and the Key, and the books On the Devil and the Apocalypse of John, and On God Incarnate; above all, the little book To Antoninus.

At the beginning of the book On the Passover he indicates the time at which he was composing it as follows: "In the time of Servillius Paulus, proconsul, of Asia, at the time when Sagaris was martyred, solution is that of McGiffert who thinks that "or mind" is a gloss upon the word "soul."

4 These appear to be the chapters of a single book.

5 Such must be the meaning of the Greek, but a πεπλ may have dropped out by accident. It is found in some mss., but probably only as an emendation.

6 i.e. Antoninus Verus, usually called Marcus Aurelius.

7 Servilius Paulus is not known, but Rufinus emended the name to Sergius Paulus, who was consul for the second time in 168, and may have been proconsul of Asia about 164-166. See Waddington, Fastes des provinces asiatiques, and McGiffert's note ad loc.
πολλή ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ περὶ τοῦ πάσχα, ἐμπεσόντος κατὰ καιρὸν ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις, καὶ ἐγράφη ταῦτα." τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου μέμνηται Κλήμης ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρεύς ἐν ἰδίῳ Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα λόγῳ, ὅν ὡς ἔξ ἀιτίας τῆς τοῦ Μελίτωνος γραφῆς φησιν ἐαυτοῦ συντάξαι. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἑβιβάζω τοιαύτα τινα καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ γεγονέναι ἑστορεῖ. "τὸ γὰρ οὐδεπώποτε γενόμενον, νῦν διώκεται τὸ τῶν θεοσεβῶν γένος καινοὶ ἑλαυνόμενον δόγμασιν κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν. οἱ γὰρ ἀναιδεῖς συκοφάνται καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἑρασται τὴν ἐκ τῶν διαταγμάτων ἔχοντες ἀφορμήν, φανερῶς ληστεύουσι, νῦκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν διαρπάζοντες τοὺς μηδὲν ἄδικοντας." καὶ μεθ' ἐτερά φησιν. "καὶ εἰ μὲν σοῦ κελεύσαντος τοῦτο πράττεται, ἐστὶν καλῶς γινόμενον" δίκαιος γὰρ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἂν ἄδικως βουλεύσατο πώποτε, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἤδεις φέρομεν τοῦ τουτοῦθεν θανάτου τὸ γέρας· ταύτην δὲ σοι μόνην προσφέρομεν δέχοισιν ἣν αὐτὸς πρότερον ἐπιγνοῦσι τοὺς τῆς τοιαύτης φιλονεικίας ἐργάτας, δικαίως κρίνειας εἰ ἄξιοι θανάτοι καὶ τιμωρίας ἡ σωτηρίας καὶ ἰσοχίας εἰσίν. εἰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ σοῦ μὴ εἴη ἡ βουλή αὕτη καὶ τὸ κανόν τοῦτο διάταγμα, ὃ μηδὲ κατὰ βαρβάρων πρέπει πολεμίων, πολὺ μᾶλλον δεόμεθα σοι μὴ περιυδεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐν τοιαύτῃ δημώδει λειλασίᾳ." τούτως ἄθεος ἐπὶ ἐρείπη κέρατον μὲν ἐν βαρβάρους ἤκμασεν, ἐπανθησάσα δὲ τοῖς σοὶς ἐθνέσιν κατὰ τὴν Ἀὐγούστου τοῦ σοῦ προγόνου μεγάλην ἀρχήν, ἐγενήθη μάλιστα τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθόν. ἐκτότε γὰρ εἰς μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν τὸ 'Ρωμαίων ἡγήθη κράτος· οὐ σὺ
there was a great discussion about the Passover, which fell according to the season in those days, and this was written." Clement of Alexandria quotes this treatise in his own *On the Passover*, which he says that he compiled in consequence of the writing of Melito. And in the book to the emperor he relates that in his time we were treated as follows: "It has never before happened as it is now that the race of the religious should be persecuted and driven about by new decrees throughout Asia. For shameless informers and lovers of other people's property have taken advantage of the decrees, and pillage us openly, harrying night and day those who have done nothing wrong." And after other points he says: "And if this is done as your command, let it be assumed that it is well done, for no righteous king would ever have an unrighteous policy, and we gladly bear the honour of such death. But we submit to you this single request, that you will first take cognizance yourself of the authors of such strife, and judge righteously whether they are worthy of death and punishment, or of acquittal and immunity. But, if it be not from you that there comes this counsel and this new decree (and it would be improper even against barbarian enemies), we beseech you all the more not to neglect us in this brigandage by a mob." He then continues as follows: "Our philosophy first grew up among the barbarians, but its full flower came among your nation in the great reign of your ancestor Augustus, and became an omen of good to your empire, for from that time the power of the Romans became great and splendid. You are now his
διάδοχος εὐκταῖος γέγονάς τε καὶ ἐσή μετὰ τοῦ παϊδός, φυλάσσων τῆς βασιλείας τήν σύντροφον καὶ συναρξαμένην Αὐγούστω φιλοσοφίαν, ἥν καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι σου πρὸς ταῖς ἄλλαις θρησκείαις ἐτίμησαν, καὶ τούτῳ μέγιστον τεκμήριον τοῦ πρὸς ἀγαθὸν τὸν καθ’ ἡμᾶς λόγον συνακμάσαι τῇ εἰκόνῃ καὶ ἀρξαμένη βασιλεία, ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν φαύλον ἀπὸ τῆς Αὐγούστου ἀρχῆς ἀπαντήσαι, ἄλλα τούναντίον ἀπαντά λαμπρὰ καὶ ἔνδοξα κατὰ τῶν πάντων εὐχάς. μόνοι πάντων, ἀναπευθείνεις ὑπὸ εἰκόνων βασιλείας ἀνθρώπων, τὸν καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἐν διαβολῇ κατασχήσαι λόγον ἡθέλησαν Νέρων καὶ Δομετιανός, ἀφ’ ὅν καὶ τὸ τῆς συκοφαντίας ἀλόγω συμπεριφερθηκεν. ὅλα τῆν ἤκειν ἀγνοοῦσαν οἱ σοὶ εὐσεβεῖς ἐν πατέρες ἐπηρωθόσαντο, πολλάκις πολλοῖς ἐπι- πλήζαντες ἐγγράφως, ὅσου περὶ τούτων νεωτέρισαν ἐτίμησαν: ἐν οἷς ὁ μὲν πάππος σου Ἀδριανὸς πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις, καὶ Φουσιανῷ δὲ τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ, ἡγουμένῳ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας, γράφων φαίνεται, ὁ δὲ πατήρ σου, καὶ σοὶ τὰ σύμπαντα δικοῦντος αὐτῷ, ταῖς πόλεις περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν νεωτέρισεν περὶ ἡμῶν ἐγράψει, ἐν οἷς καὶ πρὸς Λαρισαίους καὶ πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς καὶ Ἀθη- ναίους καὶ πρὸς πάντας Ἔλληνας. σὲ δὲ καὶ τοῖς μᾶλλον περὶ τούτων τὴν αὐτὴν ἤκειν ἐχόντα γνώμην καὶ πολὺ γε φιλανθρωποτέραν καὶ φιλο- σοφωτέραν, πεπείσμεθα πάντα πράσσειν ὃσα σου δεόμεθα."
happy successor, and shall be so along with your son,¹ if you protect the philosophy which grew up with the empire and began with Augustus. Your ancestors nourished it together with the other cults, and the greatest proof that our doctrine flourished for good along with the empire in its noble beginning is the fact that it met no evil in the reign of Augustus, but on the contrary everything splendid and glorious according to the wishes of all men.² The only emperors who were ever persuaded by malicious men to slander our teaching were Nero and Domitian, and from them arose the lie, and the unreasonable custom of falsely accusing Christians. But their ignorance was corrected by your pious fathers, who wrote many rebukes to many, whenever any dared to take new measures against Christians. Your grandfather Hadrian shows this in his letters to many, and especially to the proconsul Fundanus, the governor of Asia, and your father, while you were joined with him ³ in the administration of the world, wrote to the cities that no new measures should be taken concerning us. Among these are letters to the Larisians and to the Thessalonians and the Athenians and to all the Greeks. Since you hold the same opinion about them and, indeed, one which is far kinder and more philosophic, we are persuaded of your doing all which we beg of you.”

These words are found in the treatise quoted, but in the Extracts which he wrote the same writer begins

¹ The Emperor and his son are Marcus Aurelius and his son the Emperor Commodus.
² The defect in this argument is that Augustus was dead some time before the foundation of the Christian church.
³ Translating Wilamowitz’s emendation συνδιοικούντος, which must be right for Melito, even if not for Eusebius.

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αὐτὸς κατὰ τὸ προοίμιον ἄρχόμενος τῶν ὁμολογουμένων τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης γραφῶν ποιεῖται κατάλογον: ὅν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἐνταῦθα καταλέξει, γράφει δὲ οὕτως: Ὑ Μελίτων Ὁνησίμῳ τῷ ἁδελφῷ χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ πολλάκις ἥξιωσας, σπουδὴ τῇ πρὸς τὸν λόγον χρώμενος, γενέσθαι σοι ἐκλογάς ἐκ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν περὶ τοῦ σωτήρος καὶ πάσης τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ μαθεῖν τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν βιβλίων ἐβουλήθης ἀκρίβειαν πόσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ ὅποια τὴν τάξιν εἶεν, ἐσπούδασα τὸ τοιοῦτο πράξαι, ἐπιστάμενός σοι τὸ σπούδασον περὶ τὴν πίστιν καὶ φιλομαθὲς περὶ τὸν λόγον ὅτι τε μάλιστα πάντων πόθῳ τῷ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ταῦτα προκρίνεις, περὶ τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας ἀγωνιζόμενος. ἀνελθὼν οὖν εἰς τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ ἔως τοῦ τόπου γενόμενος ἐνθα ἐκκηρύξῃ, καὶ ἀκριβῶς μαθῶν τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία, ύποτάξας ἐπεμψά σοι. ὰν ἔστι τὰ ὅνοματα: Μωυσεὺς πέντε, Γένεσις Ἐξοδος Ἀριθμοὶ Λευτυκῶν Δευτερονόμιον, Ἰροσοῦς Νανῆ, Κριταί, Ῥούθ, Βασιλείων τέσσαρα, Παραλειπομένων δύο, Ψαλμῶν Δαυίδ, Σολομόνων Παροιμίαι ἡ καὶ Σοφία, Ἐκκλησιαστῆς, Ἀισιμα Ἀισιμάτων, Ἰωβ, Προφητῶν Ἡσαίου Ἰερεμίου τῶν δύδεκα ἐν μονοβιβλίω Δανυῆ, Ἰεζεκιήλ, Ἑσδρας. ἐξ ὦν καὶ τὰς ἐκλογὰς ἐποιησάμην, εἰς ἐξ βιβλία διελών.' καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ Μελίτωνος τοσαῦτα.

XXVII. Τοῦ δ’ Ἀπολυκαρίου πολλῶν παρὰ πολλῶν σωζομένων τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα ἐστὶν τάδε λόγος ὁ πρὸς τὸν προειρημένον βασιλέα καὶ Πρὸς Ἑλληνας συγγράμματα πέντε καὶ Περὶ ἀληθείας 392
in his preface by making a list of the recognized scriptures of the Old Testament, which it is necessary to enumerate here, and he writes as follows: "Melito to Onesimus his brother, greeting. Since you often desired, in your zeal for the true word, to have extracts from the Law and the Prophets concerning the Saviour, and concerning all our faith, and, moreover, since you wished to know the accurate facts about the ancient writings, how many they are in number, and what is their order, I have taken pains to do thus, for I know your zeal for the faith and interest in the word, and that in your struggle for eternal salvation you esteem these things more highly than all else in your love towards God. Accordingly when I came to the east and reached the place where these things were preached and done, and learnt accurately the books of the Old Testament, I set down the facts and sent them to you. These are their names: five books of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Joshua the son of Nun, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kingdoms, two books of Chronicles, the Psalms of David, the Proverbs of Solomon and his Wisdom, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, Job, the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Twelve in a single book, Daniel, Ezekiel, Ezra. From these I have made extracts and compiled them in six books." Such are the facts about Melito.

XXVII. Of the many writings of Apolinarius which have been widely preserved the following have reached us: A treatise to the above mentioned emperor,\(^1\) five books Against the Greeks, and books one and two On the Truth, one and two Against the

\(^1\) Marcus Aurelius.
α' β' καὶ Πρὸς Ἰουδαίον α' β' καὶ ἀ μετὰ ταῦτα συνέγραψε κατὰ τὴς τῶν Φρυγῶν αἱρέσεως, μετ’ οὐ πολὺν καινοτομήσεις χρόνον, τότε γε μὴν ὦσπερ ἐκφύειν ἀρχομένης, ἔτι τοῦ Μουσανοῦ ἀμα ταῖς αὐτοῦ ἰευδοπροφήτησιν ἀρχὰς τῆς παρεκτροπῆς ποιομένου.

XXVIII. Καὶ Μουσανοῦ δὲ, ὅν ἐν τοῖς φθάσασιν 1 κατελέξαμεν, φέρεται τὸς ἐπιστρεπτικῶτατος λόγος, πρὸς τινας αὐτῶ γραφεῖς ἀδελφοὺς ἀποκλινόντας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν λεγομένων Ἐγκρατιτῶν αἱρέσειν, ἀρτὶ τότε φύειν ἀρχομένην ξένην τε καὶ φθορίαιαν ἰευδοδοξίαν εἰσάγοσαν τῷ βίῳ. XXIX. ἢς παρεκτροπῆς ἀρχηγὸν καταστήναι Τατιανοῦ λόγος ἔχει, οὗ μικρῷ πρόσθεν τὰς περὶ τοῦ θαυμασίου Ἰουστίνου παρατεθείμεθα λέξεις, μαθητὴν αὐτοῦ ἱστοροῦσε τοῦ μάρτυρος. δὴλοὶ δὲ τοῦτο Εἰρηναῖος ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ τῶν Πρὸς τὰς αἱρέσεις, ὁμοί τὰ τε περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς κατ’ αὐτοῦ αἱρέσεως οὕτω γράφων· ἀπὸ Σατορνίνου καὶ Μαρκίωνος οἱ καλοῦμενοι 2 Ἐγκρατείς ἀγαμίαν ἐκήρυξαν, ἀθετοῦντες τὴν ἀρχαίαν πλάσιν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡρέμα κατηγοροῦντες τοῦ ἄρρεν καὶ θηλυ εἰς γένεσιν ἀνθρώπων πεποιηκότος, καὶ τῶν λεγομένων παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐμφύχων ἀποχήν εἰσηγήσαντο, ἀραριστοῦντες τῷ πάντα πεποιηκότι θεῷ, ἀντιλέγουσι τι τῇ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου σωτηρία. καὶ τοῦτο νῦν ἐξευρέθη παρ’ αὐτοῖς Τατιανοῦ τινὸς πρῶτος ταῦτην εἰσενέγκαντος τῇ βλασφημίᾳ· ὃς Ἰουστίνου ἀκροατής γεγονός, ἐφ’ ὁσον μὲν συνήν ἐκείνω, οὐδὲν ἐξειφήσει τοιοῦτον, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου μαρτυρίαν

1 See book v. 14-19 (pp. 470-94)
2 Their name was derived from the Greek ἐγκράτεια, 394
Jews, and after this the treatises which he wrote against the heresy of the Phyrgians, which had begun its innovations not long before and was then, as it were, beginning to sprout, while Montanus with his false prophetesses\(^1\) was making the beginnings of the error.

XXVIII. And of Musanous, whom we have mentioned in a previous passage, there is extant a certain very eloquent discourse which he wrote to some Christians who had fallen away to the heresy of the so-called Enchatites,\(^2\) which was at that time just beginning to sprout and to introduce into life its strange and corrupting false doctrine. XXIX. The story goes that Tatian was the author of this error, whose words we quoted a little above concerning the marvellous Justin, and related that he was a disciple of the martyr. Irenaeus states this in his first book, Against the Heresies, and in the same place writes thus concerning him and his heresy. “The so-called Enchatites proceeding from Saturninus and Marcion preached against marriage, annulling the original creation of God, and tacitly condemning him who made male and female. They also introduced abstention from what they called ‘animate’ things in ingratitude to the God who has made all things, and they deny the salvation of the first created man. This innovation was recently made by them when a certain Tatian first introduced this blasphemy. He had been a hearer of Justin but so long as he was with him, he produced nothing of this kind, but after the martyrdom of Justin he left the church, being “continence,” and they seem to have preached an ascetic doctrine somewhat resembling that of the later Manichaeans.
ἀποστάσ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οἵματι διδασκάλου ἐπι-
αρθεῖς καὶ τυφωθεῖς ὡς διαφέρων τῶν λοιπῶν, ἵππειον
χαρακτῆρα διδασκαλεῖον συνεστήσατο, αἰῶνας
τινας ἀσώτους ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου
μυθολογήσας γάμων τε φθορὰν καὶ πορνείαν
παραπλησίως Μαρκίωνι καὶ Σατορινίῳ ἀναγορεύ-
σας, τῇ δὲ τοῦ 'Αδὰμ σωτηρία παρ' ἐαυτῷ τὴν
ἀντιλογίαν ποιησάμενος.' ταύτα μὲν ὁ Εἰρηναῖος
tότε· σμικρῷ δὲ υστερών Σευηρός τις τούνομα
κρατύνας τὴν προδεδηλωμένην αἵρεσιν, αὐτίος τοῖς
ἐξ αὐτῆς ὁρμημένοις τῆς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ παρηγμένης
Σευηριανῶν προσηγορίας γέγονεν. ἠρώταται μὲν
οὖν οὕτωι νόμω καὶ προφήταις καὶ εὐαγγελίοις,
ἰδίως ἐρμηνεύοντες τῶν ἑρώταν τὰ νοήματα γραφῶν·
βλασφημοῦντες δὲ Παῦλον τὸν ἀπόστολον, ἀθε-
tοῦν αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς, μηδὲ τὰς Πράξεις
tῶν ἀποστόλων καταδεχόμενοι. ὁ μέντοι γε πρό-
tερος αὐτῶν ἄρχηγὸς ὁ Τατιανὸς συνάφειάν τινα
cαι συναγωγὴν οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως τῶν εὐαγγελίων
συνθὲς. Τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων τούτῳ προσωνύμαιςεν,
ὁ καὶ παρὰ τισιν εἰς ἐτὶ νῦν φέρεται· τοῦ δ’ ἀποστό-
lου φασὶ τολμῆσαι τινας αὐτοῦ μεταφράσαι φωνάς,
ὡς ἐπιδιορθούμενον αὐτῶν τῆς τῆς φράσεως
σύνταξιν. καταλέλοιπεν δὲ οὕτος πολὺ τι πλῆθος
συγγραμμάτων, ὅν μάλιστα παρὰ πολλοῖς μνημο-
νεύεται διαβόητος αὐτοῦ λόγος ὁ Πρὸς Ἐλλήνας,
ἐν ὡς καὶ τῶν ἀνέκαθεν χρόνων μνημονεύσας, τῶν
παρ᾽ Ἐλληνων εὐδοκίμων ἀπάντων προγενέστερον
Μωσεία τε καὶ τοὺς Ἐβραίους προφήτας ἀπε-
φηνεν· ὅς δὴ καὶ δοκεῖ τῶν συγγραμμάτων ἀπάντων
αὐτοῦ κάλλιστός τε καὶ ὕφελμωτατος ὑπάρχειν.
cαὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τούτῳ τοιαῦτα ἤν.
exalted by the idea of becoming a teacher and puffed up as superior to others. He established his own type of doctrine, telling stories of invisible Aeons, like the followers of Valentinus, and rejecting marriage as corruption and fornication similarly to Marcion and Saturninus. And as his own contribution he denied the salvation of Adam.” Irenaeus wrote thus at that time. But a little later a certain man named Severus strengthened the above mentioned heresy, and is the reason why those who have sprung from it obtained the name of Severiani from him. These indeed use the Law and the Prophets and the Gospels, though they interpret the facts of the sacred scriptures in their own way, but they blaspheme the Apostle Paul, and reject his epistles and do not receive the Acts of the Apostles. Their former leader Tatian composed in some way a combination and collection of the gospels, and gave this the name of *The Diatessaron*, and this is still extant in some places. And they say that he ventured to paraphrase some words of the apostle, as though correcting their style. He has left a great number of writings, of which the most famous, quoted by many, is his discourse *Against the Greeks*. In it he deals with primitive history, and shows that Moses and the prophets of the Hebrews preceded all those who are celebrated among the Greeks. This seems to be the best and most helpful of all his writings. Such are the facts of this period.

1 See Introduction, p. lii.
XXX. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς βασιλείας, πληθυνοῦσῶν ἐπὶ τῶν αἰρέσεων ἐπὶ τῆς Μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν, Βαρδησάνης, ἰκανώτατός τις ἀνήρ ἐν τῇ Σύρων φωνῇ διαλεκτικώτατος, πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ Μαρκίωνα καὶ τινὰς ἐτέρους διαφόρων προϊσταμένους δογμάτων διαλόγους συστησάμενος τῇ οἰκείᾳ παρέδωκεν γλώσσῃ τε καὶ γραφῇ μετὰ καὶ πλείστων ἐτέρων αὐτοῦ συγγραμμάτων· οὕς οἱ γνώριμοι (πλέοστοι δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῷ δυνατῶς τῷ λόγῳ παρισταμένῳ) ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔλληνων ἀπὸ τῆς Σύρων μεταβεβλήκασι φωνῆς· ἐν οἷς ἐστίν καὶ ὁ πρὸς Ἀντωνῖνον ἰκανώτατος αὐτοῦ Περὶ εἰμαρμένης διαλογοῦς ὅσα τε ἄλλα φασὶν αὐτὸν προφάσει τοῦ τότε διαγμὸν συγγράφαι. ἢν δ’ οὕτως πρότερον τῆς κατὰ Ὀὐαλεντῖνον σχολῆς, καταγόνοις δὲ ταύτης πλείστα τε τῆς κατὰ τοῦτον μυθοποιίας ἀπελέγξας, ἐδόκει μὲν πως αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν ὀρθοτέραν γνώμην μετατεθείσθαι, οὐ μὴν καὶ παντελῶς γε ἀπερρύφατο τὸν τῆς παλαιᾶς αἰρέσεως ρύπον.

Ἐν τούτῳ γε μὴν καὶ ὁ τῆς Ῥωμαιῶν ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος Σωτῆρ τελευτᾷ.
XXX. In the same reign heresies increased in Mesopotamia, and Bardesanes, a most able man and skilled in Syriac, composed dialogues against the Marcionites and other leaders of various opinions, and he issued them in his own language and script, together with many other of his writings. Those who knew them, and they were many, for he was a powerful arguer, have translated them from Syriac into Greek. Among them is his very powerful dialogue with Antoninus Concerning Fate, and they say that he wrote many other works in consequence of the persecution of that time. He had been first a member of the Valentinians, but condemned this school and refuted many of their fables, and himself thought that he had changed to orthodox opinion, but in fact he did not completely clean off the filth of his ancient heresy.

At this time Soter, bishop of Rome, died.
Ε

Τάδε καὶ ἡ πέμπτη περιέχει βιβλίον τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας

Α Ὁσιοὶ καὶ ὅπως κατὰ Οὐήρον ἐπὶ τῆς Γαλλίας τοῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας διεξήλθον ἀγώνα.

Β Ὑσ οἱ θεοφιλεῖς μάρτυρες τοὺς ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ διαπεπτωκότας ἐθεράπευον δεξιοῦμενοι.

Γ Ὅποια τῷ μάρτυρι Ἄττάλῳ διʼ ὅνειρον γέγονεν ἐπιφάνεια.

Δ Ὡσ οἱ μάρτυρες τοῦ Εἰρηναίον δι־ ἐπιστολῆς παρετίθεντο.

Ε Ὡσ Μάρκω Αὐρηλίῳ Καίσαρι ταῖς τῶν ἡμετέρων εὐχαῖς οὐρανόθεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπακουύσας ὅσεν.

Σ Τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥῶμης ἐπισκοπευσάντων κατάλογος.

Ζ Ὡσ καὶ μέχρι τῶν τότε καιρῶν διὰ τῶν πιστῶν δυνάμεις ἐνηργοῦντο παράδοξοι.

Η Ὡσ οἱ Εἰρηναίοι τῶν θείων μνημονεύει γραφῶν.

Θ Οἱ κατὰ Κόμοδον ἐπισκοπεύσαντες.

Ι Περὶ Πανταίνου τοῦ φιλοσόφου.

ΙΑ Περὶ Κλήμεντος τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως.

IB Περὶ τῶν εν Ἰεροσολύμωι ἐπισκόπων.

IT Περὶ Ῥόδωνος καὶ ἦς ἐμνημόνευσεν κατὰ Μαρκίωνα διαφωνίας.

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CONTENTS OF BOOK V

The contents of the fifth book of the History of the Church are as follows:

I. The number and behaviour of those who in the time of Verus underwent in Gaul the struggle for religion.

II. How the martyrs, beloved of God, gave the hand of fellowship and healing to those who had fallen in the persecution.

III. The vision which appeared in a dream to the martyr Attalus.

IV. How the martyrs commended Irenaeus by a letter.

V. How God sent rain from heaven to Marcus Aurelius Caesar in response to the prayers of the Christians.

VI. The list of those who were bishops in Rome.

VII. How even until those times strange miracles were wrought by the faithful.

VIII. How Irenaeus quotes the divine Scriptures.

IX. Those who were bishops under Commodus.

X. On Pantaenus the philosopher.

XI. On Clement of Alexandria.

XII. On the bishops in Jerusalem.

XIII. On Rhodo and the dissensions which he mentions among the Marcionites.
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥΣ

ΧΔ Περί τῶν κατὰ Φρύγας ψευδοπροφητῶν.
ΧΕ Περί τοῦ κατὰ Βλάστον ἐπὶ Ῥώμης γενομένου σχίσματος.
ΧΣ ἩΟσα περὶ Μοντανοῦ καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ ψευδοπροφητῶν μνημονεύεται.
ΧΖ Περὶ Μυλτιάδου καὶ ὃν συνέταξε λόγων.
ΧΠ ἩΟσα καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος τοὺς κατὰ Φρύγας ἀπήλεγξεν καὶ τίνων ἐμνημόνευσεν.
ΧΘ Σεραπίωνος περὶ τῆς τῶν Φρυγῶν αἱρέσεως.
Κ ἩΟσα Εἱρηναῖος τοῖς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης σχισματικοῖς ἐγγράφως διειλέκται.
ΚΑ ἩΟπως ἐπὶ Ῥώμης Ἀπολλώνιος ἐμαρτύρησεν.
ΚΒ Τίνες κατὰ τούτους ἐπίσκοποι ἐγνωρίζοντο.
ΚΓ Περὶ τοῦ τότε κινηθέντος ἀμφὶ τοῦ πάσχα ξητήματος.
ΚΔ Περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἁσίαν διαφωνίας.
ΚΕ ἩΟπως τοῖς πᾶσι μία ψήφος περὶ τοῦ πάσχα συνεφωνήθη.
ΚΣ ἩΟσα τῆς Εἱρηναίου φιλοκαλίας καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς κατηλθεν.
ΚΖ ἩΟσα καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν τηνικάδε συνημμακότων.
ΚΗ Περὶ τῶν τῆς Ἀρτέμιωνος αἱρεσιῶν εἰς ἀρχής προβεβλημένων οἷοὶ τε τῶν τρόπων γεγόνασιν καὶ ὅπως τὰς ἀγίας γραφὰς διαφθείραι τετολμήκασιν.

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, V. CONTENTS

XIV. On the Montanist ¹ false prophets.
XV. About the schism at Rome under Blastus.
XVI. The tradition concerning Montanus and those who were false prophets together with him.
XVII. On Miltiades and the treatises which he composed.
XVIII. How Apollonius also refuted the Montanists and the quotations which he made.
XIX. Of Serapion on Montanism.
XX. The discussions of Irenaeus in writing with the schismatics at Rome.
XXI. How Apollonius was martyred in Rome.
XXII. What bishops were famous in these times.
XXIII. On the paschal controversy which was then active.
XXIV. On the division in Asia.
XXV. How unanimous decision was reached concerning Easter.
XXVI. How much of the eloquent work of Irenaeus has come down to us.
XXVII. How much also of the others who flourished with him at that time.
XXVIII. On those who at the beginning put forward the heresy of Artemon, what manner of men they were, and how they have dared to corrupt the holy Scriptures.

¹ Literally “Among Phrygians” but this is one of the usual names of the Montanists, and passed into Latin as “Catafrygae.”
'Ὁ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ρωμαιῶν ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος ὁ Ἑλευθέρως διαδέχεται, ἐτούτων δὲ ἦν ἐπτακαΐδεκατον αὐτοκράτορος Ἀντωνίνου οὐήρου· ἐν ζῇ κατὰ τινα μέρη τῆς γῆς σφοδρότερον ἀναρριπτισθέντος τοῦ καθ’ ἡμῶν διωγμοῦ, ἐξ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν κατὰ πόλεις ἡμῶν μυριάδας μαρτύρων διαπρέπει στοχασμῶν λαμβεῖν ἐνεστὶν ἀπὸ τῶν καθ’ ἐν ἐθνος συμβεβηκότων, ὁ καὶ γραφή τοῖς μετέπειτα παραδοθήσει, ἀλήστου μνήμης ως ἀληθῶς ἐπάξια ὁντα, συμβέβηκεν· τῆς μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων ἐντελεστάτης συγγραφής τὸ πάν σύγγραμμα τῇ τῶν μαρτύρων ἡμῶν κατατέκταται συναγωγῇ, οὐχ ἰστορικῆς αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδασκαλικῆς περιέχουν διηγήσεις· ὅπωσα γε τοι τῆς παρούσης ἓκοιτο πραγματείας, ταῦτ’ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀναλεξάμενος παραθήσομαι. ἀλλοι μὲν οὖν ἰστορικάς ποιούμενοι διηγήσεις, πάντως ἄν παρέδοκαν τῇ γραφῇ πολέμων νίκας καὶ τρόπαια κατ’ ἑχθρῶν στρατηγῶν τε ἀριστείας καὶ ὀπλιτῶν ἄνδραγαθίας, αἴματι καὶ μυρίους φόνους παίδων καὶ πατρίδος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐνεκεν περιουσίας μιανθέντων· οὐ γε γε τοῦ κατὰ θεὸν
BOOK V

Soter, the bishop of the church of Rome, ended his life in the eighth year of his rule. To him succeeded Eleutherus, the twelfth from the apostles, and it was the seventeenth year of the Emperor Antoninus Verus.¹ In this time the persecution of us in some parts of the world was rekindled more violently by popular violence in the cities, and, to judge from the events in one nation, myriads were distinguished by martyrdom. The story has chanced to be handed down in writing for posterity, and it is truly worthy of unceasing remembrance. Since the whole record of its complete treatment has been embodied in our collection of martyrs,² and contains not merely the narrative itself but also an exposition of doctrine, I will at present select and quote merely such points as belong to the present undertaking. Other writers of historical works have confined themselves to the written tradition of victories in wars, of triumphs over enemies, of the exploits of generals and the valour of soldiers, men stained with blood and with countless murders for the sake of children and country and other possessions; but it is wars most peaceful,

¹ That is, Marcus Aurelius. His seventeenth year was A.D. 177.
² That is, the Acts of the Martyrs which Eusebius collected. See Introduction, p. xxiii.
πολιτεύματος διηγηματικὸς ἡμῖν λόγος τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν εἰρήνης εἰρηνικωτάτους πολέμους καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας μᾶλλον ἢ πατρίδος καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἢ τῶν φιλτάτων ἀνδρισμένους αἰώνιας ἀναγράφηται στήλαις, τῶν εὐσεβείας ἀδήλητῶν τὰς ἐνστάσεως καὶ τὰς πολυτλήτους ἀνδρείας τρόπαια τε τὰ κατὰ δαμιόνων καὶ νίκας τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀοράτων ἀντι- πάλων καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις στεφάνους εἰς αἰώνιον μνήμην ἀνακηρύττων.

I. Γαλλία μὲν οὖν ἡ χώρα ἢν, καθ’ ἢν τὸ τῶν ἡμιδηλουμένων συνεκροτεῖτο στάδιον, ἢς μητροπόλεις ἐπίσημοι καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἀλλὰς τῶν αὐτοῦ δια- φέρουσαι βεβοηθεῖ Λουγδούνους καὶ Βιένναν, δι’ ὄν ἀμφότερον τὴν ἀπασαν χώραν πολλῶ τῷ ἡμῖν περιπρέπειν ὁ ὂδονὸς ποταμὸς διέξειν. τὴν 2 οὖν πέρι τῶν μαρτύρων γραφήν αὐτῇ τῇ δια- φανέσταται εἰκλησία ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν διαπέμπονται, τὰ παρ’ αὐταῖς πραχθέντα τούτον ἀνισοτοῦσα τὸν τρόπον, παραθέτομαι δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν ψωφές: “οἱ ἐν Βιέννῃ καὶ Λουγδούνῳ τῆς Γαλλίας παρουκούντες δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως ἡμῖν πίστιν καὶ ἐλπίδα ἐχουσιν ἀδελφοῖς· εἰρήνη καὶ χάρις καὶ δόξα ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.”

Εἴτε τούτοις ἢς ἐτέρα προοιμασάμενοι, τὴν τοῦ λόγου καταρχὴν ποιοῦνται ἐν τούτοις· “τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγεθος τῆς ἐνθάδε θλίψεως καὶ τὴν τοσαυτὴν τῶν ζηνῶν εἰς τοὺς ἄγιους ὀργῆς καὶ ὀσα ὑπέμειναν οἱ μακάριοι μάρτυρες, ἐπ’ ἀκριβεῖς οὗθ’ ἡμῖς εἰπεῖν ἢκανοὶ οὔτε μὴν γραφῆ περιληφθήναι 406
waged for the very peace of the soul, and men who therein have been valiant for truth rather than for country, and for piety rather than for their dear ones, that our record of those who order their lives according to God will inscribe on everlasting monuments: it is the struggles of the athletes of piety and their valour which braved so much, trophies won from demons, and victories against unseen adversaries, and the crowns at the end of all, that it will proclaim for everlasting remembrance.

I. Gaul was the country in which was prepared the stage for these events. Its capital cities, famous and more renowned than the others in the district, were Lyons and Vienne, through both of which passes the river Rhone, flowing in an ample stream through the whole district. The distinguished churches of this country sent the document about the martyrs to the churches in Asia and Phrygia, in this way recording what happened among them, and I will quote their words: “The servants sojourning in Vienne and Lyons in Gaul to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia, who have the same faith and hope of redemption as you. Peace, grace, and glory from God the Father and Jesus Christ, our Lord.”

Then after other prefatory remarks they begin their narrative thus: “The greatness of the persecution here, and the terrible rage of the heathen against the saints, and the suffering of the blessed martyrs, are more than we can narrate accurately, nor can they be put down in writing. For with all
δυνατόν. παντὶ γὰρ θένει ἐνέσκηψεν ὡς ἀντικείμενος, προοιμιαζόμενος ἂν τὴν ἀδελφὸν, ἐσεθαί παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ διὰ πάντων διήλθεν, ἐθίζων τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ καὶ προγυμνάζων κατὰ τῶν δοῦλων τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡστε μὴ μόνον οἰκίων καὶ βαλανείων καὶ ἀγορᾶς εἰργεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ καθόλου φαίνεσθαι ἥμων τινα αὐτοῖς ἀπειρήσθαι ἐν ὁποίῳ δήποτε τόπω. ἀντεστρατήγηε δὲ ἡ ἁρμα τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄσθενεις ἐφρύηκα, ἀντιπαρέτασσε δὲ στύλους ἔδραίους δυναμείους διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς πᾶσαν τὴν ὀρμήν τοῦ πονηροῦ εἰς ἐαυτοὺς ἐλκύσαι· οἱ καὶ ὁμόσε ἐξώρουν, πάντως ὀνειδισμὸν καὶ κολάσεως ἀνεχόμενοι· οἱ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὅλγα ἡγούμενοι ἐσπευδὸν πρὸς Χριστὸν, ὄντως ἐπιδεικνύμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς.

1 Tim. 3, 15

Heb. 10, 33

Rom. 8, 18

"Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀχλοῦ πανδημεῖ 7 σωρηδὸν ἐπιφερόμενα γενναίας ὑπέμενον, ἐπιβοήσεις καὶ πληγάς καὶ συρμοὺς καὶ διαρταγάς καὶ λίθων βολάς καὶ συγκλείσεις καὶ πάνθον ὅσα ἡγιωμένων πλήθει ὡς πρὸς ἐχθροὺς καὶ πολεμίους φιλεὶ γίνεσθαι, καὶ δὴ ἀναχθέντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν 8 ὑπὸ τε τοῦ χυλιάνθρωπος καὶ τῶν προσεκτικῶν τῆς πόλεως ἐξουσιῶν ἐπὶ παντὸς τοῦ πλῆθους ἀνακριθείσας καὶ ὁμολογήσαντες, συνεκλείδησαν εἰς τὴν εἰρκτὴν ἐως τῆς τοῦ ἡγεμόνος παρουσίας· μετέπειτα δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἀχθέντων αὐτῶν κάκεινον πάση τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμιλῆτι χρωμένου, Ῥωτεῖς Ἔπαγαθος, εἰς ἐκ τῶν ἄδελφῶν, πλήρωμα ἀγάπης τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεόν καὶ πρὸς τὸν πλησίον κεχωρικός, οὗ καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἥκριβωτο ἡ πολιτεία, ὡς 408
his might the adversary attacked us, foreshadowing his coming which is shortly to be, and tried every-	hing, practising his adherents and training them against the servants of God, so that we were not merely excluded from houses and baths and markets, but we were even forbidden to be seen at all in any place whatever. But against them the grace of God did captain us; it rescued the weak, and marshalled against them steadfast pillars of men able by patience to draw to themselves all the attack of the enemy. They came together and endured every kind of abuse and punishment, they counted many things as few in their zeal for Christ, and did indeed prove that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed to us.

"First they endured nobly all that was heaped upon them by the mob, howls and stripes and dragging about, and rapine and imprisonment and stoning, and all things which are wont to happen at the hands of an infuriated populace against its supposed enemies and foes; then they were dragged into the market-place by the tribune and by the chief authorities of the city, were indicted and confessed, and at last they were shut up until the coming of the governor. Then they were brought before the governor, and when he used all his cruelty against them, then intervened Vettius Epagathus, one of the brethren, filled with love towards God and towards his neighbour, the strictness of whose life
kaipēr ēnta nēon suvexiósoudhaxi tē tōu pre-
svutērou Zaxariōu mārturía: peπóreuto gōiōn ēn
pāsais tais ēntolais kai dikaiōmasei tōu kuriōu
āmēmmptos kai pāsē tē prōs tōn plēsion leitourgia
āoknos, zēlon theoī polūn exewn kai zēōn tā
pnevumati: toioūtos dē tis ōn, tēn oūtws kai hēmān
ālōgous ginomēnī krisōn ouk ebástasen, all'
uperηγanaktēsen kai hēzio kai autōs akουσηnai
apologoūmenos upēr tōn ādelphōn ōtī μηdēn ātheon
mēdē āsebēs ēston ēn hēmīn. tōn dē peri to bēma
katabohsantōn autōu, kai gār ēn ēpísthmos,
kai tōu ēngemonōs μη ānaschoymēnō tēs oūtws up'
autōu dikaiās protathēsiaς aξiōsewos, allā mōnon
touto puthomēnou ei kai autōs eī ēpisthmos, touto
δē λαμπροτάτη φωνή òmologhēsantos, ānelēfēthi kai
autōs eīs tōn klympōn tōn mārturōn, parάkληtos
Χristianōn xhrēmatiās, ēxewn dē tōn parάkληton
ēn ēautō, to pneŭma tōu Zaxariōu, δiā tōu
plēρomatos tēs āgāpēs ēnedeiξato, eudōkēsas
upēr tēs tōn ādelphōn apologiās kai tēn ēautō
theinai ψυχήν: ēn gār kai ēston gnήsios Xristō
mabhētis, ākolouθōn tōu ārmūw ὅπου ēn ὑπάγῃ.
"Ἐνετείθεν δὴ διεκρίνοντο οἱ λοιποί, καὶ φανεροὶ
καὶ ἑτοιμοὶ ἐγίνοντο πρωτομάρτυρες, οἱ καὶ μετὰ
πάσης προθυμίας ἀνεπλήρουν τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς
μαρτυρίας, ἑφαίνοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀνέτοιμοι καὶ
ἀγύμναστοι καὶ ἔτι ἀσθενεῖς, ἀγῶνος μεγάλου
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had gone so far that in spite of his youth his reputation was equal to that of the elder Zacharias. He walked in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless and was unwearied in all ministrations to his neighbours, having much zeal toward God and being fervent in spirit. His character forbade him to endure the unreasonable judgement given against us, and, overcome with indignation, he asked to be heard himself in defence of the brethren to the effect that there was nothing atheistic or impious among us. He was howled down by those around the judgement-seat, for he was a man of position, and the governor would not tolerate the just requests which he had put forward but merely asked if he were a Christian himself. He then confessed in clear tones and was himself taken into the ranks of the martyrs. He was called the 'Comforter of Christians,' but had the Comforter in himself, the spirit of Zacharias which he had shown by the fullness of his love when he chose to lay down even his own life for the defence of the brethren, for he was and he is a true disciple of Christ, and he follows the Lamb wheresoever he goes.

"The rest were then divided and the first martyrs were obviously ready, and they fulfilled the confession of martyrdom with all readiness, but some others appeared not to be ready, and failed in training and in strength, unable to endure the strain

1 Zacharias the father of John the Baptist, as is shown by the allusion to Luke i. 6 in the following line.
2 Apparently the meaning is that his social position made the crowd even more indignant at his advocacy of Christians.
3 It is almost incredible that this "is" was interpreted by Renan and others as showing that Vettius was not actually put to death.
τόνον ἐνεγκεῖν μὴ δυνάμενοι· ὅν καὶ ἐξέτρωσαν ὡς δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν· οἱ καὶ μεγάλην λύπην καὶ πένθος ἀμέτρητον ἐνεποίησαν ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν μὴ συνειλημμένων ἐνέκοψαν· οἱ καίπερ πάντα τὰ δεινὰ πάσχοντες, ὅμως συμπαρῆσαν τοὺς μάρτυριν καὶ οὐκ ἀπελείποντο αὐτῶν, τότε δὲ οἱ πάντες μεγάλως ἐπτοηθηκεν διὰ τὸ ἅδηλον τῆς ὁμολογίας, οὐ τὰς ἐπιφερομένας κολάσεις φοβοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τέλος ἀφορῶντες καὶ τὸ ἀποπεσεῖν τινα δεδιότες. συνελαμβάνοντο μὲντοι καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν οἱ ἄξιοι τὸν ἐκείνων ἀναπληροῦντες ἄριθμόν, ὡστε συλλεγήναι ἐκ τῶν δύο ἐκκλησιῶν πάντας τοὺς σπουδαίους καὶ δι’ ὅν μάλιστα συνεστήκει τὰ ἐνθάδε· συνελαμβάνοντο δὲ καὶ ἑθικοὶ τίνες οἰκεῖται τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἔπει δημοσίᾳ ἐκέλευσαν ὁ ἤγεμων ἀναξιότερος πάντας ἡμᾶς· οἱ καὶ κατ’ ἐνέδραν τοῦ σατανᾶ, φοβηθέντες τὰς βασάνους ὅς τοὺς ἁγίους ἐβλητον πάσχοντας, τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτο παρομοίων τῶν αὐτῶν, κατεψευσαντο ἡμῶν Θυέστεως δεῖπνα καὶ Οἰδιποδείους μίξεις καὶ ὁσα μῆτε λαλεῖν μῆτε νοεῖν θέμις ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ πιστεύειν εἰ τι τοιοῦτο πώποτε παρὰ ἀνθρώπους ἐγένετο. τούτων δὲ φημισθεῖτων, οἱ πάντες ἀπεδημώθησαν εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὡστε καὶ εἰ τινὲς τὸ πρῶτον δι’ οἰκειοτήτα ἐμετρίαζον, τότε μεγάλως ἐχαλέπαινον καὶ διεπρίστον ἐφ’ ἡμῖν· ἐπληροῦτο δὲ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν εἰρημένον ὅτι ἐλεύθεται καιρὸς ἐν ἥ πᾶς ὁ ἀποκτείνας ἡμᾶς δόξει λατρεῖαν προσφέρειν τῷ θεῷ. ἐνταῦθα λοιπὸν ἑ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἐξηγήσεως ὑπέμενον κολάσεις οἱ ἁγιοὶ μάρτυρες, φιλοτιμομένου τοῦ σατανᾶ καὶ

Acts 7, 54

John 16, 2

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of a great conflict, and about ten in number failed, as those born out of due time. They caused us great grief and immeasurable mourning, and hindered the zeal of the others who had not been arrested. Yet they, although suffering all the terrors, nevertheless remained with the martyrs and did not desert them. But at that point we were all greatly terrified by uncertainty as to their confession, not fearing the threatened punishment but looking towards the end and afraid lest some one should fall away. Yet day by day those who were worthy went on being arrested, completing their number, so as to collect from the two churches all the zealous and those through whom the life of the locality was kept together. There were also arrested certain heathen slaves of our members, since the governor had publicly commanded that we should all be prosecuted, and these by the snare of Satan, fearing the tortures which they saw the saints suffering, when the soldiers urged them, falsely accused us of Thyestean feasts and Oedipodean intercourse, and things which it is not right for us either to speak of or to think of or even to believe that such things could ever happen among men. When this rumour spread all men turned like beasts against us, so that even if any had formerly been lenient for friendship’s sake they then became furious and raged against us, and there was fulfilled that which was spoken by our Lord that ‘the time will come when whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service.’ Then at last the holy martyrs endured sufferings beyond all description, for Satan was striving to wring some

1 According to Greek mythology Thyestes had unconsciously eaten his children and Oedipus had married his mother.
δι’ ἐκείνων ῥηθήναι τι τῶν βλασφήμων ὑπερβεβλημένως δὲ ἐνέσκηψεν ἡ ὀργὴ πάσα καὶ ὀχλοῦ καὶ ἢγεμόνος καὶ στρατιωτῶν εἰς Σάγκτον τὸν διάκονον ἀπὸ Βιέννης καὶ εἰς Μάτουρον, νεοφώτιστον μὲν, ἀλλὰ γενναίον ἀγωνιστήν, καὶ εἰς Ἀτταλον Περγαμηνὸν τῷ γένει, στῦλον καὶ ἑδραίωμα τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἂν γεγονότα, καὶ εἰς Βλανδίναν, δι’ ἦς ἐπέδειξεν ὁ Χριστὸς ὅτι τὰ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐυτελῆ καὶ ἀειδῆ καὶ εὐκαταφρόνητα φαινόμενα μεγάλης καταξιοῦται παρὰ θεῶ δόξης διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἁγάπην τὴν ἐν δυνάμει δεικνυμένην καὶ μή ἐν εἴδει καυχωμένην. ἦμων γὰρ πάντων δεδιότων καὶ τῆς σαρκίνης δεσποινῆς αὐτῆς, ἢτις ἦν καὶ αὐτὴ τῶν μαρτύρων μία ἀγωνίστρια, ἀγωνιώσθη μὴ οὐδὲ τὴν ὁμολογίαν δυνήσεται παρηγοριάσασθαι διὰ τὸ ἀσθενὲς τοῦ σώματος, ἡ Βλανδίνα τοσαύτης ἐπληρώθη δυνάμεως, ὥστε ἐκλυθηναι καὶ παρεβηναι τοὺς κατὰ διάδοχας παντὶ τρόπῳ βασανίζοντας αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ἐωθινῆς ἔως ἐστέρας, καὶ αὐτοῦς ὁμολογοῦντας ὅτι γενίκηνται μηδὲν ἐχοντες μὴ κτεὶς ὁ ποιήσωσιν αὐτῇ, καὶ θαυμάζειν ἐπὶ τῷ παραμένειν ἐμπνοῦν αὐτὴν, παντὸς τοῦ σώματος περιερρωγότος καὶ ἡμερημένου, καὶ μαρτυρεῖν ὅτι ἐν εἴδος ἀνταράσσεσιν ἢκαὶν ἦν πρὸς τὸ ἐξαγαγεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν, οὐχ ὅτι γε τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα. ἀλλ’ ἡ μακαρία ἡ γενναίος ἀθλητὴς ἀνενέαζεν ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ, καὶ ἦν αὐτῆς ἀνάληψις καὶ ἀνάπαυσις καὶ ἀναλήψις τῶν συμβαινόντων τὸ λέγειν ὅτι 'Χριστιαί μὴ καὶ παρ’ ἦμων οὐδὲν φαύλον γίνεται.'

" Ὁ δὲ Σάγκτος καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπερβεβλημένως καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντα ἀνθρώπων πάσας τὰς ἕξ ἀνθρώπων 414"
blasphemy even from them, and all the fury of the mob and of the governor and of the soldiers was raised beyond measure against Sanctus, the deacon from Vienne, and against Maturus, who was a novice but a noble contender, and against Attalus, a Per-gamene by race, who had always been a pillar and support of the Christians there, and against Blandina, through whom Christ showed that things which are mean and obscure and contemptible among men are vouchsafed great glory with God because of the love towards him shown in power and not boasted of in appearance. For while we were all afraid, and her human mistress, who was herself one of the contenders among the martyrs, was in distress lest she should not be able, through the weakness of her body, to be bold enough even to make confession, Blandina was filled with such power that she was released and rescued from those who took turns in torturing her in every way from morning until evening, and they themselves confessed that they were beaten, for they had nothing left to do to her, and they marvelled that she still remained alive, seeing that her whole body was broken and opened, and they testified that any one of these tortures was sufficient to destroy life, even when they had not been magnified and multiplied. But the blessed woman, like a noble athlete, kept gaining in vigour in her confession, and found comfort and rest and freedom from pain from what was done to her by saying, 'I am a Christian woman and nothing wicked happens among us.'

"Sanctus also himself endured nobly, beyond measure or human power, all the ill-treatment of
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αἰκίας γενναίως ὑπομένων, τῶν ἀνόμων ἐλπιζόντων διὰ τὴν ἐπιμονὴν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν βασάνων ἁκούσεσθαί τι παρ’ αὐτοῖς τῶν μηδὲ δεόντων, τοσαύτη ὑποστάσει ἀντιπαρετάξατο αὐτοῖς, ὥστε μήτε τὸ ἱδρυν κατείπει τὸν ὅνομα μήτε ἔθνους μήτε πόλεως θεῖν ἡ, μήτε εἰ δοῦλος ἡ ἔλευθερος εἰπ. ἀλλὰ πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἑπερωτώμενα ἀπεκρίνατο τῇ ‘Ῥωμαϊκῇ φωνῇ ‘Χριστιανὸς εἰμι’· τοῦτο καὶ ἀντὶ ὠνόματος καὶ ἀντὶ πόλεως καὶ ἀντὶ γένους καὶ ἀντὶ παντὸς ἐπαλλήλως ὁμολογεῖ, ἄλλην δὲ φωνὴν οὐκ ἥκουσαν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔθνη· θεῖν δὴ καὶ φιλονευκία μεγάλη τοῦ τε ἡγεμόνος καὶ τῶν βασανιστῶν ἐγένετο πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥστε ὅποτε μὴκετί μηδὲν ἔχον δ’ ποιήσων αὐτῷ, τὸ τελευταῖον χαλκᾶς λεπίδας διασφίσως προσεκόλλων τοῖς τρυφερωτάτοις μέλεσι τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔκαιτε, αὐτὸς δὲ παρέμενεν ἀνεπίκαμπτο καὶ ἀνένδοτος, στερρός πρὸς τὴν ὁμολογίαν, ὑπὸ τῆς οὐρανίου πηγῆς τοῦ ὤδατος τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἐξόντος ἐκ τῆς νηδύου του Χριστοῦ δροσιζόμενος καὶ ἐνδυναμούμενος· τὸ δὲ σωμάτων μάρτυς ἡν τῶν συμβεβηκότων, ὅλων τραύμα καὶ μάλψι καὶ συνεσπασμένοι καὶ ἀποβεβληκός τὴν ἀνθρώπειον ἐξωθεὶν μορφήν, ἐν οἷς πάσχων Χριστὸς μεγάλας ἑπετέλει δόξας, καταργῶν τὸν ἄντικείμενον καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν ὑποτύπωσιν ὑποδεικνύων ὧτι μηδέν φοβερὸν ὄπου πατρὸς ἀγάπη, μηδὲ ἄλγειν ὄπου Χριστοῦ δόξα. τῶν γὰρ ἀνόμων μεθ’ ἡμέρας πάλιν στρεβλούντων τῶν μάρτυρα καὶ νομιζόντων ὧτι οἴδοντων καὶ φλεγμαινόντων τῶν σωμάτων, εἰ τὰ αὐτὰ προσενέγκοιεν κολαστήρια, περίεσοντο αὐτοῦ, ὅποτε οὐδὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν ἄφην ἤνειχετο, ἡ ὅτι 416
men, for though the wicked hoped through persistence and the rigour of his tortures to wring from him something wrong, he resisted them with such constancy that he did not even tell his own name, or the race or the city whence he was, nor whether he was slave or free, but to all questions answered in Latin, 'I am a Christian.' This he said for name and city and race and for everything else, and the heathen heard no other sound from him. For this reason the governor and the torturers were very ambitious to subdue him, so that when they had nothing left at all to do to him at last they fastened plates of heated brass to the tenderest parts of his body. His limbs were burning, but he continued himself unbending and unyielding, firm in his confession, refreshed and strengthened by the heavenly spring of the water of life which proceeds forth from the body of Christ. His body was a witness to his treatment; it was all one wound and bruise, wrenched and torn out of human shape, but Christ suffering in him manifested great glory, overthrowing the adversary and showing for the example of the others how there is nothing fearful where there is the love of the Father nor painful where there is the glory of Christ. For when the wicked after some days again tortured the martyr they thought that they might overcome him now that his body was swollen and inflamed if they applied the same tortures, seeing that he could not even endure to be
ἐναποθανών ταῖς βασάνοις φόβον ἐμποιήσειεν τοῖς λοιποῖς, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν περὶ αὐτὸν τοιοῦτο συμέβη, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσαν δόξαν ἀνθρώπων ἀνέκυψεν καὶ ἀνωρθώθη τὸ σωμάτιον ἐν ταῖς μετέπειτα βασάνοις, καὶ τῇν ἰδέαν ἀπέλαβεν τὴν προτέραν καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τῶν μελῶν, ὡστε μὴ κόλασιν, ἀλλ’ ἰσιν διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν δευτέραν στρέβλωσιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι.

"Καὶ Βιβλίδα δέ, μίαν τῶν ἡρυμηνέων, ἣδε δοκῶν ὁ διάβολος καταπετακέναι, θελήσας δέ καὶ διὰ βλασφημίας κατακρίναι, ἤγεν ἐπὶ κόλασιν, ἀναγκάζων εἰπεῖν τὰ ἄθεα περὶ ἡμῶν, ὡς εὐθραυστὸν ἤδη καὶ ἀνανδρόν. ἦ δὲ ἐν τῇ στρέβλωσί αὐτοῖς καὶ ὡς ἐν εἰπεῖν ἐκ βαθείος ὑπνοῦ ἀνεγρηγόρησεν, ὑπομνησθείσα διὰ τῆς προσκαίρου τιμωρίας τὴν αἰώνιον ἐν γεέννῃ κόλασιν, καὶ ἔξ ἐναντίας ἀντείπει τοῖς βλασφήμοις, φήσας τῶς ἀν παίδια φάγουν οἱ τοιοῦτοι, οὐς μηδὲ ἀλόγων ζῷων αἴμα φαγεῖν ἐξόν; καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτον Χριστιανὴν έαυτὴν ὀμολογεῖ καὶ τῷ κλήρῳ τῶν μαρτύρων προσετέθη.

"Καταργηθεῖτον δὲ τῶν τυραννικῶν κολαστηρίων ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διὰ τῆς τῶν μακαρίων ὑπομονῆς, ἔτερας μηχανᾶς ὁ διάβολος ἐπενοεί, τὰς κατὰ τὴν εἰρκτήν ἐν τῷ σκότει καὶ τῷ χαλεπωτάτῳ χωρίῳ συγκλείσεις καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ διατάσεις τῶν ποδῶν, ἐπὶ πέμπτων διατεωμένων τρύπημα, καὶ τὰς λυπᾶς αἰκίας, ὡς εἰώθασιν ὀργιζόμενοι ὑποργοὶ καὶ ταῦτα διαβόλου πλήρεις διατίθεναι τοὺς ἐγκλειομένους. ὡστε ἀποπνιγήναι τοὺς πλείστους ἐν τῇ εἰρκτή, ὡσοῦς γε ὁ κύριος οὐτως ἐξελθεῖν ἦθέλησεν, ἐπιδεικνύων τὴν αὐτοῦ δόξαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ βασανισθέντες πικρῶς ὡστε 418
touched by the hand, or that by dying under torture he would put fear into the rest. Yet not only did nothing of this kind happen, but, beyond all human expectation, he raised himself up and his body was straightened in the subsequent tortures, and he regained his former appearance and the use of his limbs, so that through the grace of Christ the second torturing became not torment but cure.

"Biblis, too, one of those who had denied, did the devil bring to torture (thinking that he had already swallowed her up and wishing to condemn her through blasphemy as well), to force her to say impious things about us, as though she were already broken and weak. But she recovered under torture, and, as it were, woke up out of deep sleep, being reminded through this transitory punishment of the eternal torments in hell, and contradicted the blasphemers, saying, 'How would such men eat children, when they are not allowed to eat the blood even of irrational animals?' And after this she confessed herself a Christian and was added to the ranks of the martyrs.

"But when the tyrant's torments had been brought to naught by Christ through the endurance of the blessed saints, the devil thought of other devices, imprisonment in the jail in darkness and in the most horrible place, and stretching their feet in the stocks, separated to the fifth hole, and the other outrages which angry warders filled with the devil are accustomed to inflict on the prisoners. Thus most of them were strangled in the prison, being all those whom the Lord had chosen thus to depart manifesting his glory. Some were tortured so cruelly
δοκεῖν μηδὲ τῆς πάσης θεραπείας τυχόντας ἐτὶ ξῆσαι δύνασθαι, παρέμενον ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ, ἔρημοι μὲν τῆς παρὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμελείας, ἀναρρωνύμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ κυρίου καὶ ἐνδυναμούμενοι καὶ σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς παρορμῶντες καὶ παραμυθοῦμενοι· οἱ δὲ νεαροὶ καὶ ἄρτι συνελημένοι, ὡς μὴ προκατήκιστο τὰ σώματα, τὸ βάρος οὐκ ἔφερον τῆς συγκλείσεως, ἀλλ’ ἔνδον ἐναπέθνησκον.

“Ὁ δὲ μακάριος Ποθεινός, δὴ τὴν διακονίαν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐν Δουγδούνῳ πεπιστευμένος, ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἡτη τῆς ἥλικίας γεγονός καὶ πάνω ἀσθενῆς τῷ σώματι, μόλις μὲν ἐμπνέων διὰ τὴν προκειμένην σωματικὴν ἀσθένειαν, ὑπὸ δὲ προθυμίας πνεύματος ἀναρρωνύμενος διὰ τὴν ἐγκεκριμένην τῆς μαρτυρίας ἐπιθυμίαν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βήμα ἐσύρετο, τοῦ μὲν σώματος καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ γῆρως καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου λελυμένου, τηρουμένης δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν αὐτῷ, ἣν δ’ αὐτὴς Χριστὸς θραμβεύσῃ· ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βήμα 30 κομισθείς, παραπεμπόμενος αὐτὸν τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐξουσιών καὶ παντὸς τοῦ πλῆθους, ἐπιβοηθεῖς παντοῖας ποιομένων ὡς αὐτοῦ ὅντος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀπεδίδοι τὴν καλὴν μαρτυρίαν. ἀναταξόμενος δὲ 31 ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος τῆς εἰς Χριστιανῶν ὁ θεὸς, ἔφη ἑαυτ’ ἂς ἄξιος, γνώσας· ἐντεύθεν δὲ ἀφειδῶς ἐσύρετο καὶ ποικίλας ἐπασχε πληγὰς, τῶν μὲν σύνεγγυς χερσίν καὶ ποιῶν ἐνυβριζόντων παντοῖς, μηδὲ τὴν ἡλικίαν αἰδομένων αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ μακράν, δ’ ἡμεῖς χεῖρας ἐκαστος εἴχεν, εἰς αὐτὸν ἀκοντιζόντων, πάντων δὲ ἡγομένων μεγάλως πλημμελεῖν καὶ ἀσεβεῖν, εἴ τις ἀπολειπθεῖν τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀσελγείας· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν 420
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, V. i. 28-31

that it seemed impossible for them to live even if they had had every care, yet survived in the prison, bereft of human attention but strengthened by the Lord and given power in body and soul, and looking after and comforting the rest. But the younger ones, who had lately been arrested, whose bodies had not become accustomed to it, did not endure the burden of confinement but died in prison.

"The blessed Pothinus, who had been entrusted with the ministry of the bishopric at Lyons, was over ninety years old and very weak physically. He was scarcely breathing through the physical weakness which had already come upon him, but was strengthened by zeal of spirit through urgent desire of martyrdom. He was dragged before the judgement-seat, and although his body was weakened by old age and disease, his soul was kept in him in order that through it Christ might triumph. He was brought by soldiers to the judgement-seat; the local authorities accompanied him, and all the populace, uttering all kinds of howls at him as though he was Christ himself, but he gave noble testimony. When asked by the governor, Who was the God of the Christians, he said, 'If you are worthy, you will know.' And then he was dragged about without mercy, and suffered many blows; for those who were near ill-treated him with feet and hands and in every way, without respect even for his old age, and those who were at a distance each threw at him whatever he had at hand, and all thought that it would be a great transgression and impiety to omit any abuse against him. For they thought that in
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...οὐτως ἐκδικήσειν. καὶ μόνις ἐμπνέων ἐρρίφη ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ καὶ μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας ἀπεθάνειν. “Ενταῦθα δὴ μεγάλη τις οἰκονομία θεοῦ εἴναι καὶ ἔλεος ἀμέτρητον ἀνεφαίνετο Ἰησοῦ, σπανίως μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀδελφότητι γεγονός, μὴ ἀπολειπόμενον δὲ τῆς τέχνης Χριστοῦ. οἱ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην σύλληψιν ἔξαρχοι γενόμενοι συνεκλείοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ μετείχον τῶν δεινῶν. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῷ καρπῷ τούτῳ ὁφελός τι αὐτοῖς ἡ ἐξάρνησις ἐγίνετο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὠμολογοῦντες δ' καὶ ἦσαν, συνεκλείοντο ὡς Χριστιανοί, μιθηματα ἄλλης αὐτίας αὐτοῖς ἐπιφερομένης, οὕτω δὲ λοιπὸν ὡς ἀνδροφόνοι καὶ μιαροὶ κατείχοντο, διπλότερον παρά τοὺς λοιποὺς κολαζόμενοι. ἔκεινοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ εκουφίζειν ἡ χαρὰ τῆς μαρτυρίας καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν ἀγάπη καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πατρικὸν, τούτους δὲ τὸ συνειδὸς μεγάλως ἐτυμωρεῖτο, ὡστε καὶ παρὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἁπασιν κατὰ τὰς παράδοσις διαδήλους τὰς ὀψεῖς αὐτῶν εἶναι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἱλαροὶ προῆσαν, δόξης 35 καὶ χάριτος πολλῆς ταῖς ὀψεῖς αὐτῶν συγκεκραμένης, ὡστε καὶ τὰ δεσμὰ κόσμων ἐνπρετή περικείσθαι αὐτοῖς, ὡς νῦν ἅρμος ἐπιμένει ἐν κροσσωτοῖς χρυσοῖς πεποκιμένοις, τὴν εὐδοθίαν ὄδωροτές ἄμα τὴν Χριστοῦ, ὡστε ἐνίον δοξαί καὶ μύρῳ κοσμικῷ κεχρίσθαι αὐτοῖς· οἱ δὲ κατηφεῖς καὶ ταπεινοὶ καὶ ὑσείδεις καὶ πάσης ἁσχημοσύνης ἀνάπλεοι, προσέτι δὲ καὶ υπὸ τῶν ἔθνων ὁνειδιζόμενοι ὡς ἄγεννεις καὶ ἀνανθροί, ἀνδροφόνων μὲν ἐγκλήματα ἐχοντες, ἀπολωλεκότες δὲ τὴν πάντιμον καὶ ἐνδοξον καὶ ἕωποιον προσηγορίαν. ταῦτα δὴ οἱ λοιποὶ θεωροῦντες ἐστηρίχθησαν, καὶ οἱ

Ps. 44, 14

2 Cor. 2, 15

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this way they would vindicate their gods. And he was thrown into prison scarcely breathing and after two days yielded up the ghost.

"Then a great dispensation of God was given, and the measureless mercy of Jesus was so manifested, as has rarely happened among the brethren, but is not beyond the skill of Christ. For those who at the first arrest had denied were imprisoned themselves and shared in the terrors, for this time not even their denial was any advantage to them; but those who confessed what they were imprisoned as Christians, no other accusation being brought against them, the others however were held as murderers and foul persons and punished twice as much as the rest. For the burden of the former was lightened by the joy of martyrdom and the hope of the promises, and by love towards Christ and by the Spirit of the Father; but the latter were greatly punished by their conscience so that they were conspicuous among all the rest by their faces when they were taken out. For the one went forth gladly; glory and great grace were mingled on their faces, so that they wore even their fetters as a becoming ornament, like a bride adorned with golden lace of many patterns, and they were perfumed with the sweet savour of Christ, so that some supposed that they had been anointed with worldly unguents; but the others were depressed and humble and wretched and filled with every kind of unseemliness, and in addition were insulted by the heathen as ignoble and cowardly; they had gained the accusation of murder, but had lost the name which is full of honour and glory and gives life. When the others saw this they were strengthened and those who
συλλαμβανόμενοι ἀδιστάκτως ὠμολόγουν, μηδὲ ἐννοιαν ἔχουτες διαβολικοῦ λογισμοῦ.

Τούτοις μεταξὺ τινα ἐπειπόντες, αὕτης ἐπὶ τῆς φέρουσιν ὑμῖν, "μετὰ ταύτα δὴ λοιπὸν εἰς πᾶν εἶδος διηρεῖτο τὰ μαρτύρια τῆς ἐξόδου αὐτῶν. ἐκ διαφόρων γὰρ χρωμάτων καὶ παντοίων ἀνθών ἐνα πλέξαντες στέφανον προσήνεγκαν τῷ πατρί, ἔχρην δ' οὖν τοὺς γενναίους ἀθλητὰς ποικίλον ὑπομείναντας ἀγώνα καὶ μεγάλως νικῆσαντας ἀπολαβεῖν τὸν μέγαν τῆς ἀθαρσίας στέφανον. ὃς μὲν οὖν Μάτουρος καὶ ὁ Σάγκτος καὶ ἡ Βλανδίνα καὶ "Ατταλος ἦγοντο ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία εἰς τὸ δημόσιον καὶ εἰς κοινὸν τῶν ἐθνῶν τῆς ἀπανθρωπίας θέαμα, ἐπίτηδες τῆς τῶν θηριομαχίων ἡμέρας διὰ τοὺς ἡμετέρους διδομένης. καὶ ὃς μὲν Μάτουρος καὶ οἱ Ἱσακτος αὕτης διήςεσαν εἰς τῷ ἀμφιθέατρῳ διὰ πάσης κολάσεως, ώς μηδὲν ὅλως προπεπονθότες, μᾶλλον δ' ὡς διὰ πλειόνων ἣδη κλήρων ἐκβεβιά-κότες τοῦ ἀντίπαλον καὶ περὶ τοῦ στέφανου αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀγώνα ἔχουσεν, ὑπέθερον πάλιν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν μαστίγων τὰς ἐκείσε εἰθυσμένας καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων ἐλκηθμοὺς καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα μανό-μενος ὁ δήμος, ἀλλοι ἀλλαχόθεν, ἐπεβόων καὶ ἐπεκελεύοντο, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τὴν σιδηράν καθέδραν, ἐφ' ὡς τηγανίζομενα τὰ σώματα κινήσεις αὐτοὺς ἐνεφορεί. οἶ δ' οὖν οὕτως ἐλήγγον, ἀλλ' ἐτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξεμαίνοντο, βουλόμενοι νικῆσαι τὴν ἐκείνων ὑπομονήν, καὶ οὕτ' ὡς παρὰ Σάγκτου ἐτερὸν τι εἰσήκουσαν παρ' ἧν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἴθιστο λέγειν τῆς ὠμολογίας φωνήν.

1 Schwartz thinks with much probability that κοινῶν is a gloss. If so, the meaning of the original would be "to the
were arrested confessed without hesitation and gave no thought to the arguments of the devil.”

After a few more sentences they go on again: “After this the testimony of their death fell into every kind of variety. For they wove various colours and all kinds of flowers into one wreath to offer to the Father, and so it was necessary for the noble athletes to undergo a varied contest, and after great victory to receive the great crown of immortality. Maturus and Sanctus and Blandina and Attalus were led forth to the wild beasts, to the public,¹ and to a common exhibition of the inhumanity of the heathen, for the day of fighting with beasts was specially appointed for the Christians. Maturus and Sanctus passed again through all torture in the amphitheatre as though they had suffered nothing before, but rather as though, having conquered the opponent in many bouts,² they were now striving for his crown, once more they ran the gauntlet in the accustomed manner, endured the worrying of the wild beasts, and everything which the maddened public, some in one way, some in another, were howling for and commanding, finally, the iron chair on which the roasting of their own bodies clothed them with its reek. Their persecutors did not stop even here, but went on growing more and more furious, wishing to conquer their endurance, yet gained nothing from Sanctus beyond the sound of the confession which he had been accustomed to make from the beginning.

public exhibition,” but it seems just possible that τὸ δημόσιον is used substantively.

² Literally, “lots,” but the word was used in a technical sense, for the gladiators used to draw lots as to who should fight. See the note of Valesius on this passage, and compare Lucian, *Hermotimus*. The opponent is Satan.
"Οὐτοί μὲν οὖν, δι' ἀγώνοις μεγάλου ἐπὶ πολὺ παραμενοῦσις αὐτῶν τῆς ψυχῆς, τούσχατον ἐτύθησαν, διὰ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἀντὶ πάσης τῆς ἐν τοῖς μονομαχίωσι ποικιλίας αὐτοῦ θέαμα γενόμενοι τῷ κόσμῳ. ἢ δὲ Βλανδίνα ἐπὶ ξύλου κρεμασθεῖσα προύκειτο βορὰ τῶν εἰσβαλλομένων θηρίων. ἢ καὶ διὰ τοῦ βλέπεσθαι σταιροῦ σχήματι κρεμαμένη διὰ τῆς εὔτονου προσευχῆς πολλήν προθυμίαν τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις ἐνεποίησε, βλεπόντων αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἀγώνι καὶ τοῖς ἐξωθεὶς ὀφθαλμοῖς διὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τὸν ὕπερ αὐτῶν ἔσταυρωμένον, ἢν πείσῃ τοὺς πιστεύοντας εἰς αὐτὸν ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς Χριστοῦ δόξης παθῶν τὴν κοινωνίαν ἂεὶ ἔχει μετὰ τοῦ ζῶντος θεοῦ. καὶ μηδενὸς ἀφαιρέσθη 

τότε τῶν θηρίων αὐτῆς, καθαρισθεὶσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου ἀνελήφθη πάλιν εἰς τὴν εἰρκτήν, εἰς ἄλλον ἀγώνα τηρουμένη, ἢν διὰ πλειόνων γυμνασμάτων νυκήσασα, τῷ μὲν σκολιῷ ὀφεὶ ἀπαραίτητον ποιήσῃ τὴν καταδίκην, προτρέψῃ ἄπε τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς, ἢ μικρὰ καὶ ἀσθενῆς καὶ ἐυκαταφρόνητος μέγαν καὶ ἀκαταγώνιστον ἀθλήτῃν Χριστὸν ἐνδεδυμένη, διὰ πολλῶν κλήρων ἐκβιάσασα τὸν ἀντικεῖμενον καὶ δι' ἀγώνος τὸν τῆς ἀφθορίας στεφαμένη στέφανον.

"Ο δὲ Ἀτταλος καὶ ἀυτὸς μεγάλως ἐξαιτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀξχοῦ (καὶ γὰρ ἤν ὀνομαστός), ἔτοιμος εἰσῆλθεν ἀγωνιστὴς διὰ τὸ εὐσυνείδητον, ἐπειδὴ γνησίως ἐν τῇ Χριστιανῇ συντάξει γεγυμνασμένος ἢν καὶ ἄει μάρτυς ἐγεγόνει παρ’ ἡμῖν ἀληθείας. καὶ περιαχθεὶς κύκλῳ τοῦ ἀμφιθέατρου, πῦνακος ἀυτὸν προάγνυτος ἐν ὁ ἐγέργαπτο Ἁρμαϊστί, οὗτὸς ἐστὶν "Ἀτταλος ὁ Χριστιανός," καὶ τοῦ
“Thus after a long time, when their life still remained in them through the great contest, they were at last sacrificed, having been made a spectacle to the world throughout that day as a substitute for all the variations of gladiatorial contests; but Blandina was hung on a stake and offered as a prey to the wild beasts that were let in. She seemed to be hanging in the shape of a cross, and by her continuous prayer gave great zeal to the combatants, while they looked on during the contest, and with their outward eyes saw in the form of their sister him who was crucified for them, to persuade those who believe on him that all who suffer for the glory of Christ have for ever fellowship with the living God. Then when none of the beasts would touch her she was taken down from the stake and brought back into the jail, and was thus preserved for another contest, in order that by winning through more trials she might make irrevocable the condemnation of the crooked serpent, and might encourage the brethren; for small and weak and despised as she was, she had put on the great and invincible athlete, Christ; she had overcome the adversary in many contests, and through the struggle had gained the crown of immortality.

“But Attalus was himself loudly called for by the crowd, for he was well known. He went in, a ready combatant, for his conscience was clear, and he had been nobly trained in Christian discipline and had ever been a witness for truth among us. He was led round the amphitheatre and a placard was carried before him on which was written in Latin, ‘This is Attalus, the Christian.’ The people were very bitter
δήμου σφόδρα σφραγίστως ἐπ' αὐτῷ, μαθὼν ὁ ἡγεμὼν ὅτι ᾿Ῥωμαίος ἔστιν, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀναληφθῆναι μετὰ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ ὄντων, περὶ ὃν ἐπέστειλεν τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ περιέμενεν τὴν ἀπόφασιν τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου.

"Ο δὲ διὰ μέσου καρός οὐκ ἅργος αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ ἀκαρπὸς ἐγίνετο, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ὑπομονής αὐτών τὸ ἀμέτρητον ἔλεος ἀνεφαίνετο Χριστοῦ· διὰ γὰρ τῶν ξώντων ἐξωποιοῦντο τὰ νεκρά, καὶ μάρτυρες τοῖς μὴ μάρτυσιν ἐχαρίζοντο, καὶ ἐνεγίνετο πολλὴ χαρὰ τῇ παρθένῳ μητρὶ, ὡς ὅσα νεκροὺς ἐξέτρωσε, τούτους ξώντας ἀπολαμβανοῦση. δι' ἐκείνων γὰρ οἱ πλείους τῶν ἡρημένων ἀνεμετροῦστο καὶ ἀνεκύπτοκον καὶ ἀνεξωποιοῦντο καὶ ἐμάνθανον ὁμολογεῖν καὶ ξώντες ἄθη καὶ τετονωμένοι προσηςαν τῷ βῆματι, ἐγγυλκαίνοντο τοῦ τῶν μὲν βάνατον τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ μὴ βουλομένου, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν μετάνοιαν χρηστευομένου θεοῦ, ἢν καὶ πάλιν ἐπερωτηθῶσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. ἐπιστείλαντος γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοὺς μὲν ἀποτυπμανισθῆναι, εἰ δὲ τίνες ἅρνοντο, τούτους ἀπολυθῆναι, τῆς ἐνθάδε πανηγύρεως (ἔστιν δὲ αὐτῇ πολυάνθρωπος ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν συνερχομένων εἰς αὐτὴν) ἀρχομένης συνεστάναι, ἀνήγεν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα θεατρίζων τοὺς μακάριος καὶ ἐμπομπεύων τοῖς οὐχοὶς. δι' ὃ καὶ πάλιν ἄνηταζεν, καὶ ὅσοι μὲν ἐδόκουν πολιτείαν ᾿Ῥωμαίων ἐσχηκέναι, τοὺς ἀπέτεμεν τὰς κεφαλὰς, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐπεμπεν εἰς θηρία. ἐδοξάζετο δὲ μεγάλως ὁ Χριστὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς πρότερον ἀρνησάμενοι, τότε παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν ὑπόνοιαν ὁμολογοῦσιν. καὶ γὰρ ἤδη ὅτων ἄνηταζοντο ὅσ δὴθεν ἀπολυθησόμενοι, καὶ ὁμο-
against him, but when the governor learnt that he was a Roman, he commanded him to be put back with the rest, who were in the jail, about whom he had written to the emperor and was waiting for his reply.

"But the intervening time was not idle or fruitless for them but through their endurance was manifested the immeasurable mercy of Christ, for through the living the dead were being quickened and martyrs gave grace to those who had denied. And there was great joy to the Virgin Mother who had miscarried with them as though dead, and was receiving them back alive. For through them the majority of those who had denied were again brought to birth ¹ and again conceived and quickened again, and learned to confess, and now alive and vigorous, made happy by God who wills not the death of the sinner, but is kind towards repentance, went to the judgement-seat, in order that they might again be interrogated by the governor. For Caesar had written that they should be tortured to death, but that if any should recant they should be let go, and at the beginning of the local feast (and this is widely attended by the concourse of all the heathen to it) the governor led them to the judgement-seat, making a show and spectacle of the blessed men to the mob. He accordingly examined them again, beheaded all who appeared to possess Roman citizenship, and sent the rest to the beasts. And Christ was greatly glorified by those who had formerly denied but then confessed contrary to the expectation of the people. For they were examined by themselves with the intention of then letting them

¹ The Greek text ἀνεμετρώντο is meaningless. I have translated Schwartz's ἀνεμαίοντο, "brought to birth," though it is not quite satisfactory.
EUSEBIUS

Matt. 22, 11-13
Rom. 2, 24

John 17, 12

Acts 4, 29-31

λογοῦντες προσετίθεντο τῷ τῶν μαρτύρων κλήρῳ· ἐμείναν δὲ ἔξω οἱ μηδὲ ἤχνος πόσποτε πίστεως μηδὲ ἀδόθσιν ἐνδύματος νυμφικὸν μηδὲ ἐννοιαν φόβου θεοῦ σχόντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀναστροφῆς αὐτῶν βλασφημοῦντες τὴν ὄδὸν, τούτ’ ἔστιν οἱ νῦν τῆς ἀπωλείας, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσ- ετέθησαν· ὡν καὶ ἀνεταξόμενων, Ἀλέξανδρός τις, Φρύξ μὲν τὸ γένος, ἰατρὸς δὲ τῆς ἐπιστήμην, πολλοὺς ἔτεσιν ἐν ταῖς Παλλίας διατρίψας καὶ γνωστὸς σχεδὸν πᾶσιν διὰ τὴν πρὸς θεοῦ ἀγάπην καὶ παρρησίαν τοῦ λόγου (ἡν γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἄμοιρος ἀποστολικὸν χαρίσματος), παρεστῶς τῷ βῆματι καὶ νεύματι προτρέποντας αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν ὀμολογίαν, φανερὸς ἦν τῶν περιεστηκός τὸ βῆμα ὥσπερ ὠδίνων. ἀγανακτήσαντες δὲ οἱ ὄχλοι ἐπὶ τῷ τούς πρότερον ἠρνημένους αὐθά ὀμολογεῖν, κατε- βόησαν τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου ὡς ἐκεῖνον τοῦτο ποιοῦντος, καὶ ἐπιστήσαντος τοῦ ἡγεμόνος καὶ ἀνετάσαντος αὐτὸν τίς εἶν, τοῦ δὲ φῆσαντος ὅτι 'Χριστιανός,' ἐν ὀργῇ γενόμενος κατέκρινεν αὐτὸν πρὸς θηρία. καὶ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ εἰσῆλθεν μετὰ καὶ τοῦ Ἀτταλοῦ, καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸν Ἀτταλον τῷ ὀχλῳ χαιροίμενος ὁ ἡγεμόνων ἐξέδωκε πάλιν πρὸς θηρία. οἱ καὶ διὰ πάντων διελθόντες τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ πρὸς κόλασιν ἐξηρυμένων ὅργανοι καὶ μέγιστον ὑπο- μείναντες ἀγώνα, τοῦσχατον ἐτύθησαν καὶ αὐτοῖς, τοῦ μὲν Ἀλέξανδρου μήτε στενάξαντος μήτε γρῦγαντός τι ὅλως, ἀλλὰ κατὰ καρδίαν ὁμολούντος τῷ θεῷ, ὁ δὲ Ἀτταλος, ὅποτε ἐπὶ τῆς συνθῆς ἐπετέθη καθέδρας καὶ περιεκάετο, ἦνικα ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος κύσις ἀνεφέρετο, ἔφη πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῇ Ρωμαικῇ φωνῇ ἢδον τοῦτο ἐστιν ἀνθρώπους. 430
go, but confessed and were added to the ranks of the martyrs. Those indeed remained without who had never had any vestige of faith, nor perception of the bridal garment, nor idea of the fear of God, but even through their behaviour blasphemed the Way—they are the sons of perdition—but all the rest were added to the church. When they too were being examined a certain Alexander, a Phrygian by race and a physician by profession, who had lived in Gaul for many years and was known to almost every one for his love toward God and boldness of speech (for he was not without a share of the apostolic gift), stood by the judgement-seat and by signs encouraged them to confession, and seemed to those who were standing by as though he were in travail. But the crowd, angry that those who had formerly denied were confessing again, howled at Alexander as though he were responsible for this. The governor summoned him and asked him who he was, and when he said 'a Christian,' he flew into a rage and condemned him to the beasts. And the next day he went into the arena together with Attalus; for to please the mob the governor had given Attalus back to the beasts. They passed through all the instruments of torture which were prepared in the amphitheatre, and endured a great contest. Finally they too were sacrificed. Alexander uttered neither groan nor moan at all, but conversed with God in his heart, and Attalus, when he was put on the iron chair and was being burned, and the reek arose from his body, said to the crowd in Latin, 'Lo, this which
'Eusebius, ὃ ποιεῖτε ὑμεῖς· ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐτε ἀνθρώπους ἐσθίομεν οὐθ' ἔτερόν τι πονηρόν πράσσομεν. ἐπερωτῶμενος δὲ τῇ ὁνομα ἔχει ο ὑθεός, ἀπεκρίθη ὃ θεός ονόμα οὐκ ἔχει ὡς ἀνθρώπος.'

"Επὶ πάσι δὲ τούτοις τῇ ἐσχάτῃ λοιπὸν ἡμέρᾳ τῶν μονομαχιῶν ἡ Βλανδίνα πάλιν εἰσεκομιζέτο μετὰ καὶ Ποντικοῦ, παιδαρίου ώς πεντεκαϊδέκα ἔτών, οἱ καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν εἰσήγοντο πρὸς τὸ βλέπειν τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν κόλασιν· καὶ ἤγαγκάζοντο ἀμυνόντα κατὰ τῶν εἰδώλων αὐτῶν, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐμμένειν εὐσταθῶς καὶ ἐξουθενεὶν αὐτοὺς ἡγριώθη πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς μὴ τὴν ἡλικίαν τοῦ παιδὸς οἰκτεῖα δέχεται μὴ τὸ γύναιον αἰδεσθῆναι, πρὸς 54 πάντα δὲ τὰ δεινὰ παρέβαλλον αὐτοὺς καὶ διὰ πάσης ἐν κύκλῳ διήγον κολάσεως, ἐπαλλήλως ἄναγκαζοντες ὁμοῦ, ἀλλὰ μὴ δυνάμενοι τὸτε πράξαι. ὣ μὲν γὰρ Ποντικὸς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδελφῆς παρωρμημένος, ώς καὶ τὰ ἔθνη βλέπειν ὅτι ἑκείνη ἤν προτρεπομένη καὶ στηρίζονα αὐτῶν, πάσαν κόλασιν γενναίως ὑπομείνας ἀπέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα· ἡ δὲ μακαρία Βλανδίνα πάντων ἐσχάτη, καθάπερ 55 μήτηρ εὐγενῆς παρομήνοσα τὰ τέκνα καὶ νική-φόρους προπέμψασα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ἀναμετρομένη καὶ αὐτῇ πάντα τὰ τῶν παιδῶν ἀγωνίσματα ἐστενδεὶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς, χαίρουσα καὶ ἀγαλλιωμένη ἐπὶ τῇ ἔξοδῳ, ὡς εἰς νυμφικὸν δείπνον κεκλημένη, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς θηρία βεβλημένη· καὶ μετὰ τὰς ἑστιᾶς, μετὰ τὰ θηρία, μετὰ τὸ τήγανον, τοῦχατον εἰς γυργαθὸν βληθεῖσα ταύρῳ παρεβλήθη, καὶ ἰκανῶς ἀναβληθεῖσα πρὸς τὸν ἐξου λῃ βουλὴν έτι τῶν συμβαλλόντων ἔχουσα διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐποχὴν τῶν πεπιστευμένων καὶ 432
you are doing is to eat men, but we neither eat men nor do anything else wicked.' And when he was asked what name God has, he replied, 'God has not a name as a man has.'

"In addition to all this, on the last day of the gladiatorial sports, Blandina was again brought in with Ponticus, a boy of about fifteen years old, and they had been brought in every day to see the torture of the others, and efforts were made to force them to swear by the idols, and the mob was furious against them because they had remained steadfast and disregarded them, so that there was neither pity for the youth of the boy nor respect for the sex of the woman. They exposed them to all the terrors and put them through every torture in turn, trying to make them swear, but not being able to do so. For Ponticus was encouraged by the Christian sister, so that even the heathen saw that she was exhorting and strengthening him, and after nobly enduring every torture he gave up his spirit. But the blessed Blandina, last of all, like a noble mother who had encouraged her children and sent them forth triumphant to the king, having herself endured all the tortures of the children, hastened to them, rejoicing and glad at her departure as though invited to a marriage feast rather than cast to the beasts. And after scourging, after the beasts, after the gridiron, she was at last put in a net and thrown to a bull. She was tossed about a long time by the beast, having no more feeling for what happened to her through her hope and hold on what had been en-
ομιλίαν πρὸς Χριστόν, ἐτύθη καὶ αὐτῇ, καὶ αὐτῶν ὁμολογοῦντων τῶν ἐθνῶν ὅτι μηδεπώποτε παρὰ αὐτοῖς γυνὴ τοιαύτα καὶ τοσαύτα ἔπαθεν.

"ΑΛΛ' οὖν οὕτως κόρον ἐλάμβανεν αὐτῶν ἡ μανία καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους ὑμῶν. ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀγρίου θηρὸς ἀγρία καὶ βάρβαρα φῶλα ταραχθέντα δυσπαύστως εἶχεν, καὶ ἀλλὰ λέγει ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐλάμβανεν ἡ υβρίς αὐτῶν· τὸ γὰρ νευκήθησθαι αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐδυσώπην διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιλογισμόν, μάλλον δὲ καὶ ἔξεκαιν αὐτῶν τὴν ὀργὴν καθάπερ θηρίου, καὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸ ὄμοιον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀδικον ἐπιδεικνυμένων μίσος, ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ ὁ ἄνομος ἀνομησάτω ἔτι, καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαιωθήτω ἔτι. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐναποπυγέντας τῇ εἰρκτῇ παραβάλλετον νομοθετεῖ ἐπιμελῶς παραφυλάσσοντες νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὴ κηδευθῇ τις ὕφε ἡμῶν· καὶ τὸτε δὴ προθέντας τά τε τῶν θηρίων τά τε τοῦ πυρὸς λείψανα, πη μὲν ἐσπαραγμένα, πη δὲ ἠμιθανεύμενα, καὶ τῶν λυπῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς σὺν τοῖς ἀποτμήμασιν αὐτῶν ὁσαύτως ἀτάφους παραφύλαττον μετὰ στρατιωτικῆς ἐπιμελείας ἡμέρας συχναίς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑνεβριμοῦντο καὶ ἔβρυχον τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς, ἵπποι τὰ ταῖν περισσοτέραν ἐκδίκησιν παρὰ αὐτῶν λαβεῖν, οἱ δὲ ἐνεγέλων καὶ ἐπετύβαζον, μεγαλύνοντες ἀρα τὰ εἴδωλα αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκείνους προσάρτοντες τῇ τούτων τιμωρίᾳ, οἱ δὲ ἐπιεικέστεροι καὶ κατὰ ποσὸν συμπαθεῖν δοκοῦντες ὄνειδιζον πολὺ, λέγοντες 'ποῦ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν καὶ τί αὐτοῖς ὄνημεν ἡ θρησκεία, ἢν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐαυτῶν εἰλαντό ψυχῆς;' καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνων τοιαύτην εἶχε τῇ ποικιλίᾳ, 61 434
trusted to her and her converse with Christ. And so she too was sacrificed, and the heathen themselves confessed that never before among them had a woman suffered so much and so long.

"Not even thus was their madness and cruelty to the saints satisfied, for, incited by a wild beast,¹ wild and barbarous tribes could scarcely stop, and their violence began again in a new way on the bodies; for that they had been conquered² did not shame them, because they had no human reason, but it rather inflamed their wrath as of a wild beast, and the governor and the people showed the like unrighteous hatred against us that the Scripture might be fulfilled, 'Let him that is unlawful be unlawful still, and he that is righteous be righteous still.' For those who had been strangled in the jail they threw to the dogs, and watched carefully night and day that none should be cared for by us. Then they threw out the remains left by the beasts and by the fire, torn and charred, and for many days watched with a military guard the heads of the rest, together with their trunks, all unburied. And some raged and gnashed their teeth at the remains, seeking some further vengeance from them, others laughed and jeered, glorifying their idols and ascribing to them the punishment of the Christians, and the gentler, who seemed to have a little sympathy, mocked greatly, saying, 'Where is their god and what good to them was their worship, which they preferred beyond their lives?' Their conduct thus

¹ That is, by the Devil.
² Because they had been unable to break the courage of the martyrs.


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τὰ δὲ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἐν μεγάλῳ καθειστήκει πένθει διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὰ σώματα κρύψαι τῇ γῇ. οὔτε γὰρ νῦξ συνεβάλλει τῇ ἡμῖν. πρὸς τοῦτο οὔτε ἀργύριον ἔπεμθεν οὔτε λυτανεία ἐξυσώπησε, παντὶ δὲ τρόπῳ παρετήρουν, ὡς μέγα τι κερδανοῦντες, εἰ μὴ τύχοινε ταφῆς.

Τούτοις ἔξης μεθ’ ἐτερά φασιν. "τὰ οὖν σώματα τῶν μαρτύρων παντοίως παραδειγματισθέντα καὶ αἰθριασθέντα ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἔξ, μετέπειτα καέντα καὶ αἰθαλωθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνόμων κατεσάρωθη εἰς τὸν Ῥοδανον ποταμὸν πλησίον παραπρέουν, ὅπως μηδὲ λείψανον αὐτῶν φαίηται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔτι καὶ ταῦτ’ ἔπραττον ὡς δυνάμενοι νικῆσαι τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἀφελέσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν, ἵνα, ὡς ἔλεγον ἐκεῖνοι, ‘μηδὲ ἐλπίδα σχῶσιν ἀναστάσεως, ἐφ’ ἡ πεποιθότες ξένην τινα καὶ κανήν εἰσάγουσθαν ἡμῖν θρησκείαν καὶ καταφρονοῦσι τῶν δεινῶν, ἐτοιμοι καὶ μετὰ χαρᾶς ἢκοντες ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον ὑμῖν ἐδωμεν εἰ ἀναστήσονται καὶ εἰ δύνασθαι βοηθῆσαι αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξελέσθαι ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν.’

II. Τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν δεδηλωμένον αὐτῷ,

κράτορα ταῖς Χριστοῦ συμβεβήκεν έκκλησίας,

ἀφ’ ὄν καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐπαρχίαις ἐνηργημένα εἰκότι λογισμῷ στοχάζεσθαι πάρεστιν. ἄξιον τούτοις ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπισυνάψαι γραφῆς λέξεις ἐτέρας, δι’ ὄν τὸ ἐπιεικὲς καὶ φιλάνθρωπον τῶν δεδηλωμένων μαρτύρων ἀναγέραται τούτοις αὐτοῖς τοῖς ρήμασιν. "οἱ καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ζηλωταὶ ἐκ καὶ μιμηται Χριστοῦ ἐγένοντο, ὅς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ υπάρχων οὐχ ἄρπαγμὸν ἥγησατο τὸ εἶναι ἰςα θεῶ, ὥστε ἐν τοιαύτῃ δόξῃ υπάρχοντες καὶ οὐχ ἄπαξ.
varied, but in our circle great grief obtained, because we could not bury the bodies in the earth, for night did not avail us for this, nor did money persuade nor entreaty shame, but in every way they watched, as though they would make some great gain, that the bodies should not obtain burial."

Further on they say: "Thus the bodies of the martyrs, after having been exposed and insulted in every way for six days, and afterwards burned and turned to ashes, were swept by the wicked into the river Rhone which flows near by, that not even a relic of them might still appear upon the earth. And this they did as though they could conquer God and take away their rebirth in order, as they said, 'that they might not even have any hope of resurrection, through trusting in which they have brought in strange and new worship and despised terrors, going readily and with joy to death; now let us see if they will rise again, and if their God be able to help them and to take them out of our hands.'"

II. Such things happened to the churches of Christ under the emperor mentioned, and from them it is possible to form a reasonable conclusion as to what was done in the other provinces. It is worth while to add other statements from the same document, in which the gentleness and the kindness of the martyrs already mentioned have been set down in these very words. "And they carried so far their zeal and imitation of Christ, 'who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God,' that for all their glory, and though they had
οὐδὲ δὲ ἄλλα πολλάκις μαρτυρήσαντες καὶ ἐκ θηρίων αὕθις ἀναληθέντες καὶ τὰ καυτήρια καὶ
tous μᾶλλοντας καὶ τὰ τραύματα ἔχοντες περι-
κείμενα, οὕτ' αὐτοῖ μάρτυρας ἐαυτούς ἀνεκήρυττον
οὗτε μὴν ἡμῖν ἐπέτρεπον τοῦτο τῶν ὠνόματι
προσαγορεύειν αὐτούς, ἀλλ' εἰ ποτὲ τις ἡμῶν δι'
ἐπιστολής ἢ διὰ λόγου μάρτυρας αὐτοὺς προσείπευν,
ἐπέπλησον πικρῶς. ἦδεσ χάρ παρεχώρουν τὴν
τῆς μαρτυρίας προσηγορίαν τῷ Χριστῷ, τῷ πιστῷ
cαὶ ἄλληνώς μάρτυρι καὶ πρωτοτόκῳ τῶν νεκρῶ
καὶ ἄρχην τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἑπεμμνήσκον-
to τῶν ἔξελελυθότων ἣδη μαρτύρων καὶ ἔλεγον
ἐκεῖνοι ἢδη μάρτυρες, οὐς ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ Χριστῶς
ηζώσεν ἀναληθὴν, ἑπισφραγισάμενος αὐτῶν
diὰ τῆς ἔξοδου τῆς μαρτυρίας, ἤμεῖς δὲ ὁμολογο-
μέτριοι καὶ ταπεινοὶ, καὶ μετὰ δακρύων παρ-
εκάλουν τους ἀδελφοὺς δεόμενοι ὅν ἐκτενεῖς εὐχαὶ
gίνωνται πρὸς τὸ τελειωθῆναι αὐτοὺς. καὶ τὴν
μὲν δύναμιν τῆς μαρτυρίας ἐργῷ ἐπεδείκνυτο,
pολλὴν παρρησίαν ἀγοντες πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ τὴν
eὐγένειαν διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ ἀφοβίας καὶ
ἀτρομίας φανερὰν ἐποίουν, τὴν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
ἀδελφοὺς τῶν μαρτύρων προσηγορίαν παρηγοῦντο,
ἐμπεπλησμένου φόβου θεοῦ." 

Καὶ αὕθις μετὰ βραχέα φασίν. "ἐταπείνουν 5
ἐαυτοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν κραταιαν χείρα, υφ' ἢς ἰκανῶς
νῦν εἰσὶν υψωμένοι. τότε δὲ πᾶσι μὲν ἀπελογοῦντο,
kατηγόρουν δὲ οὐδενὸς ἐλυνο ἀπαντας, ἐδεσμενον

1 Or “witness.” The translation of all this passage is
rendered difficult by the impossibility of translating the
Greek word μαρτύς by the same English word in all passages.
"Martyr" has been adopted so far as possible but the sense
of "witness" is much more present than it is in the English
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testified not once or twice but many times, and had been taken back from the beasts and were covered with burns and scars and wounds, they neither proclaimed themselves as martyrs, nor allowed us to address them by this title. But if ever any one of us called them martyrs either in a letter or in speech they rebuked him sharply. For they gladly conceded the title of martyrdom to Christ, the faithful and true martyr\(^1\) and first-born from the dead and author of the life of God. And they reminded us of the martyrs who had already passed away, and said 'they are already martyrs, whom Christ vouchsafed to be taken up at their confession, and sealed their witness by their departure, but we are lowly and humble confessors.'\(^2\) And they besought the brethren with tears, begging that earnest prayers might be made for their consecration. The power of martyrdom they actually showed, having great boldness towards the heathen, and they made plain their nobleness by endurance and absence of fear or timidity; but the title of martyr they refused from the brethren, for they were filled with the fear of God.'

A little further on they say: "They humbled themselves under the mighty hand and by it they have now been greatly exalted. At that time they made defence for all men, against none did they bring accusation; they released all and bound none; word, for though it is used in a more or less technical sense, it does not as yet imply death.

\(^1\) The sense must be as given above, but the Greek word does not appear to be used in this sense. It is corrected in later manuscripts to ὀμολογηταῖ. Schwartz thinks that it is a primitive error for ὀμολογο[ύντες ἐτ], and Wendland suggested ὀμόδολου.
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Acts 7, 60

δὲ οὐδένα· καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τὰ δεινὰ διατιθέντων ἡγούμενο, καθάπερ Στέφανος ὁ τέλειος μάρτυς ἐς τὸν ὅμοιος τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ταύτην. ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν λιθαζόντων ἐδέστη, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁδελφῶν.

Καὶ αὐθίνως φασὶ μεθ’ ἑτέρα. ὡς γὰρ καὶ μέγιστος αὐτοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ πόλεμος ἐγένετο διὰ τὸ γνήσιον τῆς ἁγάπης, ἵνα ἀποτυχθῇ ὁ θὴρ οὗς πρὸτεροῦ ἄγετο καταπετακόμεναι, ἵνα δι’ ἐξεμέσης ὡς ἢ ἐρασμὸν καὶ διὰ τῶν θεοῦ ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἡς ἐπελεόναζον αὐτοῖς, τοῦτο τοῖς ἐνδε- στέροις ἐπήρκουν μητρικὰ σπλάγχνα ἔχοντες, καὶ πολλά περὶ αὐτῶν ἐκχέοντες δάκρυα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, ἦσιν ἡττήσαντο, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς. ἦν καὶ συνεμερίσαντο τοὺς πλησίον, κατὰ πάντα νικηφόροι πρὸς θεοῦ ἀπελθόντες. εἰρήνην ἀγα- πήσαντες αὐτοὶ καὶ εἰρήνην ἦμιν παρεγγυσάντες, μετ’ εἰρήνης ἐχώρησαν πρὸς θεοῦ, μὴ καταλιπόντες πόνου τῇ μητρὶ μηδὲ στάσιν καὶ πόλεμον τοῖς ἁδελφοῖς ἀλλὰ χαρὰν καὶ εἰρήνην καὶ ὀμόνοιαν καὶ ἁγάπην.” ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν μακαρίων ἔκεινων πρὸς τοὺς παραπεπτωκότας τῶν ἁδελφῶν στοργῆς ὡφελίμως προκείσθω τῆς ἀπανθρώπου καὶ ἀνηλεοῦσιν ἐνεκα διαθέσεως τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀφειδὼς τοὺς Χριστοῦ μέλεσιν προσενεχεμένων.

III. Ἡ δ’ αὐτὴ τῶν προειρημένων μαρτύρων ἡ ἐγένοντο φθόνος μὴ οὐχὶ τῶν

1 The “beast” is the Devil, and those whom he had swallowed are those who had at first recanted; the hope of the confessors was to regain backsliders and so rescue them from the Devil’s maw. 2 That is, the Church.

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and they prayed for those who had inflicted torture, even as did Stephen, the perfect martyr, 'Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.' And if he prayed for those who were stoning him, how much more for the brethren?"

And again after other details, they say: "For their greatest contest, through the genuineness of their love, was this, that the beast ¹ should be choked into throwing up alive those whom he had at first thought to have swallowed down. For they did not boast over the fallen, but from their own abundance supplied with a mother's love those that needed, and shedding many tears for them to the Father, they prayed for life, and he gave it to them, and they divided it among their neighbours, and then departed to God, having in all things carried off the victory. They ever loved peace; peace they commended to us; and with peace they departed to God; for their mother ² they left behind no sorrow, and for the brethren no strife and war, but glory, peace, concord, and love." Let this profitable extract suffice concerning the love of those blessed ones for their brethren who had fallen, for the sake of the inhuman and merciless disposition of those who after these events acted unsparingly to the members of Christ.³

III. The same document of the aforementioned martyrs contains also another story worthy of memory, and none could grudge our bringing it to

³ Eusebius wishes to emphasize the charity of these martyrs towards backsliders in contrast to the hardness of soul of his own contemporaries, notably the Donatists and Novatians.
εντευξομένων εἰς γνώσιν προθεῖναι· ἔχει δὲ οὕτως. Ἁλκιβιάδου γάρ τινος ἐξ αὐτῶν πάνω αὐχμηρον βιοῦντος βίον καὶ μηδενὸς ὁλως τὸ πρότερον μεταλαμβάνοντος, ἀλλὰ ἡ ἁρτω μόνῳ καὶ ὑδατι χρώμενον πειρωμένου τε καὶ ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ οὕτω διάγειν, Ἀττάλῳ μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον ἀγώνα ὅν ἐν τῷ ἁμφιθεάτρῳ ἦνυσεν, ἀπεκαλύφθη ὅτι μὴ καλῶς ποιοῖ ὁ Ἁλκιβιάδης μὴ χρώμενος τοῖς κτίσμασι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἄλλοις τύποις σκανδάλου ὑπολειπόμενοι. πεισθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἁλκιβιάδης πάντων ἀνέδην μετέλαμβανε καὶ ἄρχαριστεῖ τῷ θεῷ· οὗ γάρ ἀνεπίσκεπτοι χάριτος θεοῦ ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον ἦν σύμβουλον αὐτοῖς. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁδὲ ἔχετω.

Τῶν δ’ ἀμφὶ τὸν Μοντανὸν καὶ Ἁλκιβιάδην καὶ Θεόδοτον περὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἀρτὶ τότε πρῶτον τὴν περὶ τοῦ προφητεύειν ὑπόληψιν παρὰ πολλοῖς ἐκφερομένων (πλεῖστα γάρ οὖν καὶ ἄλλα παραδοξοποιεῖ τοῦ θείου χαρίσματος εἰς ἐτί τότε κατὰ διαφόροις ἐκκλησίαις ἐκτελοῦμεναι πίστων παρὰ πολλοῖς τοῦ κακείνου προφητεύειν παρεῖχον) καὶ δὴ διαφωνίας ὑπαρχοῦσης περὶ τῶν δεδηλωμένων, αὐθίς οἱ κατὰ τὴν Γαλλίαν ἀδελφοί τὴν ἰδίαν κρίσιν καὶ περὶ τούτων εὐλαβῆ καὶ ὀρθοδοξοτάτην ὑποτάττονυιν, ἐκθέμενοι καὶ τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς τελειωθέντων μαρτύρων διαφόρους ἐπιστολάς, ἀς ἐν δεισμὸς ἐτί ὑπάρχοντες τοῖς ἐπ’ Ἀσίας καὶ Φρυγίας ἀδελφοῖς διεχάραζαν, οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ Ἥλευθέρῳ τῷ τότε Ῥωμαίοις ἐπισκόπῳ, τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης ἕνεκα προσβεύσωντες.
the knowledge of those who are about to study. It runs thus: There was among them a certain Alcibiades, who was living a very austere life, and at first was not partaking of anything at all, but used merely bread and water and was trying to live thus even in the jail. But it was revealed to Attalus after the first contest which he underwent in the amphitheatre that Alcibiades was not doing well in not making use of the creations of God, and offering an example of offence to others. Alcibiades was persuaded and began to partake of everything without restraint and gave thanks to God; for they were not without help from the grace of God but the Holy Spirit was their counsellor. Let this suffice for this point.

Just at that time the party of Montanus and Alcibiades and Theodotus in Phrygia began first to engender among many their views concerning prophecy (for the many other wonderful works of the grace of God which were still being wrought up to that time in divers churches produced the belief among many that they also were prophets), and when dissension arose about the persons mentioned the brethren in Gaul again formulated their own judgement, pious and most orthodox, concerning them, subjoining various letters from the martyrs who had been consecrated among them, which letters while they were still in prison they had composed for the brethren in Asia and Phrygia, and also for Eleutherus, who was then bishop of the Romans, and so they were ambassadors for the sake of the peace of the churches.

1 An “example of offence” because it might seem to support the heretical doctrine that matter is evil, as some Gnostics maintained.
IV. Οἱ δ’ αὐτοὶ μάρτυρες καὶ τῶν Εἰρηναίων, πρεσ-1
βύτερον ἦδη τὸτ’ ὄντα τῆς ἐν Λουγδούνῳ παροικίας,
tῷ δηλωθέντι κατὰ Ἐπίσκοπος συνήστων,
πλείστα τῷ ἄνδρι μαρτυροῦντες, ὡς αἱ τοῦτον
ἔχουσι τὸν τρόπον δηλοῦσι φωναί. "χαίρειν ἐν 2
θεῷ σε πάλιν εὐχόμεθα καὶ ἄει, πάτερ Ἑλεύθερε.
ταῦτά σοι τὰ γράμματα προετρεφόμεθα τὸν
ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν καὶ κοινωνῶν Εἰρηναίων διακομίσαι,
καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν ἐχεῖν σε αὐτὸν ἐν παραθέσει,
ζηλωτὴν ὄντα τῆς διαθήκης Χριστοῦ. εἰ γὰρ
ηδειμένοι τὸπον τινὶ δικαιοσύνην περιποιεῖσθαι, ὡς
πρεσβύτερον ἐκκλησίας, ὀπερ ἐστὶν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, ἐν
πρῶτοις ἄν παρεδέμεθα."

Τῇ δεὶ καταλέγειν τὸν ἐν τῇ δηλωθείσῃ γραφῇ 3
τῶν μαρτύρων κατάλογον, ἰδία μὲν τῶν ἀποτυχήσει
κεφαλῆς τετελεωμένων, ἰδία δὲ τῶν θηροῦν εἰς
βορᾶν παραβεβλημένων, καὶ αὕτης τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς
ἐρχετῆς κεκοιμημένων, τὸν τε ἀριθμόν τῶν εἰς
ἐτὶ τότε περιόντων ὄμολογητῶν; ὅτω γὰρ φίλου,
καὶ ταῦτα βάδιον πληρέστατα διαγγέλλων μετὰ
χείρας ἀναλαβόντι τὸ σύγγραμμα, ὦ καὶ αὐτὸ τῇ
τῶν μαρτύρων συναγωγῆ πρὸς ἡμῶν, ὦς γοῦν
ἔφη, κατείλεται. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐπ’ Ἀντωνίου
τοιαῦτα.

V. Τούτου δὴ ἀδελφὸν Μάρκου Ἀὐρήλιον Καίσαρα 1
λόγοι ἔχει Γερμανοίς καὶ Σαρμάταις ἀντιπαρα-
tαττόμενον μάχη, δύσης πιεζομένης αὐτοῦ τῆς
στρατιᾶς, ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ γενέσθαι· τοὺς δ’ ἐπὶ τῆς
Μελιτηνῆς οὔτω καλουμένης λεγεώνος στρατιῶτας
διὰ πίστεως ἐξ ἔκεινον καὶ εἰς δεύτερο συνεστῶσης
ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους παρατάξει γοῦν θέντας
ἐπὶ γῆν κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἡμῶν τῶν εὐχῶν ἔβος ἐπὶ
IV. Irenaeus also, who was at that time already a presbyter of the diocese at Lyons, the same martyrs commended to the afore-mentioned bishop of Rome, and gave him much good testimony, as is shown by words to the following effect: "Once more and always, Father Eleutherus, we wish you greeting in God. We have asked our brother and companion, Irenaeus, to bring this letter to you and we beg you to hold him in esteem, for he is zealous for the covenant of Christ. For had we known that rank can confer righteousness on anyone, we should first of all have recommended him as being a presbyter of the church, for that is his position."

What need is there to transcribe the list of the martyrs in the above mentioned document, some consecrated by beheading, some cast out to be eaten by the wild beasts, others who fell asleep in the jail, and the number of the confessors which still survived at that time? For whoever wishes can easily read the full account by taking the description which has been included in our collection of martyrs,¹ as I said before. Such were the events which happened under Antoninus.

V. It is said that when his brother, Marcus Aurelius Caesar, was engaging in battle with the Germans and Sarmatians, he was in difficulties, because his army was oppressed by thirst; but the soldiers of the legion which is called after Melitene,² knelt on the ground according to our own custom of prayer, in the faith which has sustained them from that time to this in their contests with their enemies, and turned

¹ See Introduction, p. xxiii.
² Melitene is in eastern Cappadocia.
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τὰς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἰκεσίας τραπέσθαι, παραδόξου 2
dὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις τοῦ τοιούτου δῆ θεάματος
φανέρτος, ἀλλο τι λόγος ἔχει παραδοξότερον ἐπι-
καταλαβεῖν αὐτίκα, σκηπτόν μὲν εἰς φυγὴν καὶ
ἀπώλειαν συνελάνυνται τοὺς πολεμίους, ὀμβρον δὲ
ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν τὸ θείον παρακεκληκτῶν στρατιῶν,
πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ δύσους μέλλουσαν ὅσον οὕτω
dioφθείρεσθαι ἀνακτῶμεν.

Ἡ δ’ ἱστορία φέρεται μὲν καὶ παρὰ τοὺς πόρρω 3
τοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς λόγου συγγραφεύσαν οἷς μέλον
γέγονεν τῆς κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους γραφῆς,
δεδηλωται δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἡμετέρων. ἄλλα τοῖς
μὲν ἐξωθεὶν ἱστορικοῖς, ἀτε τῆς πίστεως ἀνοικείοις,
τέθεται μὲν τὸ παράδοξον, οὐ μὴν καὶ ταῖς τῶν
ἡμετέρων εὐχαίς τοῦθ’ ὡμολογήθη γεγονέναι· τοῖς
δὲ γε ἡμετέρους, ἀτε ἅληθείας φίλους, ἀπλῶ καὶ
ἀκακοθθεὶς τρόπῳ το praxhēn παραδέδοται. τοῦ-
tων δ’ ἂν εἶν καὶ ’Ἀπολυνάριος, εξ ἐκείνου φήσας
τὴν δ’ εὐχής τὸ παράδοξον πεποιηκυίαν λεγεῦνα
οἰκείαν τῷ γεγονότι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως εἰληφέναι
προσηγορίαν, κεραυνοβόλον τῇ ’Ρωμαίων ἐπι-
κληθείαν φωνῆ. μάρτυς δὲ τούτων γένουτ’ ἂν
ἀξιόχρεως ὁ Τερτυλλιανός, τὴν Ἐρωμαίκην τῇ
συγκλήτων προσφωνήσας ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἀπο-
λογίαν, ἥς καὶ πρόσθεν ἐμνημονεύσαμεν, τὴν τῇ
ἱστορίαν βεβαιῶν σὺν ἀποδείξει μείζονι καὶ ἐναρ-
γεστῆρα γράφει δ’ οὖν καὶ αὐτός, λέγων Μάρκου
τοῦ συμετωτάτου βασιλέως ἐπιστολὰς εἰς ἐτὶ νῦν
φέρεσθαι ἐν αἷς αὐτὸς μαρτυρεῖ ἐν Γερμανίᾳ

1 Dio Cassius, lxxi. 8, who ascribes the miracle to the
Egyptian magician, Arnuphis. Capitolinus in the life of
Marcus Aurelius ascribes it to the prayer of the emperor, and
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towards supplications to God. Now though this kind of spectacle seemed strange to the enemy, the story goes that another still more marvellous overcame them at once, for lightning drove the enemy to flight and destruction, and a shower falling on the army which had prayed to God, refreshed them all when they were on the point of destruction from thirst.

The story is both told among writers who are foreign to our faith who have undertaken to write of the times of the above mentioned emperors,¹ and has also been recorded by Christians. By the heathen writers, inasmuch as they were strangers to the faith, the miracle is related, but it was not confessed that it happened through the prayers of the Christians; but in our own writers, inasmuch as they are the friends of truth, what happened has been described in a simple and harmless fashion. Among these would be also Apolinarius, who states that after that time the legion which had wrought the miracle through prayer had received a name from the emperor appropriate to what had happened, and was called in Latin the "Thundering Legion."² Tertullian is also a worthy witness of these things, who in addressing in Latin an apology for our faith to the Senate, which we have quoted already, confirmed the story with more and clearer proof. In his writing he says that letters of Marcus, the most prudent emperor, were still extant, in which he testifies himself that when his army was on the point the emperor himself on his coins represents Jupiter as hurling thunderbolts against the Germans.

² But from Dio Cassius and from inscriptions, it would appear that the legion had certainly this name in the time of Nero, and probably in that of Augustus.

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€Δατος ἀπορία μέλλοντα αὐτοῦ τῶν στρατῶν Διαφθέρεσθαι ταῦτα τῶν Χριστιανῶν εὐχαίς σε-
σώσθαι, τοῦτον δὲ φήσω καὶ θάνατον ἀπειλήσαι τοῖς καθηγορεῖν ἡμῶν ἐπιχειροῦσι· οὑς ὁ δηλωθεὶς
ἀνή καὶ ταῦτα προσεπιλέγει: "ποταποὶ οὖν οἱ νόμοι οὐτοί, οὕς καθ' ἡμῶν μόνων ἐπονταί ἀσβεῖς
ἀδικοὶ ὠμοί; οὕς οὔτε Οὐσεπασιανὸς ἐφύλαξεν,
καίτοι γε Ἰουδαίους νικήσας, οὖς Τραίανὸς ἐκ
μέρους ἐξουθένησεν, κωλύων ἐκχητεῖσθαι Χρι-
στιανοὺς, οὖς οὔτε Ἄδριανός, καίτοι γε πάντα τὰ
περίεργα πολυπραγμονῶν, οὔτε ὁ Εὐσεβῆς ἐπι-
κληθεῖσε ἐπεκύρωσεν." ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὅπῃ τις
ἐθέλει, τιθέσθω· μετώπων ὃ̱ ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν
ἐξῆς ἀκολουθίαν.

Ποθενοῦ δὴ ἐφ' ὅλοις τῆς ἡμῆς ἐτεσιν ἐνενήκοντα τῶν τοῖς ἐπὶ Γαλλίας μαρτυρῆσασιν τελεωθέντος,
Εἰρηνάιος τῆς κατὰ Λούγδουνον ἢς ὁ Ποθενός
ήγειτο παροικίας τὴν ἐπισκοπῆν διαδέχεται· Πολυ-
κάρπου δὲ τοῦτον ἀκουσθὴν γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν
νέαν ἐμαυθάνομεν ἡλικίαν. οὕτος τῶν ἐπὶ Ἡρώμης
τὴν διαδοχὴν ἐπισκόπων ἐν τρίτῃ συντάξει τῶν
πρὸς τὰς οἰρέσεις παραθέμενος, εἰς Ἐλευθερον,
οὗ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἡμῶν ἐξετάζεται, ὡς ἂν
δὴ κατ' ἀυτὸν σπουδαζομένης αὐτῷ τῆς γραφῆς,
τὸν κατάλογον ἱστήσῃ, γράφων ὁδὲ· VI. "θεμελιώ-
σαντες οὐν καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες οἱ μακάροι ἀπό-
στολοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, Δίνω τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς
λειτουργίαν ἐνεχείρισαν· τοῦτον τοῦ Δίνου Παύλος
ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολαῖς μέμνηται.
διαδέχεται δ' αὐτῶν Ἀπέγκλητος, μετὰ τοῦτον δὲ
τρίτω τόπῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς
κληροῦται Κλήμης, ὁ καὶ ἔορακὼς τοὺς μακαρίους

Iren. 3, 3. 3

2 Tim. 4, 21

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of destruction in Germany from lack of water it had been saved by the prayers of the Christians, and Tertullian says that the emperor also threatened death to those who attempted to accuse us. The author goes on as follows: "What kind of laws are these which wicked, unrighteous, and cruel men use against us alone? Vespasian did not observe them although he conquered the Jews. Trajan partially allowed them, but forbade Christians to be sought out. Neither Hadrian, though busy in all curious matters, nor Pius, as he is called, ratified them." But let these things be as anyone will, we must pass on to the train of further events.

When Pothinus was consecrated with the martyrs in Gaul at the age of full ninety years, Irenæus received the episcopacy of the diocese in Lyons,¹ of which Pothinus had been the head, and we have been told that he had been a listener to Polycarp in his early youth. In his third book against the heresies he gives the succession of the bishops in Rome as far as Eleutherus, the events of whose days are now being discussed by us, as though his book had been composed at that time, and he gives the list, writing as follows. VI. "Therefore when the blessed apostles had found and built the church they gave the ministry of the episcopate to Linus. Paul mentioned this Linus in his epistle to Timothy. Anencletus succeeded him, and after him Clement obtained the episcopate in the third place from the apostles. He had seen the blessed apostles and

¹ That is, in A.D. 177. Cf. v. 1. 1, p. 407.
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣ

ἀποστόλους καὶ συμβεβληκὼς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔτι ἔναυλον τὸ κήρυγμα τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχων, οὐ μόνος· ἔτι γὰρ πολλοὶ ὑπελείποντο τότε ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων δεδουλαμένου. ἔτι τούτων οὖν τοῦ Κλήμεντος διά τάσεως οὐκ ὅλης τοῖς ἐν Κορίνθῳ γενομένης ἁδελφοῖς, ἐπέστειλεν ἡ ἐν Ἦρωμη ἐκκλησίᾳ ἰκανωτάτην γραφὴν τοῖς Κορίνθιοις, εἰς εἰρήνην συμβιβάζουσα αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνανεοῦσα τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν καὶ ἡν νεωστὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων παράδοσιν εἰλήφει.

Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησίν. “τὸν δὲ Κλήμεντα τοῦτον διαδέχεται Εὐάρεστος καὶ τὸν Εὐάρεστον Ἀλέξανδρος, εἴθ' οὕτως ἔκτος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων καθίσταται Εὐστός, μετὰ δὲ τούτων Τελεσφόρος, ὅσ καὶ ἐνδόξως ἐμαρτύρησεν ἐπείτει Ἕγινος, εἰτα Πίος, μεθ' ὅν Ἀνίκητος. διαδεξαμένου τὸν Ἀνίκητον Σωτήρος, ὥν δωδεκάτω τόσω τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατέχει κλήρον Ἑλεύθερος. τῇ αὐτῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ διδαχῇ ἢ τῇ ἐπὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παράδοσιν καὶ τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας κήρυγμα κατηντηκεν εἰς Ἰημᾶς.”

VII. Ταῦτα δὲ Εἰρηναῖος ἀκολούθως ταῖς προ- διεξοδευθείσαις ἤμιν ὑπογράφας ἱστορίας ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραμεν, πέντε οὖν τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς, Ἐλέγχου καὶ ἀνατροπῆς τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως, ἐν δευτέρῳ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως, ὅτι δὴ καὶ εἰς αὐτῶν ὑποδείγ- ματα τῆς θείας καὶ παράδοξον δυνάμεως ἐν ἐκκλη- σίαις τοῖς ὑπολείποντο, διὰ τοῦτων ἐπισημαίνεται.

1 The letter in question is generally called “the First Epistle of Clement,” but the true title is “the Epistle of the
conversed with them and the teaching of the apostles still rang in his ears, their tradition was held before his eyes. Nor was he alone in this, for there were still many surviving at that time who had been taught by the apostles. When in the time of this Clement no little dissension arose among the Christians at Corinth, the church in Rome sent a most powerful letter to the Corinthians urging them to peace and renewing their faith and the tradition which they had recently received from the apostles.

And after a little he says: "Evarestus succeeded to this Clement and Alexander to Evarestus, and then Xystus was appointed as the sixth from the apostles, and after him Telesphorus, who also was martyred gloriously; then Hyginus, then Pius, after him Anicetus. Soter succeeded Anicetus, and now, in the twelfth place from the apostles, Eleutherus holds the lot of the episcopate. The tradition from the apostles in the church and the preaching of the truth have reached us in the same order and the same teaching."  

VII. These things Irenaeus recounts, according to the extracts which we have made already, in the books, five in number, to which he gave the title of Refutation and Overthrow of Knowledge falsely so-called, and in the second book of this work he proves in the following words that manifestations of the divine and marvellous power had remained in some Church in Rome to the Church in Corinth." Probably the subject of εἰκόνα in the last sentence is the church in Corinth supplied from the general sense of the preceding paragraph, as it clearly refers to Corinth and not to Rome.

2 It is probable that "teaching" is a mistake in the text of Eusebius for διάδοχος, "succession," which is implied by the Latin version of Irenaeus.

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EUSEBIUS

Iren. 2, 31, 2 λέγων: "τοσοῦτον δὲ ἀποδέουσιν τοῦ νεκρῶν ἐγείραι, καθὼς ὁ κύριος ἤγειρεν καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι διὰ προσευχῆς καὶ εὖ τῇ ἀδελφότητι πολλάκις διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τῆς κατὰ τόπον ἐκκλησίας πάσης αἰτησαμένης μετὰ νηστείας καὶ λυτανείας πολλῆς ἐπέστρεψεν τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ τετελευτηκότος καὶ ἔχαρισθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ταῖς εὐχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων." καὶ αὕτης φησιν μεθ’ ἔτερα: "εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸν κύριον δὲ φαντασιωδῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα πεποιηκέναι φήσουσιν, ἕπι τὰ προφητικὰ ἀνάγοντες αὐτούς, ἔξι αὐτῶν ἐπιδείξομεν πάντα οὕτως περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ προερήθαι καὶ γεγονέναι βεβαίως καὶ αὐτὸν μόνον εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ· δι’ ὅς καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐκείνου ὅνοματι οἱ ἀληθῶς αὐτοῦ μαθηταί, παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβόντες τὴν χάριν ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἐπ’ εὐεργεσία τῇ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων, καθὼς εἶς ἐκαστὸς τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἐξῆλθον παρ’ αὐτοῦ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ δαίμονας ἔλαύνουσι βεβαίως καὶ ἀληθῶς, ὡστε πολλάκις καὶ πιστεύουσι ἐκείνους αὐτούς τοὺς καθαρισθέντας ἀπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν πνευμάτων καὶ εἶναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οἱ δὲ καὶ πρόγνωσιν ἔχουσιν τῶν μελλόντων καὶ ὁπτασίας καὶ ῥήσεως προφητικάς, ἀλλοί δὲ τοὺς κάμνοντας διὰ τῆς τῶν θεοῦ ἐπιθέσεως ἱώτανι καὶ ὑγείας ἀποκαθίστασιν, ἠδή δὲ, καθὼς ἔφαμεν, καὶ νεκρῶν ἡγέρθησαν καὶ παρέμειναν σὺν ἡμῖν ἔτεσιν ἱκανοῖς, καὶ, τί γάρ; οὐκ ἐστὶ αὐθαίρετον ἐπείν τῶν χαιρεμάτων οὗ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου ἡ ἐκκλησία παρὰ θεοῦ λαβοῦσα ἐν τῷ ὁνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἐπ’ εὐεργεσία

1 Eusebius seems to slip in making his extract from Irenaeus, and by omitting the end of the sentence leaves "so
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churches even as far as his time: "But they fall so far\(^1\) short of raising the dead, as did the Lord and his apostles through prayer (and often among the brethren, because of necessity and at the request of the whole church in the neighbourhood, with fasting and much supplication, the spirit of him who had died returned, and the man was given to the prayers of the saints)." And again he says after other things: "But if they say that the Lord has done all these things merely in appearance we will take them back to the prophetic writings, and show from them that all these things had been foretold concerning him, and that they certainly happened, and that he alone is the Son of God; for which cause also his true disciples having received grace from him use it in his name for the benefit of the rest of men, even as each has received the gift from him. For some drive out demons with certainty and truth, so that often those who have themselves been cleansed from the evil spirits believe and are in the church, and some have foreknowledge of things to be, and visions and prophetic speech, and others cure the sick by the laying on of hands and make them whole, and even as we have said, the dead have been raised and remained with us for many years. And why should I say more? It is not possible to tell the number of the gifts which the church throughout the whole world, having received them from God in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, uses each day for the far" hanging in the air. In the original the sentence runs: "They fall so far short of raising the dead, as did the Lord etc. . . . , that they do not even believe that it can be done." The "they" referred to are the Simonians and Carpocratians—two early heresies.

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Matt. 10, 8
tή τῶν ἑθνῶν ἐπιτελεῖ, μήτε ἐξαπατώσα τινας μήτε ἐξαργυριζομένη· ὡς γὰρ δωρεὰν εἴληφεν παρὰ θεοῦ, δωρεὰν καὶ διακονεῖ.” καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ δὲ τόπῳ ὁ αὐτὸς γράφει: “καθὼς καὶ πολλῶν ἀκούομεν ἀδελφῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προφητικὰ χαρίσματα ἐχόντων καὶ παντοδαπαῖς λαλοῦντων διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος γλώσσας καὶ τὰ κρύφια τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς φανερὸν ἀγόντων ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι καὶ τὰ μυστήρια τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκδηγομένων.” τάντα καὶ περὶ τοῦ διαφορὰς χαρισμάτων μέχρι καὶ τῶν δηλομένων χρόνων παρὰ τοῖς ἀξίοις διαμένει.

VIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀρχόμενοι τῆς πραγματείας ὑπόσχεσιν πεποιημέθα παραθήσαται κατὰ καίρον εἰπόντες τὰς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν προσβυτέρων τε καὶ συγγραφέων φωνάς ἐν αἷς τὰς περὶ τῶν ἐνδιαθήκων γραφῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς κατελθοῦσας παράδοσεις γραφῆ παραδεδώκασιν, τούτων δὲ καὶ ὁ Εἰρηναῖος ἦν, φέρε, καὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ παραθώμεθα λέξεις, καὶ πρῶτας γε τὰς περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν εὐαγγελίων, οὕτως ἔχουσας· “ὁ μὲν δὴ Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραῖοις τῇ ἴδιᾳ αὐτῶν διαλέκτῳ καὶ γραφῇ ἐξήνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου, τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν Ἐρυμὴν εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούσων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· μετά δὲ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον Μάρκος, ὁ μαθητής καὶ ἐρμηνευτής Πέτρου, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδέδωκεν· καὶ Λουκᾶς δὲ, ὁ ἀκολούθος Παύλου, τὸ ὑπ’ ἐκείνου κηρυσσόμενον εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βιβλίῳ κατέθετο. ἔπειτα Ἰωάννης, ὁ μαθητής τοῦ κυρίου, ὁ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος αὐτοῦ ἀναπεσών, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέδωκεν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας διατρίβων.”

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benefit of the heathen, deceiving none and making profit from none. For as it received freely from God, it ministers also freely." And in another place the same author writes: "Just as also we hear many brethren in the church who have gifts of prophecy, and who speak through the Spirit with all manner of tongues, and who bring the hidden things of men into clearness for the common good and expound the mysteries of God." So much on the point that variety of gifts remained among the worthy up till the time spoken of.

VIII. At the beginning of this work we made a promise to quote from time to time the sayings of the presbyters and writers of the church of the first period, in which they have delivered the traditions which came down to them about the canonical Scriptures. Now Irenaeus was one of these, so let us quote his words, and in the first place those which refer to the sacred Gospels, as follows: "Now Matthew published among the Hebrews a written gospel 1 also in their own tongue, while Peter and Paul were preaching in Rome and founding the church. But after their death Mark also, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, himself handed down to us in writing the things which were preached by Peter, and Luke also, who was a follower of Paul, put down in a book the gospel which was preached by him. Then John, the disciple of the Lord, who had even rested on his breast, himself also gave forth the gospel, while he was living at Ephesus in Asia."

1 The point of the καὶ γραφὴν is that it was a written as well as a spoken gospel.
Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τρίτῳ τῆς εἰρημένης ὑποθέσεως τῷ προδηλωθέντι εἰρηταὶ, ἐν δὲ τῷ πέμπτῳ περὶ τῆς Ἰωάννου Ἀποκάλυψεως καὶ τῆς ψήφου τῆς τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου προσηγορίας οὕτως διαλαμβάνει: 'τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἐχόντων καὶ ἐν πάσι δὲ τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις τοῦ ἄριθμοῦ τούτου κειμένου καὶ μαρτυροῦντοι αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν κατ' ὤψιν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐορακότων καὶ τοῦ λόγου διδάσκοντος ἡμᾶς ὅτι ὁ ἄριθμός τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ θηρίου κατὰ τὴν Ἐλληνων ψήφων διὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ γραμμάτων ἐμφαίνεται.' καὶ ὑποκαταβάς περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φάσκει: "ἡμεῖς οὖν οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθέντες οὕτως ἐκεῖνος ἐν ὑποθέσεως τῆς τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου ἀποφανόμενοι βεβαιωτικῶς. εἰ γὰρ ἔδωκεν ἀναφανδὸν ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ κηρύττεσθαι τοῦνομα αὐτοῦ, δι' ἐκείνου ἀν ἔρρεθη τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἐορακότος. οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ τολλοῦ χρόνου ἐωράθη, ἀλλὰ σχέδον ἐπί τῆς ἁμαρτίας γενέας, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομιτίανος ἀρχῆς."  

Ταύτα καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀποκάλυψεως ἱστορίηται τῷ δεδηλωμένῳ. μέμνηται δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰωάννου πρώτης ἐπιστολῆς, μαρτυρίας ἐξ αὐτῆς πλείστας εἰσφέρων, ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ τῆς Πέτρου προτέρας. οὐ μόνον δὲ οἶδεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποδέχεται τὴν τοῦ Πομμένου γραφήν, λέγων: "καλῶς οὖν ἡ γραφή ἢ λέγουσα πρῶτον πάντων πίστευσον ὅτι εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ θεός ὁ τὰ πάντα κτίσας καὶ καταρτίσας," καὶ τὰ ἔξης. καὶ ὅτι δὲ τισιν ἐκ τῆς Σολομόνος ἰδανίας κέχρηται, μόνον οὐχὶ φάσκων: "ὁρασις
These things were said by the writer referred to in the third book of his treatise which has been quoted before, and in the fifth book he discourses thus about the Apocalypse of John and the number of the name of the Antichrist. 1 "Now since this is so, and since this number is found in all the good and ancient copies, and since those who have seen John face to face testify, and reason teaches us that the number of the name of the beast appears according to the numeration of the Greeks by the letters in it ..." And going on later he says concerning the same point, "We therefore will not take the risk of making any positive statement concerning the name of the Antichrist. For if it had been necessary for his name to have been announced clearly at the present time, it would have been spoken by him who also saw the Revelation; for it was not even seen a long time ago, but almost in our own generation towards the end of the reign of Domitian."

The author quoted says this about the Apocalypse, and he also mentions the first Epistle of John, making many quotations from it, and likewise the first Epistle of Peter. And he not only knew but also received 2 the writing of the Shepherd, saying, "Well did the Scripture say 'first of all believe that God is one who created and fitted together all things,' and so on." He also made some quotations all but verbally from the Wisdom of Solomon, "And

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1 According to Rev. xiii. 18 the Number of the Beast is 666. The point is that in ancient times the letters of the alphabet were used as numbers; thus the writer means that if the letters in the name of the Beast be taken as numbers they will when added up amount to 666. The difficulty is that with a little ingenuity this can be proved to be true of almost any unpopular person.

2 i.e. as Scripture.
δὲ θεοῦ περιποιητικὴ ἀφθαρσίας, ἀφθαρσία δὲ ἐγγὺς εἶναι ποιεῖ θεοῦ." καὶ ἀπομνημονευμάτων δὲ ἀποστολικὸν τινος πρεσβυτέρου, οὐ τούνομα σωπῆ παρέδωκεν, μνημονεύει ἐξηγήσεις τε αὐτοῦ θείων γραφῶν παρατέθειται. ἔτι καὶ Ἰουστίνου τοῦ μάρτυρος καὶ Ἰγνατίου μνήμην πεποίηται, μαρτυρίας αὕτης καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τούτων γραφέντων κεχρημένοις, ἐπήγγελται δ' αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν Μαρκίωνος συγγραμμάτων ἀντιλέξεων αὐτῶς ἐν ἰδίῳ σπουδάσματι.

Καὶ περὶ τῆς κατὰ τοὺς ἐβδομηκοντα ἐρμηνείας τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν ἀκουέ οἶα κατὰ λέξιν γράφει: "ὁ θεὸς οὗν ἀνθρωπος ἐγένετο καὶ οὗτος κύριος ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς, δους τῷ τῆς παρθένου σημείῳ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ὥς ἐνοί φασι τῶν νῦν τολμώντων μεθερμηνεύειν τῷ γράφῳ, 'ιδοὺ ἡ νεάνις ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τείσται νῦν'. ὡς Θεοδοτίων ἡμηνευσεν ὁ Ἐφέσιος καὶ Ἀκύλας ὁ Ποντικός, ἀμφότεροι Ἰουδαίοι προσήλυτοι, οἰς κατακολούθησαν τοῦ Ἐβριων αὐτῶν γεγενηθαι φάσκουσιν.' τούτως ἐπιφέρει μετὰ βραχεία λέγων: "πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ Ὁρμαίοις κρατῶν τῇ ἀρχῃ αὐτῶν, ἐτι τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν Ἀθηνας κατεχόντων, Πτολεμαίος οἱ Λάγου φιλοτιμομένοις τῇ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατεσκευασμένην βιβλιοθήκην ἐν Ἀλέξανδρεῖα κοσμῆσαι τοῖς πάντων ἀνθρώπων συγγράμμασιν ὡσα γε σπουδαίᾳ ὑπήρχεν, ἦτησατο παρὰ τῶν Ἰεροσολυμωτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον σχεδόν αὐτῶν μεταβεβλημένας τὰς γραφὰς. οἱ δὲ, ὑπήκουον γὰρ ἐτι τοῖς Μακεδόσων τότε, τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐμπειροτάτους τῶν γραφῶν καὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν διαλεκτῶν, ἐβδομηκοντα πρεσβυ- 458
the vision of God produces incorruptibility and incorruptibility brings us near to God.” He also quotes treatises of a certain apostolic presbyter whose name he passes by in silence and gives his interpretation of divine Scripture. Moreover, he has made mention of Justin Martyr and Ignatius, making frequent quotations from their writings, and he promised to give in a special work a refutation of Marcion from his own writings.

Hear also, word for word, what he writes about the interpretation of the inspired Scriptures according to the Septuagint. “So God became man and the Lord himself saved us, giving us the sign of the virgin, but not as some say, who at the present time venture to translate the Scriptures, ‘behold a young woman shall conceive and bear a son,’ as Theodotion the Ephesian translated it and Aquila from Pontus, both of them Jewish proselytes, whom the Ebionites follow and aver that he was begotten by Joseph.” After a little he goes on thus: “For before the Romans established their government, while the Macedonians still possessed Asia, Ptolemy, the son of Lagus,¹ being very anxious to adorn the library, which he had founded in Alexandria, with all the best extant writings of all men, asked from the inhabitants of Jerusalem to have their Scriptures translated into Greek. They, for they were at that time still subject to the Macedonians, sent to Ptolemy seventy elders, the most experienced they had

¹ Usually called Ptolemy Soter; he reigned from 323 to 285 B.C.
τέρους, ἐπεμψαν Πτολεμαῖον, ποιήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ ὁπερ ἡβούλετο. ὁ δὲ ἵδια πείραν αὐτῶν λαβεῖν ἐβλήσας εὐλαβθεὶς τε μή τι ἀρὰ συνθέμενοι ἀποκρύψωσι τὴν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς διὰ τῆς ἐρμηνείας ἀλήθειαν, χωρίας αὐτῶς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐκέλευσε τοὺς πάντας τὴν αὐτὴν ἐρμηνείαν γράφειν, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν βιβλίων ἐποίησεν. συνελ-θόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ παρὰ τῷ Πτολεμαῖον καὶ συναντιβάλοντων ἐκάστοτε τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ἐρμηνείαν, ὁ μὲν θεὸς ἑδοξάσθη, αἱ δὲ γραφαί ὄντως θείαι ἐγνώσθησαν, τῶν πάντων τὰ αὐτὰ ταῖς αὐταῖς λέξεσιν καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἄναγορευσάντων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους, ὡστε καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἐθνὴ γνώναι ὅτι κατ' ἐπίπτοιον τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσὶν ἐρμηνευμέναι αἱ γραφαί. καὶ οὐδὲν γε θαυμαστόν τὸν θεοῦ τούτο ἐνηργηκέναι, ὅσ γε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑπὶ Ναβουχοδονόσορ αἰχμαλωσία τοῦ λαοῦ διαφθαρεσθαὶ τῶν γραφῶν καὶ μετὰ ἐβδομῆκοντα ἐτή τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀνελθόντων εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν, ἐπειτα ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἐνέπνευσεν Ἔσορα τῷ ἠρεῖ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Λευτᾶ τὸς τῶν προγεγονότων προφητῶν πάντας ἀνατάξασθαι λόγους καὶ ἀποκαταστήσαι τῷ λαῷ τὴν διὰ Ἔως νομοθεσίαν. τοσαύτα ὁ Ἐἰρηναῖος.

IX. Ἔννεα δὲ καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν τῆς βασιλείας δι-αρκέσαντος Ἀντωνίου, Κόμοδος τὴν ἠγεμονίαν παραλαμβάνει; οὗ κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐκκλησίων Ἰουλιανὸς ἐγχειρίζεται τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, ἐπὶ δυοκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν Ἀγριππίνου τῆς λειτουργίαν ἀποπλήσαντος.
in the Scriptures and in both languages, and God thus wrought what he willed. But Ptolemy, wishing to make trial of them in his own way, and being afraid lest they should have made some agreement to conceal by their translation the truth in the Scriptures, separated them from one another and commanded them all to write the same translation. And this he did in the case of all the books. But when they came together to Ptolemy, and compared each his own translation, God was glorified and the Scriptures were recognized as truly divine, for they all rendered the same things in the same words and the same names, from beginning to end, so that even the heathen who were present knew that the Scriptures had been translated by the inspiration of God. And it is no marvel that God did this, for when the Scriptures had been destroyed in the captivity of the people in the days of Nebuchadnezzar, and the Jews had gone back to their country after seventy years, then in the times of Artaxerxes, the king of the Persians, he inspired Ezra, the priest of the tribe of Levi, to restore all the sayings of the prophets who had gone before, and to restore to the people the law given by Moses.”¹ So much says Irenaeus.

IX. When Antoninus had held the empire for nineteen years, Commodus ² received the sovereignty, and in his first year Julian was appointed to the episcopate of the churches in Alexandria when Agrippinus had completed his ministry after twelve years.

¹ The source of this tradition seems to be the Letter of Aristeas, which purports to be the work of a Persian noble in the time of Ptolemy Philadephus (285-247 B.C.). See E. Schürer, GJV. vol. ii.
² In A.D. 180.
Χ. Ἡγεῖτο δὲ τηνικαύτα τῆς τῶν πιστῶν αὐτῶν ἰδιατριβής ἀνὴρ κατὰ παιδείαν ἐπιδοξότατος, ὅνομα αὐτῶς Πάνταινος, ἐξ ἀρχαίον ἔθους διδασκαλεῖον τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων παρ’ αὐτοῖς συνεστῶτος· οὐ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς παρατείνεται καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐν λόγῳ καὶ τῇ περὶ τὰ θεία σπουδὴ δυνατῶν συγκροτεῖσθαι παρειλήφαμεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μάλιστα κατ’ ἐκείνον καιρὸν διαλάμψας λόγος ἔχει τὸν δεδηλωμένον, οἷα καὶ ἀπὸ φιλοσόφου ἀγωγῆς τῶν καλομενῶν Στωϊκῶν ὁμομημένον. τοσοῦτον δ’ οὖν φασιν ἡν τῶν ἐκθυμοστάτη διαθέσει προθυμίαν περὶ τὸν θείον λόγον ἐνδείξασθαι, ὡς καὶ κήρυκα τοῦ κατὰ Χριστὸν εὐαγγελιῶν τοῖς ἐπ’ ἀνατολῆς ἔθνεσιν ἀναδειχθήναι, μέχρι καὶ τῆς Ἰνδῶν στειλάμενον γῆς. ἤσαν γὰρ, ἤσαν εἰς ἐτὶ τότε πλεῖους εὐ- αγγελιστὰ τοῦ λόγου, ἐνθεον ἥλιον ἀποστολικὸν μυμήρατος συνεισφέρειν ἐπ’ αὐξήσει καὶ οἰκοδομή τοῦ θείου λόγου προμηθούμενοι; ὅπ’ εἰς γενόμενον καὶ ὁ Πάνταινος, καὶ εἰς Ἰνδοὺς ἐλθεῖν λέγεται. ἐνθα λόγος εὐρέων αὐτῶν προφθάσαν τὴν αὐτοῦ παρ- ουσίαν τὸ κατὰ Μαθαίον εὐαγγελίων παρά τοῖς αὐτῶθι τὸν Χριστὸν ἑπεγνωκόσιν, αὖς Βαρθολομαίον τῶν ἀποστόλων ἕνα κηρύξει αὐτός τε Ἐβραίων γράμμασι τὴν τοῦ Μαθαίου καταλεύσας γραφήν, ἢν καὶ σύξεσθαι εἰς τὸν δηλούμενον χρόνον. ὃ γε μὴν Πάνταινος ἐπὶ πολλοῖς κατορθώμασι τοῦ κατ’ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τελευτῶν ἤγείται διδασκαλεῖον, ζώσῃ φωτὶ καὶ διὰ συγγραμμάτων τοὺς τῶν θείων δομιμῶν θρεάυρος ὑπομνηματιζόμενοι.

XI. Κατὰ τούτον ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς συν- ασκούμενος ἐπ’ Ἀλεξάνδρειας ἐγνωρίζετο Κλῆμης, ὁμώνυμος τῷ πάλαι τῆς Ὀμηρίων ἐκκλησίας 462
X. At that time a man very famous for his learning named Pantaenus had charge of the life of the faithful in Alexandria, for from ancient custom a school of sacred learning existed among them. This school has lasted on to our time, and we have heard that it is managed by men powerful in their learning and zeal for divine things, but tradition says that at that time Pantaenus was especially eminent, and that he had been influenced by the philosophic system of those called Stoics. They say that he showed such zeal in his warm disposition for the divine word that he was appointed as a herald for the gospel of Christ to the heathen in the East, and was sent as far as India. For indeed there were until then many evangelists of the word who had forethought to use inspired zeal on the apostolic model for the increase and the building up of the divine word. One of these was Pantaenus, and it is said that he went to the Indians, and the tradition is that he found there that among some of those there who had known Christ the Gospel according to Matthew had preceded his coming; for Bartholomew, one of the apostles, had preached to them and had left them the writing of Matthew in Hebrew letters, which was preserved until the time mentioned. Pantaenus, after many achievements, was at the head of the school in Alexandria until his death, and orally and in writing expounded the treasures of the divine doctrine.

XI. In his time Clement, the namesake of the pupil of the apostles who had once ruled the church of Rome, was famous in Alexandria for his study
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ηγησαμένω φοιτητὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων· ὃς ἤθε καὶ ἀνομαστὶ ἐν αἰσ συνεταξεν Ἄγιοτυπώσεσιν ὡς ἂν διδασκάλου τοῦ Πανταινοῦ μεμνησαι, τούτων τε αυτῶν καὶ τῶν Στρωματέων ἐν πρώτῳ συγγράμματι αἰνίττεσθαι μοι δοκεῖ, ὅτε τοὺς ἐμφανεστέρους ἦσ κατελήφθην ἀποστολικῆς διαδοχῆς ἐπισκημναμένος ταῦτα φησιν. " ἤδη δὲ οὐ γραφὴ εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τετεχνασμένη ἢδε ἡ πραγματεία, ἀλλὰ μοι ὑπομνήματα εἰς γῆρας θησαυρίζεται, λήθης φάρμακον, εἴδωλον ἀτεχνῶς καὶ σκιαγραφία τῶν ἐναργῶν καὶ ἐμψύχων ἐκείνων ὅν κατηξιώθη ἐπακούσαι λόγων τε καὶ ἄνδρων μακαρίων καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἀξιολόγων. τούτων ο μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐλλάδος, ὁ Ἰωνικός, ὁ δὲ 4 ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης Ἐλλάδος, τῆς Κοίλης ἀτερος αὐτῶν Συρίας ἦν, ὁ δὲ ἀπ’ Ἀιγύπτου, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀνὰ τὴν ἀνατολήν, καὶ ταύτης ὃ μὲν τις τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Ἐβραίους ἀνέκαθεν. ὅστις δὲ περιτυχόν, δυνάμει δὲ ἀρα πρώτος ἦν, ἀνεπαυσάμην, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θηράσας λεληθότα. ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀληθῆ τῆς μακαρίας 5 σώζοντες διδασκαλίας παράδοσον εὐθὺς ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Ἰακώβου Ἰωάννου τε καὶ Παύλου τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων παῖς παρά πατρὸς ἐκδεξάμενος (ὁ δὲ ὁ πατράσων ὁμοίων), ἦκον δὴ σὺν θεῷ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς, τὰ προγονικά ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἀποστολικὰ καταθησόμενοι σπέρματα."

XII. Ἔπει τούτων τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος ὃ παρὰ πολλοὶς εἰς ἐτί νῦν βεβοηθίον Ἀρμενισος ἐγνωρίζετο, πεντεκαίδεκάτην ἀγων διαδοχῆν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ Ἀρμιανον πολιορκίας, ἕξο ὃ ἤθε πρῶτον τὴν αὐτοθε ἐκκλησίαν ἕξε ἑθνῶν συστήναι μετὰ τοὺς 464
of the Holy Scriptures with Pantaenus. In the Hypotyposes which he composed he mentioned Pantaenus by name as his teacher, and he seems to me to allude to him in the first book of the Stromateis,\textsuperscript{1} when he speaks thus in reference to the more distinguished members of the apostolic succession which he had received. "This work is not a writing composed for show, but notes stored up for my old age, a remedy against forgetfulness, an image without art, and a sketch of those clear and vital words which I was privileged to hear, and of blessed and truly notable men. Of these one, the Ionian, was in Greece, another in South Italy, a third in Coele-Syria,\textsuperscript{2} another from Egypt, and there were others in the East, one of them an Assyrian, another in Palestine of Hebrew origin. But when I had met the last, and in power he was indeed the first, I hunted him out from his concealment in Egypt and found rest. But these men preserved the true tradition of the blessed teaching directly from Peter and James and John and Paul, the holy apostles, son receiving it from father (but there were few like their fathers), and by the blessing of God they came down to us to deposit those ancestral and apostolic seeds."\textsuperscript{3}

XII. In their time there flourished Narcissus, bishop of the church at Jerusalem, who is still widely famous. He held the succession in the fifteenth place after the siege of the Jews under Hadrian, and we have stated already that from that time the church in that city was composed of Gentiles, in

\textsuperscript{1} See Introduction, p. xlv.  
\textsuperscript{2} That is, the district of the Lebanon.
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'Εκ περιτομῆς καθηγήσασθαί τε αὐτῶν πρῶτον ἐξ ἑθνῶν ἐπίσκοπον Μάρκον ἐδηλώσαμεν μεθ' ὅν ἐπισκοπεῦσαι Κασσιανὸν αἰ τῶν αὐτοῦ διαδοχαὶ περέχουσιν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Πούπλιον, εἴτ' Ἔως Ἡμᾶς Ἐφευσαν, καὶ Ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἰουλιανὸν, Ἐπειτὰ Γαίων, μεθ' ὅν Σύμμαχον, καὶ Γαίων ἔτερον, καὶ πάλιν Ἀλλὸν Ἰουλιανὸν, Καπίτωνα τε πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ὘νάλεντα καὶ Δολιχιανὸν, καὶ Ἐπὶ πᾶσι τῶν Νάρκισσον, τριακοστὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἔξης διαδοχὴν γεγενημένον.

XIII. Ἔν τούτω καὶ Ὦδων, γενός τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀσίας, μαθητευθεῖς ἐπὶ Ἡρώμης, ὡς αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ, Τατιανῷ, ὃν ἐκ τῶν πρόσθεν ἐγνώμεν, διάφορα συντάξεις βιβλία, μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν Μαρκίωνος παρατέτακται αἴρεσιν. ἦν καὶ εἰς διαφόρους γνώμας κατ' αὐτὸν διαστάσεαν ἵστορεῖ, τοὺς τῆς διάστασις ἐμπεποιηκότας ἀναγράφων ἐπ' ἀκριβεῖς τε τὰς παρ' ἐκάστῳ τούτων ἐπινενοημένας διελέγχων ψευδολογίας. Ἀκούε δ' ὅν καὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα γράφοντος: "διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παρ' ἐαυτοῖς ἀσύμφωνοι γεγόνασιν, ἀσυνάτου γνώμης ἀντιποιούμενοι. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς τούτων ἀγέλης Ἀπελλῆς μέν, ὅ την πολυτείαν σεμνυόμενος καὶ τὸ γῆρας, μίαν ἁρχὴν ὀμολογεῖ, τὰς δὲ προφητειας ἐξ ἀντικειμένου λέγει πνεύματος, πειθόμενος ἀποφθέγμασι παρθένου δαιμονώσης, ὀνόμα Φιλομένης ἔτεροι δὲ, καθὼς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ναύτης [Μαρκίων], καὶ δύο ἁρχὰς εἰσηγοῦνται. ἂφ' ὅν εἰς Ποτίτος τε καὶ Βασιλικός. καὶ οὕτω μὲν κατακολουθήσαντες τῷ Ποντικῷ λύκῳ καὶ μὴ εὑρίσκοντες τὴν διαίρεσιν.
succession to the Jewish Christians, and that the first of the Gentile bishops was Marcus. After him the local successions record that Cassian was bishop, and after him Publius, then Maximus, in addition to them Julian, then Gaius, after him Symmachus and Gaius the second, and then another Julian, and Capito, and in addition to them Valens and Dolichianus, and after them all Narcissus, the thirtieth from the apostles according to the regular succession.¹

XIII. At this time too Rhodo, of Asiatic race, was, as he narrates himself, the pupil at Rome of Tatian, whom we have mentioned above, and composed various books, among others especially one directed against the heresy of Marcion. He says that it was divided in his time into various opinions, and, describing accurately those who had caused the divergence, he refutes the false teaching devised by each of them. Listen then to him when he writes thus: "Therefore they have ceased to agree among themselves, maintaining inconsistent opinions. One of their herd is Apelles, who is reverenced for his life and old age. He admits that there is one Principle,² but says that the prophecies are of an opposing spirit, and he was persuaded by the utterances of a possessed maiden named Philoumene. But others, such as the captain himself (Marcion), introduced two Principles. To them belong Potitus and Basilicus. These followed the wolf of Pontus,³ not perceiving

¹ This only gives thirteen names from Marcus to Narcissus, but Eusebius says that Narcissus is the fifteenth. Comparison with the Chronicon shows that after Capito the names of Maximus the second and Antoninus should be inserted.
² Or "Source of being," "Beginning," or almost "God."
³ That is, Marcion, who is said to have been the son of a bishop in Pontus.
τῶν πραγμάτων, ὡς οὖν ἐκεῖνος, ἐπὶ τὴν εὐχέρειαν ἐτράποντο καὶ δύο ἄρχας ἀπεθάνας ψιλῶς καὶ ἀναποδείκτως. Ἀλλοι δὲ πάλιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔπι τὸ χείρον ἐξοκεῖλαντες, οὐ μόνον δύο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρεῖς ὑποτίθενται φύσεις. Ὁν ἐστὶν ἄρχηγός καὶ προστάτης Συνέρως, καθὼς οἱ τὸ διδασκαλεῖον αὐτοῦ προβαλλόμενοι λέγουσιν.

Γράφει δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὡς καὶ εἰς λόγους ἐθηλύθηει 5 τῷ 'Ἀπελλῆ, φάσκον ποτώς. "Ὁ γὰρ γέρων Ἀπελλῆς συμμίξας ἦμιν, πολλὰ μὲν κακῶς λέγων ἥλεγχηθ᾽ ὁθὲν καὶ ἔφασκεν μὴ δείν ὅλως ἔξετάζειν τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκαστον, ὡς πεπίστευκεν, δια-μένειν σωθῆσεσθαι γὰρ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον ἡλπικότας ἀπέφαινεν, μόνον ἑαν ἐν ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς εὐρίσκωντα τὸ δὲ πάντων ἀσαφέστατον ἐδογματι-ζετο αὐτῶ πρόγμα, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν, τὸ περὶ θεοῦ. ἔλεγεν μὲν γὰρ μιὰν ἀρχὴν καθὼς καὶ ὁ ἡμετέρος λόγος." εἶτα προθείς αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν 6 δόξαν, ἐπισφέρει φάσκων. "Λέγοντος δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν 'πόθεν ἢ ἀπόδειξις αὐτὴ σοι, ἢ πῶς δύνασαι λέγειν μιὰν ἀρχὴν; φράσον ἡμῖν' ἔφη τὰς μὲν προφητείας ἐαυτὰς ἐλέγχειν διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ὅλως ἁλθῆς εἰρήκειν: ἀσύμφωνοι γὰρ ὑπάρχουσι καὶ ψευδεῖς καὶ ἐαυταῖς ἀντικείμενα. τὸ δὲ πῶς ἐστὶν μία ἀρχὴ, μὴ γινώσκειν ἔλεγεν, οὕτως δὲ κινεῖθαι μόνον. εἶτ' ἐπομοσαμένου μου τάληθες εἰπεῖν, 7 ὃμως ἀλθεύων λέγειν μὴ ἐπίστασθαι πῶς εἰς ἐστὶν ἀγένητος θεός, τοῦτο δὲ πιστεύειν. ἐγὼ δὲ γελάσας κατέγνων αὐτοῦ, διότι διδάσκαλος εἶναι λέγων, οὐκ ἦδει τὸ διδασκόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κρατύνειν." Ἔν τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ συγγράμματι Καλλιστώνι 8

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the division of things, any more than he, and turning to a simple solution, announced two principles, baldly and without proof. Others again, passing into worse error, supposed that there are not only two but even three Natures. Of them the chief and leader is Syneros, as those state who represent his school.”

The same writer (Rhodo) says that he conversed with Apelles, and states it thus: “For the old man Apelles when he consorted with us, was proved to make many false statements. Hence also he used to say that it is not necessary to investigate the argument fully, but that each should remain in his own belief, for he asserted that those who placed their hope on the Crucified would be saved, if they persisted in good works. But as we have said before, the most obscure part of all the doctrines which he put forward were about God. For he kept on saying that there is only one Principle just as our doctrine states.” Then after expounding all his opinions he goes on as follows: “And when I said to him, ‘Where is this proof of yours, or how can you say that there is one Principle? Tell us,’ he said that the prophecies refute themselves by not having spoken the truth at all, for they are inconsistent and false and contradict themselves, but as to how there is one Principle he said that he did not know it, but merely inclined to that view. Then when I adjured him to speak the truth he swore that he was speaking the truth, when he said that he did not know how the unbegotten God is one but that he believed it. But I laughed at him and condemned him, because though he called himself a teacher he did not know how to establish what he taught.”

In the same work, speaking to Kallistio, the same
προσφωνών ὁ αὐτὸς μεμαθητεύθη ἐπὶ Ἦρωμης Τατιανῷ ἔαυτὸν ὁμολογεῖ· φησίν δὲ καὶ ἐσπονδάσθαι τῷ Τατιανῷ Προβλημάτων βιβλίον· δι' ἂν τὸ ἀσαφὲς καὶ ἐπικεκριμμένον τῶν θείων γραφῶν παραστήσεων ὑποσχομένου τοῦ Τατιανοῦ, αὐτὸς ὁ Ἦρωμης ἐν ἰδίῳ συγγράμματι τὰς τῶν ἐκείνων προβλημάτων ἐπιλύσεις ἐκθήσεθαι ἐπαγγέλλεται. φέρεται δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐξαίμερον ὑπόμνημα. ὁ γε τοῦ Ἀπελλῆς οὗτος μυρία κατὰ 9 τοῦ Μωυσέως ἠσέβησεν νόμου, διὰ πλείονων συγγραμμάτων τοὺς θείους βλασφημήσας λόγους εἰς ἐλεγχὸν τε, ὡς γε δὴ ἐδόκει, καὶ ἀνατροπὴν αὐτῶν οὐ μικρὰν πεποιημένος σπουδὴν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων·

XIV. Μισόκαλος γε μὴν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἑυπούργος ὃν ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ θεοῦ πολέμωσις, μηδένα τε μηδαμῶς τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπολυτῶν ἐπιβουλῆς τρόπον, αἱρέσεις ξένας αὐθίς ἐπιφύεσθαι κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐνήργηε· ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἱσθόλων δίκην ἔρπετῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ Φρυγίας είρητον, τὸν μὲν δὴ παράκλητον Μοντανόν, τὰς δὲ εἰς αὐτοῦ γυναῖκας, Πρίσκιλλαν καὶ Μαξιμίλλαν, ὡς ἄν τοῦ Μοντανοῦ προφήτηδας γεγονύσας, αὐχοῦντες· XV. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Ἦρωμης ἡκμαζοῦν, ὃν ἡγεῖτο Φλωρίνος, πρεσβυτέρου τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποστολῶν, Βλάστος τε σὺν τούτῳ, παραπλησίω πτώματι κατεσχημένος· οἱ καὶ πλείους τῆς ἐκκλησίας περιέλκοντες ἐπὶ τὸ σφῶν ὑπήγγον βούλημα, θάτερος ἰδίως περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν νευτερίζειν πειρώμενος.

XVI. Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὴν λεγομένην κατὰ Φρύγας αἱρεσιν ὅπλων ἱσχυρόν καὶ ἀκαταγώνιστον ἐπὶ τῆς
writer states that he had been himself a disciple of Tacitus at Rome, and he says that Tacitus had prepared a book on Problems, in which he undertook to set out what was unclear and hidden in the divine Scriptures, and Rhodo himself in his own work announces that he will set out the answers to Tacitus's Problems. There is also extant a treatise of Rhodo on the Hexaëmeron.¹ Apelles, however, uttered countless impieties against the law of Moses, and in many treatises blasphemed the divine words with no little zeal, as it seemed, for their refutation and overthrow, as he at least thought. So much then concerning these.

XIV. The enemy of the church of God, who hates good and loves deeply all that is wicked, left untried no kind of plot against men and again strove to raise up strange heresies against the church. Of these some like poisonous reptiles crawled over Asia and Phrygia, and boasted that Montanus was the Paraclete and that the women of his sect, Priscilla and Maximilla, were the prophetesses of Montanus. XV. Others flourished in Rome of which Florinus was the leader. He had been turned out of the presbytery of the church and with him was Blastus who had suffered a similar fall. These drew away more of the church and brought them to their own opinion, each trying to introduce innovations about the truth in his own way.

XVI. Against the so-called Cataphrygian² heresy the power which champions the truth raised up a powerful and invincible weapon at Hierapolis in

¹ That is, the Narrative of Creation in six days.
² i.e. Montanist.
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣ

'Ιεραπόλεως τού τ' Απολινάριον, οὗ καὶ πρόσθεν μνήμην ὁ λόγος πεποίητο, ἄλλους τε σὺν αὐτῷ πλείους τῶν τηνικάδε λογίων ἄνδρῶν ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας ύπέρμαχος ἀνίστη δύναμις, ἐξ δὲ καὶ ἤμιν ἱστορίας πλείστη τις ὑπόθεσις καταλέιπεται. ἀρχόμενος γοὺν τῆς κατ’ αὐτῶν γραφῆς, τῶν εἰρημένων δή τις πρώτων ἐπισημαίνεται ὡς καὶ ἀγράφους τοῖς κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐπεξέλθου ἐλέγχοις· προουπάλαται γοὺν τούτων τὸν τρόπον. "ἐκ πλείστου ὅσου καὶ ἱκανωτάτου χρόνου, ἀγαπητε Ἀνίρκιε Μάρκκελλε, ἐπιταχθεὶς ὑπὸ σοῦ συγγράψαι τινὰ λόγον εἰς τὴν τῶν κατὰ Μιλτιάδην λεγομένων αἴρεσιν, ἐφεκτικόντερον πως μέχρι νῦν διεκείμην, οὔκ ἀπορία τοῦ δύνασθαι ἐλέγχειν μὲν τὸ ψεύδος, μαρτυρεῖν δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, δεδιώς δὲ καὶ ἐξευλαβούμενος μὴ τῇ δόξῃ τισὶν ἐπισυγγράφειν ἡ ἐπιδιατάσσεσθαι τῷ τῆς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καυχῆς διαθήκης λόγῳ, ὡς μήτε προσθείσαι μήτε ἀφελεῖν δυνατὸν τῷ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτὸ πολυτεύεσθαι προηρημένω. προσφάτως δὲ γενόμενος ἐν Ἁγκυρᾷ τῆς Γαλατίας καὶ καταλαβὼν τὴν κατὰ τόπον ἐκκλησίαν ὑπὸ τῆς νέας ταύτης, οὐχ, ὡς αὐτὸς φασίν, προφητείας, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον, ὡς δειχθήσεται, ψευδοπροφητείας διατεθρυλημένην, καθ’ ὅσον δυνατὸν, τοῦ κυρίου παρασχόντος, περὶ αὐτῶν τε τούτων καὶ τῶν προτευμένων ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐκαστὰ τε διελέξθησαν ἡμέραις πλείοσον ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὡς τὴν μὲν ἐκκλησίαν ἀγαλλιάθηναι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐπιρρωθῆναι, τοὺς δ’ ἐξ ἐναντίας πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἀποκρουσθῆναι καὶ τοὺς ἀντιθέτους λυπηθῆναι. ἀξιοῦντον οὗ τῶν κατὰ τόπον πρεσβυτέρων ὅπως τῶν λεχθέντων κατὰ τῶν ἀντιδιατιθεμένων τῷ τῆς

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Apolinarius, who has already been mentioned in this work, and with him many others of the learned men of that time, from whom abundant material for history has been left to us. One of these at the beginning of his treatise against the Montanists indicates that he had also taken part in oral controversy against them. He writes a preface in this way: “For a long and protracted time, my dear Abercius Marcellus, I have been urged by you to compose a treatise against the sect of those called after Miltiades, but until now I was somewhat reluctant, not from any lack of ability to refute the lie and testify to the truth, but from timidity and scruples lest I might seem to some to be adding to the writings or injunctions of the word of the new covenant of the gospel, to which no one who has chosen to live according to the gospel itself can add and from which he cannot take away. But when I had just come to Ancyra in Galatia and perceived that the church in that place was torn in two by this new movement which is not, as they call it, prophecy but much rather, as will be shown, false prophecy, I disputed concerning these people themselves and their propositions so far as I could, with the Lord’s help, for many days continuously in the church. Thus the church rejoiced and was strengthened in the truth, but our opponents were crushed for the moment and our adversaries were distressed. Therefore the presbyters of the place asked me to leave some note of what had been said against the opponents of the

1 See Introduction, p. lv. Miltiades was apparently a leader of the Montanists.
2 This translates Schwartz’s emendation of ἐκτενέστατα instead of the impossible ἐκαστά τε.
αληθείας λόγω ὑπόμνημα τι καταλείπωμεν, παρόντος καὶ τοῦ συμπρεσβυτέρου ἡμῶν Ζωτικοῦ τοῦ Ὥσημον, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπράξαμεν, ἐπηγγειλάμεθα δὲ, ἐνθάδε γράψαντες, τοῦ κυρίου διδόντος, διὰ σπουδῆς πέμψειν αὐτοῖς.’

Ταῦτα καὶ ἐξῆς τούτως ἔτερα κατ’ ἀρχὰς εἶπὼν ἔτως τοῦ λόγου, τὸν αἴτιον τῆς δηλουμένης αἰρέσεως προὶν τούτον ἀνιστορεῖ τὸν τρόπον: ‘‘ἡ τοῖνυν ἐνστασις αὐτῶν καὶ πρόσφατος τῷ ἀποσχώσματος αἰρέσις πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς αἰτίαν ἐσχε τουαῦτην. κάμη τις εἶναι λέγεται εν τῇ κατὰ τὴν 7 Φρυγίαν Μυσία, καλουμένη Ἀρδαβατο τοῦνομα, ἐνθα φασὶ των νεοπίστων πρώτως, Μοντανὸν τοῦνομα, κατὰ Γρατὸν Ἀσίας αὐθύπατον, ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ ψυχῆς ἀμέτρου φιλοπρωτείας δόντα πάροδον εἰς ἑαυτὸν τῷ ἀντικειμένῳ πνευματοφορηθῆναι τε καὶ αἰφνιδίως εν κατοχῇ τινι καὶ παρεκτάσεις γενόμενον ἐνθουσιάν ἄρξασθαι τε λαλεῖν καὶ ἐνοφωνεῖν, παρὰ τὸ κατὰ παράδοσιν καὶ κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἀνωθεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔδωξ δῆθεν προφητεύοντα. τῶν δὲ κατ’ ἐκεῖνο καιρὸ ἐν τῇ τῶν 8 νόθων ἐκφωνημάτων ἀκρόασε γενομένων οἱ μὲν ὃς ἐπὶ ἐνεργομένως καὶ δαμωνώντω καὶ ἐν πλάνῃς πνεύματι ὑπάρχοντι καὶ τοὺς ὀχλοὺς τράβατοντι ἄχθομενοι, ἐπετίμωμεν καὶ λαλεῖν ἐκώλυνο, με- μνημένοι τῆς τοῦ κυρίου διαστολῆς τε καὶ ἀπελής πρὸς τὸ φιλάττεσθαι τὴν τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν ἐγγραφοτῶς παρουσίαν οἱ δὲ ὡς ἀγίων πνεύματι καὶ προφητικῷ χαρίσματι ἐπαιρόμενοι καὶ ὅπου ἥκιστα χανούμενοι καὶ τῆς διαστολῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἐπιλανθανόμενοι, τὸ βλασφήμον καὶ ὑποκρισικὸν καὶ λαοπλάνον πνεῦμα προουλούντο, θελόμενοι 474.
word of the truth, when Zoticus of Otrous, our fellow presbyter, was also present. Though we did not do so, we promised to write from home if the Lord permitted, and to send it to them speedily."

Continuing with other similar remarks at the beginning of his treatise, he proceeds to narrate as follows the cause of the heresy referred to:—"Their opposition and their recent heretical schism from the church had the following origin. In Phrygian Mysia there is said to be a village called Ardabav. There they say that a recent convert called Montanus, when Gratus was proconsul of Asia, in the unbounded lust of his soul for leadership gave access to himself to the adversary, became obsessed, and suddenly fell into frenzy and convulsions. He began to be ecstatic and to speak and to talk strangely, prophesying contrary to the custom which belongs to the tradition and succession of the church from the beginning. Of those who at that time heard these bastard utterances some were vexed, thinking that he was possessed by a devil and by a spirit of error, and was disturbing the populace; they rebuked him, and forbade him to speak, remembering the distinction made by the Lord, and his warning to keep watchful guard against the coming of the false prophets; but others, as though elevated by a holy spirit and a prophetic gift, and not a little conceited, forgot the Lord's distinction, and encouraged the mind-injuring and seducing and people-misleading
καὶ πλανώμενοι ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸ μηκέτι κωλύεσθαι σιωπᾶν. τέχνη δὲ τινὶ, μᾶλλον δὲ τοιαύτη μεθόδῳ ἡ κακοτεχνίας ὁ διάβολος τὴν κατὰ τῶν παρηκόμων ἀπώλειαν μηχανησάμενος καὶ παρ᾽ ἄξιαν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν τιμώμενος ὑπεξήγησεν τε καὶ προσεξέκαυσεν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀποκεκομιμημένην ἀπὸ τῆς κατ᾽ ἀλήθειαν πίστεως διάνοιαν, ὡς καὶ ἔτερας τινὰς δύο γυναῖκας ἐπεγείραι καὶ τοῦ νόθου πνεύματος πληρώσαι, ὡς καὶ λαλεῖν ἐκφρόνως καὶ ἀκαίρως καὶ ἀλλοτριοτρόπως, ὡμοίως τῷ προειρημένῳ. καὶ τοὺς μὲν χαίροντας καὶ χαυνομένους ἔπ᾽ αὐτῶ μακαρίζοντος τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ διὰ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν ἐπαγγελμάτων ἐκφυσιοῦντος, ἔσθ᾽ ὅτι δὲ καὶ κατακρίνοντος στοχαστικῶς καὶ ἀξιοπίστως αὐτοὺς ἄντικρυς, ἵνα καὶ ἐλεγκτικὸν εἶναι δοκῇ (ὅλιγοι δ᾽ ἤσαν οὕτω τῶν Φρυγῶν ἐξηπατημένοι), τὴν δὲ καθόλου καὶ πάσαν τὴν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκκλησίαν βλασφημεῖν διδάσκοντος τοῦ ἀπηθανασμένου πνεύματος, ὅτι μὴ τιμῇ μὴτε πάροδον εἰς αὐτὴν τὸ ψευδοπροφητικὸν ἐλάμβανεν πνεῦμα, τῶν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πιστῶν πολλάκις καὶ πολλαχῇ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τοῦτο συνελθόντων καὶ τοὺς προσφάτους λόγους ἐξετασάντων καὶ βεβήλους ἀποφημάντων καὶ ἀποδοκιμασάντων τὴν αἵρεσιν, οὕτω δὴ τῆς τε ἐκκλησίας ἐξεώσθησαν καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας εἰρηκθῆσαν.

'Ταῦτα ἐν πρώτοις ἱστορίσας καὶ δι᾽ ὅλου τοῦ συγγράμματος τὸν ἐλεγχὸν τῆς κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς πλάνης ἐπαγαγόν, ἐν τῷ δεύτερῳ περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς

1 The meaning is plain, though it is not quite clear whether the subject of the infinitives (κωλύεσθαι σιωπῶ) is Montanus or the “seducing spirit,” but there is a word too much in the 476
spirit, being cheated and deceived by it so that he could not be kept silent. But by some art, or rather by such an evil scheme of artifice, the devil wrought destruction for the disobedient, and receiving unworthy honours from them stimulated and inflamed their understanding which was already dead to the true faith; so that he raised up two more women and filled them with the bastard spirit so that they spoke madly and improperly and strangely, like Montanus. The spirit gave blessings to those who rejoiced and were proud in him, and puffed them up by the greatness of its promises. Yet sometimes it flatly condemned them completely, wisely, and faithfully, that it might seem to be critical, though but few of the Phrygians were deceived. But when the arrogant spirit taught to blaspheme the whole Catholic church throughout the world, because the spirit of false prophecy received from it neither honour nor entrance, for the Christians of Asia after assembling for this purpose many times and in many parts of the province, tested the recent utterances, pronounced them profane, and rejected the heresy,—then at last the Montanists were driven out of the church and excommunicated."

He tells this story at the beginning, and throughout the book continues the refutation of the error, but in the second book he speaks as follows about the Greek and either κωλύεσθαι or σωπάν must be an interpolation.

That is to say, the false spirit speaking through Montanus. It is important to notice that Abercius fully believed in the supernatural gift of Montanus but ascribed it to the Devil instead of to the Holy Spirit. It was the difficulty of distinguishing except on subjective grounds between these two sources of inspiration which led to so much trouble.
τών προδεδηλωμένων ταύτα φησιν· "ἐπειδὴ τούν ἐκατοπορχών προφήτας ἡμᾶς ἀπεκάλουν, ὅτι μὴ τοὺς ἀμετροθώνους οὐτῶν προφήτας ἐδεξάμεθα (τούτους γὰρ εἶναι φασὶν οὐσπερ ἐπηγγείλατο τῷ λαῷ πέμψειν ὁ κύριος), ἀποκρινάθηκαν ἡμῖν πρὸς θεοῦ· ἔστω τις, ὃς βέλτιστοι, τούτων τῶν ἀπὸ Μοντανοῦ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν λαλεῖν ἀρξαμένων ὡς ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔδωκεν τῇ ὑπὸ παρανόμων ἀπεκτάνθη; οὐδείς. οὐδὲ γέ τις αὐτῶν κρατήσει ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀνεσταυρώθη; οὐ γὰρ οὖν. οὐδὲ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐν συναγωγαῖς Ἰουδαίων τῶν γυναικῶν τις ἐμαστυγώθη ποτὲ ἢ ἐλυθροβολήθη; οὔδαμος οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλὰ δὲ θανάτῳ τελευτῆσαι λέγονται Μοντανὸς τό καὶ Μαζίμυλλα. τούτοις γὰρ ὑπὸ πνευμάτος βλασφήμονος ἐκατέρως ὑποκινήσαντος λόγος ἀναρτήσας ἐαυτοὺς οὐχ ὁμοῦ, κατὰ δὲ τὸν τῆς ἐκάστου τελευτής καιρὸν φήμη πολλὴ καὶ οὕτως δὲ τελευτῆσαι καὶ τὸν βίον καταστρέψαι Ἰουδαίον προδότου δίκην, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν θαυμαστὸν ἐκείνον τὸν πρώτου τῆς κατ’ αὐτοὺς λεγομένης προφητείας οὸν ἐπιτροπὸν τῶν Θεόδοτον πολὺς αἰρεῖ λόγος ὡς αἱρόμενον ποτε καὶ ἀναλαμβανόμενον εἰς οὐρανοῦ παρεκκλητὰς τε καὶ καταπιστεύοντο προφητείας τῶν ἐπίστολον νομίζωμεν, ὃς μακάρε· ἵσως μὲν γὰρ ὡς ὡς δὲ οὐχ ὡς τετελευτήσαντον Μοντανὸς τό καὶ Θεόδοτος καὶ ἡ προευριμένη γυνῆ." Ἀδεὶς δ' ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ φησιν λόγῳ τοὺς τότε ἱεροὺς ἐπισκόπους πεπειράσθαι μὲν τὸ ἐν τῇ 478
end of the persons referred to: "Since then they called us murderers of the prophets because we did not receive their chattering prophets (for they say that these are those whom the Lord promised to send to the people), let them answer us before God. Is there anyone, good people, of those whose talking began with Montanus and the women, who was persecuted by Jews or killed by the wicked? Not one. Or was there any one of them who was taken and crucified for the name? No, there was not. Or was any one of the women ever scourged in the synagogues of the Jews or stoned? Never anywhere. It was a different death that Montanus and Maximilla are said to have died; for the story goes that each of them was inspired by a mind-destroying spirit to commit suicide, though not together, and there was much gossip at the time of the death of each. But thus it was that they died, and destroyed their lives like the traitor Judas. So also general report says that a certain Theodotus, that remarkable man, the first steward as it were of their alleged prophecy, was sometimes taken up and raised to Heaven, when he fell into a trance and trusted himself to the spirit of deceit, but was hurled down and died miserably. They say, at least, that this happened thus. But not having seen them ourselves we do not claim to have any knowledge of such things, my friend, for perhaps Montanus and Theodotus and the above mentioned woman died in this way, but perhaps they did not."

Again in the same book he says that the sacred bishops of that time tried to refute the spirit that
EUSEBIUS

Μαξιμίλλης πνεῦμα διελέγξαι, κεκωλύσθαι δὲ πρὸς ἑτέρων, συνεργοῦντων δηλαδή τῷ πνεύματι γράφει 17. δὲ οὖτως: "καὶ μὴ λεγέτω ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ τῷ κατὰ Ἀστέριον Ὀρβανὸν τὸ διὰ Μαξιμίλλης πνεῦμα 'διώκομαι ὡς λύκος ἐκ προβάτων'. οὔκ εἰμὶ λύκος: ῥήμα εἰμὶ καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ δύναμις, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι δύναμιν ἐναργῶς δειξάτω καὶ ἐλεγξάτω καὶ ἑξομολογεῖσθαι διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος καταναγκασάτω τοὺς τότε παρόντας εἰς τὸ δοκιμάσαι καὶ διαλεχθῆναι τῷ πνεύματι λαλοῦντι, ἀνδρας δοκίμους καὶ ἐπισκόπους, Ζωτικὸν ἀπὸ Κουμάνης κόμης καὶ Ἰουλιανὸν ἀπὸ Ἄπαμειας, ὅν οἱ περὶ Θεμῖσσων τὰ στόματα φιμώσαντες οὐκ εἴσαν τῷ ψευδώς καὶ λαοπλάνον πνεῦμα ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐλεγχθῆναι."

Ἐν ταύτῳ δὲ πάλιν ἐτερα μεταξὺ πρὸς ἑλεγχον 18 τῶν τῆς Μαξιμίλλης ψευδοπροφητεῖων εἰπὼν, ὅμως τὸν τε χρόνον καθ’ ὅν ταῦτ’ ἔγραφεν, σημαίνει καὶ τῶν προφήτων ἐπίκειται δι’ ὃν πολέμους ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀκαταστασίας προειμαν- τεύσατο, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ψευδολογίαν εὐθύνει, ὡδε λέγων: "καὶ πῶς οὐ καταφανεὶ ἡδη γέγονεν καὶ 19 τούτῳ τῷ ψευδῷ; πλείω γὰρ ἡ τρισκαίδεκα ἐτή εἰς ταῦτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἕξ ὑπ’ ἀτελεύτηκεν ἡ γυνή, καὶ οὔτε μερικός οὔτε καθολικὸς κόσμῳ γέγονεν πόλεμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ Χριστιανὸς μᾶλλον εἰρήνη διάμονος ἐξ ἔλεου θεοῦ.

Καὶ ταῦτα δ’ ἐκ τοῦ δεύτερου συγγράμματος. 20 καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου δὲ σμικρὰς παραθήκομαι

1 Or possibly, Urbanus. Nothing is known about him, but Valesius thinks that the words "according to Asterius Orbanus" are a misplaced marginal note giving the name 480
was in Maximilla, but were prevented by others who plainly co-operated with the spirit, and he writes thus: "And let not the spirit which speaks through Maximilla say, in the same work according to Asterius Orbanus,¹ 'I am driven away like a wolf from the sheep. I am not a wolf, I am word and spirit and power.' But let him show clearly and prove the power in the spirit, and let him through the spirit force to recognize him those who were then present for the purpose of testing and conversing with the spirit as it spoke,—eminent men and bishops, Zoticus from the village Cumane, and Julian from Apamea, whose mouths the party of Themiso muzzled, and did not allow the false spirit which deceived the people to be refuted by them."

In the same book, again, after other refutations of the false prophecies of Maximilla, in a single passage he both indicates the time at which he wrote this, and quotes her predictions, in which she foretold future wars and revolutions, and he corrects the falsehood of them as follows: "Has it not been made obvious already that this is another lie? For it is more than thirteen years to-day since the woman died, and there has been in the world neither local nor universal war, but rather by the mercy of God continuing peace even for Christians." ²

This is from his second book. And from the third I will also quote a few words in which he speaks as of the writer of this treatise. The phrase certainly is awkward, but it seems equally possible that the text is right and that Asterius was the name of a Montanist writer.

² This probably means the period before the wars of Septimus Severus. There seem to have been no important wars in the reign of Commodus, and though there were some persecutions there were less than in the earlier reigns.
λέξεις, δι' ὄν πρὸς τοὺς αὐχοῦντας ὡς ἀρα πλείους καὶ αὐτῶν μεμαρτυρηκότες ἔδειν, ταῦτά φησιν· "ὦ ὅταν τοῖνυν ἐν πάσι τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐλεγχόντες ἀπορήσωσι, ἐπὶ τοὺς μάρτυρας καταφεύγειν πειράνται, λέγοντες πολλοὺς ἐξειν μάρτυρας καὶ τούτι εἶναι τεκμήριον πιστῶν τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς λεγομένου προφητικοῦ πνεύματος. τὸ δ' ἐστὶν ἀρα, ως ἐοικεῖν, παντὸς μᾶλλον οὐκ ἀληθές. καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων αἱρέσεων τινες πλείστους ὁσοὺς ἔχουσι μάρτυρας, καὶ οὐ παρὰ τούτῳ δήποτε συγκαταθησόμεθα, οὐδὲ ἀληθειάν ἐχειν αὐτοὺς ὀμολογήσομεν. καὶ πρώτωι γε οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Μαρκίωνος αἱρέσεως Μαρκιανισταὶ καλούμενοι πλείστους ὁσοὺς ἔχειν Χριστοῦ μάρτυρας λέγοντας, ἀλλὰ τὸν γε Χριστὸν αὐτὸν κατ' ἀληθείαν οὐχ ὀμολογοῦσιν."

Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα τούτων ἐπιφέρει λέγων· "ὦ ὅθεν τοι καὶ ἑπειδὰν οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς κατ' ἀληθείαν πίστεως μαρτύριον κληθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τύχωσι μετά τινων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Φρυγῶν αἱρέσεως λεγομένων μαρτύρων, διαφέρονται τε πρὸς αὐτούς καὶ μὴ κοινωνήσαντες αὐτοῖς τελειοῦνται διὰ τὸ μὴ βουλέσθαι συγκαταθῆσαι τῷ διὰ Μοντανοῦ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν πνεύματι. καὶ ὅτι τούτῳ ἀληθές, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἠμετέρων χρόνων ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ τῇ πρὸς Μαιάνδρῳ τυγχάνει γεγενημένον ἐν τοῖς περὶ Γάιον καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπὸ Εὐμενείας μαρτυρήσασι πρόδηλον."

XVII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ συγγράμματι καὶ Μυλιαδοῦ συγγραφέως μέμνηται, ὡς λόγον τινὰ καὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῆς προειρημένης αἱρέσεως γεγραφοτος· παραθέμενοι γοῦν αὐτῶν λέξεις τυνάς, 482
follows against those who boasted that they had had more martyrs. "So when they have been refuted in the whole discussion and have nothing to reply, they try to take refuge in martyrs, saying that they have many martyrs and that this is a trustworthy proof of the power of the alleged prophetic spirit among them. But this appears to be actually further from the truth than anything. For some of the other heresies have innumerable martyrs, but I do not suppose that we shall accept them for that reason, nor admit that they have the truth. In the first place, indeed, the so-called Marcianists of the heresy of Marcion say that they have innumerable martyrs to Christ but nevertheless Christ himself they do not confess according to truth."

And after a little he goes on as follows: "Wherefore whenever members of the church who have been called to martyrdom for the true faith meet any of the so-called martyrs of the Montanist heresy, they separate from them and die without communicating with them, because they refuse to agree with the spirit in Montanus and the women. And that this is true, and that it happened in our time in Apamea on the Meander, is shown by the case of those who were martyred with Gaius and Alexander of Eumeneia."

XVII. And in this work he also quotes Miltiades as a writer who had also himself written a treatise against the heresy mentioned. After quoting some
επιφέρει λέγων: "ταύτα εύρων ἐν τινι συγγράμματι αὐτῶν ἔνισταμένων τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδου τοῦ ἄδελφου συγγράμματι, ἐν ὧν ἀποδείκνυσιν περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν προφήτην ἐν ἐκστάσει λαλεῖν, ἐπετεμόμην." ὑπὸ-καταβάς δὲ ἐν ταύτῳ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν κακῆς διαθήκης προπεφητευκότας καταλέγει, ἐν οἷς καταρθηκεὶ Ἀμμίαν τινὰ καὶ Κοδράτον, λέγων οὕτως: "アルバム ἐν ψευδοπροφήτης ἐν παρεκκλάσει, ὃ ἐπεταὶ ἀδεια καὶ ἀφοβία, ἀρχομένου μὲν ἐξ ἐκούσιον ἀμαθίας, καταστρέφοντος δὲ εἰς ἀκοῦσιον μανιὰν ψυχῆς, ὃς προείρηται. τούτων δὲ τὸν τρόπον οὔτε 3 τινὰ τῶν κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν οὔτε τῶν κατὰ τὴν κακῆς πνευματοφορηθέντα προφήτην δεῖξαι δυνῆ-
ζουται, οὕτω Ἀγαβὸν οὔτε Ἰουνίαν οὔτε Σίλων οὔτε τὰς Φιλίππους θυγατέρας, οὔτε τὴν ἐν Φιλ-
αδέλφῳ Ἀμμίαν οὔτε Κοδράτον, οὔτε εἰ δὴ τινὰς ἀλλούς μηδὲν αὐτοῖς προσήκοντας καυχήθουσαι. καὶ αὕτης δὲ μετὰ βραχέα ταύτα φησιν: "εἰ γὰρ 4 μετὰ Κοδράτον καὶ τὴν ἐν Φιλαδέλφῳ Ἀμμίαν, ὃς φασιν, αἰ περὶ Μοντανὸν διεδέξαντο γυναῖκες τὸ προφητικὸν χάρισμα, τοὺς ἀπὸ Μοντανοῦ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τίνας πάρἀ αὐτοῖς διεδέξαντο, δειξάτωσαν δὲν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ προφητικὸν χάρισμα ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μέχρι τῆς τελείας παρουσίας ὁ ἀπόστολος ἡξίοι. ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιεν δεῖξαι τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτουν ἢδη που τοῦτο ἀτός ἀπὸ τῆς Μαξιμίλλης τελευτῆς."

Οὕτως μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα ὁ γε τοι πρὸς αὐτοῦ δὲ
dεδηλωμένοις Μιλτιάδης καὶ ἄλλας ἤμιν τῆς ἱδίας
περὶ τὰ θεία λόγια σπουδὴς μνήμας καταλέλοιπεν

1 Schwartz and almost all editors except McGiffert
emend this to Miltiades. This emendation certainly seems
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of their sayings he continues as follows: "I have
given this abstract of what I found in a work of
theirs when they were attacking the work of
Alcibiades the Christian in which he shows that a
prophet need not to speak in ecstasy." And he goes
on in the same work to give a catalogue of those
who have been prophets of the New Testament, and
among them he numbers a certain Ammia and
Quadratus and says thus: "But the false prophet
speaks in ecstasy, after which follow ease and
freedom from fear; he begins with voluntary ignor-
ance, but turns to involuntary madness of soul, as has
been said before. But they cannot show that any
prophet, either of those in the Old Testament or of
those in the New, was inspired in this way; they can
boast neither of Agabus, nor of Judas, nor of Silas,
nor of the daughters of Philip, nor of Ammia in
Philadelphia, nor of Quadratus, nor of any others
who do not belong to them." And again after a
little he goes on, "For if the Montanist women
succeeded to Quadratus and Ammia in Philadelphia
in the prophetic gift, let them show who among them
succeeded the followers of Montanus and the women,
for the apostle grants that the prophetic gift shall
be in all the church until the final coming, but this
they could not show, seeing that this is already the
fourteenth year from the death of Maximilla."

He, therefore, so writes. But the Miltiades men-
tioned by him has also left us other monuments of his
own zeal for the oracles of God in the treatises which
to be correct so far as historical fact is concerned, but the
evidence of the mss. seems equally to prove that the mistake
is due to Eusebius himself, and as such ought to appear in
the text. See Introduction, p. lv., and cf. McGiffert's note
ad loc.
ἐν τε οἶς πρὸς Ἑλληνας συνέταξε λόγοις καὶ τοῖς πρὸς Ἰουδαίοις, ἐκατέρα ἰδίως ὑποθέσει ἐν δυσὶν ὑπαντήσας συγγράμμασιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κοσμικοὺς ἄρχοντας ὑπὲρ ἢς μετήκει φιλοσοφίας πεποίηται ἀπολογίαν.

XVIII. Τῆς δὲ κατὰ Φρύγας καλομυνής αἱρεσιῶς καὶ Ἀπολλάνιος, ἐκκλησιαστικὸς συγγραφεύς, ἀκμαζούσης εἰς ἔτι τότε κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἔλεγχον ἐνστησάμενος, ἵνα καὶ οὕτως πεποίηται συγγραμμα, τὰς μὲν φερομένας αὐτῶν προφητείας ψευδείς οὕσας κατὰ λέξεις εὐθύνων, τὸν δὲ βίον τῶν τῆς αἱρέσεως ἀρχηγῶν ὁποῖος τις γέγονεν, διελέγχων· αὐτοῖς δὲ βῆμασιν περὶ τοῦ Μοντανοῦ ταῦτα λέγοντος ἄκουες· "Ἄλλα τίς ἐστιν οὗτος ὁ πρόσφατος διδάσκαλος, τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ διδασκαλία δείκνυσιν. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ διδάχας λύσεις γάμων, ὁ νηστείας νομοθετήσας, ὁ Πέπουζαν καὶ Τύμιον Ιεροσαλήμ ὀνομάσας (πόλεις δ' εἰσίν αὐται μικραί τῆς Φρυγίας), τοὺς παντοχόθεν ἐκεῖ συν- αγαγεῖν ἑθέλων, ὄπρακτήρας χρημάτων καταστήσας, ὁ ἐπ' ὀνόματι προσφορῶν τὴν δωροληψίαν ἐπιτεχνώμενος, ὁ σαλάρια χορηγῶν τοῖς κηρύσσουσιν αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον, ἵνα διὰ τῆς γαστρομαργίας ἡ διδασκαλία τοῦ λόγου κρατύνῃ." 

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ Μοντανοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν προφητίδων δὲ αὐτοῦ ὕποκαταβας οὕτω γράφει· "δείκνυμεν οὖν αὐτὰς πρῶτας τὰς προφητίδας ταῦτας, ἀν' οὗ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπηρώθησαν, τοὺς ἀνδρᾶς καταληπτοῦσαν. πῶς οὖν ἐθεύδοντο Πρίσκιλλαν παρθένον ἀποκαλοῦντες; εἴτ' ἐπιφερέων λέγων. "δοκεῖ σοι πᾶσα γραφή κωλύειν προφήτην λαμβάνειν δῶρα καὶ χρήματα; ὅταν οὖν ἵδω τὴν
he composed against the Gentiles and against the Jews, treating each subject separately in two treatises, and besides this he wrote an Apology to the secular rulers on behalf of the philosophy which he held.

XVIII. Apollonius also, a writer of the church when the so-called Montanist heresy was still flourishing in Phrygia, composed a refutation and published it as a separate work against them, proving word by word that their alleged prophecies are false and showing the true character of the life of the leaders of the heresy. Listen to the actual words which he uses about Montanus. "But the deeds and the teachings of this recent teacher show his character. It is he who taught the annulment of marriage, who enacted fasts, who gave the name of Jerusalem to Pepuza and Tymion, which are little towns in Phrygia, and wished to hold assemblies there from everywhere, who appointed collectors of money, who organized the receiving of gifts under the name of offerings, who provided salaries for those who preached his doctrine in order that its teaching might prevail through gluttony."

So he says about Montanus. And a little further on he writes thus about the prophetesses. "Thus we prove that these first prophetesses themselves deserted their husbands from the moment that they were filled with the spirit. What a lie it is then for them to call Priscilla a virgin." Then he goes on saying: "Does not all Scripture seem to you to forbid a prophet from receiving gifts and money?"
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προφήτων εἰληφώντων καὶ χρυσον καὶ ἀργυρον καὶ πολυτελείς έσθήτας, πώς αὐτήν μὴ παραίτησομαι.''

Αὖθις δ' ύποκαταβὰς περὶ τινος τῶν καὶ αὐτούς ὀμολογήτων ταύτα φησιν. ''ἔτι δὲ καὶ Θεμίσων, ὁ τὴν ἀξιόπιστον πλεονεξίαν ἡμιφιεσμένος, ὁ μὴ βαστάσας τῆς ὀμολογίας τὸ σημεῖον, ἀλλὰ πλήθει χρημάτων ἀποθέμενος τὰ δεσμά, δέον ἐπὶ τούτω ταπεινοφρονεῖν, ὡς μάρτυς καιρομένος, ἐτόλμησεν, μιμούμενος τὸν ἀπόστολον, καθολικὴν τινα συνταξάμενος ἐπιστολήν, κατηχεῖν μὲν τοὺς ἀμείνον αὐτὸν πεπιστευκότας, συναγωγιζόμεθα δὲ τοῖς τῆς κενοφωνίας λόγοις, βλασφημήσαι δὲ εἰς τὸν κύριον καὶ τοὺς ἁπαστόλους καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν,' καὶ περὶ ἔτερον δὲ αὖθις τῶν καὶ αὐτοὺς τετμιμημένων ὡς δὴ μαρτύρων οὕτω γραφεῖν: ''ἳνα δὲ μὴ περὶ πλεονῶν λέγωμεν, ἡ προφήτης ἢμῖν εἰσπάτω τὰ κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον, τὸν λέγοντα ἕαυτὸν μάρτυρα, ὃ συνεστιάται, ὃ προσκυνοῦσιν καὶ αὐτῷ πολλοὶ. οὗ τὰς ληστείας καὶ τὰ ἀλλα τολμήματα ἔφ' ὦς κεκόλασται, οὐχ ἢμᾶς δεῖ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ ὁ ὅπισθόδομος ἔχει. τὸς οὖν τὸν χαρίζεται τὰ ἀμαρτήματα; πότερον ὁ προφήτης τὰς ληστείας τῷ μάρτυρι ἢ τὸ μάρτυς τῷ προφήτῃ τὰς πλεονεξίας; εἰρηκότος γὰρ τοῦ κυρίου μὴ κτήσῃσθε χρυσὸν μήτε ἄργυρον μηδὲ δύο χιτώνας, οὐτοὶ πάν τούναντιν πεπλημμελήκασιν περὶ τῶν τούτων τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων κτήσεις. δεῖξομεν γὰρ τοὺς λεγομένους παρ' αὐτοῖς προφήτας καὶ

1 This is the text of all mss. except one which reads "the prophet." Probably this is a correction, but the context shows that it is right and that the reference is to Themisios. Apparently Themisios and Alexander lived together.

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fore when I see that the prophetess has received gold and silver and expensive clothes, how should I refrain from blaming her?"

Then further on he says this about one of their confessors: "Moreover, Themiso too, who was garbed with specious covetousness, who did not endure the sign of confession but exchanged prison for wealth when he ought to have been humble-minded on this account, and boasted that he was a martyr, dared, in imitation of the apostle, to compose an epistle general, to instruct those whose faith was better than his, and to contend with empty sounding words and to blaspheme against the Lord and the apostles and the holy church." And again he writes thus about another of those who were honoured among them as martyrs: "But in order that we may not speak about more of them, let the prophetess\(^1\) tell us the story of Alexander, who calls himself a martyr, with whom she joins in revels, to whom many pay reverence. We need not tell of his robberies and the other crimes for which he has been punished, but the record-house\(^2\) has them. Which then forgives the other's sins? Does the prophet absolve the martyr of robbery or the martyr forgive the prophet for avarice? For the Lord said, 'Provide neither gold nor silver nor two coats'; but these, doing wholly otherwise, have transgressed by the acquisition of these forbidden things. For we will show that their so-called prophets and martyrs make

\(^2\) ὤπισθόδομος, literally "back room." It originally referred to a back room in the temple of Athena on the Acropolis at Athens which was used as the treasury, and it was afterwards extended to any room used for this or similar public purposes.
μάρτυρας μη μόνον παρὰ πλουσίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πτωχῶν καὶ ὁρφανῶν καὶ χηρῶν κερματίζομένους. καὶ εἰ πεποίησον ἔχουσιν, στήτωσαν ἐν 8 τούτῳ καὶ διορισάσθωσαν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἵνα ἐὰν ἐλεγχθῶσιν, κἂν τὸν λοιπὸν παύσωσαι πλημμελοῦντες. δεὶ γὰρ τοὺς καρποὺς δοκιμάζεσθαι τοῦ προφήτου· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ ξύλον 9 γυνώσκεται. ἵνα δὲ τοῖς βουλομένοις τὰ κατὰ Ἁλέξανδρον ἑ γνώριμα, κέκριται ὑπὸ Αἰμιλίου Φροντίνου ἀνθυπάτου ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, οὐ διὰ τὸ ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀς ἔτολμησεν ληστεῖας, ὥν ἤδη παραβάτης· εἰ ἐπιψευσάμενος τῷ ὁνόματι τοῦ κυρίου, ἀπολέλυται, πλανήσας τοὺς ἐκεῖ πιστοὺς, καὶ ἡ ἴδια παροικία αὐτῶν, ὅθεν ἦν, οὐκ ἐδέξατο διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτῶν ληστήν, καὶ οἱ θέλοντες μαθεῖν τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἔχουσιν τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας δημόσιον ἀρχεῖον· ὅν ὁ προφήτης συνόντα πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἄγνοει. τοῦτον ἐλέγχοντες ἴμείς, δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔξω-ελέγχομεν τοῦ προφήτου. τὸ ὄμοιον ἐπὶ πολλῶν δυνάμεθα ἀποδείξει, καὶ εἰ ταρρύσου, ὑπομεινά-τωσαν τὸν ἔλεγχον."
gain not only from the rich but from the poor and from orphans and widows. And if they have the courage let them stop at this point and discuss these matters in order that if they are convicted they may at least cease transgressing for the future. For it is necessary to test the fruits of the prophet, for from the fruits the tree is known. But, that the story of Alexander may be known to those who wish, he was convicted by Aemilius Pompinus, proconsul in Ephesus, not for being a Christian but for his daring robberies, and he was an old offender. Then, by falsely claiming the name of the Lord he was released, having deceived the Christians there, and his own dioecese from which he came would not receive him because he was a robber, and those who wish to learn his story have the public records of Asia at their disposition.¹ The prophet is ignorant about him though he lived with him for many years, but we have exposed him, and through him expose also the nature of the prophet. We can show the same in many instances, and, if they dare, let them stand the test.”

And again in another part of the book he says this about their boasted prophets: “If they deny that their prophets have taken gifts let them admit this, that if they have been convicted, they are not true prophets, and we will give countless proofs of this. But it is necessary to test all the fruits of a prophet. Tell me, does a prophet dye his hair? Does he pencil his eyelids? Does he love ornaments? Does he gamble and dice? Does he lend money? Let them state

¹ The story is an interesting parallel to Lucian’s account of Peregrinus.
τερον ἔξεστιν ἥ μή, ἐγὼ δ' ὅτι γέγονεν παρ' αὐτοῖς, δείξω."'

"Ο δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος Ἀπολλώνιος κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἵστος ὁμολογεῖ ὡς ἂρα τεσσαρακοστῶν ἐπτύχανεν ἔτος ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ συγγράμματος αὐτοῦ γραφήν ἐξ οὗ τῇ προστοιῆτω αὐτοῦ προφητείᾳ ὁ Μουτανὸς ἐπικεχείρηκεν, καὶ πάλιν φησίν ὡς ἂρα Ζωτικός, οὗ καὶ ὁ πρότερος συγγραφέως ἐκ μνημόνευσεν, ἐν Πεπούζω ἐπροφητεύειν δὴ προσποιουμένης τῆς Μαξιμῆς ἐπιστὰς διελέγει τὸ ἐνεργοῦν ἐν αὐτῇ πνεῦμα πεπείραται, ἐκωλύθη γε μὴν πρὸς τῶν τὰ ἐκείνης φρονοῦντων. καὶ Ὁρασέα δὲ των τότε μαρτύρων μνημονεύει. ἔτι δὲ 14 ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν σωτηρία φήσιν προστετάχει τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀποστόλους ἐπὶ δώδεκα ἔτεσιν μή χωρισθῆναι τῆς Ἰερουσαλήμ, κέχρηται δὲ καὶ μαρτυρίας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου Ἀποκαλύψεως, καὶ νεκρὸν δὲ δυνάμει δεῖ διαφανὺς αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ ἐγγεγέρθαι ἵστορεῖ, καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ φήσιν, δὴ ὁν ἰκανῶς τῆς προειρημένης αἰρέσεως πληρέστατα διηύθυνεν τὴν πλάνην. ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος.

XIX. Τῶν δὲ Ἀπολιναρίου κατὰ τῆς δηλωθείσης 1 αἰρέσεως μνήμην πεποίητα Σεραπίων, ὅπι ἐπὶ τῶν δηλομένων χρόνων μετὰ Μαξιμῆν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησίας γενέθθαι κατέχει λόγος· μέμνηται δ' αὐτοῦ ἐν ἱδίᾳ ἐπιστολῆς τῇ πρὸς Καρικὸν καὶ Πόντιον, ἐν ἐκ δευτερών καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτὴν αἰρέσιν, ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα· "ὅπως δὲ 2 καὶ τούτῳ εἴδητε ὅτι τῆς ψευδοὺς ταῦτας τάξεως τῆς ἐπικαλομένης νέας προφητείας ἐβδέλυκται ἡ ἐνεργεῖα παρὰ πάση τῇ ἐν κόσμῳ ἀδελφότητι, 492
whether these things are right or not, and I will show that they have been done among them."

This same Apollonius in the same book says that it was forty years from the time when Montanus plotted his fictitious prophecy, to the time when he wrote his book. And again he says that Zotieus, whom the former writer mentioned, when Maximilla pretended to prophesy in Pepuza had tried in opposition to confute the spirit which worked in her, but was prevented by those who agreed with her. He also mentions a certain Thraseas 1 as one of the martyrs of that time. Moreover, he says, as though from tradition, that the Saviour ordered his apostles not to leave Jerusalem for twelve years. He also makes quotations from the Apocalypse of John and tells how by divine power a dead man was raised by John himself at Ephesus. And he says other things by which he demonstrated powerfully and completely the error of the heresy under discussion. So far says Apollonius.

XIX. Tradition says that Serapion was bishop of Antioch after Maximinus at the time referred to, and he has mentioned the works of Apolinarius against the heresy described. He mentions him in his own letter to Carieus and Pontius, in which he also himself refutes the same heresy, and continues thus: "And in order that you may know this, that the working of the so-called new prophecy of this false order is abominated in the whole of Christendom

1 Cf. H.E. v. 24.
πέπομφα ύμιν καὶ Κλαυδίου Ἀπολυτρίον, τοῦ μακαριστάτου γενομένου ἐν Ἰεραπόλει τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπισκόπου, γράμματα." ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ τοῦ τόσον Ἀστικών ἐπιστολῇ καὶ ὑποσκευώνεις φέρονται διαφόρων ἐπισκόπων, ὅπερ ὁ μὲν τίς ὧδε πως ὑποσχέμενοι "Ἀὐρήλιος Κυρίνιος μάρτυς ἐρωθείς, ὁ δὲ τις τούτον τοῦ τρόπουν. "Αὐλίος Πούπλιος Ἰουλίου ἀπὸ Δεβελτοῦ κολωνίας τῆς Θράκης ἐπίσκοπος. ζηθεὶς δὲ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὅτι Σωτῶς ὁ μακάριος ἐν Ἀγχιάλῳ ήθελεῖς τὸν δαίμονα τὸν Προσκύλλης ἐκβαλεῖν, καὶ οἱ ὑποκρητικά οὐκ ἀφήκαν." καὶ ἄλλων δὲ πλειόνων τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἐπισκόπων συμπλήρων τούτοις ἐν τοῖς δηλωθένιοις γράμμασιν αὐτογράφοι φέρονται σημειώσεις. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τούτους ἦν τουαῦτα.

XX. Ἐξ έναντίας δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ Ρώμης τὸν ύμηὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας θεσμὸν παραχαραττόντων, Εἰρηναῖος διαφόρους ἐπιστολὰς συντάττει, τὴν μὲν ἐπιγράψας Πρὸς Βλάστον περὶ σχίσματος, τὴν δὲ Πρὸς Φλωρίνων περὶ μοναρχίας ἡ περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι τοῦ θεὸν ποιητὴν κακῶν. ταύτης γάρ τοῦ τῆς γνώμης οὕτως ἐδοκεῖ προοπτίζειν. δὲ ἃν αὕτης ὑποσφύγομεν τῇ κατὰ Οὐσαλεντῖνον πλάνη καὶ τὸ Περὶ ὁγδοάδος συντάττεις τῇ Εἰρηναίῳ ὁποῦδασμα, ἐν ὧδε καὶ ἐπισκεψάται τῆς πρώτης τῶν ἀποστόλων κατ- ειληφέναι ἑαυτὸν διαδοχῆς. ἐνθα πρὸς τῷ τοῦ συν- γράμματος τέλει χαριστάτην αὐτοῦ σημείους εὐρότητας, ἀναγκαίως καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ δικαλεσμένῃ τῇ γραφῇ, τούτων ἐχουσιν τὸν τρόπον. "ὅρκιζω σε τὸν μεταγραφόμενον τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἤμων Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἐνδόξου παρουσίας αὐτοῦ, ἢς ἔρχεται κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ 494
throughout the world, I have sent you the writings of Claudius Apolinarius, the bishop of Hierapolis in Asia, of blessed memory." And in this letter of Serapion there are preserved the signatures of various bishops, of whom one signed himself "I, Aurelius Cyrenaeus, a martyr, pray for your welfare." Another as follows: "I, Aelius Publius Julius, bishop of Debeltum, a colony of Thrace. As God lives in the heavens the blessed Sotas in Anchialus wished to drive the devil out of Priscilla and the hypocrites would not let him." The autograph signatures of many other bishops who agreed with them are also preserved in the above mentioned writing. So far concerning them.

XX. In opposition to those in Rome who were discarding the sound ordinance of the church, Irenaeus composed various letters. He addressed one to Blastus On Schism, another to Florinus, On the Sole Sovereignty \(^1\) or That God is not the Author of Evil, for Florinus seemed to be defending this opinion. For his sake too, when he was attracted by the Valentinian error, a work was composed by Irenaeus On the Ogdoad,\(^2\) in which he also indicates that he had himself received the first succession of the apostles, and in it, at the end of the work, we find a most acceptable notice from him which we are obliged to give in this book and it runs as follows: "I adjure thee, who shalt copy out this book, by our Lord Jesus Christ, by his glorious advent when he comes to judge the living and the dead, that thou

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\(^1\) The \(\mu o v r \varphi \lambda \) became the technical term for the assertion of the Unity of the Godhead, without—as it was thought—due regard to the reality of the Persons of the Trinity, though "Person" (or \(\nu \tau \delta \sigma \tau \alpha \iota \iota \) was not yet used in this sense.

\(^2\) Some Gnostics regarded God as eightfold.
νεκρούς, ἵνα ἀντιβάλητο μετεγράψω, καὶ κατ-ορθώσης αὑτὸ πρὸς τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦτο ὧν 
μετεγράψῳ, ἐπιμελῶς· καὶ τὸν ὄρκον τοῦτον ὁμοίως 
μεταγράψεις καὶ θήσεις ἐν τῷ ἀντίγράφῳ." καὶ τὰ 
ταῦτα δὲ ὅφελίμως ὑπ’ ἐκείνου λελέχθω πρὸς 
ἡμῶν τε ἵπτερείσθω, ὡς ἂν ἔχομεν ἀριστον 
σπουδαιοτάτης ἐπιμελείας τοὺς ἀρχαίους ἐκείνους 
καὶ ὦντως ἱεροῦς ἄνδρας ὑπόδειγμα.

Ἐν ᾧ γε μὴν προειρήκαμεν πρὸς τὸν Φλωρίνον 
ὁ Εἰρηναῖος ἐπιστολή αὕτης τῆς ἀμα Πολυκάρπῳ 
συνουσίας αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει, λέγων· "ταῦτα τὰ 
δόγματα, Φλωρίνε, ἵνα πεθερισμένως ἐίπω, οὐκ 
ἐστι νῦνοις γνώμης· ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα ἀσύμφωνα 
ἐστιν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰς τὴν μεγίστην ἁσέβειαν περι- 
βάλλοντα τοὺς πειθομένους αὐτοῖς· ταῦτα τὰ 
δόγματα οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας αἱρετικοὶ 
ἐτόλμησαν ἀποφήμισθαι ποτε· ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα 
οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις 
συμφανέεισαν, οὐ παρέδωκάν σοι. εἶδον γάρ 
σε, παῖς ἐτὶ ἁν, ἐν τῇ κάτω Αἰσίᾳ παρὰ 
Πολυκάρπῳ, λαμπρῶς πράσσοντα ἐν τῇ 
βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ καὶ πειρώμενον εὐδοκιμεῖν 
παρ’ αὐτῷ. μᾶλλον 
γὰρ τὰ τότε διαμνημονεύω τῶν ἐναγχος γινομένων 
(αἱ γὰρ εἰ παῖδων μαθήσεις συναύξουσαι τῇ 
ψυχῇ, ἑ 

νοῦν, ὥστε με δύνασθαι εἰπεῖν καὶ τὸν 
τόπον ὑ ḗ καθεξόμενος διελέγετο ὁ μακάριος 
Πολύκαρπος, καὶ τὰς προόδους αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς 
εἰσόδους καὶ τὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦ βίου καὶ τὴν τοῦ 
σώματος ἵδειν καὶ τὰς διαλέξεις ὡς ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς 
τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τὴν μετὰ Ἰωάννου συναναστροφὴν 
ὡς ἀπήγγέλλει καὶ τὴν μετὰ τῶν λυπῶν τῶν 
ἔορακότων τῶν κύριον, καὶ ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευεν τοὺς 
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compare what thou shalt transcribe and correct it
with this copy whence thou art transcribing, with all
care, and thou shalt likewise transcribe this oath
and put it in the copy." May his words be spoken
to our profit and be narrated in order that we may
keep those primitive and truly sacred men as the
best example of the most zealous care.

In the letter to Florinus, which we have spoken of
above, Irenaeus again mentions his intercourse with
Polycarp, and says: "These opinions, O Florinus,
that I may speak sparingly, do not belong to sound
document. These opinions are inconsistent with the
church, and bring those who believe in them into
the greatest impiety. These opinions not even the
heretics outside the church ever dared to proclaim.
These opinions those who were presbyters before us,
they who accompanied the apostles, did not hand on to
you. For while I was still a boy I knew you in lower
Asia in Polycarp's house when you were a man of
rank in the royal hall and endeavouring to stand
well with him. I remember the events of those days
more clearly than those which happened recently,
for what we learn as children grows up with the soul
and is united to it, so that I can speak even of the
place in which the blessed Polycarp sat and disputed,
how he came in and went out, the character of his
life, the appearance of his body, the discourses which
he made to the people, how he reported his inter-
course with John and with the others who had seen
the Lord, how he remembered their words, and what
λόγους αυτῶν, καὶ περὶ τοῦ κυρίου τίνα ἢν ἀ παρ’ ἐκείνων ἀκηκόει, καὶ περὶ τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ, καὶ περὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας, ὡς παρὰ τῶν αὐτοπτῶν τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ λόγου παρειλήφως ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἀπῆγγελθεν πάντα σύμφωνα ταῖς γραφαῖς. ταῦτα ταῦτα καὶ τότε διὰ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ γεγονός σπουδαῖως ἤκουσαν, ὑπομνηματιζόμενοι αὐτὰ ὀνύχτηρη, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ καρδίᾳ· καὶ ἀεὶ διὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ γνησίως αὐτὰ ἀναμαρυκώμαι, καὶ δύναμαι διαμαρτύρασθαι ἐμπρόσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι εἰ τοιούτων ἀκηκόει ἐκείνος ὁ μακάριος καὶ ἀποστολικὸς πρεσβύτερος, ἀνακράξας ὡς καὶ ἐμφράξας τὰ ὅσα αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὸ σύνθες αὐτῷ εἰπὼν ὡς καλεῖ θεῖ, εἰς οἰδὼς με καρποὺς τετήρηκας, ἵνα τούτων ἀνέχωμαι, πεφεύγει ἐν καὶ τὸν τόπον ὅν καθεξόμενος ἢ ἐστώς τῶν τοιούτων ἀκηκόει λόγων. καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ ὃν ἐπέστειλεν ἦτοι ταῖς γειτνώσαις ἐκκλησίαις, ἐπιστηρίζων αὐτὰς, ἢ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τισί, νοθετῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ προτρεπόμενος, δύναται φανερωθῆναι." ταῦτα ὁ Ἐφραίμοι.

XXI. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τῆς Κομόδου βασιλείας ἐν χρόνον μεταβέβλητο μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ πρᾶξαν τὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς, εἰρήνης σὺν θείας χάριτι τὰς καθ’ ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμενῆς διαλαβοῦσά ἐκκλησίας· ὅτε καὶ ὁ σωτήριος λόγος ἐκ παντὸς γένους ἀνθρώπων πᾶσαν ὑπήγετο ψυχὴν ἐπὶ τὴν εὐσεβὴ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ θρησκείαν, ὡς ἡδή καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης εὗ μᾶλα πλούτω καὶ γένει διαφανῶν πλείους ἐπὶ τὴν σφῶν ὁμοσε χωρεῖν πανοικεῖ τε καὶ παγγενεῖ σωτηρίαν. οὐκ ἢν δὲ ἀρα τοῦτο τῷ μισοκάλω δαίμονι βασιλέως 2 ταυτὶ τὴν φύσιν οἰστὸν, ἀπεδύετο δ’ ὃν εἰς αἰθίος, 498
were the things concerning the Lord which he had heard from them, and about their miracles, and about their teaching, and how Polycarp had received them from the eyewitnesses of the word of life, and reported all things in agreement with the Scriptures. I listened eagerly even then to these things through the mercy of God which was given me, and made notes of them, not on paper but in my heart, and ever by the grace of God do I truly ruminate on them, and I can bear witness before God that if that blessed and apostolic presbyter had heard anything of this kind he would have cried out, and shut his ears, and said according to his custom, 'O good God, to what time hast thou preserved me that I should endure this?' He would have fled even from the place in which he was seated or standing when he heard such words. And from his letters which he sent either to the neighbouring churches, strengthening them, or to some of the brethren, exhorting and warning them, this can be made plain." So says Irenaeus.

XXI. And at the same time in the reign of Commodus our treatment was changed to a milder one, and by the grace of God peace came on the churches throughout the whole world. The word of salvation began to lead every soul of every race of men to the pious worship of the God of the universe, so that now many of those who at Rome were famous for wealth and family turned to their own salvation with all their house and with all their kin. This was unendurable to the demon who hates good, envious as he is by nature, and he again stripped for conflict,
EUSEBIUS

ποικίλας τάς καθ’ ἡμῶν μηχανάς ἐπιτεχνώμενος. ἐπὶ γοῦν τῆς Ἄρωμαίων πόλεως Ἀπολλώνιου, ἄνδρα τῶν τότε πιστῶν ἐπὶ παιδεία καὶ φιλοσοφία βεβοημένον, ἐπὶ δικαστήριον ἄγει, ἡμίν γὰρ τῶν εἰς ταῦτ’ ἐπιτηδείων αὐτώ διακόνων ἐπὶ κατηγορίᾳ τάνδρος ἐγείρας. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν δείλας παρὰ καυρὸν τῆς δίκης εἰςελθὼν, ὅτι μὴ ξῆν ἔξον ἡν κατὰ βασιλικοῦ ὀρὸν τῶν τοιῶνδε μηνυτάς, αὐτίκα κατεάγνυται τὰ σκέλη. Περεννίον δικαστοῦ τοιαύτην κατ’ αὐτοῦ ψῆφου ἀπενέγκαντος. ὁ δὲ γε θεο- φιλέστατος μάρτυς, πολλὰ λυπαρῶς ἰκετεύσαντος τοῦ δικαστοῦ καὶ λόγων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς συγκλήτου θρούρει πίστεως ἐπὶ πάντων παρασχὼν ἀπολογίαν, κεφαλικὴ κολάσει ὡς ἄν ἄπο δόγματος συγκλήτου τελειώται, μηδ’ ἀλλ’ ἀφείσθαι τοὺς ἀπαξ ἐἰς δικαστήριον παριόντας καὶ μηδαμῶς τῆς προ- θέσεως μεταβαλλομένους ἁρχαίου παρ’ αὐτοῖς νόμου κεκρατηκότος. τούτου μὲν ὡς τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ δικαστοῦ φωνᾶς καὶ τῶν ἀποκρίσεως δὲς πρὸς πεύκων πεπόιητο τοῦ Περεννίου, πᾶσαν τε τῆς πρὸς τὴν συγκλήτον ἀπολογίαν, ὅτ’ διαγνώναι φίλον, ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἁρχαίων μαρτύρων συναχθείσης ἡμῶν ἄναγραφῆς εἰσεται.

XXII. Δεκάτῳ γε μην τῆς Κομῳδοῦ βασιλείας ἐτει δέκα πρὸς τρισεν ἐτεσιν τὴν ἐπισκόπην λε- λειτουργηκότα 'Ελεύθερον διαδέχεται Βίκτωρ. ἐν Ὑ καὶ 'Ιουλιανοῦ δέκατον ἐτος ἀποπλήσαντος, τῶν κατ’ 'Αλεξάνδρειαν παροικιῶν τὴν λειτουργίαν ἐγχειρίζεται Δημήτριος καθ’ ὦς καὶ τῆς 'Ἀντιοχείας ἐκκλησίας οὐδοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ πρόσθεν ἡδῆ δεδηλωμένος ἐτὶ τότε Σεραπίων 500

and prepared various devices against us. In the city of the Romans he brought before the court Apollonius, a man famous among the Christians of that time for his education and philosophy, and raised up to accuse him one of his servants who was suitable for this. But the coward entered the case at a bad time, for according to imperial decree informers on such points were not allowed to live; so they broke his legs at once, for the judge Perennius decreed this sentence against him. But the martyr, beloved of God, when the judge earnestly begged and prayed him to defend himself before the senate, made before every one a most learned defence of the faith for which he was a martyr, and was consecrated by beheading as if by decree of the senate; for an ancient law obtained among them that there should be no other issue for the case of those who once appeared before the court and did not change their opinion. The words of Apollonius before the judge and the answers which he made to the interrogation of Perennius, and all the defence which he made to the senate, can be read by anyone who wishes in the compilation which we have made of the ancient martyrs.¹

XXII. In the tenth year of the reign of Commodus ² Victor succeeded Eleutherus who had served in the episcopate thirteen years. In the same year Julian had completed his tenth year, and Demetrius was appointed to the administration of the Alexandrian dioceses, and at the same time the famous Serapion, whom we mentioned before, was bishop of the church

¹ See Introduction, p. xxiii. The facts as to Apollonius are obscure; but the servant was probably executed in accordance with the law against slaves who betrayed their masters.

² That is, in A.D. 189.
ἐπίσκοπος ἐγνωρίζετο. Καυσαρείας δὲ τῆς Παλαι-στίνων ἤγειτο Θεόφιλος, καὶ Νάρκισσος δὲ ὁμοίως, οὐ καὶ πρόσθεν ὁ λόγος μνήμην ἐπούησατο, τῆς ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωι ἐκκλησίας ἔτι τότε τὴν λειτουργίαν εἶχεν, Κορίνθου δὲ τῆς καθ’ Ἑλλάδα κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπίσκοπος ἦν Βάκχυλλος καὶ τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παροικίας Πολυκράτης. καὶ ἄλλου δ’, ὃς γε εἰκός, ἐπὶ τούτους μυρίοι κατὰ τοῦσδε διετρεπον ἄν γε μὴν ἐγγραφός ἢ τῆς πίστεως εἰς ἡμᾶς κατηλθεῖν ὀρθοδοξία, τούτους εἰκότως ὀνομαστὶ κατελέξαμεν.

XXIII. Ζητήσεως δήτα κατὰ τοῦσδε οὐ σμικρᾶς ἡ ἀνακινηθείσης, ὅτι δὴ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης αἱ παροικίαι ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀρχαιοτέρας σελήνης τὴν τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτην ὄντος δεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ σωτηρίου πάσχα ἔορτῆς παραφυλάττειν, ἐν ἢ θύει τῷ πρόβατον Ἰουδαίοις προηγόρευτο, ὡς δέον ἐκ παντὸς κατὰ ταύτην, ὁποία δὰν ἡμέρα τῆς ἐβδομάδος περιτυγχάνοι, τὰς τῶν ἀστίων ἐπιλύσεις ποιεῖσθαι, οὐκ ἔθους ὄντος τούτου ἐπιτελεῖν τὸν τρόπον ταῖς ἀνὰ τὴν λοιπὴν ἀπασαν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησίας, ἐξ ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως τὸ καὶ εἰς δεύρο κρατήσαν ἔθος φιλαττούσαις, ὡς μηδ’ ἑτέρα προσήκειν παρὰ τὴν τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἡμέρα τὰς νηστείας ἐπιλύσεις, σύνοδοι δὴ καὶ συγκροτήσεις ἐπισκόπων ἐπὶ 2 ταύτων ἐγίνοντο, πάντες τε μιᾷ γνώμη δι’ ἐπιστολῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν δόγμα τοὺς πανταχῶς διετυπώντο ὡς ἄν μηδ’ ἐν ἀλλή ποτὲ τῆς κυριακῆς ἡμέρα τὸ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως ἐπιτελοῦτο τοῦ κυρίου μυστήριον, καὶ ὅπως ἐν ταύτῃ μόνη τῶν κατὰ τὸ
of Antioch and the eighth from the apostles. Theophilus ruled Caesarea in Palestine, and Narcissus, whom our work has mentioned before, was still holding the administration of the church at Jerusalem, and at the same time Bacchylus was bishop of Corinth in Greece and Polycrates of the diocese of Ephesus. There were also, of course, countless other famous men at this time, but we have naturally given the names of those the orthodoxy of whose faith has been preserved to us in writing.

XXIII. At that time no small controversy arose because all the dioceses of Asia thought it right, as though by more ancient tradition, to observe for the feast of the Saviour's passover the fourteenth day of the moon, on which the Jews had been commanded to kill the lamb. Thus it was necessary to finish the fast on that day, whatever day of the week it might be. Yet it was not the custom to celebrate in this manner in the churches throughout the rest of the world, for from apostolic tradition they kept the custom which still exists that it is not right to finish the fast on any day save that of the resurrection of our Saviour. Many meetings and conferences with bishops were held on this point, and all unanimously formulated in their letters the doctrine of the church for those in every country that the mystery of the Lord's resurrection from the dead could be celebrated on no day save Sunday, and

1 That is, instead of Good Friday as the anniversary of the Lord's death the Asiatic Christians observed the Jewish feast on the fourteenth day after the new moon with which the month Nisan began. Hence they are often called Quartodecimans.

2 And therefore the celebration of the crucifixion must come on a Friday.
πάσχα νηστείων φυλαττομέθα τὰς ἐπιλύσεις. 
φέρεται δ’ εἰς ἑτὶ νῦν τῶν κατὰ Παλαιστίνης τὴν προ- 
τέτακτο Θεόφιλος τῆς ἐν Καἰσαρείᾳ παροικίας 
ἐπίσκοπος καὶ Νάρκισσος τῆς ἐν Ἰεροσολύμων, 
καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Ἑρώμης δ’ ὁμοίως ἀλλή περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ 
ζητήματος, ἐπίσκοπον Βίκτωρα δηλοῦσα, τῶν τε 
κατὰ Πόντου ἐπισκόπων, ὡς Πάλμας ὡς ἄρχαιο-
τατος προντέτακτο, καὶ τῶν κατὰ Γαλλίαν δὲ 4 
παροικίων, ὃς Εἰρηναῖος ἐπεσκόπει, ἑτὶ τε τῶν 
κατὰ τὴν Ὀσροηνὴν καὶ τὰς ἑκεῖσε πόλεις, καὶ 
ἰδίως Βακχύλλου τῆς Κορνυθίων ἐκκλησίας ἐπι-
σκόπου, καὶ πλείστων ὅσων ἄλλων, οἱ μίας καὶ τὴν 
ἀυτὴν δόξαν τε καὶ κρίσιν ἐξεννηγέμενοι, τὴν 
ἀυτὴν τέθεινται ψήφον.

XXIV. Καὶ τούτων μὲν ἦν ὁρὸς εἰς, ὁ δεδηλω-1 
μένος· τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπισκόπων τὸ πάλαι 
πρότερον αὐτοῖς παραδοθὲν διαφυλάττειν ἔδος 
χρήσαι δισχυριζομένων ἥγετο Πολυκράτης. ὡς 
καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἦ πρὸς Βίκτωρα καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων 
ἐκκλησίαν διευθυνόμενον γραφη τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν 
ἐλθοῦσαν παράδοσιν ἐκτίθεται διὰ τούτων. "ημεῖς 2 
οὖν ἀραδιούργητον ἀγωμεν τὴν ἡμέραν, μήτε 
προστιθέντες μήτε ἀφαιρούμενοι. καὶ γὰρ κατὰ 
τὴν Ἀσίαν μεγάλα στοιχεῖα κεκοίμητοι· ἀτιμα 
ἀναστήσεται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς παροικίας τοῦ κυρίου, 
ἐν ἦ ἔρχεται μετὰ δόξης ἐξ οὐρανῶν καὶ ἀναζητήσει 
πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους, Φίλιππον τῶν δώδεκα ἀπο-
στόλων, ὃς κεκοίμηται ἐν Ἰεραπόλει καὶ δύο 
θυγατέρες αὐτοῦ γεγραμέναι παρθένοι καὶ ἡ 
ἐτέρα αὐτοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐν ἀγίω πνεύματι πολι-
τευσαμένη ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀναπαύεται· ἑτὶ δὲ καὶ 3

John 21, 20
13, 23
504
that on that day alone we should celebrate the end of the paschal fast. There is still extant a writing of those who were convened in Palestine, over whom presided Theophilus, bishop of the diocese of Caesarea, and Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem; and there is similarly another from those in Rome on the same controversy, which gives Victor as bishop; and there is one of the bishops of Pontus over whom Palmas presided as the oldest; and of the dioceses of Gaul, of which Irenaeus was bishop; and yet others of those in Osrhoene and the cities there; and particularly of Bacchyllus, the bishop of the church of Corinth; and of very many more who expressed one and the same opinion and judgement, and gave the same vote.

XXIV. These issued the single definition which was given above; but the bishops in Asia were led by Polycrates in persisting that it was necessary to keep the custom which had been handed down to them of old. Polycrates himself in a document which he addressed to Victor and to the church of Rome, expounds the tradition which had come to him as follows. "Therefore we keep the day undeviatingly, neither adding nor taking away, for in Asia great luminaries[1] sleep, and they will rise on the day of the coming of the Lord, when he shall come with glory from heaven and seek out[2] all the saints. Such were Philip of the twelve apostles, and two of his daughters who grew old as virgins, who sleep in Hierapolis, and another daughter of his, who lived in the Holy Spirit, rests at Ephesus. Moreover,

1 στοιχεία in late Greek often means the planets.
2 Some mss. (AB) read ἀναστήσει, "raise up," and this may be the right reading.
Εὐσεβίους ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος τοῦ κυρίου ἀναπεσών, ὃς ἐγενήθη ἱερεύς τὸ πέταλον πεφορεκὼς καὶ μάρτυς καὶ διδάσκαλος· οὗτος ἐν Ἔφεσῳ κε- 4 κοίμηται, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Πολύκαρπος ἐν Σμύρνῃ, καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς· καὶ Ὁρασέας καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς ἀπὸ Εὐμενείας, ὃς ἐν Σμύρνῃ κεκοί- 5 μητα. τὸ δὲ δεῖ λέγειν Σάγαριν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ μάρτυρα, ὃς ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ κεκοίμηται, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Πατρίων τὸν μακάριον καὶ Μελήτωνα τὸν εὐνοῦχον, τὸν ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι πάντα πολυευσάμενον, ὃς κεῖται ἐν Σάρδεσιν περιμένων τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐν ἧ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστήσεται; οὗτοι 6 πάντες ἐτήρησαν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς τεσσαρεσκαι- δεκάτης τοῦ πάσχα κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, μηδὲν παρεκβαίνοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τῆς πίστεως ἀκολουθοῦντες· ἔτι δὲ κἀγὼ ὁ μικρότερος πάντων ὑμῶν Πολυκράτης, κατὰ παράδοσιν τῶν συγγενῶν μου, οἷς καὶ παρηκμολοῦθησα τιςν αὐτῶν. ἔπτα μὲν ἢσαν συγγενείς μου ἐπίσκοποι, ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ γόνος· καὶ πάντοτε τὴν ἡμέραν ἡγαγον οἱ συγγενεῖς μου ὅταν ὁ λαὸς ἡρυνε τὴν ξύμην. ἐγὼ οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἐξήκοντα πέντε ἔτη ἔχων ἐν κυρίῳ καὶ συμ- βεβληκὼς τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀδελφοῖς καὶ πάσαν ἀγίαν γραφὴν διεληλυθὼς, οὐ πτύρομαι ἐπὶ τοῖς καταπλησομένοις· οἱ γὰρ ἐμοὶ μείξανες εἰρή- κασι 'πειθάρχειν δεῖ θεῷ μάλλον ἡ ἀνθρώπους.' 7

Τούτους ἐπιφέρει περὶ τῶν γράφοντι συμπαρόντων 8 αὐτῷ καὶ ὁμοδοξοῦντων ἐπισκόπων ταύτα λέγων "ἐδυνάμην δὲ τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῶν συμπαρόντων μνημονεύσαι, οὕτως ὑμεῖς ἡξιώσατε μετακληθήσετε ὕπ' ἐμοὶ καὶ μετεκαλεσάμην· ὥν τὰ ὁνόματα ἐὰν γράψω, πολλά πληθυνώ εἰσίν· οἱ δὲ εἰδότες τὸν 506
there is also John, who lay on the Lord's breast, who was a priest wearing the breastplate, and a martyr, and teacher. He sleeps at Ephesus. And there is also Polycarp at Smyrna, both bishop and martyr, and Thraseas, both bishop and martyr, from Eumenaca, who sleeps in Smyrna. And why should I speak of Sagaris, bishop and martyr, who sleeps at Laodicea, and Papirius, too, the blessed, and Melito the eunuch, who lived entirely in the Holy Spirit, who lies in Sardis, waiting for the visitation from heaven when he will rise from the dead? All these kept the fourteenth day of the passover according to the gospel, never swerving, but following according to the rule of the faith. And I also, Polycrates, the least of you all, live according to the tradition of my kinsmen, and some of them have I followed. For seven of my family were bishops and I am the eighth, and my kinsmen ever kept the day when the people put away the leaven. Therefore, brethren, I who have lived sixty-five years in the Lord and conversed with brethren from every country, and have studied all holy Scripture, am not afraid of threats, for they have said who were greater than I, 'It is better to obey God rather than men.'"

He continues about the bishops who when he wrote were with him and shared his opinion, and says thus: "And I could mention the bishops who are present whom you required me to summon, and I did so. If I should write their names they would be many multitudes; and they knowing my feeble
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μικρόν μου ἀνθρωπον συνηνόδοκησαν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, εἰδότες ὅτι εἰκῆ πολιάς ών ἦνεγκα, ἀλλ' ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ πάντοτε πεπολύτευμαι."

Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ μὲν τῆς Ῥωμαίων προεστῶς 9 Βίκτωρ ἀθρόως τῆς Ἀσίας πάσης ἁμα ταῖς ὁμόροις ἐκκλησίαις τᾶς παροικίας ἀποτέμνειν, ὡς ἄν ἐτεροδοξοῦσα, τῆς κοινῆς ἐνώσεως πειράται, καὶ στηλιτεῦει γε διὰ γραμμάτων ἀκοινωνήτους πάντας ἄρδην τοὺς ἐκέεσε ἀνακηρύττων ἀδελφοὺς· ἀλλ' ὁ πασί γε τοῖς ἐπισκόποις ταῦτ' ἥρέσκετο. 10 ἀντιπαρακελεύονται δήτα αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον ἐνώσεως τε καὶ ἀγάπης φρονεῖν, φέρονται δὲ καὶ αἱ τούτων φωναὶ πλη- κτικώτερον καθαπτομένων τοῦ Βίκτορος· ἐν οἷς 1 καὶ ὁ Εἰρηναῖος ἐκ προσώπου ἐν ἡγεῖτό κατὰ τὴν Γαλλίαν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιστείλας, παρίσταται μὲν τῷ δεῖν ἐν μόνῃ τῇ τῆς κυριακῆς ἡμέρα τῷ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἀναστάσεως ἐπιτελεῖσθαι μυστήριον, τῷ γε μὴν Βίκτορο προσηκόντως, ὡς μὴ ἀποκόπτοι ὅλας ἐκκλησίας θεοῦ ἀρχαῖον ἔθους παράδοσιν ἐπιτηροῦσας, πλείστα ἔτερα παραινεῖ, καὶ αὐτοῖς δὲ ρήμασιν τάδε ἐπιλέγων· "οὐδὲ γὰρ μόνον περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐστὶν ἡ ἀμφισβήτησις, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἐοίσιν αὐτοῦ τῆς νηστείας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὖνται μίας ἡμέρας δεῖν αὐτοὺς νηστεύειν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείων· οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ὃρας ἡμερῶν τε καὶ νυκτερινὰς συμμετροῦσιν τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν. καὶ τοιαύτη μὲν ποικília τῶν ἐπιτηροῦντων οὐ 1 νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν γεγονοῦσα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πρότερον

1 It appears to have been some time before the Church adopted the Lenten fast of forty days. Oddly enough, according to the historian Socrates (Hist. Eccl. v. 22) the 508
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humanity, agreed with the letter, knowing that not in vain is my head grey, but that I have ever lived in Christ Jesus."

Upon this Victor, who presided at Rome, immediately tried to cut off from the common unity the dioceses of all Asia, together with the adjacent churches, on the ground of heterodoxy, and he indited letters announcing that all the Christians there were absolutely excommunicated. But by no means all were pleased by this, so they issued counter-requests to him to consider the cause of peace and unity and love towards his neighbours. Their words are extant, sharply rebuking Victor. Among them too Irenaeus, writing in the name of the Christians whose leader he was in Gaul, though he recommends that the mystery of the Lord’s resurrection be observed only on the Lord’s day, yet nevertheless exhorts Victor suitably and at length not to excommunicate whole churches of God for following a tradition of ancient custom, and continues as follows: "For the controversy is not only about the day, but also about the actual character of the fast; for some think that they ought to fast one day, others two, others even more, some count their day as forty hours, day and night.¹ And such variation of observance did not begin in our own time,² but much earlier, in the days of our predecessors who,

Greek name for Lent (τεσσαρακοστή=fortieth) is older than the custom of fasting forty days. Forty hours was the traditional interval between the death and resurrection of Jesus. The present limits of Lent appear to have been fixed in the seventh century. See Smith’s Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, s.v. Lent.

¹ The construction of the Greek is harsh: γεγονυια seems a mistake for γέγονε.
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ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν, τῶν παρὰ τὸ ἀκριβές, ως εἰκός, κρατοῦντων τὴν καθ’ ἀπλότητα καὶ ἱδιωτισμὸν συνήθειαν εἰς τὸ μετέπειτα πεποιηκότων, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλαττον πάντες οὕτω εἰρήνευσαν τε καὶ εἰρηνεύομεν πρὸς ἄλληλους, καὶ ἡ διαφωνία τῆς νηστείας τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τῆς πίστεως συνίστησιν.

Τοῦτος καὶ ἱστορίαν προστίθησιν, ἥν οἰκείως παραθήσομαι, τοῦτον ἔχουσαν τὸν τρόπον: "ἐν οἷς καὶ οἱ πρὸ Σωτῆρος πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ προστάντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔστιν νῦν ἀφηγητος Ἀνίκητος λέγομεν καὶ Πίον Ἰγνών τε καὶ Τελεσφόρον καὶ Εὐστόν, οὕτως αὐτοὶ ἐπήρησαν οὕτως τῶν μετα αὐτῶν ἐπέτρεπον, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλαττον αὐτοὶ μὴ τηροῦντες εἰρήνευσον τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικοῦν ἐν αἷς ἐτηρεῖτο, ἐρχόμενοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς: καὶ τοῦ μᾶλλον ἐναντίον ἥν τὸ τηρεῖν τοὺς μὴ τηροῦσιν. καὶ οὐδέποτε διὰ τὸ εἴδος τοῦτο ἀπεβλήθησαν τινες, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ μὴ τηροῦντες οἱ πρὸ σοῦ πρεσβύτεροι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικῶν τηροῦσιν ἐπεμπὸν εὐχαριστίαν, καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Πολυκάρπου ἐπιδημήσαστος τῇ Ἐρώμη ἐπὶ Ἀνίκητον καὶ περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν μικρὰ σχόντες πρὸς ἄλληλους, εὐθὺς εἰρήνευσαν, περὶ τούτου τοῦ κεφαλαίου μὴ φιλερυστήσαντες εἰς ἑαυτοὺς. οὐτε γὰρ ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὸν Πολυκάρπον ἐπιέεσε ἐδύνατο μὴ τηρεῖν, ἀτε μετὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ μαθητοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων οἷς συνιδέτρυψεν, ἀεὶ τετηρηκότα, οὗτος μὴν ὁ Πολυκάρπος τὸν Ἀνίκητον ἐπείσειν τηρεῖν,

1 That is, the Quartodeciman practice; see note on p. 503.

2 The meaning appears to be that the previous generation of Romans had not made an issue out of the Quartodeciman practice, even when Asiatics visiting Rome 510
it would appear, disregarding strictness maintained a practice which is simple and yet allows for personal preference, establishing it for the future, and none the less all these lived in peace, and we also live in peace with one another and the disagreement in the fast confirms our agreement in the faith."

He adds to this a narrative which I may suitably quote, running as follows: "Among these too were the presbyters before Soter, who presided over the church of which you are now the leader, I mean Anicetus and Pius and Telesphorus and Xystus. They did not themselves observe it, nor did they enjoin it on those who followed them, and though they did not keep it they were none the less at peace with those from the dioceses in which it was observed when they came to them, although to observe it was more objectionable to those who did not do so. And no one was ever rejected for this reason, but the presbyters before you who did not observe it sent the Eucharist to those from other dioceses who did; and when the blessed Polycarp was staying in Rome in the time of Anicetus, though they disagreed a little about some other things as well, they immediately made peace, having no wish for strife between them on this matter. For neither was Anicetus able to persuade Polycarp not to observe it, inasmuch as he had always done so in company with John the disciple of our Lord and the other apostles with whom he had associated; nor did Polycarp persuade Anicetus to observe it, for he said that he ought to observed it. The difficulty can be seen best if it be remembered that the Quartodeciman practice would sometimes mean that Asiatics treated as Easter day what the Romans regarded as Good Friday.

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λέγοντα τὴν συνήθειαν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πρεσβυτέρων ὀφείλειν κατέχειν. καὶ τούτων ὦτως ἔχοντων, ἐκουσώνησαν ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεχώρησεν ὁ Ἀνίκητος τῇν εὐχαριστίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ, κατ' ἐντροπὴν δηλονότι, καὶ μετ' εἰρήνης ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπηλλάγησαν, πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰρήνης ἔχοντων, καὶ τῶν τηροῦντων καὶ τῶν μὴ τηροῦντων.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν Εἰρηναῖος φερώνυμος τις ὁν τῇ προσήγορίᾳ αὐτῷ τε τῷ τρόπῳ εἰρηνοποιοῖς, τοιαύτα ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης παρεκάλει τε καὶ ἐπρέσβευεν, ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὐ μόνοι τῷ Βίκτορι, καὶ διαφόροις δὲ πλείστοις ἀρχουσιν ἐκκλησιῶν τὰ κατάλληλα δι' ἐπιστολῶν περὶ τοῦ κεκινημένου ἕτηματος ὁμίλει.

XXV. Οἱ γε μὴν ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνης, οὐς ἄρτιώς διεληλύθαμεν, ὁ τε Νάρκισσος καὶ Θεόφιλος, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Κάσσιος τῆς κατὰ Τύρον ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος καὶ Κλάρος τῆς ἐν Πτολεμαΐδι οἱ τε μετὰ τούτων συνεληλυθότες, περὶ τῆς κατελθούσης εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκ διαδοχής τῶν ἀποστόλων περὶ τοῦ πάσχα παραδόσεως πλείστα διεληλύτητε, κατὰ τὸ τέλος τῆς γραφῆς αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν ἐπιλέγουσιν ταῦτα: "τῆς δ' ἐπιστολῆς ἡμῶν πειράθητε κατὰ πᾶσαν παροικίαν ἀντίγραφα διαπέμψασθαι, ὅπως μή ἐνοχοί ὁμοὶ τοῖς ῥαδίως πλανῶσιν εαυτῶν τὰς ψυχὰς. δηλοῦμεν δὲ ὅμων ὅτι τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρα καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἄγουσιν ἢπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς· παρ' ἡμῶν γὰρ τὰ γράμματα κομίζεται αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡμῖν παρ' αὐτῶν, ὡστε συμφώνως καὶ ὑμοὶ ἀγεν ἡμᾶς τῇν ἀγίαν ἡμέραν."

XXVI. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ πρὸς τοῖς ἀποδοθείσων Εἰρηναίοις.
keep the custom of those who were presbyters before him. And under these circumstances they communicated with each other, and in the church Anicetus yielded the celebration of the Eucharist to Polycarp, obviously out of respect, and they parted from each other in peace, for the peace of the whole church was kept both by those who observed and by those who did not.”

And Irenaeus, who deserved his name, making an eirenicon in this way, gave exhortations of this kind for the peace of the church and served as its ambassador, for in letters he discussed the various views on the issue which had been raised, not only with Victor but also with many other rulers of churches.

XXV. The Palestinians whom we have recently mentioned, that is to say Narcissus and Theophilus, and with them Cassius, the bishop of the church in Tyre, and Clarus, the bishop of the church in Ptolemais, and those who assembled with them, treated at length the tradition concerning the pass-over which had come down to them from the succession of the apostles, and at the end of their writing they add as follows: “Try to send copies of our letter to every diocese that we may not be guilty towards those who easily deceive their own souls. And we make it plain to you that in Alexandria also they celebrate the same day as do we, for letters have been exchanged between them and us, so that we observe the holy day together and in agreement.”

XXVI. In addition to the published treatises
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naíou synegrammazw kai taîs epistolaiâs fêretai
tis autou prôs Ællinais lógos suntomónatos
kai tâ máliosta anagkaiótares, Peri episthîmes
epigygrammenos, kai allos, òn anatêhekei adelphâ
Markianâ toûnomea eis epitèdeian tou apostolikhô
khrîmâtos, kai biblîon tî dialeîsews diaphorôn,
ev ëv tîs prôs Æbraious epistolhê kai tîs
legeomênes Solomônos Sofias mnêmoneûei, ἤρτâ
tîn eîx autôn parathêmenos. kai tà meû eîs
hmetêran élthonta gnwson tôw Eîrkhaiou tosázta.

Kômôdu dé tîn arkhîn eît déka kai triôw
êtesi katallûantas, autokratôr Æwuîros ouî
âlois meûn eîx metâ tîn Kômôdou televnîn Perti-
nakos diagevenêmou kratei. XXVII. plêistoa meû
ouî para polloi eîs eît vîn tôw tôte sôzetai
palaiôn kai ekklesiasastikôn àndrôwn énartôn
spoudês upomnîmatâ. ìn ne mîn autôi diégnavmen,
eîth an tà 'Hrakleitou eîs tôn apóstolon, kai tà
Mazîmu perî tōu polubrulhîtou para tôs aiêre-
siastaias xetîmata tōu pôthen ï kakhia, kai perî
tōu genêtîn upârchean tîn ûlhn, tâ te Kandîdo
eîs tîn exapîmeron, kai 'Apîwnos eîs tîn autîn
upôthesin, ômoleis Sezîtou perî anasástaseos, kai
âlla tis upôthesis 'Araðiavou, kai muðînon ãllwn,
ouv dia tî muðemían êxein âforômhn ouî oîn tê
ou têous chrônous paraðoûnai graîhî ouðh îstoriás
mnêmhn uposmênaðai. kai ãllwn dé plêistwos,
ouv ou'de tês prôsaghoriás katallêgein ëmûn dynatôn,
ëlthon eîs ëmâs lôgoi, òrhodôzwn meû kai êkklh-

1 Commodus was killed on December 31, A.D. 192. Pertinax succeeded him, but was killed by the Praetorian guard on March 28, 193. The Praetorians sold the empire 514
and to the letters of Irenaeus, there is extant a concise and extremely convincing treatise of his against the Greeks, entitled Concerning Knowledge, and another which he has dedicated to a Christian named Marcian on the Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching, and a little book of various discourses in which he mentions the Epistle to the Hebrews and the so-called Wisdom of Solomon, quoting certain passages from them. Such is the extent of our knowledge of the works of Irenaeus.

When Commodus had finished his reign after thirteen years Severus became emperor not quite six months after the death of Commodus, Pertinax coming in the interval. Many works of the virtuous zeal of the ancient members of the church of that time have still been widely preserved until now, and we have read them ourselves. Such are the writings of Heraclitus on the Epistles, and the writings of Maximus on the problem of the source of evil, so much traversed by the heretics, and on whether matter has an origin, the works of Candidus on the Hexaëmeron, and of Apion on the same subject, also of Sextus on the Resurrection, and another treatise of Arabianus, and countless others of which we are unable from lack of evidence to give the date or any accounts of their history. And there are many others also which have reached us, but we cannot even give their names, yet they are orthodox to Didius Julianus, but the Pannonian legions acclaimed Severus, who marched on Rome. The Senate then turned against Didius Julianus who was beheaded after a reign of only sixty-six days.

2 Literally "on the apostle," which in ecclesiastical Greek regularly means the Epistles of Paul, not the Acts of the Apostles.

3 That is, the Six days of creation.
σιαστικῶν, ὃς γε δὴ ἢ ἐκάστου παραδείκνυσιν τῆς θείας γραφῆς ἐμμηνεία, ἀδήλων δ’ ὀμως ἦμῶν, ὅτι μὴ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπάγεται τῶν συγγραφαμένων.

XXVIII. Τούτων ἐν τινως σπουδάσματι κατὰ 1 τῆς Ἀρτέμινος αἱρέσεως πεπονημένως, ἢν αὐθίς ὃ ἐκ Σαμοσάτων Παύλος καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἀνανεώσασθαι πεπείραται, φέρεται τις διήγησις ταῖς ἐξεταζομέναις ἢμῶν προσήκουσα ἱστορίαις. τὴν γὰρ τοῦ 2 δεδηλωμένην αἱρέσιν ψιλόν ἀνθρωπον γενέσθαι τὸν σωτῆρα φάσκουσαν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τε νεωτερισθείσαν διευθύνων, ἐπειδὴ σεμνύνεις αὐτὴν ὡς ἂν ἀρχαίαν οἱ ταύτης ἥθελον εἰσηγηταί, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα εἰς ἔλεγχον αὐτῶν τῆς βλασφήμου ψευδηγορίας παραθεῖς ὁ λόγος ταύτα κατὰ λέξιν ἱστορεῖ. "φασίν γὰρ τοὺς μὲν προτέρους ἀπαντάς 3 καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἀποστόλους παρειληφέναι τε καὶ δεδιδαχέναι ταῦτα ἧ νῦν οὕτωι λέγουσιν, καὶ τετηρῆσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ κηρύγματος μέχρι τῶν Βίκτορος χρόνων, ὅτι ἡ τρισκαιδέκατος ἀπὸ Πέτρου ἐν Ῥώμη ἐπίσκοπος· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ διαδόχου αὐτοῦ Ζεφυρίου παρακεχαράχθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν. ἢν δ’ ἂν τυχὼν πιθανὸν τὸ λεγόμενον, εἰ μὴ πρῶ- 4 τον μὲν ἀντέπιπτον αὐτοῖς αἱ θείαι γραφαὶ· καὶ ἄδελφῳ δὲ τινως ἐστὶν γράμματα, πρεσβύτερα τῶν Βίκτορος χρόνων, ἃ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ πρὸς τὰ Ἰηθι 5 ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ πρὸς τὰς τότε αἱρέσεις ἐγραψαν, λέγω δὲ Ἰωσήφων καὶ Μιχαέλων καὶ Τατιανοῦ καὶ Κλήμηντος καὶ ἑτέρων πλείονων, ἐν οἷς ἄπασιν θεολογεῖται ὁ Χριστός. τὰ γὰρ Εὐρυμαίου τε καὶ Μελίτωνος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τίς ἀγνοεῖ βιβλία, θεῶν καὶ ἄνθρωπον καταγγέλλοντα.
and Christian, as their interpretation of the divine Scripture demonstrates, but the writers are unknown to us because their names are not given in their writings.

XXVIII. In a treatise worked out by one of these against the heresy of Artemon, which Paul of Samosata has tried to renew in our time, there is extant an account which bears on the history which we are examining. For he criticizes the above-mentioned heresy (which claims that the Saviour was a mere man) as a recent innovation, because those who introduced it wished to make it respectable as being ancient. Among many other points adduced in refutation of their blasphemous falsehood, the treatise relates this: “For they say that all who went before and the apostles themselves received and taught what they now say, and that the truth of the teaching was preserved until the times of Victor, who was the thirteenth bishop in Rome after Peter, but that the truth had been corrupted from the time of his successor, Zephyrinus. What they said might perhaps be plausible if in the first place the divine Scriptures were not opposed to them, and there are also writings of certain Christians, older than the time of Victor, which they wrote to the Gentiles on behalf of the truth and against the heresies of their own time. I mean the works of Justin and Miltiades and Tatian and Clement and many others in all of which Christ is treated as God. For who is ignorant of the books of Irenaeus and Melito and the others who announced Christ as God

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τὸν Χριστὸν, ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι καὶ ὠδαὶ ἀδελφῶν ὑπ’ ἀρχής ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφεῖσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὑμνοῦσιν θεολογοῦντες; πῶς οὖν ἐκ τοσούτων ἐτῶν καταγγελλομένου τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ φρονήματος, ἐνδέχεται τοὺς μέχρι Βίκτορος οὗτος ὡς οὗτοι λέγουσιν κεκηρυχέναι; πῶς δὲ οὐκ οἴδατέ ταῦτα Βίκτορος κατα-
ψεύδεσθαι, ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες ὅτι Βίκτωρ Θεόδοτον τὸν σκυτέα, τὸν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ πατέρα ταύτης τῆς ἀρνησιθέου ἀποστασίας, ἀπεκήρυξεν τῆς κοινωνίας,
πρῶτον εἰπόντα ψιλὸν ἀνθρωπον τὸν Χριστὸν; εἰ γάρ Βίκτωρ κατ’ αὐτοὺς οὗτως ἐφρόνει ὡς ἡ τούτων διδάσκει βλασφημία, πῶς ἂν ἀπέβαλεν Θεόδοτον τὸν τῆς αἱρέσεως ταύτης εὐρετήν;

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὸν Βίκτορα τοσαῦτα· τούτου τὸ ἐτεσίων δέκα προστάντος τῆς λειτουργίας διάδοχος καθίσταται Ζεφυρῖνος ἀμφὶ τὸ ἐνατὸν τῆς Σενήρου βασιλείας ἔτος. προστίθησαν δὲ ὁ τὸ προειρημένον συντάξας περὶ τοῦ κατάρξαντος τῆς δηλωθείσης αἰρέσεως βιβλίων καὶ ἅλλην κατὰ Ζεφυρῖνον γενομένην πρᾶξιν, ὡς πως αὐτοῖς ρήμασι γράφων: “ὑπομνήσω γοῦν πολλοὺς τῶν ἀδελφῶν πράγμα ἐφ’ ἡμῶν γενόμενον, ο νομίζω ὃτι εἰ ἐν Σωδόμων ἐγεγόνει, τυχόν ἢ κακείνους ἐνοπλικησαν. Νατάλιος ἦν τις ὁμολογητής, οὐ πάλαι, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων γενόμενος καιρῶν. οὗτος ἠπατήθη ποτε ὑπὸ Ἀσκληπιοδότου καὶ ἔτερου Θεοδότου τών τραπεζίτους ἤσαν δὲ οὕτως ἀμφὶ Θεοδότου τοῦ σκυτέως μαθητα τοῦ πρῶτου ἐπὶ ταύτη τῇ φρονήσει, μάλλον δὲ ἀφροσύνη, ἀφορισθέντος τῆς κοινωνίας ὑπὸ Βίκτορος, ὡς

Matt. 11, 23

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and man? And all the Psalms and hymns which were written by faithful Christians from the beginning sing of the Christ as the Logos of God and treat him as God. How then is it possible that after the mind of the church had been announced for so many years that the generation before Victor can have preached as these say? Why are they not ashamed of so calumniating Victor when they know quite well that Victor excommunicated Theodotus the cobbler, the founder and father of this insurrection which denies God, when he first said that Christ was a mere man? For if Victor was so minded towards them as their blasphemy teaches, how could he have thrown out Theodotus who invented this heresy?"

Such were the events of the time of Victor. When he had held his office ten years, Zephyrinus was appointed his successor in the ninth year of the reign of Severus.\(^1\) And the author of the book mentioned about the founder of the above-mentioned heresy adds another incident which happened in the time of Zephyrinus and writes as follows: "I will at least remind many of the brethren of an event which happened in our time which I think would have probably been a warning to the men of Sodom had it happened in their city. There was a certain confessor, Natalius, not long ago but in our own time. He was deceived by Aselepiodotus and by a second Theodotus, a banker. These were both disciples of Theodotus the cobbler, who was first excommunicated by Victor, who, as I said, was then bishop, for this way

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\(^1\) That is, A.D. 201. But reckoning backwards from the time of Callistus who seems to have become bishop of Rome in 217, when Zephyrinus had been bishop for eighteen years (cf. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 21), it would seem that this date is somewhat too late.
εφην, τοῦ τότε ἐπισκόπου. ἀνεπείσθη δὲ ὁ Νατά-16
λιος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ σαλαρίῳ ἐπίσκοπος κληθὴναι
ταύτης τῆς αἵρεσεως, ὡστε λαμβάνων παρ' αὐτῶν
μηναία δημάρια ῥυ'. γενόμενος οὖν σὺν αὐτοῖς, ἤ
di' ὀραμάτων πολλάκις ἐνουθετεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ
κυρίου. ὅ γὰρ εὐσπλαγχνὸς θεὸς καὶ κύριος ήμῶν
Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς οὐκ ἔβοûλετο ἔξω ἐκκλησίας
γενόμενον ἀπολέσθαι μάρτυρα τῶν ἰδίων παθῶν.
ἐπεὶ δὲ ῥαθυμότερον τοῖς ὀράμασι προσέχειν,1
δελεαζόμενος τῇ τε παρ' αὐτοῖς πρωτοκαθεδρίᾳ
καὶ τῇ πλείοστοις ἀπολλυσθῇ αἰσχροκερδίᾳ, τελευ-
tαῖον ὑπὸ ἀγίων ἀγγέλων ἐμαστιγώθη δι' ὅλης
τῆς νυκτὸς οὐ μικρῶς αἰκισθεῖς, ὡστε ἔωθεν
ἀναστῆναι καί εἰνυσάμενον σάκκον καὶ σποδόν
καταπασάμενον μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς καὶ δακρύων
προσπεσεῖν Ζεφυρίῳ τῷ ἑπισκόπῳ, κυλιόμενον
ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐν κλήρῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ
tῶν λαϊκῶν, συγχέαι τε τοῖς δάκρυσι τῆς εὐσπλαγ-
χνον ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ ἐλεήμονος Χριστοῦ πολλῇ τε
τῇ δεῖσθαι χρησάμενον δείξαντά τε τοὺς μᾶλλον
ὃν εἰλήφει πληγῶν μόλις κοινωνηθῆναι.''

Τούτοις ἐπισυνάψομεν καὶ ἄλλας περὶ τῶν1
αὐτῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ συγγραφέως φωνάς, τούτον
ἔχονσα τὸν τρόπον. '‘γραφᾶς μὲν θείας ἀφόβως
δεραδιουργήκασιν, πίστεώς τε ἁρχαίας κανόνα
ἡθετήκασιν, Χριστὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦς καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ
θεία λέγουσιν γραφαί, ζητοῦντες, ἀλλ' ὅπων
σχήμα συλλογισμοῦ εἰς τὴν τῆς θεότητος σύστασιν
eὐρθῆ, φιλοτούργως ἀσκοῦντες, καὶ αὐτοῖς προ-
τείνῃ τις ῥητὸν γραφῆς θεῖκης, ἔξετάζουσιν πό-

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of thinking, or rather of not thinking. Natalius was persuaded by them to be called bishop of this heresy with a salary, so that he was paid a hundred and fifty denarii a month by them. ¹ When he was with them he was often warned by the Lord in visions, for our merciful God and Lord, Jesus Christ, did not wish that there should go out of the church and perish one who had been a witness of his own sufferings. ² But when he paid indifferent attention to the visions, for he was entrapped by his leading rank among them and by that covetousness which ruins so many, he was at last scourged all night long by holy angels, and suffered not a little, so that in the morning he got up, put on sackcloth, and covered himself with ashes, and went with much haste, and fell down with tears before Zephyrinus the bishop, rolling at the feet not only of the clergy but also of the laity, and moved with his tears the compassionate church of the merciful Christ. But for all his prayers and the exhibition of the weals of the stripes he had received, he was scarcely admitted into communion."

We would add to this some other words of the same author on the same persons, which run as follows: "They have not feared to corrupt divine Scriptures, they have nullified the rule of ancient faith, they have not known Christ, they do not inquire what the divine Scriptures say, but industriously consider what syllogistic figure may be found for the support of their atheism. If anyone adduced to them a text of divine Scripture they

¹ That is, rather more than £5. This is the first clear instance of the payment of bishops, but compare chapter 18. 2.
² This does not mean more than "had been a confessor" —a witness in court to the "sufferings of Christ."
teron sunnymmenon \* diezeugmenon dynatai poymi sa
skhima sulllogismou' katalupontes de tas aghias
tou theou grafhas, geometeriai epithefounous, ws
an ek tis ghis ontès kai ek tis ghis kaloudites kai
tou anwthen erchomynon angoountes. Eukleidhs
pari tismin autwv filologonws geometeritei, 'Aristo-
telis de ka Theofrastos theamazontai. Galhnvs
gar isos upo tiswv kai proskunvetai. oI de tais
tais apistowv tehnavs eis tin tis airesews autwn
ynymen anopkrwmenoi kai tis tis thesewv panourgia
tin aplin tis theion grafpan pistor kaphleountes,
oti mhdh egnys pisteas uparkousin, tis dei kai
legew; dia touto tais theis grafais afobwv
epelalon tas cheiras, legontes autas diwrekoenai
kai oti touto mou katajeneidomevos autwn legon,
bouloymenos dynatai mabein. eiv gar tis thelesei
synkomiasa autwn ekastou tis antigrafa ex-
etazwv pros allhla, kata poli an euroi dia-
phwvonta. asymfwna gouv estai ta 'Asklpi-
piadon tois Theodotou, pollwn de estin euporh-
sai dia to filotimwv ekgegrafh tis mathtas
autwn tis yp ekastou autwn, ws autoi kaloisun,
katawideosa, tou'ti estin efanismena. palin de
outous tis 'Ermofilo ou synadei. ta gar
'Apollowiadou oude auta eautois estin symfwna
enestin gar synkranai ta proteron upo autwn
catakeuashteta tois istoron palin epidiastra-

1 Lit. "earth-measurement." Note the play on the
words.
2 Apparently the meaning of the passage is that these
persons tried to introduce Greek learning generally into
inquire whether it can be put in the form of a conjunctive or a disjunctive syllogism. They abandon the holy Scripture of God and study geometry,¹ for they are of the earth and they speak of the earth and him who comes from above they do not know. Some of them, forsooth, study the geometry of Euclid and admire Aristotle and Theophrastus. Galen perhaps is even worshipped by some of them.² When they make a bad use of the arts of unbelievers for the opinions of their heresy, and adulterate the simple faith of the divine scriptures by the cunning of the godless, what need is there to say that they are not even near the faith? For this cause they did not fear to lay hands on the divine scriptures, saying that they had corrected them. And that I do not calumniate them in saying this any who wish can learn, for if any be willing to collect and compare with each other the texts of each of them, he would find them in great discord, for the copies ³ of Asclepiades do not agree with those of Theodotus, and it is possible to obtain many of them because their disciples have diligently written out copies corrected, as they say, but really corrupted by each of them. Again the copies of Hermophilus do not agree with these, the copies of Apolloniades are not even consistent with themselves, for the copies prepared by them at first can be compared with those which later on underwent a second corruption, and they the interpretation of Scripture. Though little noted at the time or since, their rejection by the Church is perhaps one of the turning-points of history.

³ That is, the copies of Scripture used by Asclepiades. Apparently these Roman heretics added textual criticism to the sin of using Aristotle’s logic, and were unable to resist the temptations of conjectural emendation.
φείσω καὶ εὑρεῖν κατὰ πολὺ ἀπάδοντα. ὡς ἂν 18 τὸλμησ ἔστὶ τούτῳ τὸ ἀμάρτημα, εἰκὸς μηδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἀγνοεῖν. ἢ γὰρ οὐ πιστεύουσιν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι λελέχθαι τὰς θείας γραφάς, καὶ εἰσὶν ἀπιστοι. ἢ ἑαυτοῦς ἡγοῦνται σοφωτέρους τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος ὑπάρχειν, καὶ τί ἔστερον ἢ δαιμονῶσιν; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀρνήσασθαι δύνανται ἑαυτῶν εἶναι τὸ τόλμημα, ὅποταν καὶ τῇ αὐτῶν χειρὶ ἢ γεγραμμένα, καὶ παρ’ ὅν κατηχήθησαν, μὴ τοιαύτας παρέλαβον τὰς γραφάς, καὶ δεῖξαι ἀντίγραφα οὔθεν αὐτὰ μετεγράψαντο, μὴ ἔχωσιν. 19 ἔναι δ’ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ παραχαράσσειν ἦξίωσαν αὐτὰς, ἀλλ’ ἀπλῶς ἀρνησάμενοι τὸν τε νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας, ἀνόμου καὶ ἀθέου διδασκαλίας προφάσει χάριτος εἰς ἐσχατὸν ἀπωλείας ὀλέθρου κατωλίσθησαν.”

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τούτοις ἵστορήσθω τὸν τρόπον.
will be found to disagree greatly. The impudence of this sin can scarcely be unknown even to them, for either they do not believe that the divine scriptures were spoken by the Holy Spirit, and if so they are unbelievers, or they think that they are wiser than the Holy Spirit, and what are they but demoniacs? For they cannot even deny that this crime is theirs, seeing that the copies were written in their own hand, and they did not receive the scriptures in this condition from their teachers, nor can they show originals from which they made their copies. Some of them have not thought it necessary even to emend the text, but simply deny the Law and the Prophets, and thus on the pretence of their wicked and godless teaching have fallen to the lowest destruction of perdition.” And let this suffice for these things.

1 χάριτος seems to be a primitive error, for though it is found in all the mss. it is impossible to give it any reasonable sense. Possibly a word has fallen out which would give the meaning “they have fallen from grace, etc.”
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