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EUSEBIUS

I
EUSEBIUS
THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES
I

LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
MCMXXVI
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. M'Giffert and have derived much benefit from his notes. I am also greatly indebted to my friends Mrs. Frederick Winslow, Professor Robert P. Blake, who read proof-sheets and suggested many improvements, and Miss Edith Coe, who helped at every stage, and undertook the laborious work of verifying and inserting the references which were taken from Schwartz.
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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

\(^1\) Thcodoret, \textit{H. E.} i. 1; Nicephorus Callistus, \textit{H. E.} vi. 37.
\(^2\) Eus. \textit{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, 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.
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 Hiero-
clem*, was an answer to the *Philalethes* of Hierocles, who had compared Christ and Apollonius of Tyana. The work of Hierocles is unfortunately lost, but Eusebius’s book is extant. It is written in a style rather markedly different from his later works, and he never quotes it. There is, however, scarcely sufficient reason for doubting its authenticity. It was probably a work of his youth. The other book of the same kind was an answer to Porphyry, a heathen controversialist living in Caesarea, who had attacked Origen and other Christians. The text of this book is wholly lost, but a fragment which may belong to it has been published by E. von der Goltz in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, xvii. 4. pp. 41 ff. It is also probable that to the same early period should be ascribed a collection of the lives of the early martyrs. This collection, which would be of inestimable value, has unfortunately been lost, but it was used by the Old Syriac martyrology and other traces of it have been found in later collections of the lives of saints. Finally, it is generally thought that a lost work of his, *Περὶ τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν πολυπαιδίας*, quoted by Basil the Great, *De Spiritu Sancto*, cap. 29, and mentioned in Eusebius, *Praeparatio*, vii. 8. 29 and *Demonstratio*, i. 9. 20, may belong to this period.

The next period of his life is the ten years of the Diocletian persecution, 303–313. During this time, and possibly even before it, Eusebius was busy with a great project of connected works dealing with the history and philosophy of Christianity. Though they have not all been preserved the greater part of these books remain and are the most valuable extant.
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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 *Xρονικοὶ 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 *Xρονογραφία*, or explanation and introduction, which has unfortunately been lost. From references in *Eclogae* i. 1 and i. 8, it would appear that this work was produced before 303, but according to Jerome Eusebius afterwards re-edited it, carrying it down to 325.

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

\(^1\) See Schwartz's Prolegomena to the *Hist. Eccl.* pp. ccxv ff.
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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 controver-

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

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and the other prophets, the fourth to Isaiah. The other books of the Εἰσωγωγή are lost.

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

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

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

1. The first edition consisted of Books I.-VIII. It was planned in 311, for in the preface to the first
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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 eased 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 Liciinius 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

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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 Syriae, 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
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probable that it was not inserted before the third edition. Its position between the eighth and the ninth books suggests that it was added by Eusebius to the first edition which ended with Book VIII., and this addition constitutes Lawlor's "second edition." But there can be, from the nature of the case, no certainty on this point. All that is clear is that the book has every claim of internal evidence to be regarded as a true work of Eusebius, and that when the recension ATER was made the scribe had access to another manuscript, not that which he was actually copying, which contained its text after the end of Book VIII. What that manuscript was must remain uncertain, as there is no evidence whatever on the subject. Similarly, it is not likely that complete certainty will ever be attained as to the relation between the two forms of the text; the evidence is too conflicting.

With regard to the whole complicated series of problems afforded by the composition and text of the Historia Ecclesiastica and the Palestinian Martyrs, it may be said that the wisest method for a student to pursue is to begin by reading the essay of Lightfoot in the Dictionary of Christian Biography, supplementing it by Harnack's treatment in his Altdchristliche 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 xxiv
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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 Σωτήρος ἡμῶν πρὸς Στέφανον and the Ζητήματα καὶ λύσεις εἰς τὴν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ Σωτήρος 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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extant of a commentary on the Psalms, another on Luke, another on Isaiah, and perhaps another on 1 Corinthians, which probably belong to this period, but none are fully extant and their further recovery depends in the main on the study of catenae.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 Τοπικά or sometimes as the Onomasticon.

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

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

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

L, the translation of Rufinus made in 402.

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

2. The group ATER:

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

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

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

Ρ, 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.

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A
  Cod. Vatican. 399 (a)
    Cod. Dresden. 85  Cod. Ottobon. 108  Cod. Laur. 196
    Cod. Marcianus 337
      Cod. Parisinus 1435
      (Burton's D and Valesius's Fuketianus)
        Cod. Bodleian, Misc. 23
        (Burton's F, and Valesius's Savilianus)

T
  Cod. Vatican. 150
    Cod. Sinait. 1183
    Cod. Marcian. 339 (b)
      Cod. Paris. 1432 (2)
        Cod. Vatican. 2205

E
  Cod. Vatican. 973
    Cod. Paris. 1436
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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 Schwegler as a and q. This double use by Schwegler is due to a curious accident: Burton (following Stroth and Heinichen) referred to this ms. by error as Paris. 1436, but he also possessed a collation of it with the right number, and his posthumous editor, not realizing that this collation referred to Burton’s A, published it in an appendix. Schwegler was misled by this, and thus manufactured two mss. out of two collations of one ms.

(2) Codex Parisinus, 1434 (paper, s. xvi), a descendant of A crossed with B or a descendant of B. It was occasionally used by Stephanus, and is quoted by Valesius as Medieaeus, 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 xxx
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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 Fucetianus. 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
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) Schweigler: Tübingen, 1852. This edition was in method a great improvement on its predecessors; but its material was really that of Burton, and Schweigler’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 Schweigler’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: Leipzig, 1903. This edition has rendered obsolete all except that of Valesius. It is based on new and probably accurate collations of all the known mss. Its text is followed in the present volumes. It is possible that some future editor may conceivably reopen the question of the merits of the two groups of primary mss., but he will have to build on Schwartz's work. It is not a commentary, but much of the material on which a commentary could be based is to be found in the references given in its apparatus.

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

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

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

The general plan of the Historia Ecclesiastica is clear and lucid. The chronology adopted is that of
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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-xxxiv
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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 shifty in his tactics, to bring about better relations between the Jews and the Romans. During the Jewish war which began in 66 he belonged to the moderate party, and was entrusted with the command of Galilee. His career here was much hindered by the opposition of John of Gischala. He was besieged in Jotatata, and at last was forced to surrender. As he had preferred surrender to death the Jews regarded him as a renegade, and attributed the worst motives to his persistent efforts to secure peace before the inevitable catastrophe which he foresaw. He became friendly
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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 Judaicum) in seven books. In this the first two books give an introductory history from the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes to the beginning of the war; Books III.-VI. describe the war down to the capture of Jerusalem; and Book VII. describes the last scenes. This work is said to have been accepted and even revised by Vespasian and Titus. Its main object no doubt was to make the Jews and the Romans understand each other better, but a desire that they should appreciate Josephus's own service to both sides can be clearly seen.

Some years later Josephus supplemented this work by a larger one giving the history of the Jewish people up to the beginning of the war. This was arranged in twenty books and was called the Ἀρχαλογία Ἰουδαίας. 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
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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 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. Explanations 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-

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 Κερτοί, 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 writings has been done by H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus*, 1880 and 1885, but except for detailed study of the points raised by Gelzer, a sufficient account is provided by the article on Africanus in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, and by Harnack, *Chronologie*, ii. pp. 89 ff.

*The Archives of Edessa.*—According to *H.E.* i. 12. 3 ff. Eusebius made use of material in the Archives of Edessa. These appear to have consisted of two divisions. There was an ancient royal archive at Edessa and a later ecclesiastical one which was probably not instituted until the beginning of the fourth century. According to Moses of Chorene Julius Africanus made use of all this material, which was also known to the editor of the *Chronicon Edessenum*. It is not certain whether Eusebius had himself seen this archive or made use of it only at 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 ¹ 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 (Σητήματα 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 deterius 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 ἄγγελος. Of it are extant the *De Abrahamo*, and the *De Iosepho*, vol. 1 d xli
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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 xlii
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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 'Υποθέσεων 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*, ed. 4, vol. iii. pp. 633–716; the prolegomena of Cohn and Wendland's edition, and the article in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. The two fullest editions are Mangey, London, 1742, and Cohn and Wendland, Berlin, 1896–1915, which includes everything except the fragments, for which Mangey
must still be consulted, and the Armenian texts published by Aucher, *Paralipomena 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 Προτρεπτικός or *Exhortation to the Greeks,*² is completely

¹ Quoted in Eusebius vi. 2. 6.
² This and the *Quis dixit salvetur* are translated by G. W. Butterworth in the Loeb Classical Library.

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preserved as is also the Παϊδαγωγός, or Instructor, which is in three books. These two works seem to have been intended as the first two parts of a connected series. The first, the Προτρεπτικός, deals with the Logos in relation to the conversion of the heathen; the Παϊδαγωγός 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 Στρωματεῖς1 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 Hypotyposes2 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,3 the Eclogae propheticae, and the Adumbrationes in epistolae canonicas. It has, however, been suggested that the Excerpta Theodoti really belong to the eighth book of the Στρωματεῖς. In any case they are very valuable information as to the teaching of Theodotus, for they seem to represent the notes which Clement had made rather than a finished literary production.

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

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-Encyklopädie*.

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 Polyearp, 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 Δοξίων κυριακῶν ἐξήγησις. Unfortunately the book is lost, and no one knows what the title means. Δόγμα 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. Schmidt in an elaborate appendix to his edition of the “Epistola Apostolorum” published in 1919 as Gespräche Jesu in Texte und Untersuchungen xliii.

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

Aristo of Pella.—In Hist. Eccl. iv 6 Eusebius 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.).

Quadnatus 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 praetor under Marcus Aurelius between 163 and 167. The Chronicon Paschale fixes the year of his martyrdom as 165, and there is no reason why this should not be correct.

According to Eusebius he wrote at least ten books, of which he gives the list in Hist. Eccl. iv. 18. 2-9. Of these two are extant (1) The Apology to Antoninus Pius, and (2) The Dialogue with Trypho; but there is a curious literary puzzle in connexion with the Apology. The printed texts of Justin (which represent the Paris manuscript, Paris. 450 of the year 1364, of which all other manuscripts are copies) give two apologies of Justin, and Eusebius also states that he
wrote two apologies. It would therefore be natural to conclude that we possess the two which Eusebius had. But except in *Hist. Eccl.* 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
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seems to have had no documents about them, though the Acta of Justin are extant in a probably genuine form. He had the Acta of Polycarp, of Pionius, of Carpus, Papyrus and Agathonice, and of Apollonius, all of which are still extant, and the account of the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne, which has disappeared except for his extensive quotations at the beginning of the fifth book.

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

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

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

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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, H egesippus, 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 Πρὸς Αἰρέσεις or Ἐλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδονύμου γνώσεως, quoted as the Adversus Haereses, is found in Latin; the best edition is that of Harvey (Cambridge, 1857). The 'Αποδείξεις 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."

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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 Apollinarius of Hierapolis, Apollonius, Serapion, an anonymous writer who addressed a letter to Abercius, and either Miltiades or Alcibiades. The Abercius addressed by the anonymous writer is the centre of one of the romances of epigraphy. In the Acta Sanctorum for October 22 is given a life of Abercius, which has all the marks of lateness, but it contains an epitaph which Lightfoot and others regarded as genuine. Other scholars doubted this, but in 1883 W. M. Ramsay 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 Polycrates of Ephesus, whose writings are not now extant, and Irenaeus, and mentions various synods whose decrees were known to him but have since been lost. For a discussion of the action of Victor of Rome, and of the whole question see Hefele's History of the Councils, preferably in the French translation which has many valuable additional notes.

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

For further information as to these or any other writers mentioned by Eusebius, the best and clearest guides are Harmaek's Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur, Bardenhewer's Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur, and the Dictionary of Christian Biography.

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THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF EUSEBIUS
Α

Τάδε ἡ πρώτη περιέχει βιβλιος τῆς Ἑκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας

Α Τής ἡ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ὑπόθεσις.

Β Ἐντομή κεφαλαιώδης περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ προσπάρξεως τε καὶ θεολογίας.

Γ Ὄσ καὶ τὸ Ἰησοῦ ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐγνωστό τε ἀνέκαθεν καὶ τετίμητο παρὰ τοῖς θεσπεσίοις προφήταις.

Δ Ὄσ οὐ νεώτερος οὐδὲ ἔξειτο ἢν ὁ τρόπος τῆς πρὸς αὐτοῦ καταγγελθείσης πᾶσι τοῖς ἐθνείς εὐσεβείας.

Ε Περὶ τῶν χρόνων τῆς ἐπιφανείας αὐτοῦ τῆς εἰς ἀνθρώπους.

Ως κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους αὐτοῦ ἀκολούθως ταῖς προφητείαις ἐξέλιξαι ἄρχοντες οἱ τὸ πρῶτον ἐκ προγόνων διαδοχὴς τοῦ Ἰουδαίων έθνος ἡγούμενοι πρῶτος τε ἄλλοφυλος βασιλεύει αὐτῶν Ἡρώδης.

Ζ Περὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίως νομίζομένης διαφωνίας τῆς περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενεαλογίας.

Η Περὶ τῆς Ἡρώδου κατὰ τῶν παιδῶν 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 και οία μετήλθεν αυτῶν καταστροφή βίου.

Θ Περὶ τῶν κατὰ Πιλάτου χρόνων.

Ι Περὶ τῶν παρὰ Ἰουδαῖοις ἀρχιερέων καθ' οὖς ο Χριστὸς τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἐποιήσατο.

II Τὰ περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεμαρτυρημένα.

III Περὶ τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.

ΙΓ 'Ιστορία περὶ τῶν 'Εδεσσηνῶν δυνάστων.1

1 At the end E adds:—ορὰ ὁ ἀναγινώσκων μη συναρταγῆς τῇ αἱρετικῇ υπολήψει τοῦ συγγραφέως εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μᾶλλον ἐστὶν ὡφελιμωτάτη κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἡ παρούσα βιβλίος, ἀλλ' ὅμως ὅπως μὲν ἀπολύτως περὶ θεοῦ φαίνεται θεολογῶν, οὐ δοκεῖ τις κακοδοξεῖν, ὅπως δὲ περὶ τοῦ πατρός καὶ τοῦ νεότου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος λέγει τι, πανταχοῦ υποβεβηκότα καὶ δεύτερον καὶ υποργὸν τοῦ πατρός ἐμφαίνει τὸν νεότον, Ἀρειανὸς ὦν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δόξαν ἐπικεκριμένως 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 τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἤμων καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς διηνυσμένους χρόνους, ὥσα τε καὶ πηλίκα πραγματευθῆναι κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἱστορίαν λέγεται, καὶ ὅσοι ταύτης διαπρεπῶς ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα ἐπισημοτάταις παροικίαις ἡγήσαντο τε καὶ προέστησαν, ὅσοι τε κατὰ γενεὰν ἐκάστην ἀγράφως ἢ καὶ διὰ συγγραμμάτων τὸν θείον ἐπρέσβευσαν λόγον, τίνες τε καὶ ὅσοι καὶ ὅπως καὶ νεωτεροποιᾶς ἡμέρων πλάνης εἰς ἐσχατον ἐλάσαντες, ψευδωνύμους γνώσεως εἰσηγητὰς ἐαυτοὺς ἀνακεκηρύχασιν, ἀφειδῶς οἷα λύκοι βαρεῖς τὴν Χριστοῦ ποιμνὴν ἐπεντρίβοντες, πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτους καὶ τὰ παραυτικά τῆς κατὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλῆς τὸ πάν Ἰουναιῶν ἔθνος περιελθόντα, ὥσα τε αὐτοῖ καὶ ὅποιοι καθ’ οἴνους τε χρόνους πρὸς τῶν ἔθνων ὁ θεῖος πεπολέμηται λόγος, καὶ πηλίκοι κατὰ καιροὺς τῶν δι’ αἵματος καὶ βασάνων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διεξῆλθον ἀγώνα, τά τ’ ἐπὶ τούτους καὶ καθ’ ἡμᾶς
THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF EUSEBIUS

BOOK I

1. I have purposed to record in writing the successions of the sacred apostles, covering the period stretching from our Saviour to ourselves; the number and character of the transactions recorded in the history of the Church; the number of those who were distinguished in her government and leadership in the provinces of greatest fame; the number of those who in each generation were the ambassadors of the word of God either by speech or pen; the names, the number and the age of those who, driven by the desire of innovation to an extremity of error, have heralded themselves as the introducers of Knowledge, falsely so-called, ravaging the flock of Christ unsparingly, like grim wolves. 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 and the character of those who, for its sake, passed from time to time through the contest of blood and torture; furthermore the

¹ Or possibly "the Divine Logos."
αὐτοῦς μαρτύρια καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἱλεω καὶ εὐμενὴ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀντίληψιν γραφῆ παραδοῦναι προηγημένος, οὐδ' ἀλλοθεν ἢ ἀπὸ πρῶτης ἀρξομαι τῆς κατὰ τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν τὸν θεοῦ οἰκονομίας. ἂλλα μοι συγγνώμην εὐγνωμόνων ἐνεθεθὲν δ' λόγος αἰτεῖ, μείζονα ἢ καθ' ἡμετέραν δύναμιν ὁμολογῶν εἰναι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἐντελῆ καὶ ἀπαράλεπτον ὑποσχεῖν, ἐπεί καὶ πρῶτοι νῦν τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἐπιβάντες οἵ τινα ἔρημην καὶ ἀτριβητ' ἵναι ὁδὸν ἐγχειρούμεν, θεοῦ μὲν ὁδηγὸν καὶ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου συνεργὸν σχῆσεων εὐχόμενοι δύναμιν, ἀνθρώπων γε μὴν οὐδαμῶς ἐνείριν οἷοὶ τε ὑντες ἱερή γυμνά τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμῖν προσδεικτῶν, μὴ ὅτι σμικρά αὐτῷ μόνῳ προφάσεις, δι' ὅν ἀλλὸς ἀλλὸς ὅν δυνάκασι χρώνων μερικὰς ἡμῖν καταλελάτασι διηγήσεις, πόρρωθεν ὡσπερ εἰ πυρσοὺς τὰς έαυτῶν προανατείνοντες φωνᾶς καὶ ἀνωθέν ποθὸν ὡς ἐξ ἀπότομον καὶ ἀπὸ σκοτῆς βοῶντες καὶ διακελεύομενοι, ἢ χρῆ βαδίζειν καὶ τὴν τοῦ λόγου πορείαν ἀπλανῶς καὶ ἀκινδύνως εὐθύνεωι. ὅσο τοῖνυν εἰς τὴν προκειμένην ὑπόθεσιν λυσιτελεῖν ἱγούμεθα τῶν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις σποράδην μνημονευότων, ἀναλεξάμενοι καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐκ λογικῶν λειμώνοιν τὰς ἐπιτηδείους αὐτῶν τῶν πάλαι συγγραφέων ἀπανθισάμενοι φωνᾶς, δι' ὑφηγήσεως ἱστορικῆς πειρασόμεθα σωματοποιῆσαι, ἀγαπῶντες, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀπάντων, τῶν δ' οὖν μάλιστα διαφανεστάτων τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀποστόλων τὰς διαδοχὰς κατὰ τὰς διαπρεπούσας ἐτει καὶ νῦν μνημονευμένας ἐκκλησίας ἀνασωσάμεθα. ἀναγκαίωτα δὲ μοι πονεῖσθαι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἱγοῦμαι, 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
πω εἰς δεύτερο τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων διέγενεν περὶ τούτο τῆς γραφῆς σπουδήν πεποιημένον τὸ μέρος· ἐπιτίθεσε δ' ὅτι καὶ ὑφελμωτάτη τοῖς φιλοτίμωσι περὶ τὸ χρηστομαθές τῆς ἱστορίας ἐχούσιν ἀναφαγήσεται. ἦδη μὲν οὖν τούτων καὶ τούτου ἐκείνου διετυπώσαμεν χρονικοῖς κανόσιν ἐπιτομήν κατεστησάμην, πληρεστάτην δ' οὖν ὁμοὶς αὐτῶν ἐπί τοῦ παρόντος ὀρμήθην τὴν ἀφήγησιν ποιήσασθαι.

Καὶ ἀρξεταί γε μοι ὁ λόγος, ὡς ἔφη, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ψηλοτέρας καὶ κρείττων ὑψηλοτέρας καὶ κατὰ τὸν Χριστόν ἐπινοομένης ψηλοτέρας καὶ κατὰ τὸν Χριστόν ἐπινοομένης ψηλοτέρας καὶ κατὰ τὸν Χριστόν ἐπινοομένης, ἔπειτα ἐκ πρώτης τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν Χριστόν, ὡς ἔφη, καὶ τῆς προσωπικῆς ἡξιώθημεν, θεοτέρας ἤ κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν τοῖς πολλοῖς οἰκονομίαις ἀναγκαίοι οἷς οὕτως κατάρξασθαι. Η. Διδασκαλίας δὲ ἄντον τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν πρόπος, καὶ τοῦ μὲν σώματος ἐυκόστος κεφαλῆς, ὡς ἔρθε ἐπινοεῖται, τοῦ δὲ ποσὶ παραβαλλομένου, δὲ τὸν ἡμῶν ἀνθρωποῦν ὁμομοιοθετημένης τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐν εἰκόνοις ὑπενθυμηθέντας, γένοιτο ἐν ἡμῶν ἐν τούτῳ ἐν τούτῳ, ἢ καὶ τῶν κυριότερων διάγνωσις οἷς ἐκ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ἱστορίας ἀπάντησις ἀπὸ τῶν κεφαλαωδεστάτων καὶ κυριοτάτων τοῦ λόγου τῆς ψηφήγησις ποιησίμεθα: ταύτης δὲ καὶ τῆς Χριστιανῶν ἁρχιερατικῆς τοῦ παλαιοῦ ὁμοίου καὶ θεοπρεπῆς τοὺς νέας αὐτὴν καὶ ἔκτεταρσιμένην, χθεῖς καὶ οὐ πρότερον φανεῖσαν, ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἀναδειχθῆσαι.

1 Literally, “ecclesiastical”; but the antithesis to the word used is either “heathen” (as here) or “heretical.”
that any Christian writer has until now paid attention to this kind of writing; and I hope that its high value will be evident to those who are convinced of the importance of a knowledge of the history. 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. 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 οἰκονομία and θεολογία are semi-technical terms. The οἰκονομία or "dispensation" with regard to Christ was the incarnation of the divine Logos; 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."
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣ

Γένους μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀξίας αὐτῆς τε οὖν θαυμάσαι τοῦ 2
Χριστοῦ καὶ φύσεως οὕτως ἂν εἰς ἐκφρασιν αὐτάρκης
γένοιτο λόγος, ἣ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θείον ἐν προ-
φητείαις "τὴν γενεαν αὐτοῦ" φησιν "τὸς διηγή-
σεται," ὅτι δὴ οὖτε τὸν πατέρα τις ἐγνώ, εἰ μὴ
ὁ υἱός, οὐτ' αὖ τὸν υἱόν τις ἐγνώ ποτε κατ' ἀξίαν,
eἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ γεννήσας αὐτὸν πατήρ, τὸ τε φῶς 3
τὸ προκόσμουν καὶ τὴν πρὸ αἰώνων νοερὰν καὶ
οὐσιώδη σοφίαν τὸν τε ζωντα καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ παρὰ
τῷ πατρὶ τυνχάνοντα θεὸν λόγον τίς ἂν πλῆν τοῦ
πατρὸς καθαρῶς ἐννοήσειεν, πρὸ πάσης κτίσεως καὶ
dημιουργίας ὁρωμένης τε καὶ ἀσράτου τὸ πρῶτον
καὶ μόνον τοῦ θεοῦ γέννημα, τὸν τῆς κατ᾽ οὐρανὸν
λογικῆς καὶ ἀθανάτου στρατιὰς ἀρχιστράτηγον,
tὸν τῆς μεγάλης βουλῆς ἀγγελον, τὸν τῆς ἀρρήτου
γνώμης τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπουργόν, τὸν τῶν ἀπάντων
σὺν τῷ πατρὶ δημιουργόν, τὸν δεύτερον μετὰ τὸν
πατέρα τῶν ὅλων αὐτῶν, τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ παίδα
gνήσιον καὶ μονογενῆ, τὸν τῶν γεννητῶν ἀπάντων
κύριον καὶ θεὸν καὶ βασιλέα τὸ κύρος ὀμοῦ καὶ
tὸ κράτος αὐτῆς θεότητι καὶ δυνάμει καὶ τιμῇ
παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑποδεδεγμένον, ὅτι δὴ κατὰ τᾶς
περὶ αὐτοῦ μυστικὰς τῶν γραφῶν θεολογίας "ἐν
ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν,
καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος· πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ
χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἐν." τούτῳ τοι καὶ
ὁ μέγας Μωσῆς, ὡς ἂν προφητῶν ἀπάντων
παλαιότατος, θείω πνεύματι τὴν τοῦ παντὸς
οὐσίωσιν τε καὶ διακόσμησιν ὑπογράφων, τὸν
κοσμοποιοῦν καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων αὐτῶ δὴ
τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ οὐδὲ ἄλλῳ ἢ 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 before the ages, the living Logos who was, in the beginning, God by the side of the Father, the first and only offspring of God, before all creation and fabrication, both visible and invisible, the captain of the spiritual and immortal host of heaven, the angel of great counsel, the minister of the ineffable plan of the Father, the fabricator of all things along with the Father, the true and only begotten child of God, the Lord and God and King of all begotten, who has received lordship and might, together with deity itself, and power and honour from the Father, according to the mysterious ascription of divinity to him in the Scriptures, "In the beginning was the Logos and the Logos was with God and the Logos was God, all things were through him, and without him was no single thing"? 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 ἑαυτοῦ λόγῳ τῆς τῶν ὑποβεβηκότων ποίησιν παραχωροῦντα διδάσκει αὐτῷ τε κοινο-
λογούμενον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπογονίας. “ἐἶπεν γὰρ” φησίν “ὁ θεὸς: ‘ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ’
eἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ’ ὁμοίωσιν.’” ταύτην
de ἐγγυνᾶται τὴν φωνὴν προφητῶν ἄλλος, ὦδὲ πῶς
ev ὑμνος θεολογῶν “αὐτὸς εἶπεν, καὶ ἐγεννήθησαν:
αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο, καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν,” τὸν μὲν πατέρα
cαὶ ποιητὴν εἰσάγων ὡς ἂν πανηγυρώνα βασιλικῶ
νεύματι προστάτων, τὸν δὲ τούτῳ δευτερεύοντα
θεόν λόγον, οὐχ ἔτερον τοῦ πρὸς ἡμῶν κηρυ-
tomένου, ταῖς πατρικαῖς ἐπιτάξεωι ὑπουργοῦντα.
toúton καί ἀπό πρώτης ἀνθρωπογονίας πάντες
ὁσοι δὴ δικαιοσύνη καὶ θεοσεβείας ἀρετὴ δια-
πρέψαι λέγονται, ἀμφί τε τὸν μέγαν θεράποντα
Μωυσέα καὶ πρὸ γε αὐτοῦ πρῶτος Ἀβραὰμ
toúton te òi παίδες καί ὁσοι μετέπειτα δίκαιοι
πεφήμασι καὶ προφηται, καθαροῖς διανοία ὁμοιό
φαντασθέντες ἐγνωσάν τε καὶ ὁτα θεοῦ παίδε τὸ
προσήκου ἀπένειμαν σέβας, αὐτὸς τε, οὐδαμῶς
ἀπορραθυμῶν τῆς τοῦ πατρός εὐσεβείας, διδάσκαλος
toîs πάσιν tῆs πατρικῆs καθίστατο γνώσεως.
ωφθαὶ γοῦν κύριοι ὁ θεὸς ἀνείρηται οἶα τις κοινὸς
ἄνθρωπος τῷ Ἀβραὰμ καθημένω παρὰ τὴν ὁρῶν
tῆς Μαμβρῆ: ὅ, ὡς ὑποποιεῖν αὐτίκα, καίτοι γε
ἄνθρωπον φθαλμοῖς ὁρῶν, προσκυνεῖ μὲν ὡς
θεόν, ἰκετεύει δὲ ὡς κύριον, ὀμολογεῖ τε μὴ
ἀγνοεῖν ὅστις εὐθ, ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς λέγων “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
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, I. II. 4-7

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.”¹ 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.
EUSEBIUS

ὁ κρίνων πάσαν τὴν γῆν, οὐ ποιήσεις κρίσιν;’’ εἰ γὰρ μηδεὶς ἐπιτρέπεις λόγος τὴν ἀγένητον καὶ ἀτρέπτων οὐσίαν θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος εἰς ἀνδρὸς εἶδος μεταβάλλειν μηδὲ αὐ γενήτων μηθενὸς φαντασίας τὰς τῶν ὀρώντων ὀψεις ἐξαπατάν μηδὲ μὴν ἰδειοῦς τὰ τοιαύτα πλάτησθαι τὴν γραφήν, θεός καὶ κύριος ὁ κρίνων πάσαν τὴν γῆν καὶ ποιῶν κρίσιν, ἐν ἀνθρώπων ὀρώμενος σχῆματι, τίς ἂν ἔτερος ἀναγορεύοιτο, εἰ μὴ φάναι θέμις τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ὅλων αὐτίον, ἡ μόνος ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῷ λόγος; περὶ οὐ καὶ ἐν φαλμοῖς ἀνέπλησται ὁ αἰών πρὸς πρῶτον τῶν ὅλων τούτων, καὶ ἰάσατο αὐτούς, καὶ ἐρρύσατο αὐτοῦς ἐκ τῶν διαφθορῶν αὐτῶν.’’ τούτων δεύτερον μετὰ τὸν πατέρα κύριον σαφέστατα Μωυσῆς ἀναγορεύει λέγων ἦν ἐβρέξε κύριος ἐπὶ Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα θεῖον καὶ πῦρ παρὰ κυρίον’’ τούτων καὶ τῷ Ἰακὼβ αὐθείς ἐν ἀνδρὸς φανέντα σχῆματι, θεόν ἡ θεία προσαγορεύει γραφή, φάσκοντα τῷ Ἰακὼβ ἦν ὁ κύριος συν ὁ θεός τῷ ισραηλιτῇ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ὁ θεός τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων παρὰ κυρίον, ἤς διὰ μυρίων μαρτυρών πιστῶσασθαί ῥάδιον, τούτων καὶ ὁ Μωϋσεως διάδοχος Ἰησοῦς,
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"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.
EUSEBIUS

I Cor. 1, 24

ὁς ἂν τῶν οὐρανίων ἄγγελων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων τῶν τε ὑπερκοσμίων δυνάμεων ἤγοιμενον καὶ ὁς ἂν εἰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπάρχοντα δύναμιν καὶ σοφίαν καὶ τὰ δευτερεῖα τῆς κατὰ πάντων βασιλείας τε καὶ ἀρχῆς ἐμπεπιστευμένον, ἀρχιστράτηγον δυνάμεως κυρίον ὄνομάζει, οὐκ ἄλλως αὐτόν ἡ αὕτη ἐν ἀνθρώπων μορφῇ καὶ σχήματι θεωρήσας. γε-γραπταί γοῦν "καὶ ἐγενήθη, ὡς ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ, καὶ ἀναβλέψας ὡς ἀνθρώπων ἑστηκότα κατέναντι αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ ῥομφαία ἐσπασμένη ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ προσελθὼν Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν, ἡμέτερος εἰ ἢ τῶν ὑπεναντίων; καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ἐγώ ἀρχιστράτηγος δυνάμεως κυρίον. νυνὶ παρα-γέγονα." καὶ Ἰησοῦς ἐπέσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, 'δέσποτα, τί προστάσσεις τῷ σώ οἰκέτη;' καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος κυρίου πρὸς Ἰησοῦν, 'λύσαι τὸ ὑπόδημα ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν σου. ὁ γὰρ τόπος, ἐν ὧν σὺ ἑστήκας, τόπος ἄγιος ἑστιν." ἐνθα καὶ ἐπιστήμης απὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ῥημάτων ὅτι μὴ ἐτερος οὕτως εἴη τοῦ καὶ Μωυσεὶ κεχρηματικότος, ὅτι δὴ αὐτῶς ῥήμασι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐδέ θύσαι ἡ γραφή 'ὡς δὲ εἴδεν κύριος ὅτι προσάγει ἱδεῖν, ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν κύριος ἐκ τοῦ βάτον λέγων, 'Μωυσῆ Μωυσῆ'. δὲ εἶπεν, 'τί ἑστιν;' καὶ εἶπεν, 'μὴ ἐγγίσης ὥδε· λύσαι τὸ ὑπόδημα ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν σου. ὁ γὰρ τόπος, ἐν ὧν σὺ ἑστήκας ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ, γῇ ἄγια ἑστιν.' καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ θεός τοῦ πατρὸς σου, θεὸς 'Αβραάμ καὶ θεὸς 'Ισαὰκ καὶ θεὸς 'Ιακώβ,' καὶ ὅτι γε ἑστιν οὕτως τις προκόσμιος ζῶσα καὶ ὕφεστοσα, ἢ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ θεῷ τῶν ὅλων εἰς τὴν τῶν γεννητῶν ἀπάντων δημιουργίαν ὑπηρετησαμένη, 18
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
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λόγος θεοῦ καὶ σοφία χρηματίζουσα, πρὸς ταῖς τεθειμέναις ἀποδείξεσιν ἔτι καὶ αὐτῆς ἐξ ἱδίου προσώπου τῆς σοφίας ἐπικούσαι πάρεστιν, διὰ Σολομώνος λευκότατα ὡδὲ πῶς τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς μυσταγγωγούσης "ἐγὼ ἡ σοφία κατεσκήνωσα βουλήν, καὶ γνώσιν καὶ ἐννοιαν ἐγὼ ἐπεκαλεσάμην. δι' ἐμοῦ βασιλείας βασιλεύσωμαι, καὶ οἴ δυνάσται γράφουσι δικαιοσύνην. δι' ἐμοῦ μεγιστάνεις μεγαλύνονται, καὶ τύραννοι δι' ἐμοῦ κρατοῦσι γῆς." οἰς ἐπιλέγει "κύριος ἐκτισένει με ἄρχην ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ, πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐθεμελιώσεν με· ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸ τοῦ τῆς γῆς ποιήσει, πρὸ τοῦ προελθεῖν τὰς πηγὰς τῶν υδάτων, πρὸ τοῦ ἠρη ἐδρασθῆναι, πρὸ δὲ πάντων βουνῶν γεννᾷ με. ἧνικα ἠτοίμαζεν τὸν οὐρανόν, συμπαρῆμπον αὐτῷ, καὶ ὡς ἀσφαλεῖς ἔτιθει πηγὰς τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανόν, ἠμὴν σὺν αὐτῷ ἀρμόζουσα. ἐγὼ ἠμὴν ἡ προσέχαρεν καθ' ἠμέραν, εὐφραυνόμην δὲ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ, οτε εὐφραίνετο τὴν οἰκουμένην συντελέσας." ὅτι μὲν οὖν προῆν καὶ τοιῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς πᾶσιν, ὁ θείος λόγος ἐπεφαίνετο, ταῦτ' ἠμῶν ὡς ἐν βραχέσιν εἰρήσθω.

Τί δὴ οὖν οὐχὶ καθάπερ τὰ νῦν, καὶ πάλαι πρότερον εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ πᾶσιν ἔθεσιν ἐκηρύττετο, ὡδὲ ἃν γένοιτο πρόδηλον. οὐκ ἦν πω χωρεῖν οἷος τε τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πάνσοφον καὶ πανάρετον διδασκαλίαν ὁ πάλαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίοι. εὐθὺς μὲν γε ἐν ἀρχῇ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐν μικαρίους ζωῆν ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἤττον τῆς θείας ἐντολῆς φροντίσας, εἰς τούτῳ τὸν θυγατέραν καὶ ἐπίκηρον βιον καταπέπτωκεν καὶ τὴν ἐπάρατον ταυτὴν γῆν τῆς πάλαι ἐνθέου τρυφῆς ἀντικατηλλάσσω.
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, οί τε ἀπὸ τούτου τὴν καθ’ ἡμᾶς σύμπασαν πληρώσαντες πολὺ χείρους ἀναφανέντες ἐκτὸς ἑνὸς που καὶ δευτέρου, θηριῶδη τινὰ τρόπων καὶ βιών ἀβίωτον ἐπανήρμητο· ἀλλὰ καὶ οὔτε πόλιν ὡστε πολιτείαν, οὐ τέχνας, οὐκ ἐπιστήμας ἐπὶ νοῦν ἐβάλλοντο, νόμων τε καὶ δικαιωμάτων καὶ προσέτι ἄρετῆς καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐδὲ ὁνόματος μετείχον, νομάδες δὲ ἐπ’ ἐρήμιας οἵα τινές ἄγριοι καὶ ἀπηνεῖς δύηγον, τούς μὲν ἐκ φύσεως προσήκοντας λογισμοὺς τὰ τε λογικὰ καὶ ἱμερὰ τῆς ἀνθρώπων ψυχῆς σπέρματα αὐτοπροαίρετον κακίας ὑπερβολῆ διαφθείροντες, ἀνοσίουργίας δὲ πάσαις ὅλους σφάς ἑκδεδωκότες, ὡς τοτε μὲν ἀλληλοθορεῖν, τοτὲ δὲ ἀλληλοκοινεῖν, ἀλλοτε δὲ ἀνθρωποφορεῖν, θεομαχίας τε καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῖς πάσιν βουμένας γιγαντομαχίας ἐπιστολάμαν, καὶ γην μὲν ἐπιτειχίζειν οὐρανὸ διανοεῖσθαι, μανία δὲ φρονήματος ἐκτόπου αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν πολεμεῖν παρασκευάζοντο· ἐφ’ οἷς τούτων ἐαυτοῖς εἰσάγονοι τὸν τρόπων κατακλυσμοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ πυρπολήσεως ὠσπερ ἀγρίαν ύλην κατὰ πάσης τῆς γῆς κεχυμένην θέος ὁ πάντων ἐφορος μετήιε, λυμοῖς τε συνεχέσι καὶ λυμοῖς πολέμοις τε αὐ καὶ κεραυνών βολαῖς ἀνωθεν αὐτοὺς ὑπετέμεντο, ὠσπερ τινὰ δεινὴν καὶ χαλεπωτάτην νόσον ψυχῶν πικρότερος ἀνέχων τοῖς κολαστηρίως. τότε μὲν οὖν, ὅτε δὴ καὶ πολὺς ὢν ἐπικεχυμένος ὅλιγου δειν κατὰ πάντων ὁ τῆς κακίας κάρος, οἰα μέθης δεινῆς, τὰς ἀπάντων σχεδὸν ἀνθρώπων ἐπισκιαζούσης καὶ ἐπισκοποτούσης ψυχᾶς, ἡ πρωτόγονος καὶ πρωτόκτιστος τοῦ θεοῦ σοφία καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πρῶτος λόγος φιλανθρωπίας ὑπερβολῆ τοτε μὲν δὶ ὀπτασίας ἀγγέλων.

Col. 1, 15; Prov. 8, 22; John 1, 1
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, I. ii. 18-21

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 wildernesses like savage and unbridled beings; they destroyed by their excess of self-chosen wickedness the natural reasonings, and the germs of thought and gentleness in the human soul; they gave themselves up completely to all iniquity so that at one time they corrupted one another, at another they murdered one another, at another they were cannibals; they ventured on conflicts with God and on the battles of the giants famous among all men; they thought to wall up the earth to heaven, and in the madness of a perverted mind prepared for war against the supreme God himself. While they were leading this life, God, the guardian of all, pursued them with floods and conflagrations, as though they had been a wild forest scattered throughout the whole earth; he cut them off with perpetual famines and plagues, by wars and by thunderbolts from on high, as if he were restraining by bitter chastisement some terrible and grievous disease of their souls. 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 υποβεβηκόσι, τοτε δὲ καὶ δι' ἐαυτοῦ οἰα θεοῦ
dύναμις σωτηρίου ενὶ που ἐγὼ δευτέρῳ τῶν πάλαι
θεοφιλῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ δι' ἀνθρώπου μορφῆς,
ὅτι μηδ' ἐτέρως ἢν δυνατὸν αὐτοῖς, ὑπεφαίνετο.
'Ως δ' ἦδη διὰ τούτων τὰ θεοσεβείας σπέρ-
ματα εἰς πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν καταβέβλητο ὅλον τε
ἐθνος ἐπὶ γῆς θεοσεβεία προσανέχον ἐκ τῶν
ἀνέκαθεν Ἐβραίων ὑπέστη, τούτοις μέν, ὡς ἂν
ἐι πλήθεσιν ἐτὶ ταῖς παλαιάς ἀγωγαῖς ἐκδεδηη-
μένοις, διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Μωσέως εἰκόνας καὶ
σύμβολα σαββάτου τῶν μυστικῶν καὶ περιτομῆς
ἐτέρων τε νοητῶν θεωρημάτων εἰσαγωγάς, ἀλλ'
οὐκ αὐτὰς ἐναργεῖς παρεδίδον μυσταγωγίας· ὡς
dὲ τῆς παρὰ τούτως νομοθεσίας βουμένης καὶ
πνεύμα δίκην εὐώδους εἰς ἀπαντας ἀνθρώπους
dιαδιδομένης, ἦδη τότε ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς πλείσοις
τῶν ἐθνῶν διὰ τῶν πανταχόσε νομοθετῶν τε καὶ
φιλοσόφων ἡμέρωτο τὰ φρονήματα, τῆς ἁγίας
καὶ ἀπειρούσθ θηριωδίας ἐπὶ τὸ πρᾶον μεταβεβλη-
μένης, ὡς καὶ εἰρήνης βαθείαν φιλίας τε καὶ
ἐπιμελείας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἕχουν, τηνικαῦτα πάσις
δὴ λοιπὸν ἀνθρώποις καὶ τοῖς ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην
ἐθνεσιν ὡς ἂν προσφελημένοις· καὶ ἦδη τυν-
χάνουσιν ἐπιτιθείοις πρὸς παραδόχη τῆς τοῦ
πατρὸς γνώσεως, ὅ αὐτὸς δὴ πάλιν ἑκεῖνος ὁ τῶν
ἀρετῶν διδάσκαλος, ὁ ἐν πάσιν ἀγαθοῖς τοῦ
πατρὸς ὑπουργός, ὁ θεῖος καὶ οὐράνιος τοῦ θεοῦ
lógos, δι' ἀνθρώπου κατὰ μηδὲν σώματος οὐσία
τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν διαλλάττοντος ἀρχομένης τῆς
Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας ἐπιφανεῖς, τουταῦτα ἐδρασέν
τε καὶ πέπουθεν, οἰα ταῖς προφητείαις ἀκόλουθα
ἡμ, ἀνθρωπῶν ὀμοῦ καὶ θεοῦ ἐπιδημήσειν τῷ βίῳ
24
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 lawgivers and philosophers who arose everywhere. Savage and unbridled brutality was changed to mildness, so that deep peace, friendship, and mutual intercourse obtained. Then, at last, when all men, even the heathen throughout the world, were now fitted for the benefits prepared for them beforehand, for the reception of knowledge of the Father, then again that same divine and heavenly Logos of God, the teacher of virtues, the minister of the Father in all good things, appeared at the beginning of the Roman Empire through man. In nothing did he change our nature as touching bodily substance; his acts and sufferings were such as were consistent with the prophecies which foretell that man and God shall live together to do marvellous
παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητὴν καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἔθνεσιν διδάσκαλον τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς εὐσεβείας ἀναδειχθήσεθαι τὸ τε παράδοξον αὐτοῦ τῆς γενέσεως καὶ τὴν καυχή διδασκαλίαν καὶ τῶν ἔργων τὰθαύματα ἐπὶ τε τούτοις τοῦ θανάτου τὸν τρόπον τῆς τε ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἐνθεοῦν ἀποκατάστασιν αὐτοῦ προκηρυκτούσας. τὴν γονὴν ἐπὶ τέλει βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ διὸνομὴ τοῦ προφήτης θείω πνεύματι συνορῶν, ὡδὲ τὴν θεοφορείτο, ἀνθρωπιστεύον τὴν θεοπτικὴν ὑπογράφων: "ἐθεώρουν γὰρ" φησίν "ἐως οὐθὸν ἐτέθησαν, καὶ παλαιὸς ἤμερῶν ἐκάθευτο. καὶ τὸ ἐνδύμα αὐτοῦ ὡς εἰ χῶν λευκῶν, καὶ ἡθρίε τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὡς εἰ ἔριον καθαρῶν· οἱ θρόνος αὐτοῦ ὕφαξ πυρός, οἱ τροχοὶ αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγων· πτωμᾶς πυρὸς ἐλλεκεν ἐμπρόσθεν αὐτοῦ. χίλια χιλιάδες ἑλειτούργουν αὐτῷ, καὶ μύραι μυριάδες παρειστήκεισαν ἐμπρόσθεν αὐτοῦ. κριτήριον ἐκάθισεν, καὶ βιβλιοὶ ἠνεώχθησαν." καὶ ἔξης ἐπὶ "ἐθεώρουν," φησίν "καὶ ἱδοὺ μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς εἰ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος, καὶ ἐως τοῦ παλαιοῦ τῶν ἤμερῶν ἐφθασεν, καὶ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ προσηνέχθη καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόθη ἡ ἁρχὴ καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία, καὶ πάντες οἱ λαοὶ φυλαὶ γλώσσια αὐτῷ δουλεύσουσιν. ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ ἐξουσία αἰώνιος, ἦτις οὐ παρελεύσεται καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ οὐ διαφθαρήσεται." ταῦτα δὲ σαφῶς οὐδ’ ἐφ’ ἐτερον, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον σωτῆρα, τὸν ἐν ἁρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν θεὸν λόγου, ἀναφέροτο ἄν, υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου διὰ τὴν υστάτην ἐνανθρώπησιν αὐτοῦ χρηματίζοντα. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐν ὁικείοις υπομνήμασιν τὰς περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος.
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, I. ii. 23–27

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
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣ

ημών Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ προφητικάς ἐκλογάς συν-
αγαγόντες ἀποδεικτικὸτερόν τε τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ
dηλούμενα ἐν ἑτέροις συστήσαντες, τοῖς εἰρημένοις
ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀρκεσθησόμεθα.

III. "Οτι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦνομα τοῦ τε Ἰησοῦ καὶ δὴ
cαι τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρ’ αὐτοῖς τοῖς πάλαι θεοφιλέσιν
προφήταις τετίμητο, ἦδη καὶρὸς ἀποδεικνύναι.
σεπτὸν ὡς ἐνι μᾶλιστα καὶ ἐνδοξον τὸ Χριστοῦ
όνομα πρῶτος αὐτὸς γνωρίσας Μωυσῆς τύπους
ουρανίων καὶ σύμβολα μυστηρίωδεις τε εἰκόνας
ἀκολουθῶς χρησμῷ φήσαντι αὐτῷ "ὀρα, ποιῆσεις
πάντα κατὰ τὸν τύπον τὸν δεικνέιαι σοι ἐν τῷ
ὄρει" παραδοῦσι, ἀρχιερέα θεοῦ, ὡς ἐνὶ μᾶλιστα
dυνατὸν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπιφημίσας, τοῦτον Ἰησοῦν
ἀναγορεύει, καὶ ταύτη γε τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχιερω-
σύνην ἁξίας, πᾶσαν ὑπερβαλλοῦσα παρ’ αὐτῷ τὴν
ἐν ἀνθρώπων προεδρίαν, ἐπὶ τιμῇ καὶ δόξῃ τὸ
τοῦ Χριστοῦ περιτίθησαν θρόνα. οὕτως ἅρα τὸν
Χριστὸν θείον τι χρῆμα ἦπιστατο. ὅ δὲ αὐτὸς
καὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ προσηγορίαν εἰ μάλα πνεύ-
mατι θείῳ προσώπων πάλιν τινὸς ἐξαιρέτου προ-
νομίας καὶ ταύτην ἁξίοβοι. οὕποτε γοῦν πρότερον
ἐκφώνηθην εἰς ἀνθρώπους, πρὶν ἡ Μωυσεὶς γνω-
σθῆναι, τὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πρόσρημα τοῦτῳ Μωυσῆς
πρῶτῳ καὶ μόνῳ περιτίθησαν, ἄν κατὰ τύπον αὕτις
καὶ σύμβολον ἔγγον μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευτήν
dιαδεξόμενον τῇ κατὰ πάντων ἄρχην. οὐ πρό-
tερον γοῦν τοῦ αὐτοῦ διάδοχον, τῇ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ
κεχρημένου προσηγορία, ὁνόματι δὲ ἑτέρῳ τῷ
Λυσῆ, ὅπερ οἱ γεννήσαντες αὐτῷ τέθεινται, κα-
λούμενον, Ἰησοῦν αὐτὸς ἀναγορεύει, γέρας ἂν περ
τίμου, παντὸς πολὺ μείζον βασιλικοῦ διαδήματος,
prophetic utterances concerning our Saviour Jesus Christ, and in others have given a fuller demonstration of our statements concerning him, we will rest content in the present work with what has now been said.

III. 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 αὐτῷ δωρούμενος, ὅτι δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τοῦ Ναυὴ Ἰησοῦς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τὴν εἰκόνα ἔφερεν, τοῦ μόνου μετὰ Μωυσέα καὶ τὸ συμπέρασμα τῆς δι’ ἐκείνου παραδοθείσης συμβολικῆς λατρείας, τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ καθαρωτάτης εὐσεβείας τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδεξαμένου, καὶ Μωυσῆς μὲν ταύτῃ πηδοῦ τοῖς κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξῃ παρὰ πάντα τῶν λαῶν προφέρουσι ἀνθρώποις, τῷ μὲν ἀρχιερεῖ, τῷ δὲ μετ’ αὐτὸν ἡγησομένῳ, τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ προσηγορίαν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τὴν μεγίστῃ περιτέθειται σαφῶς δὲ καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα προφητεῖαν ὁμομαστὶ τῶν Χριστὸν προανεφόνουσιν, ὅμως τὴν μέλλουσαν ἔσεσθαι κατ’ αὐτοῦ συσκευὴν τοῦ Ἰουδαίων λαοῦ, ὅμως δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν δι’ αὐτοῦ κλῆσιν προμαρτυροῦμεν, τοτε μὲν ὁδεῖ πως Ἱερεμίας λέγων "πνεῦμα προσώπου ἡμῶν Χριστὸς κύριος συνελήφθη ἐν ταῖς διαφθοραῖς αὐτῶν, οὐ εἶπομεν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ αὐτοῦ ζησόμεθα ἐν τοῖς έθνεσιν," τοτε δὲ ἀμηχανών Δαυὶδ διὰ τούτων ἢνα τι ἐφρύαξαν έθνη καὶ λαῶς εμελέτησαν κενά; παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τής γῆς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ του κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ" οἷς ἔξης ἐπιλέγει ἐξ αὐτοῦ δή προσώπου τοῦ Χριστοῦ "κύριος ἐπεν πρὸς με 'νῦσο μου εἰ σοῦ εγὼ σήμερον γεγένηκα σε. αὕτησαι παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ δῶσω σοι έθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσιν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς." οὐ μόνον δὲ ἄρα τοὺς ἀρχιερεύσηνε τετμημένους, ἐλαίῳ σκευαστῶ τοῦ συμβόλου χρισμένους ἑνεκα, τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατεκόσμησε παρ’ Ἐβραίους ὅνομα, 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\(^2\) i.e. the Jewish worship symbolized the future Christianity.
καὶ τοὺς βασιλέας, οὓς καὶ αὐτοὺς νεῦματι θείω
προφήται χρίσται τινας Χριστοὺς ἀπειραγόντω, ὅτι δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς τοῦ μόνου καὶ
ἀληθοὶς Χριστοῦ, τοῦ κατὰ πάντων βασιλεύσων
θείου λόγου, βασιλικῆς καὶ ἀρχικῆς ἔξουσίας
tους τύπους δ’ ἔαυτῶν ἐφερον. ἦδη δὲ καὶ
αὐτῶν τῶν προφητῶν τινὰς διὰ χρίσματος
Χριστοῦ ἐν τύπῳ γεγονόνει παρειλήφαμεν, ὡς
toῦτoς ἀπαντας τὴν ἐπί τοῦ ἀληθῆ Χριστὸν, τὸν
ἐνθεόν καὶ οὐράνιον λόγον, ἀναφορὰν ἔχειν, μόνον
ἀρχιερεία τῶν ὅλων καὶ μόνον ἀπάσης κτίσεως
βασιλέα τοῖς μόνον προφητῶν ἀρχιπροφήτην τοῦ
πατρὸς τυχάνοντα. τούτου δ’ ἀπόδειξε τὸ μηδένα
πω τῶν πάλαι διὰ τοῦ συμβόλου κεκριμένων,
μήτε ἱερέων μήτε βασιλέων μήτε μὴν προφητῶν,
tοσαύτην ἀρετῆν ἐνθέου δύναμιν κτῆσασθαι, ὡσὶν
ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ μόνος καὶ
ἀλήθιος Χριστὸς εἰπιδεδεκται. οὐδεὶς γε τοῖς
ἐκείνων, καίπερ ἀξιώματι καὶ τιμῆ ἐπὶ πλείσταις
ὅσας γενεὰς παρὰ τοῖς οἰκείοις διαλαμβάνων,
toῦς ὑπηκόους πώποτε ἐκ τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐικο-
νικῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσφήγασες Χριστιανοῦς ἐπ-
εφήμεσεν· ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ σεβάσμος τινῷ τούτῳ πρὸς
τῶν ὑπηκόων ὑπήρξε τιμῆ· ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ μετὰ τὴν
teleutὴν τοσαύτη διάθεσις, ὡς καὶ ὑπεραπο-
θηθήσεως ἐτούμων ἔχειν τοῦ τιμωμένου· ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ
πάντων τῶν ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐθνῶν περὶ τίνα
τῶν τότε τοσαύτη γέγονε κύνησις, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ
tososúton ἐν εἰκείνων ή τοῦ συμβόλου δύναμις ὡς
te ἦν ἐνεργεῖν, ὡσον ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας παράστασις
diὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐνδεικνυμένη· ὅσον οὕτως
σύμβολα καὶ τύπους ἀρχιερωσύνης παρὰ τοῦ λαβῶν,
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
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣ

αλλ’ οὐδὲ γένος τὸ περὶ σῶμα εξ ἰερωμένων κατάγων, οὐδ’ ἀνδρῶν δορυφορίας ἐπὶ βασιλείαν προαχθεὶς οὐδὲ μὴν προφύτης ὀμοίως τοῖς πάλαι γενόμενος, οὐδ’ ἄξιας ἀλῶς ἢ τινος παρὰ Ἰουδαίων τυχῶν προεδρίας, ὀμοὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς συμβόλοις, ἀλλ’ αὐτῇ γε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς κεκόσμητο, οὐχ ὀμοίων δ’ οὐν οἷς προειρήκαμεν, τυχῶν, πάντων ἐκείνων καὶ Χριστὸς μᾶλλον ἀνηγόρευται, καὶ ως ἂν μόνος καὶ ἀληθῆς αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, Χριστιανῶν τῶν πάντα κόσμων, τῆς ὄντως σεμνῆς καὶ ἱερᾶς αὐτοῦ προσηγορίας, κατέπλησεν, οὐκέτι τύπως οὐδὲ εἰκόνας, ἀλλ’ αὐτὰς γυμνὰς ἀρετάς καὶ βιῶν οὐράνιον αὐτοῖς ἀληθείας δόγμασιν τοῖς θιασάταις παραδόσει, τὸ τε χρόσμα, οὐ τὸ διὰ σωμάτων σκευαστὸν, ἀλλ’ αὐτῷ δὴ πνεύματι θείῳ τὸ θεο-πρεπὲς, μετοχῇ τῆς ἀγεννήτου καὶ πατρικῆς θεότητος ἀπειλήθει· ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ πάλιν Ἡσαίας διδάσκει, ως ἂν εξ αὐτοῦ ὡδὲ πως ἀναβοῦν τῷ Χριστῷ "πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ’ ἐμε, οὐ εἶνεκεν ἔχρισεν με· εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς ἀπέσταλκεν με· κηρύξαι αἰχμαλώτως ἀφεσιν καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν." καὶ οὐ μόνος γε Ἡσαίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ Δαυὶ δ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ πρόσωπον ἀναφωνεὶ λέγων "ὁ θρόνος σου, ὁ θεός, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος· ράβδος εὐθύτητος ἢ ράβδος τῆς βασιλείας σου. ήγάπησις δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἐμίσησις ἀνομίαν· διὰ τούτο ἔχρισεν σε ὁ θεός, ὁ θεός σου ἐλαῖον ἀγαλλιάσεως παρὰ τοὺς μετόχους σου"· ἐν οἷς ὁ λόγος ἐν μὲν τῷ πρώτῳ στίχῳ θεοῦ αὐτὸν ἐπιφημίζει, ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ σκηντρῷ βασιλικῷ τιμᾶ, εἰθ’ ἐξῆς ὑποβᾶς μετά

Luke 4, 18. 19 Is. (61, 1)
Ps. 44, 7. 8

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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 ¹ 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." ² 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 ἀρωμάτωv be read, "with spices."
² The punctuation of this passage is based on Eusebius's Ecl. Proph. 229. 13.
EUSEBIUS

τὴν ἐνθεόν καὶ βασιλικὴν δύναμιν τρίτη τάξει
Χριστὸν αὐτὸν γεγονότα, ἐλαῖω οὐ τῷ ἐξ ὕλης
σωμάτων, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐνθέω τῆς ἀγαλλιάσεως
ἡλειμμένον, παράστησιν. παρ' ὁ καὶ τὸ ἐξαίρετον
αὐτοῦ καὶ πολὺ κρείττον καὶ διάφορον τῶν πάλαι
diὰ τῶν εἰκόνων σωματικῶτερον κεχρισμένων
ὑποσημαίνει. καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ἂν δὲ πῶς
τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ δηλοῖ λέγων "ἐἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ
κυρίῳ μου· 'κάθοι ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἔως ἃν θῶ τοὺς
ἐχθροὺς σου ὑποτόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου;'", καὶ "ἐκ
γαστρὸς πρὸ ἐωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε. ὠμοσεν κύριος
καὶ οὐ μεταμεληθήσεται· σὺ εἷς ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα
κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ." οὕτως δὲ εἰσ-
ἀγέται ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς λόγοις ὁ Μελχισεδέκ ἱερεὺς
τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ υἱόστου, οὐκ ἐν σκευαστῷ των
χρισματὶ ἀναδεδειγμένος, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ διαδοχῇ γένους
προσήκων τῇ καθ’ Ἐβραίους ἱερωσύνην δι’ ὁ
κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τάξιν, ἀλλ’ οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἀλλῶν
σύμβολα καὶ τύπους ἀνεληφότων Χριστὸς καὶ
ἱερεὺς μεθ’ ὅρκου παραλήπτεσιν ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν
ἀνηγόρευται· οἶδεν οὐδὲ σωματικὸς παρὰ Ἰου-
δαιοῖς χρισθέντα αὐτὸν ἡ ἱστορία παραδίδοσιν,
ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἐκ φυλῆς τῶν ἱερωμένων γενόμενον,
ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ θεοῦ πρὸ ἐωσφόρου μέν, τοῦτ’ ἐστὶν
πρὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συστάσεως, οὐσιωμένον,
ἀθάνατον δὲ καὶ ἀγήρῳ τὴν ἱερωσύνην εἰς τὸν
ἀπειρον αἰῶνα διακατέχοντα. τῆς δ’ εἰς αὐτὸν
γενομένης ἀσωμάτου καὶ ἐνθέου χρίσεως μέγα
καὶ ἐναργεῖς τεκμήριον τὸ μόνον αὐτοῦ εἰς ἀπάντων
τῶν πώποτε εἰς ἐτὶ 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. 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 Melchizedek." 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 immaterial 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 Χριστὸν ἐπιφημίζοντος ὁμολογεῖσθαι τε καὶ μαρτυρεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀπάντων ἐπὶ τῇ προσηγορίᾳ παρὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ βαρβάρους μνημονεύοντος, καὶ εἰς ἐτίνης παρὰ τούς ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην αὐτοῦ θιασώτας τιμᾶσθαι μὲν ὡς βασιλέα, θαυμάζοντος δὲ ὑπὲρ προφήτην, δοξάζοντος τε ὡς ἄληθῆ καὶ μόνον θεοῦ ἄρχιερεα, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις, οἶα θεοῦ λόγον προοίμα καὶ πρὸ αἰώνων ἀπάντων ὅσιομένων τὴν τε σεβάσμιον τιμὴν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπειληφότα, καὶ προσκυνοῦσαι ὡς θεον. τὸ γε μὴν πάντων παραδοξοτάτων, ὅτι μὴ φωναῖς αὐτῷ μόνον καὶ ῥημάτων φόροις αὐτὸν γεραίρομεν οἱ καθωσιωμένοι αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάση διαθέσει ψυχῆς, ὡς καὶ αὐτῆς πρωτιών τῆς ἐαυτῶν ζωῆς τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν μαρτυρίαν.

IV. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀναγγαίως πρὸ τῆς ἱστορίας τὴν ἑυταθά μοι κείσω, ὡς ἂν μὴ νεώτερον τίς εἶναι νομίζειν τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἡσυχίου τὸν Χριστὸν διὰ τούς τῆς ἐνσάρκου πολιτείας αὐτοῦ χρόνους. ἦν δὲ μηδὲ τὴν διδασκαλίαν αὐτοῦ νέαν εἶναι καὶ ξένην, ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ νέου καὶ μηδέν τούς λοιποὺς διαφέροντος ἀνθρώπους ἀσυνάσχεσιν, ὑπονοοῦσιν τούς, φέρει, βραχέα καὶ περὶ τούτου διαλαβόμεθα. τῆς μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἡσυχίου Χριστοῦ παρουσίας νεωτέρᾳ πάσην ἀνθρώπους ἐπιλαμψάσης, νέον ὁμολογουμένως ἔθνος, οὐ μικρὸν οὐδ’ ἀσθενὲς οὐδ’ ἐπὶ γωνίας ποὺ γῆς ἰδρυμένον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν πολυανθρωπότατον τε καὶ θεοσεβέστατον ταύτῃ τε ἀνώλεθρον καὶ ἀήττητον, ἢ καὶ εἰς ἀεὶ τῆς παρὰ θεοῦ βοηθείας τυγχάνει, χρόνον προθεσμίας ἅρρητος ἀθρόως οὕτως ἀναπέφηνεν, τὸ παρὰ τοῖς πάσι 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 τετημημένων. τοῦτο καὶ προφητῶν κατεπλάγη τις, θείου πνεύματος ὀφθαλμῷ τὸ μέλλον ἔσσεσθαι προδειρήσας, ὡς καὶ τάδε ἀνα-φθέγξασθαι "τις ἦκουσεν τοιαῦτα, καὶ τις ἐλάλησεν οὖν; εἰ ὤδινεν γῆ ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ εἰ ἐτέχθη ἔθνος εἰς ἀπαξ." ὑποσημαίνει δὲ πως καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν ὁ αὐτὸς προσηγορίαν, λέγων "τοῖς δὲ δουλεύοντι μοι κληθήσεται ὄνομα κανών, θ εὐλογηθήσεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς." ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ νέοι σαφῶς ἡμεῖς καὶ τοῦτο κανών οὕτως ὅνομα τὸ Χριστιανῶν ἀρτίως παρὰ πᾶσιν ἔθνεσιν γνωρίζεται, ἰ βίος δ' οὖν ὁμως καὶ τῆς ἀγωγῆς ὁ τρόπος αὐτοῖς εὐσεβείας δόγμασιν ὅτι μὴ ἔναγχος ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐπιπέπλασται, ἐκ πρώτης δ' ὡς εἶπεν ἀν-θρωπογονίας φυσικῶς ἐννοίας τῶν πάλαι θεο-φιλῶν ἀνδρῶν κατωρθοῦντο, ὅδε πως ἐπιδείξομεν. οὐ νέον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώπους ἀρχαιότητι 5 τετημημένον ἔθνος, τοῖς πάσι καὶ αὐτῷ γνώριμον, τὸ Ἑβραίων τυγχάνει. λόγοι δὴ παρὰ τοῦτω καὶ γράμματα παλαιοῦς ἄνδρας περιέχουσιν, σπανίους μὲν καὶ ἀριθμῶ βραχεῖς, ἀλλ' ὁμος εὐσεβεία καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ πάση τῇ λοιπῇ διενεγκόντας ἅρετῆ, πρὸ μὲν γε τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ διαφόρους, μετὰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἑτέρους, τῶν τε τοῦ Νωὲ παίδων καὶ ἀπογόνων ἄταρ καὶ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ, δι ἀρχηγοῦ καὶ προπάτορα σφῶν αὐτῶν παῖδες Ἑβραίων αὐχοῦσι. πάντας δὴ ἐκείνους ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνη μεμαρτυρημένους, ἦς αὐτοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ τῶν πρῶτων ἀνικόσι ἄνθρωπων, 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,
EUSEBIUS

στιανοῦς, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὀνόματι, προσεπών τις οὐκ ἂν ἔκτος βάλοι τῆς ἀληθείας. ὁ γὰρ τοι δηλοῦν ἔθελοι τοῦνομα, τὸν Χριστιανὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ γνώσεως καὶ διδασκαλίας σωφροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη, καρτερία τε βίων καὶ ἀρετῆς ἄνδρεια εὐσεβείας τε ὁμολογία ἐνός καὶ μόνου τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ διαπρέπειν, τοῦτο πᾶν ἔκεινος οὐ χεῖρον ἡμῶν ἐσπουδάζετο. οὐτ' οὖν σώματος αὐτοῦς περιτομῆς ἐμελεν, ὅτι μηδὲ ἡμῶν, οὐ σαββάτων ἐπιτηρήσεως, ὅτι μηδὲ ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' οὗδὲ τῶν τοιῶν τροφῶν παραφυλακῆς οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων διαστολῆς, ὅσα τοῖς μετέπειτα πρῶτος ἀπάντων Μωσῆς ἀρξάμενος ἐν συμβόλοις τελείωθα παραδέδοκεν, ὅτι μηδὲ νῦν Χριστιανῶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀλλὰ καὶ σαφῶς αὐτὸν ἤδεσαν τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰ γε ἄρθαι μὲν τῷ Ἀβραὰμ, χρηματίσαι δὲ τῷ Ἰσαάκ, λειλανείναὶ δὲ τῷ Ἰσαήλ, Μωυσεῖ καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα προφήταις ἀμιληκέναι προδέδεικται. ἔνθεν αὐτοὺς δὴ τοὺς θεοφιλεῖς ἐκείνους εὐροῖς ἂν καὶ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατηγορείνους ἐπιφυμίας, κατὰ τὴν φάσκουσαν περὶ αὐτῶν φωνὴν "μὴ ἄψηθε τῶν Χριστῶν μου, καὶ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις μου μὴ πονηρεύσῃ" ὥστε σαφῶς πρῶτην ἤγεισαν δεῖν καὶ πάντων παλαιστάτην τε καὶ ἀρχαιοτάτην θεοσεβείας εὑρεσιν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν ἁμβίων τῶν Ἀβραὰμ θεοφιλῶν ἄνδρῶν τῇ ἁρτίως διὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας πᾶσιν ἐθέσεων κατηγορείνῃ, εἰ δὲ δὴ μακρῷ ποθ' ὑστερον περιτομῆς φασί τῶν Ἀβραὰμ ἑντολῆν εἰληφέναι, ἀλλὰ πρὸ γε ταῦτας δικαιοσύνην διὰ πίστεως μαρτυρηθεῖς ἀνείρηται, ὡδὲ πως τοῦ θείου φάσκοντος λόγου "ἐπιστευέσθη δὲ Ἀβραὰμ
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 \(^1\) 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-

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\(^1\) Literally "observation," *i.e.* in order to avoid.
Rom. 4, 3

τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην." καὶ
dη τοιούτῳ πρὸ τῆς περιτομῆς γεγονότι χρησμὸς
ὑπὸ τοῦ φήμαντος ἐαυτὸν αὐτῷ θεοῦ (οὕτος δὴ
ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ Χριστός, ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος) περὶ τῶν
ἐν τοῖς μετέπειτα χρόνοις τὸν ὁμοίων αὐτῷ δι-
kαιοῦσθαι τρόπον μελλόντων ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς προ-
επήγγελται λέγων "καὶ ἐνευλογηθοῦσαν εἰν σοὶ
πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς," καὶ ὡς ὅτι "ἐσται εἰς
ἐθνὸς μέγα καὶ πολὺ, καὶ ἐνευλογηθοῦσαν εἰν
αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ ἐθνη τῆς γῆς." τούτῳ δὲ καὶ
ἐπιστήσαι εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐκπεπληρωμένως πάρεστιν.
πίστει μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τῇ εἰς τὸν ὄθεντα αὐτῷ
tοῦ θεοῦ λόγον τὸν Χριστὸν δεδικαίωτο, πατρώας
μὲν ἀποστάσεις δεισιδαιμονίας καὶ πλάνης βίου
προτέρας, ἐνα δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων ῥήματος θεοῦ
καὶ τούτων ἐργοὺς ἀρετῆς οὐχὶ δὲ θρησκεία νόμου
του μετὰ ταῦτα Μωυσεῖος θεραπεύσας, τοιοῦτω τε
ὅντι εἴρητο ὅτι δὴ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ
πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν αὐτῷ εὐλογηθῆσαι· ἐργοῖς
δὲ λόγων ἑναργεστέροις ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος παρά
μόνοις Χριστιανοῖς καθ’ ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀσκοῦ-
μένος αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ τῆς θεοσφέβειας τοῦ Ἀβραάμ
ἀναπέφηγε τρόπος. τί δὴ οὖν λοιπὸν ἐμποδῶν
ἀν εἰς, μή οὐχὶ ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν βίον τε καὶ
τρόπον εὐσεβεῖας ἦμιν τε τοῖς ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ τε
tοῖς πρόπαλαι ϑεοφιλέσιν ῥήματος; ὡστε μὴ ἰέαν
καὶ ἐξέγγι, ἀλλ’ εἰ δεὶ φάναι ἀληθεύοντα, πρῶτης
ὑπάρχει καὶ μόνην καὶ ἀληθῆ κατόρθωσιν εὐσεβείας
tὴν διὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας παραδοθεῖσαν
ἡμῖν ἁπαθεῖκνυθαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὂδε ἔχετω.

1 As usual, it is impossible to represent in English the
fact that in Christian Greek the same word means "nations"

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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 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 pious 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).
V. Φέρε δὲ ἡδη, μετὰ τὴν δέουσαν προκατασκευὴν τῆς προτεθείσης ἡμῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας ἡ λοιπῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνσάρκως τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπιφανείας οἵ τινος ὁδοιπορίας ἐφασίσμεθα, τοῦ λόγου πατέρα θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ δηλοῦμεν αὐτῷ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου, βοηθὸν ἡμῶν καὶ συνεργῆ τῆς κατὰ τὴν διήγησιν ἀληθείας ἐπικαλεσάμεθα ἣν δὴ οὖν τοῦτο δεύτερον καὶ πεσαρακοστὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀναγούστου βασιλείας, Αἰγύπτου δ’ ὑποτάσσομεν καὶ τελευτῆς Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας, εἰς ὕστατήν ἡ κατ’ Αἰγύπτου τῶν Πτολεμαίων καὶ ληξε δυναστεία, ὑγιόν ἔτος καὶ εἰκοστὼν, ὅτεν ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς τῆς τότε πρώτης ἀπογραφῆς, ἡγεμονεὺς Κυρίου τῆς Συρίας, ἀκολούθως ταῖς περὶ αὐτῶν προφητείαις ἐν Βηθλεὲμ γεννᾶται τῆς Ἰουδαίας ταύτης δὲ τῆς κατὰ Κυρίου ἀπογραφῆς καὶ τῶν παρ’ Ἐβραίων ἐπισημότατος ἱστορικῶν Φύσιος Ἰωσήφος μνημονεύει, καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐπισυνάντησεν ἤτοι παρ’ ἐν τῇ τῶν Γαλιλαίων κατὰ ταύτας ἔπιφανείας χρόνους αἰρέσεως, ἦς καὶ πολλὰς ἡμῶν τοῦ Λουκᾶς εἰς ταῖς Πράξεως μνήμην ὥδε τὸ λέγων πεποίηται ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἀνέστη Ἰους

Luke 2, 2

Mich. 5, 2

Acts 5, 37

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

2 Eusebius assumes that the census mentioned by Josephus, which led to a revolt, is the same as that referred to in Luke and in Acts. If he be right Luke and Matt
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, I. v. 1–3

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 Γαλιλαῖος ἐν ταῖς ἁμέραις τῆς ἀπογραφῆς, καὶ ἀπέστησε λαὸν ὅπισώ αὐτοῦ· κάκεινος ἀπώλετο, καὶ πάντες ὁσοὶ ἐπείσθησαν αὐτῷ, διεσκορπίσθησαν." τούτοις δὲ οὖν καὶ ὁ δεδηλωμένος ἐν ὀκτωκαὶδέκατῳ τῆς 'Ἀρχαιολογίας συνάδων ταῦτα παρατίθεται κατὰ λέξιν: "'Κυρίνιος δὲ τῶν εἰς τὴν βουλήν συναγομένων, ἀνὴρ τάς τε ἅλλας ἁρχὰς ἐπιτετελέκως καὶ διὰ πασῶν ὅδεύσας ὑπάτος γενέσθαι τὰ τε ἅλλα ἀξιώματι μέγας, σὺν ὅλοις ἐπὶ Συρίας παρῆν, ὑπὸ Κάισαρος δικαιοδότης τοῦ ἔθνους ἀπεσταλμένος καὶ τιμητὶς τῶν οὐσιῶν γεννησόμενος." καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησίν: "'Ἰούδας ἄν ἐν δὲ, Γαυλανίτης ἀνήρ ἐκ πόλεως ὅνομα Γαμαλά, Σάδδοκον Φαρισαίον προσλαβόμενος, ἠπείγετο ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει, τὴν τε ἀποτίμησιν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἡ ἀντικρυ δουλείαν ἐπιφέρειν λέγοντες καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐπ᾽ ἀντιλήψει παρακαλοῦντες τὸ ἔθνος." καὶ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ δὲ τῶν ἱστοριῶν τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ταύτα γράφει: "ἐπὶ τούτου τις ἀνὴρ Γαλιλαῖος Ἰούδας ὅνομα εἰς ἀποστασίαν ἐνῆγε τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, κακίζων εἰ φόρον τε Ἐρωμαίοις τελείων ὑπομενοῦσιν καὶ μετὰ τῶν θεῶν οἴσουσι βινητοὺς δεσπότας." ταύτα ὁ Ἰῶσηπος.

VI. Τηνικαῦτα δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους Ἡρώ- δου πρῶτου τὸ γένος ἀλλοφύλος διειληφότος τὴν βασιλείαν ἤ διὰ Μωσεῖους περιγραφὴν ἐλάμβανεν προφητεία "οὐκ ἐκλείψειν ἁρχὸντα εξ 'Ἰούδα οὐδὲ ἡγούμενον εκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ" φήσασα, "ἐώς ἂν ἔλθῃ ὡς ἀπόκειται," ὃν καὶ ἀποφαίνει προσ- δοκίαν ἐσεθαί ἐθνῶν. ἀτελὴ γε τοι τὰ τῆς προρ
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" 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 ἡν καθ' ὅν ὑπὸ τοῖς οἰκείοις τοῦ ἔθνους ἀρχομεν διάγεων αὐτοῖς ἔξην χρόνου, ἀνωθεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ Μωσέως καταρξαμένους καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἀὐγούστου βασιλείαν διαρκέσασιν, καθ’ ὅν πρῶτος ἀλλόφυλος Ἡρώδης τὴν κατὰ Ιουδαίων ἐπι- τρέπεται ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν, ὡς μὲν Ἰώσιππος παραδίδωσιν, Ἰδομαιοὶ ὃν κατὰ πατέρα τὸ γένος Ἀράβων δὲ κατὰ μητέρα, ὡς δ’ Ἀφρικανός (οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν δὲ καὶ οὗτος γέγονε συγγραφεύς), φασίν οἱ τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀκριβοῦντες Ἀντίπατρον (τούτον δ’ εἶναι αὐτῷ πατέρα) Ἡρώδου τινὸς Ἀσκαλω- νίτου τῶν περὶ τὸν νεώ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἑρο- δούλων καλομενών γεγονέναι ὡς Ἀντίπατρος ὑπὸ Ἰδομαιῶν ληπτῶν παιδίον αἰχμαλωτισθεὶς σὺν ἐκείνους ἦν, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὸν πατέρα πτωχὸν ὄντα καταθέσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ἐνταφείς δὲ τοὺς ἐκείνων ἔθεσιν ὑστερον Ἰρκανῷ τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερεῖ φιλοῦται. τούτου γινεται ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ σωτηρὸς ἡμῶν Ἡρώδης. εἰς δὴ ὅποι τὸν τοιοῦτον τῆς Ἰουδαίων περιελθοῦσης βασιλείας, ἔπι θύραις ἡδὴ καὶ ἡ τῶν ἔθνων ἀκολούθως τῇ προφητείᾳ προσδοκία παρῆν, ἀτε διαλελουπτών ἐξ ἐκείνου τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ Μωσέως κατὰ διαδοχήν ἀρξάντων τε καὶ ἠγησαμένων. πρὸ μὲν γε τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς εἰς Βαβυλώνας μετανα- στάσεως ἐβασιλεύσετο, ἀπὸ Σαουλ πρώτων καὶ Δαυὶδ ἀρξάμενου πρὸ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἀρχοντις αὐτοῦς διείπων, οἱ προσαγορεύομενοι κριταί, ἀρξά- τες καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ Μωσέα καὶ τὸν τούτου διάδοχον Ἰησοῦν μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ Βαβυλώνος ἐπάνοδον οὐ διέλευσεν πολιτεία χρώμενοι ἀριστοκρατικὴ μετὰ οἰκονομίας (ὅι γὰρ ἑρείς. προστήκεσαν 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 hierodouloi\(^1\) 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 oligarchie aristocracy was continuous (for the

\(^1\) That is "temple servants": their functions were various.
πραγμάτων), ἀρχι ὀν Πωμπήιος Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ἐπίστας τὴν μὲν Ἰερουσαλήμ πολιορκεῖ κατὰ κράτος μαίνει τε ἄγια μέχρι τῶν ἀδύτων τοῦ ἱεροῦ προελθὼν, τὸν δὲ ἐκ προγόνων διαδοχῆς εἰς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ διαρκέσαντα βασιλέα τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀρχιερέα, Ἀριστόβουλος ὄνομα ἦν αὐτῷ, δέσμιον ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἂμα τέκνους ἐκπέμψας, ὶρκανῷ μὲν τῷ τούτῳ ἄδελφῳ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης παραδίδωσιν, τὸ δὲ πᾶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος εἰς ἐκεῖνον Ῥωμαίοις ὑπόφορον κατεστήσατο. αὐτίκα γοῦν καὶ ὶρκανῷ, εἰς ὃν ὄστατον τὰ τῆς τῶν ἀρχιερέων περιέστη διαδοχῆς, ὑπὸ Πάρθων αἰχμαλώτων ληφθέντος, πρῶτος, ὡς γοῦν ἔφην, ἀλλόφυλος Ἰρώδης ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου Ῥωμαιῶν Αὐγούστου τε βασιλέως τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἐγχειρίζεται, καθὸ δὲν ἐναργῶς τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας ἐνστάσης, καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡ προσδοκιμενή σωτηρία τε καὶ κλῆσις ἀκολούθως τῇ προφητείᾳ παρηκαλοῦθησεν· ἐξ ὅς δὲν χρόνου τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἄρχαρτων τε καὶ ἡγουμένων, λέγω δὲ τῶν ἔκ τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους, διαλειποτότων, εἰκότως αὐτοῖς καὶ τα τῆς ἐκ προγόνων ἐνστάθως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐγγυτα διαδόχους κατὰ γενεὰν προϊούσης ἀρχιερωσύνης παραχρῆμα συγχεῖται. ἔχεις καὶ τούτων ἀξιόχρεων τὸν Ἰωσηπον μάρτυρα, δηλοῦντα ὡς τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιτραπεῖς Ἰρώδης οὐκέτι τοὺς εἰς ἀρχαίον γένους καβιστήσῃ ἀρχιερεῖς, ἀλλὰ τισν ἀσύμιος τὴν τιμὴν ἀπένεμεν· τὰ ὅμως δὲ πρόξως τῷ Ἰρώδη περὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν ἱερέων Ἀρχέλαον τε τῶν παιδα αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ τούτου Ῥωμαίοις, τὴν ἁρχὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων παρειληφότας. ὃ δὲ αὐτὸς δηλοὶ ὡς ἄρα καὶ τὴν Ἰουσ.
priests were at the head of affairs), until Pompey, a Roman general, attacked Jerusalem, besieged it in force, and despoiled 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
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣ

ιεράν στολήν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως πρῶτος Ἡράδης ἀποκλείσας ὑπὸ ὦδιαν σφραγίδα πεποίηται, μηκέτι ἀυτὴν τοὺς ἀρχιερεύον ἔχειν υφ' ἐαυτούς ἐπιτρέψας· ταύτων δὲ καὶ τὸν μετ' αὐτῶν Ἀρχέλαιον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ρωμαίου ἰαπράξασθαι. καὶ ταύτα δ' ἡμῶν ιερήσθω εἰς ἑτέρας ἀπόδειξιν προφητείας κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πεπερασμένης. σαφέστατα γοῦν ἐν τῷ Δανίηλ ἐβδομάδων τινῶν ἄριθμον ὄνομαστὶ ἕως Χριστοῦ ἦγουμένου περιλαβὼν ὅ λόγος, περὶ ὃν ἐν ἑτέροις διευλήφαμεν, μετὰ τὸ τούτων συμπέρασμα ἐξολοθρευθήσεσθαι τὸ παρὰ Ἰουδαίων χρίσμα προφητεύει· καὶ τούτῳ δὲ σαφῶς κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ γενέσεως ἀποδείκνυται συμπεπληρωμένον. ταύτα δ' ἡμῖν ἀναγκαίως εἰς παράστασιν τῆς τῶν χρόνων ἀλήθειας προτετηρήθωσ.

VII. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὴν περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενεαλογίαν διαφόροις ἡμῖν ὁ τε Ματθαῖος καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς εὐαγγελιζόμενοι παραδεδώκασι διαφωνεῖν τε νομίζουσι τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν τε πιστῶν ἕκαστος ἀγνοία τάληθος εὐρησιαλογεῖν εἰς τοὺς τόπους πεφιλοτίμηται, φέρε, καὶ τὴν περὶ τούτων κατελθοῦσαν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἱστορίαν παραθώμεθα, ἢν δ' ἑπιστολῆς Αριστείδη γράφων περὶ συμφωνίας τῆς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις γενεαλογίας ὁ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἡμῖν δηλώθεις Ἀφρικανὸς ἐμνημόνευσεν, τὰς μὲν δὴ τῶν λοιπῶν δόξας ὡς ἃν βιαίους καὶ διεξευσμένας ἀπελέγξας, ἢν δ' αὐτὸς παρείλθησεν ἱστορίαν τούτως αὐτοῖς ἐκτιθεμένος τοῖς ῥήμασιν· "Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰ ὄνοματα τῶν γενόμαι ἐν Ἰσραήλ ἄρθρῳ ἔσεί ἡ νόμως, φύσει μὲν, γνησίῳ 54
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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, νόμων δὲ, ἑτέρου παιδοποιουμένου εἰς ὄνομα τελευτήσαντος ἀδελφοῦ ἀτέκνου (ὅτι γὰρ οὐδέπω δέδοτο ἐλπὶς ἀναστάσεως σαφῆς, τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀναστάσει ἐμμονύτῳ θυντῆ, ἵνα ἀνέκλειπτον τὸ ὄνομα μείνῃ τοῦ μετηλλαχότος). ἔπει οὖν οἱ τῇ γενεαλογία ταύτη 3 ἐμφερόμενοι, οἱ μὲν διεδέξαντο παῖς πατέρα γνησίως, οἱ δὲ ἑτέροις μὲν ἐγεννηθῆσαν, ἑτέροις δὲ προσετέθησαν κλήσει, ἀμφοτέρων γέγονεν ἡ μνήμη, καὶ τῶν γεγεννηκότων καὶ τῶν ὡς γεγεννηκότων. οὕτως οὐδέτερον τῶν εὐαγγελίων ψεύδεται, καὶ φύσιν ἀριθμοῦ καὶ νόμον. ἐπεπλάκη 4 γὰρ ἀλλήλους τὰ γένη, τὸ τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Σολομώνος καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ναθάν, ἀναστάσεσιν ἀτέκνων καὶ δευτερογαμίαις καὶ ἀναστάσει σπερμάτων, ως δικαίως τοὺς αὐτούς ἄλλοτε ἄλλων νομίζοντας, τῶν μὲν δοκοῦντων πατέρων, τῶν δὲ ὑπαρχόντων· ως ἀμφοτέρας τὰς διηγήσεις κυρίως ἀληθεῖς οὕσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωσήφ πολυπλόκως μὲν, ἄλλα ἀκριβῶς κατελθεῖν. ἵνα δὲ σαφῆς ἦ τὸ λεγό-5 μενον, τὴν ἐναλλαγὴν τῶν γενῶν διηγήσομαι. ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαυὶδ διὰ Σολομῶνος τὰς γενεὰς καταρι-

1 This is the only possible translation of the Greek; but it appears to be a mistake in copying on the part of Eusebius, and according to cod. q of the Quaestiones ad Stephanum (Mai, Nova patrum bibl. iv. 231 f.) Africanus wrote “the deaths of the childless.”

2 The point of this obscure argument is that among the Jews if a man died childless his brother was charged with the duty of begetting children by the widow, who was still reckoned as the wife of the deceased. Such children were legally regarded as the sons of the dead brother, though known to be actually the children of the living one. This 56
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.
ΕUSRΗΙΟ"

Matt. 1, 15. 16 θμομενονις τριτος απο τελους εδρυσκεται Μαθαων, 

Luke 3, 23. 21 απο δε Ναδαν του Δαυιδ κατα Δουκαν όμοιως 

τριτος απο τελους Μελχι. Ιωσηφ γαρ υιος Άηλι 

του Μελχι. σκοπου τοινυν ημων κεμενου του 

'Ιωσήφ, ἀποδεικτέον πως ἐκάτερος αυτοῦ πατηρ 

ιστορεῖται, ο το 'Ιακωβ ο ἀπο Σολομώνως και 'Ηλι 

ο ἀπο του Ναθαν ἐκάτερος κατάγοντες γένος, 

ὅπως τε πρότερον οὕτω δή, ο το Ίακωβ και ο 

'Ηλι, δύο ἀδελφοί, καὶ πρὸ γε, πῶς οἱ τοῦτων 

πατερες, Μαθαων καὶ Μελχι, διαφόρων οὔτε γενών, 

τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ἀναφαίνονται πάπποι. καὶ δὴ οὖν 

ο το Μαθαων καὶ ο Μελχι, ἐν μέρει τὴν αὐτὴν 

ἀγαγόμενοι γυναῖκα, ὁμομπτήριοι ἄδελφοι ἑπαγω 

γοτισμάτων, τοῦ νόμου μὴ κωλύοντος χρηεύοντας, 

ἡτοι ἀπολεμφενὴν καὶ τελευτήσαντος τοῦ 

ἄνδρος, ἄλλω γαμεῖσθαι· εκ δὴ τῆς Ἑσθᾶ (τοῦτο 

γαρ καλείσθαι τὴν γυναῖκα παραδέδοται) πρῶτος 

Μαθαων, ο ἀπο τοῦ Σολομώνως τὸ γένος κατάγων, 

τὸν Ἰακωβ γεννᾶ, καὶ τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Μαθαων 

Μελχι, ο ἐπὶ τὸν Ναθαν κατὰ γένος ἀναφερομένως, 

χρηεύοντας, εκ μὲν τῆς αὐτῆς φυλῆς, εξ ἄλλου 

δὲ γένους ὡν, ὡς προείπον, ἀγαγόμενοι αὐτῷ, 

ἐσχεν υἱὸν τοῦ 'Ηλι. οὕτω δὴ διαφόρων δύο 

γενῶν εὑρήσομεν τὸν το Ἰακωβ καὶ τὸν 'Ηλι 

ὁμομπτήριοι ἄδελφοι, ὃν ο ἑτερος, Ἰακωβ, 

ἀτέκνον τοῦ ἄδελφου τελευτήσαντος 'Ηλι, τὴν 

γυναῖκα παραλαβῶν, ἐγεννησεν εξ αὐτῆς τρίτον 

τὸν Ἰωσήφ, κατὰ φύσιν μὲν ἑαυτῷ (καὶ κατὰ 

λόγον, δὶς ὁ γεγραπται 'Ἰακωβ δὲ ἐγεννησεν 

τὸν Ἰωσήφ'), κατὰ νόμον δὲ τοῦ Ἡλὶ υἱὸς ἦν 

ἐκεῖνω γὰρ ο Ἰακωβ, ἄδελφος ὡν, ἀνέστησεν 

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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 grandfathers 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 traditional name of the woman, first Matthan, who reckoned his descent from Solomon, begat Jacob and when Matthan was dead, Melchi, who traced himself by family to Nathan, took his widow, for he was of the same tribe though of another family, as I said before, and had a son, Eli. 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.
EUSEBIUS

Luke 3, 23, 24

Luke 3, 38

σπέρμα, δι' ὁπερ οὐκ ἀκυρωθήσεται καὶ ἡ κατ' αὐτὸν γενεαλογία ἡν Μαθαίος μὲν ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ἡ εξαριθμοῦμενος Ἰακώβ δὲ φησίν ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ, ὁ δὲ Λουκᾶς ἀνάπαυν ὃς ἦν, ὡς ἐνομίζετο (καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο προστίθησι) τοῦ Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Ἡλί τοῦ Μελχί. τὴν γὰρ κατὰ νόμον γένεσιν ἐπισημότερον οὐκ ἦν ἐξειπεῖν, καὶ τὸ ἐγέννησεν ἐπὶ τῆς τοιάσθε παιδοποιίας ἀρχιτέλους ἐσιώπησεν, τὴν ἀναφοράν ποιησάμενος ἐως τοῦ Ἀδαμ τοῦ θεοῦ κατ' ἀνάλυσιν, οὐδὲ ἡ μὴ ἀναπόδεικτον ἡ ἐσχεδιασμένον ἐστὶν τοῦτο. τοῦ γονὸς σωτῆρός οἱ κατὰ σάρκα συγγενεῖς, εἰτ' οὐν φανταίζωντες εἰθ' ἀπλῶς ἐκδιδάσκοντες, πάντως δὲ ἀληθεύοντες, παρέδοσαν καὶ ταῦτα. ὡς Ἰδουμαῖοι λησταὶ Ἀσκάλων πόλει τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἐπελθόντες, εξ εἰδωλείου Ἀπόλλωνος, ὁ πρὸς τοῖς τείχεσιν ὑδρυτο, Ἀντίπατρον Ἡρῴδου τινὸς ἱεροδούλου παῖδα πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοὺς σύλλοις αἰχμαλωστὸν ἀπῆγα, τῷ δὲ λύτρα ύπὲρ τοῦ νῦν καταθέσαμε μὴ δύνασθαι τὸν ἱερεὰ ὁ Ἀντίπατρος τοῖς τῶν Ἰδουμαίων ἐθεσεν ἐντραφεῖς, ύστερον Ἑρκανῷ φιλοῦται τῷ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀρχιερεῖ πρεσβεύοντα. μὲν δὲ πρὸς Πομπήιον ύπὲρ τοῦ Ἑρκανοῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐλευθερώσας αὐτῷ ύπὸ Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ περικοπτομένην, αὐτὸς ἡτύχησεν, ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἐχρηματίσας διαδέχεται δὲ τοῦ Ἀντίπατρον, φθόνῳ τῆς πολλῆς εὐτυχίας δολοφονηθέντα, ύστερον Ἡρῴδης, ὃς ύστερον ύπὸ Ἀντωνιοῦ καὶ τοῦ σεβαστοῦ συγκλήτου δόγματι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκρίθη βασιλεύειν· οὐ παῖδες Ἡρῴδης οί τ' ἀλλοι τετράρχαι. ταῦτα

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 Melehi,' 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, who later was appointed by Antony and by decree of the august Senate to be king of the Jews. His children were Herod and the other tetrarchs. So much is shared

2 i.e. Herod Antipas and his brothers.
μὲν δὴ κοινὰ καὶ ταῖς Ἐλληνῶν ἱστορίαις· ἀναγράφτων δὲ εἰς τότε ἐν τοῖς ἁρχεῖοι οὕτων τῶν Ἐβραίκῶν γενῶν καὶ τῶν ἄχρι προσηλύτων ἀναφερομένων, ὡς Ἀχιμὼ τοῦ Ἀμμανίτου καὶ Ῥοῦθ τῆς Μωαβίτιδος, τῶν τε ἀπ’ Ἀγγύπτου συνεκποστῶν ἐπιμέκτων, ὁ Ἡρώδης, οὐδὲν τι συμβαλλόμενον τοῦ τῶν Ἰσραηλίτῶν γένους αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ συνειδότι τῆς δυσγενείας κρουόμενος, ἐνέπρησεν αὐτῶν τὰς ἀναγραφὰς τῶν γενῶν, οἰόμενος εὐγενῆς ἀναφανεῖσθαι τῷ μὴν ἄλλον ἔχειν ἐκ δημοσίου συγγράφης τὸ γένος ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατριάρχας ἡ προσηλύτους τοὺς τὲ καλομένους γεώργας, τοὺς ἐπιμέκτους. ὅλιγοι δὴ τῶν ἐπιμελών, ιδιωτικὰς ἑαυτοῖς ἀπογραφὰς ἡ μνημονεύσαντες τῶν ὁνομάτων ἡ ἄλλως ἔχοντες ἐξ ἀντιγράφων, ἐναβρύνονται σωζομένη τῇ μνήμῃ τῆς εὐγενείας· δὲν ἐτύγχανον οἱ προερημένοι, δεσπόζοντι καλομένου διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ σωτήριον γένος συνάφειαν ἀπὸ τε Ναζάρων καὶ Κωχαβα κωμῶν Ιουδαϊκῶν τῇ λοιπῇ γῇ ἐπιφοιτήσαντες καὶ τὴν προκειμένην γενεαλογίαν ἐκ τῆς Βίβλου τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐς ὅσον ἐξικνοῦστο, ἐξηγησάμενοι. εἰτ’ ὅπως ὁμῶς εἰτ’ ἄλλως ἔχοι, σαφεστέραν ἐξήγησον οὐκ ἄν ἔχοι τις ἄλλος ἐξευρεῖν, ὡς ἐγωγε νομίζω πᾶσ τε ὅσ εὐγνώμων τυχάνει, καὶ ἢμῖν αὐτῇ μελέτω, εἰ καὶ ἁμάρτημα ἔστω, τῷ μὴ κρείττονα ἢ ἀληθεστέραν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν· τὸ γέ τοι εὐαγγελιον πάντως ἀληθεύει.” καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιστολῆς προστίθησαι ταῦτα· “Μαθὰν 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 \(^1\) 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,\(^2\) 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.\(^3\) 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.\(^4\)

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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.
Ἐὔσεβιος

Ἰακώβ. Ματθαύν ἀποθανόντος, Μελχὶ ὁ ἀπὸ Ναθαν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς γυναικὸς ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἡλί. ὁμομητριοὶ ἄρα ἀδελφοὶ Ἡλί καὶ Ἰακώβ. Ἡλί ἀτέκνου ἀποθανόντος ὁ Ἰακώβ ἀνέστησεν αὐτῷ σπέρμα, γεννήσας τὸν Ἰωσήφ, κατὰ φύσιν μὲν ἑαυτῷ, κατὰ νόμον δὲ τῷ Ἡλί. οὕτως ἀμφοτέρων ἦν υἱὸς ὁ Ἰωσήφ."

Τοσαῦτα ὁ Ἀφρικανός. καὶ δῆ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ὁδὲ πως γενεαλογομεῖνον, δυνάμει καὶ ἡ Μαρία σὺν αὐτῷ πέφηνεν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσα φυλῆς, εἰ γε κατὰ τὸν Μωυσέως νόμον οὐκ ἔξην ἐτέρας ἐπιμείγνυσθαι φυλαῖς· εἰν γὰρ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δόμου καὶ πατρίας τῆς αὐτῆς ξεύγνυσθαι πρὸς γάμον παρακελεύσαι, ὥς ἂν μὴ περιστρέφοντο τοῦ γένους ὁ κληρὸς ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἐπὶ φυλῆν. ὥδε μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα ἑκέτω.

VIII. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γεννηθέντος ταῖς προφητείαις ἀκολούθως ἐν Βηθλεὲμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας κατὰ τοὺς δεδηλωμένους χρόνους, Ἡρώδης ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἢν ἀναστάλησιν μάγων ἀνερωτήσει ὅτι εἰς διαπυθανομένων ὁ τεχθεὶς βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἐσφακέως γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀστέρα καὶ τῆς τοσθήδε πορείας τοῦτο ἀτικὸν αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι, οὐδ' ἔσχε προσκυνήσαι τῷ τεχθέντι διὰ σπουδῆς πεποιημένους, οὐχ ομορώς ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι, ἀτε κυνωνούσης, ὡς καὶ δῆ ὥστε, αὐτῶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, διακινηθεῖς, πυθόμενος τῶν παρὰ τῷ ἔθνει νομοδιδασκάλων ποὺ τῶν Χριστῶν γεννηθήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ τῆς Μιχαίου προφητείαν ἐν Βηθλεὲμ προαναφωνοῦσαν, ἐνι προστάγματι τοὺς ὑπομαζόμενον ἐν τῇ Βηθλεὲμ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὁρίοις αὐτῆς ἀπὸ διεστῶς καὶ κατωτέρω παῖδας, κατὰ

Mich. 5, 2

Num. 36, 8, 9

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the death of Matthan, Melehi 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
EUSEBIUS

tόν ἀπηκριβωμένον αὐτῷ χρόνον παρὰ τῶν μάγων, ἀναφερθῆναι προστάττει, πάντως ποι καὶ τόν Ἡσυχίαν, ὡς γε ἐν εἰκός, τῆς αὐτής τοῖς ὀμήλιξι συναπολαύσαι συμφορᾶς οἴομενος. φθάνει γε μήν 2 τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς εἰς Ἀγγελικὸν διακόμισθείς ὁ παῖς, δὲ ἐπιφανείας ἄγγέλου τὸ μέλλον προμεμαθηκότων αὐτοῦ τῶν γονέων. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ ἑρά τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διάδακε γραφὴ: ἄξιον δ’ ἐπὶ τούτοις συνιδεῖν τάπικερα τῆς Ἡρώδου κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν ὁμηλίκων αὐτῶ τόλμης, ὡς παραντικα, μηδὲ σμικρὰς ἀναβολὴσ γεγενημενής, ἡ θεία δίκη περίοντα ἐτ’ αὐτῶν τῷ βίῳ μετελήλυθεν, τὰ τῶν μετὰ τῆν ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγὴν διαδεξομένων αὐτῶν ἐπιδεικνύσα προοίμια. ὡς μὲν οὖν τὰς 4 κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῶ νομισθέεσά εὐπραγίας ταῖς κατὰ τὸν ὀίκον ἐπαλλήλους ἡμαύρωσεν συμφορᾶς, γυναικός καὶ τέκνων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν μάλιστα πρὸς γένους ἀναγκαιοτάτων τε καὶ φιλτάτων μμουφνίας, οὐδὲ οἶδον τε νῦν καταλέγειν, τραγικὴν ἀπασάν δραματοργίαν ἐπισκιαζόοσης τῆς περὶ τούτων ὑποθέσεως, ἡν εἰς πλάτος ἐν ταῖς κατ’ αὐτῶν ἱστορίαις ὁ Ἰωσηπὸς διελήλυθεν: ὡς 5 δ’ ἀμα τῇ κατὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος Ἰμών καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νηπίων ἐπιβουλὴθε ἠθλοῖς αὐτῶν καταλαβοῦσα μάστιξ εἰς θάνατον συνήλασεν, οὐ χείρι καὶ τῶν φωνῶν τοῦ συγγραφέως ἐπακούσα, κατὰ λέξιν ἐν ἐπτακαδεκάτῳ τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας τὴν καταστροφὴν τοῦ κατ’ αὐτῶν βίου τούτων γράφοντος τὸν τρόπον: "Ἡρώδη δὲ μειζόνως ἡ νόσος ἐνεπικράινετο, δικὴν ὄν παρηνόμησεν ἐκπρασσομένου τοῦ θεοῦ. πῦρ μὲν γὰρ μαλακὸν ἦν, οὕτω δὲ πολλὴν ἀποσημαίνει τοῖς ἐπαφωμένοις τήν φλόγωσιν, ὡσπον 66
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, I. viii. 1-6

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
deινὴ τοῦ δέξασθαι τι, οὐδὲ ἦν μὴ οὐχ ὑποργεῖν, καὶ ἔλκωσις τῶν τε ἐντέρων καὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ
cόλου δειναὶ ἀλγηδόνες καὶ φλέγμα ὑγρόν περὶ
tοὺς πόδας καὶ διανυγῆς παραπλησία δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸ ἦτρον κάκωσις ἦν, ναὶ μὴ καὶ τοῦ αἰδοίου σῆμις,
σκόληκας ἐμποιοῦσα, πνεύματός τε ὀρθία ἐντασίς,
καὶ αὐτῇ λέαν ἀνήδης ἀχθηδόνι τε τῆς ἀποφορᾶς
καὶ τῷ πυκνῷ τοῦ ἀσθματος, ἔσπασμένος τε περὶ
πάν ἢ μέρος, ἵσχυν οὐχ ὑπομενητὴν προστιθέμενος.
ἐλέγετο γοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν θειαζόντων καὶ οἶς ταῦτα προσαποθέγγυσθαι σοφία πρόκειται, ποιηνῆ τοῦ
πολλῶν καὶ δυσσεβοῦς ταύτην ὁ θεὸς εἰσπράττεσθαι
παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως.

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ δηλωθείσῃ γράφῃ παρα-
σημαίνεται ὁ προειρημένος· καὶ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ δὲ τῶν Ἰστορῶν τὰ παραπλήσια περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
παραδίδοσιν, ώδὲ πως γράφων·

"Ενθευν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα πάν ἢ νόσος διαλαβοῦσα
ποικὸλοις πάθεσιν ἐμέριζεν. πυρετὸς μὲν γὰρ ἦν
χλιαρός, κυνημὸς δ' ἀφόρητος τῆς ἐπιφανείας
ὁλῆς καὶ κόλου συνεχείς ἀλγηδόνες περὶ τε τοὺς
πόδας ὡς ὑδρωπιώντος οἶδήματα τοῦ τε ἦτρον
φλεγμόνη καὶ δ' αἰδοίου σηπεδῶν σκώληκα
γεννώσα, πρὸς τούτους ὀρθόπνοια καὶ δύσπνοια
καὶ σπασμὸι πάντων τῶν μελῶν, ὡστε τοὺς
ἐπιθειάζοντας ποιηὴν εἶναι τὰ νοσήματα λέγειν.
ἀ ὁ δὲ παλαιῶν τοσοῦτοι πάθεσιν ὦμοι τοῦ ζῆν
ἀντείχετο, σωτηρίαν τε ἐλπίζειν, καὶ θεραπείας
ἐπενοίει. διαβὰς γοῦν τῶν Ἰορδάνην τοῖς κατὰ
Καλλιρόην θερμοὶς ἔχρητο· ταῦτα δὲ ἔξεισιν
μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀσφαλτίτην 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. 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."

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."
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dé ἐστὶ καὶ πότιμα. δόξαν ἐνταῦθα τοῖς ἱατροῖς ἐλαίῳς θερμῷ πῶν ἀναθάλφαι τὸ σῶμα χαλασθέν ἐν ἐλαίῳ πλήρῃ πῦελον, ἐκλύει καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὡς ἐκλυθεῖς ἀνεστρεφεῖν. θορύβου δὲ τῶν θεραπόντων γενομένου, πρὸς μὲν τὴν πληγήν ἀνήνεγκεν ἐνδὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπογνωσί τὴν σωτηρίαν, τοῖς τε στρατιώταις ἀνὰ δραχμὰς πεντήκοντα ἐκέλευσαν διανεῖμαι καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα τοῖς ἡγεμόνι καὶ τοῖς φίλοις. αὐτὸς δ’ ὑποστρέφων εἰς Ἱεριχοντα παραγίνεται, μελαγχολάν ἡδὴ καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἀπειλῶν αὐτῷ τι τῶν θανάτων προέκοψεν δ’ εἰς ἐπιβουλήν ἀθεμίτου πράξεως. τοὺς γὰρ ἁφ’ ἐκάστης κόμης ἐπισήμους ἄνδρας ἐξ ὅλης Ἰουδαίας συναγαγόν εἰς τὸν καλοῦμενον ἱππόδρομον ἐκέλευσεν συγκλείσαι, προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ Σαλώμην τὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τούτης Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ οἴδα ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίους τὸν ἐμὸν ἐροτάσοντας θάνατον δύναμαι δὲ πενθείσθαι δ’ ἑτέρων καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐπιτάφιον σχεῖν, ἃν ὑμεῖς θελήσητε ταῖς ἔμας ἐντολαίς ὑπογρηγοῦσα. τούτων τούς φρουρομένους ἄνδρας, ἐπειδὰν ἐκπνεύσων, τάχιστα κτείνατε περιστήσατες τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἃν πᾶσα Ἰουδαία καὶ πᾶς οἶκος καὶ ἀκών ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ διακρύσῃ. ’’ καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησίν “αὕτως δὲ, καὶ γὰρ ἐνδεῖα τροφῆς καὶ βηχ’ σπασμόνες διετείνετο, τῶν ἀγγελόνων ἢσθείς φθάσασι τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἐπεβάλλετο λαβῶν δὲ μῆλον, ἦπτοσε καὶ μαχαίριον: εἶσθε γὰρ ἀποτέμων ἐνθέλειν ἐπειτα περιαθήρησο μὴ τὸς ἑκατοντάυτον εἰς, ἐπῆρεν τὴν δεξιὰν ὡς πλήξεων ἐαυτῶν.’’ ἐπὶ δὲ τούτους ὁ αὐτὸς ἴστορεῖ συγγραφεῖν ἐτερον αὐτοῦ γνήσιον παῖδα πρὸ τῆς ἐσχάτης 70
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,
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B.I. 1, 664. τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς, τρότον ἐπὶ δυσοὶ ἡδῆ προ-
ανηρημένου, δι’ ἐπιτάξεως ἀνελόντα, παραχρῆμα
τήν ζωὴν οὐ μετὰ σμικρῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἀπορρῆξαι.
καὶ τουῦτο μὲν τὸ πέρας τῆς Ἡρώδου γέγονεν τῆς
τελευτῆς, ζωῆν δικαιῶν ἑκτίσαντος δὲν ἀμφί
τήν Βιβλεῖαν ἀνείλει παῖδων τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος
ἡμῶν ἔπιβουλῆς ἑνεκα. μεθ’ ἕνα ἄγγελος ἐναρ ἐπι-
στάς ἐν Ἀγίωτω διατρίβοντι τῷ Ἰωσήφ ἀπάραι
ἀμά τῷ παιδί καὶ τῇ τοῦτον μητρὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰου-
δαίαν παρακελεύεται, τεθηκέναι δηλῶν τοὺς ἀνα-
ζητοῦντας τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ παιδίου. τοῦτος δ’ ὁ
evagglēsisthēs ἐπισφερεί λέγων "ἀκούσας δὲ οτι
Ἀρχελαος βασιλεύει ἀντὶ Ἡρώδου τοῦ πατρὸς
αὐτοῦ ἐφοβήθη ἐκεῖ ἀπελθεῖν χρηματισθεῖς δὲ
κατ’ ὄναρ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Γαλαλαίας."

IX. Τῇ δ’ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρχην μετὰ τῶν Ἡρώδην τοῦ Ἰο-
Ἀρχελάου καταστάσει συνάδει καὶ ὁ προειρημένος
ἰστορικός, τὸν τε τρόπον ἀναγράφων, καθ’ ὅν ἐκ
diathēkówn Ἡρώδου τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπικρίσεως τε
Καῖσαρος Ἀγίωστον τὴν κατὰ Ἰουδαίων βασιλείαν
διεξάχετο, καὶ ὡς τῆς ἄρχης μετὰ δεκαετῇ χρόνον
ἀποπεσόντος οἱ ἀδελφοὶ Φίλιππος τε καὶ ὁ νέος
Πρώθης ἀμα Λυσανία τὰς ἑαυτῶν διείπων τε-
παραχίας.

Luke 3, 1

Joseph. A.I. 18, 32, 33, 35. 89

'Ὁ δ’ αὐτός ἐν ὀκτώκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς Ἀρχαιο-
λογίας κατὰ τὸ διδάκατον ἐστὸς τῆς Τιβερίου
βασιλείας (τοῦτον γὰρ τὴν καθ’ ὅλων ἄρχην
διαδέξασθαι ἐπτά ἐπὶ πεντάκοντα ἐτῶν τῆς
ἡμερομνίας ἐπικρατήσαντος Ἀγίωστον) Πολύτων
Πιλάτου τῆς Ἰουδαίαν ἐπιτραπέται δηλοῖ, ἐνταῦθα
dὲ ἐφ’ ὅλως ἐτῶν δέκα σχεδὸν εἰς αὐτὴν παρα-
μεῖναι τῆς Τιβερίου τελευτῆν. οὐκοῦν σαφῶς 3
79
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.
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απελήλεγκται τὸ πλάσμα τῶν κατὰ τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν ὑπομνήματα χθές καὶ πρῶτοι διαδεδωκότων, ἐν οἷς πρώτος αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς παρασημειώσεως χρόνος τῶν πεπλακότων ἀπελέγχει τὸ φεῦδος. ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης δ’ οὖν ὑπατείας Τιβερίου, ἡ γέγονεν ἔτους ἔβδομον τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, τὰ περὶ τὸ σωτήριον πάθος αὐτοῖς τολμηθέντα περιέχει, καθ’ ὅν δεῖκνυται χρόνον μηδ’ ἐπιστάσι πω τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ Πιλᾶτος, εἰ γε τῷ Ἰωσήφῳ μάρτυρι χρήσασθαι δέον, σαφῶς οὔτως σημαίνοντι κατὰ τὴν δηλωθείσαν αὐτοῦ γραφὴν ὡς Ἰδ’ δωδεκάτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς Τιβερίου βασιλείας ἐπίτροπος τῆς Ἰουδαίας ὑπὸ Τιβερίου καθίσταται Πιλᾶτος.

Luke 3, 1

Ἐπὶ τούτων δὴ οὖν, κατὰ τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν ἔτος πεντεκαίδεκα ποιημάτων Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἀγονώτου τέταρτον ἐν τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ Ποντίου Πιλᾶτου, τῆς τε λοιπῆς Ἰουδαίας τεταρτουροῦτων Ἰρώδου καὶ Λυσανίου καὶ Φιλίππου, τοῦ σωτῆρ καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Θεοῦ του θεοῦ, ἀρχόμενος ὡς εἰ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰωάννου βαπτισμῷ παραγίνεται, καταρχὴν τε ποιεῖται τὴν κατὰ τὸν κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγελίου κηρύγματος.

Luke 3, 2

Ἡσυχ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡ θεία γραφῇ τὸν πάντα τῆς διαδοχῆς διατελέσαι χρόνον ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἁννα καὶ Καιάφα, δηλοῦσα ὅτι δὴ ἐν τοῖς μεταξὺ

1 The word translated "reports" is used of official documents, such as the Acta Pilati claimed to be; the Latin is commentariorii—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
So that there is clear proof of the forgery of those who recently or formerly have issued a series of Pilate's Reports¹ 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 Judaea, if Josephus may be used as a witness, for he clearly shows, in the writing quoted from him above, that it was actually in the twelfth year of the reign of Tiberius that Pilate was appointed procurator of Judaea by Tiberius.

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

The divine Scripture says that he completed the whole time of his teaching while Annas and Caiaphas were high priest,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.
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tῆς τούτων ἔτεσιν λειτουργίας ὁ πᾶς τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτῶς συνεπεράνθη χρόνος. ἀρξαμένου μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀννα ἀρχιερωσύνην, μέχρι δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Καϊάφα παραμείνατος οὐδ' οὖσιν ὁ μεταξὺ τετραέτης παρίσταται χρόνος. τῶν γὰρ τοι κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἡδὶ πως καθαρομένων ἐξ ἐκείνου θεσμῶν, λέλυτο μὲν ὅ διὰ βίον καὶ ἐκ προγόνων διαδοχῆς τὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θεραπείας προσήκοντα ἦν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀλλοτε ἄλλοι τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐπιτρεπόμενοι, οὐ πλεῖον ἠτοῦς ἐνὸς ἐπὶ ταύτης διετέλουν. ἐστορεὶ δ' οὖν ὁ Ἰώσηπος τέσσαρας κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἐπὶ Καϊάφαν ἀρχιερεῖς μετὰ τὸν Ἀνναν διαγενέσθαι, κατὰ τὴν αὐτήν τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας γραφὴν ὁδὲ πως λέγων ὁ Ὀυαλέριος Γράτος, παύσας ἱεράτῃ Ἀνανοῦ, Ἰσμάηλον ἀρχιερείᾳ ἀποφαίνει τὸν τοῦ Φαβί, καὶ τοῦτον δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ μεταστῆσας, Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν Ἀνάνου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως νῦν ἀποδείκνυσιν ἀρχιερεία. ἑναυτοῦ δὲ διαγενομένου καὶ τόνδε παύσας, Σίμωνι τῷ Καμίδου τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην τῆς παραδίδουσιν. οὐ πλέων δὲ καὶ τόδε ἑναυτοῦ τὴν τιμὴν ἔχοντι διεγένετο χρόνος, καὶ Ἰώσηπος, ὁ καὶ Καϊάφας, διάδοχος ἦν αὐτῶς.' οὐκοῦν ὁ σύμπας οὖν ὁ ὁδὸς τετραέτης ἀποδείκνυται τῆς τοῦ σωτηρίος ἡμῶν διδασκαλίας χρόνος, τεσσάρων ἐπὶ τέσσαραν ἔτεσιν ἀρχιερεῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀννα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Καϊάφα καταστασιμοῦς λειτουργίαν ἐκτετελεκτῶν. τὸν γέ τοι Καϊάφαν ἀρχιερεά εἰκότως τοῦ ἑναυτοῦ, καὶ τὸ τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους ἐπετελεῖτο, ἡ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου παρεσημήνατο γραφή, ἐξ ἓς καὶ

Matt. 26, 3, 51
John 11, 49
John 18, 13, 24, 28
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
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αὕτης οὖκ ἀπάδων τῆς προκειμένης ἐπιτηρήσεως ὁ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας ἀποδείκνυται χρόνος. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ κύριος ἦμων οὐ μετὰ πλείονον τῆς καταρχῆς τοῦ κηρύγματος τοὺς δωδεκά ἀποστόλους ἀνακαλεῖται, οὐς καὶ μόνοις τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν κατὰ τὴ γέρας ἔξαιρετον ἀποστόλους ἅνωμασεν, καὶ αὕτης ἀναδείκνυσιν ἐτέρους ἐβδομήκοντα, οὕς καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλεν ἀνὰ δύο δύο πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ εἰς πάντα τόπον καὶ πόλιν οὐ ἦμελλεν αὐτὸς ἔρχεσθαι.

XI. Οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν δὲ τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου ὕπο τοῦ νέου Ἡρῴδου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτυμηθέντος μνημονεύει μὲν καὶ ἡ θεία τῶν εὐαγγελίων γραφῆς, συνιστορεῖ γε μὴν καὶ ὁ Ἰώσηπος, ὁμομαστὶ τῆς τε Ἡρωδίας μνήμην πεποιημένον καὶ ὡς ἀδελφὸς γυναῖκα οὐδαν αὐτὴν ἡγάγετο πρὸς γάμον Ἡρῴδης, ἀθετήσας μὲν τὴν προτέραν αὐτῷ κατὰ νόμους γεγαμημένην (Ἀρέτα δὲ ἦν αὕτη τοῦ Πετραίων βασιλέως θυγάτηρ), τὴν δὲ Ἡρωδίαδα ζώντος διαστήσας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς· δι᾽ ἦν καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἀνελὼν πόλεμον άρεται πρὸς τὸν Ἄρεταν, ὡς ἐν ἡτταμαχίᾳ αὐτῷ τῆς θυγατρός, εἰ δὲ πολέμῳ μάχης γεγομένης πάντα φησιν τὸν Ἡρώδου στρατὸν διαφθαρῆναι καὶ ταῦτα πεποιηθέναι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐνεκέν τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἰωάννην γεγομένης. ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς Ἰώσηπος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα δικαίωται καὶ βαπτιστὶν ὀμολογῶν γεγονέναι τὸν Ἰωάννην, τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν τῶν εὐαγγελίων γραφῆς ἀναγεγραμμένοις συμμαρτυρεῖ, ἕστερεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἡρῴδην τῆς βασιλείας ἀποπεπτωκέναι διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν Ἡρωδία, μεθ’ ἴσην αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑπεροπίαν ἀπεληλάσθαι, Βιενναν 78
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."


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tῆς Γαλλίας πόλων οἴκεῖν καταδικασθέντα. καὶ ταῦτα γε αυτῷ ἐν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς Ἀρχαιο-

λογίας δεδήλωται, ἐνθα συλλαβαῖς αὐταῖς περὶ τοῦ Ἰωάννου ταῦτα γράφει·

“Τισι δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐδόκει ὅλωλέναι τὸν Ἡρῴδου στρατὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ μάλα δικαῖως ἐνυμένου κατὰ ποιήν Ἰωάννου τοῦ καλού-

μένου βαπτιστοῦ. κτείνει γὰρ τοῦτον Ἡρῴδης, ἅν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κελεύοντα ἄρετήν ἐπασκοῦσιν καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαιοσύνη καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβεία χρωμένους βαπτισμῷ συνιέναι· οὕτω γὰρ δή καὶ τὴν βαπτισίν ἀποδεκτὴν αὐτῶ φανεῖσθαι, μὴ ἐπὶ τινῶν ἀμαρτάδων παρατήσει χρωμένων, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἀγνεία τοῦ σώματος, ἀτε δὴ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς δικαιοσύνη προεκκεκαθ-

αρμένης. καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συστρεφομένων (καὶ γὰρ ἔρθησαν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῇ ἀκρόασει τῶν λόγων), δεῖσας Ἡρῴδης τὸ ἐπὶ τοσόνδε πιθανὸν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, μὴ ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει τινὶ φέροι (πάντα γὰρ ἐοίκεσαν συμβουλὴ τῇ ἐκεῖνοι πράξοντες), πολὺ κρείττον ἦγεῖται, πρὸν τι νεώτερον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, προλαβὼν ἀναίρειν, ἡ μεταβολὴς γενομένης εἰς πράγματα ἐμπεσὼν μετανοεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑποψία τῇ Ἡρῴδου δέσμιος εἰς τὸν Μακα-

ροῦντα πεμφθείς, τὸ προειρημένον φροῦριον, ταύτη κτίνυται.”

Ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ Ἰωάννου διελθὼν, καὶ τοῦ

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
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."  

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 ἀδὲ πως μέμνηται

"Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς, σοφὸς ἁνήρ, εἰ γε ἀνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή. ἦν γὰρ παραδόξων ἐργῶν ποιητής, διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἠδονῆς τάλαθῆς δεχομένων, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐπηγάγετο. ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν, καὶ ἀυτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν πρῶτων ἄνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῖν σταυρῶ ἐπιτετμηκότος Πιλάτου, οὐκ ἐπάυσαντο οἱ τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαπήσαντες· εφάνη γὰρ αὐτοίς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν, τῶν θείων προ- φητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία περὶ αὐτοῦ θαυμάσια εἰρήκοτόν· εἰς ἔτι τε νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τούδε ἀνομασμένων οὐκ ἐπέλειπε τὸ φύλον."

Ταῦτα τοῦ ἐς αὐτῶν 'Εβραίων συγγραφέωσι αὐτόν, ἦν ἀνέκαθεν τῇ ἐαυτοῦ γραφῇ περὶ τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν παραδεδωκότος, τίς ἄν ἐτι λείποιτο ἀποφυγή τοῦ μη ἀνασχύντως ἀπελέγχεσθαι τοὺς τὰ κατ' αὐτῶν πλασμένους ὑπομνήματα; ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἔχετω ταῦτη.

XII. Τῶν γε μὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀποστόλων παντὶ τῷ σαφής ἐκ τῶν εὐαγγελίων ἡ πρόσρησις· τῶν δὲ ἐβδομήκοντα μαθητῶν κατάλογος μὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδαμὶ φέρεται, λέγεται γε μὴν εἰς αὐτῶν Βαρναβᾶς γεγονέναι, οὐ διαφόρως μὲν καὶ αἱ Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμιμημόνευσαι, οὐχ ἦκιστα δὲ καὶ Παύλου Γαλάταις γράφων. τούτων δὲ εἶναι φασὶ καὶ Σωσθένη τῶν ἀμα Παύλου Κορινθίους ἐπιστεύ- λαντα· ἡ δ' ἱστορία παρὰ Κλήμεντι κατὰ τὴν 2 πέμπτη τῶν Ἰτοπτυπώσεων· ἐν ἡ καὶ Κηφᾶν, περὶ οὖν φησιν ὁ Παύλος "οτὲ δὲ ἦλθεν Κηφᾶς

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Gal. 2, 1, 9.
1 Cor. 1, 13

Gal. 2, 11
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.
eis Ἀντιόχειαν, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντέστην, ἑνά φησὶ γεγονέναι τῶν ἐβδομῆκοντα μαθητῶν, ὃμώνυμον Πέτρῳ τυγχάνοντα τῷ ἀποστόλῳ. καὶ Ἡσυχίαν δὲ τῶν ἀντὶ Ἰουδαία τοῖς ἀποστόλοις συγκαταλεγέντα τὸν τε σὺν αὐτῷ τῇ ὅμοιᾳ ψήφῳ τυμηθέντα τῆς αὐτῆς τῶν ἐβδομῆκοντα κλήσεως ἥξιώσθαι κατέχει λόγος. καὶ Ἡσυχίαν δὲ ἐνα τῶν αὐτῶν εἰναί φασι, περὶ οὗ καὶ ἰστορίαν ἐλθοῦσαν εἰς ἡμᾶς αὐτίκα μάλα ἐκθέσομαι. καὶ τῶν ἐβδομῆκοντα δὲ πλείους τοῦ σωτῆρος πεφηνέναι μαθητὰς εὕροις ἂν ἐπιτηρήσασα, μάρτυρι χρώμενος τῷ Παύλῳ, μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἔγερσιν ὄφθαλμι αὐτῶν φήσατι πρῶτον μὲν Κηφᾶ, ἔπειτα τοῖς δώδεκα, καὶ μετὰ τούτους ἐπάνω πεντακοσίοις ἄδελφοίς ἐφάπαξ, δὴν τινὰς μὲν ἐφασκεν κεκοιμηθήσατι, τοὺς πλείους δ᾽ ἐτὶ τῷ βίῳ, καθ᾽ ὅν καιρὸν αὐτῷ ταῦτα συνετάττετο, περιμένειν ἐπείτα δ᾽ ὑφαν αὐτῶν Ἰακώβῳ φησίν, εἰς δὲ καὶ οὗτος τῶν φερομένων τοῦ σωτῆρος ἄδελφῶν ἢν. εἰθ᾽ ὅσ παρὰ τούτους κατὰ μήνας τῶν δώδεκα πλείστων ὅσων ὑπαρξάντων ἀποστόλων, οίος καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Παύλος ἦν, προστίθησι λέγων "ἔπειτα ὥφθη τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πάσιν." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τών οὖ.  

XIII. Τῆς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἡσυχίαν ἰστορίας τοιούτος γέγονεν ὁ τρόπος. ἡ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ θείότης, εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους τῆς παραδόξου δυνάμεως ἐνεκεν βοωμένη, μυρίους ὅσους καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ ἀλλοδαπῆς πορρωτάτων ὄντων τῆς Ἰουδαίας νόσων καὶ παντοῖων παθῶν ἐλπίδι θεραπείας ἔπηγετο. ταῦτη τοῦ βασιλεὺς Ἀβγαρος, τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἐυφράτην ἑθῶν ἐπιση-
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eame to Antioch I withstood 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 one; 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 Judæa, in the hope of healing from diseases and from all kinds of sufferings. In this way King Abgar, the celebrated monarch of the
μότατα δυναστεύων, πάθει τὸ σῶμα δεινῷ καὶ οὐ θεραπευτῷ ὅσον ἐπ' ἀνθρωπείᾳ δυνάμει κατα-
ϑειρόμενος, ὅσ καὶ τοῦνομα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πολὺ καὶ
tὰς δυνάμεις συμφώνως πρὸς ἀπάντων μαρτυρ-
rouchέας ἐπύθετο, ἱκέτης αὐτοῦ πέμψας δὲ ἐπι-
στοληφόρου γίνεται, τῆς νόσου τυχεῖν ἀπαλλαγῆς
ἀξίων. ὦ δὲ μὴ τότε καλοῦντι ὑπακούσας, ἐπι-
στολῆς γοῦν αὐτὸν ἰδίας καταξίων, ἕνα τῶν αὐτῶν
μαθητῶν ἀποστέλλει ἔπι θεραπείᾳ τῆς νόσου
ὅμων τε αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας καὶ τῶν προσήκοντων
ἀπάντων ὑπισχυόμενος. οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν δὲ ἀρὰ
αὐτῷ ἐπληροῦτο τὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας. μετὰ γοῦν
τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν εἰς οὐρανοῦ
ἀνοδον Θωμᾶς, τῶν ἀποστόλων εἰς τῶν δόδεκα,
Θαδδαίον, ἐν ἀριθμῷ καὶ αὐτόν τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα
τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαθητῶν κατειλεγμένον, κινήσει
θειοτέρᾳ ἐπὶ τὰ "Εδεσσα κήρυκα καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν
τῆς περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας ἐκπέμπει,
pάντα τε δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ τῆς τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν
τέλος ἑλάμβανεν ἐπαγγελίας. ἔχεις καὶ τούτων
ἀνάγραπτον τὴν μαρτυρίαν, ἐκ τῶν κατὰ "Εδεσσαν
τὸ τηνικάδε βασιλευομένην πόλιν γραμματο-
φυλακεῖων λήφθείσαν. ἐν γοῦν τοῖς αὐτόθι δη-
μοσίως χάρταις, τοῖς τὰ παλαία καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ
tὸν "Αβγαρον πραχθέντα περιέχουσι, καὶ ταῦτα
εἰς ἐτὶ νῦν ἐξ ἐκεῖνου πεφιλαγμένα εὑρήται,
οὐδὲν δὲ οἶνον καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπακούσα τῶν ἑπιστολῶν,
ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχεῖων ἡμῶν ἀναληθεύσων 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:
TA ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΕΝΤΑ ΤΙΟ ΗΠΟΤ ΔΙΑ ΑΝΑΝΙΟΤ ΤΑΧΤΔΡΟΜΟΤ ΤΟΙΑΡΧΗΙ ΑΒΓΑΡΩΥ

"Μακάριος εί πιστεύσας εν ἐμοί, μη ἐορακός ἐν με. γέγραπται γάρ περὶ ἐμοῦ τοὺς ἐορακότας με μη πιστεύσειν εν ἐμοί, καὶ ἵνα οἱ μη ἐορακότες με αὐτοῦ πιστεύσωσι καὶ ζήσονται. περὶ δὲ οὗ ἀμφοτέρως ΑΤΜΣΛ: ἀμφοτέρως καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως [οὐτως Β] ἔγραψεν [ἔγραψε Β] τής θελας αὐτοῦ τέως μικρὸν αὐγασάθης ἐλλάμψεως: ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοῦ ἦν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γραμματοκομιστοῦ ἀποσταλείσης ἐπακούσαι διλογοστίχου μὲν πολυδυνάμου δὲ ἐπιστολής τοῦτον ἐχούσῃ καὶ αὐτὴς τὸν τρόπον ΕΡΒΔ.
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."
εγραφάς μοι ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σέ, δέον ἐστὶ πάντα δι' ἀ' ἀπεστάλην ἐνταῦθα, πληρώσαι καὶ μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι ωὗτως ἀναληφθήναι πρὸς τὸν ἀποστεῖλαντά με. καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἀναληφθῶ, ἀποστελῶ σοί τινα τῶν μαθητῶν μου, ἵνα ἴασηται σοι τὸ πάθος καὶ ἵων σοι καὶ τοῖς σὺν σοι παράσχηται.

Γαύταις δὲ ταῖς ἐπιστολαίς ἐτι καὶ ταύτα συνήπττο τῇ Σύρων φωνῇ.

"Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀναληφθῆναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ Ἰουδᾶς, ὁ καὶ Θωμᾶς, Θαδδαῖον ἀπόστολον, ἐνα τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα: ὡς ἐλθὼν κατέμενεν πρὸς Τωβίαν τὸν τοῦ Τωβία. ὡς δὲ ἤκουσθε περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἐμηνύθη τῷ Ἀβγάρῳ ὅτι ἐλήλυθεν ἀπόστολος ἐνταῦθα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καθὰ ἐπέστειλεν σοι. ἤρξατο οὖν ὁ Θαδδαῖος ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ θεραπεύειν πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ μαλακίαν, ὡστε πάντας θαυμάζειν. ὡς δὲ ἤκουσεν ὁ Ἀβγαρος τὰ μεγαλεία καὶ τὰ θαυμάσια ἐποίει, καὶ ὡς ἐθεράπευεν, ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ γέγονεν ὡς ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐστιν περὶ τοῦ τοῦ Ἰησοῦς ἐπέστειλεν λέγων ἐπειδὰν ἀναληφθῶ, ἀποστελῶ σοί τινα τῶν μαθητῶν μου, ὡς τὸ πάθος σου ἴασεται. μετακαλεσάμενος οὖν τὸν Τωβίαν, παρ' ὃ κατέμενεν, ἐπεν ὅτι ἤνηρ τῆς δυνάστης ἔλθων κατέμενεν ἐν τῇ σῇ οἰκίᾳ: ἄν ἀγαγε αὐτὸν πρὸς με." ἐλθὼν δὲ τὸ Τωβίας παρὰ Θαδδαίῳ, ἐπεν αὐτῷ ὁ τοπάρχης Ἄβγαρος μετακαλεσάμενος με ἐπεν ἀναγαγεῖν σε παρ' αὐτῷ, ἵνα θεραπεύσῃς αὐτόν. καὶ ὁ Θαδδαῖος,

1 αὐτοῦ ΑΤΜΣΛ: αὐτῷ καὶ δῆλος γέγονε [γέγονεν D] διὰ τῶν ἐπιτελομένων παρ' αὐτοῦ θαυμασίων ΤΕΕΡΒΔ.
2 ἀνάγαγε αὐτὸν πρὸς με ΑΤΜΣΛ: καὶ πολλάς λάσεις ἐπ' ὑποματίῳ ἐμ' ἐργάζεται· ὁ δὲ ἐπεν [ἐπε R] ναὶ ἐξον τής 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.’”

[ἐνώκησε Ρ, ἐνώκησεν ED] παρ’ ἐμοί καὶ πολλὰ θαύματα ἐπιτελεῖ· ὁ δὲ ἀνάγαγε αὐτὸν ἐφη πρὸς με ERBD.
'ἀναβαίνω,' ἔφη, 'ἐπειδήπερ δυνάμει παρ' αὐτῷ ἀπέσταλμα.' ὅρθρισες οὖν ὁ Τωβίας τῇ ἔξής καὶ παραλαβὼν τὸν Θαδδαίον ἠλθεν πρὸς τὸν Ἀβγαρον. ώς δὲ ἀνέβη, παρόντων καὶ ἑστώτων τῶν μεγιστάνων αὐτοῦ, παραχρῆμα ἐν τῷ εἰσέναι αὐτοῦ ὀράμα μέγα ἐφάνη τῷ Ἀβγάρῳ ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Θαδδαίου. ὅπερ ἴδων Ἀβγαρος προσεκύνησεν τῷ Θαδδαίῳ, θαυμά τε ἔσχεν πάντας τοὺς περιεστώτας; αὐτὸς γὰρ οὐχ ἐοράκασι τὸ ὀράμα, ὥς ἐκ τοῦ Ἕβγάρῳ ἐφάνη· ὅσι καὶ τὸν Θαδδαίον ἤρετο εἰ ἑπ' ἀληθείας μαθητὴς εἰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ νίου τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅσι εἰρήκει πρὸς με 'ἀποστελῶ σοι τινά τῶν μαθητῶν μου, ὅσις ιάσεται σε καὶ ξωήν σοι παρέξει.' καὶ ὁ Θαδδαῖος ἔφη 'ἐπεὶ μεγάλως πεπίστευκας εἰς τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με, διὰ τούτο ἀπεστάλην πρὸς σέ. καὶ πάλιν, ἐὰν πιστεύσης ἐν αὐτῷ, ὥς ἀν πιστεύσῃς ἐσται σου τὰ αἰτήματα τῆς καρδίας σου.' καὶ ὁ Ἀβγαρος πρὸς αὐτὸν 'οὕτως ἐπιστεύεσαι,' φησίν, 'ἐν αὐτῷ, ὡς καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαιοὺς τοὺς σταυρώσαντας αὐτὸν βουληθῆναι δύναμιν παραλαβῶν κατακόψαι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῆς 'Ῥωμαίων ἀνεκόπην τούτον.' καὶ ὁ Θαδδαῖος ἑπεν 'ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ πεπλήρωκεν καὶ πληρώσας ἀνελήφθη πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.' λέγει αὐτῷ Ἀβγαρος 'κἀγὼ πεπίστευκα εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ.' καὶ ὁ Θαδδαῖος 'διὰ τούτο,' φησί, 'τίθημι τὴν χειρά μου ἐπὶ σε ἐν ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ.' καὶ τοῦτο πράξαντος, παραχρῆμα ἐθεραπεύθη τῆς νόσου καὶ τοῦ πάθους σου εἰχεν. ἐθαύμασεν τε ὁ Ἀβγαρος ὅτι καθὼς ἦκουσαι αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, οὕτως 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 αυτοῦ Θαδδαίου, ὃς αὐτὸν ἀνευ ἄρμακειας καὶ βοτανῶν ἔθεράπευσεν, καὶ οὕ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἄβδου τὸν τοῦ Ἄβδου, ποδάγραν ἔχοντα· ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς προσελθὼν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἐπεσεν, εὐχάς τε διὰ χειρὸς λαβὼν ἔθεραπεύθη, πολλοὺς τε ἄλλους συμπολίτας αὐτῶν ὃς αὐτὸς ἴσατο, θαυμαστὰ καὶ μεγάλα ποιῶν καὶ κηρύσσων τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀβγαρος 'συ Θαδ- δαίες, ἔφη, 'σὺν δυνάμει τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα ποιεῖς καὶ ήμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἔθαυμασαμεν· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τούτων δέομαι σου, διήγησαι μοι περὶ τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πῶς ἐγένετο, καὶ περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν ποιὰ δυνάμει ταῦτα ἐποίει ἄτινα ἥκουσταί μοι.' καὶ ὁ Θαδδαῖος 'νῦν μὲν σωπῆσομαι,' ἔφη, ἐπεὶ δὲ κηρύξας τὸν λόγον ἀπεστάλην, αὐριον ἐκκλησίασον μοι τοὺς πολίτας σου πάντας, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν κηρύξω καὶ σπέρω ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον τῆς ζωῆς, περὶ τε τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καθὼς ἐγένετο, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀποστολῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἕνεκα τίνος ἀπεστάλη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ καὶ μυστηρίων ὅπε ἐλάλησεν ἐν κόσμῳ, καὶ ποία δυνάμει ταῦτα ἐποίεις, καὶ περὶ τῆς καίνης αὐτοῦ κηρύξεως, καὶ περὶ τῆς μικρότητος καὶ περὶ τῆς ταπεινώσεως, καὶ πῶς ἐταπεινώσεις ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἀπέθετο καὶ ἐσμίκρυνε αὐτοῦ τὴν θεότητα, καὶ ἐσταυρώθη, καὶ κατέβη εἰς τὸν Ἀδην, καὶ διέσχισε φραγμὸν τὸν ἐξ αἰώνων μὴ σχισθέντα, καὶ ἀν- ἤγειρεν νεκροὺς καὶ κατέβη μόνος, ἀνέβη δὲ μετὰ πολλοῦ ὀχλοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ.' ἐκέλευσεν 211

Phil. 2, 8

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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 ATMSŁ: αὐτοῦ καὶ πῶς κάθηται ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πρὸ μετὰ δόξης ἐν τοῖς οὐνοίοις καὶ πῶς ἐλευθεροθαι μέλλει πάλιν μετὰ δυνάμεως κρίναι ζώντας καὶ νεκρῶς ERBD.
οὖν ὁ Ἀβγαρος τῇ ἔωθεν συνάξαι τοὺς πολίτας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκούσαι τήν κήρυξιν Θαδδαίου, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα προσέταξεν δοθῆναι αὐτῷ χρυσὸν καὶ ἁσθμὸν. ὁ δὲ οὖν ἔδεξατο, εἰπὼν ἐὰν τὰ ἡμέτερα καταλελοίπαμεν, πῶς τὰ ἀλλότρια ληψόμεθα; ἔπραξεν ταῦτα τεσσαρακοστῶ καὶ τριακοστῶ ἔτει.

"Α καὶ οὖν εἰς ἄχρηστον πρὸς λέξιν ἐκ τῆς Σύρων μεταβληθέντα φωνῆς ένταῦθα μοι κατὰ καιρὸν κείσθω.

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.
Τάδε καὶ ἡ β̣ περιέχει βιβλιό τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας

A Περὶ τῆς μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ διαγωγῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων.

B Ὅπως Τιβέριος ὑπὸ Πιλάτου τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδαχθεῖς ἐκυψήθη.

Γ Ὅπως εἰς πάντα τῶν κόσμων ἐν βραχεὶ χρόνῳ διέδραμεν ὁ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγος.

Δ Ὅσα μετὰ Τιβέριον Γάιος Ἰουδαίων βασιλέα καθίστησιν Ἀγρίππαν, τὸν Ἑρώδην αἰών ἐχείσθαι φυγῇ.

Ε Ὅσα Φίλων ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων προσβείαν ἐστείλατο πρὸς Γάιον.

ζ Ὅσα Ἰουδαίως συνεργὴν κακὰ μετὰ τὴν κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τόλμαν.

Ζ Ὅσα καὶ Πιλάτος εαυτὸν διεχρήσατο.

Η Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Κλαύδιου λιμοῦ.

Θ Μαρτύριον Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἀποστόλου.

Ι Ὅσα Ἀγρίππας ὁ καὶ Ἑρώδης τοὺς ἀποστόλους διώξας τῆς θείας παραυτικά δίκης ἔσχετο.

ΙΔ Περὶ Θεοῦ τοῦ γόντος.

ΙΒ Περὶ Ἑλενῆς τῆς τῶν Ἀδιαβητῶν βασιλέως.

ΙΓ Περὶ Σίμωνος τοῦ μᾶγου.
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

IDL Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ 'Ρώμην κηρύγματος Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου.

IΕΠερὶ τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκου εὐαγγελίου.

IZ 'Ως πρῶτος Μάρκου τοῦ κατ' Αἴγυπτον τὴν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν γνώσην ἐκήρυξεν.

IZ Οία περὶ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἀσκητῶν ὁ Φίλων ἱστορεῖ.

III "Οσα τοῦ Φίλωνος εἰς ἡμᾶς περιήλθεν συγγράμματα.

IΘ Οία τοὺς ἐν Ἰεροσολύμων Ἰουδαίων συμφορὰ μετῆλθεν ἐν τῇ τοῦ πάσχα ἡμέρᾳ.

IKΟία καὶ κατὰ Νέρωνα ἐν τοῖς Ἰεροσολύμοις ἐπράξθη.

IKΑΠερὶ τοῦ Αἴγυπτου, οὐ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ Πράξεις ἐμνημόνευσαν.

IKΒ 'Ως ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἰς τὴν Ἴρωμην δέσμος ἀναπεμφθεῖς Παῦλος ἀπολογησάμενος πάσης ἀπελύθη αἰτίας.

IKΓ 'Ως ἐμαρτύρησεν Ἰάκωβος ὁ τοῦ κυρίου χρηματίσας ἀδελφός.

IKΔ 'Ως μετὰ Μάρκου πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐκκλησίας Ἀννιανὸς κατέστη.

IKEΠερὶ τοῦ κατὰ Νέρωνα διωγμοῦ, καθ' ὅν ἐπὶ 'Ρώμης Παῦλος καὶ Πέτρος τοῖς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας μαρτυρίοις κατεκοσμήθησαν.

IKΣ 'Ως μυρίους κακοῖς περιηλάθησαν Ἰουδαίοι, καὶ ὅσ τὸν ὑστατὸν πρὸς Ἦρωναν ἥραντο πόλεμον.

Συνήκται ἡμῖν ἡ βίβλος ἀπὸ τῶν Κλῆμεντος Τερτυλλιανοῦ Ἡσιόπου 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 Aseetics 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 Anniarus 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.
"Ὅσα μὲν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας ἔχρην ὡς ἐν προομίῳ διαστείλασθαι τῆς τε θεολογίας πέρι τοῦ σωτηρίου λόγου καὶ τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας τῶν τῆς ἡμετέρας διδασκαλίας δογμάτων ἀρ-χαϊστητός τε τῆς κατὰ Χριστιανοὺς εὐαγγελικῆς πολιτείας, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα περὶ τῆς γενο-μένης ἐναγχος ἐπιφανείας αὐτοῦ, τὰ τε πρὸ τοῦ πάθους καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐκλογῆς, ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦτον, συντεμόντες ταῖς ἀποδείξεις, διειλήφαμεν· φέρε δ’, ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἡδή καὶ τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν αὐτοῦ διασκεψόμεθα, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν θείων παρασημανόμενοι γραμμάτων, τὰ δ’ ἐξωθεὶς προσιστοροῦντες ἐξ ὧν κατὰ καιρὸν μημονεύσομεν ὑπομνημάτων.

I. Πρώτος τοι γαρ οὗτος εἰς τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ προδότου Ἰουδαία κληροῦται Ματθίας, εἰς καὶ αὐτός, ὡς δεδήλωται, τῶν τοῦ κυρίου γενόμενος μαθητῶν. καθίσταται δὲ δι’ εὐχῆς καὶ χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως τῶν ἀποστόλων εἰς διακονίαν ὑπηρεσίας ἐνεκα τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀνδρεῖς δεδοκιμασμένοι, τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπτά, οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Στέφανον. ὦς καὶ πρῶτος μετὰ τὸν κύριον ἀμα τῇ χειροτονία, ὕσπερ εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο προαχθεὶς, λίθοις εἰς θάνατον πρὸς τῶν κυριοκτόνων βάλλεται, καὶ ταύτῃ πρῶτο

Acts 6, 1-6
Acts 7, 58, 59

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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 τον αυτω φερώνυμον των ἁξιονίκων του Χριστοῦ μαρτύρων ἀποφέρεται στέφανον.
Τότε δὴ ταῦτα καὶ Ἰάκωβον, τὸν τοῦ κυρίου λεγόμενον ἄδελφον, ὁτι δὴ καὶ οὗτος τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ὄνομαζεν παῖς, τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ πατὴρ ὁ Ἰωσήφ, ὃς μνηστευθεῖσα ἡ παρθένος, πρὶν ἡ συνελθεῖν αὐτοῦ, εὐρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα ἐκ πνεύματος ἀγίου, ὡς ἡ ἱερὰ τῶν εὐαγγελίων διδάσκει γραφὴ τούτον δὴ οὖν αὐτὸν Ἰάκωβον, ὅν καὶ δίκαιον ἐπικλήν οἱ πάλαι δι’ ἀρετῆς ἐκάλουν προτερῆμα, πρῶτον ἵστοροῦν τῆς ἐν Ἰεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίας τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐγχειρισθῆναι θρόνον.
Κλήμης ἐν ἐκτῶ τῶν Ἱπτοτυπώσεων γράφων ἤδε παρίστησιν ὁ Πέτρον γάρ φήσιν καὶ Ἰάκωβον καὶ Ἰωάννην μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ σωτῆρος, ὡς ἐν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος προτετημήνους, μὴ ἐπιδικαζόμεθα δόξης, ἀλλὰ Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπον τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων ἐλέσθαι.” ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἐν ἐβδομής τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως ἑτε καὶ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ φῆσιν Ἰακώβῳ τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ Πέτρῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν παρέδωκεν τὴν γνώσιν ὁ κύριος, ὦτοι τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις παρέδωκαν, ὁ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι τοῖς ἐβδομήκοντα: ὅν εἰς ἦν καὶ Βαρναβᾶς. δύο ὁ δὲ γεγόναις Ἰακώβῳ, εἶς ὁ δικαίως, ὁ κατὰ τοῦ πτερυγίου βλήθεις καὶ ὑπὸ γναφέως ξύλω πληγεῖς εἰς θάνατον, ἐτέρως δὲ ὁ καρατομηθῇς."
Αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ ὁ Παῦλος μνημονεύει γράφων ἢτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον, εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἄδελφον τοῦ κυρίου." Ἔν τούτοις καὶ τὰ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν πρὸς τῶν τῶν Ὀσροηνῶν βασιλέα τέλος ἔλαμβανεν

Gal. 1, 19
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 fulsil-

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

ὑποσχέσεως. ὁ γοῦν Θωμᾶς τῶν Θαδδαίων κινήσει θειοτέρα ἐπὶ τὰ Ἐδεσσα κήρυκα καὶ εὐαγγελισθῆν τῆς περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας ἐκπέμπει, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐρεθείσης αὐτῶθι γραφῆς μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἐδηλώσμεν: ὦ δὲ τοῖς τόποις ἐπιστάσει, τὸν τέ Αβγαρον ἰάτα τῷ Χριστοῦ λόγῳ καὶ τοὺς αὐτόθι πάντας τοῖς τῶν θαυμάτων παραδόξως ἐκπλήττει, ἵκανῶς τε αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἔργοις διαθέεις καὶ ἐπὶ σέβας ἄγαγων τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δυνάμεως, μαθητὰς τῆς σωτηρίου διδασκαλίας κατεστήσατο, εἰς ἑτὶ τε νῦν ἐξ ἐκείνου ἡ πάσα τῶν Ἐδεσσημῶν πόλις τῇ Χριστοῦ προσανάκειται προσηγορία, οὐ τὸ τυχὸν ἐπιφερομένη δείγμα τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν καὶ εἰς αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσίας. καὶ ταῦτα δ' ὥς ἐξ άρχαίων ἱστορίας εὑρήσωμεν, μετίμωμεν δ' αὕτοις ἐπὶ τὴν θείαν γραφήν.

Γενομένου δὴτα ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ Στεφάνου μαρτυρία πρώτων καὶ μεγίστου πρὸς αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ τῆς ἐν Ἰεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας διωγμοῦ πάντων τε τῶν μαθητῶν πλὴρ ὅτι μόνων τῶν δώδεκα ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τε καὶ Σαμάρειαν διασπαρέντων, τινὲς, ἢ φησιν ἡ θεία γραφή, διελθόντες ἔως Φοινίκης καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Ἀντιοχείας οὕτω μὲν ἕθεσιν οἴοι τε ἱσαν τοῦ τῆς πίστεως μεταδίδοναι λόγου τολμάν, μόνοις δὲ τούτων Ἰουδαίως κατηγγελλον, τημικαύta καὶ Παῦλος εἶ ἐνυμαίνετο εἰς ἑτὶ τότε τῆς ἐκκλησίας, κατ' οίκους τῶν πιστῶν εἰσπροεώμενος σύρων τε ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ εἰς φυλακῆς παραδίδουσ.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ Φίλιππος, εἰς τῶν ἄμα Στεφάνῳ προ- χειρισθέντων εἰς τὴν διακονίαν, ἐν τοῖς διαστα- ρεῖσιν γενόμενοι, κατεύθυν εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν, 106
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 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."
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θείας τε ἐμπλεως δυνάμεως κηρύττει πρῶτος τοῖς αὐτόθι τὸν λόγον, τοσαυτῇ δ' αὐτῷ θεία συνήργει χάρις, ὡς καὶ Σίμωνα τὸν μάγον μετὰ πλείστων ὡς τοῖς αὐτοῦ λόγοις ἐλθηναι. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δ' ὁ Σίμων βεβοημένος κατ' ἐκείνον καιρὸν τῶν ἡπατημένων ἐκράτει γοητεία, ὡς τὴν μεγάλην αὐτὸν ἤγεισθαι εἶναι δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ. τότε δ' οὐν καὶ οὖσας τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου δυνάμει θεία τελουμέναις καταπλαγεῖς παραδοξοποιοῖς, ὑποδύεται καὶ μέχρι λουτροῦ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν καθυποκρίνεται. δ' καὶ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον εἰς δεύρῳ γινόμενον πρὸς τῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου μιαρωτάτην μετόντων αἴρεσιν, οἱ τῇ τοῦ οὐ̂ν προπάτορος μεθόδῳ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν λοιμώδους καὶ ψυραλέας νόσου δίκην ὑποδύομεν, τὰ μέγιστα λυμαίνονται τοὺς οἰς ἐν απομάζοσθαι οἴοι τὸν εἰν αὐτοῖς ἀποκεκρυμμένον δυσάλθη καὶ χαλεπὸν ἰὸν. ἢ ἴδη γε τοι πλείους τοῦτων ἀπεώσθησαν, ὁποῖοι τινὲς εἶν τὴν μοχθηρίαν ἀλόντες, ὁπερ οὖν καὶ ὁ Σίμων αὐτὸς πρὸς τοῦ Πέτρου καταφωραθεῖς ὅς ἦν, τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐτίσεν τιμωρίαν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰς αὐξών ὁσμέραι προίόντος τοῦ σωτηρίου κηρύγματος, οἰκονομία τις ἦγεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἁλθίσον τῆς τῆς αὐτοθί βασιλίδος, κατὰ τι πάτριον ἐθος ὑπὸ γυναικὸ τοῦ ἔθνους εἰς ἐτί νῦν βασιλευμένου, δυνάστην· ὅσον πρὸς τοῦ Φιλίππου δι' ἐπιφανείας τὰ τοῦ θείου λόγου ὀργία μετασχόντα τῶν τε ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμενίαν πιστῶν ἀπαρχὴν γενόμενον, πρῶτον κατέχει λόγος ἐπὶ τὴν πάτριον παλινστήσαντα γῇν εὐαγγελίσασθαι τὴν τοῦ τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ γνώσιν καὶ τὴν ζωοποιοῦν

Acts 8, 18-23
Acts 8, 26-38

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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 seurfy 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
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Psalm 67, 32

Acts 9, 15

Gal. 1, 1

Acts 9, 3-6

Tert. Apol. 21

eis ἀνθρώπους τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν ἐπιδημίαν, ἔργων πληρωθείσης δι’ αὐτοῦ τῆς "Ἀθιωπία

προφθάσει χειρά αὐτῆς τῷ θεῷ" περιεχούσης

προφητείας. ἐπὶ τούτους Παύλου, τὸ τῆς ἐκλογῆς 14

σκεύος, οὐκ εἶ ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι’ ἀνθρώπων, δι’ ἀποκάλυψεως δ’ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ

θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀπόστολος ἀναδείκνυται, δὲ ὁπτασίας καὶ τῆς

κατὰ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν οὐρανίου φωνῆς ἀξιωθεὶς τῆς κλήσεως.

II. Καὶ δὴ τῆς παραδόξου τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν 1

ἀναστάσεως τε καὶ εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀναλήψεως τοῖς

πλείστοις ἦδη περιβοήτου καθεστώσης, παλαιοῦ

κεκρατηκότος ἔθους τοῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἄρχουσι τὰ

παρὰ σφίσιν καινοτομούμενα τῷ τὴν βασίλειον

ἀρχήν ἐπικρατοῦντι σημαίνει, ὡς ἂν μηδὲν αὐτὸν

diadiδράσκοι τῶν γυνομένων, τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐκ

νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ

eis πάντας ἦδη καθ’ ὅλης Παλαιστίνης βεβοη-

μένα Πιλάτος Τιβερίου βασιλεῖ κοινοῦται, τάς 2

tε ἄλλας αὐτοῦ πυθόμενος τεραστίας καὶ ὡς ὅτι

μετὰ θάνατον ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστὰς ἦδη θεὸς εἶναι

παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς πεπίστευτο. τὸν δὲ Τιβέριου

ἀνενεγκείν ἐπὶ τὴν σύγκλητον ἐκείνην τ’ ἀπώσα-

σθαί φασὶ τὸν λόγον, τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν, ὅτι μὴ πρό-

τερον αὐτῇ τοῦτο δοκιμάσασα ἢν, παλαιὸν νόμον

κεκρατηκότος μὴ ἄλλως τινὰ παρὰ ʻΡωμαίους

θεοποιεῖσθαι μὴ οὐχὶ ψήφῳ καὶ δόγματι συγ-

κλήτου, τῇ δ’ ἀληθεία, ὅτι μηδὲ τῆς εἰς ἀνθρώπων

ἐπικρίσεώς τε καὶ συστάσεως ἡ σωτήρος τοῦ

θείου κηρύγματος ἐδείχτο διδασκαλία. ταύτῃ δ’ 3

οὖν 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.¹ 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

σωτήρος ἠμῶν λόγον τῆς Ἐρμαίων βουλής, τὸν Τιβέριον ἤν καὶ πρότερον εἰχεν γνώμην τη-ρήσαντα, μηδὲν ἀτοπον κατὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας ἐπινοῆσαι.

Ταῦτα Τερτυλλιανός τοὺς Ἐρμαίων νόμους ἠκρί-βωκόσ, ἀνὴρ τά τε ἅλλα ἐνδοξος καὶ τῶν μάλιστα ἐπὶ Ὁμήρης λαμπρῶν, ἐν τῇ γραφείσῃ μὲν αὐτῷ Ἐρμαίων φωνῇ, μεταβληθεῖσῃ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν ἀπολογία τίθησιν, κατὰ λέξιν τούτων ιστορῶν τὸν τρόπον ἡμᾶς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς γενέσεως διαλεχθῶμεν τῶν τοιούτων νόμων, παλαιόν ἢν δόγμα μηδένα θεον ὑπὸ βασιλέως καθιεροῦσα, πρὸν ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δοκιμασθήναι. Μάρκος Αἰμίλιος οὕτως περί τινος εἰδώλου πεποίηκεν Ἀλβούρνου. καὶ τοῦτο ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἠμῶν λόγου πεποίηται, οτι παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἀνθρωπεία δοκιμή ἡ θεότης δίδοται. εἶν μὴ ἀνθρώπῳς θεος ἀρέσῃ, θεος οὖ γίνεται: οὕτως κατὰ γε τοῦτο ἀνθρωπον θεο ίλεω εἶναι προσ-ήκεν. Τιβέριος οὖν, ἐφ᾽ οὗ τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ὄνωμα εἰς τὸν κόσμον εἰσεληλυθεν, ἀγγελθέντος αὐτῷ ἐκ Παλαιστίνης τοῦ δόγματος τούτου, ἐνθα πρῶτον ἦρξατο, τῇ συγκλήτῳ ἀνεκοινώσατο, δῆλος ὁ μὲν ἐκείνου ώς τῷ δόγματι ἀρέσκεται. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος, ἐπεὶ οὐκ αὐτῇ δεδοκιμάκει, ἀπώσα-το: ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀποφάσει ἐμενεν, ἀπειλή-σασθανατον τοῖς τῶν Χριστιανῶν κατηγόροις."

Τῆς οὐρανίου προνοίας κατ᾽ οἰκονομίαν τούτο αὐτῷ πρὸς νοῦν βαλλομένης, ὡς ἀν ἀπαραπο-δίστως ἄρχας ἔχων ὁ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου λόγου παν-ταχόσε γῆς διαδράμων.

III. Οὕτω δὴ τα οὐρανίω δυνάμει καὶ συνεργίᾳ
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.
EUSEBIUS

αθρόως οίδα τις ἥλιου βολή τὴν σύμπασαν οἰκουμένην ὁ σωτήριος κατηγώγαζε λόγος. αὐτίκα ταῖς θείαις ἐπομένως γραφαῖς ἐπὶ "πάσαν" προῆς "τὴν γῆν ὁ φθόγγος" τῶν θεσπεσίων εὐάγγελιστῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποστόλων, " καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν." καὶ δήτα ἀνὰ πάσας πόλεις τε καὶ κώμας, πληθυνούσης ἀλωνιος δίκην, μυρίανδροι καὶ παμπληθείς ἀθρόως ἐκκλησιαὶ συνεστήκεσαν, οὶ τε ἐκ προγόνων διαδοχῆς καὶ τῆς ἀνέκαθεν πλάνης παλαιὰ νόσῳ δεισιδαιμονίας εἰδώλων τὰς ψυχὰς πεπεδημένοι, πρὸς τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δυνάμεως διὰ τῆς τῶν φοιτητῶν αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας τε ὁμοὶ καὶ παραδόξοποιός ὦσπερ δεινῶν δεσποτῶν ἀπηλλαγμένοι εἰργμῶν τε χαλεπωτάτων λύσιν εὑράμενοι, πάσης μὲν δαμονικῆς κατέπτυον πολυθεῖας, ἕνα δὲ μόνον εἶναι θεὸν ὁμολόγουν, τῶν τῶν συμπάντων δημιουργῶν, τοῦτον τε αὐτοῦ θεσμὸς ἀλήθους εὐσεβείας δι᾽ ἐνθεόν καὶ σώφρονος θρησκείας τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίῳ κατασκαρείσης ἐγέραμον. ἄλλα γὰρ τῆς χάριτος ὑδὴ τῆς θείας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ λουτά χειμενῆς ἔθνη καὶ πρώτου μὲν κατὰ τὴν Παλαιστίνων Καισάρειαν Κορηλίου σὺν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ δι᾽ ἐπιφανείας θειότερας ὑπουργίας τε Πέτρου τήν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν καταδεξαμένου πλείστων τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐπ᾽ Ἀντιοχείας Ἐλλήνων, οὶς οἱ κατὰ τὸν Στεφάνου διωγμὸν διασπαρέντες ἐκηρυξαν, ἀνθούσης ἄρτῳ καὶ πληθυνούσῃς τῆς κατὰ Ἀντιοχείαν ἐκκλησίας ἐν τούτῳ τε ἐπιπαρόντων πλείστων ὅσων τῶν τε ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλήμ 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
πλήθους ἐπὶ τούτους ἀδελφῶν, ἢ Χριστιανῶν προσηγορία τότε πρῶτον αὐτόθι οὕσπερ ἀπ’ εὐθαλοῦς καὶ γονίμου πηγῆς ἀναδίδοται. καὶ Ἄγα-4
βος μὲν, εἰς τῶν συνόντων αὐτοὺς προφητῶν, περὶ τοῦ μέλλειν ἐσεθαί λυμὸν προθεσπίζει. Παῦλος δὲ καὶ Βαρναβᾶς ἐξυπηρετησόμενοι τῇ ῥωὸι τῶν ἀδελφῶν παραπέμπονται διακονία.

IV. Τιμέριος μὲν οὖν ἀμφί τὰ δύο καὶ εἰκοσι βα-
ηλεύσας ἤτη τελευτᾷ, μετὰ δὲ τούτων Γάϊος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραλαβὼν, αὐτίκα τῆς Ιουδαίων ἀρχῆς Ἀγρίππα τὸ διάδημα περιτίθεσιν, βασιλέα κατα-
στήσας αὐτὸν τῆς τε Φιλίππον καὶ τῆς Δυσανίου τεταρτχίας, πρὸς αἷς μετ’ οὐ πολὺν αὐτῷ χρόνον καὶ τὴν Ἡρῴδου τεταρτχίαν παραδίδωσιν, αἰδίῳ
φυγῆ τὸν Ἡρῴδην (οὗτος δ’ ἢν ὁ κατὰ τὸ πάθος τοῦ σωτῆρος) σὺν καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ Ἡρῳδίαδι πλείστων ἕνεκα ξημώσας αὐτῶν. μάρτυς Ἰω-
νηπος καὶ τούτων.

Κατὰ δὴ τούτων Φίλων ἐγνωρίζετο πλείστως, διὸ ὁμοίον καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξωθεὶν ὀρμωμένων παιδείας ἐπιστημότατος. τὸ μὲν οὖν γένος ἀνέκαθεν Ἐβραῖος ἢ, τῶν δ’ ἐπ’ Ἀλέξανδρείας εὖ τέλει διαφανῶν οὐδενὸς
χείρων, περὶ δὲ τὰ θεία καὶ πατρία μαθήματα ὅσον τε καὶ ὁπλικὸν εἰσενήκεται πόνον, ἔργω
πάσι δήλος, καὶ περὶ τὰ φιλόσοφα δὲ καὶ ἐλευ-
θέρια τῆς ἐξωθείν παιδείας οἶος τις ἢ, οὐδὲν δεὶ λέγειν, ὅτε μάλιστα τὴν κατὰ Πλάτωνα καὶ
Πυθαγόραν ἐξηλωκῶς ἀγωγὴν, διενεγκεῖν ἀπαν-
τας τοὺς καθ’ ἐαυτὸν ἱστορεῖται. V. καὶ δὴ τὰ 1
κατὰ Γάϊον ὀυτὸς Ἰουδαῖος συμβάντα πέντε
βιβλίων παραδίδωσιν, ὅμω τὴν Γάϊου διεξῆς

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Joseph, A.I. 18, 224; B.I. 2, 180
Joseph, A.I. 18, 237, 252, 255
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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 Agrippa² 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.
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φρενοβλάβειαν, ὡς θεον ἐαυτὸν ἀναγορεύσαντος καὶ μυρία περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνυβρικότος, τὰς τε κατ’ αὐτὸν Ἰουδαϊων ταλαιπωρίας καὶ ἣν αὐτὸς στειλάμενος ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὁμοεθνῶν ἐποιήσατο πρεσβείαν, ὡς τε ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαίου καταστὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίων νόμων, οὐδὲν τι πλέον γέλωτος καὶ διασυνών ἀπηνέγκατο, μικροῦ δεῖν καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς ζωῆς ἀναθλάς κύδωνον.

Μέμνηται καὶ τούτων ὁ Ἰωσήφος, ἐν ὁκτω-2 καὶ δεκακάτῳ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας κατὰ λέξιν παῦτα γράφων "καὶ δὴ στάσεως ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρεια γενομένης Ἰουδαϊῶν τε οἱ ἐνοικοῦσι, καὶ Ἑλλήνων, τρεῖς ἀφ’ ἐκατέρας τῆς στάσεως πρεσβευτῆς ἀρδεύσατο πρὸς τὸν Γαίον. καὶ ἤν γὰρ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων πρέσβεων εἰς Ἀπίων, ἃς πολλὰ εἰς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐβλασφήμησεν, ἀλλὰ τε λέγων καὶ ὡς τῶν Καίσαρος τιμῶν περιορίσει πάντων γοῦν, ὅσοι τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ὑποτελεῖς εἰς, βωμοῦς τῷ Γαίῳ καὶ ναὸς ἐνθρεμένων τά τε ἀλλὰ ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτὸν ἔσπερ τοὺς θεοὺς δεχομένων, μόνους τοῦσκε ἄδοξον ἰδεῖσθαι ἀνθρώποις τιμᾶν καὶ ὅρκουν αὐτοῖ τὸ ὅνομα ποιεῖσθαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ χαλεπὰ Ἀπίωνος εἰρηκότος, ὡς δὲ αἰσθήθην ἐλπίζειν τὸν Γαίον καὶ εἰκὸς ἶν, Φίλων ὁ προεστὸς τῶν Ἰουδαῖων τῆς πρεσβείας, ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ἐνδοξοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τε τοῦ ἀλαβάρχου ἀδελφὸς ὅν καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἄπειρος, οἶος τε ἤν ἐπ’ ἀπολογία χωρεῖν τῶν κατηγορημένων, διακλείει ὃ αὐτὸν Γαίος, κελεύσαν ἐκποδῶν ἀπ’ ἐλθεῖν, περιοργῆς τε ὡν φανερὸς ἦν ἐργασόμενος τι δεινὸν αὐτοῦς. ὃ δὲ Φίλων ἔξεισε 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 Abarch 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 φήσων πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους
οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἡσαν, ὡς χρῆ θαρρεῖν, Γαῖου μὲν
ἀυτὸς ὠργισμένου, ἔργῳ δὲ ἣδη τὸν θεὸν ἀντι-
παρεξάγοντος."

Ταύτα ὁ Ἰώσηπος. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Φίλων
ἐν ἡ συνέγραψεν Πρεσβεία τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀκριβῶς
tῶν τότε πραξόντων αὐτῶ δηλοῖ, ὃν τὰ πλείστα
παρεῖς, ἐκεῖνα μόνα παραθήσομαι, δι᾽ ὅν τοῖς
ἐντυγχάνονσι προφανῆς γενήσεται δήλωσις τῶν
ἀμα τε καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν τῶν κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ
tετολμημένων ἐνεκεν Ἰουδαίους συμβεβηκότων.

πρῶτον δὴ ὅν κατὰ Τιβέριου ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς Ῥω-
μαίων πόλεως ἱστορεῖ Σημανόν, τῶν τότε παρὰ
βασιλεῖ πολλὰ δυνάμενον, ἁρδὴν τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος
ἀπολέσθαι σπουδὴν εἰσαγγελεῖαι, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς
Ἰουδαίως Πιλᾶτον, καθ’ ὅν τὰ περὶ τὸν σωτῆρα
tετόλμητο, περὶ τὸ ἐν Ἰεροσολύμων ἐπὶ τότε
συνεστὸς ἢρὸν ἐπιχειρήσαντά τι παρὰ τὸ Ἰου-
δαίους ἔξον, τὰ μέγιστα αὐτοὺς ἀναταράξας,
VI. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Τιβέριου τελευτήν Γαίῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν
παρεληφότα, πολλὰ μὲν εἰς πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλα
ἐνυφρίασι, πάντων δὲ μάλιστα τὸ πᾶν Ἰουδαίων
ἔθνος οὐ σμικρὰ καταβλάψαι· ἀ καὶ ἐν βραχεῖ
πάρεστιν διὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ καταμαθεῖν φωνῶν, ἐν
αἰς κατὰ λέξει ταύτα γράφει

"Τοσαύτη μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἡ τοῦ Γαῖου περὶ τὸ
ἡθος ἢν ἀνωμαλία πρὸς ἀπαντᾶς, διαφερόντως
dε πρὸς τὸ Ἰουδαίων γένος, ὃ χαλεπῶς ἀπ-
εχθανόμενος τὰς μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν
προσευχᾶς, ἀπὸ τῶν κατ’ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀρξάμενος,
σφετερίζεται, καταπλήσας εἰκόνων καὶ ἀνδριάντων
tῆς ἱδίας μορφῆς (ὁ γὰρ ἐτέρων ἀνατιθέντων

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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


"Πεμφθείς δὲ εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἐπίτροπος ὑπὸ Τιθερίου Πιλάτος νῦκτωρ κεκαλυμμένας εἰς Ἰερο-
σόλυμα παρεισκομίζει τὰς Καίσαρας εἰκόνας. ση-
ματαίως καλοῦνται. τοῦτο μεθ' ἡμέραν μεγίστης
ταραχὴν ἤγειρεν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. οὐ τε γάρ
ἐγγὺς πρὸς τὴν ὀψιν ἐξεπλάγησαν, ὡς πεπατη-
μένων αὐτοῖς τῶν νόμων. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄξιονος
ἐν τῇ πόλει δείκηλον τίθεσθαι."

Ταύτα δὲ συγκρίνας τῇ τῶν εὐαγγελίων γραφῆ, 5
εἰσὶν ὡς οὐκ εἰς μακρόν αὐτοὺς μετήλθεν ἣν
ἐρρίζαν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Πιλάτου φωνὴν, δὴ ἡς οὖκ
ἀλλον ἣ μόνον ἔχειν ἐπεβῶν Καίσαρα βασιλέα.
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*."

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εἶτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἔξῆς ὁ αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς ἱστορεῖ μετελθεῖν αὐτοὺς συμφορὰν ἐν τούτοις μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ταραχὴν ἔτέραν ἑκάνει, τὸν ἱερὸν θησαυρόν, καλεῖται δὲ κορβανας, εἰς καταγωγὴν ὕδατων ἐξαναλίσκων· κατήκυ δὲ ἀπὸ τριακοσίων σταδίων, πρὸς τοῦτο τοῦ πλῆθους ἀγανάκτησις ἦν, καὶ τοῦ Πιλάτου παρόντος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, περιστάντες ἁμα κατεβόων. ὁ δὲ προῆδε γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν ταραχήν καὶ τῷ πλῆθει τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐνόπλους, ἐσθῆσειν ὕδωρτικας κεκαλυμμένους, ἐγκαταμίξεις καὶ ἕξει μὲν χρήσεσθαι κωλύσας, ἕξοις δὲ παίειν τοὺς κεκραγότας ἐγκελευσάμενος, σύνθημα διδωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος. τυπτόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πολλοὶ μεν ύπὸ τῶν πληγῶν, πολλοὶ δὲ ύπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ καταπατηθέντες ἀπώλοντο, πρὸς δὲ τὴν συμφορὰν τῶν ἀνηρμηνευμένως καταπλαγέν τὸ πλῆθος ἐσιωπήσειν.

'Επὶ τούτοις μυρίας ἄλλας ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἱεροσολύμων κεκυθῆσαν νεωτεροποιώς ὁ αὐτὸς ἐμφαίνει, παριστάς ὡς οὐδαμῶς εἴ ἐκείνον διέλιπον τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀπασαν στάσεις καὶ πόλεμοι καὶ κακῶν ἐπάλληλοι μηχαναῖ, εἰς ὅτε τὸ πανύστατον ἢ κατὰ Ὀὔστιπασιανόν αὐτοὺς μετήλθην πολυρκία. Ἰουδαίους μὲν οὖν ἀν κατά τοῦ Χριστοῦ τετολμήκασιν, ταύτῃ τῷ τὰ ἐκ τῆς θείας μετήρει δίκης.

VII. Οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν δὲ ἄξιον ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνον τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος Πιλάτου κατὰ Γαίον, οὐ τοὺς χρόνους διέζειν, τοσαύτας περιπεσεῖν κατέχει λόγος συμφοραῖς, ὡς εἴ ἀνάγκης αὐτοφονευτὴν ἕαυτοῦ καὶ τιμωρὸν αὐτόχειρα γενέσθαι, τῆς θείας, ὡς 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,
ΕΟΙΚΕΝ, ΔΙΚΗΣ ΟΥΚ ΕΙΣ ΜΑΚΡΟΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΜΕΤΕΛΘΟΥΣΗΣ. ΙΣΤΟΡΟΥΣΙΝ ᾮΛΛΗΝΩΝ ΟΙ ΤΑΣ ὈΛΥΜΠΙΑΔΑΣ ἍΜΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΧΡΌΝΟΥΣ ΠΕΠΡΑΓΜΕΝΟΙ ἈΝΑΓΡΑΦΑΝΤΕΣ.

VIII. ἈΛΛΑ ΓΑΡ ΓΑΪΟΝ ΟΥΔ’ ὉΛΟΙΣ ΤΕΤΤΑΡΟΙΝ ἘΤΕΡΟΙΝ ΤΗΝ ἈΡΧΗΝ ΚΑΤΑΣΧΟΝΤΑ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡ ΔΙΑΔΕΧΕΤΑΙ. ΚΑΘ’ ΔΙΝ ΛΗΜΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΟΙΚΟΜΕΝΗΝ ΠΙΕΡΑΣ ΣΑΝΤΟΣ (ΤΟΥΤΟ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΠΟΡΡΟΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΘ’ ἸΜΑΣ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΣΥΝΓΡΑΦΕΙΣ ΤΑΙΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙΣ ΠΑΡΕΔΟΣΑΝ), Ἡ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑΣ ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ἈΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ ἈΓΑΒΟΥ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΛΛΕΝ ΠΡΟΕΙΣΘΕΙ ΛΗΜΟΝ ΕΦ’ ὍΛΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΟΙΚΟΜΕΝΗΝ ΠΕΡΑΣ ἘΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΝ ΠΡΟΡΡΗΣΙΑΣ. ΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΝ ΛΗΜΟΝ ΕΠΙ-ΣΗΜΗΝΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ Ο ΛΟΥΚΑΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΗΣΑΣ ΤΕ ὩΣ ΆΡΑ ΔΙΑ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΡΝΑΒΑΙ ΟΙ ΚΑΤΑ ὈΝΤΩΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΙΟΥ-ΝΑΙΑΝ ΕΞ’ ΔΙΝ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΣ ἩΠΟΡΕΙ ΔΙΑΠΕΡΜΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΕΙΣΗΣΑΝ, ΕΠΙΦΕΡΕΙ ΛΕΓΩΝ (IX.) “ΚΑΤ’ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΙΡΟΝ, ΔΗΛΟΝ Δ’ ΟΤΙ ΤΟΝ ἘΠΙ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΝ, ἘΠΕΒΑΛΕΝ ΠΡΩΘΗΣ Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΤΑΣ ΧΕΙΡΑΣ ΚΑΚΩΣΑΙ ΤΙΝΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ, ΑΝΕΙΛΕΝ ΔΕ ΙΑΚΩΒΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΝ ‘ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΜΑΧΑΙΡΑ.” ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ Δ’ Ο ΚΛΗΜΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΙΑΚΩΒΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΝ ΜΝΗΜΗΣ ἈΞΙΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΤΩΝ ΥΠΟΤΥΠΩΣΕΩΝ ΕΒΣΟΜΗ ΠΑΡΑΤΙΘΕΤΑΙ ὍΣ’ ΑΝ ΕΚ ΠΑΡΑΔΟΣΕΩΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΦΑΣΙΚΩΝ ΟΤΙ ΔΗ Ο ΕΙΣΑΓΑΓΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΩΤΗΡΙΟΝ, ΜΑΡΤΥΡΗΣΑΝΤΑ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΗΔΟΝ ΚΩΝΘΕΙΣ, ΟΜΟΛΟΓΗΣΑΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΝ. “ΣΥΝΑΠΤΗΘΗΣΑΝ ΟΥΝ ἈΜΦΩ,” ΦΗΣΙΝ, “ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΟΔΟΝ ΗΞΙΩΣΕΝ ΑΦΕΘΗΝΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΤ ΥΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΙΑΚΩΒΟΥ, ΔΕ ΟΔΙΟΥΝ ΣΚΕΨΙΜΕΝΟΣ, ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΣΟΙ ΕΙΠΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΕΦΛΗΣΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ. ΚΑΙ ΟΥΤΩΙ ΑΜΦΟΤΕΡΟΙ ΟΜΟΙ ΕΚΑΡΑΤΟΜΗΘΗΣΑΝ.”

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.  

VIII. Caius had not completed four years of sovereignty when Claudius succeeded him as Emperor.  

In his time famine seized the world (and this also writers with a purpose quite other than ours have recorded in their histories), and so what the prophet Agabus had foretold, according to the Acts of the Apostles, that a famine would be over the whole world, received fulfilment. 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, ὡς φησιν ἡ θεία γραφή, ἵδων Ἡρώδης επὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἰακώβου ἀναρέει πρὸς ἠδονής γεγονός τὸ πραχθὲν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ἐπιτίθεται καὶ Πέτρῳ, δεσμοῖς τε αὐτοῦ παραδούσης, ὅσον οὖπω καὶ τὸν κατ’ αὐτοῦ φόνον ἐνήργησεν ἄν, εἰ μὴ διὰ θείας ἐπιφανείας, ἐπιστάντος αὐτῶν νυκτῶρ ἀγγέλου, παραδόξως τῶν εἰργῶν ἀπαλλαγεῖς, ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος ἀφεῖται διακοινίας. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Πέτρου οὖτως εἶχεν οἰκονομίας.

Χ. Τὰ δὲ γε τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγχειρίας εἰς τοῦ βασιλέως οὐκέτι ἀναβολής εἴχετο, ἁμα γε τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἡ τῆς θείας δίκης τιμωρὸς διάκονος μετήει, παρανύκτικα μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπιβουλήν, ὡς ἡ τῶν Πράξεων ἱστορεῖ γραφή, ὁμοίαντα μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Καισάρειαν, ἐν ἐπισήμῳ δ’ ἐνταῦθα ἐφέμερα λαμπρά καὶ βασιλικὴ κοσμημάτων ἐσθήτη λυπηλόν τε πρὸ βῆματος δημηγορήσαντα, τοῦ γὰρ τοῦ δήμου παντὸς ἐπιευθύμησαντος ἐπὶ τῇ δημηγορίᾳ ὡς ἐπὶ θεοῦ φωνῇ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων, παραχρῆμα τὸ λόγιον πατάξαι αὐτοῦ ἀγγελοῦ κυρίου ἱστορεῖ, γενόμενον τε σκωληκόβρωτον ἐκηθείαν. θαυμάσαι δ’ ἀξίου τῆς περὶ τῆς θείας γραφῆς καὶ ἐν τῶδε τῷ παραδόξῳ συμφωνίᾳ τῆς τοῦ Ἰωσήπου ἱστορίαν, καθ’ ἣν ἐπιμαρτυρῶν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ δήλος ἔστων, ἐν τόμῳ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας ἐννεακαιδεκάτῳ, ἔνθα αὐτοῖς γράφμασιν ὁδὲ πῶς τὸ παύμα διηγεῖται.

“Τρίτον δ’ ἐτος αὐτῷ βασιλεύοντι τῆς ολῆς Ἰουδαίας πεπλήρωτο, καὶ παρῆν εἰς πόλιν Καὶσάρειαν, ἢ τὸ πρότερον Στράτωνος πῦργος ἔκα-

1 The feast was probably that Pro salute Caesaris which was celebrated every four years (see E. Schwartz, “Zur 128
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, II. ix. 4—x. 3

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 story² 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," Gött. Nachr. 1907), and was due in A.D. 44 when Herod probably died.

¹ Note that Eusebius uses the word λόγιον 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."

² Note that Eusebius uses the word λόγιον 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."
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λείτω. συνετέλει δ' ἐνταῦθα θεωρίας εἰς τὴν Καίσαρος τιμήν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας ἐορτήν των ταύτην ἐπιστάμενος, καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν ἥθεροιστο τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἔπαρχιαν ἐν τέλει καὶ προβεβηκότων εἰς ἄξιαν πλῆθος. δευτέρα δὲ τῶν θεωρίων ἡμέρα στολὴν ἐνυσάμενος εξ ἀργυροῦ πεποιημένην πάσαν, ώς θαυμάσιον ύφην εἶναι, παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸ Θέατρον ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας. ἔνθα ταῖς πρώταις τῶν ἡλιακῶν ἀκτῖνων ἐπιβολαῖς ὁ ἀργυρος καταγασθείς, θαυμασίως ἀπέστιλθεν, μαρμαίρων τι φοβερόν καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀτενίζοντι φρικῶδες. εὐθὺς δὲ οἱ κόλακες τὰς οὐδὲν ἐκείνω πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἄλλος ἀλλοθεν φωνὰς ἀνεβόων, θεῶν προσαγορεύοντες 'εὐμενῆς' τε 'εἰης' ἐπιλέγοντες, 'εἰ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὡς ἄνθρωπον ἐφοβήθημεν, ἀλλὰ τούτευθεν κρείττονα σε θυτῆς φύσεως ὁμολογοῦμεν.' οὐκ ἐπέπληξεν τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐδὲ τὴν κολακεῖαν ἀσεβοῦσαν ἀπε-τρώματο. ἀνακύψας δὲ μετ' ὀλίγον, τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς ὑπερκαθεζόμενον εἶδεν ἄγγελον. τούτων εὐθὺς ἐνόησεν κακῶν εἶναι αὐτῶν, τὸν καὶ ποτὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν γενόμενον, καὶ διακάρδιον ἔσχεν ὁδύνην, ἄθροι δ' αὐτῶ τῆς κοιλίας προσέφυσεν ἀλγημα, μετὰ σφοδρότητος ἀρξάμενον. ἀναθεωρῶν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, 'ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν ἐγώ, φησίν, ἥδη καταστρέφειν ἐπιτάττομαι τὸν βίον, παραχρῆμα τῆς εἰμαρμένης τὰς ἁρτὶ μου κατεφευσμένας φωνὰς ἑλεγχούσης. ὁ κληθεὶς ἀλάναντος υἱὸν ὑμῶν, ἥδη θανεῖν ἀπάγομαι. δεκτεόν 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 refulgent with the first glint of the rays of the sun it gleamed marvellously with a peculiar sheen, fearful and terrifying to those who gazed at it. 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 reproved 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 οὖδαμῇ φαύλως, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῆς μακαριζομένης μακρότητος. ταῦτα δὲ λέγων ἐπιτάσει τῆς ὁδύνης κατεπονεῖτο. μετὰ σπουδῆς οὖν εἰς τὸ βασιλείον ἐκομίσθη, καὶ διηζέ λόγος εἰς πάντας ὅσ' ἔχοι τοῦ τεθνάναι παντάπασι μετ' ὀλίγον. ἡ πληθὺς δ' αὐτίκα σὺν γυναιξί καὶ παισίν ἐπὶ σάκκοιν καθεσθείσα τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτευον ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως, οἰμωγῆς τε πάντ' ἣν ἀνάπλεα καὶ θρήνων. ἐν ὑψηλῷ δ' ὃ βασιλεῖς δωματίῳ κατακείμενος καὶ κάτω βλέπων αὐτοὺς πρηνεῖς προπέπτοντας, ἀδακρυς οὖν αὐτός ἔμενεν. συνεχεῖς δ' ἐφ' ἠμέρας πέντε τῷ τῆς γαστρὸς ἀλγήματι διεργασθείς, τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν, ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἄγων πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος καὶ τέταρτον, τῆς δὲ βασιλείας ἐβδομον. τέσσαρας μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Γαῖαν Καῖσαρος ἐβασιλεύσει ἐνιαυτοῦ, τῆς Φιλίππου μὲν τετραρχίας εἰς τρεῖς ἄρξας, τῷ τετάρτῳ δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννου προσεληφώσ, τρεῖς δ' ἐπιλαβῶν τῆς Κλαύδιου Καίσαρος αὐτοκρατορίας." ταῦτα τὸν Ἰωσὴπον μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ταῖς θείαις συναληθεύοντα γραφαῖς ἀποδαμάζω. εἰ δὲ περὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως προσηγορίαν δοξεῖν τισιν διαφωνεῖν, ἄλλ' ὁ γε χρόνος καὶ ἡ πράξις τῶν αὐτῶν ὁντα δείκνυσι, ἦτοι κατὰ τῷ σφάλμα γραφικὸν ἐνθλαγμένῳ τοῦ ὅνοματος ἡ καὶ διωνυσία περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, οἷα καὶ περὶ πολλοὺς, γεγενημένης.

Acts 5, 34-36

XI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ὁ Λουκᾶς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεωι εἰσάγει τὸν Γαμαληλ ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων σκέψει λέγοντα ὅσ' ἄρα κατὰ τὸν δηλούμενον χρόνον ἀνέστη Θεοῦς λέγων ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι τινά, ὃς κατελύθη, καὶ πάντες ὁσοὶ ἐπείσδησαν 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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Joseph. A. I.
20, 97, 98

διελύθησαν· φέρε, καὶ τὴν περὶ τούτου παραθώμεθα τὸν Ἰωσὴπου γραφήν. ἦστορεὶ τούν αὕτης κατὰ τὸν ἅρτιοις δεδηλωμένον αὐτοῦ λόγον αὐτὰ ὅταν ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν, 'Φάδοι δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπεύοντος, γόνης τις ἀνήρ, Θευδᾶς ὁνόματι, πείθει τὸν πλείστον ὁχλον ἀναλαβόντας κτήσεις ἐπεσθαὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν αὐτῷ προφήτης γὰρ ἐλέγειν εἰναὶ, καὶ προστάγματι τὸν ποταμὸν σχίσας διόδον ἐφι παρέξειν αὐτοῖς βαδίαν, καὶ ταῦτα λέγων πολλοὺς ἱππάτησεν. οὐ 3 μὴν εἶσαι αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀφροσύνης ὄνασθαι Φάδος, ἀλλ' ἔξεσθως ἐληθί πρέπει αὐτοὺς, ἦτοι ἐπιπροσόπου ἀπροσδοκήτως αὐτοῖς, πολλοὺς μεν ἀνείλεν, πολλοὺς δὲ ἠμνητε ἐλαβεν, αὐτὸν τὸν Θευδᾶν ἥγησαν ἀποτέμνοντι τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ κομίζονσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

Τούτους ἔξησε καὶ τοῦ κατὰ Κλαύδιον γενομένου λυμὸν μνημονεύει ὡδὲ πως· XII. "ἐπὶ τούτοις 1 γε καὶ τὸν μέγαν λυμὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν συνέβη γενέσθαι, καθ' ὅν καὶ ἡ βασιλεία σα Ελήνη πολλῶν χρημάτων ὄνησαμένη σίτον ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, δίενεμεν τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις." σύμφωνα δ' ἂν 2 Acts 11, 29. εὕροις καὶ ταῦτα τῇ τῶν Πράξεων τῶν ἀποστόλων γραφῆ, περιεχούσῃ ὡς ἀρα τῶν κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν μαθητῶν καθὼς ῥυπορεῖτο τις, ὄρισαν ἐκαστός εἰς διακοινον ἀποστέλλαι τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ. ὦ καὶ ἐποίησαν, ἀποστέλλαντες πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους διὰ χείρὸς Βαρναβᾶ καὶ Παύλου. τῆς γε τοῦ Ἑλενῆς, ὦς δὴ 3 καὶ ὁ συγγραφεύς ἑποίησατο ἡμῖν, εἰς ἐτι νῦν

1 It is remarkable that Eusebius 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 Judæa 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 Judæa, 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 Judæa, 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 δείκνυται τῆς νῦν Λείας· τοῦ δὲ Ἀδιαβηνῶν ἔθνους αὕτη βασιλεύσαι ἐλέγετο.

XIII. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ τῆς εἰς τὸν σωτήρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἴδῃ διαδιδομένης πίστεως, ὁ τῆς ἀνθρώπων πολέμων σωτηρίας τὴν βασιλεύουσαν προαρπάσαθαι πόλιν μηχανώμενος, ἑνταῦθα Σίμωνα τὸν πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένον ἁγεί, καὶ δὴ ταῖς ἐντέχνοις τάνδρος συναιρόμενος γοητείαις πλείους τῶν τῆς Ρώμης οἰκούντων ἐπὶ τὴν πλάνην σφετερίζεται. δηλοὶ δὲ τοῦθ᾽ ὁ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν 2 τῷ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς διαπρέπας λόγῳ Ἰουστίνος, περὶ οὖ τὰ προσήκοντα κατὰ καιρὸν παραθέσαι· δὲ δὴ ἐν τῇ προτέρα πρὸς Ἀντωνίνου ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς δόγματος ἀπολογία γράφων ὧδὲ φησιν.

"olarity; τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ κυρίου εἰς οὐρανὸν 3 προεβάλλοντο οἱ δαίμονες ἀνθρώπους τινὰς λέγοντας ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι θεοὺς, οἱ οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐδιώκθησαν ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῶν ἡξιώθησαν. Σίμωνα μὲν τῶν Σαμαρεία, τοῦ ἀπὸ κῶμης λεγομένης Γίτθων, ὅς ἐπὶ Κλαύδιου Καίσαρος διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐνεργοῦντων δαίμονων τέχνης δυνάμεις μαγικάς ποιήσας ἐν τῇ πόλει ὑμῶν τῇ βασιλίδι Ἱῳμηθεὶς ἐνομίσθη καὶ ἀνδριάντι παρ᾽ ὑμῶν ὡς θεὸς τετίμηται ἐν τῷ Τίβερι ποταμῷ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο γεφυρῶν, ἔχων ἐπιγραφήν Ἰωνίας ταύτην. Simonis deo sancto, ὑπὲρ ἑστίν Σίμωνι θεῷ ἀγιῷ.1 "καὶ σχεδὸν μὲν πάντες Σαμαρείς, ὅλγοι δὲ καὶ 4 ἐν ἄλλοις ἔθνεσιν ὡς τῶν πρῶτον θεὸν ἐκείνον

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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 SEMONT SANCIS DEO, that is to say, TO THE GOD SEMO SACUS, thus explaining but not confirming Justin's improbable story. Semo Sancus was an old Sabine deity, not a Samaritan sorcerer.
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥ

ὁμολογοῦντες προσκυνοῦσιν. καὶ Ἕλενη τινά, τὴν
συμπεριφήμησαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἑκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ,
πρῶτον ἐπὶ τέγνους ἀπαθεῖσαν ἐν Τύρῳ τῆς
Φοινίκης, "τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πρῶτην ἐνυοναν λέγουσιν.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν συνάδει δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Εἱρνη-
ναίος, ἐν πρῶτῳ τῶν πρὸς τὰς αἱρέσεις ὦμοι τὰ
περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν ἀνοσίαν καὶ μιαρὰν αὐτοῦ
dιδασκαλίαν ὑπογράφων, ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος
περιστὸν ἀν εἰή καταλέγειν, παρόν τοῖς βουλομέ-
νοις καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν κατὰ μέρος αἱρεσιαρχῶν
tὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τοὺς βίους καὶ τῶν ψευδῶν δογ-
μάτων τὰς ὕποθέσεις τὰ τε πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπι-
tετηδευμένα διαγνώναι, οὐ κατὰ πάρεργον τῇ
dεδηλωμένῃ τοῦ Εἱρνηναίου παραδεδομένα βιβλικ.
pάσης μὲν οὖν ἀρχηγὸν αἱρέσεως πρῶτον γενέσθαι
tὸν Σίμωνα παρειλήφαμεν· εξ οὐ καὶ εἰς δεύρῳ
οἰ τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν μετίντες αἱρεσιν τὴν σώφρονα
καὶ διὰ καθαρότητα βίου παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν 
βεβοη-
μένην Χριστιανῶν φιλοσοφίαν ὑποκρινόμενοι, ὡς
μὲν ἠδοξαν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι περὶ τὰ εἴδωλα δει-
σιδαιμονίας οὐδὲν ἤτον αὐθὶς ἐπιλαμβάνονται,
καταπίπτοντες ἐπὶ γραφάς καὶ εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ τε
τοῦ Σίμωνος καὶ τῆς σὺν αὐτῶ θηλωθείσης Ἕλενης
θυμιάμασθω τε καὶ θυσίας καὶ σπονδάδος τούτους
θρησκεύειν ἐγχειροῦτες, τὰ δὲ τούτων αὐτοῖς
ἀπορρητότερα, ὡς φασι τὸν πρῶτον ἐπακούσαντα
ἐκπλαγῆσθαι καὶ κατὰ τι παρ' αὐτοῖς λόγων
ἐγγραφῶν θαμβωθήσεθαι, θάμβους ὡς ἀληθῶς
καὶ ψευδῶν ἐκστάσεως καὶ μανίας ἐμπλεα τυγχά-
νει, τοιαῦτα οὖν, ὡς μὴ μόνον μὴ δυνατὰ εἶναι

1 In the curious mixture of philosophical language with
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, II. xiii. 4–7

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

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 γραφῆ, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ χεῖλεων αὐτῶ
μόνον δι’ ὑπερβολὴν αἰσχρογρίας τε καὶ ἀρρη-
tοποίας ἀνδρᾶς σώφροσι λαληθῆναι. ο’ τι ποτὲ
γὰρ ἀν ἐπιυσιθείη παντὸς αἰσχροῦ μιμαρῶτερον,
tὸύτο πῶν ὑπερηκόντισεν ἡ τῶν ὠς μυσαρατάτη
ἀφεσις, ταῖς ἄθλιαις καὶ παντοῖοι ὡς ἄλθηως
κακῶν σεσωρεμέναις γυναίξιν ἐγκαταπαυζόντων.

XIV. τοιούτων κακῶν πατέρα καὶ δημουργόν τὸν
Σύμωνα κατ’ ἐκείνο καιρὸν ὡσπερ εἰ μέγαν καὶ
μεγάλων ἀντίπαλων τῶν θεσπεσίων τοῦ σωτῆρος
ἡμῶν ἀποστόλων ἡ μισόκαλος καὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπων
ἐπίβουλος σωτηρίας πονηρὰ δύναμις προστήσατο.
ὁμος δ’ οὖν ἡ θεία καὶ ὑπέρουραν χάρις τοῖς
αὐτῆς συναιρομένη διακόνοις, δι’ ἐπιφανείας αὐτῶν
καὶ παρουσίας ἀναπτομένη τοῦ πονηροῦ τὴν
φλάγα ἢ τάχος ἐσβέννυ, ταπεινοῦσα δ’ αὐτῶν καὶ
καθαροῦσα πᾶν ψώμα ἐπαιρομένου κατὰ τῆς
γνώσεως τοῦ θεοῦ. διὸ δ’ οὕτε Σύμωνος οὐτ’
ἀλλο τοῦ τῶν τότε φυέτων συγκρότημα τι κατ’
αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους τοὺς ἀποστολικοὺς ὑπέστη χρόνους.
ὑπερενικα γὰρ τοι καὶ ὑπερίσχυς ἄπαντα τοῦ τῆς
ἀληθείας φέγγους ὁ τε λόγος αὐτὸς ὁ θείος ἄρτι
θεόθεν ἀνθρώπως ἐπιλάμψας ἐπὶ γῆς τῆς ἀκμάζων
καὶ τοῖς ἴδιοις ἀποστόλοις ἐμπολιτεύομεν. αὐ-
tίκα ὁ δηλωθεῖς γόνης ὡσπερ ὑπὸ θείας καὶ παρα-
dόξου μαμμαρνήγης τὰ τῆς διανοιας πληγεῖς
 bbwata ὅτε πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐφ’ οἷς
ἐπονηρεύσατο πρὸς τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου κατε-
φωράθη, μεγίστην καὶ ὑπερπόντινον ἀπάρας πορείαν
τὴν ἀπ’ ἀνατολῶν ἐπὶ δυσμᾶς ὥστε φεύγων,
μόνως ταύτη βιωτὸν αὐτῶ κατὰ γνώμην εἶναι
οἰόμενος· ἐπιβὰς δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίων πόλεως, συν-

2 Tim. 3, 6

2 Cor. 10, 5

Acts 8, 18-23

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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 sorecerer, 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,
αυτώ τά μεγάλα τῆς ἐφεδρευούσης ἐνταῦθα δυνάμεως, ἐν ὅλῳ τοσοῦτον τά τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἤνυστο, ὡς καὶ ἀνδριάντος ἀναθέσει πρὸς τῶν τῇδε οἶα θεον τιμηθήναι. οὐ μὴν εἰς μακρὸν αὐτῷ τὰῦτα προωχώρει. παρὰ πόδας γοῦν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς Κλαύδιου βασιλείας ἡ παν- ἁγαθος καὶ φιλαθρωποτάτη τῶν ὀλων πρόνοια τῶν καρτερῶν καὶ μέγαν τῶν ἀπόστολων, τὸν ἀρετῆς ἐνεκα τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπάντων προήγουσιν, Πέτρον, ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀὐριμήν ὁς ἐπὶ τηλικοῦτον λυμεῶνα βίου χειραγωγεῖ· ὃς οὖν τὸς γενναίος θεοῦ στρατηγὸς τοῖς θείοις ὁπλοῖς φραξάμενος, τὴν πολυτιμητὸν ἐμπορίαν τοῦ νοητοῦ φωτὸς ἐς ἀνατολῶν τοῖς κατὰ δύσιν ἐκομίζειν, φῶς αὐτὸ καὶ λόγων ψυχῶν σωτήρων, τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασι- λείας, ευαγγελιζόμενος. ΧV. οὕτω δὴ οὐν ἐπιδημή- σαντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ θείου λόγου, ἡ μὲν τοῦ Σίμωνος ἀπέσβη καὶ παραχρῆμα σὺν καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ κατα- λέυτη δύναμις.

Τοσοῦτον δ’ ἐπέλαμψεν ταῖς τῶν ἀκροατῶν τοῦ Πέτρου διανοίας εὐσεβείας φέγγος, ὡς μὴ τῇ εἰς ἀπαξ ἰκανός ἔχειν ἀρκεῖσθαι ἄκοη μηδὲ τῇ ἀγράφῳ τοῦ θείου κηρύγματος διδασκαλία, παρακλήσεων δὲ παντοῖας Μάρκου, οὐ τὸ εὐαγγελίου φέρεται, ἀκόλουθον ὡς Πέτρου, λυπάρησαι ὡς ἦν καὶ διὰ γραφῆς ὑπόμνημα τῆς διὰ λόγου παραδοθείσης αὐτοῖς καταλείψοι διδασκαλίας, μὴ πρότερον τε ἀνείναι ἢ κατεργάσαθαι τὸν ἀνδρα, καὶ ταύτῃ αὐτίους γενέσθαι τῆς τοῦ λεγομένου κατὰ Μάρκου εὐαγγελίου γραφῆς. γνώτα δὲ τὸ πραχθὲν φασι τῶν ἀπόστολον ἀποκαλύψαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πνεύματος, ἃθηναι τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν προθύμια κυρώσατι.
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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τε τήν γραφὴν εἰς ἐνεπέξει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Κλήμης ἐν ἐκτῷ τῶν Ἠποτυπώσεων παρατέθεται τήν ἱστορίαν, συνεπιμαρτυρεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Ἱεραπολίτης ἔπισκοπος ὁνόματι Παπίας, τοῦ δὲ Μάρκου μνημονεύειν τὸν Πέτρον ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἑπιστολῇ ἦν καὶ συντάξας φασὶν ἐπ αὐτῆς Ὁρήμης, σημαίνειν τε τοῦτ ἄπον, τὴν πόλιν τροπικώτερον Βαβυλῶνα προσευχόντα διὰ τούτων "ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτὴ καὶ Μάρκος ὁ νεός μου."

XVI. Τούτων δὲ [Μάρκου] πρῶτον φασὶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀιγύπτου στειλάμενον, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ὁ δὴ καὶ συνεγράφατο, κηρύξας, ἐκκλησίας τε πρῶτον ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας συστήσασθαι. τοσαύτη δὴ ἀρα τῶν αὐτοί πεπιστευκότων πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν ἐκ πρώτης ἐπιβολῆς συνέστη διὰ ἀσκήσεως φιλοσοφώτατης τε καὶ σφοδρώτατης, ὡς καὶ γραφῆς αὐτῶν ἀξιώσαι τὰς διατριβὰς καὶ τὰς συνήλυσεις τὰ τε συμπόσια καὶ πάσαν τὴν ἅλην τοῦ βίου ἀγωγὴν τὸν Φίλωνα. ΧVII. ὅποι καὶ λόγος ἔχει κατὰ Κλαύδιον ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης εἰς ὁμιλῶν Ἐλθεὶν Πέτρῳ, τοὺς ἐκεῖσε τότε κηρύττοντι. καὶ οὐκ ἀπεικός ἂν εἰν τοῦτο γε, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ φαμεν αὐτὸ σύγγραμμα, εἰς ύστερον καὶ μετὰ χρόνους αὐτῶ πεπονημένον, σαφῶς τοὺς εἰς ἔτι νῦν καὶ εἰς ἥμᾶς πεφυλαγμένους τῆς ἐκκλησίας περείχει κανόνας. ἅλα καὶ τὸν βίον τῶν παρ' ἥμιν ἀσκητῶν ἡς ἐνι μάλιστα ἀκριβέστατα ἱστορῶν, γένοιτ' ἂν ἐκδηλὸς οὐκ εἰδὼς μόνον, ἅλα καὶ ἀποδεχόμενος ἐκθειάζων τε καὶ σεμνών τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν ἀποστολικοὺς ἄνδρας, εἴς Ἐβραίων, ὡς ἔοικε, γεγονότας ταύτη τε Ἰουδαϊκώτερον 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 Hieropolis, 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
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ἐν τὰ πλείστα διατηροῦντας ἑθῶν, πρῶτον γε τοι τὸ μηθὲν πέρα τῆς ἀληθείας οἶκοθεν καὶ ἔξ ἐαυτοῦ προσθήσειν ὅσ ἱστορήσειν ἐμελλεν, ἀπισχυρισάμενος ἐν ὡ ἐπέγραψεν λόγῳ Περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ ἡ ἰκετῶν, θεραπευτὰς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς σὺν αὐτοῖς γυναῖκας θεραπευτρίδας ἀποκαλεῖσθαι φήσω, τὰς αἰτίας ἔπειτῶν τῆς τοιῶθεν προσρήσεως, ἦτοι παρὰ τὸ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν προσώπων αὐτοίς τῶν ἀπὸ κακίας παθῶν ίατρῶν δίκην ἀπαλλάττοντας ἀκείσθαι καὶ θεραπεύειν, ἡ τῆς περὶ τὸ θείον καθαρὰς καὶ εἰλικρινοὺς θεραπείας τε καὶ θρησκείας ἑνεκα. εἰτ' οὖν ἐξ ἐαυτοῦ ταύτην αὐτοῖς ἐπιτεθεῖται τὴν προσηγορίαν, οἱ κεῖσας εἰπιγράψας τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων, εἴτε καὶ ὑντως τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς ἐκάλουν καὶ ἀρχάς οἱ πρῶτοι, μηδαμῶς τῆς Χριστιανῶν πως προσ-
ρήσεως ἀνὰ πάντα τὸπον ἐπιπεθυμισμένης, οὐ τί πω διατείνεσθαι ἀναγκαῖον· ὅμως δ' οὖν ἐν πρῶτοι τὴν ἀπόταξιν αὐτοῖς τῆς οὔσιας μαρτυρεῖ, φάσκων ἀρχομένους ἐφιλοσοφεῖν ἐξίστασθαι τοῖς προσήκοιυ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἔπειτα πάσαις ἀποταξαμένους ταῖς τοῦ βίου φροντίσω, ἔξω τειχῶν προελθόντας, ἐν μοναγρίοις καὶ κῆποι τὰς δια-
tριβὰς ποιεῖθαι, τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀνομοίων ἐπιμεγίας ἀλυσιτελεῖς καὶ βλαβερὰς εὐ εἰδότας, τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τούθ', ὡς εἰκός, ἐπιτελοῦτων, ἐκθύμω καὶ θερμοτάτῃ πίστει τὸν προφητικὸν ἐτηποῦ ἀσκοῦντων βίων. καὶ γὰρ οὖν καὶ ταῖς ὀμολογομενέαις τῶν ἀποστόλων Πράξεων ἐμ-
φέρεται ὅτι ἔντε πάντες οἱ τῶν ἀποστόλων γνώριμοι

1 The ambiguity is due to the fact that the Greek word may mean "service" or "healing."
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 Supplicants. He then says that they and the women with them were called Therapeutae and Therapeutrides, and enters upon the reason for such a name. It was given either because, like physicians, they relieve from the passions of evil the souls of those who come to them and so cure and heal them, or because of their pure and sincere service and worship of the Divine. 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, 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."
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Acts 4, 34-35

τὰ κτήματα καὶ τὰς υπάρξεις διαπιπράσκοντες ἐμέριζον ἀπασων καθ᾽ ὅ ἂν τις χρείαν εἶχεν, ὡς μηδὲ εἶναι τινα ἐνδεὶ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς· ὅσοι γοῦν κτήτορες χωρίων ἢ οἶκιῶν ὑπῆρχον, ὡς ὁ λόγος φησίν, πωλοῦντες ἐφερον τὰς τιμὰς τῶν πιπρασκομένων, ἐτίθεσαν τε παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὥστε διαδίδοσθαι ἐκάστῳ καθ᾽ ὅτι ἂν τις χρείαν εἶχεν.

Τὰ παραπλήσια δὲ τούτων μαρτυρίσας τοῖς 7 δηλομένοις ὁ Φίλων συλλαβαίς αὐταῖς ἐπιφέρει λέγων· "πολλαχοῦ μὲν οὖν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐστὶν τὸ γένος· ἔδει γὰρ ἀγαθὸν τελείον μετασχεῖν καὶ τὴν 'Ελλάδα καὶ τὴν βάρβαρον· πλεονάζει δ᾽ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καθ᾽ ἐκαστὸν τῶν ἐπικαλομένων νομῶν καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τῆς 'Αλεξάνδρειας. οἱ δὲ 8 πανταχόθεν ἄριστοι, καθάπερ εἰς πατρίδα θεραπευτῶν, ἀποκιών στέλλονται πρὸς τὶ χωρίον ἐπιτηδειώτατον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ λίμνης Μαρείας κείμενον ἐπὶ γεωλόφον χθαμαλωτέρου, σφόδρα εὐκαίρως ἀσφαλείας τε ἐνέκα καὶ ἀέρος εὐκρασίας." εἰθ᾽ ἐξῆς τὰς οἰκήσεις αὐτῶν ὅποια τινὲς ἥσαν 9 διαγράφας, περὶ τῶν κατὰ χώραν ἐκκλησιῶν ταῦτα φησίν· "ἐν ἐκάστῃ δὲ οἰκίᾳ ἐστὶν οἰκήμα ἰερὸν ὃ καλεῖται σεμεῖν καὶ μοναστήριον, ἐν ὃ μονούμενοι τα τοῖς σεμνοῖς βίου μυστηρία τελοῦνται, μιδὲν εἰσκομίζοντες, μὴ ποτόν, μὴ σιτίον, μηδὲ τῶν ἀλλῶν ὡσα πρὸς τὰς τῶν σώματος χρείας ἀναγκαία, ἄλλα νόμους καὶ λόγια θεσπισθέντα διὰ προφητῶν καὶ ὕμνους καὶ τῶλλα οἷς ἐπιστήμη καὶ εὐσέβεια συναύξονται καὶ τελειοῦνται." Καὶ μεθ᾽ ἑτερά φησιν· "Τὸ δ᾽ ἐξ ἐωθινοῦ μέχρις ἐσπέρας διάστημα 10
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 Mareia\(^1\) 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 ἐστιν ἁσκησις. ἐντυγχάνοντες γὰρ τούτως ἱεροὶς γράμμασιν φιλοσοφοῦσιν τὴν πάρτιον φιλοσοφίαν ἄλληγροντες, ἐπειδή σύμβολα τὰ τῆς ῥῆτος ἐρμηνείας νομίζουσιν ἀποκεκριμένης φύσεως, ἐν ὑπονοιαῖς δηλουμένης. ἐστὶ δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ συγγράμματα παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ τῆς αἱρέσεως αὐτῶν ἀρχηγεῖται γενόμενοι, πολλὰ μνημεῖα τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἄλληγρομενοῖς ἱδέας ἀπέλιπον, οἷς καθάπερ τισὶν ἀρχετύποις χρόμενοι μιμοῦνται τῆς προαιρέσεως τῶν τρόπων."

Ταῦτα μὲν ὦν ἔοικεν εἰρήσαθα τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὰς ἱερὰς ἐξηγουμένων αὐτῶν ἐπακροασμένω γραφάς, τάχα δ' εἰκός, ἢ φησιν ἀρχαίων παρ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι συγγράμματα, εὐαγγέλια καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀποστόλων γραφὰς διηγήσεις τέ τις κατὰ τὸ εἰκός τῶν πάλαι προφητῶν ἐρμηνευτικάς, ὅπως ἢ τε πρὸς Ἐβραίοις καὶ ἄλλαι πλείους τοῦ Παύλου περιέχουσιν ἐπιστολαί, ταῦτ' εἶναι. εἶτα πάλιν ἐξῆς περὶ τοῦ νέου αὐτοῦς ποιεῖσθαι ψαλμοὺς οὕτως γράφει: "ὡς οὖν θεωροῦσι μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ ποιοῦσιν ἁγιάτα καὶ ὑμνοὺς εἰς τὸν θεόν διὰ παντοὶων μέτρων καὶ μελῶν ἀριθμοῖς σεμνοτέροις ἀναγκαίως χαράσσοντες."

Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα περὶ ὃν οἶ λόγος, ἐν ταὐτῷ διεξείσουν, ἐκεῖνα δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἐφάνη δεῖν ἀνάλεξασθαι, δι' ὅ ὃν τὰ χαρακτηριστικὰ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἁγωνίας ὑποτίθεται. εἰ δὲ τῶν μὴ δοκεῖ τὰ εἰρήμενα ἰδίᾳ εἶναι τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πολιτείας, δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος παρὰ τοὺς δεδηλωμένους ἀρμόττεν, πειθέσθω κἂν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξής αὐτοῦ φωνῶν, ἐν αἷς ἀναμφήριστον, εἰ ἐυγνωμονοῦση, κομίσεται τὴν περὶ τούτοις 150
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, μαρτυρίαν. γράφει γάρ ὅδε: "ἐγκράτειαν δ᾿ ὃσπερ τινὰ θεμέλιον προκαταβαλλόμενο τῇ ψυχῇ, τὰς ἄλλας ἐποικοδομοῦσιν ἀρετὰς. συτίον ἢ ποτὸν οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτῶν προσενέγκαιτο πρὸ ἡλίου δύσεως, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν φιλοσοφεῖν ἄξιον φωτὸς κρίνουσι εἶναι, σκότους δὲ τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἀνάγκασι· άθεν τῷ μὲν ἡμέραν, ταῖς δὲ νυκτὸς βραχύ τι μέρος ἔνειμαν. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὑπομυμνήσκονται τροφῆς, οἷς πλεῖων ὁ πόθος ἐπιστήμης ἐνίδρυται, τινὲς δὲ οὕτως ἐνευφραίνονται καὶ τρυφῶσιν ὑπὸ σοφίας ἐστιό-μενοι πλουσίως καὶ ἀφθόνως τὰ δόγματα χορηγοῦσι, ὡς καὶ πρὸς διπλασίων χρόνων ἀντέχειν καὶ μόγις δι’ ἐξ ἡμερῶν ἀπογευσθῇ τροφῆς ἀναγκαίας, ἐθυσθέντες.”

Ταύτας τοῦ Φίλωνα σαφεῖς καὶ ἀναντιρρήτους περὶ τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς υπάρχειν ἤγούμεθα λέξεις. εἰ δ’ ἐπὶ τούτους ἀντιλέγων τις ἐτὶ σκληρύνειτο, καὶ οὕτως ἀπαλλαττέσθω τῆς δυσπιστίας, ἐναργε-στέραις πειθαρχῶν ἀποδέαξεις, δα οὐ παρὰ τισαν ἡ μόνη τῇ Χριστιανῶν εὑρέθν ἔνεστιν κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον θρησκεία. φησίν γάρ τοῖς περὶ ὅν ὁ λόγος καὶ γυναῖκας συνεῖναι, ὅν αἱ πλείοτα γηρα-λέα παρθένοι τυγχάνουσιν, τὴν ἀγνείαν οὐκ ἀνάγκη, καθάπερ ἢναί τῶν παρ’ Ἑλλησιών ιερείων, φυλάξασι μάλλον ἡ καθ’ ἐκουσίων γνώμην, διὰ ἔλλον καὶ πόθον σοφίας, ἡ συμβιοῦν σπουδά-σασαι τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἡδονῶν ἠλόγησαν, οὐθεντῶν ἐκγόνων, ἀλλ’ ἀθανάτων ὀρεχοῦσι, αἱ μόνῃ τίκτεων ἄφ’ ἐαυτῆς οίᾳ τέ ἐστιν ἡ θεοφιλῆς ψυχή. εἰθ’ ὑποκαταβάς, ἐμφαντικώτερον ἐκτίθε-ται ταῦτα: “αἱ δ’ εξηγήσεις τῶν ιερῶν γραμμάτων

Philo, p. 482, 3-11

Philo, p. 476, 2-48, 1

Philo, p. 483, 2-484, 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
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γίνονται αὐτοὶς δι’ ὑπονοιῶν ἐν ἅλληγορίαις. ἀπασα γὰρ ἡ νομοθεσία δοκεῖ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τούτοις ἐοικέναι ζώω καὶ σώμα μὲν ἔχειν τὰς ῥήτὰς διατάξεις, ψυχὴν δὲ τὸν ἐναποκείμενον ταῖς λέξεσιν ἄρατον νοῦν, ὅν ἦρετο διαφερόντως ἢ οἰκία αὐτῇ θεωρεῖν, ὡς διὰ κατάπτρου τῶν ὁνομάτων ἐξαίσια κάλλη νοημάτων ἐμφανίσμενα κατ-ιδούσα.

Τί δεὶ τούτοις ἐπιλέγειν τὰς ἐπὶ ταύτων συν-όδους καὶ τὰς ἁδίᾳ μὲν ἀνδρῶν, ἁδίᾳ δὲ γυναικῶν ἐν ταύτῳ διατριβᾶσ καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἔθους ἐτι καὶ νῦν πρὸς ἡμῶν ἑπτεληκουμένας ἀσκήσεις, ὡς διαφερόντως κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους ἐορτήν ἐν ἀστίαις καὶ διανυκτερεύσεως προσοχαῖς τε τῶν θείων λόγων ἐκτελεῖν εἰώθομεν, ἀπερ ἐπὶ ἀκριβέστερον αὐτὸν ὅν καὶ εἰς δεύρῳ τετήρηται παρὰ μόνοις ἡμῶν τρόπον ἐπισημηνάμενος δὴ ἤλθωθεὶς ἄνὴρ τῇ ἱδίᾳ παρέδωκεν γραφῇ, τὰς τῆς μεγάλης ἐορτῆς πανυχίδας καὶ τὰς ἐν ταυταῖς ἀσκήσεις τοὺς τε λέγεσθαι εἰώθοτας πρὸς ἡμῶν ὑμνοὺς ἑστορῶν, καὶ ὡς ἐνὸς μετὰ ῥυθμοῦ κοσμίως ἐπιψάλλοντος οἱ λοιποὶ καθ’ ἡσυχίαι ἀκροαόμενοι τῶν ὑμῶν τὰ ἀκροτελεύτα οὐνεξήχουσιν, ὅπως τε κατὰ τὰς δεδηλωμένας ἑμέρας ἐπὶ στιβάδων χαμενούντες οὐνοῦ μὲν τὸ παράπαν, ὡς αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν ἄνεγραψεν, οὐδὲ ἀπογεύσονται, ἄλλ’ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐναύσων τινός, ὡδωρ δὲ μόνον αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ ποτὸν, καὶ προσόψημα μετ’ ἄρτου ἄλες καὶ ὑσσωπον. πρὸς τούτοις γράφει τὸν τῆς προστασίας τρόπον τῶν τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς λειτουργίας ἐγκεχειρισμένων διακοινίας τε καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀνωτάτω τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς προ-
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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εδρίας. τούτων δ' ὁτι πόθος ἐνεστὶ τῆς ἀκρι-

βοῦς ἐπιστάσεως, μάθοι ἂν ἐκ τῆς δηλωθείσης
tοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἱστορίας· ὅτι δὲ τοὺς πρῶτους κήρυκας
tῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον διδασκαλίας τὰ τε ἀρ-
χήθηκαν πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐθη παραδεδομένα
catalabων ὁ Φίλων ταῦτ' ἔγραφεν, παντὶ τῷ δήλῳ.

XVIII. Πολύς γε μὴν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ πλατύς ταῖς
diανοίασι, ψηλός τε ὁν καὶ μετέωρος ἐν ταῖς εἰς
tὰς θείας γραφάς θεωρίας γεγενημένος, ποικίλην
καὶ πολύτροπον τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων πεποίηται τὴν
ὑφήγησιν, τούτο μὲν εἰρμῷ καὶ ἀκολούθια τὴν
tῶν εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν διεξελθὼν πραγματείαν ἐν
οῖς ἐπέγραψεν Νόμων ἱερῶν ἄλληγορίας, τούτῳ
δὲ κατὰ μέρος διαστολὰς κεφαλαίων τῶν ἐν ταῖς
γραφαῖς ἦτουμένων ἐπιστάσεως τε καὶ διαλύσεις
πεποιημένος ἐν οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς καταλήλως Τῶν
ἐν Γενεσί καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἐξαγωγῇ ζητημάτων καὶ
λύσεων τέθειται τὴν ἐπιγραφήν. ἐστὶ δ' αὐτῷ
παρὰ ταῦτα προβλημάτων τυχῶν ἰδίως πεποιημένα
σπουδάσματα, οὰ ἐστὶ τὰ Περὶ γεωργίας δύο,
καὶ τὰ Περὶ μέθης τοσάντα, καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα δια-
φόροι καὶ οἰκείας ἐπιγραφῆς ἡξιωμένα, οίος ὁ
Περὶ ὅν νήψας ὁ νοῦς εὐχεταὶ καὶ καταράται
καὶ Περὶ συγχύσεως τῶν διαλέκτων, καὶ ὁ Περὶ
φυγῆς καὶ εὐρέσεως, καὶ ὁ Περὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰ
παιδεύματα συνόδου, Περὶ τε τοῦ τῶν τῶν θείων
ἐστὶ κληρονόμος ἡ Περὶ τῆς εἰς τὰ ἱσα καὶ ἐναντία
τομῆς, καὶ ἐτι τὸ Περὶ τῶν τρῶν ἀρτέτων ἂς σὺν
ἀλλαὶ ἀνέγραψεν Μωυσῆς, πρὸς τούτους ὁ Περὶ
tῶν μετονομαζομένων καὶ ἄν ἔνεκα μετονομά-
ζοντας, ἐν ὃς φησὶ συντεταχέναι καὶ Περὶ δια-
θηκῶν α'/ β'/ ἐστὶν δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Περὶ ἀποκλίασ
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Philo, De
mut. nom. 55
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 βίον σοφοῦ τοῦ κατὰ δικαιοσύνην τελεωθέντος ἡ νόμων ἀγράφων, καὶ ἔτι Περὶ γυγάντων ἡ περὶ τοῦ μὴ τρέπεσθαι τὸ θείον, Περὶ τε τοῦ κατὰ Μωυσέα θεοπέμπτους εἶναι τοὺς οὖνείρους α' β' γ' δ' ε'. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα τῶν εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν, εἰς δὲ τὴν "Εξοδον ἐγνωμεν 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 ἑρουργίας ζώων καὶ τίνα τὰ τῶν θυσίων εἴδη, καὶ τὸ Περὶ τῶν προκειμένων ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς ἀθλῶν, τοῖς δὲ πονηρίσ ἐπιτιμίων καὶ ἀρών. πρὸς τούτους ἀπασίω καὶ μονόβιβλα αὐτοῦ φέρεται ὡς τὸ Περὶ προνοίας, καὶ ὁ Περὶ Ἰουδαίων αὐτοῦ συνταχθεὶς λόγος, καὶ ὁ Πολιτικὸς, ἔτι τε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἡ περὶ τοῦ λόγου ἔχειν τὰ ἄλογα ζώα, ἐπὶ τούτους ὁ Περὶ τοῦ δοῦλον εἶναι πάντα φαίλον, ὃ ἐξῆς ἐστιν ὁ Περὶ τοῦ πάντα σπουδαῖον ἐλευθερου ἐἶναι· μεθ' οὖς συντετακται αὐτῶ ὁ Περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ ἡ ἱκετῶν, ἐξ οὗ τὰ περὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ἀνδρῶν διεληλύθαμεν, καὶ τῶν ἐν νόμῳ δὲ καὶ προφήτασ Ἐβραίκων ὄνομάτων αἱ ἐρμηνείαι τοῦ αὐτοῦ σπουδὴ εἶναι λέγονται. οὕτως μὲν οὐν κατὰ Γᾲδων ἐπί τῆς Ῥώμης ἀφικόμενος, τὰ περὶ τῆς Γαίου θεοστυγίας αὐτῶ γραφέντα, ἀ μετὰ ἔθους καὶ εἰρωνείας Περὶ ἀρετῶν ἑπέγραψεν, ἐπὶ πάσης λέγεται τῆς Ῥωμαίων συγκλήτου κατὰ Κλαύδιον διελθεῖν, ὡς καὶ τῆς ἐν βιβλιοθήκαις ἀναθέσεως θαυμασθέντας αὐτοῦ καταξιωθήναι τοὺς λόγους.

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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 Supplicants," from which we have quoted the passages dealing with the life of the men of the Apostolical 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 place in libraries.

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Rom. 15, 19  Κατὰ δὲ τούδε τοὺς χρόνους Παύλου τὴν ἀπὸ 9 Ἰερουσαλήμ καὶ κύκλῳ πορεῖν μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ διανύοντος, Ἰουδαίους Ἴρωμης ἀπελάυνει Κλαύδιος, ὁ τε Ἀκύλας καὶ Πρίσκιλλα μετὰ τῶν ἀλλων Ἰουδαίων τῆς Ἴρωμης ἀπαλαγέντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν καταίροντο, ἐνταῦθα τε Παύλῳ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ συνδιατριβοῦσιν, τοὺς αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀρτὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ καταβληθέντας θεμελίους ἐπιστηρίζοντι. διδάσκαλος καὶ τούτων ἡ ἱερὰ τῶν Πράξεων γραφῆ.

Acts 18, 2. 18. 19. 23

XIX. Ἐπὶ δὲ Κλαύδιον τὰ τῆς βασιλείας διέποντος, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πάσχα ἔφτη τοσαῦτην ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων στάσιν καὶ ταραχὴν ἐγγενεῖσθαι συνέβη, ὡς μόνων τῶν περὶ τὰς ἐξόδους τοῦ ιεροῦ βία συνωθουμένων τρεῖς μυριάδας Ἰουδαίων ἀποθανεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλων καταπατηθέντων, γενέσθαι τε τὴν ἔφτη τένθος μὲν ὀλγι γίνει, θρῆνον δὲ καθ’ ἐκάστην οἰκίαν. καὶ ταύτα δὲ κατὰ λέξιν ὁ Ἰώσηπος. Κλαύδιος δὲ Ἀγρίππαν, Ἀγρίππαν παῖσα, Ἰουδαίων καθίστησα βασιλέα, Φήλικα τῆς χώρας ἀπάσης Σαμαρείας τε καὶ Γαλιλαίας καὶ προσέτης τῆς ἐπικαλουμένης Περαιάς ἐπίτροπον ἐκπέμψας, διοικήσας δὲ αὐτὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐτεσιμω τρισὶν καὶ δέκα πρὸς μησῶν ὁκτὼ, Νέρωνα τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον καταλιπὼν, τελευτά.

XX. Κατὰ δὲ Νέρωνα, Φήλικος τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπεύοντος, αὐτῶς ῥήμασιν αὔθες ὁ Ἰώσηπος τὴν εἰς ἀλλήλους τῶν ἱερέων στάσιν ὑδὲ πώς ἐν εἰκοστῷ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας γράφει: ὁ Ἐξαπτεταῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερευσι στάσις πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς πρῶτους τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων, ἐκατός 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 Perea. 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.
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ἀνθρώπων τῶν θρασυτάτων καὶ νεωτεριστῶν ἐαυτῶν ποιήσας, ἤγεμων ἦν, καὶ συρράσσοντες ἐκακολόγουν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ λίθοις ἔβαλλον· ὁ δὲ ἐπιπλήξων ἦν οὐδὲ εἰς, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἐν ἀπροστάτητῳ πόλει ταῦτα ἔπρασσετο μετ' ἔξουσίας. τοσαύτη γάρ τις τῶν ἀρχιερεῖς κατέλαβεν ἀνάιδεια καὶ τόλμα, ὥστε ἐκπέμπτεν δούλους ἐτόλμων ἐπὶ τᾶς ἄλωνας τοὺς ληψομένους τᾶς τοῖς ἱερεύσει ὀφειλομένοις δεικτάς. καὶ συνεβαίνει τοὺς ἀπορουμένους τῶν ἱερεῶν ὡς ἐνδεικνύει ἀπολλυμένους θεωρεῖν· οὕτως ἕκρατε τοῦ δικαίου παντὸς ἡ τῶν στασιαζόντων βία.

Πάλιν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς συγγράφως κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς 4 χρόνους ἐν 'Ιεροσολύμων ὑποφύγαι ληστῶν τι έδος ἱστορεῖ, οἱ μεθ’ ἡμέραν, ὡς φησιν, καὶ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει ἐφόνευον τοὺς συναντώντας. μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς μιγνυμένους τῷ δὲ πλήθει καὶ ταῖς ἐσθήσεσιν ὑποκρύπτοντας μικρὰ ἔμφαινε, τούτοις νῦτε τοὺς διαφόρους· ἐπείτα πεσόντων, μέρος γίνεσθαι τῶν ἐπαγαγκοῦντων αὐτοὺς τοὺς πεφονευκότας· διὸ καὶ παντάπασιν ὑπ’ ἀξιοποιοῦσιν ἀνουρέτους γενέσθαι. πρῶτον μὲν ὡς οὖν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν Ἰωνάθνη τὸν ἄρχερεα κατασφαγῆναι, μετὰ δ’ αὐτῶν καθ’ ἡμέραν ἀναιρεῖσθαι πολλοῖς, καὶ τῶν συμφόρων τὸν φόβον εἶναι χαλεπώτερον, ἐκάστου καθάπερ ἐν πολέμῳ καθ’ ὃραν τὸν θάνατον προσδεχομένου.

XXI. 'Ἐξῆς δὲ τούτως ἐπιφέρει μεθ’ ἔτερα λέγων· 1 "μείζονι δὲ τούτων πληγῇ 'Ιουδαίων ἐκάκωσεν ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ψευδοπροφήτης. παραγενόμενος γὰρ εἰς τὴν χώραν ἀνθρώπος γόης καὶ προφήτην πίστιν ἐπιθεῖες έαυτῷ, περὶ τρισμυρίους μὲν ἀθροίζει 162
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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

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τῶν ἡπατημένων, περιαγάγων δ’ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐρημίας εἰς τὸ Ἑλαιών καλοῦμενον ὅρος, ἐκείθεν οἶος τε ἢν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα παρελθεῖν βιάζονται καὶ κρατήσας τῆς τε Ῥωμαίκης φρουρᾶς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τυραννικῶς χρώμενος τοῖς συνεισπεσοῦσιν δορυφόροις. φθάνει δ’ αυτὸν τὴν ὀρμήν τῇ Φήλιξ, ἀπαιτώντας μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ὁπλιτῶν, καὶ πᾶς ὁ δήμος συνεφήματο τῆς ἀμύνης, ὡστε συμβολῆς γενομένης τοῦ μὲν Ἀγίου πνεύματος φυγεῖν μετ’ ὀλίγων, διαφθαρήναι δὲ καὶ ζωγρηθήναι πλείστους τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ.

Ταῦτα ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Ἰστορίων ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἔπιστήμησι δὲ ἄξιον τοῖς ἐνταῦθα κατὰ τὸν Ἀγίουπτον δεδηλωμένους καὶ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς Πράξει τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἐνθα κατὰ Φήλικα πρὸς τοῦ ἔν Ἰεροσόλυμοι χιλιάρχου εἰρητεῖ τῷ Παύλῳ, ὅπως κατεστάσθη ἄντον τῶν Ἰουδαίων πλήθος. "οὐκ ἄρα ὡς εἰ ὁ Ἀγίουπτος ὁ πρὸ τοῦτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀναστάτως καὶ ἑξαγαγῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τοὺς τετρακυρίλους ἄνδρας τῶν συκαρίων, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Φήλικα τοιαῦτα.

XXII. Τούτων δὲ Φήστου ὑπὸ Νέρωνος διάδοχος πέμπτεται, καθ’ ὅν δικαιολογησάμενος ὁ Παύλος δέσμιος ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἄγεται. Ἀρισταρχος αὐτῷ συνήν, ὃς καὶ εἰκότως συναιχμάλωτον τοῦ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀποκαλεῖ. καὶ Λουκᾶς, ὁ καὶ τὰς πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων γραφῆ θαρσεὺς, ἐν τούτωι κατέλυσε τῆν ἱστορίαν, διετίαν ὅλην ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης τὸν Παύλον ἄνετον διατρύφα καὶ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου ἀκωλύτως κηρύξει ἐπιστίμημανέν. τότε μέν οὖν ἀπολογησάμενον, αὐθαίρετο ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ κηρύγματος διακοφίαν λόγος 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 τὸν ἀπόστολον, δεύτερον δ' ἐπιβάντα 
τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν τελευθῆναι μαρ-
τυρίων· ἐν δὲ δεσμοῖς ἐχόμενος, τὴν πρὸς Τιμό-
θεον δευτέραν ἐπιστολὴν συντάττει, ὡμοὶ σημαί-
νων τὴν τε προτέραν αὐτῷ γενομένην ἀπολογίαν 
καὶ τὴν παρὰ πόδας τελείωσαν. Δέχον δὴ καὶ 
τούτων τὰς αὐτοῦ μαρτυρίας· "ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ 
μου," φησίν, "ἀπολογία οὔδείς μοι παρεγένετο, ἀλλὰ 
pάντες με ἐγκατέληπτον (μὴ αὐτοῖς λογισθεὶ), οὐ 
δὲ κύριος μοι παρέστη καὶ ἐνεδυνάμωσέν με, 
ὡς δὲ ἔμοι τὸ κήρυγμα πληροφορηθῆ καὶ ἀκού-
σαι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ ἐρρύσθην ἐκ στόματος 
λέοντος." σαφῶς δὴ παρίστησιν διὰ τούτων 
ὅτι δὴ τὸ πρότερον, ὡς ἀν τὸ κήρυγμα τὸ δὲ 
αὐτοῦ πληρωθεὶς, ἐρρύσθη ἐκ στόματος λέο-
ντος, τὸν Νέρωνα ταύτης, ὡς εὐκεν, διὰ τὸ ὁμο-
θυμον προσεπιὼν. οὐκόν καὶ ἐξής προστέθηκε 
παραπλησίων τις "ῥύσεται μὲ ἐκ στόματος 
λέοντος," ἐώρα γὰρ τῷ πνεύματι τὴν ὅσον 
οὕπω μέλλουσαν αὐτοῦ τελευτήν, δὲ οἱ φησίν ἐπι-
λέγων τῷ "καὶ ἐρρύσθην ἐκ στόματος λέοντος" τὸ 
"ῥύσεται μὲ οὗ κύριος ἀπὸ παντὸς ἐργού πονηροῦ 
καὶ σῶσει εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπουρά-
νιον," σημαίνων τὸ παραντικα μαρτύριον: ὁ 
καὶ σαφέστερον ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ προλέγει γραφή, 
φάσκων "ἐγὼ γὰρ ἡδὲ σπένδομαι, καὶ οὗ καὶ 
καὶ τῇ ἐμῆς ἀναλύσεως ἐφέστηκεν." 1 νῦν μὲν ὅν 
ἐπὶ τῆς δευτέρας ἐπιστολῆς τῶν πρὸς Τιμόθεον 
tὸν Λουκᾶν μόνον γράφοντι αὐτῷ συνείλει δήλοι, 
κατὰ δὲ τὴν προτέραν ἀπολογίαν οὔδε τούτοι 
οθεν εἰκότως τὰς τῶν ἀποστόλων Πράξεως ἐπ' 

1 Cf. George Syncellus 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 Δουκᾶς περιέγραψε τὸν χρόνον, τὴν μέχρις ὅτε τῷ Παύλῳ συνῆν ἱστορίαν ὑφηγησά-
μενος. ταῦτα δ' ἦμιν εἴρηται παρασταμένου ὅτι 7
μὴ καθ' ἦν ὁ Δουκᾶς ἀνέγραφεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἡρώμης
ἐπιθημίαν τοῦ Παύλου τὸ μαρτύριον αὐτῶν συν-
επεράνθη· εἰκός γε τοι κατὰ μὲν ἀρχὰς ἦπιωτερὸν 8
τοῦ Νέρωνος διακεμένου, ράσον τὴν ὑπέρ τοῦ
dόγματος τοῦ Παύλου καταδεχθῆναι ἀπολογίαν,
προελθόντος δ' εἰς ἀθεμίτους τόλμας, μετὰ τῶν
ἀλλῶν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγχειρηθῆναι.

XXIII. Ἰουδαίοι γε μὴν τοῦ Παύλου Καίσαρα 1
ἐπικαλεσαμένου ἐπὶ τε τὴν Ἡρωμάων πόλιν ὑπὸ
Φήστου παραπεμφθέντος, τῆς ἐλπίδος καθ' ἦν ἐξήρ-
τυνον αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν, ἀποπεσόντες, ἐπὶ Ἡλακω-
βον τοῦ τοῦ κυρίου τρέπονται ἀδελφόν, ὑ πρὸς τῶν
ἀποστόλων ὁ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωις
ἐγκεχείμενον θρόνος. τοιαῦτα δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ
κατὰ τούτου τολμᾶται. εἰς μέσον αὐτῶν ἀγα-
γόντες ἄρνησαν τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πίστεως ἐπὶ
παντὸς ἐξήγησαν τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἀπάν-
των γνώμην ἐλευθέρα φωνὴ καὶ μάλλον ἡ προσ-
edókkhsan ἐπὶ τῆς πληθύος ἀπάσης παρρησια-
saménon kai opoioiohástantos uión einai theoi tu
swthra kai kýrion ἡμῶν Ἰσοσύνων, μηκέθο ousi
te tihn tou andróu martrína férein taw kai di-
kaiotatow autón pará tois páson d' ákróteta
hs metéhei kata tihn bíon philosofías te kai theo-
sbeías pisteúesethai, kteínousi, kairoin eis exous-
swian labóntes tihn anarxían, óti de tihn Fhístou
kat' autó tou kairoú épí tís 'Ioudaías telenvh-
santos, ánarcha kai anepitrópeuta tã tís autóthi
dioikísewos kathésthekei. tuon de tís tou 'Iakw-
down his narrative until the time when he was with Paul. We have said this to show that Paul's martyrdom was not accomplished during the sojourn in Rome which Luke describes. Probably at the beginning Nero's disposition was gentler and it was easier for Paul's defence on behalf of his views to be received, but as he advanced towards reckless crime the Apostles were attacked along with the rest.

XXIII. When Paul appealed to Caesar and was sent over to Rome by Festus the Jews were disappointed of the hope in which they had laid their plot against him and turned against James, the brother of the Lord, to whom the throne of the bishopric in Jerusalem had been allotted by the Apostles. The crime which they committed was as follows. They brought him into the midst and demanded a denial of the faith in Christ before all the people, but when he, contrary to the expectation of all of them, with a loud voice and with more courage than they had expected, confessed before all the people that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is the son of God, they could no longer endure his testimony, since he was by all men believed to be most righteous because of the height which he had reached in a life of philosophy and religion, and killed him, using anarchy as an opportunity for power since at that moment Festus had died in Judaea, leaving the district without government or procurator. The manner of
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βου τελευτής τρόπων ἦδη μὲν πρότερον αἰ παρατείναι τοῦ Κλήμεντος φωναὶ δεδηλώκασιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ πτερυγίου βεβλήσθαι ξύλω τε τὴν πρὸς θάνατον πεπλήρθαι αὐτὸν ἱστορικότος ἀκριβεστάτα γε μὴν τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἡγίσυππος, ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης τῶν ἀποστόλων γενόμενος διαδοχῆς, ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ αὐτοῦ ὑπομνήματι τοῦτον λέγων ἱστορεῖ 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, οὕτως δὲ ἐκ κούλιας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄγιος ἦν, οἶνον καὶ σίκερα οὐκ ἐπιεῖν οὐδὲ ἐμψυχοῦν ἐφαγεν, ἐφοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλῆν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἔλαιον οὐκ ἡλέιστο, καὶ βαλανεῖς οὐκ ἐχρήσατο. τούτω μόνῳ ἔζην εἰς τὰ ἁγία εἰσιέναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔρεθον ἐφόρει, ἀλλὰ σινδόνας. καὶ μόνος εἰσῆρχετο εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἑυρίσκετο τε κείμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασιν καὶ αἰτούμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ ἄφεσιν, ὡς ἀπεκληκέναι τὰ γόνατα αὐτοῦ δύκην καμήλου, διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ κάμπτειν ἐπὶ γόνων προσκυνοῦντα τῷ θεῷ καὶ αἰτεῖσθαι ἄφεσιν τῷ λαῷ. διὰ γέ τοῦ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ δίκαιος καὶ ἀβλίας, ὁ ἐστίν Ἔλληνιστὶ περιοχῇ τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ δικαιοσύνη, ὡς οἱ προφῆται δηλοῦσιν περί αὐτοῦ. τινὲς οὖν τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ αἰρέσεων τῶν ἐν τῷ λαῷ, τῶν προγεγραμμένων μοι (ἐν τοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν), ἐπιθυάνοντο αὐτοῦ τίς ἡ θύρα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἔλεγαν τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν σωτῆρα·

ἐξ ὧν τινες ἐπίστευσαν ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός. αἰ δὲ αἰρέσεις αἰ προειρήμεναι οὐκ ἐπίστευον οὔτε ἀνάστασιν οὔτε ἔρχομενον ἀποδοῦναι.
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, II. xxiii. 3–9

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
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ἐκαίτω κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ· ὅσοι δὲ καὶ ἐπίστευσαν, διὰ Ἰάκωβον. πολλῶν οὖν καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων πιστεύοντων, ἦν θόρυβος τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων λεγόντων ὧτι κινδυνεύει πᾶς ὁ λαὸς Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν προσδοκάν. ἐλεγον οὖν συνελθόντες τῷ Ἰακώβῳ· 'παρακαλοῦμέν σε, ἐπίσχες τὸν λαόν, ἐπεὶ ἐπλανήθη εἰς Ἰησοῦν, ὡς αὐτοῦ ὄντος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. παρακαλοῦμέν σε πείσαι πάντας τοὺς ἠλθόντας εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ πάσχα περὶ Ἰησοῦ· σοι γὰρ πάντες πειθόμεθα. ἤμεισ γὰρ μαρτυροῦμέν σοι καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ὅτι δίκαιος εἶ καὶ ὅτι πρόσωπον οὐ λαμβάνεις. πείσον οὖν σου τὸν ὄχλον περὶ Ἰησοῦ μὴ πλανασθής· καὶ γὰρ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς καὶ πάντες πειθόμεθα σοι. στῆθι οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ἵνα ἀνωθὲν ἤσε ἐπιφανῆς καὶ ἔνακουστα σου τὰ ῥήματα παντὶ τῷ λαῷ. διὰ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα συνεληλύθασι πάσαι αἱ φυλαὶ μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἑθῶν.’ ἐστησαν οὖν οἱ προ- ερημένοι γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι τὸν Ἰάκωβον ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ναοῦ, καὶ ἐκραξαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπαν 'δίκαιε, ὦ πάντες πείθεσθαι ὁφείλομεν, ἐπεὶ ὁ λαὸς πλανᾶται όπίσω Ἰησοῦ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος, ἀπάγγειλον ἡμῖν τὸς ἱερὸς Ἰησοῦ.' καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ἧ τι μὲ ἐπερωτήτατε περὶ τοῦ νῦν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ αὐτὸς κάθηται ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς μεγαλῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ μέλλει ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ;' καὶ πολλῶν πληροφορηθέντων καὶ δο- 

1 The tradition is obviously confused. Oblias may be an
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."

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λεγόντων 'ώσαννα τῷ υἱῷ Δαυίδ,' τότε πάλιν οἱ αὐτοὶ γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλεγον 'κακῶς ἐποιήσαμεν τοιαύτην μαρτυρίαν παρασχόντες τῷ Ἰησοῦ. ἀλλὰ ἀναβάντες καταβάλωμεν αὐτὸν, ἵνα φοβηθέντες μὴ πιστεύσωσιν αὐτῷ.' καὶ ἐκραξαν λέγοντες 'ὁ ω, ἵνα δίκαιος ἐπλανήθη, καὶ ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν γραφήν τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰσαὰὶ γεγραμμένην 'ἀρωμεν τὸν δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχρηστος ἴμων ἐστιν. τοιῶν τὰ γενήματα τῶν ἐργῶν αὐτῶν φάγονται.' ἀναβάντες οὐν κατέβαλαν τὸν δίκαιον. καὶ ἐλεγον ἀλλήλοις 'λιθάσωμεν Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον,' καὶ ἦρξαντο λιθάζειν αὐτὸν, ἐπεὶ καταβληθεῖς οὐκ ἀπέθανεν. ἀλλὰ στραφείς ἔθηκε τὰ γόνατα λέγων 'παρακαλῶ, κύριε θεέ πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτώις' οὐ γὰρ οίδασιν τί ποιοῦσιν'. οὕτως δὲ καταλιθοβολοῦντων αὐτὸν, εἰς τῶν ἱερέων τῶν υἱῶν Ρηχαβ υἱοῦ Ῥαχαβείμ, τῶν μαρτυρουμένων ὑπὸ Ἰερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου, ἐκραζον λέγων 'παύσασθε τί ποιεῖτε; εὐχεταί ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ δίκαιος.' καὶ λαβὼν τις ἀπ' αὐτῶν, εἰς τῶν γναφέων, τὸ ξύλον, ἐν ὧν ἀποπιέζει τὰ ἴματα, ἤνεγκεν κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ οὕτως ἐκμάρτυρεσεν. καὶ ἐθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ τόπῳ παρὰ τῷ ναῷ, καὶ ἔτι αὐτὸν ἢ στήλη μένει παρὰ τῶν ναῶν. μάρτυς οὕτως ἀληθῆς Ἰουδαίως τε καὶ Ἑλληνισσαν γεγένηται ὅτι Ἰησοὺς ὁ Χριστός ἐστιν. καὶ εὐθὺς Οὐσποσιανὸς πολιορκεῖ αὐτῶις.'

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 174
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 gravestone still remains by the temple. He became a true witness both to Jews and to Greeks that Jesus is the Christ, and at once Vespasian began to besiege them."

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.

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Ταύτα διὰ πλάτους, συνωδά γέ τοι τῷ Κλήμεντι καὶ ὁ Ἡγήσιππος. οὕτω δὲ ἄρα θαυμάσιός τις ἦν καὶ παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπασίων ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνη βεβόητο ὁ Ἰάκωβος, ὡς καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐμφρόνους δοξάζει ταύτην εἶναι τὴν αίτιάν τῆς παραχρῆμα μετὰ τὸ μαρτύριον αὐτοῦ πολυρκίας τῆς Ἰερουσαλήμ, ἦν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐτερον αὐτοὶς συμβῆναι ἡ διὰ τὸ κατ’ αὐτοῦ τολμηθέν ἄγος.

Ἀμέλει γέ τοι ὁ Ἰώσιππος οὐκ ἀπάκνησεν καὶ τοῦτ έγγράφως ἐπιμαρτύραθαι δι’ ὅν φησιν λέξεων “ταύτα δὲ συμβέβηκεν Ἰουδαίους κατ’ ἐκδίκησιν Ἰακώβου τοῦ δικαιοῦ, ὅτι ἄδελφος Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, ἑπειδήπερ δικαιώτατον αὐτόν ὤντα οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀπέκτειναν.”

‘Ο δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐν εἰκοστῷ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας δηλοὶ διὰ τούτων: “πέμπει δὲ Καῖσαρ Ἀλβίνον εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἔσπαρχον, Φήστου τὴν τελευτὴν πυθόμενος. ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Ἀνανος, ὅν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην εἵπαμεν παρελθεθέναι, θρασὺς ὅτι τὸν τρόπον καὶ τολμητὴς διαφερόντως, αἴρεσιν δὲ μικρείᾳ τῇ Σαδδουκαίᾳ, οὔπερ εἰς περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ὡμοί παρὰ πάντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, καθὼς ἦδη διδηλώκαμεν. ἀτέρη δὴ οὐν τοιοῦτος ὥν ὁ Ἀνανος, νομίζασι ἑχειν καιρόν ἐπιτίθειν διὰ τὸ τεθνάναι μὲν Φήστον, Ἀλβίνον δὲ ἔτι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὑπάρχειν, καθίζει συνεδρίων κριτῶν, καὶ παραγαγὼν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸν ἄδελφον Ἰησοῦ, τοῦ Χριστοῦ λεγομένου, Ἰάκωβος ὅνομα αὐτῷ, καὶ τινὰς ἐτέρους, ὡς παρανομησάντων κατηγορίαν ποιησάμενος, παρεδώκεν λευσθησόμενος. ὡς δὲ ἐδόκοις ἐπικεκέστατοι τῶν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους
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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.
άκριβείς, βαρέως ἰνεγκαν ἐπὶ τούτω, καὶ πέμπουσι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα κρύφα, παρακαλοῦντες αὐτὸν ἐπιστείλαι τῷ Ἀνάνῳ μηκέτι τουαῦτα πράσσεως· μηδὲ γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ὁρθῶς αὐτὸν πεποιηκέναι. τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν Ἀλβίνον ὑπαντάζουσι ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ὁδοιποροῦντα, καὶ διδάσκουσιν ὡς οὐκ ἔξον ἴν Ἰούδαν χωρὶς αὐτοῦ γνώμης καθίσαι συνεδριον. Ἀλβίνος δὲ πεισθεὶς τοῖς λεγομένοις, γράψε τῷ Ἀνάνῳ, λήψεσθαι παρ’ αὐτοῦ δίκαι ἀπειλών, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφελόμενος αὐτοῦ ἀρξαντος μὴνας τρεῖς, Ἐπούν τὸν τοῦ Δαμαίον κατέστησεν.”

Τοιαύτα καὶ τὰ κατὰ Ἰάκωβον, οὐ ἡ πρώτη τῶν ὀνομαζομένων καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν εἶναι λέγεται· ἵσταν δὲ ὡς νοθεύεται μὲν, οὐ πολλοὶ γοῦν τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτῆς ἐμνημόνευσαν, ὡς οὖν τῆς λεγομένης Ἰούδα, μιᾶς καὶ αὐτῆς οὐσῆς τῶν ἐπτα λεγομένων καθολικῶν· ὅμως δ’ ἱσμεν καὶ ταύτας μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν πλείστας δεδημοσιευμένας ἐκκλησίας.

XXIV. Νέρωνος δὲ ὄγδοον ἄγοντος τῆς βασιλείας ἐτος, πρῶτοι μετὰ Μάρκου τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παροικίας Ἀννιανὸς τὴν λειτουργίαν διαδέχεται.

XXV. Κραταουμένης δ’ ἥδη τῷ Νέρωνι τῆς ἁρχῆς, εἰς ἀνοσίους ἀκείλας ἐπιτηδεύσεις, κατ’ αὐτῆς ἀπλίζετο τῆς εἰς τῶν ὅλων θεον εὐσεβείας. γράφειν μὲν οὖν οἶδος τις οὕτος γεγενήται τὴν μοχθηρίαν, οὐ τῆς παρούσης γένοιτ' ἂν σχολῆς πολλῶν γε μὴν τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀκριβεστάταται το παραδεδωκότων διηγήσεως, πάρεστιν ὁτι φι
angered at this and sent secretly to the Emperor,\(^1\) 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 Annianus was the first after Mark the Evangelist to receive charge of the diocese\(^2\) 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

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\(^1\) Or, possibly, to King Agrippa.

\(^2\) Literally, colony or province.

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\(^1\) Cf. George Syncellus 641, 7–642, 9.
λον, έξ αυτών τήν σκαίτητα τῆς τάνδρος ἐκτόπου καταθεωρήσαι μανίας, καθ’ ἣν οὐ μετά λογισμοῦ μυρίων ὅσων ἀπωλείας διεξελθόν, ἐπὶ τοσάττην ἠλάσε μιαφονίαν, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων τε καὶ φιλτάτων ἐπισχεῖν, μητέρα δὲ ὅμοιος καὶ ἀδελφός καὶ γυναῖκα σὺν καὶ ἄλλοις μυρίων τῶ γένεις προσήκουσιν τρόπον ἐχθρῶν καὶ πολεμίων ποικίλαις θανάτων ἰδέαις διαχρήσασθαι. ἐνέδει δ’ ἁρα τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ τούτ’ ἐπιγραφῆναι 3 αὐτῷ, ὡς ἂν πρῶτος αὐτοκρατόρων τῆς εἰς τὸ θείον εὐσεβείας πολέμιος ἀναδειχθεί. τούτου 4 πάλιν ὁ Ῥωμαίος Τερτυλιανὸς ὤδε πως λέγων μνημονεύει “ἐντύχετε τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ὡμῶν, ἐκεῖ εὐρήσετε πρῶτον Νέρωνα τούτο τὸ δόγμα, ὢμικα μάλιστα ἐν ἹῬώμη, τήν ἀνατολὴν πᾶσαν ὑποτάξας, ὡμός ἢν εἰς πάντας, διώξαντα. τοιούτω τῆς κολάσεως ὡμῶν ἀρχηγό καυχώμεθα. ὦ γὰρ εἰδὼς ἔκεινον νοήσαι δύναται ὡς οὐκ ἂν, εἰ μὴ μέγα τι ἄγαθον ἢν, ὑπὸ Νέρωνος κατακρι-θήναι.”

Ταύτη γοῦν οὖτος, θεομάχος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα 5 πρῶτος ἀνακηρυχθεὶς, ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπήρθη σφαγά. Παύλος δὴ οὖν ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ἹῬώμης τήν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθήκαι καὶ Πέτρος ὅσαυτως ἀνασκολοπισθήκαι κατ’ αὐτῶν ἰστοροῦνται, καὶ πιστοῦται γε τὴν ἱστορίαν ἢ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου εἰς δεύο κρατήσασα ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν κομμητηρίων πρόσρησις, οὔδέν δὲ 6 ἦττου καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἀνήρ, Γάιος οὖν, κατὰ Ζεφυρίουν Ῥωμαίων γεγονὼς ἐπίσκοπον· ὡς δὴ Πρόκλω τῆς κατὰ Φρύγας προϊσταμένως

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: “Consulte commentarios uestros, illic reperietis primum Neronem in hance 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”).
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γνώμης ἐγγράφως διαλεχθείς, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν τόπων, ἐνθα τῶν εὑρημένων ἀποστόλων τὰ ἑκατοντάκομα κατατέθεται, φησίν· ἢ ἐγὼ 7 δὲ τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχω δεῖξαι. ἐὰν γὰρ θελήσῃ ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Βασιλείαν ἡ ἐπὶ τὴν ὀδὸν τὴν Ὀστίαν, εὑρήσεις τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ταύτην ἱδρυμενῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

Ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀμφόθεν καὶ διαφόρως ἐμαρτύρησαν, Κορινθίων ἐπίσκοπος Διονύσιος ἐγγράφως Ὀρμαίου ὁμιλῶν, ὅστις παρίστησιν ταῦτα καὶ ὡμείς διὰ τῆς τοσοῦτης νουθεσίας τὴν ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φυτεύας γενηθείσαν Ὀρμαίων τε καὶ Κορινθίων συνεκεραύσατε. καὶ γὰρ ἄμφως καὶ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν Κορινθίων φυτεύσαντες ἡμᾶς ὁμοίως ἐδίδαξαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμόσα διδάσαντες ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν. ταῦτα δὲ, ὡς ἄν ἐτί μᾶλλον πιστωθεῖν τὰ τῆς ἱστορίας.

XXVI. Ἀδησίς δ' ὁ Ἰώσηπος πλείστα ὅσα περὶ τῆς τοῦ παῦ Ἰουδαίων ἐθνὸς καταλαβούσης διελθὼν συμφορᾶς, δηλοὶ κατὰ λέξιν ἐπὶ πλείστους ἄλλους μυρίως ὅσοις τῶν παῦ Ἰουδαίως τετυμημένων μάστιξιν αἰκισθέντας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἰερουσαλήμ ἀνασταυρώθησαν ὑπὸ Φλώρου· τούτον δὲ εἶναι τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπίτροπον, ὁποῖα ἡ ἁρχὴ ἀναρριστηθῆναι τοῦ πολέμου, ἢ τοῦς δωδεκάτου τῆς Νέρώνος ἡγεμονίας, συνέβη. εἶτα δὲ καὶ 2 καθ' ὅλην τὴν Συρίαν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀποστάσει δεινὴν φησὶ κατειληφέναι ταραχῆς, πανταχόσε τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους πρὸς τῶν κατὰ πόλιν

1 Cf. George Syncellus 644, 8–645, 9.
with Proclus, the leader of the Montanists, speaks as follows of the places where the sacred relics of the Apostles in question are deposited: "But I can point out the trophies of the Apostles, for if you will go to the Vatican or to the Ostian Way you will find the trophies of those who founded this Church." 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

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

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.

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ἐνοίκων ὡς ἂν πολεμίων ἀνηλεῶς πορθουμένων, ὡστε ὅραν τὰς πόλεις μεστὰς ἀτάφων σώματων καὶ νεκροὺς ἁμα νηπίους γέροντας ἐρρυμένους γυναιά τε μηδὲ τῆς ἐπ’ αἰδῶν σκέπης μετευληφότα, καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἐπαρχίαν μεστὴν ἄδυνητῶν συμφορῶν, μείζονα δὲ τῶν ἐκάστοτε τολμωμένων τῆν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπειλουμένους ἀνάτασιν. ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν ὁ Ἱωσήφος. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Ἰουδαίους ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

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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.
Γ

Τάδε καὶ ἡ γὰρ περιεχεῖ βιβλίος τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας

Ἀ "Ὅποι γῆς ἐκήρυξαν τὸν Χριστὸν οἱ ἀπόστολοι.
Β Τίς πρῶτος τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας προέστη.
Γ Περὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων.
Δ Περὶ τῆς πρώτης τῶν ἀποστόλων διαδοχῆς.
Ε Περὶ τῆς μετὰ τὸν Χριστὸν ύστατης Ἰουδαίων πολυρκίας.

Ξ Περὶ τοῦ πιέσαντος αὐτοὺς λιμοῦ.
Ζ Περὶ τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ προρρήσεων.
Η Περὶ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου σημείων.
Θ Περὶ Ἰωσήφου καὶ ὅν κατέλιπεν συγγράμματών.

Ι "Ὅπος τῶν θείων μνημονεύει βιβλίων.

ΙΑ 'Ὤς μετὰ Ἰάκωβον ἤγειται Συμεών τῆς ἐν Ιεροσολύμωι ἐκκλησίας.

ΙΒ 'Ὤς οὔσπασιανὸς τοὺς ἐκ Δαυίδ ἀναζητεῖ·

ΙΓ 'Ὤς δεύτερος Ἀλεξανδρέων ἤγειται Ἀβιλίος.

ΙΔ 'Ὤς καὶ Ῥωμαίων δεύτερος Ἀνέγκλητος ἐπισκοπεῖ.

ΙΕ 'Ὤς τρίτος μετ' αὐτὸν Κλήμης.

ΙΣ Περὶ τῆς Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολῆς.

ΙΣ Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Δομετιανὸν διωγμοῦ.

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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 Aneneletus 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

ΠΕΡΙ 'ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ 'ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΕΩΣ.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ 'ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΤΡΙΤΟΣ ΗΓΕΙΤΑΙ ΚΕΡΔΩΝ.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ 'ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ 'ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ.

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΠΕΡΙ 'ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΤΑΞΕΩΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΩΝ.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΟΜΟΛΟΓΟΥΜΕΝΩΝ ΘΕΙΩΝ ΓΡΑΦΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΜΗ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΩΝ.

ΠΕΡΙ ΜΕΝΑΝΤΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΓΟΤΤΟΣ.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ 'ΕΒΙΩΝΑΙΩΝ ΑΙΡΕΣΕΩΣ.

ΠΕΡΙ ΚΗΡΙΥΘΟΥ ΑΙΡΕΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ.

ΠΕΡΙ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΞ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΕΚΛΗΜΕΝΩΝ.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΣΥΖΥΓΙΑΙΣ ΕΞΕΤΑΣΘΕΝΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ 'ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΣ.

ΟΠΩΣ ΣΥΜΕΩΝ Ο ΕΝ 'ΗΡΟΣΟΛΥΜΟΙΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΕΜΑΡΤΥΡΗΣΕΝ.

ΟΠΩΣ ΤΡΑΪΑΝΟΣ ΖΗΤΕΙΣΘΑΙ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΥΣ ΕΚΩΛΥΣΕΝ.

'ΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΡΜΑΙΩΝ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΣ ΕΥΑΡΕΣΤΟΣ ΗΓΕΙΤΑΙ.

'ΟΣ ΤΡΙΤΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΗΡΟΣΟΛΥΜΟΙΣ ΙΟΥΣΤΟΣ.

ΠΕΡΙ 'ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΕΤΙ ΤΟΤΕ ΔΙΑΠΡΕΠΟΝΤΩΝ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΤΩΝ.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΛΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΦΕΥΔΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΝΑΦΕΡΟΜΕΝΩΝ.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΠΙΑ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΩΝ.
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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.
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XXII. How Ignatius was the second of the Antiochians.
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XXV. On the writings acknowledged as sacred and on those which are not.
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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.
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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.
III

I. Τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ Ἰουδαίους ἐν τούτοις ἦν τῶν δὲ οἰκουμένης Ἑρών τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν ἀποστόλων τε καὶ μαθητῶν ἐφ’ ἄπασαν κατασπαρέντων τὴν οἰκουμένην, ὦμιᾶς μὲν, ὡς ἡ παράδοσις περιέχει, τὴν Παρθίαν εὑληχεῖν, Ἀνδρέας δὲ τὴν Σκυθίαν, Ἰωάννης τὴν Ἄσιαν, πρὸς οὓς καὶ διατύπωσ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τελευτᾷ, Πέτρος δ’ ἐν Πόντῳ καὶ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ Βυθνία Καππαδοκίᾳ τε καὶ Ἄσια κεκηρυχέναι τοῖς [ἐκ] διασπορᾶς Ἰουδαίως ἔουσαν, δʼ καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει ἐν Ῥώμῃ γενόμενος, ἀνεσκολοπισθῇ κατὰ κεφαλῆς, οὕτως αὐτὸς ἀξιώσας παθεῖν. τί δεῖ περὶ Παύλου λέγειν, ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλήμ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ πεπληρωκότος τοῦ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ὡστερον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος μεμαρτυρηκότος; ταῦτα Ὀριγένει κατὰ λέξιν ἐν τρίτῳ τοῖς τῶν εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν ἔξηγητικῶν εἶρηται.

II. Τῆς δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας μετὰ τὴν Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου μαρτυρίαν πρῶτος κληροῦται τὴν ἐπικοπὴν Αἴνος. μνημονεύει τούτου Τιμοθέω γράφων ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ὁ Παύλος κατὰ τὴν ἐπί τέλει τῆς ἐπιστολῆς πρόσρρησιν.

III. Πέτρου μὲν οὖν ἐπιστολὴ μία, ἡ λεγομένη αὐτῷ προτέρα, ἀνωμολογηταί, ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ οἱ 190
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
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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
tῶν ἄλλων ἐσπουδάσθη γραφῶν. τὸ γε μὴν τῶν 2
ἐπικεκλημένων αὐτοῦ Πράξεων καὶ τὸ κατ’ αὐτὸν
ἀνομασμένων εὐαγγέλιον τὸ τε λεγόμενον αὐτοῦ
Κήρυγμα καὶ τὴν καλουμένην Ἀποκάλυψιν οὐδ’
ολως ἐν καθολικῷ ἰσμεν παραδεδομένα, οτι μήτε
ἀρχαίων μήτε μὴν καθ’ ἡμᾶς τις ἐκκλησιαστικὸς
συγγραφεὺς ταῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν συνεχρήσατο μαρτυ-
ρίας. προϊόνσης δὲ τῆς ἱστορίας προώργου ποιή-
σομαι σὺν ταῖς διαδοχαῖς ὑποσημήνασθαι τίνες τῶν
cατὰ χρόνους ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων ὁποίαις
κέχρηται τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων, τίνα τε περὶ τῶν
ἐνδιαθήκων καὶ ὁμολογουμένων γραφῶν καὶ ὁσα
περὶ τῶν μὴ τοιούτων αὐτοῖς εἰρηται. ἀλλὰ τὰ
μὲν ὀνομαζόμενα Πέτρου, ὅν μόνην μίαν γνησίαν
ἐγγυων ἐπιστολῆς καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πάλαι πρε-
bυτέροις ὁμολογουμένην, τοσαύτη. τοῦ δὲ Παύλου
προδήλου καὶ σαφεῖς αἱ δεκατέσσαρες. ὅτι γε μὴν
τινὲς ἤθετήκασι τὴν πρὸς Ἐβραίους, πρὸς τῆς
Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ὡς μὴ Παύλου ὄσον αὐτὴν
ἀντιλέγεσθαι φήσαντες, οὐ δίκαιων ἀγνοεῖν καὶ
τὰ περὶ ταύτης δὲ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν εἰρημένα κατὰ
καιρὸν παραθύσομαι. οὐδὲ μὴν τὰς λεγομένας
αὐτοῦ Πράξεως ἐν ἀναμφιλέκτοις παρείληφα. ἐπεὶ
δ’ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀπόστολος ἐν ταῖς ἐπὶ τελεί προση-
σεσιν τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίων μὴν εἰποῦται μετὰ
tῶν ἄλλων καὶ Ἐρμᾶ, οὐ φασίν ὑπάρχει τὸ τοῦ
Ποιμένος βιβλίου, ἰστεόν ὡς καὶ τούτο πρὸς μὲν
τινῶν ἀντιλελεκται, δι’ οὗς οὐκ ἀν ἐν ὁμολογου-
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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 Preaching called his and the so-called Revelation, we have no knowledge at all in Catholic tradition, for no orthodox\textsuperscript{1} 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

\textsuperscript{1} Gk. "ecclesiastic," that is, belonging to or recognized by the Church, as opposed to heretics, Jews, or heathen.
μένοις τεθείη, υφ’ ἐτέρων δὲ ἀναγκαίωτατον οἷς μάλιστα δεῖ στοιχείωσεσ εἰσαγωγικῆς, κέκριται ὃθεν ἦδη καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις ἵσμεν αὐτὸ δεδημοσιευμένον, καὶ τῶν παλαιτάτων δὲ συγγραφέων κεχρημένους τῶς αὐτῶν κατείλθη. ταῦτα εἰς 7 παράστασιν τῶν τε ἀναντιρρήτων καὶ τῶν μὴ παρὰ πάσιν ὁμολογομένων θείων γραμμάτων εἰρήσωθ.
accepted books, but by others it has been judged most valuable, especially to those who need elementary instruction. For this reason we know that it has been used in public in churches, and I have found it quoted by some of the most ancient writers. 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 Testament 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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τῶν ἐπὶ Κρήτης ἐκκλησίων. Δουκᾶς δὲ τὸ μὲν ἔν ἔν
γένος ὡν τῶν ἀπ᾽ Ἀντιοχείας, τὴν ἐπιστήμην δὲ
ιατρός, τὰ πλείστα συγγεγονός τῷ Παύλῳ, καὶ
toῖς λοιποῖς δὲ οὐ παρέργως τῶν ἀποστόλων
ἀμιληκῶς, ἂς ἀπὸ τούτων προσεκτήσατο ψυχὰς
θεραπευτικῆς ἐν δυσὶν ἡμῖν ὑποδειγματα θεο-
πνεύστοις κατέλυπεν βιβλίοις, τῷ τε εὐαγγελίῳ, ὁ
καὶ χαράξαι μαρτύρεται καθ᾽ ἀ παρέδοσαν αὐτῷ
οἱ ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς αὐτόππαι καὶ ὑπερτάται γενόμενου τοῦ
λόγου, οίς καὶ φήσαι ἔτι ἀνωθὲν ἀπασὶ παρηκο-
λουθηκέναι, καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀποστόλων Πράξεσιν,
δὲ οὐκέτι διὰ ἀκοῆς, ὀφθαλμοῖς δὲ παραλαβῶν συν-
etάξατο. φασὶν δ᾽ ὡς ἁρα τοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν εὐαγ-
gελίου μνημονεύειν ὁ Παύλος εἴωθεν, ὅπερ ἡ ὁς
περὶ ὑδίου τῶν εὐαγγελίου γράφων ἐλεγεν “κατὰ
τὸ εὐαγγέλιον μου.” τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἀκολούθων
τοῦ Παύλου Κρήσκης μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς Γαλλίας στειλά-
μενος ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ μαρτυρεῖται, Δίνος δὲ, οὐ μὲν ἕνα
συνόντος ἐπὶ Ῥώμης αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν δευτεραν
πρὸς Τιμόθεου εὐποτολήν, πρῶτος μετὰ Πέτρου
τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἦσθι πρό-
tερον κληρῳδεῖς δεδήλωται: ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Κλῆμης,
tῆς Ῥωμαίων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκκλησίας τρίτος ἐπι-
σκοπος καταστάς, Παύλου συνεργὸς καὶ συναθλη-
tῆς γεγονέναι πρὸς αὐτοῦ μαρτυρεῖται. ἐπὶ τοῦ-
tος καὶ τὸν Ἀρεσπαγίτην ἐκεῖνον, Διονύσιος
ὀνόμα αὐτῶ, ὃν ἐν τοῖς Πράξεσι μετὰ τὴν ἐν
Ἄρειῳ πάγῳ πρὸς Ἀθηναίοις Παύλου δημη-
γορίαν πρῶτον πιστεύσαν ἀνέγραφεν ὁ Δουκᾶς,
tῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐκκλησίας πρῶτον ἐπίσκοπον
ἀρχαίος τῆς ἐτερος Διονύσιος, τῆς Κορυθῶν παρ-
ουκία ποιμήν, γεγονέναι ἱστορεῖ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι

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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.
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προβαίνουσιν, ἐπὶ καὶρῳ τὰ τῆς κατὰ χρόνους τῶν ἀποστόλων διαδοχῆς ἦμιν εἰρήσεται· νῦν δ' ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξῆς ἱσωμεν τῆς ἱστορίας.

V. Μέτα Νέρωνα δέκα πρὸς τρισαν ἐτέσων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπικρατήσαντα τῶν ἀμφὶ Γάλβαν καὶ Ὀθωνα ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ μησίν ἔξε διαγενομένων, Ὀνεσπασιανός, ταῖς κατὰ Ἰουδαίων παρατάξεσιν λαμπρομένων, βασιλεύς ἐπὶ αὐτῆς ἀναδείκνυσαι τῆς Ἰουδαίας, αὐτοκράτωρ πρὸς τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατοπέδων ἀναγορευθεῖς. τὴν ἐπὶ Ὀρώμης οἰνο αὐτικά στειλάμενος, Ἰτιτῷ τῷ παιδὶ τὸν κατὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐγχευρίζει πόλεμον. μετά γε μή τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀνάληψιν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς τῷ κατ' αὐτοῦ τολμήματι ἡδὴ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ πλείστας ὁσσά ἐπιβούλας μεμηχανημένων, πρῶτον τε Στεφάνῳ λίθως ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀνηρημένου, εἶτα δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβου, ὡς ἦν Ζεβεδαίου μὲν παῖς, ἀδελφός δὲ Ἰωάννου, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθέντος, ἐπὶ πάσι τε Ἰακώβου, τοῦ τῶν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς θρόνον πρώτον μετὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀνάληψιν κεκληρωμένου, τὸν προδηλωθέντα τρόπον μεταλλάξαντος, τῶν τε λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων μυρία εἰς βάναυν ἔπιβεβουλευμένων καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἰουδαίας γῆς ἀπεληλαμένων, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κηρύγματος διδασκαλία τὴν εἰς σύμπαντα τὰ ἔθνη στειλαμένων πορείαν σὺν δυνάμει τοῦ Χριστοῦ, φησάντος αὐτοῖς "πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὅνωματι 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
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 bishorpice 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." On the other hand, the

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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μήν ἄλλα καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τῆς ἔν Ἰεροσολύμων ἐκ-
kλησίας κατά τινα χρησμὸν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δοκίμοις
dι' ἀποκαλύψεως ἐκδοθέντα πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου μετ-
anαστήναι τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν τῆς Περαιάς
πόλεις οἰκεῖν κεκελευσμένου, Πέλλαν αὐτῇ ὄνο-
mάζουσιν, [ἐν ἧ] τῶν εἰς Χριστὸν πεπιστευκότων
ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰερουσαλήμ μετωκισμένων, ὡς ἄν παν-
tελῶς ἐπιλεοπότων ἀγίων ἀνδρῶν αὐτῆς τῇ τῆς
Ἰουδαίων βασιλικῆς μετρόπολιν καὶ σύμπασαν τήν
Ἱουδαίαν γῆν, ἢ ἐκ θεοῦ δίκη ζωύτων αὐτοὺς ἄτε
τοσαῦτα εἰς τὰς τῶν Χριστὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους
αὐτῶν παρηγομένης μετῆκε, τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἄρδην
tῆς γενεάς αὐτῆς ἐκείνην ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανίζουσα.
ὅσα μὲν οὖν τηνικάδε κατὰ πάντα τόπον ὅλω τῷ
ἐθετε συνεργῆ κακά, ὡςπο τοίς μάλιστα οἱ τῆς
Ἱουδαίας οἰκήτορες εἰς ἔσχατα περιηλάθησαν
συμφορῶν, ὅποσα περὶ μυριάδες ἡβηδὸν γυναικῶν
ἀμα καὶ παισὶ ἐφεξαὶ καὶ λυμῷ καὶ μυρίους ἄλλους
ἑδέσι περιπεπτώκασιν βανάτου, πόλεων τῆς
Ἰου-
δαϊκῶν οἷας τα καὶ οἱ γεγόνας πολυρκίαι,
ἄλλα καὶ ὅποσα ἢ ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ἰερουσαλήμ ὡς ἄν
ἐπὶ μετρόπολιν χυμωντάτην κατατεφευγότες δεινά
καὶ πέρα δεινῶν ἐσφάκας, τοῦ τοῖς πολέμου
tοῦ τρόπον καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτω γεγολυμένων ἐν
μέρει ἐκαστα, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ πρὸς τῶν προφη-
tῶν ἀνηγορευμένον βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως ἐν
αὐτῷ κατέστη τῷ πάλαι τοῦ θεοῦ περιβοήτῳ νεὼ,
παντελῆ φθοράν καὶ ἀφανισμὸν ἐσχάτον τοῦ διὰ
πυρὸς ὑπομεναντι, πάρεστιν ὅτι φίλον, ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἰωσήφων γραφείς τῆς ἀναλέ-
ξασθαι ἱστορίας: ὥς δὲ αὐτὸς οὕτως τῶν ἀθροι-
δέντων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἱουδαίας ἀπάσης ἐν ἡμέραις ἡς
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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
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tοῦ πάσχα ἐορτῆς ὦσπερ ἐν εἰρκτῇ ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς ἀποκλεισθῆναι εἰς τὰ Ἰεροσόλυμα ἁμφι τριακοσίας μυριάδας τὸ πλῆθος ἱστορεῖ, ἀναγκαίων ὑποσημήνασθαι. χρήν ὃ οὖν ἐν αἷς ἡμέραις ἐν τοῦ πάντων σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργετὴν Χριστόν τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ κατὰ τὸ πάθος διατεθένται, ταῖς αὐταῖς ὦσπερ ἐν εἰρκτῇ κατακλεισθέντας τὸν μετελθόντα αὐτοὺς ὀλέθρου πρὸς τῆς θείας δίκης καταδέξασθαι.

Παρελθὼν δὴ τὰ τῶν ἐν μέρει συμβεβηκότων αὐτοῖς ὅσα διὰ ξίφους καὶ ἄλλω τρόπως κατ' αὐτῶν ἐγκεχείρηται, μόνας τὰς διὰ τοῦ λιμοῦ ἀναγκαίων ἡγούμενα συμφοράς παραθέσθαι, ὡς ἂν ἐκ μέρους ἔχοιν οἱ τῆς γραφῆς ἐντυγχάνοντες εἰδέναι ὅτις αὐτοὺς τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστόν τοῦ θεοῦ παρανομίας οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν ἢ ἐκ θεοῦ μετήλθεν τιμωρίᾳ. VI. φέρε δὴ οὖν, τῶν Ἰστοριῶν τῆς πέμπτης τοῦ Ἰωσήφου μετὰ χειρα αὐθίς ἀναλαβὼν, τῶν τότε πραχθέντων δίελθε τὴν τραγῳδίαν· "τοῖς γε μὴν εὐπόροις" φησί "καὶ τὸ μένειν πρὸς ἀπωλείας ἵσον ἢ προφάσει γάρ αὐτομολίας ἀνηρεῖτο τὸς διὰ τὴν ὁυσίαν. τῷ λιμῷ δὴ ἢ ἀπόνοια τῶν στασιαστῶν συνήκμαξεν, καὶ καθ' ἡμέραι ἀμφότερα προσέγκαιτο τὰ δενά. φανεροὶ μὲν γε οὐδαμοὶ σῖτος ἢν, ἔπιστησώστε σὲ διηρεύνους ταῖς ὀικίας, ἐπειθ' εὐρότεις μὲν ὡς ἀρνησαμένους ἢκίζοτο, μὴ εὐρότεις δὲ ὡς ἐπιμελέστερον κρύφανας ἐβασάνιζον. τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦ τ' έχειν καὶ μή, τὰ σώματα τῶν ἄθλιων· ὃν οἱ μὲν ἐτί συνεστώτες εὑπορεῖν τροφῆς ἔδόκουν, οἱ τηκόμενοι δὲ ἤδη παρωδεύοντο, καὶ κτείνειν ἀλόγον ἔδοκει τοὺς ὑπ' ἐνδείας 202

Joseph. B.I. 5, 424-438
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
τεθυηξομένους αὐτίκα. πολλοὶ δὲ λάθρα τὰς
κτήσεις ἐνὸς ἀντικατηλλάξαντο μέτρου, πυρῶν
μὲν, εἰ πλουσιώτεροι τυγχάνονει ὄντες, οἱ δὲ
πενείστεροι κριθῆς. ἔπειτα κατακλείοντες ἑαυτοὺς
εἰς τὰ μυχαῖτα τῶν οἰκίων, τινὲς μὲν ὑπ᾽ ἄκρας
ἐνδείᾳ ἀνέργαστον τὸν σίτον ἡθίου, οἱ δὲ ἐπεσοῦν
ὡς ἦ τε ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ δέος παρῆκε, καὶ τράπεζα
μὲν οὐδαμοῦ παρετίθετο, τοῦ δὲ πυρὸς ύφέλκοντες
ἐτ’ ὕμα τὰ σιτία διήρπαζον. ἔλεεν ἦν ἡ
τροφὴ καὶ δακρύων ἄξιος ἡ θέα, τῶν μὲν δυνα-
τωτέρων πλεονεκτοῦντων, τῶν δὲ ἀσθενῶν ὄδυ-
ρομένων. πάντων μὲν ὑπὲρισταταὶ
λιμὸς, οὐδὲν δ’ οὕτως ἀπόλλυσιν ὡς αἰδῶ. τὸ
γὰρ ἄλλως ἐντροπῆς ἄξιον ἐν τούτῳ καταφρο-
νεῖται. γυναῖκες γοῦν ἀνδρῶν καὶ παιδες πατέ-
ρων καὶ τὸ ἀκτρότατον, μητέρες νηπίων ἐξ-
ήρπαζον ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν στομάτων τὰς τροφὰς,
kαὶ τῶν φιλτάτων ἐν χεροὶ μαρανομένων οὐκ
ἡν φειδὼ τοὺς τοὺς ἥν ἀφελεοθαὶ σταλαγμοὺς.
toιαῦτα δ’ ἐσθίοντες, ὅμως οὐ διελάνθανον, παντα-
χοῦ δ’ ἐφίσταντο οἱ στασισματα καὶ τούτων ταῖς
ἀρπαγαῖς. ὅπτε γὰρ κατίδοιεν ἀποκεκλεισμένη
οἰκίαν, σημεῖον ἦν τοῦτο τοῦ σένδον προσφέρεσθαι
tροφῆν, εὐθέως δ’ ἐξαράξαντες τὰς θύρας εἰσ-
επῆδων, καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐκ τῶν φαρύγγων ἀνα-
θλίβοντες τὰς ἀκόλου ἀνέφερον. ἐτύπτοντο δὲ
γέροντες ἀντεχόμενοι τῶν σιτίων, καὶ κόμης
ἐπαράσσοντο γυναῖκες συγκαλύττουσι τὰ ἐν
χερσίν, ὁδὸν τὰς ἦν οἰκτος πολιαὶς ἡ νηπίων,
ἀλλὰ συνεπάροντες τὰ παιδία τῶν ψωμῶν ἐκ-
κρεμάμενα κατέσειον εἰς ἔδαφος. τοῖς δὲ φθάσασι

1 The mss. read αἰδῶ, but aidelberg 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."
EUSEBIUS

thn eisodromhn autow kai prokatapioudwn to
arpaghsiomevon ws adikhetentes hipsan omoteroi,
devnas de basanwn idous epenvon proes ereunon

trophes, orbois men emfrattontes tois ibhiois
tous ton ibdoiwn porous, rabdous o oxeias

anapeirontes tas e'dras. ta firkta de kai akoiras
epassheis eis eis e'momaloghous enos arton kai
ina menhsh draka mian kekrummenon alfiton.
oi basanistai de ovd' epenion (kai gar hipiton
ain omnon h to meta anagkhs), gyninazontes de

thn aponoian kai proparaskevazontes eautois
eis tas e'khis hmeras efhdia. tois de epi thn

'Romaiwn p'orwron vuktrop e'zerpousan epi la-

chwnon sylloghnh agriwn kai poas upantwntes,
onti hndi diaphevenynai tous polemiou esokovn,
afhirpaqon ta koumiotheanta, kai pollakis ike

oukton kai to firktotaton epikaloymenon onoma

tou theou metadoinai ti meros autois oin kiv


santes 'nzeugan, ouvd' otioun metedosan, agaphtion

d' hnh to mh kai proapolesthai sevulhmenon.'

Tou'tous me' e'tera e'piferei l'gwn. "Ioudaious

de metat ton i'zoidon aptekoph pasha oswtrias

elpis, kai basunias eautoin o amos kat' oikous

kai geneas ton dhmon epedosketo, kai ta men

tegh pelpirwto gnwaiokwn kai brefwv leu-

menon, oi stenwpoi de gherontwn nekrow, pai'des

de kai neanwv didoudontes u'sper eidwla kata

tas agorhas aneuloyno kai katetipoton ophe toixa

to pathos kataklambano. thaptein de tous proso-

nikontas oute 'stchyn oi kymvontes kai to diev-

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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 ¹ 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 ὅκνει διά τε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ τὸ κατὰ σφάς ἀδήλου· πολλοὶ γοῦν τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἤπατομένους ἐπαράθηςκον, πολλοὶ δ’ ἐπὶ τὰς θήκας, πρὶν ἐπιστήναι τὸ χρεών, προήλθον.

οὔτε δὲ θρήνοις ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς οὔτε ὀλοφυρμὸς ᾗν, ἀλλ’ ὁ λιμὸς ἠλεγχε τὰ πάθη, ἐξηρός δὲ τοῖς ὀμμασιν οἱ δυσθανατοῦντες θεωροῦν τοὺς φθάσαντας ἀναπαύσασθαι, βαθείᾳ δὲ τὴν πόλιν περιέχειν συν καὶ νὺς θανάτου γέμουσα. καὶ τούτων οἱ λησταί χαλεπώτεροι. τυμβωρυχοῦντες γοῦν τὰς οἰκίας, ἔστολῳ τοὺς νεκροὺς, καὶ τὰ καλύμματα τῶν σωμάτων περισσῶν, μετὰ γέλωτος ἐξῆσαν, τὰς τὰς ἀκμὰσ τῶν ἔριφων ἐδοκίμαζον ἐν τοῖς πτώμασιν, καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἔρρημεν ἐτὶ ζῶντας διήλαυν ἐπὶ πείρα τοῦ σιδήρου, τοὺς δ’ ἐκεῖθεν ἐμφανίσει φόβος δεξιὰν καὶ ἔφος, τῶν λιμῶν κατέλιπον ὑπερηφανοῦντες, καὶ τῶν ἐκπνεόντων ἐκαστὸς ἄτενες εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀφεώρα, τοὺς στασιαστὰς ζῶντας ἄπολιπών. οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου θησαυροῦ τοὺς νεκροὺς θάπτειν ἐκέλευον, τὴν ὀσμήν οὐ φεροῦντες· ἐπειδὴ ὡς οὕτως, ἀπὸ τῶν τεχῶν ἐρρήτρως εἰς τὰς φάραγγας. περιμὼν δὲ ταύτας τὸ Τίτος ὑπὲρ οἰκεῖα τοῦ πολεμοῦ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ βαθὺν ἱχῶρα μυθώντων τὸν ὑπορρέοντα τῶν σωμάτων, ἐστεναζέν τε καὶ τὰς χειρὰς ἀνατείνας κατεμαρτύρα τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς οὐκ εἰ πο ξύ σχοῦν αὐτοῦ.”

Τούτως ἐπειπῶν τινα μεταξὺ ἐπιφέρει λέγων· οὐκ ἂν ὑποστειλάμην εἰπεῖν ἃ μοι κελεύει τὸ πάθος· οἵμα ρωμαίων βραδυνάντων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλητήριοις, ἢ καταποθήκα αὐν ὑπὸ χάσματος ἢ κατακλυσθήναι τὴν πόλιν ἢ τοὺς τῆς Σωδομηῆς 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

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μεταλαβεῖν κεραυνοὺς· πολὺ γὰρ τῶν ταῦτα παθόντων ἥνεκεν γενεὰν ἀθεωτέραν· τῇ γονὶ τοῦτων ἀπονοίᾳ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς συναπώλετο.

Καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐκτῷ δὲ βιβλίῳ οὕτως γράφει. "τῶν 1
δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ φθειρομένων κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀπειρον μὲν ἐπιπτε τὸ πλῆθος, ἀδυνήγητα δὲ συν-έβαινεν τὰ πάθη. καθ᾽ ἐκάστην γὰρ οἰκίαν, εἰ ποὺ τροφῆς παραβανεῖ θεία, πόλεμος ἦν, καὶ διὰ χειρῶν ἔχωρον οἱ φύλτατοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐξαρπάζοντες τὰ ταλαίπωρα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐφόδια, πίστες δ᾽ ἀπορίας οὐδὲ τοῖς θησαυροῖς ἢ, ἀλλὰ 1 καὶ τοὺς ἐμπνεύσατα οἱ λησταὶ διηρεύνων, μὴ τις ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔχων τροφῆν, σκήπτουτο τὸν θάνατον αὐτῶ. οἱ δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἐνδείας κεχινότες ὁσπερ λυσσώντες κύνες ἐσφάλλοντο καὶ παραφέροντο ταῖς ἑλθάραι ἐνσειμένου μεθυόντων τρόπον καὶ ὑπ᾽ ἀμυχανίας τοὺς αὐτοὺς οἴκους εἰσεπτήδων δις ἡ τρὶς ὥρα μιᾷ. πάντα δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ὁδόντα ἤγεν ἡ 1 ἀνάγκη, καὶ τὰ μηδὲ τοῖς ῥυπαρωτάτοις τῶν ἀλόγων ἐξῶν πρόσφορα συλλέγοντες ἐσθίειν ὑπ-έφερον. ἑωστὴρων γοῦν καὶ ὑποδημάτων τὸ τε-λευταῖον οὐκ ἀπέσχοντο καὶ τὰ δέρματα τῶν ἥρων ἀποδέροντες ἐμασώντο, τροφή δ᾽ ἦν καὶ χόρτον τοῖς παλαιοῖς σπαράγματα· τὰς γὰρ ἰναὶ ἐνοὶ συλλέγοντες, ἐλάχιστον σταθμὸν ἑπώλουν Ἀττικῶν τεσσάρων.

"Καὶ τὶ δεῖ τὴν ἐπ᾽ ἄμυχους ἀναίδειαν τοῦ λιμοῦ 2ễn
λέγειν; εἰμὶ γὰρ αὐτοῦ δηλώσων ἐργον ὁποῖον μήτε παρ᾽ Ἐλλησιν μήτε παρὰ βαρβάροις ἱστορηται, φρικτὸν μὲν εἰπεῖν, ἀποκουσάνδε ἐγώγω, μὴ δοξαῖ τε καὶ θειότερα τοῖς αὖθις ἀνθρώποις καὶ παρέλπων τὴν συμφορὰν ἡδέως, 210
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.
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εἴ μή τῶν κατ’ ἐμαυτόν εἶχον ἀπεἴρους μάρτυρας. ἄλλως τε καὶ ψυχράν ἀν καταθέμην τῇ πατρίδι χάριν, καθυφέμενος τὸν λόγον ὅπως πέπονθε τὰ ἔργα. γυνὴ τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἰορδάνην κατοικοῦντων, 25 ἩΡΩΙΔΑΡΙΑ ΤΟΥΝΟΜΑ, πατρὸς Ἔλεαζάρου, κόμης Βῃθεζώρ (σημαίνει δὲ τούτο οἶκος ὑπαύτου), διὰ γένος καὶ πλουτὸν ἐπίσημος, μετὰ τοῦ λουποῦ πλήθους εἰς τὰ Ἰορθολύμα καταφυγοῦσα συνεπολιορκεῖτο. ταύτης τὴν μὲν ἄλλην κτήσιν οἱ τύραννοι διήρπασαν, ὥσπερ ἐκ τῆς Περαιάς ἀνασκευασμένη μετήνεγκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τὰ δὲ λείψανα τῶν κειμηλίων καὶ εἰ τοιούτης ἐπινοηθεῖ καθ’ ὕμεραν εἰσπηδῶντες ἤρπαξον οἱ δορυφόροι. δευτ. δὲ τὸ γύναιον ἀγανάκτησις εἰσήγη, καὶ πολλάκις λουδορούσα καὶ καταρωμένη τοὺς ἀρπαγας ἔρε ἐαυτὴν ἤρέθιζεν. ως δ’ οὔτε παρ- 2) σενόμενος τις οὔτ’ ἐλεῶν αὐτὴν ἀνήρει καὶ τὸ μὲν εὑρεῖν τι σιτίον ἄλλως ἐκοπία, πανταχόθεν δ’ ἀπορον ἢν ἤδη καὶ τὸ εὑρεῖν, ὁ λιμός δὲ διὰ σπλάγχνων καὶ μυελῶν ἐχώρει καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ μᾶλλον ἐξέκαιον οἱ θυμοί, σύμβουλον λαθοῦσα τὴν ὀργήν μετὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἐπὶ τῆς φύσιν ἐχώρει, καὶ τὸ τέκνον, ἢν δ’ αὐτὴ παῖσ ὑπομάστιος, ἀρπασμένη, ’βρέφος’, εἶπεν, ’ἄλιον, ἐν πολέμω καὶ 2) λιμῷ καὶ στάσει, τίνι σε τῆρῳ; τὰ μὲν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δουλεία κἀν ζήσωμεν ἐπ’ αὐτούς, φθάνει δὲ καὶ δουλεῖαν ὁ λιμός, οἱ στασιασταὶ δὲ ἀμφοτέρως χαλεπώτεροι. ἢτι, γενοῦ μοι τροφὴ καὶ τοῖς στασιασταῖς ἐρυνῆ καὶ τῷ βίῳ μῦθος, οἱ μόνος ἐλλείπων ταῖς ’Ἰονδαἰων συμφορᾷς’ καὶ ταῦθ’ ἀμα λέγουσα κτείνει τὸν νῦν, ἐπεῖτ’ 2) ὀπτῆσασα, τὸ μὲν ἢμισυ κατεσθίει, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν 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 καὶ in most mss. and in Josephus, but it seems impossible.
κατακαλύψασα ἑφύλαττεν. εὐθέως δ’ οἱ στα-
σιασταὶ παρῆσαν καὶ τῆς ἀθεμίτου κύσης σπά-
σαντες, ἦπειλον, εἰ μὴ δεῖξειν τὸ παρα-
σκευασθὲν, ἀποσφάξειν αὐτὴν εὐθέως. ἡ δὲ καὶ μοι-
ραν αὐτοὺς εἰπόσακα καλὴν τετηρηκέναι, τὰ λείψανα
τοῦ τέκνου διεκάλυψεν. τοὺς δ’ εὐθέως φρίκη καὶ 26
φρενῶν ἐκστασις ἦρει, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὄμων ἐπεπή-
γεσαν. ἦ δ’, ἑιδή, ἐφη, ‘τοῦτο τὸ τέκνον
γνήσιον, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἔμοι. φάγετε, καὶ γὰρ
ἐγὼ βέβρωκα. μὴ γένησθε μὴτε μαλακώτεροι
γνωκὸς μήτε συμπαθήσετεροι μητρὸς. εἰ δ’
ὕμεις εὐσεβεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀποστρέφεσθε θυσίαν,
ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῖν βέβρωκα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δ’ ἔμοι
μεινάτω.’ μετὰ ταῦθ’ οἱ μὲν τρέμοντες ξέροντες, 27
πρὸς ἐν τούτῳ δειλοί καὶ μόλις ταῦτας τῆς τροφῆς
τῇ μητρὶ παραχωρήσαντες, ἀνεπλήσθη δ’ εὐθέως
ολὴ τοῦ μύσους ἡ πόλις, καὶ πρὸ ὁμολόγων ἔκαστος
tὸ πάθος λαμβάνων ὡς παρ’ αὐτῷ τολμηθέν,
ἐφριττεν. σπουδὴ δὲ τῶν λιμωττότων ἐπὶ τὸν 28
θάνατον ἦν καὶ μακαρισμὸς τῶν φθαρέσαντων
πρὶν ἄκοιναι καὶ θεάσασθαι κακὰ τηλικάτα.’

VII. Τοιαύτα τῆς Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν 1
τοῦ θεοῦ παρανομίας τε καὶ δυσσεβείας τάπικεφα, 2
παραδείγατο δ’ αὐτοὺς ἄξιον καὶ τὴν ἄφεσιν τοῦ
σωτῆρος ἡμῶν πρόρρησιν, δ’ ἦς αὐτὰ ταῦτα
δηλοὶ ὡδὲ πὼς προφητεύων ’’οὐαὶ δὲ ταῖς ἐν
γαστρὶ ἐχούσαις καὶ ταῖς θηλαζούσαις ἐν ἐκείναις
ταῖς ἡμέραις’ προσεύχεσθε δὲ ἱνα μὴ γένηται
ὑμῶν ἡ φυγὴ χειμώνον μηδὲ σαββάτω. ἔσται
γὰρ τότε θλίψις μεγάλη, οἷα οὐκ ἔγενετο ἀπ’
ἀρχῆς κόσμου ἐως τοῦ νῦν, οὐδὲ μὴ γένηται.’ 2

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

Matt. 24, 19–
21

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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
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥΣ

ὅ συγγραφεύς λιμῷ καὶ ξίφει μυριάδας ἐκατὸν καὶ δέκα διαφθαρῆναι φησιν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς στασιώδεις καὶ ιστρικοὺς, ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων μετὰ τὴν ἁλωσιν ἐνδεικνύμενος, ἀνήρησθαι, τῶν δὲ νεῶν τοὺς ψηλοτάτους καὶ κάλλει σώματος διαφέροντας τετηρήσθαι θριάμβω, τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ πλῆθους τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐπτακαίδεκα ἔτη δεσμίους εἰς τὰ κατ᾽ Ἀὔγυπτον ἔργα παραπεμφθῆναι, πλείους δὲ εἰς τὰς ἐπαρχίας διανευμῆσθαι φθαρ- ρησομένους ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις σιδήρῳ καὶ θηρίοις, τοὺς δ’ ἐντὸς ἐπτακαίδεκα ἔτων αἰχμαλώτους ἀλλάντας διαπεπρᾶσθαι, τούτων δὲ μόνων τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἰς ἐννέα μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν συναχθῆναι.

Ταύτα δὲ τούτον ἐπράξθη τῶν τρόπων δευτέρων τῆς Ὀυσεπασιανοῦ βασιλείας ἔτει ἀκολούθως τοῖς προγνωστικαῖς τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ προρρήσεων, θεία δυνάμει ὡσπερ ἡδὴ παρόντα προερακότος αὐτὰ ἐπιδεικνύσαντός τε καὶ ἀποκλαυσμένου κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν γραφῆς, οὐ καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ παρατέθειναι τὰς λέξεις, τοτὲ μὲν φήσαντο ωσ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν Ἰερουσαλήμ “εἰ ἔγνως καὶ γε σύ εν τῇ ἡμέρα ταύτῃ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην σου· νῦν δὲ ἐκρύβη ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν σου· ὅτι ἡξούσιν ἡμέραι ἐπὶ σε, καὶ περιβαλοῦσιν σοι οἱ ἐχθροὶ σου χάρακα, καὶ περικυκλώσουσιν σε, καὶ συνέξουσιν σε πάντοθεν, καὶ ἐδαφιοῦσιν σε καὶ τὰ τέκνα σου,” τοτὲ δὲ ὅ ως περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ “ἐσται γὰρ ἀνάγκη μεγάλη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ὁργὴ τῶν λαῶ τούτως καὶ πεσοῦνται ἐν στόματι μαχάρας καὶ αἰχμαλωτισθήσονται εἰς πάντα τὰ ἐθνή καὶ Ἰερουσαλήμ ἐσται πα- τομένη ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν, ἄχρις οὐ πληρωθῶσιν καρποὶ.
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
ΕUSEBIUS

Δέννων." καὶ πάλιν ""όταν δὲ ἅπητε κυκλομενήν ὑπὸ στρατοπεδῶν τήν Ἰεροσαλήμ, τότε γνώτε ὅτι ἕγγυεν ἡ ἑρήμωσις αὐτῆς." συγκρίνας δὲ τις ταῖς σωτηρίων ἠμῶν λέξεις ταῖς λοιπαῖς τοῦ συγγραφέως ἱστορίαις ταῖς περὶ τοῦ παντὸς πολέμου, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἀποθαναμάσειεν, θείαν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ὑπερφυῶς παράδοξον τήν πρόγνωσιν ὁμοί καὶ πρόρησιν τοῦ σωτηρίου ἠμῶν ὀμολογήσεις;

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν μετὰ τὸ σωτηρίου πάθος καὶ τὰς φονιὰς ἐκείνας ἐν αἰσ ὡς τῶν Ἰουδαίων πλήθας τὸν μὲν ληστὴν καὶ φονέα τοῦ θανάτου παρῆκτητα, τὸν δὲ ἀρχηγόν τῆς ζωῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἱκέτευος ἀρθῆναι, τῶν παντὶ συμβεβηκότων ἔθνει, οὕτων ἂν δέω ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἐπιλέγειν, ταῦτα δ' ἂν εἰς δίκαιον ἐπιθεῖναι, ἀ γένουτ' ἂν παραστατικά φιλανθρωπίας τῆς παναγάθου προνοίας, τεσσαρακοντα ἐφ' ὀλοις ἔτεσιν μετὰ τὴν κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τόλμαν τῶν κατ' αὐτῶν ὀλέθρον ὑπερθεμένης, ἐν ὅσοις τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν πλείους Ἰάκωβος τε αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς πρῶτας ἐπίσκοπος, τοῦ κυρίου χρηματίζων ἄδελφος, ἐτι τῷ βίῳ περίοντες καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Ἰεροσολύμων πόλεως τὰς διατριβὰς ποιούμενοι, ἔρχος ὡσπερ ὀχυρωτάτων παρέμενον τῷ τόπῳ, τῆς θείας ἐπισκοπῆς εἰς ἠτο τὸ τῷ μακροθυμῶσις, εἰ ἄρα ποτὲ δυνηθεῖν ἐφ' οἷς ἐδρασαν, μετανοήσαντες συγγνώμης καὶ σωτηρίας τυχεῖν, καὶ πρὸς τῇ τοσαύτη μακροθυμία παραδόξους θεοσμείας τῶν μελλόντων αὐτοῖς μή μετανοήσασι συμβῆσθαι παρασχομένης· ἀ καὶ αὐτὰ μνήμης ἤζυωμένα πρὸς τοῦ δεδηλωμένου συγγραφέως οὐδὲν οἴον τοῖς τῇ διδάσκον τῇ γραφῆ παραθεῖναι. 218
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.

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VIII. Καὶ δὴ λαβών ἀνάγνωσθι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἑκτὴν ἡμερησίαν τῶν Ἰστοριῶν αὐτῶν δεδηλωμένα ἐν τούτοις.

"Τὸν γοῦν ἀθλίουν δῆμον οἱ μὲν ἀπατεῶντες καὶ καταψευδόμενοι τὸν θεοῦ θυμικαίτα παρέπευθον, τοῖς δ’ ἐναργεῖαι καὶ προσημαίνοντες τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐρημίαν τέρασιν οὔτε προσείχον οὔτ’ ἐπίστευον, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐμβεβροντημένοι καὶ μῆτε ὁμιμᾶ τῇ ψυχῇ ἔχοντες τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ κηρυγμάτων παρῆκομεν, τοῦτο μὲν θ’ ὑπὲρ τὴν 2 πόλιν ἄστρον ἔστη βομβαίᾳ παραπλήσιον καὶ παρατείνας ἐπ’ ἐνιαυτόν κομήτης, τούτο δ’ ἡμίκα πρὸ τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον κινήματος, ἀθροιζομένου τοῦ λαοῦ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἄξιων ἔορτήν, ὁγδόη Ἑαυθικὸς μηνὸς κατὰ νυκτὸς ἐνατήν ὠραν, τοσοῦτον φῶς περιέλαμβαν τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὸν ναὸν, ὡς δοκεὶν ἡμέραν εἶναι λαμπράν, καὶ τούτῳ παρέτεθεν ἐφ’ ἡμίσειαν ὠραν· ὁ τοῖς μὲν ἀπείροις ἀγαθὸν ἐδοκεῖ εἶναι, τοῖς δὲ ἰερογραμματεύσι πρὸ τῶν ἀποβεβηκότων εὐθέως ἐκρίθη. καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐορτὴν 3 βοῦς μὲν ἀχθείσα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ἐτεκεν ἁρμα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μέσῳ· ἢ δ’ ἀνα- 4 τολικὴ πύλη τοῦ ἐνδοτέρω χαλκῆ μὲν οὐδα καὶ στυβαρωτάτη, κλειομένη δὲ περὶ δείλην μόλις ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων ἐκοσίοι, καὶ μοχλοῖς μὲν ἐπερευδομένη σιδηροδέτους, καταπήγας δ’ ἐξούσια βαθυτάτους, ὥθηκα κατὰ νυκτὸς ὠραν ἐκτὴν αὐτομάτως ἧνουμένη. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐορτὴν ἡμέρας 5 οὐ πολλάς ὕστερον, μὴ καὶ ἐκάκη Ἀρτεμισίου μηνὸς, φάσμα τι δαμόνιον ὡθήσκε μεῖζον πίστεως, τέρας δ’ ἂν ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὸ ῥήθησόμενον, εἰ μή καὶ παρὰ τοῖς θεασαμένοις ἱστόρητο καὶ τὰ 220
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 declaratons 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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Εὐσεβίου

ἐπακολουθήσαντα πάθη τῶν σημείων ἢν ἄξια·
πρὸ γὰρ ἠλιοῦ δύσεως ὁφθη μετέωρα περὶ πάσαν
τὴν χώραν ἄρματα καὶ φάλαγγες ἐνοπλοὶ δι-
ἀττουσαι τῶν νεφῶν καὶ κυκλοῦμεναι τὰς πόλεις.
κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔορτήν, ἡ πεντηκοστὴ καλεῖται,
νύκτωρ οἱ ίερεῖς παρελθόντες εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, ὥσπερ
αὐτοῖς ἔθος ἦν, πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας, πρῶτον
μὲν κινήσεως ἐφασαν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ κτύπου,
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φωνῆς ἄθροας 'μεταβαίνομεν
ἐντεῦθεν.'

1 τὸ δὲ τούτων φοβερότερον, Ἰησοῦς
γὰρ τις ὄνομα, νῖός Ἀνανίου, τῶν ἱδωτῶν,
ἀγροικος, πρὸ τεσσάρων ἐτῶν τοῦ πολέμου, τὰ
μάλιστα τῆς πόλεως εἰρηνευμένης καὶ εὐθυμο-
ς, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔορτήν, ἐπεὶ σκηνοποιεῖσθαι
πάντας ἔθος ἦν τῷ θεῷ, κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐξαπίνης
ἀναβοῦν ἥρξατο 'φωνὴ ἀπ' ἀνατολῆς, φωνὴ ἀπὸ
δύσεως, φωνὴ ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, φωνὴ
ἐπὶ 'Ἰεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν ναὸν, φωνὴ ἐπὶ νυμφίους
καὶ νύμφας, φωνὴ ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν λαοῦ.'
τοῦτο
μεθ' ἦμεραν καὶ νύκτωρ κατὰ πάντας τοὺς στε-
νωποὺς περιήγη κεκραγώς.

τῶν δ' ἐπισήμων
τινὲς δημοτῶν ἀγανακτήσαντες πρὸς τὸ κακο-
φημον, συλλαμβάνουσι τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν καὶ πολλάς
αἰκίζονται πληγαῖς.  ὅ δ' οὕθ' ὑπὲρ ἐαυτοῦ φθεγ-
ζάμενος οὔτε ἰδία πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας, ἄς καὶ
πρότερον φωνᾶς βοῶν διετέλει. νομίσαντες δ' οἱ
ἀρχοντες, ὑπὲρ ἦν, δαιμονιώτερον εἶναι τὸ
κίνημα τάνδρος, ἀνάγουσιν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν παρὰ
Ῥωμαίοις ἐπαρχον· ἐνθα μάστιχον μέχρις ὀστέων
ξανόμενος οὕθ' ἴκετευσεν οὔτ' ἐδάκρυσεν, ἀλλ'
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; 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.
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ως ἐνή μάλιστα τὴν φωνὴν ὁλοφυρτικῶς παρεγκλίνων, πρὸς ἐκάστην ἀπεκρίνατο πληγὴν 'ἀλ' 'Ιεροσολύμωις.1''

Joseph, B.I.
6, 312. 313

'Ετερον δ' ἔτι τούτον παραδοξότερον ὁ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ, χρησμὸν των φάσκων ἐν ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν εὐρήσθαι περέχοντα ὡς κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας τῶν αὐτῶν ἄρξει τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὅν αὐτὸς μὲν ἔπι. Οὐδεποιασιν πεπληρώσθαι ἔξειληφεν· ἀλλ' οὔχ ἀπάσης γε οὕτος ἀλλ' ἡ μόνης ἦρξεν τῆς ὑπὸ 'Ρωμαίους· δικαιότερον δ' ἂν ἐπὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἀναχθεῖ, πρὸς ὅν εἰρήτῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς "ἀιτήσαι παρ' ἑμοῦ, καὶ δῶσω σοι ἐθνὴ τὴν κληρονομίαν σου, καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσιν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς," ὡς δὴ κατ' αὐτὸ δὴ ἐκείνῳ τοῦ καιροῦ "εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος" τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων "καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν."

IX. 'Επὶ τούτων ἀπασών ἄξιον μηδ' αὐτοῦ

1 After Ἱεροσολύμωις the text of Josephus adds τοῦ δὲ ἀλβίνου διερωτῶντος· οὕτος γὰρ ἐπαρχος ἦν· τίσ εἰς καὶ πόθεν καὶ διατα ταῦτα φθέγγοιτο· πρὸς ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὅτι οὖν ἀπεκρίνατο· τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει θρήνοι εἰρων οὐ διέλεπεν μέχρι καταγεννοῦσα μιαν· ὁ ἀλβίνος ἀπέλυσεν αὐτῶν· ὁ δὲ τῶν μέχρι τοῦ πολέμου χρόνον· οὔτε προσήγει τινὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτε ὑφθα λαλῶν· ἀλλὰ καθήμερον ὠσπερ εἰχέν μεμελετηκὼς· αἰ ἵεροσολύμωις ἐδρήσει· οὔτε δὲ των τῶν τυπότων αὐτῶν ὅσιμεραι κατηράτο οὔτε τὸ σφόδρος μεταδιδότας εὐλόγεις. μία δὲ πρὸς πάντας ἦν· ἡ σκυθρωπὴ κληθὼν ἀπόκρισις. μάλιστα δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἐρημαῖς ἐκεκράγει· καὶ τοῦτο ἐφετέρα ἐτη καὶ μήνας πέντε εἰρων. οὔτε ἡμιβλυθῇ τὴν φωνὴν οὔτε ἐκαίμεν μέχρις οὔτα τῆς τολμηρίας ἐργοῦ τὸς κληθῶν ίδων ἀνεπάλαστο. περιūν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ τελευταίος αἰ αἰ πάλιν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ λαῷ καὶ τῷ ναῷ διαπρόεισθεν ἐβδόμ. ὡς δὲ τελευταῖον προσέθηκεν αἰ αἰ καμοί λίθος ἐκ τοῦ πετροβόλου σχασθεῖσι καὶ πλήξα αὐτὸν, παραχρήμα κτεῖνε· φθειγμόμενη δὲ ἐπὶ τὸς κληθῶν ἐκείναις τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφῆκεν. This is also found in two late mss. (ER) of Eusebius.
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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 wailed '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 special 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 χείρας συμβεβλημένον ἱστορία, ὁπόθεν τε καὶ ἀφ’ οὗν γένους ὀρμᾶτο, ἀγνοεῖν. δῆλοι δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦτο, λέγων ὥδε "Ἰώσηπος Ματθίου παῖς, εξ Ἰεροσολύμων ἑρεύς, αὐτὸς τε Ῥωμαίους πολεμήσας τὰ πρῶτα καὶ τοῖς υἱοίς του πατρός ἐξ ἀνάγκης." μᾶλιστα δὲ τῶν κατ’ ἐκείνον καίρους Ῥωμαίων οὐ παρὰ μόνον τοῖς ὀμοευνέσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίους γέγονεν ἀνήρ ἐπιδοξότατος, ὡς αὐτὸν μὲν ἀναθέσει ἀνδριάντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαιίων τιμηθῆναι πόλεως, τοὺς δὲ σπουδασθέντας αὐτῶν λόγους βιβλιοθήκης ἀξιωθῆναι. οὕτος δὴ θάνατι τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἄρχαιολογίαν ἐν ὀλίσθεις εἰκοσι κατατέθεται συγγράμμασιν, τὴν δ’ ἱστορίαν τοῦ κατ’ αὐτὸν Ῥωμαίου πολέμου ἐν ἔπτα, ἃ καὶ οὐ μόνον τῇ Εἰλήφῳν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίῳ φωνῇ παραδοθέντα αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ μαρτυρεῖ, ἀξιώσις γε ὃν διὰ τὰ λοιπὰ πιστεύεσθαι καὶ ἔτερα δ’ αὐτοῦ φέρεται σποῦδης ἀξία δύο, τὰ Περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαϊῶν ἄρχαιοτήτως, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἀναγράφεις πρὸς Ἀπίωνα τῶν γραμματικῶν, κατὰ Ἰουδαϊῶν τηνυκάδε συντάξαντα λόγον, πεποίηται καὶ πρὸς ἀλλοὺς, οἱ διαβάλλων καὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ πάτρια τοῦ Ἰουδαϊῶν ἔθνους ἐπειράθησαν. τούτων ἐν τῷ ἐπιτέρῳ τῶν ἁρμόδιον τῆς λεγομένης παλαίστρας τῶν ἐνδιαθήκης γραφῆς τίθης, τίνα τὰ παρ’ Ἐβραίοις ἀναντίρρητα, ὅς αὐτὸς ἐπειράθησαν. οὗτοι δὲ μόνα πρὸς τοὺς εἰκοσι βιβλία, τοῦ παντοῖο ἑχοντα χρόνου τῆς ἀναγραφῆς, τὰ δικαίως θεία πεπιστευμένα.

Χ. "Ὀδομανεὶς ὁμοίως ἐις τὸν ἄμφοτερον καὶ μαχαιρίαν, εὐθὺς δὲ μόνα πρὸς τοὺς εἰκοσι βιβλία, τοῦ παντοῦ ἑχοντα χρόνου τῆς ἀναγραφῆς, 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 War² 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 iudaicum).
³ Usually known as Contra Apionem.
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καὶ τούτων πέντε μὲν ἐστὶν Μωσεῖως, ἀ τοὺς δὲ νόμους περιέχει καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀνθρωπογονίας παράδοσιν μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτής· οὕτως ὁ χρόνος ἀπολείπει τρισχιλίων ὄλγων ἔτων· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Μωσείως τελευτῆς μέχρι τῆς Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ μετὰ Ξέρξην Περσῶν βασιλέως οἱ μετὰ Μωσείων προφήται τὰ κατ’ αὐτοὺς πραγμένα συνέγραψαν ἐν τρισίν καὶ δέκα βιβλίοις· αἱ δὲ λοιπὰ τέσσαρες ὁμοὺς εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑποθήκας τοῦ βίου περίεχοντον. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀρταξέρξου μέχρι τοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς χρόνου γέγραπται μὲν ἕκαστα, πίστεως δ’ ὑπὸ ὅμοιας ἡξίωσαν τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχὴν. δήλων δ’ ἐστὶν γ’ ἐργα πῶς ἠμεῖς πρόσμενοι τοῖς ἱδίοις γράμμασιν τοσοῦτον γὰρ αἰῶνος ἡ ἤδη παρωχήκοτος οὐτε προσθεῖναι τις οὐτε ἀφέλειν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν οὐτε μεταθεῖναι τετόλμηκεν, πάσι δὲ σύμφωτὸν ἐστὶν εὐθὺς ἐκ πρώτης γενέσεως Ἰουδαίων τὸ νομίζειν αὐτὰ θεοῦ δόγματα καὶ τούτοις ἐπιμένειν καὶ υπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἰ δέου, θυμίσκεσθαι ἢδεως. καὶ ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ συγγραφέως χρησίμως ὡδὲ παρατεθείσω. πεπόνησαι δὲ καὶ ἀλλο ὁ άγγελος σπουδασμὸ τῷ ἀνδρὶ, Περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ, ὥς τινες Μακκαβαϊκῶν ἐπέγραψαν τῷ τοὺς αγῶνας τῶν ἐν τοῖς οὐτοὶ καλομένους Μακκαβαικῶν συνγράμμασιν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τὸ θείων εὐσεβείας ἀνδρισμένων Ἑβραίων περιέχεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τῷ τέλει δὲ τῆς εἰκοστῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας ἐπισημαίνεται ὁ αὐτὸς ως ἀν προηρημένον ἐν τέταρτοιν συγγράμμα βιβλίοις κατὰ τὰς πατρίους δόξαι τῶν Ἰουδαίων περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς οὐσίας.
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. The remaining four books contain hymns to God and precepts for the life of men. From the time of Artaxerxes to our own the details have been written, but are not considered worthy of equal credence with the rest because there has not been an accurate succession of prophets. 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 Maccabees 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 τί κατ’ αὐτοῦς
tὰ μὲν ἐξεστὶ πράττειν, τὰ δὲ κεκάλυται, καὶ
ἀλλὰ δὲ αὐτῶι σπουδασθῆναι ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς
ἰδίοις αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει λόγοις. προς τούτοις ἐν
ἐυλογον καταλέξαι καὶ ἂς ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ τῖς
Ἀρχαιολογίας τοῦ τέλους φωνᾶς παρατέθειται,
eἰς πίστωσιν τῆς τῶν ἐν αὐτοῦ παραληφθέντων
heimer marturias. διαβάλλων δὴ τα Ἰούστων Τιβε-
ρία, ὡμοιοις αὐτῷ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς
ἴστορῆσαι χρόνους πεπεραμένον, ὥς μὴ τάληθη
συγγεγραφότα, πολλάς τε ἄλλας εὐθύνας ἔπαγαγών
τῷ ἀνδρί, ταύτα αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν ἐπιλέγει "οὐ ἢ
μὴν ἐγὼ σοι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον περὶ τῆς ἐμαντοῦ
γραφῆς ἐδείξα, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῖς ἐπεδέωκα τοῖς αὐτοκρά-
tοροι τὰ βιβλία, μόνον οὐ τῶν ἔργων ἦδη βλεπομε-
νων· συνήδεις γὰρ ἐμαντῶ τετηρηκότι τὴν τῆς
ἀληθείας παράδοσιν, ἐφ’ ἢ μαρτυρίας τεῦξεσθαι
προσδοκῆςας οὐ διημαρτον. καὶ ἄλλοις δὲ πολλοῖς ἐν
ἐπεδέωκα τὴν ἱστορίαν, ὃν ἐνιοὶ καὶ παρατευχέσαν
τῷ πολέμῳ, καθάπερ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας καὶ τνες
αὐτοῦ τῶν συγγενῶν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ
Τίτος οὔτως ἐκ μόνων αὐτῶν ἐβουλήθη τὴν γνώσιν
toῖς ἀνθρώπους παραδούναι τῶν πράξεων, ὥστε
χαράξας τῇ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ τὰ βιβλία δημοσιώσαι
προσέταξεν, ὃ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ξῆθεν ἔγραψεν
ἐπιστολάς, τῇ τῆς ἀληθείας παραδόσει μαρτυρῶν."’
’Αφ’ ὑν καὶ δύο παρατίθεσιν. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ
tοῦτον ταύτῃ της δεδηλώσωθω.

Χ. Ἔμεν δ’ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. μετὰ τήν Ἰακώβου
παραδοθῶν καὶ τῆν αὐτικὰ γενομένην ἄλωσον τῆς
Ἰερουσαλημός λόγος κατέχει τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν
τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν τούς εἰς ἐπὶ τῶ βίως λειτουργόν

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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 appends 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
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ἐπὶ ταύτων πανταχόθεν συνελθεῖν ἃμα τοῖς πρὸς γένους κατὰ σάρκα τοῦ κυρίου (πλείους γὰρ καὶ τούτων περιῆσαν εἰς ἑτὶ τὸτε τῷ βίῳ), βουλήν τε ὁμοῖ τοὺς πάντας περὶ τοῦ τίνα χρῆ τῆς Ἰακώβου διαδοχῆς ἐπικρίναι ἄξιον, ποιήσασθαι, καὶ δὴ ἀπὸ μιᾶς γνώμης τοὺς πάντας Συμμεὼν τὸν τοῦ Κλωπά, οὐ καὶ ἡ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου μνημονεύει γραφῆ, τοῦ τῆς αὐτοθεν παροικίας θρόνον ἄξιον εἶναι δοκιμάσαι, ἀνεφιῶν, ὡς γέ φασι, γεγονότα τοῦ σωτῆρος, τὸν γάρ ὅπων Κλωπᾶν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ὑπάρχει 'Ἡγίστου ἵστορεῖ, XII. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους Ὀυσσαπα-
σιανον μετὰ τῆς τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων ἀλωνίσαν πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ γένους Δαυίδ, ὡς μὴ περιελθέθη τις παρὰ Ἰουδαίως τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς φυλῆς, ἀναζητεῖσθαι προστάξαι, μέγιστον τε Ἰουδαίους ἀθικὸς ἢν τάυτης διωγμὸν ἐπαρτηθήναι τῆς αἰτίας.

XIII. Ἔπι δέκα δὲ τὸν Ὀυσσαπασιανὸν ἄσησον βασιλεύσαντα αὐτοκράτωρ Τίτος ὁ παῖς διαδέχεται: οὐ κατὰ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς βασιλείας Διόν ἐπίσκοπος τῆς 'Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας δυοκάδεκα τὴν λειτουργίαν ἐναυτοῖς κατασχων, Ἀνεγκλήτων τάυτην παραδίδωσιν.

Τίτον δὲ Δομετιανὸς ἀδελφὸς διαδέχεται, δύο ἐτεσί καὶ μησί τοῖς ὅσοι βασιλεύσαντα. XIV. τετάρτῳ μὲν οὖν ἐτει Δομετιανοῦ τῆς κατ' Ἀλεξάν-
δρειαν παροικίας ὁ πρῶτος Ἀννιανὸς δύο πρὸς τοῖς ἐκκοσι ἀποπλήσας ἑτῆ, τελευτᾷ, διαδέχεται δ' αὐτῶν δεύτερος Ἀβίλιος. XV. δωδεκάτῳ δὲ ἐτει τῆς αὐτῆς ἡγεμονίας τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας Ἀνεγ-
κλητον ἔστεσιν ἐπισκοπεύσαντα δεκαδύο διαδέχεται Κλήμης, ὅν συνεργόν ἐαυτοῦ γενέσθαι Φιλιππησίου ἐπιστέλλων ὃ ἀπόστολος διδάσκει, λέγων "μετὰ 232
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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 Aneneletus. 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 Aneneletus 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.
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καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν συνεργῶν μου, ὃν τὰ ὅνοματα ἐν βίβλῳ ζωῆς.'

XVI. Τούτου δὴ οὖν ὁμολογομένη μία ἐπιστολή φέρεται, μεγάλη τε καὶ θαυμασία, ἣν ὥς ἀπὸ τῆς Ρωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τῇ Κορινθίων διετυπώσατο, στάσεως τηνικάδε κατὰ τὴν Κόρινθων γενομένης. ταύτην δὲ καὶ ἐν πλείσταις ἐκκλησίαις ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ δεδημοσιευμένην πάλαι τε καὶ καθ’ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔγνωμεν. καὶ οὗτος γε κατὰ τὸν δηλούμενον τὰ τῆς Κορινθίων κεκίνητο στάσεως, ἀξιόχρεως μάρτυς ὁ Ἡγίαστος.

XVII. Πολλὴν γε μὴν εἰς πολλοὺς ἐπιδεξάμενον ὁ Ἰσραήλ ἐνοπτικῶν ὁμογενεῶν καὶ ἐπιστημόνων ἀνδρῶν πλῆθος οὐ μετ’ εὐλόγων κρίσεως κτείνας μυρίους τε ἄλλους ἐπιφανεῖς ἀνδράς ταῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἔνωρίαν ἑκατομμύριας φυγαίς καὶ ταῖς τῶν ὀσιῶν ἀποβολαίς ἀνατιῶς, τελευτῶν τῆς Νέρωνος θεοστροφίας τε καὶ θεομαχίας διάδοχον ἐναυτὸν κατεστήσατο. δεύτερος δὴ τὸν καθ’ ἡμῶν ἀνεκίνη διωγμὸν, καὶ προτὸς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ὀινεσπασιανοῦ μηδέν καθ’ ἡμῶν ἀτοποῦ ἐπινοήσαντος.

XVIII. 'Εν τούτῳ κατέχει λόγος τὸν ἀπόστολον ἡμῶν καὶ ὑπαγεγραμμένος ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἐνδιατρίβοντα, τῆς εἰς τὸν θείον λόγον ἐνεκεν μαρτυρίας. Πάτμου οἰκεῖν κατάδικαι ἡμᾶς τὴν νήσουν. γράφοντες γε τοι ὁ Εἰρήναιος περὶ τῆς ψήφου τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἀντίχριστον προσηγορίας φερομένης ἐν τῇ Ἰωάννου λεγομένην 'Αποκαλύψει, αὐταῖς συλλαβαῖς ἐν περιπτῶ τῶν πρὸς τὰς αἵρεσις ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ Ἰωάννου φησίν 'εἰ δὲ ἔδει ἄναφανδών ἐν τῷ νῦν καὶρῶν κηρύττεσθαι τούνομα αὐτοῦ, 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 Hugesippus.

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
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tou καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἔορακότος. οὔδε γὰρ πρὸ
πολλοῦ χρόνου ἐωράθη, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμε-
tέρας γενέας, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς.”

Εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ ἁρὰ κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους ἢ τῆς
ἡμετέρας πίστεως διέλαμπεν διδασκαλία, ὡς καὶ
tους ἀπόθεν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου συγγραφεῖς μὴ
ἀποκηνήσαι ταῖς αὐτῶν ἱστορίαις τόν τε διωγμὸν καὶ
tὰ ἐν αὐτῶ μαρτύρια παραδοῦναι, οὐ γε καὶ τὸν
cαιρὸν ἐπὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεσημανὼν, ἐν ἑτεί πεντεκα-
dεκάτῳ Δομετιανῷ μετὰ πλείστων ἑτέρων καὶ
Φλανίαν Δομέτιλλαν ἱστορησάντες, ἐξ ἀδελφῆς
γεγονόν τινας Δομετίλλος Κλήμεντος, ἐνὸς τῶν τηνικάδε
ἐπὶ Ἡρώνης ὑπάτων, τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν μαρτυρίας
ἐνεκεν εἰς νήσον Ποντίαν κατὰ τιμωρίαν δεδόσθαι.

XIX. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ Δομετιανοῦ τούς ἀπὸ γένους 1
Δαυίδ ἀναφεύσαι προστάζαντος, παλαιὸς κατέχει
λόγος τῶν αἰρετικῶν τις διακατηγορήσατο τῶν ἀπο-
γόνων Ἰουδά (τοῦτον δ' εἶναι ἀδελφὸν κατὰ σάρκα
tου σωτήρος) ὡς ἀπὸ γένους τυχανόντων Δαυίδ
καὶ ὡς αὐτοῦ συγγενείαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ φέροντων.
ταῦτα δὲ δηλοὶ κατὰ λέξιν ὡς πῶς λέγων ὁ
'Ἡρώνπος. XX. „Εἰτε δὲ περιήγας οἱ ἀπὸ γένους 1
τοῦ κυρίου νῦνοι Ἰουδά τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα λεγομένου
αὐτοῦ ἀδελφοῦ: οὗς ἐδηλατορευσαν' ὡς ἐκ γένους
ἐντας Δαυίδ. τοῦτος ὁ ἰούνικᾶτος ἤγαγεν πρὸς
Δομετιανῶν Καίσαρα. ἐφοβεῖτο γὰρ τῇ παρου-
sίαιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὡς καὶ Ἡρώδης. καὶ ἐπηρῶ-
τησεν αὐτοὺς εἰ ἐκ Δαυίδ εἶσιν, καὶ ὁμολόγησαν.
tότε ήρώτησεν αὐτοὺς πόσα κτήσεις ἔχουσιν ἡ

¹ Α Latinism made out of delatus.

¹ Α.δ. 96. Cf. Suetonius, Dom. 15, who however says that
Domitilla was the wife of Clemens. Some think that
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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\(^1\) 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\(^2\) 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*.
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πόσων χρημάτων κυριεύουσαν. οἱ δὲ εἶπαν ἀμφότεροι ἐνεπαγαλοθυλία δηνάρια ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς μόνα, ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν ἄντικον τοῦ ἥμισυος, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐν ἄργυρίοις ἐφασκὼν ἔχειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν διατηρητικη
γῆς πλεθρών λθ'/ μόνων, ἡς ὁν καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀναφέρει καὶ αὐτοὺς αὐτουργοῦντας διατρέφεσθαι."  

εἶτα δὲ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας τὰς ἐαυτῶν ἐπιδεικνύναι, μαρτύρων τῆς αὐτουργίας τῆς τοῦ σώματος σκληρίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συνεχοῦς ἐργασίας ἐναποτυπωθέντας ἐπὶ τῶν ἴδιων χειρῶν τύλους παριστάντας.

ἐρωτηθέντας δὲ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ὅπως τις εἶχη καὶ ποί καὶ πότε χανταμένη, λόγον δοῦναι ὡς οὐ κοσμικῆ μὲν οὐδ᾽ ἐπίγειας, ἐπουράνιος δὲ καὶ ἀγγελικὴ τυγχάνοι, ἐπὶ συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος γεννημένη, ὁπνεικα ἐλθὼν ἐν δοξῇ κρυβεῖ ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς καὶ ἀποδώσει ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἐπιπερθεμένα αὐτοῦ: ἐφ᾽ ὃς μηδὲν αὐτῶν κατεγνωσκότα τὸν Ἰσομετανόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃς ἐπτελὼν καταφρονήσατα, ἐλευθέρους μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀνέιναι, καταπάυσαι δὲ διὰ προστάγματος τὸν κατὰ τής ἐκκλησίας διωγμόν.  

τοὺς δὲ ἀπολυθεντάς ἡγησάθην τῶν ἐκκλησιών, ὡς ἂν δὴ μάρτυρας ὅμοιο καὶ ἀπὸ γένους ὄντας τοῦ κυρίου, γενομένης τε εἰρήνης μέχρι Ἰαβίανοῦ παραμείναι αὐτοὺς τῷ βίῳ. ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἰαβιππος· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Τερτυλιανὸς τοῦ Ἰσομετανοῦ τουαυτῆς πεποίηται μνήμην “πεπεράκει ποτὲ καὶ Ἰσομετανός ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνος, μέρος ὧν τῆς Νέρωνος ὀμότητος. ἀλλ᾽, οἴμαι, ὧτε ἔχων τι συνεέσεως, τάχιστα ἐπαύσατο, ἀνακαλεσάμενος καὶ οὐς ἐξηλάκει.”

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.”

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1 About £35.

2 The Greek plethron is not quite a quarter of an acre, but is used to represent the Latin \textit{ingerum}=more than half an acre.
Metà de tòn Δομετιανοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν 8 κρατήσαντα Νεροῦ ἡ τῇ ἀρχῇ διαδεξαμένου, καθαίρεθη μὲν tās Δομετιανοῦ τιμάς, ἐπανελθέντ' ἐπὶ τὰ ὁλίγα μετὰ τοῦ καὶ tās οὐσίας ἀπολαβεῖν τοὺς ἀδίκως ἐξεληλαμένους ἡ Ρωμαίων σύγκλητος βουλή ψηφίζεται. Ἐστορούσιν οἱ γραφῆ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους παραδόντες. τότε δὴ οὖν καὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον Ἰωάννην ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον φυγῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐφέσου διατριβὴν ἀπεληφθέναι ὁ τῶν παρ' ἢμῖν ἀρχαίων παραδίδωσι λόγος.

XXI. Μικρῶ δὲ πλέον ἐνιαυτὸ βασιλεύσαντα Νεροῦ διαδεχεται Τραϊάνος: οὐ δὴ πρῶτον ἔτος ἢν ἐν ὧ τῆς κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παροικίας Ἀβίλων δέκα πρὸς τρισιν ἔτεσιν ἡγησάμενον διαδεχεται Κέρδων· τρίτους οὖν τῶν αὐτοῦ, μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον Ἀννιανὸν προέστη. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ὁρμαίων εἰς ἐτὶ Κλήμης ἡγεῖτο, τρίτον καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπέχων τῶν τῇδε μετὰ Παιλόν τε καὶ Πέτρων ἔσοκοπευσάντων βαθμῶν. Λίνος δὲ ὁ πρῶτος ἢν καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ Ἀνέγκλητος.

XXII. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας Εὐδόκου πρῶτον καταστάντος δεύτερος ἐν τοῖς δηλουμένοις Ἰγνάτιος ἐγνωρίζετο. Συμμετέχεις ὁμοίως δεύτερος μετὰ τῶν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἢμῶν ἀδελφοῦ τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίας κατὰ τοὺς τὴν λειτουργίαν εἴχεν.

XXIII. Ἐπὶ τούτοις κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐτὶ τῷ βίῳ περιλεύπομενοι αὐτὸς ἐκάνειν ὅν ἡγάτα ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἀπόστολος ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴς Ἰωάννης τάς αὐτοῦ διεύστεν ἐκκλησίας, ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον μετὰ τὴν Δομετιανοῦ τελευτὴν ἐπανελθῶν φυγῆς. ὅτι δὲ εἰς τούτους τῷ βίῳ περιήν, ἀποχρη διὰ δύο εἰς πιστώσασθαι τὸν λόγον μαρτύρων, πιστοὶ δὲ ἦν εἰς οὕτω, τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς πρεσβεύσαντες ὅρθο-
After Domitian had reigned fifteen years, Nerva succeeded.¹ 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,² 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

¹ Sept. 18, A.D. 96. ² Jan. 27, A.D. 98.
δοξίας, εἰ δὴ τοιοῦτο Εἰρηνώσιος καὶ Κλήμης ὁ Ἀλέξανδρεύς· ὅν ὦ μὲν πρότερος ἐν δευτέρω τῶν 3 πρὸς τὰς αἱρέσεις ὡδὲ πως γράφει κατὰ λέξιν· "καὶ πάντες οἱ προσβύτεροι μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἰωάννη τῷ τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῇ συμβεβληκότες παραδεδωκέναι τὸν Ἰωάννην. παρέμεινεν γὰρ αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν Τραϊανοῦ χρόνων." 1 καὶ ἐν 4 τρίτῳ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως ταύτῳ τούτῳ δελοὶ διὰ τούτων· "ἀλλὰ καὶ ἢ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησία ὑπὸ Παύλου μὲν τεθεμελιωμένη, Ἰωάννου δὲ παραμείναντος αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν Τραϊανοῦ χρόνων, μάρτυς ἀληθῆς ἐστιν τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως."

"Ὁ δὲ Κλήμης ὁμοῦ τὸν χρόνον ἐπισημηνάμενος, ἓποι ἰστορίαν ἀναγκαιοτάτην οἷς τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἐπωφελῆ φιλῶν ἀκοῦειν, προστίθησιν ἐν ὧ "Τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλοῦσιος" ἐπέγραψεν αὐτοῦ συγγράμματι· λαβὼν δὲ ἀνάγωσθο ὡδὲ πῶς ἔχουσαν καὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ γραφῇ· "ἀκοουσον μύθον οὐ μῦθον ἀλλὰ ὅντα λόγον περὶ Ἰωάννου τὸν ἀποστόλον παραδεδομένον καὶ μνήμη πεφυλαγμένον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νῆσου μετήλθεν ἢπὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον, ἀπῆρε παρακαλοῦμενος καὶ ἢπὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὁποῖοι μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσαν, ὁποῖοι δὲ ἄλλα ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόσων, ὁποῖοι δὲ κλήρον ἕνα γε των κληρώσων τῶν ὕπο τοῦ πνεύματος σημανοῦμεν. ἐλθὼν οὖν καὶ ἦπὶ των τῶν οὐ μακρὰν πόλεων, 2 ἢς καὶ τοῦνομα λέγοντον ἐνοι, καὶ τὰλλα ἀναπαύσας τοὺς ἄδελφους, ἢπὶ πᾶσι τῷ καθεστώτι προσβλέψας ἐπισκόπῳ, νεανίσκον ίκανὸν τῷ σῶματι καὶ τῇ ὄψιν ἀστείων καὶ θερμῶν τῇ ψυχῇ ἱδών, 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 ἑθνῶν possibly means "country-people" as opposed to "town-folk."
² According to the Chronicon Paschale it was Smyrna.

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παρακατάθηκα τα 

πάσης σπουδῆς ἐπὶ τῆς

ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μάρτυρος. τοῦ δὲ

dεχομένου καὶ πάνθ', ύπισχυμένου, καὶ πάλιν τὰ

αὐτὰ διελέγετο καὶ διεμαρτύρετο. εἶτα ὁ μὲν ἀπ'

ήρεν ἐπὶ τὴν "Εφεσον, ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος ἀναλαβὼν

οὐκαίδε τὸν παραδοθέντα νεανίσκον ἐτρεφεν, συνείχεν,

ἐθαλπεν, τὸ τελευταίον ἐφώτισεν. καὶ μετὰ τούτο

ὕφηκεν τῆς πλείονος ἐπιμελείας καὶ παραφυλακῆς,

ὡς τὸ τέλειον αὐτοῦ φυλακτήριον ἐπιστήσας τὴν

σφραγίδα κυρίου. τῷ δὲ ἀνέσεως πρὸ ὃρασι

λαβομένῳ προσφθείροντα τινας ἔλικες ἄργοι καὶ

ἀπερρωγότες, ἐθάδες κακῶν, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν δὲ

ἐστίασεν πολυτελῶν αὐτὸν ἐπάγοντα, εἰτά που

καὶ νῦκτωρ ἐπὶ λωποδυσίαν ἔξιόντες συνεπάγοντα,

eἰτά τι καὶ μείζον συμπράττεεν ἥξιον. οἱ δὲ κατ'

ἀλίγον προσευθήσετο, καὶ διὰ μέγεθος φύσεως

ἐκεῖτά ὡςπερ ἄστομοι καὶ εὐρυστοι ὑπὸς ὅρθῆς

ὀδὸς καὶ τὸν χαλινὸν ἐνδακών, μειζόνως κατὰ τῶν

βαράθρων ἐφέρετο, ἀπογνώσε δὲ τελέως τὴν ἐν 

θεώ 

σωτηρίαν, οὐδὲν ἦτο μικρὸν διενοείτο, ἀλλὰ μέγα 

τι 

πράξας, ἐπευήθην ἄπαξ ἀπολώλεἰ ἵσα τοὺς ἄλλους 

παθέν ἥξιον. αὐτοὶ δ' ὑπὸ τούτους ἀναλαβὼν καὶ

ληστήριον συγκροτήσας, ἔτιομος λήσταρχος ἂν, 

βιαίότατος μιαμφωνώτατος χαλεπώτατος. χρόνοις 

ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ τινὸς ἐπιπεσούσης χρείας ἀνακαλοῦσθε 

tὸν 'Ιωάννην. ο δὲ ἐπει τὰ ἄλλα δὲν χάριν ἤκουν 

κατεστήσατο, ἄγε δὴ ἐφι ἤ ἐπίσκοπε, τὴν 

παραθήκην ἀπόδος ἦμι, ἢν ἐγὼ τε καὶ ο Χριστὸς 

σοι παρακατεθέμεθα ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἢς προ-

καθέξῃ, μάρτυρος.' ο δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξεπλάγη,

χρήματα οἰόμενον, ἀπ' ὀνὸ κλαβεν, συνοματεῖ-

σθαι, καὶ οὔτε πιστεύευεν εἰχεν ὑπὲρ ὑν οὔκ εἰχεν,

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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

1 Immediately above he is called a bishop.
οὖτε ἀπιστεῖν Ἰωάννη· ὡς δὲ τὸν νεανίσκον· εἴπεν ἀπαίτω καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἄδελφοῦ, στενάξας κἀκελεύθησα τοῖς πρεσβύτησι καὶ τι καὶ ἑπὶ- 
δικρύσας, ἑκεῖνος ἐφη τέθυνεν· πῶς καὶ τῖνα θάνατον; 'θεῷ τέθυνεν' εἴπεν ἀπέβη γὰρ 
πονηρὸς καὶ ἐξώλης καὶ, τὸ κεφάλαιον, λῃστῆς, καὶ 
νῦν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸ ὀρος κατείληφεν μεθ' 
ὁμοίου στρατιωτικοῦ. καταρρηξάμενος τὴν ἔσθη- 
τα ὁ ἀπόστολος καὶ μετὰ μεγάλης οἰκονομίας πληξά- 
μενος τὴν κεφαλῆν, 'καλὸν γε ἐφη φύλακα 
τῆς τάδελφου ψυχῆς κατέλυσαν. ἀλλ' ἵππους ἦδη 
μοι παρέστω, καὶ ἡγεμόνων γενέσθω μοί τῆς τῆς 
όδου. ἠλαυνεν, ὦσπερ εἴχεν, αὐτόθεν ἀπὸ τῆς 
ἐκκλησίας. ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ χωρίον, ὅπου τῆς 
προφυλακῆς τῶν λῃστῶν ἀλλικτά, μήτε φεύγων 
μήτε παρατυποῦν, ἀλλὰ βωών ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλή- 
λυθα, ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα ὡμὸν ἀγάγετε με· ὦς τέως, ἡ 
ωσπερ ὑπλιστο, ἀνέμενεν, ὡς δὲ προσώπον ἐγνώ- 
ρισε τὸν Ἰωάννην, ἐις φυγὴν αἰδεσθείς ἐτράπητο. 
ὁ δὲ ἐδιώκεν ἀνὰ κράτος, ἐπιλαθόμενος τῆς ἡλικίας 
tῆς ἑαυτοῦ, κεκραγός 'τι με φεύγεις, τέκνων, τῶν 
ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα, τῶν γυμνῶν, τῶν γέροντων, ἐλέγον 
με, τέκνων, μὴ φοβοῦ. έχεις ἐτι ζωῆς ἐλπίδας. 
ἐγὼ Χριστῷ λόγον δώσω ὑπὲρ σοῦ· ἂν δέχῃ, τὸν 
σὸν θάνατον ἑκὼν ὑπομενῶ, ὡς ὁ κύριος τὸν ὑπὲρ 
ἡμῶν· ὑπὲρ σοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀντιδώσω τῆς εἰμῆν. 
στῇ, πίστευσον. Χριστός με ἀπέστειλεν. δὲ δὲ 
ἀκούσας, πρῶτον ἐστη μὲ κάτω βλέπων, εἶτα ἐρριπεῖ 
tὰ ὀπλα, εἶτα τρέμων ἐκλαυεν πικρῶς· 
προσελθόντα δὲ τὸν γέροντα περιέλαβεν, ἀπολογού- 
μενος ταῖς οἰκονομίαις 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 laments as best he could, baptized a second time in his tears, but his right


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dεξιάν· δε δ’ ἐγγυόμενοι, ἐπομνύμενοι ὡς ἀφεσιν 19 αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμηρται, δεόμενοι, γονυ-πετών, αὐτὴν τὴν δεξιάν ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς μετανοιας κεκαθαρμένην καταφιλών, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπ-ανήγαγεν, καὶ δαμιλέσι μὲν εὐχαίς ἔξωτούμενος, συνεχέσι δὲ νηστείαις συναγωνιζόμενος, ποικίλαις δὲ σειρήσι λόγων κατεπάδων αὐτοῦ τὴν γνώμην, οὐ πρότερον ἀπῆλθεν, ὡς φασιν, πρὶν αὐτόν ἐπιστήσαι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, διδοὺς μέγα παράδειγμα μετανοιας ἀληθινῆς καὶ μέγα γνώρισμα παλιγγενεσίας, τρό-παιον ἀναστάσεως βλεπομένης."¹ ταῦτα τοῦ Κλήμεντος, ἱστορίας ὅμω καὶ ωφελείας τῆς τῶν ἐντευξομένων ἑνεκεν, ἐνταῦθα μοι κείσθω.

XXIV. Φέρε δὲ, καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὰς 1 ἀναντιρρήτους ἐπισημηνώμεθα γραφάς. καὶ δὴ 2 τὸ κατ’ αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον ταῖς ὑπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν διεγενομένων ἐκκλησίαις, πρῶτον ἀνωμολογήσω- ὅτι γε μὴν εὐλόγως πρὸς τῶν ἄρχαίων ἐν τετάρτῃ μοίρᾳ τῶν ἄλλων τριῶν κατειλεκται, ταῦτη ἄν γένοιτο δήλον. οἱ θεσπέσιοι καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς 3 θεοπρεπεῖς, φημὶ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοὺς ἀποστόλους, τὸν βίον ἄκρως κεκαθαρμένοι καὶ ἀρετῆ πάση τὰς ψυχὰς κεκοσμημένοι, τὴν δὲ γλώτταν ἰδιωτεύοντες, τῇ γε μὴν πρὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος αὐτοῖς δεδωρημένη θεία καὶ παραδόξου ὑπάρχον ἐν τὰς μαθήματα προσβείαν οὔτε ἔδεσαν οὔτε ἐνεχείρουν, τῇ δὲ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος τοῦ συνεργοῦντος αὐτοῖς ἀποδείξει καὶ τῇ δὴ αὐτῶν συνετουμένη θυμα- τουργίᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δυνάμει μόνῃ χρώμενοι, τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας τὴν γνώσιν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν

¹ Cf. George Syncellus 653. 12-654. 16.
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, σπουδής τῆς περὶ τὸ λογογραφεῖν μικρὰν ποιούμενοι φροντίδαι. καὶ τοῦτ’ ἔπραττον ἀτε μείζονι καὶ ὑπέρ ἄνθρωπον ἐξυπηρετούμενοι διακονία. ὁ γοῦν Παῦλος πάντων ἐν παρασκευῇ λόγων δυνατῶτατος νοῆμασιν τε ἰκανότατος γεγονός, οὐ πλέον τῶν βραχυτάτων ἐπιστολῶν γραφῆ παραδείκτεκεν, καὶ τοις μυρία γε καὶ ἀπόρρητα λέγειν ἔχον, ἀτε τῶν μέχρις οὐρανοῦ τρίτου θεωρημάτων ἐπιψαύσας ἐπ' αὐτὸν τε τῶν θεοπρεπῆ παράδεισου ἀναρπασθείς καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε ῥημάτων ἀρρήτων ἄξιοθείς ἐπακούσαι, οὐκ ἀπειροὶ μὲν οὖν ὑπῆρχον τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν φοιτηταί, δύοεκα μὲν ἀπόστολοι, ἐβδομήξοντα δὲ μαθηταί, ἀλλοι τε ἐπὶ τούτους μυρίοι· ὄμως δ' οὖν ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν τοῦ κυρίου διατριβῶν ὑπομνήματα Μαθαίος ἡμῖν καὶ Ἰωάννης μόνοι καταλείπομαι· οὐσ καὶ ἐπάναγκες ἐπὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἐλθεῖν κατέχει λόγος. Μαθαίος τε ἐγέρθη διὰ τοῦτου πρὸς τὸν Ἐβραίους κηρύξας, ὡς ἦμελλεν καὶ ἔφε στέροις ἱερεῖν, πατρίῳ γλώττῃ γραφὴ παράδους τον κατ’ αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον, τὸ λείπον τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας τούτως ἄϕ’ ὁν ἐστέλλετο, διά τῆς γραφῆς ἀπεπληρωμοῦντο ὡς ἐν Μάρκου καὶ Λουκᾶ τῶν κατ’ αὐτοῦ εὐαγγελιῶν τὴν ἐκδοσιν πεποιημένων, Ἰωάννην φασὶ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἀγράφῳ κεχρημένον κηρύγματι, τέλος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γραφῆς ἐλθεῖν τοιάδε χάρον αἰτίας. τῶν προαναγραφέντων τριῶν εἰς πάντας ἦδη καὶ εἰς αὐτοῦ διαδεδομένων, ἀποδεξάθαι μὲν φασιν, ἀλλήλων αὐτοῖς ἐπιμαρτυρήσαντα, μόνην δὲ ἠρα λείπεσθαι τῇ γραφῇ τὴν περὶ τῶν ἐν πρώτως καὶ κατ’ ἄρχην τοῦ κηρύγματος ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πεπραγμένων διήγησιν. καὶ ἀληθῆς γε ὁ λόγος. 8 250
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
captured 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 recollec-
tions, and tradition says that they took to writing per-
force. Matthew had first preached to Hebrews, and
when he was on the point of going to others he trans-
mittted 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
τοὺς τρεῖς γοὺς εὐαγγελιστὰς συνιδεῖν πάρεστιν μόνα τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ κἀθερεξίν ἐφ’ ἑνα ἐνιαυτὸν πεπραγμένα τῷ σωτῆρι συγγεγραφότας αὐτὸ τοῦτ’ ἐπισημηναμένου κατ’ ἀρχὰς τῆς αὐτῶν ἰστορίας· μετὰ 9 γοὺς τὴν τεσσαρακοντακήρου νηστείαν καὶ τὸν ἐπ’ ταύτῃ πειραμόν τὸν χρόνον τῆς ἱδίας γραφῆς ὁ μὲν Ματθαῖος δηλοὶ λέγων “ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι Ἰωάννης παρεδόθη, ἀνεχώρησεν” ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας “εἰς τὴν Γαλαλείαν,” ὁ δὲ Μάρκος ὡσαύτως “μετὰ δὲ 16 τὸ παραδοθῆναι” φησίν “Ἰωάννης ἦλθεν Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὴν Γαλαλείαν,” καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς δὲ πρὸν ἀρξασθαι τῶν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πράξεων, παραπλησίως ἐπιτηρεῖ, φάσκων ὅσ’ ἂρα προσθεῖς Ἴρων οἰς διεπράξατο πονηροῖς, “κατέκλεισε τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐν φυλακῇ.” παρακληθέντα δὴ οὖν τούτων ἐνεκά φασί τοῦν ἀπόστολον Ἰωάννην τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πρωτέρων εὐαγγελιστῶν παρασιωπηθέντα χρόνον καὶ τὰ κατὰ τούτον πεπραγμένα τῷ σωτῆρι (ταῦτα δ’ ἦν τὰ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ καθερεξεως) τὰ κατ’ αὐτῶν εὐαγγελείω παραδοῦναι, αὐτὸ τοῦτ’ ἐπισημηναμένη τοτὲ μὲν φήσαντα “ταύτην ἄρχην ἐποίησεν τῶν παραδόξων ὁ Ἰησοῦς,” τοτὲ δὲ μνημονεύσαντο τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ μεταξὺ τῶν Ἰησοῦ πράξεως ὡς ἐτὶ τότε βαπτίζοντος ἐν Άινων ἐγγὺς τοῦ Σαλείμ, σαφῶς τε τοῦτο δηλοῦν ἐν τῷ λέγειν “οὕτω γὰρ ἦν Ἰωάννης βεβλημένος εἰς φυλακῆς,” ὁμοίως ὁ μὲν Ἰωάννης τῇ τοῦ κατ’ αὐτῶν εὐαγγελίῳ γραφῆ τὰ μηδέποι τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ εἰς φυλακῆς βεβλημένου πρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ πραχθέντα παραδίδωσιν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τρεῖς εὐαγγελισταὶ τὰ μετὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον κἀθερεξίν τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ

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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munemoneousin ois kai epitsthasant evukei an 1
doxai diafowen alllhois ta euaggeia tis to me
kata `Iowanhi tis prwta ton tou Kristoou praxewn
periechein, ta de loipa tin ep tele tov chrinou
autou gegovmin iostoriai eikotous de ou tin men
tis sarkos tov swtirpos himon gegovminis ate
Matthaiou kai Louka prografeisan apoesthiasai
ton `Iowanhi, tis de theologias apraxasthai ws an
autou pros tov theiou pneumatos oia kretin
paraphefulagmeni.

Taunata men ouin himin peri tis toou kata `Iowanhi
euaggeillion grafeis eirhsth, kai tis kata Markou
de he gegovmin aitia en tois prosseb himin dedhlotai.
O de Loukais archoemeno kai autous toou kata
15 synegrammatos tin aitiai proibhkein de hine pepeoietai
tin synexi, deilwn ws ara pollwn kai allwn
prospetesteron epitethdeukotin diygenvin poimae-
thai ou autous peplerophorhto logon, anagkaios
apallatton himas tis peri toous allous amfhiroston
upolhsew, ton asfalh logon ou autous ikainis tis
alhseian kateilhfei ek tis aimi Paulew synousias
te kai diatribhis kai tis ton loipon apostolwn
omiliai ofelhemenos, dia tis idioi pardeukhein
euaggeilion. kai taunata men himeis peri toouton
ouikeisteron de kata kairoin dia tis twn arxiaion
paratheseis tis kai tois allous peri autoun eirhmena
pierasometha deilhsoin.

Toen de `Iowanhu graammaton pros tis euaggelion
17 kai h protera twn epyistolwn parata te tois vun kai
tois et arxiaion anakflektos omologhetai, antile-
18 gontai de ai loipai duo, tis de `Apopakhypseos eis

1 The exact meaning of this word in Luke’s preface was

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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.
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥΣ

ἐκάτερον ἐτὶ νῦν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς περιέλκεται ἡ
dόξα· ὁμοίως γε μὴν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων μαρτυρίας ἐν ὦκείως καιρῷ τὴν ἐπίκρισιν δέχεται καὶ αὐτῇ.

XXV. Εὐλογον δ’ ἐνταῦθα γενομένους ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰς δηλωθείσας τῆς κανῆς διαθήκης γραφάς. καὶ δὴ τακτέον ἐν πρῶτοι τὴν ἀγίαι τῶν εὐαγγελίων τετρακτύν, οἷς ἐπεται ἡ τῶν Πράξεων τῶν ἀποστόλων γραφή, μετὰ δὲ ταυτὴν τὰς Παύλου καταλεκτέον ἐπιστολάς, αἰσ ἐξῆς τὴν φερομένην. Ἰωάννου προτέραν καὶ ὁμοίως τὴν Πέτρου κυρωτέον ἐπιστολήν· ἐπὶ τούτοις τακτέον, εἰ γε φανειῇ, τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν Ἰωάννου, περὶ ἓς τὰ δόξαντα κατὰ καιρὸν ἐκθησόμεθα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν ὦκολογομένοις τῶν δ’ ἀντιλεγομένων, γνωρίμων δ’ οὖν. ὁμοὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἡ λεγομένη Ἰακώβου φέρεται καὶ ἡ Ἰουδα ἡ τε Πέτρου δευτέρα ἐπιστολή καὶ ἡ ὄνομαζομένη δευτέρα καὶ τρίτη Ἰωάννου, εἰτε τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ τυχχάνουσαι εἶτε καὶ ἐτέρου ὦκολογοῦμου ἢκείως. εν τοῖς νόθοις κατατετάχθω καὶ τῶν Παύλου Πράξεων ἡ γραφή ὁ τε λεγομένος Πομην καὶ ἡ Ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἡ φερομένη Βαρναβᾶ ἐπιστολή καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αἰ λεγόμεναι Διδαχαί ἐτὶ τε, ὥσ ἐφη, ἡ Ἰωάννου Ἀποκάλυψις, εἰ φανειῇ ἡν τυνε, ὥσ ἐφη, ἀθετουσιν, ἐτεροι δὲ ἐγκρίνουσιν τοῖς ὦκολογομένοις. ἡδὲ δὲ τοὺς τυνει καὶ τὸ καθ’ Ἐβραίους εὐαγγελίου κατέλεξαν, ὃ μάλιστα Ἐβραίων οἱ τῶν Χριστῶν παραδεξάμενοι χαίρουσιν. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων αὖ εἰ, ἀναγκαίως δὲ καὶ τούτων ὁμοίως τὸν κατάλογον πεποιημέθα, διακρινόντες τὰς 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
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άληθείς καὶ ἀπλάστους καὶ ἀνωμολογημένας γραφάς καὶ τὰς ἄλλους παρὰ ταῦτα, οὐκ ἐνδιαθήκους μὲν ἄλλα καὶ ἀντιλεγομένας, ὡμοι δὲ παρὰ πλείστους τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν γνωσκομένας, ἵνα εἰδέναι ἐξομεν αὐτάς τε ταῦτα καὶ τὰς ὀνόματι τῶν ἀποστόλων πρὸς τῶν αἱρετικῶν προφερομένας ἦτοι ὡς Πέτρου καὶ Θωμᾶ καὶ Ματθία ἡ καὶ τινων παρὰ τούτους ἄλλων εὐαγγελία περιεχοῦσα ἡ ἤς Ἄνδρεον καὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων πράξεις: ὅν οὐδὲν οὐδαμῶς ἐν συγγράμματι τῶν κατὰ τὰς διδαχὰς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τις ἀνήρ εἰς μνήμης ἀγαγεϊν ἧξισωσεν, πόρρω δὲ ποι καὶ ὁ τῆς ἑφράσεως παρὰ τὸ θῆνος τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ἐναλλάττει χαρακτήρ, ἢ τε γνώμη καὶ ἢ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς φερομένων προορίσεως πλείστον ὅσον τῆς ἄληθος ὄρθοδοξίας ἀπάθουσα, ὅτι ἤρ σαφός παράσημος· θεν εὐθ' ἐν νόθοις αὐτὰ κατακτεῖν, ἄλλ' ὡς ἀτοπα πάντη καὶ δυσσεβὴ παραιτητέον.

Iren. 1, 23. 5

XXVI. Ἡῳ μεν δὴ λοιπὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἕξις 1 ἱστορίαν. Σύμωνα τὸν μάγον Μένανδρος διαδεξάμενος, ὅπλων δεύτερον οὐ χείρον τοῦ προτέρου τῆς διαβολικῆς ἐνεργείας ἀποδείκνυται τὸν τρόπον. ἣν καὶ οὔτος Σαμαρεύς, εἰς ἄκρον δὲ γονεῖας οὐκ ἔλαττον τοῦ διδασκάλου προελθόν, μείξοσιν ἐπιδαισκευᾶται τερατολογίαις, ἔναυτὸν μὲν ὡς ἅρα εἴη, λέγων, ο σωτήρ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνωθέν ποθεν ἐξ ἀοράτων αἰώνων ἀπεσταλμένος σωτηρία, διδάσκων δὲ μὴ ἄλλως δύνασθαι τινα καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν κοσμοποιῶν ἀγγέλων περιγενήσεσθαι, μὴ πρότερον διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτοῦ παραδίδομένης μαγικῆς ἐμπειρίας ἀχθέντα καὶ διὰ τοῦ μεταδίδομένου πρὸς αὐτοῦ προφητευμένου 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. Menander succeeded Simon Magus and showed himself as a weapon of the devil’s power not inferior to his predecessor. He, too, was a Samaritan, progressed to the highest point of sorcery not less than his master, and abounded in greater wonders. He said of himself that he was the saviour who had been sent from above for the salvation of men from invisible 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 καταξιουμένους ἀθανασίαν ἀἵνευν ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ μεθέξειν τῷ βίῳ, μηκέτι θυμήσκοντας, αὐτοῦ δὲ παραμένοντας εἰς τὸ ἄει ἀγήρως τινὰς καὶ ἀθανάτους ἐσομένους. ταύτα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐκ τῶν Εἱρνηναίον διαγινώσκαν θαδοῦν καὶ ὁ Ιουστίνος δὲ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ Σίμωνος μην-μονεύςας, καὶ τὴν περὶ τούτου διήγησιν ἐπιφέρει, λέγων. "Μένανδρον δὲ τινὰ καὶ αὐτὸν Σαμαρεά, τὸν ἀπὸ κόμης Καπαρατταίας, γενόμενον μαθητὴν τοῦ Σίμωνος, οἰστρηθέντα καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν δαμόσων καὶ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ γενόμενον, πολλοὺς ἐξαπατήσας διὰ μαγικῆς τέχνης οὐδέμεν· ὅσι καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐπομένους ὡς μὴ ἀποδηνήσκουν, ἐπεισεν, καὶ νῦν τινὲς εἰσὶν, ἀπ' ἑκείνου τούτου ὁμολογοῦντες." Ἡν δ' ἀρα διαβολικῆς ἐνεργείας διὰ τούτῳ μεγά λη Χριστιανῶν προσηγορίαν ὑποδιομένων τὸ μέγα τῆς θεοσεβείας μυστήριον ἐπὶ μαγεία σπουδάσαι διαβαλέων διασώραί τε δι' αὐτῶν τὰ περὶ ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας καὶ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως ἐκκλησιαστικὰ δόγματα. ἂλλ' οὗτοι μὲν τούτους σωτήρας ἐπιγραφάμενοι τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀποπεπτώκασιν ἔλπιδος· XXVII. ἄλλους δ' οὶ πονηρός δαίμων, τῆς περὶ τὸν Χριστόν τοῦ θεοῦ διαθέσεως ἀδύνατῶν ἔκτεσαί, θατεραλήπτους ἐφρῶν ἐσφετερίζετο· Ἐβισιανοὺς τούτους οὐκεῖοι ἐπεφήμιζον οἱ πρῶτοι, πτωχῶς καὶ ταπεινῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοξάζοντας. ἄλλοι δὲ βεβαίως τέταρτος τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν Χριστοῦ πιστεύως καὶ τοῦ καθ' αὐτὴν βίου σωθησόμενος. ἂλλοι δ' ἐπαρὰ τούτος.
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 Caparatta,
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
τοις τῆς αὐτῆς ὄντες προσηγορίας, τῇ μὲν τῶν εἰρημένων ἐκτοπον διεδηράσκειν ἀτοπίαν, ἐκ παρθένου καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος μὴ ἄρνομενοι γεγονέναι τῶν κύριων, οὐ μὴν έθ’ ὦμοιως καὶ οὗτοι προὔπάρχειν αὐτὸν θεὸν λόγον ὄντα καὶ σοφίαν ὀμολογοῦντες, τῇ τῶν προτέρων περιετρέποντο δυσσεβεία, μάλιστα ὅτε καὶ τῇ σωματικῇ περὶ τὸν νόμον λατρείαν ὦμοιως ἐκεῖνοι περιέπεν ἐσπούδαζον. οὗτοι δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἀποστόλου πάμψαν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀρνητέας ἡγοῦντο εἶναι δεῖν, ἀποστάτην ἀποκαλοῦντες αὐτόν τοῦ νόμου, εὐαγγελίω δὲ μόνον τῷ καθ’ Ἐβραίους λεγομένω χρώμενοι, τῶν λοιπῶν συμκρόν ἑποιοῦντο λόγον καὶ τὸ μὲν σάββατον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰουδαϊκῆν ὅ ἁγγελὴν ὦμοιος ἐκεῖνος παρεμβιβασσάτο, ταῖς δ’ αὐτοῦ κυριακαῖς ἦμεραις ἠμῶν τὰ παραπλήσια εἰς μνήμην τῆς σωτηρίου ἀναστάσεως ἐπετέλουν. θεον παρὰ τὴν τουιτήν ἐγχείρησιν τῆς τοῦσδε 6 λελόγχασι προσηγορίας, τοῦ Ἐβρωναίων ὄνοματος τήν τῆς διανοίας πτωχείαν αὐτῶν ὑποφαίνοντος ταύτη γὰρ ἐπίκλην ὅ πτωχὸς παρ’ Ἐβραίως ὄνομαζεται.

XXVIII. Κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους χρόνους ἐτέρας οἰρέσεως ἁρχηγῶν γενέσθαι Κήρυκαν παρελήφαμεν. Γάιος, οὐ φωνᾶς ἤδη πρότερον παραστέθειμαι, ἐν τῇ φερομένῃ αὐτοῦ ζητήσει ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ γράφει:

"Ἀλλὰ καὶ Κήρυκθος ὁ δι’ ἀποκαλύφθεως ως ὑπὸ 2 ἀποστόλου μεγάλου γεγραμμένων τερατολογίας ἦμῶν ὡς δι’ ἁγγέλων αὐτῶ θεολογομένως ἐπεισάγει, λέγων μετὰ τῆς ἀνάστασιν ἐπίγειον εἶναι τὸ βασιλείου τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πάλιν ἐπι-262
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

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.
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θυμίας καὶ ἧδονας ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ τὴν σάρκα πολιτευμένην δουλεύειν. καὶ ἐχθρὸς ὑπάρχων ταῖς γραφαῖς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀριθμὸν χιλιονταείας ἐν γάμῳ ἔορτής, θέλων πλανᾶν, λέγει γίνεσθαι.

Καὶ Διονύσιος δέ, ὁ τῆς κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν 3 παροικίας καθ᾿ ἡμᾶς τὴν ἐπισκοπῆν εἰληχώς, ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν Ἐπαγγελμάτων περὶ τῆς Ἰωάννου Ἀποκαλύψεως εἰπόν τινα ὡς ἐκ τῆς ἀνέκαθεν παραδόσεως, τοῦ αὐτοῦ μέμνηται ἀνδρὸς τούτου τοῖς ρήμασιν.

"Κήρυχθον δέ, τὸν καὶ τὴν ἀπ᾿ ἐκείνου κληθεὶς· 4 σαν Κήρυχθανήν αἱρεσιν συστησάμενον, ἀξιόπιστον ἐπιφημίσασθαι θελήσαντα τῷ ἐαυτοῦ πλάσματι ὅνομα. τοῦτο γὰρ εἶναι τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ 5 τῷ δόγμα, ἐπίγειον ἐσεθαι τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείαν, καὶ ὃν αὐτὸς ὁρέγετο, φιλοσοφικὸς ὃν καὶ πάνυ σαρκικός, ἐν τούτῳ ὀνειροπολεῖν ἐσεθαι, γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γαστέρα πλησιμοναῖς, τοῦτο ἐστὶ σιτίος καὶ πότιος καὶ γάμους καὶ δι᾿ ὃν εὐφημότερον ταῦτα ὡθῇ ποριεῖσθαι, ἐσορταῖς καὶ θυσίαις καὶ ἱερείων σφαγαῖς."

Iren. 1, 26, 1

Ταῦτα Διονύσιος· ὁ δὲ Εἰρηναῖος ἀπορρητοτέρας δὴ τινας τοῦ αὐτοῦ ψευδοδοξίας ἐν πρῶτῳ συγγράμματι τῶν πρὸς τὰς αἱρέσεις προθείς, ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ καὶ ἑυσετίαν ὅποι άξιὰν ἱληθής τῇ γραφῇ παραδεδωκεν, ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως Πολυκάρπου φάσκων Ἰωάννην τῶν ἀπόστολον ἐσεθεὶν ποτὲ ἐν βαλανείω, ὥστε λούσασθαι, γνώντα δὲ ἐνδον ὄντα τοῦ Κήρυχθον, ἀποπηδῆσαι τοῦ τόπου καὶ ἐκφυγεῖν θύρας, μηδὲ ὑπομεῖναν τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ ὑποδύει τέγην, ταύτῳ δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ παρανέσαι, φήσαντα "φύγωμεν, μὴ 264
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, III. xxviii. 2–6

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.

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καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον συμπέσῃ, ἐνδον ὄντος Κηρύ̄θου τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας ἔχθρου.

XXIX. Ἐπὶ τούτων δῆτα καὶ ἡ λεγομένη τῶν 1 Νικολαΐτῶν αἱρεσις ἐπὶ σμικρότατον συνεστή χρόνον, ἢς δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἰωάννου Ἀποκάλυψις μημονεύει· οὔτοι Νικόλαον ἕνα τῶν ἀμφὶ τῶν Στέφανον διακόνων πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἐνδεών θεραπεία προκεχειρισμένων ἦχουν. ὁ γε μὴν Ἀλέξανδρεύς Κλήμης ἐν τρίτῳ Στρωματεῖ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ λέξιν ἑστορεῖ·

"Ὤραιαν, φασί, γυναικα ἐχων οὕτως, μετὰ τὴν 2 ἀνάληψιν τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁνειδισθεὶς ξηλοτυπίαν, εἰς μέσον ἀγαγὼν τὴν γυναῖκα γῆμαι τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐπέτρεψεν. ἀκόλουθον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν πρᾶξιν ταύτην ἐκείνην τῇ φωνῇ τῇ ὅτι 'παραχράσθαι τῇ σαρκὶ δεῖ', καὶ δὴ κατακολούθησαντες τῷ γεγενημένῳ τῷ τε εἰρημένῳ ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀβασανίστως, ἀνέδην ἐκπορευόμοι οἱ τὴν αἱρεσιν αὐτοῦ μετόντες. πυθθάνομαι δὲ ἐγὼ τὸν Νικόλαον μηθεμιὰ ἐτέρα 3 παρ' ἧν ἐγνῆμε κεχρήσθαι γυναικι, τῶν τε ἐκείνου τέκνων τὰς μὲν θηλείας καταγγέλλει παρθένους, ἄφθορον δὲ διαμείναι τοῦ νιῶν. δὴν οὕτως ἐχόντων ἀποβολὴ πάθους ἢν ἡ εἰς μέσον τῶν ἀποστόλων τῆς ξηλοτυπουμένης ἐκκύκλησις γυναικὸς, καὶ ἡ ἐγκράτεια τῶν περισσοῦντάς ἢδονῶν τὸ 'παρα- χράσθαι τῇ σαρκὶ' ἐδίδασκεν. οὐ γὰρ, οἷµαι, ἐβούλετο κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐντολὴν 'δυσι κυρίοις δουλεύειν,' ἢδονῆ καὶ κυρίω. λέγουσιν 4 δὲ οὖν καὶ τὸν Ματθαίον οὕτω διδάσκαι, σαρκὶ μὲν μάχεσθαι καὶ παραχράσθαι μηδὲν αὐτῇ πρὸς ἢδονῆν ἐνδιδόντα, ψυχὴν δὲ αὔξεν διὰ πίστεως καὶ 266

Matt. 6, 24
Luke 16, 13

Clem. Strom. 3, 25, 26
Clem. Strom. 2, 118

Rev. 2, 6, 15
Acts 6, 5
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."
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gnóssews.' ταύτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς
dηλομένους χρόνους παραβραβεύσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν
ἐγκεχειρηκότων, λόγου γε μήν θάττον εἰς τὸ
pantelēs ἀπεσβηκότων εἰρήθωσ.

XXX. Ό μέντοι Κλήμης, οὗ τὰς φωνὰς ἄρτις 1
ἀνέγνωμεν, τοῖς προειρημένοις ἔξης διὰ τοὺς
ἀθετοῦντας τὸν γάμον τοὺς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔξ-
eπαρθένως ἐν συζυγίαις καταλέγει, φάσκων: "ἡ
καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἀποδοκιμάσουν; Πέτρος
μὲν γὰρ καὶ Φίλιππος ἐπαιδοποιήσαντο, Φίλιππος
δὲ καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἀνδράσιν ἐξεδωκεν, καὶ ζ' γε
Παύλος οὐκ ὁκεῖ ἐν τω ἐπιστολῇ τὴν αὐτοῦ
προσαγορεύσαι σύζυγον, ἢν οὐ περιεκόμεζεν διὰ
tὸ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας εὐσταλέως." ἔτει δὲ τοὺτων 2
ἐμνήσθημεν, οὐ λυπεῖ καὶ ἄλλην ἀξιοδόγγυτον
ἰστορίαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραθέσαθαι, ἢν ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ
Στρωματεί τοῦτον ἱστορῶν ἀνέγαγεν τὸν τρόπον·
"φασὶ γοῦν τὸν μακάριον Πέτρον θεασάμενον τὴν
ἐκαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἀπαγομένην τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτω,
ἤσθηνα μὲν τῆς κλήσεως χάριν καὶ τῆς εἰς οἶκον
ἀνακομιδῆς, ἐπιφωνήσας δὲ εὗ μᾶλα προτρεπτι-
κῶς καὶ παρακλητικῶς, εἰς οὖματος προσεπτόντα
μέμνησο, ὡς αὐτὴ, τοῦ κυρίου.' τοιοῦτος ἢν
ὁ τῶν μακαρίων γάμος καὶ ἡ τῶν φιλτάτων
teleia diáthesis." καὶ ταύτα δ', οἰκεῖα ὅντα τῇ
μετὰ χειρας ὑποθέσει, ἐνταῦθα μοι κατὰ καιρὸν
κεῖσθω.

XXXI. Παύλου μὲν οὖν καὶ Πέτρου τῆς 1
teleutῆς ὁ τε χρόνος καὶ ὁ τρόπος καὶ πρὸς ἐτι
tῆς μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ βίου τῶν σκηνω-
máτων αὐτῶν καταθέσεως ὁ χῶρος ἣδη πρότερον
ἡμῖν δεδήλωται τοῦ δὲ Ἰωάννου τὰ μὲν τοῦ 2
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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, III. xxix. 4—xxx. 2

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 address¹ 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 γυνήσε σύζυγε, 'true yoke-fellow' or 'wife.'
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χρόνου ἡδυ πως εὑρήται, τὸ δὲ γε τοῦ σκηνώματος αὐτοῦ χωρίον ἐξ ἑπιστολής Πολυκράτους (τῆς δ’ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος οὔτος ἦν) ἐπιδείκνυται, ἣν Οὐίκτορι Ρωμαίων ἐπισκόπῳ γράφων, ὡμοῦ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ Φιλίππου μνημονεύει τοῦ ἀποστόλου τῶν τε τοῦτον θυγατέρων ὡδὲ πως. “καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν μεγάλα στοιχεῖα κεκοιμηται. ἀτινα ἀναστήσεται τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου, ἐν ἡ ἔρχεται μετὰ δόξης ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀναζητήσει πάντας τοὺς ἀγίους, Φιλίππου τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, ὅς κεκοιμηται ἐν Ἰεραπόλει καὶ δύο θυγατέρες αὐτοῦ γεγηρακυιαὶ παρθένοι καὶ ἡ ἐτέρα αὐτοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι πολυτευθαμένη ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀναπαύεται. ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης, ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος τοῦ κυρίου ἀναπεσόν, ὅς ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον περιορικὸς καὶ μάρτυς καὶ διδάσκαλος, οὐτος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κεκοιμηται.” ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν τελευτής καὶ ἐν τῷ Γαίῳ δε, οὐ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἐμνησθημεν, διαλόγω Πρόκλου, πρὸς ὅν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ζήτησιν, περὶ τῆς Φιλίππου καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ τελευτής, συνόῳ τοῖς ἐκτεθείσιν, οὕτω φθείρων: “μετὰ τούτων προφητίδες τέσσαρες αἱ Φιλίππου γεγένηται ἐν Ἰεραπόλει τῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν· ὁ τάφος αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν.” ταῦτα δὲ μὲν οὕτως. ὁ δὲ Λουκᾶς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων τῶν Φιλίππου θυγατέρων ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀμα τῷ πατρὶ τότε διατριβουσῶν προφητικὸ τε χαρίσματος ἥξιωμένων

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

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, III. xxxi. 2–5

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

\(^2\) Possibly Polycrates has confused Philip the Apostle and Philip the Deacon, and Eusebius did not notice it.

\(^3\) This must be the meaning unless the text be corrupt. The Greek word translated “third” ought to mean “the second of two.”

\(^4\) 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 μημονεύει, κατὰ λέξιν ὦδὲ πῶς λέγων· "ἡλθομεν εἰς Καισάρειαν, καὶ εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὸν οἶκον Φιλίππου τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ, ὄντος ἐκ τῶν ἐπτά, ἐμείναμεν παρ' αὐτῷ. τούτῳ δὲ ἦσαν παρθένοι θυγατέρες τέσσαρες προφητεύονσαί." Τὰ μὲν οὖν εἰς ἡμετέραν ἐλθόντα γνῶσιν περὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν χρόνων ὅν τε καταλελοίπασιν ἡμῖν ἵερῶν γραμμάτων καὶ τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων μὲν, ὁμως δ' ἐν πλείσταις ἐκκλησίαις παρά πολλοῖς δεδημοσιευμένων τῶν τε παντελῶς νόθων καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀλλοτρίων ἐν τούτοις διεληφότες, ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν εὖ ἄρωμεν ἱστορίαν.

XXXII. Μετὰ Νέρωνα καὶ Δομετιανὸν κατὰ τούτοις οὗ νῦν τοὺς χρόνους ἐξετάζομεν, μερικῶς καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἐξ ἐπαναστάσεως δὴμων τὸν καθ᾽ ἡμῶν κατέχει λόγος ἀνακινηθῆναι διωγμῶν· ἐν η Συμεώνα τοῦ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, ὅτι δεύτερον καταστήσας τῆς ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμου ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπον ἐδηλώσαμεν, μαρτυρίων τῶν βίων ἀναλύσαι παρειλήφαμεν. καὶ τούτοις μάρτυροι αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος, οὗ διαφόρους ἡδη πρότερον ἐχρησάμεθα φωναῖς, Ἡγήσιμους· δι' ἐκπερί τῶν σημείων ἱστοριῶν, ἐπιθυμεῖ δηλών ὡς ἁρα ὑπὸ τούτων κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ὑπομείνας καταγροῖα, πολυτρόπως οὗ δηλούμενος ὡς ἐν Χριστιανῶς ἐπὶ πλείσταις αἰκισθεῖς ἡμέραις αὐτῶν τε τὸν δικαστὴν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ μέγιστα καταπλήξας, τῶν κυρίων πάθει παραπλήξιον τέλος ἀπηγέρκατο· οὐδὲν δὲ οἶνον καὶ τοῦ συγγραφέως ἐπακούσαν, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν ὦδὲ πῶς ἰστοροῦντοι "ἀπὸ τούτων δηλαδὴ τῶν αἰρετικῶν κατηγοροῦσιν"
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
τίνες Σίμωνος τοῦ Κλωπᾶ ὡς ὄντος ἀπὸ Δαυὶδ καὶ Χριστιανοῦ, καὶ οὕτως μαρτυρεῖ ἐτών ὢν ῥῆ ἐπὶ Τραῖνανοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ὑπατικοῦ Ἀττικοῦ." φησὶν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ἃς ἀρα καὶ τοὺς κατηγόρους αὐτοῦ, ζητουμένων τότε τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς Ἱουδαίων φυλῆς, ὡς ἂν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὄντα ἄλωναι συνέβη. λογισμῷ δ’ ἂν καὶ τῶν Συμεώνα τῶν αὐτοπτῶν καὶ αὐτηκών εἰποί ἂν τις γεγονέναι τοῦ κυρίου, τεκμηρίῳ τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου τῆς αὐτοῦ ζωῆς χρώμενος καὶ τῷ μνημονεύειν τὴν τῶν εὐαγγελίων γραφῆν Μαρίας τῆς τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, οὗ γεγονέναι αὐτὸν καὶ πρότερον ὁ λόγος ἐδήλωσεν. ‘Ο δ’ αὐτὸς συγγραφεύς καὶ ἑτέρους ἀπογόνους ἐνὸς τῶν φερομένων ἀδελφῶν τοῦ σωτήρος, ὡς οὖνα Ἰουδαίας, φησίν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιβιώναι βασιλείαν μετὰ τὴν ἂδη πρότερον ἱστορηθεῖσαν αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πίστεως ἐπὶ Δομετιανοῦ μαρτυρίαν, γράφει δὲ οὕτως: “ἐρχονται 6 ὅν καὶ προηγοῦνται πάσης ἐκκλησίας ὃς μάρτυρες καὶ ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ γενομένης εἰρήνης βαθείας ἐν πάσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, μένουσι μέχρι Τραῖνανοῦ Καίσαρος, μέχρις οὗ ὁ ἐκ θείου τοῦ κυρίου, ὁ προειρημένος Σίμων υἱὸς Κλωπᾶ, συνοφαντηθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν αἱρέσεων ἦσαντως κατηγορηθῆ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ ἐπὶ Ἀττικοῦ τοῦ ὑπατικοῦ. καὶ ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις αἰκιζομένους ἐμαρτύρησεν, ὡς πάντας ὑπερθαυμάζειν καὶ τῶν ὑπατικῶν πῶς ῥῆ τινῶν ἐτῶν ὑπέμεινεν, καὶ ἐκελεύσθη σταυρωθῆναι.”

'Επὶ τούτως ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ διηγοῦμενος τὰ κατὰ 7

1 The date of Atticus is unknown, but in the Chronicon 274.
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).

2 He was the brother of Joseph; see iii. 11. 1.
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tоús δηλουμένους, ἐπιλέγει ὡς ἂρα μέχρι τῶν τότε χρόνων παρθένος καθαρὰ καὶ ἀδιάφθορος ἐμεινεν ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἐν ἀδήλῳ που σκότει ὡς εἰ φωλευόντων εἰς ἐτὶ τότε τῶν, εἰ καὶ τινες ὑπῆρχον, παραφθείρειν ἐπιχειρούντων τὸν ὑγιὴ κανόνα τοῦ σωτηρίου κηρύγματος. ὡς δ' ὁ ἱερὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων χορὸς διάφορον εἰλήφει τοῦ βίου τέλος παρεληθεῖ τε ἡ γενεὰ ἐκεῖνη τῶν αὐτῶν ἀκοίμη τῆς ἐνθέου σοφίας ἔπακοῦσα κατηγιωμένων, τειναύτα τῆς ἀθέου πλάνης ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανεν ἡ σύστασις διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐτεροδιδασκάλων ἀπάτης, οἱ καὶ ἀτε μηδένος ἐτὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων λειπομένου, γυμνὴ λοιπὸν ἦδη κεφαλῆς τῷ τῆς ἄλθειας κηρύγματι τῆς πεισμόμουν γνώσις ἀντικήρυττων ἐπεχείρησον.

XXXIII. Τοσοῦτος γε μὴν ἐν πλείοσι τόποις ὁ καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπετάθη τότε διωγμός, ὡς Πλίνιον Σεκούνδουν, ἐπισημότατον ἡγεμόνων, ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν μαρτύρων κυνηγέντα, βασιλεῖ κοινώσασθαι περὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἀναιρουμένων, ἀμα δ' ἐν ταύτῳ μηνύσαι μηδὲν ἀνόσιον μηδὲ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους πράττειν αὐτοὺς κατευθύνειν, πλὴν τὸ γε ἀμα τῇ ἑω διεγειρομένων τὸν Χριστὸν θεοῦ δίκην ὑμεῖς, τὸ δὲ μοιχεύειν καὶ φονεύειν καὶ τὰ συγγενῆ τούτους άθέμιτα πλημμελήματα καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπαγορεύειν πάντα τε πράττειν ἀκολούθως τοῖς νόμοις. πρὸς ἂ τὸν Ἐραίανον δόγμα τοιόνδε τεθεικέναι, τὸ Χριστιανῶν φύλον μὴ ἐκζητεῖσθαι μὲν, ἐμπεσον δὲ κολάζεσθαι· δι' οὐ ποσῶς μὲν τοῦ διωγμοῦ οβεσθήναι τὴν ἀπειλήν σφοδρότατα ἐγκειμένην, οὐ χείρον γε μὴν τοῖς κακουργεῖν περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐθέλουσιν λείπεσθαι

1 Tim. 6, 20

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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
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προφάσεις, ἐσθ' ὅπη μὲν τῶν δήμων, ἐσθ' ὅπη δὲ καὶ τῶν κατὰ χώρας ἁρχόντων τὰς καθ' ἦμῶν συσκευαζομένων ἐπιβουλάς, ὡς καὶ ἄνευ προ-
φανῶν διωγμῶν μερικοὺς κατ' ἐπαρχίαν ἐξάπτεσθαι πλείους τε τῶν πιστῶν διαφόροις ἐναγωνίζεσθαι μαρτυρίως. εὐληπταὶ δ' ἡ ἱστορία εξ ἦς ἀνώτερον δ' ἐδεδηλώκαμεν τοῦ Τερτυλλιανοῦ 'Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀπο-
λογίας, ὡς ἡ ἐρμηνεία τούτου ἐχεῖ τόν τρόπον 'καίτω εὐρήκαμεν καὶ τήν εἰς ἦμᾶς ἐπιζήτησιν κεκωλυμένην. Πλίνιος γὰρ Σεκούνδος ἠγούμενος ἐπαρχίαν κατακρίνας Χριστιανοὺς τινας καὶ τῆς ἀξίας ἐκβαλὼν, ταραχθεὶς τῷ πλήθει, διὸ ἦγοι τί αὐτῷ λοιπὸν εἰπ' πρακτέον, Ὀριανῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀνέκοινώσατο λέγων ἐξω τοῦ μη βουλεσθαι αὐτοὺς εἰδωλολατρεῖν οὐδὲν ἀνόσιον ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐρήκειν· ἐμήνυεν δὲ καὶ τούτῳ, ἀνώτατοι ἐῳθεῖν τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς καὶ τῶν Χριστὸν θεοῦ δίκην ὑμείς καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἐπιστήμης αὐτῶν διαφυλάσσειν κωλύσω θαλεῦει, μουχεῦει, πλεονεκτεῖν, ἀπο-
στερεῖν καὶ τὰ τούτως ὁμοία. πρὸς ταύτα ἀντέγραψεν Οριανὸς τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν φύλων μη ἐκζητεῖσθαι μὲν, ἐμπεσον δὲ κολάζεσθαι. "καὶ ταύτα μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

XXXIV. Τῶν δ' ἐπὶ 'Ῥώμης ἐπισκόπων ἔτει 1 τρίτῳ τῆς τοῦ προειρημένου βασιλέως ἁρχῆς Κλήμης Εὐαρέστως παραδός τῆν λειτουργίαν ἀναλύει τῶν βίων, τὰ πάντα προστάσα ἔτεσιν ἐννέα τῆς τοῦ θείου λόγου διδασκαλίας.

XXXV. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Συμεῶν τῶν δηλωθέντα 1 τελειωθέντος τρόπον, τῆς ἐν Ἰεροσολύμων ἐπι-
σκοπῆς τῶν θρόνων Ἰουδαίως τις ὁνομα Ἰούστος, μυρίων ὀσων ἐκ περιτομῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν την-278
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

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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 ὄν, δια-
déχεται.

XXXVI. Διέπρεπεν γε μὴν κατὰ τούτους ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁμιλητῆς Πολύκαρπος, τῆς κατὰ Σμύρνην ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τῶν αὐτοπτῶν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τοῦ κυρίου τὴν ἐπισκοπῆν ἐγκε-
χειρισμένος· καθ’ δὲν ἐγνωρίζετο Πατίας, τῆς ἐν Ἰεραπόλει παρουκίας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίσκοπος, ὦ τε 
παρὰ πλείστοις εἰς ἐτί νῦν διαβόητος Ἰγνάτιος, τῆς κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν Πέτρου διαδοχῆς δεύτερος 
tὴν ἐπισκοπῆν κεκληρωμένος. λόγος δ’ ἔχει 3 
tοῦτον ἀπὸ Συρίας. ἐπὶ τῆν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν 
ἀναπεμφθεντα, θηρίων γενέσθαι βορᾶν τῆς εἰς 
Χριστὸν μαρτυρίας ἔνεκεν· καὶ δὴ τὴν δι’ Ἀσίας 4 
ἀνακομιδὴν μετ’ ἐπιμελεστάτης φρουρῶν φυλακῆς 
ποιούμενος, τὰς κατὰ πόλιν αῖς ἐπεδήμηε, παρουκίας 
ταῖς διὰ λόγων ὁμιλίαις τε καὶ προτροπαῖς ἐπιρ-
ρωμνύς, ἐν πρώτοις μάλιστα προφυλάττεσθαι τὰς 
αἱρέσεις ἀρτὶ τότε πρῶτον ἐπιστολαζούσας παρῆνε 
προὔπρεπέν τε ἀπρίξ ἔχεσθαι τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων 
παραδόσεως, ἢν ύπερ ἀσφαλείας καὶ ἐγγράφως 
ἡδη μαρτυρόμενος διατυποῦσθαι ἀναγκαῖον ἥγειτο. 

οὕτω δήτα ἐν Σμύρνη γενόμενος, ἔνθα ὁ Πολύκαρπος 5 
ἡν, μίαν μὲν τῇ κατὰ τὴν ᾿Εφεσον ἐπιστολῆν 
ἐκκλησία γράφει, ποιμένοις αὐτῆς μνημονεύων 
Ὀνησίμου, ἐτέραν δὲ τῇ ἐν Μαγνησία τῇ πρὸς 
Μαιάνδρῳ, ἔνθα πάλιν ἐπισκόπου Δαμαὰ μνήμην 
πεποίηται, καὶ τῇ ἐν Τράλλεσι δὲ ἀλλήν, ἃς 
ἀρχοντα τότε ὄντα Πολύβιον ἑστορεῖ. πρὸς ταῦ-
τας καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησία γράφει, ἢ καὶ 
παράκλησιν προτείνει ὡς μὴ παρατησάμενοι τοῦ 
μαρτυρίου τῆς ποδομένης αὐτῶν ἀποστερήσασιν 
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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
ελπίδος· εξ ὧν καὶ βραχύτατα εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τῶν εἰρημένων παραθέσθαι ἄξιον· γράφει δὴ οὖν κατὰ λέξιν· "ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηρίω· μαχώ διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, ἐν- δεδεμένος δέκα λεοπάρδοις, ὃ ἐστὶν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα, οί καὶ ἐνεργετούμενοι χείρονες γίνονται, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι· ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τούτῳ δεδικαίωμαι. οὖν αἰμη τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἐτόιμοι, καὶ εὐχομαι σύντομα μοι εὐρεθήναι· ἀ καὶ κολακεύσω συντόμως με καταφαγεῖν, οὐχ ὡσπερ των δειλανόμενα οὐχ ἠμαντό, κἂν αὐτὰ δὲ ἄκοντα μὴ θέλῃ, ἐγὼ προσ- βιάσομαι. συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε· τί μοι συμ- φέρει, ἐγὼ γυνάκω, νόν ἄρχομαι μαθητής εἶναι. μηδέν με ζηλώσαι τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀδικῶν, ἢν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω· τύρ καὶ σταυρὸς θηρίων τε συντάσσεις, σκορπισμοὶ ὅστεν, συγκοπαί μελῶν, ἀλεσμοὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος, κολάσεις τούτων διαβόλου εἰς ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθωσαν, μόνον ἢν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω·".

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς δηλωθέσης πόλεως πολλαὶ καταλεχθεῖσας ἐκκλησίας διετυπώσατο· ὡς δὲ ἐπέκεινα τῆς Σμύρνης γενόμενοι, ἀπὸ Τρωάδος τοῖς τε ἐν Φιλαδέλφιᾳ αὖθις διὰ γραφῆς ὁμιλεῖ καὶ τῇ Σμυρναίων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἱδίως τε τῷ ταύτῃ προηγομένῳ Πολυκάρπῳ· ὅν οί δὴ ἀποστολικὸν ἀνδρὰ εὐ μᾶλα γνωρίζων, τὴν κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν αὐτῶ ποίμνην οία γνήσιος καὶ ἀγάθος ποιμὴν παρατίθεται, τὴν περὶ αὐτῆς φροντίδα διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχειν αὐτῶν ἄξιον. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς Σμυρναῖοι γράφων, οὐκ οἷος ὀπόθεν ῥητοῖς συγκέχομαι, τοιαύτα των περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διεξόντων· "ἐγὼ δὲ 282
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 Smyrnæans, 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 Smyrnæans quoting words from I know not what source and discoursing thus about Christ: "For I know and believe that
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καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ οἴδα καὶ πιστεύω ὄντα. καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρου ἐλήλυθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς: 'λάβετε, ἕστησάτε με καὶ ἱδεῖτε ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαμόνων ἁσώματον: καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἠθάνατο καὶ ἐπίστευσαν.'

Οἶδεν δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ μαρτύριον καὶ ὁ Εἴρηναῖος, καὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει, λέγων οὕτως: "ὡς εἰπέν τις τῶν ἡμετέρων, διὰ τὴν πρὸς θεοῦ μαρτυρίαν κατακριθῆς πρὸς θηρία, ὅτι 'σιτός εἰμὶ θεοῦ καὶ δ' ὄδοντων θηρίων ἀλήθομαι, ᾧν καθαρὸς ἁρτος εὐφέβω.'"

Καὶ ὁ Πολύκαρπος δὲ τούτων αὐτῶν μέμην ἐν τῇ φερομένῃ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους ἐπιστολῆς φάσκων αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν: "παρακάλω οὖν πάντας ὑμᾶς πειθαρχεῖν καὶ ἀσκεῖν πᾶσαν ὑπομονήν, ἣν εἴδετε καὶ ὅφθαλμοι οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς μακαρίοις Ἰγνατίω καὶ Ρούφω καὶ Ζωσήμῳ, ἄλλα καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τοῖς ἑξ ὑμῶν καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις, πεπεισμένος ὅτι οὕτωι πάντες ὑμῖν εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον, ἄλλο ἐν πίστει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ ὅτι εἰς τὸν ὄφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τότε εἰσὶν παρὰ κυρίῳ, ὃ καὶ συνέπαθον. οὐ γὰρ τὸν νῦν ἡγάπησαν αἰώνα, ἄλλα τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα καὶ δι' ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναστάντα." καὶ ἑξῆς ἐπιφέρει: "ἐγράψατε μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ Ἰγνάτιος, ἦν ἐάν τις ἀπέρχηται εἰς Συρίαν, καὶ τὰ παρ’ ὑμῶν ἀποκομίσῃ γράμματα· ὅπερ ποιήσω, ἐάν λάβω καιρὸν εὐθετοῦν, εἴτε ἐγὼ εἴτε ὃς πέμπω προσβείσοντα καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν. τὰς ἐπιστολὰς Ἰγνατίου τὰς πεμφθείσας ἡμῖν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλας ὅσα εἶχομεν παρ’ ἡμῖν, ἐπέμψαμεν ὑμῖν, καθὼς ἐνετείλασθε· αἰτίνες ὑπὸ 284.
he was in the flesh even after the Resurrection. And when he eame 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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tetagména eiow tê epitōlē tautē. eox òn megalâ ophelēthnai dunhēsethe. perechousi gar pîstîn kai úpomónh kai pása oikodómihn tîn eis tôn kýron hîmîn anîkousan." kai tâ mév peri tôn 'Ignavton toiauta: diadéxetai de met' auton tîn 'Antiocheias epitokopin Hrws.

XXXVII. Tôn de kата tōtous dialamprantov kai Kodrâtos ën, ën amâ taîs Filîppou thugtrâsvn prophetikû charásmati logos ëxei diaprépsi, kai alloi ð' êpi tōtous pleîous ëgnwriçontov kata toûde, tîn prṓtîn tâxîn òts tîn àpostolôn épêchontes diadochîs. oî kaî, âte tîlikînâ diontes theosprêpeis mabhtaî, toûs kâta pánta tôpon tôn èkklesiôn prôkatábhlhêntas ûpò tîn àpostolôn ðemelîous épîkodômouv, aûxontes eis pleîon to kîrmyma kai àt tâ swtîrîa spèrmatâ tîs tôn oûranôn bâsileias ânà pása eis plîtov épispeîrontes tîn òikoumênh. kai gar ðî pleîstotov toû tôte mabhтовn sfodrotêrîw filosofîas èrswtî pros tîu ðeîon logou tîn ðukhîn plîttônâmov, tîn swtîrîrion prôteron àpëplîrîoun parakèlêsou, èndheîoun nêmovntes tâs ouîsias, eîta de àpôdonias stellômovnoi èrgovn èpêtèlouv èuvaggelîstovn, tôîs èti pâmpana anîkâous toû tîs pîstîwos lógou khrûteiwn filoîmûmenov kai tîn tôwn ðeînov èuvaggelîwn paradhînai graphîn. ouîov de ðeî melîous tîs pîstîwos èpi èxovus tîs tîpocov autô mînon kataballûmenov poîmênas tê kathistántes ètèrous tōtovs te autovs èghkheîrîzontes tîn tôwn ârtîwos èuvaxhîntovn geôrign, ètèras autovs pâlîn òwras te kai èðhîn metèhsean svn tî èk ðeîn ðârtî kai sînvrîa, èpêî kai tîu ðeîou pnevîmatos eis 286
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,\(^1\) 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.
'Αδυνάτου δ' οίνος ήμιν άπαντας εξ ονόματος ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι ὦσοι ποτέ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην τῶν ἀποστόλων διαδοχὴν ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησίας γεγονασιν ποιμένες ἢ καὶ εὐαγγελισταί, τούτων εἰκότως εξ ονόματος γραφῆ μόνων τὴν μνήμην κατατεθείμεθα, ὃν ἔτι καὶ νῦν εἰς ἡμᾶς δι' ὑπομνημάτων τῆς ἀποστολικῆς διδασκαλίας ἢ παράδοσις φέρεται, XXXVIII. ὦσπερ οὖν ἀμέλει τοῦ Ἰγνατίου ἐν αἷς κατελέξαμεν ἐπιστολαίς, καὶ τοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐν τῇ ἀνωμολογημένῃ παρὰ πᾶσιν, ἣν ἐκ προσώπου τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τῇ Κορινθίων διετυπώσατο. ἐν ἡ τῆς πρὸς Ἐβραίους πολλὰ νοήματα παραθέσει, ἠνὴ δὲ καὶ αὐτολέξει ῥητοῖς τισιν εξ αὐτῆς χρησάμενος, σαφέστατα παρίστησιν ὅτι μὴ νέον ὑπάρχει τὸ σύγγραμμα, ὃθεν δὴ καὶ εἰκότως ἔδοξεν αὐτὸ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐγκαταλεξθῆναι γράμμασι τοῦ ἀποστόλου. Ἐβραίους γὰρ διὰ τῆς πατρίου γλώττης ἐγγράφωσ ὁμιληκότος τοῦ Παύλου, οἱ μὲν τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν Λουκᾶν, οἱ δὲ τὸν Κλήμεντα τούτον αὐτὸν ἑρμηνεύσαι λέγουσι τὴν γραφὴν. δ' καὶ μᾶλλον ἄν εἰ ἄλλης τῷ τῶν ὄμοιον τῆς φράσεως χαρακτῆρα τῆν τε τοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολῆν καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἐβραίους ἀποστόλεσιν καὶ τῷ μὴ πόρρω τὰ ἐν ἐκατέρωτοι τοῖς συγγράμμασι νοήματα καθεστάναι.

'Ιστέον δ' ὦσ 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 ἑνήργουν.
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥΣ

Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολή, οὐ μὴν ἐθ’ ὀμοίως τῇ προτέρᾳ καὶ ταύτῃ γνώριμον ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι μηδὲ τούς ἀρχαῖους αὐτῆς κεχρημένους ἴσμεν. ἦδη δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα πολυπή καὶ μακρὰ συγγράμματα ὡς τοῦ αὐτοῦ χθές καὶ πρώτην τινὲς προήγαγον, Πέτρου δὴ καὶ Ἀπίωνος διαλόγους περιέχοντα ὅν οὖν ὅλως μνήμη τις παρά τοῖς παλαιοῖς φέρεται, οὐδὲ γὰρ καθαρῶν τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀποσύξει τὸν χαρακτήρα.

XXXIX. 'Η μὲν οὖν τοῦ Κλήμεντος ὀμολογούμενη γραφὴ πρόδηλος, εἰρηται δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἰσακίου καὶ Πολυκάρπου. τοῦ δὲ Παπία συγγράμματα πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν φέρεται, καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεως. τούτων καὶ Εἰρηναίος ὡς μόνων αὐτῶν γραφέντων μνημονεύει, ὥδε πως λέγων· "ταύτα δὲ καὶ Παπίας ὁ Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκούστης, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἑταίρος γεγονὼς, ἀρχαῖος ἀνήρ, ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῇ περίταρτῃ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ βιβλίων. ἐστιν γὰρ αὐτῷ πέντε βιβλία συντεταγμένα.” καὶ ὁ μὲν Εἰρηναῖος 2 ταύτα· αὐτὸς γε μὴν ο Παπίας κατὰ τὸ προοίμιον τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων ἀκροατὴν μὲν καὶ αὐτόπτην οὔδαμος ἑαυτὸν γενέσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμφαίνει, παρειληφέναι δὲ τὰ τῆς πίστεως παρὰ τῶν ἐκείνων γνωρίμων διδάσκει δι’ ὃν φησιν λέξεων, "οὔκ ὀκνήσω δὲ σου καὶ ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καλῶς ἔμαθον καὶ καλῶς ἐμπνέονσα, συγκατάξας ταῖς ἐρμηνείαις, διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν. οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ πολλὰ λέγουσιν ἔχαρον ὅπερ οἱ πολλοί, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τάληθη διδάσκουσιν, οὐδὲ τοῖς τὰς

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,¹ 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,² 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 eyewitness 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 μαθητή) in Acts xxii. 16.
'Εστη ακινετήσας άξιον δια καθαραμόνα αυτώ τῷ 'Ιωάννου ονόμα, ὅτι τὸν μὲν πρότερον Πέτρῳ καὶ Ἰακώβῳ καὶ Ματθαίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις συγκαταλέγει, σαφῶς δηλών τὸν εὐαγγελισμόν, τὸν δ' ἔτερον 'Ἰωάννην, διαστείλας τὸν λόγον, ἑτέρους παρὰ τὸν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἁριθμὸν κατατάσσει, προτάξας αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀριστίωνα, σαφῶς τε αὐτὸν προσβύτερον ὁνομάζει· ὅσια καὶ διὰ τούτων ἀποδείκνυσθαι τὴν ἑστορίαν ἀληθῆ τῶν δύο κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν ὅμωνυμια κεχρήσατο εἰρηκότων δύο τε ἐν 'Εφέσῳ γενέσθαι μνήματα καὶ ἐκάτερον 'Ἰωάννου ἔτι νῦν λέγεσθαι· ὅσιον καὶ ἀναγκαίον προσέχειν τῶν νοῦν, εἰκὸς γὰρ τὸν δεύτερον, εἰ μὴ τις ἔθελον τὸν πρῶτον, τὴν ἐπ' οὖν ματὸς φερομένην 'Ἰωάννου ἀποκάλυψιν ἑφακέναι. καὶ ὅ νῦν δὲ ἡμῖν δηλούμενος Πατίας τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀποστόλων λόγους παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῖς παρηκολούθηκότων ὁμολογεὶ παρειληφέναι, Ἀριστίωνος δὲ καὶ τοῦ προσβυτέρου 'Ἰωάννου αὐτῆκοι έαυτον φησι γενέσθαι· ὀνομαστὶ γοῦν πολλάκις 292
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 αὐτοῖς συγγράμμασιν τίθησιν αὐτῶν παραδόσεις. καὶ ταῦτα δ' ἦμιν ὀυκ έἰς τὸ ἄρχησθον εἰρήσθων. άξιον δὲ ταῖς ἀποδοθέσισι τοῦ Παπία φωναίς προσάβαι λέξεις ἐτέρας αὐτοῦ, δι' ἄν παραδόξα τινα ἱστορεῖ καὶ ἄλλα ὡς ἄν ἐκ παραδόσεως εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐλθόντα. τὸ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Ἰεράπολιν Φίλιππον τὸν ἀπόστολον ἁμα ταῖς θυγατράσων διατρήψασα διὰ τῶν πρόσθεν δεδήλωται. ὡς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁ Παπίας γενόμενος, διήγησιν παρειληφέναι θαυμασίαν ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Φίλιππον θυγατέρων μνημονεύει, τὰ νῦν σημειωτέρως νεκροῦ γὰρ ἀνάστασιν κατ' αὐτὸν γεγονότων ἱστορεῖ καὶ αὐτὸ πάλιν ἔτερον παράδοξον περὶ Ἰουστον τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Βαρσαβάν γεγονός, ὡς δηλητηρίων φάρμακον ἐμπίστευσαν καὶ μηδὲν ἀνέδει διὰ τὴν τῶν κυρίου χάριν ὑπομείναντος. 1 τούτον δὲ τὸν Ἰουστον μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ισωτήρου ἀνάληψιν τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀποστόλους μετὰ Ματθία στήσας τε καὶ ἐπεύξασθαι ἄντι τοῦ προδότου Ἰουδά ἐπὶ τῶν κλήρων τῆς ἀναπληρώσεως τοῦ αὐτῶν ἀριθμοῦ ἡ τῶν Πράξεων ὁδήγεσις ἱστορεῖ γραφή: "καὶ ἔστησαν δύο, Ἰωσήφ τὸν καλουμένον Βαρσαβάν, ὁς ἐπεκλήθη Ἰουστος, καὶ Ματθίαν καὶ προσευχόμενοι εἶπαν:" καὶ ἀλλὰ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀγράφον εἰς αὐτὸν ἠκούσα τοπατέθεται ξένις τέ τινας παραβολὰς τὸν σωτήρος καὶ διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τινὰ ἄλλα μυθικώτερα ἐν οἷς καὶ χιλιάδα τινὰ φησιν ἐτῶν ἐξεσθαὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, σωματικῶς τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας ἐπὶ ταυτησί τῆς γῆς ὑποστηρίζοντος. α καὶ ἡγοῦμαι τὰς ἀποστολικὰς παρεκδεξάμενον διηγήσεις ὑπολαβεῖν, 291
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 re-
surrection 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

1 Cf. C. de Boor's fragments of Papias in Texte und
Untersuchungen, v. 2. 170.
tà ἐν ὑποδείγμασι πρὸς αὐτῶν μυστικῶς εἰρημένα μὴ συνερακότα. σφόδρα γάρ τοι σμικρὸς ὄν 13 τὸν νοῦν, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων τεκμηρί- ράμενον εἰπεῖν, φαίνεται, πλὴν καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ πλείστοις ὅσοις τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τῆς ὁμοίας αὐτῶν δόξης παραίτιος γέγονεν τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τάνδρος προβεβλημένοις, ὥσπερ οὖν Ἐἰρηναῖοι καὶ εἰ τῇ ἄλλῳ τὰ ὁμοῖα φρονῶν ἀνα- πέφηνεν.

Καὶ ἄλλας δὲ τῇ ἱδίᾳ γραφή παραδίδωσιν Ἀρι- 14 στίωνος τοῦ πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένου τῶν τοῦ κυρίου λόγων διηγήσεις καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἰωάννου παραδόσεις. ἐφ' ἃς τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς ἀναπέμ- ψαντες, ἀναγκαίως νῦν προσθήσομεν ταῖς προ- εκτεθείσαις αὐτοῦ φωναῖς παράδοσιν ἣν περὶ Μάρκου τοῦ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον γεγραφότος ἐκτεθείται διὰ τούτων. "καὶ τοῦ' ο πρεσβύτερος ἐλεγεν' 15 Μάρκος μὲν ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος, ὡς ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἐγραφεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει, τὰ υπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἡ λεχθέντα ἡ πραχθέντα. οὔτε γάρ ἢκουσεν τοῦ κυρίου οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῶ, ὡσπερ δέ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ δὴ πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λογίων, οὔτε οὐδὲν ἢμαρτεν Μάρκος οὕτως ἐνα γράφας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν. ἐνὸς γὰρ ἐποιήσατο πρό- νοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὅν ἢκουσεν παραλυπεῖν ἡ ψεῦσ- σθαι τι ἐν αὐτοῖς.· ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἰστόρηται 16 τῷ Πατρίᾳ περὶ τοῦ Μάρκου· περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ματθαίου ταῦτ' εἰρηται. "Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἐβραῖοι δια- λέκτω τὰ λόγια συνετάξατο, ἡμημένευσεν δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἤν δυνατὸς ἑκαστος." 296
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, III. xxxix. 12–16

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 ὅμοιῶς, ἐκτεθείται δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἱστορίαν περὶ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἀμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου, ἣν τὸ καθ' Ἐβραίους εὐαγγέλιον περιέχει. καὶ ταῦτα δ' ἦμιν ἀναγκαῖως πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτεθείσων ἐπιτετηρήσθω.
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, III. xxxix. 17

The same writer used quotations from the first Epistle of John, and likewise also from that of Peter, and has expounded another story about a woman who was accused before the Lord of many sins, which the Gospel according to the Hebrews contains. Let this suffice us in addition to the extracts made.
Δ

Τάδε καὶ ἡ τετάρτη περιέχει βιβλίος τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας

Α Τίνες ἐπὶ τῆς Τραίανοῦ βασιλείας Ῥωμαίων γεγόνασι καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐπίσκοποι.
Β Ὁποῖα Ἰουδαῖοι κατ' αὐτὸν πεπόνθασιν.
Γ Οἱ κατὰ Ἀδριανὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἀπολογησάμενοι.
Δ Οἱ κατ' αὐτὸν Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐπίσκοποι.
Ε Οἱ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς δηλουμένους Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοποι.
Ζ Ἡ κατὰ Ἀδριανὸν ὕστατη Ἰουδαίων πολιορκία.
Ζ Τίνες κατ' ἐκείνῳ καιρῷ γεγόνασιν ψευδωνύμους γνώσεως ἀρχηγοῖ.
Η Τίνες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ συγγραφεῖς.
Θ Ἐπιστολή Ἀδριανοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ἀκρίτως ἡμᾶς ἔλαύνειν.
Ī Τίνες ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίου βασιλείας ἐπίσκοποι Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων γεγόνασιν.
ΙΑ Περὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς αἱρεσιαρχῶν.
IB Περὶ τῆς Ἰουστίνου πρὸς Ἀντωνίου ἀπολογίας.
Γ Αντωνίου 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.
Τὰ περὶ Πολυκάρπου τοῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων γνωρίμου μνημονεύμενα.

"Ὅπως κατὰ Ὀὐήρον ὁ Πολυκάρπος ἀμήτερος ἐμαρτύρησεν ἐπὶ τῆς Σμυρναίων πόλεως.

"Ὅπως Ὀοστίνως ὁ φιλόσοφος τὸν Χριστοῦ λόγον ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως πρεσβεύων ἐμαρτύρησεν.

Περὶ δὲν Ὀονστίνως ἐν ἰδίῳ συγγράμματι μνημονεύει μαρτύρων.

Τίνες εἰς ἡμᾶς ἠλθον τῶν Ὀοστίνου λόγων.

Τίνες ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀὐήρου βασίλειας τῆς Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίαις προέστησαν.

Τίνες οἱ τῆς Ἀντιοχείων.

Περὶ τῶν κατὰ τοῦτος διαλαμψάντων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων.

Περὶ Ἑγγούππου καὶ δὲν αὐτὸς μνημονεύει.

Περὶ Διονυσίου Κορινθίων ἐπισκόπου καὶ δὲν ἐγραφέν ἐπιστολῶν.

Περὶ Θεοφίλου Ἀντιοχείων ἐπισκόπου.

Περὶ Φαλίππου καὶ Μοδέστου.

Περὶ Μελητώνος καὶ δὲν αὐτὸς ἐμνημόνευσεν.

Περὶ Ἀπολυκαρίου.

Περὶ Μουσανοῦ.

Περὶ τῆς κατὰ Τατιανόν αἱρέσεως.

Περὶ Βαρδησάνου τοῦ Σύρου καὶ τῶν φερομένων 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. Ἄμφι δὲ τὸ δωδέκατον ἔτος τῆς Τραϊανοῦ βασιλείας ὁ μικρὸς πρόσθεν ἦμιν τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρεία
παρουκίας δηλωθεῖσα ἐπίσκοπος τὴν ζωὴν μετ-
αλλάττει, τέταρτος δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν τῶν
αὐτῶθι λειτουργίαν κληροῦται Πρίμος. ἐν τούτω
καὶ Ἀλεξανδρος ἐπὶ Ρώμης, όγδοον ἔτος ἀπο-
πλήσαντος Εὐαρέστου, πέμπτην ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ
Παύλου κατάγων διαδοχήν, τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ὑπο-
λαμβάνει.

II. Καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς τοῦ σωτήρος ἦμιν δίδα-
σκαλίας τε καὶ ἐκκλησίας ὀσημέραι ἀνθοῦντα ἐπὶ
μεῖζον ἐχώρει προκοπῆς, τὰ δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίων συμ-
φορᾶς κακοῖς ἐπαλλήλου ἦκμαζεν. ἦπῃ γοῦν τοῦ
αὐτοκράτορος εἰς ἐναυτὸν ὄκτωκαυδέκατον ἐλαύ-
νοντος, αὐθίς Ἰουδαίων κίνησις ἐπαναστάσα πάμ-
πολυ πλήθος αὐτῶν διαφθείρει. ἐν τε γὰρ Ἀλέξ-

ανδρεία καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ Αἰγύπτω καὶ προσέτι κατὰ
Κυρήνην, ὡσπερ ὑπὸ πνεύματος δεινοῦ τινος καὶ
στασιώδους ἀναρριπσιδέντες, ὄρμυντο πρὸς τοὺς
συνοίκους Ἐλλήνας στασαζένς, αὐξήσαντες τε εἰς
μέγα τὴν στάσιν, τῷ ἐπίοντι ἐναυτῷ πόλεμον ὑπὸ
σμικρῶν συνώπησαν, ἤγομενον την καῦτα Λούπου
τῆς ἀπάσης Αἰγύπτου. καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συμ-
βολῇ ἐπικρατήσαται 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 overcome

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

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οἱ καὶ καταφυγόντες εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τούς ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἰουδαίους ἐξώγρησάν τε καὶ ἀπέκτειναν, τῆς δὲ παρὰ τούτων συμμαχίας ἀποτυχόντες οἱ κατὰ Κυρήνην τὴν χώραν τῆς Ἀγίαπτου λεη- λατοῦντες καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ νομοὺς φθείροντες διετέλουν, ἠγουμένου αὐτῶν Λουκοῦα. ἐφ᾽ οὖς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἔπεμψε Μάρκιον Τούρβωνα σὺν δυνάμει πεζῷ τε καὶ ναυτικῇ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἱππικῇ. ὁ δὲ πολλαῖς μάχαις οὐκ ὀλίγῳ τῶν χρόνων τῶν 4 πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαπονήσας πόλεμον, πολλὰς μυρίδας Ἰουδαίων, οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀπὸ Κυρήνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπ᾽ Ἀγίαπτου συναιρομένων Λουκοῦα τῷ βασιλεί αὐτῶν, ἀναρεῖ. ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπ᾽- 5 οπτεύσας καὶ τοὺς ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ Ἰουδαίους ἐπιθήσεσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς, Λουκιὰ Ἐυπότη τροπο- ἐταξεν ἐκκαθαρίζει τῆς ἐπαρχίας αὐτοὺς· δὲ καὶ παραταξάμενος, πάμπολυ πλῆθος τῶν αὐτόθι φονεύει, ἐφ᾽ ὧν κατορθώματι Ἰουδαίας ἡγεμόνων ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀνεδείχθη. ταῦτα καὶ Ἐλλήνων οἱ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους γραφῆ παραδόντες αὐτοῖς ἰστόρησαν ῥήμασιν.

III. Τραϊάνοι δὲ ἐφ᾽ οἷον ἔστιν εἰκοσι τῆς 1 ἀρχὴν μηνῶν εἰς δέουσιν κρατήσαντος, Αὐλίος Ἀδρια- νός διαδέχεται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. τοῦτοι Κοδράτος λόγον προσφωνήσας ἀναδίδωσιν, ἀπολογίαν συν- τάξας ὑπὲρ τῆς καθ᾽ ἡμῖν θεοσεβείας, ὅτι ὅτε τινες πονηροὶ ἄνδρες τοὺς ἑμετέρους ἐνοχλεῖν ἐπειρῶντο· εἰς ἔτι δὲ φέρεται παρὰ πλείωτοι τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἀτὰρ καὶ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν τὸ σύγγραμμα· εἰς οὓς κατιδεῖν ἔστιν λαμπρὰ τεκμήρια τῆς τε τοῦ ἄνδρος διανοίας καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὁρθοτομίας. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς τὴν 2 καθ᾽ ἐαυτὸν ἀρχαιότητα παραφαίνει δι᾽ ὧν ἰστορεῖ.
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, 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 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 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 (I xviii. 32) gives his name as Andreas.
2 Except for Dio Cassius these cannot be identified.
3 A.D. 117.
EUSEBIUS

tάυτα ἰδίαις φωναῖς· "τοῦ δὲ σωτήρος ἦμων τὰ ἔργα ἀεὶ παρῆν ἀληθὴ γὰρ ἦν, οἱ θεραπευόμενες, οἱ ἀναστάντες ἐκ νεκρῶν, οἱ οὐκ ὠφθησαν μόνον θεραπευόμενοι καὶ ἀναστάμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀεὶ παρόντες, οὐδὲ ἐπιδήμοιν ὑπὸν τοῦ σωτήρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπαλλαγέντος ἦσαν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἰκανόν, ὡστε καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἠμετέρους χρόνους τινὲς αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο.""1 τοιοῦτος μὲν οὕτως· καὶ Ἀριστείδης δὲ, πιστὸς ἀνήρ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ὀρμώμενος εὐσεβείας, τῷ Κοδράτῳ παραπλησίως ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἀπολογίαν ἐπιφωνήσας Ἀδριανῷ καταλέλοιπεν· σώζεται δὲ γε εἰς δεύρο παρὰ πλείστοις καὶ ἡ τούτου γραφή.

IV. Ἐτεὶ δὲ τρίτῳ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡγεμονίας Ἀλέξανδρος Ῥωμαίων ἐπίσκοπος τελευτᾷ, δέκατον τῆς οἰκονομίας ἀποπλήσας ἔτος· Εὐστός ἦν τούτῳ διάδοχος. καὶ τῆς Ἀλέξανδρέων δὲ παρουκίας ἀμφί τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Πρίμον μεταλλάξαντα δω- δεκάτῳ τῆς προστασίας ἔτει διαδέχεται Ἰουστός.

V. Τῶν γε μὴν ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωι ἐπισκόπων τοὺς χρόνους γραφῆ σῳζομένους οὐδαμῶς εὐρών (κομιδῇ γὰρ οὐν βραχυβίους αὐτοὺς λόγος κατέχει γενέσθαι), τοσοῦτον εὖ ἐγγράφων παρείληφα, ὡς μέχρι τῆς κατὰ Ἀδριανὸν Ἰουδαίων πολιορκίας πεντεκαίδεκα τῶν ἁριθμῶν αὐτῶν γεγονασών ἐπισκόπων διαδοχαί, οὐς πάντας Ἐβραίοις φασίν ὄντας ἀνέκαθεν, τὴν γνώσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ γνησίως καταδέξασθαι, ὡστ' ἢδη πρὸς τῶν τὰ τοιάδε ἐπικρίνειν δυνατῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐπισκόπων λειτουργίας ἄξιος δοκιμα- σθῆναι· συνεστάναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τότε τὴν πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς 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.
Ευσέβιος

στόλων καὶ εἰς τὴν τότε διαρκεσάντων πολιορκίαν, καθ’ ἡν Ἰουδαίοι Ρωμαίων αὕθις ἀποστάντες, οὐ μικροῖς πολέμοις ἤλωσαν. διαλειτουργῶν δ’ οὖν την καύτα τῶν ἐκ περιτομῆς ἑπισκόπων, τοὺς ἀπὸ πρώτου νῦν ἀναγκαίον ἄν εἰς καταλέξαι. πρῶτος τοιγαροῦν Ἰάκωβος ὁ τού κυρίου λεγόμενοι ἀδελφὸς ἡν’ μεθ’ ὧν δεύτερος Συμεών’ τρίτος Ἰσοτός. Ζακχαῖος τέταρτος: πέμπτος Τωβίας· ἐκτος Βενιαμίν’ Ἰωάννης ἐβδομος· ὤγδοος Ματθαίας· ἐνατος Φίλιππος· δέκατος Ζενέκας· ενδέκατος Ἰσοτός. Λεως δωδέκατος: Ἐφρῆς τρισκατ- δέκατος· τεσσαρεσκαδέκατος Ἰωσήφ· ἐπὶ πάσι πεντεκαδέκατος Ἰουδας. τοσοῦτοι καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰεροσολύμων πόλεως ἐπίσκοποι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπο- στόλων εἰς τὸν δηλούμενον διαγενόμενον χρόνον, οἱ πάντες ἐκ περιτομῆς. ἤδη δὲ δωδέκατον 5 ἐχούσης ἔτος τῆς ἡγεμονίας, Εὐστόν δεκαέτη χρόνον ἀποπλησάντα ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς ἐβδομος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων διαδέχεται Τελεσ- φόρος· ἐνιαυτὸν δὲ μεταξὺ καὶ μηνῶν διαγενομένου, τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων παροικίας τὴν προστασίαν Ἐυμένης ἐκτῷ κλήρῳ διαδέχεται, τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἔτεσιν εἴδεκα διαρκέσαντος.

VI. Καὶ δήτα τῆς Ἰουδαίῳ ἀποστασίας αὕθις 6 εἰς μέγα καὶ πολὺ προελθοῦσης, Ῥοῦφος ἐπάρχων τῆς Ἰουδαίας, στρατιωτικῆς αὐτῶ συμμαχίας ὑπὸ βασιλέως πεμφθείσης, ταῖς ἀπονοίαις αὐτῶν ἀφειδώς χρώμενος ἐπεξῆγε, μυριάδας ἄθροώς ἀνδρῶν ὡμοὶ καὶ παῖδων καὶ γυναικῶν διαφθείρων πολέμου τε νόμω τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν ἐξανδρα- ποδιζόμενος. ἑστρατήγει δὲ τὸτε Ἰουδαίων Βαρ-7 χωρεβάς ὄνομα, ὃ δὴ ἀστέρα δῆλοι, 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 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 "son of a 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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φοινικός καὶ ληστρικός τις ἀνήρ, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ προσηγορίᾳ, οἷα ἐπ’ ἀνδραπόδων, ὡς δὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ φωστήρ αὐτοῖς κατελθηθεῖσα κακομενοῖς τε ἐπιλάμψαι τερατεύμονος. ἀκμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ πο-3 λέμου ἐτοις ὀκτωκαίδεκατον τῆς ἡγεμονίας κατὰ Βηθθηρα (πολίχνης τῆς ἡχυρωτάτης) τῶν Ἰεροσόλυμων οὐ σφόδρα πόρρω διεστώσας. τῆς τε ἐξωθεὶν πολιορκίας χρονίου γενομένης λίμῷ τε καὶ δίψει τῶν νεατεροποιῶν εἰς ἐσχατὸν ὀλὲθρον περιελαθέντων καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἀπονοίας αὐτοῖς αἰτίου τῆς ἀξίαν ἐκτίσαντος δίκην, τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ Ἰεροσόλυμα γῆς πάμ-παν ἐπιβαίνειν εἰργεται νόμου δόγματι καὶ διατάξεις Ἀδριανοῦ, ὡς ἂν μηδ’ ἐξ ἀπόστολος θεωροῖ τὸ πατρῶν ἔδαφος, ἐγκελευσμένον. Ἀρίστων ὁ Πελλαῖος ἐστορεί. οὕτω δὴ τῆς πόλεως εἰς 4 ἐρημίαιν τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους παντελῆ τε φθορὰν τῶν πάλαι οἰκητῶν ἐλθούσης ἐξ ἀλλοφυίλου τε γένους συνοικισθείσης, ἡ μετέπειτα συνότασα Ῥω- μαϊκῆ πόλις τὴν ἐπανυμίαν ἀμείβασα, εἰς τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ τιμῆν Αἰλία προσαγορεύεται. καὶ δὴ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας ἐξ ἐθνῶν συγκροτηθείσης, πρῶτος μετὰ τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς ἐπισκόπους τὴν τῶν ἐκείσε λειτουργίαν ἐγχειρίζεται Μάρκος. VII. Ἡδὴ δὲ λαμπροτάτων δίκην φωστήρων τῶν 1 ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀποστιλβούσαν ἐκκλησίαν ἀκμαζούσης τε εἰς ἀπαν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος τῆς εἰς τὸν σωτήρα καὶ κύριον ἦμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν πίστεως, ὁ μισόκαλος δαίμων οἷα τῆς ἀληθείας ἔχθρος καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίας ἀεὶ τυγχάνων πολεμιώτατος, πάσας στρέψων κατό.
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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.
EUSEBIUS

tῆς ἐκκλησίας μηχανᾶς, πάλαι μὲν τοῖς ἐξωθέν διωγμοῖς κατ’ αὐτῆς ὄψιοτε, τότε γε μὴν 2
τοῦτων ἀποκεκλεισμένων, πονηροῖς καὶ γόησιν ἀνδράσιν ὦσπερ τισῶν ὀλεθρίοις ψυχῶν ὀργάνους
dιακόνοις τε ἀπωλείας χρώμενοι, έτέρας κατεστρατήγη μεθόδους, πάντα πόρον ἐπινοῶν, ὡς
ἄν ύποδύντες γόητες καὶ ἀπάτηλοι την αὐτήν τοῦ
dόγματος ἡμῶν προσηγορίαν, ὡμοῦ μὲν τῶν πιστῶν
τοὺς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀλισκομένους εἰς βυθὸν ἀπωλείας
ἀγοιεν, ὡμοῦ δὲ τοὺς τῆς πίστεως ἀγνώτας δὴ ὃν
αὐτοὶ δρώντες ἐπιχειροῦν, ἀποτρέποντο τῆς ἐπὶ
tῶν σωτηρίων λόγον παρόδου. ἀπὸ γοῦν τοῦ 3
Μενάνδρου, ὅν διάδοχον τοῦ Σήμωνος ἢδη πρότερον
παραδεδωκαμεν, ἀμφίστομος ὦσπερ καὶ δικέφαλος
οἰκώδης τις προελθοῦσα δύναμις δυνῶν ἀἱρέσεων
dιαφόρων ἀρχηγοὺς κατεστήσατο, Σατορυνίον τε
Ἀντιοχέα τὸ γένος καὶ Βασιλείδην Ἀλεξανδρέα·
ὡν ὁ μὲν κατὰ Συρίαν, ὁ δὲ κατ’ Ἀγγυπτον 
συνετήσαντο θεομοσῶν ἀἱρέσεων διδασκαλεῖα. τὰ μὲν 4
οὐν πλείστα τὸν Σατορυνίον τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Μενάνδρῳ
ψευδολογήσαι ο Εἰρηναιός δηλοῖ, προσχήματι δὲ
ἀπορρητοτέρων τὸν Βασιλείδην εἰς τὸ ἀπειρον
τεῖνα τὰς ἐπινοίας, δυσσεβοὺς ἀἱρέσεως ἔαυτῷ
τερατώδεις ἀναπλάσαντα μυθοποιίας. πλείστων
οὐν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀνδρῶν κατ’ ἐκεῖνο καίρου
τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπεραγωγιζομένων λογικῶτερον τε
tῆς ἀποστολικῆς καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς δόξης ὑπερ-
μαχοῦντων, ἣδη τινὲς καὶ διὰ συγγραμμάτων τοῖς
μετέπειτα προφυλακτικᾶς αὐτῶν δὴ τοῦτων τῶν
dηλωθεισῶν αἱρέσεων παρείχον ἐφόδους: ὃν εἰς
ἡμῶν κατῆλθεν ἐν τοῖς τότε γνωριμωτάτου συν-
γραφέως Ἀγρίππα Κάστορος ἱκανώτατος κατὰ
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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\(^1\) 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\(^2\) 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 ἐλεγχος, τὴν δεινότητα τῆς τάνδρὸς 7 ἀποκαλύπτων γοητείας. ἐκφαίνον ὑ' οὖν αὐτὸν τὰ ἀπόρρητα, φησὶν αὐτὸν εἰς μὲν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τέσσαρα πρὸς τοὺς εὐκοσὶ συντάξας βιβλία, προφήται δὲ ἐαυτῷ ὄνομάσαι Βαρκαββαν καὶ Βαρκωφ καὶ ἄλλους ἀνυπάρκτους τινὰς ἐαυτῷ συστησά- μενον, βαρβάρους τε αὐτοῖς εἰς κατάπληξιν τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα τεθητότων ἐπιφημίσαι προσηγορίας, διδάσκειν τε ἀδιαφορεῖν εἰδωλοθύτων ἀπογενο- μένους καὶ ἐξομυσμένους ἀπαραφυλάκτως τὴν πίστιν κατὰ τοὺς τῶν διωγμῶν καροίς, Πυθα- γορικῶς τε τοὺς προσιόδοντας αὐτῷ πενταέτη σωπὴν παρακελεύεσθαι· καὶ ἑτέρα δὲ τούτοις παραπλήσια 8 ἀμφι τοῦ Βασιλείδου καταλέξας ὁ εἰρημένος οὐκ ἄγεννως τῆς δηλωθέσις αἰρέσεως εἰς προοπτῶν ἐφώρασε τὴν πλάνην. γράφει δὲ καὶ Εἰρηναίοις 9 συγχρονίσαι τούτοις Καρποκράτην, ἑτέρας αἰρέσεως τῆς τῶν Γνωστικῶν ἐπικληθείσης πατέρα· οἱ καὶ τοῦ Σίμωνος οὐχ ὡς ἐκείνος κρύβηκεν, ἀλλ' ἡδή καὶ εἰς φανερὸν τὰς μαγείας παραδίδοναι ἥξιον, ὡς ἑπὶ μεγάλοις δή, μόνον οὐχὶ καὶ σεμνυνόμενοι τοῖς κατὰ περιεργίαν πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπιτελουμένους φιλ- τροὺς ὀνειροπομποῖς τε καὶ παρέδρους τισὶ δαίμοσιν καὶ ἄλλαις ὀμοιοτρόποις τισὶν ἄγωγαίν· τούτοις τε ἀκολούθως πάντα δρᾶν χρὴν γιὰδες καὶ αὐτῶν διασταύρωσι ὃ τοις κατὰ αὐτοὺς μυσταγγίας ἡ καὶ μᾶλλον μυσαρ- ποίας ἐλεύσεσθαι, ὡς μὴ ἢ ἄλλος ἐκφευγόμενος τοὺς κοσμικούς, ὡς ἢ ἐκείνος φαίην, ἄρχοντας, μὴ οὐχὶ πάνω τὰ δι᾽ ἄρρητους ἀπονεῖμαντας χρέα. τούτοις δὴ ὑποτάξει διακόνους χρώμενον 10 τὸν ἐπιχαιρεσίκακον δαίμονα τοὺς μὲν πρὸς αὐτῶν

Iren. 1, 25.1, 6, 3, 4

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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 Barcabbas in the Dictionary of Christian Biography.
EUSEBIUS

ἀπατωμένους οίκτρῶς οὕτως εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἀνδρα-
podίζεσθαι, τοῖς δ’ ἀπίστοις ἐθνεσιν πολλήν
παρέχειν κατὰ τοῦ θείου λόγου δυσφημίας περι-
ουσίαν, τῆς εξ αὐτῶν φήμης εἰς τὴν τοῦ παντὸς
Χριστιανῶν ἐθνος διαβολήν καταχεομένης. ταύτη 11
δ’ οὖν ἐπὶ πλείον τυπόντας δυσσεβῆ καὶ
ἀτοπωτάτην διαδίδοσθαι, ὡς δὴ ἀθεμίτους πρὸς
μητέρας καὶ ἀδελφᾶς μίξεως ἀνοσίας τε τροφαῖς
χρωμένων. οὐκ εἰς μακρόν γε μὴν αὐτῷ ταῦτα 12
προχώρει, τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτῆς ἑαυτὴν συνιστώσης
ἐπὶ μέγα τε φῶς κατὰ τὸν προϊόντα χρόνον δια-
λαμπόνης. ἐσβεστὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτικὰ πρὸς αὐτῆς 13
ἐνεργείας ἀπελεγχόμενα τὰ τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἐπιτεχνή-
ματα, ἄλλων ἐπ’ ἄλλας αἱρέσεως καινοτομουμένων
ὑπορρεουσῶς ἀεὶ τῶν προτέρων καὶ εἰς πολυτρόπους
καὶ πολυμόρφους ἱδέας ἄλλοτε ἄλλως φθειρομένων;
προηγεὶ δ’ εἰς αὐξὴν καὶ μέγεθος, ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ
καὶ ὥσαυτὸς ἔχουσα, ἡ τῆς καθόλου καὶ μόνης
ἀληθοῦς ἐκκλησίας λαμπρότης, τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ
eἰλικρινὲς καὶ ἐλευθέριον τὸ τε σῶφρον καὶ καθαρὸν
tῆς ἐνθέου πολιτείας τε καὶ φιλοσοφίας εἰς ἀπὰν
gένος Ἐλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων ἀποστίλβουσα.
συναπέσθη δ’ οὖν ἀμα τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ἡ κατὰ παντὸς 14
τοῦ δόγματος διαβολῆ, ἐμενεν δὲ ἄρᾳ μόνῃ παρά
πᾶσι κρατοῦσα καὶ ἀνομολογουμένη τὰ μάλιστα
diαπρέπειν ἐπὶ σεμνότητι καὶ σωφροσύνῃ θείους τε
καὶ φιλοσόφους δόγμασιν ἡ καὶ’ ἡμᾶς διδασκαλία,
ὡς 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.

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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 ἡμῶν δυσφημίαν μηδὲ τινα τοιαύτην διαβολὴν οίας πάλαι πρότερον φίλον ἢν χρῆσθαι τοὺς καὶ ἡμῶν ἐπισυνισταμένους.

"Ὅμως δ' οὖν κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους αὕτης παρῆγγεν εἰς μέσον ἡ ἀλήθεια πλείους ἔστης ὑπερμάχους, οὐ δ' ἀγράφων αὐτὸ μόνον ἑλέγχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δ' ἐγγράφων ἀποδείξεως κατὰ τῶν ἄθεων αἵρεσεων στρατευομένους. VIII. ἐν τούτοις ἐγγωρίζετο Ἡγίστυπος, οὗ πλείσταις ἥδη πρότερον κεχρῆμεθα φωναῖς, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ παραδόσεως τινὰ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους παραθέμενοι. ἐν πέντε δ' οὖν συγγράμμωσιν οὕτως τὴν ἀπλανὴ παράδοσιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος ἀπλουστάτῃ συντάξει γραφῆς ὑπομνήματος, καθ' ὅν ἐγγωρίζετο σημαίνει χρόνον, περὶ τῶν ἀρχήν ἱδρυσάντων τὰ εἴδωλα οὕτω πως γράφων: 'οὗς κενοταφία καὶ ναοὺς ἐποίησαν ὡς μέχρι νῦν. ὅλως ἐστιν καὶ Ἀντίνοος, δοῦλος Ἀδριανοῦ Καῖσαρος, οὗ καὶ ἀγών ἀγέται Ἀντινόειος, ὡ ἐφ' ἡμῶν γενόμενος. καὶ γὰρ πόλιν ἔκτισεν ἐπώνυμον Ἀντινόου καὶ προφῆτας.' κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ Ἰουστῖνος, γενέσις τῆς ἀληθοῦς φιλοσοφίας ἐραστής, ἐτί τοῖς παρ' Ἔλληνων ἀσκούμενοι ἐνδιέτριβεν λόγοις: σημαίνει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τούτου τῶν χρόνων ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀντωνίου ἀπολογία ὣδε γράφων: 'οὐκ ἀτόπον δὲ ἐπιμνησθῆναι ἐν τούτοις ἡγούμεθα καὶ Ἀντινοῦ τοῦ νῦν γενομένου, ὃν καὶ ἄπαντες ὡς θεόν διὰ φόβον σέβειν ὁμηρυκτο, ἐπιστάμενου τόσο τῇ ἡμι καὶ πόθεν ὑπήρχεν.'

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. xlvi 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.

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'Ο δ' αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦ τότε κατὰ Ἰουδαῖων πολέμου 4 μνημονεύων ταῦτα παρατίθεται: "καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ νῦν γενομένῳ Ἰουδαϊκῷ πολέμῳ Βαρκωχεβασ, ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀποστάσεως ἀρχηγήτης, Χριστιανοῦ μόνους εἰς τιμωρίας δεινάς, εἰ μὴ ἀρνοῦτο Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ βλασφημοῖεν, ἐκέλευεν ἅγεσθαι."

'Εν ταύτῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς 5 φιλοσοφίας ἐπὶ τὴν θεοσέβειαν μεταβολὴν αὐτοῦ, ὥστε μὴ ἀλόγως, μετὰ κρίσεως δὲ αὐτῶ γεγόνει, δηλών, ταῦτα γράφει: "καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐγώ, τοῖς Πλάτωνος χαίρων διδάγμασι, διαβαλλόμενος ἀκούων Χριστιανοῦ, ὅρων δὲ καὶ ἀφόβους πρὸς θάνατον καὶ πάντα τὰ νομιζόμενα φοβερά, ἐνεώσων ἀδύνατον εἰναι ἐν κακίᾳ καὶ φιληδονίᾳ ὑπάρχειν αὐτούς. τὸς γὰρ φιλόδονος ἡ ἀκρατης καὶ ἀνθρωπείων σαρκῶν βορᾶν ἡγούμενος ἀγαθὸν, δύναις ἂν θάνατον ἀσπάζεσθαι, ὅπως τῶν ἕαυτος στερηθεὶς ἐπιθυμῶν, ἀλλ' ὅπειρ τὸν ἔστω οὐκ ἔκ παντὸς ἥν ἂει τὴν ἐνθάδε βιοτὴν καὶ λανθάνειν τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἐπειράτο, οὐχ ὅτι ἕαυτὸν κατήγγελλεν φονευθησόμενον;"

"Ετι δ' ὁ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ δεξάμενον τὸν 'Αδριανὸν 6 παρὰ Σερενίου Γρανιανοῦ, λαμπροτάτου ἡγούμενον, γράφομεν ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν περιέχοντα ὡς οὐ δίκαιον εἶν ἐπὶ μηδενὶ ἐγκλήματι βοαῖς δῆμον χαριζομένους ἀκρίτως κτεῖνεν αὐτοὺς, ἀντιγραφὰς Μινουκίω Φούδανο, ἀνθυπάτῳ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, προστάτῳ μηδένα κρίνειν ἄνευ ἐγκλήματος καὶ εὐλόγου κατηγορίας. καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ὃς ἀντί- 7 γραφὸν παρατέθεται, τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ φωνῇ, ὡς εἶχεν, 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 appends 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

ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς δὲ τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ ἐπιφανεστά
tου Καίσαρος Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς ὡμῶν ἔχοντες ἁπατεῖν ὑμᾶς, καθά ἦξιωσαμεν, κελεῦσαι τὸς κρίσεις γίνεσθαι, τοῦτο οὐχ ὡς ὑπὸ Ἀδριανοῦ κελευσθὲν μάλλον ἦξιωσαμεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐπι
στασθαί δικαίαν ἄξιον τὴν προσφώνησιν. ὑπε
ετάξαμεν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς Ἀδριανοῦ τὸ ἀντίγραφον, ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο ἀληθεύειν ἡμᾶς γνωρίζητε, καὶ ἔστω τόδε.'

Τούτοις δὲ μὲν δηλωθεὶς ἄνηρ αὐτὴν παρατέθειται στὴν Ῥωμαίικὴν ἀντιγραφὴν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν κατὰ δύναμιν αὐτὴν μετειλήφαμεν, ἔχουσαν ὡδε.'

Justin, Apol. 1, 68

IX. "Μινουκίω Φουνδανώ. ἐπιστολὴν ἐδεξάμην ἐν γραφεῖσαν μοι ἀπὸ Σερενίου Γρανιανοῦ, λαμπροτάτου ἄνδρας, οὕτω σὺ διεδέξω. οὐ δοκεῖ μοι οὖν τὸ πράγμα ἄξιότητον καταλιπεῖν, ἵνα μήτε οἱ ἄνθρωποι ταράττωσιν καὶ τοῖς συκοφάνταις χορηγία κακουργίας παρασκεθή. εἰ οὖν σαφῶς εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἄξιωσιν οἱ ἐπαρχιῶτα δύνανται διαχυρίζεσθαι κατὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ὡς καὶ πρὸ βήματος ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἐπὶ τούτο μόνον τραπέζων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄξιόσειν οὐδὲ μόνας βοῶς. πολλῷ γὰρ μᾶλλον προσήκεν, εἰ τις καταγορεῖ βούλουτο, τούτο σε διαγινώσκειν. εἰ τις οὖν καταγορεῖ καὶ δεῖκνυσιν τι παρὰ τοὺς νόμους πράττοντας, οὕτως θρίσει κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἀμαρτήματος. ὡς μᾶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα εἰ τις συκοφαντιας χάριν τοῦτο προτείνω, διαλάβανε ὑπὲρ τῆς δεινότητος καὶ φρόντιζε ὅπως ἂν ἐκδικήσειας.' καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀδριανοῦ ἀντιγραφῆς τοιαῦτα.

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, IV. viii. 7— ix. 3

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 outeries. 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, investi- gate 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".
EUSEBIUS

Χ. Τούτου δὲ τὸ χρεῶν μετὰ πρῶτον καὶ εἰ-κοστὸν ἔτος ἐκτίσαντος, Ἀντωνίνος δὲ κληθεὶς Εὐσεβῆς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν διαδέχεται. τούτου δὲ ἐν ἔτει πρῶτῳ Τελεσφόρου τὸν βίον ἐνδεκάτῳ τῆς λειτουργίας ἐνιαυτῷ μεταλλάξαντος, Ὡγίνος τὸν κλήρον τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς παραλαμβάνει. ἱστορεῖ γε μὴν ὁ Εἰρηναῖος τὸν Τελεσφόρον μαρτυρίῳ τὴν τελευτην διαπρέπαι, δηλῶν ἐν ταύτῃ κατὰ τὸν δηλοῦμενον Ῥωμαίων ἐπίσκοπον Ὡγίνον Ὀυαλεντίνον ἱδίας αἰρέσεως εἰσηγητὴν καὶ Κέρδωνα τῆς κατὰ Μαρκίωνα πλάνης ἀρχηγὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀμφο γνωρίζεσθαι, γράφει δὲ ὀντως:

XI. Ὀυαλεντίνος μὲν γὰρ ἦλθεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ Ὡγίνου, ἦκμασεν δὲ ἐπὶ Πίου, καὶ παρέμενεν ἐως Ἀνικήτου. Κέρδων δὲ δὲ πρὸ Μαρκίωνος καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Ὡγίνου, ὅς ἦν ἐνατος ἐπίσκοπος, εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἐξομολογούμενος, οὕτως διετέλεσεν, ποτὲ μὲν λαθροδιδασκαλῶν, ποτὲ δὲ πάλιν ἐξομολογούμενος, ποτὲ δὲ ἐλεγχόμενος ἐφ οἷς ἐδίδασκεν κακῶς, καὶ ἀφιστάμενος τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν συνοδίας. ταύτα δὲ φησιν ἐν τρίτω τῶν 2 πρὸς τὰς αἱρέσεις. ἐν γε μὴν τῷ πρῶτῳ αὖθις περὶ τοῦ Κέρδωνος ταύτα διέξεισιν. "Κέρδων δὲ τις ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τῶν Σύμωνα τὰς ἀφορμὰς λαβὼν καὶ ἐπιδημῆσας ἐν τῇ Ῥώμη ἐπὶ Ὡγίνου ἐνατον κλήρον τῆς ἐπισκοπικῆς διαδοχῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχοντος, ἐδίδαξεν τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν κεκηρυγμένον θεὸν μὴ εἶναι πατέρα τοῦ κυρίου ἑμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. τὸν μὲν γὰρ γνωρίζεσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἄγνωτα εἶναι, καὶ τὸν μὲν δίκαιον, τὸν δὲ ἀγαθὸν ὑπάρχειν. διαδεξάμενος
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, IV. x. 1—xi. 2

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
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6 ἐὰν αὐτὸν Μαρκίων ὁ Ποντικός ἡξήκον τὸ δι-

δασκαλεῖον, ἀπηρυθρασμένος βλασφημῶν."

"Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς Εἰρηναῖος τὸν ἀπειρον βυθὸν τῆς Οὐαλεντίνου πολυπλανοῦσι ἦλθις εὐτονώτατα δια-

πλώσας, ἐρπετοῦ δίκην φωλεύοντος ἀπόκρυφον ὃςαν αὐτοῦ καὶ λειτυβιὰν ἀπογυμνὸ τὴν κακίαν. Πρὸς τοὺς καὶ ἅλλον τινά, Μάρκος αὐτῷ ὄνομα, κατ' αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι λέγει μαγικής κυβείας ἐμπειροτάτου, γράφει δὲ καὶ τάς ἀτελέστους αὐτῶν τελετάς μυσεράς τε μυσταγωγίας ἐκφαίνων αὐτοὺς ὄντος τοῖς γράμμασιν: "οὐ μὲν γὰρ 5 αὐτῶν νυμφώνα κατασκευάζουσιν καὶ μυστα-

αγωγιῶν ἐπιτελοῦσιν μὲτ' ἐπιρρήσεων τινῶν τοῖς τελουμένοις καὶ πνευματικῶν γάμον φάσκουσιν εἰναι τὸ ὑπ' αὐτῶν γινόμενον κατὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα τῶν ἀνω συγγραμάτων, οὐ δὲ ἄγουσιν ἐφ' ὑδωρ καὶ

βαπτιζοντες οὕτως ἐπιλέγουσιν: 'εἰς ὄνομα ἀ-

γνώστου πατρός τῶν ὁλῶν, εἰς ἀληθείαν μητέρα τῶν πάντων, εἰς τὸν κατελθόντα εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν.' Ἀλλοι δὲ 'Εβραϊκά ὄνόματα ἐπιλέγουσιν πρὸς τὸ μᾶλλον καταπλῆξασθαι τοὺς τελουμένους.'

'Ἀλλά γὰρ μετὰ τέταρτον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἔτος 6

'Υγίνου τελευτήσαντος, Πίος ἐπὶ 'Ρώμης ἐγ-

χειρίζεται τὴν λειτουργίαν. κατὰ γε μὴν τὴν

'Αλεξανδρείαν Μάρκος ἀναδείκνυται ποιμὴν Εὐ-

μένους ἐτη τὰ πάντα δέκα πρὸς τρὶσι ἐκπλήσσαντος,

τοῦ τε Μάρκου ἐπὶ δέκα ἐτη τῆς λειτουργίας ἀναπαυσαμένου, Κελαδίων τῆς 'Αλεξανδρέων ἐκ-

κλησίας τῆς λειτουργίας παραλαμβάνει. καὶ κατὰ 7

τῆν 'Ρωμαίων δὲ πόλιν πεντεκαιδεκάτω τῆς

ἐπισκοπῆς ἐναυτῷ Πίου μεταλλάξαντος, 'Ανίκητος

τῶν ἐκεῖσε προϊσταται. καθ' ὁν 'Ἡγήσιππος

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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

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1 Apparently "in the time of Valentinus and Cerdo."
2 The play on the words in the Greek is untranslatable.
αὐτῶν ἐπιδημήσαι τῇ Ῥώμῃ παραμείναι, τε αὐτόθι μέχρι τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς Ἑλευθέρου. μάλιστα δὲ ἦκμαζεν ἐπὶ τῶνδε Ἰουστίνῳς, ἐν φιλοσοφόν σχήματι προσβεύων τὸν θεόν λόγον καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἐναγωνιζόμενος συγγράμμασιν. δὲ δὴ καὶ γράφας κατὰ Μαρκίωνος σύγγραμμα, μνημονεύει ὡς καθ’ ὅν συνετατηρεῖται καρόν γνωριζομένου τῷ βίῳ ταῦτα, φησὶν δὲ οὕτως: "Μαρκίωνα δὲ τινὰ Ποντικὸν, ὅς καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐστὶν διδάσκων τοὺς πειθομένους ἄλλον τινὰ νομίζειν μείζονα τοῦ δημιουργοῦ θεόν. δὲ καὶ κατὰ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων συλλήψεως πολλοὺς πεποίηκε βλάσφημα λέγειν καὶ ἀρνεῖσθαι τὸν ποιητὴν τοῦτο τοῦ παντὸς πατέρα εἶναι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἄλλον δὲ τινὰ ὡς ὑντα μείζονα παρὰ τοῦτον ὀμολογεῖν [πεποιηκέναι]. καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀπὸ τοὺτων ὁμολογοῦν, ὡς ἔφαμεν, Ἑρμιτικὸν καλοῦνται, ὅπως ὑπὸ καὶ οὕτως ὕμνων ὁμολογοῦν τὸς ἐπικαλοῦμενον ὄνομα τῆς ἐπικαλοῦμενον ὄνομα τῆς ἀνακολούθησιν αὐτοῦ τούτου. "τούτως ἐπεισέρει λέγων "ἔστιν δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ σύνταγμα κατὰ πασῶν τῶν γεγενημένων αἰρέσεως, ὑπὸ βουλεύσεις ἐντυχεῖν, δόξομεν."

"Ο δ’ αὐτὸς οὗτος Ἰουστίνος καὶ πρὸς "Ἐλληνας ἱκανώτατα ποιήσας, καὶ ἐτέρους λόγους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας πίστεως ἀπολογίαν ἐχοντας βασιλεῖς Ἀντωνίως τῷ δὴ ἐπικληθέντι Εὐσεβεῖ καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων συγκλήτῳ βουλή προσφωνεῖ· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης τὰς διατριβὰς ἔποιεῖ. ἔµφαίνει δ’ ἐαυτῶν ὀστὶς καὶ πόθεν ἦν, διὰ τῆς ἀπολογίας ἐν τούτοις: XII. "Αὐτοκράτορι Τίτῳ Ἀλίῳ Ἀδριανῷ Ἀντωνίων Ἐυσεβεῖ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ καὶ Οὐθη-
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, IV. xi. 7—xii. 1

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,
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ρισσίμων νῦν φιλοσόφω καὶ Λουκίῳ φιλοσόφου Καίσαρος φύσει νῦν καὶ Ἐυσεβοῦς εἰσποιητῷ, ἔραστῇ παιδείᾳ, ίερὰ τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ παντι δήμῳ Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκ παντὸς γένους ἀνθρώπων ἀδίκως μισομένων καὶ ἐπιρρεαζομένων Ἰουστίνος Πρίσκου τοῦ Βακχείου τῶν ἀπὸ Φλανίας Νέας πόλεως τῆς Συρίας Παλαιστίνης, εἰς αὐτῶν, τὴν προσφώνησιν καὶ ἐντεύξιν πεποίημαι.

'Ἐντευχθεῖς δὲ καὶ ὑφ’ ἑτέρων ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τής 'Ασίας ἀδελφῶν παντίοις υβρεσιν πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων δήμων καταπονυμένων, τοιαύτης ἤξιώσεν τὸ κοινὸν τῆς 'Ασίας διατάξεως. XIII. 1

"Ἀὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Σεβαστός, Ἀρμένιος, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ πέμπτον καὶ τὸ δέκατον, ὑπατός τὸ τρίτον, τῷ κοινῷ τῆς 'Ασίας χαίρειν. ἐγὼ μὲν οἶδ’ ὅτι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιμελεῖς ἐστὶ μὴ 2 λανθάνειν τοὺς τοιούτους· πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνοι κολάσαιεν ἀν τοὺς μη βουλομένους αὐτοῖς προσκυνεῖν ἢ ὑμεῖς. οὐς εἰς ταραχὴν ἐμβάλλετε, βεβαιοῦντες 3 τὴν γνώμην αὐτῶν ἡπερ ἑξοσιν, ως ἀδέων κατηγοροῦντες· εἰδ’ δ’ ἃν κακεῖνοι αἱρετὸν τῷ δοκεῖν κατηγορομένοις τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐξ ὑπὲρ τοῦ οἰκείου θεοῦ· οἴδεν καὶ νικώσι, προϊέμενοι τὰς ἐαυτῶν ψυχὰς ἡπερ πειθόμενοι οἶς ἀξιόυει

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. 332
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

"The Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribune for the fifteenth time, Consul for the third time, to the Council of Asia, greeting.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

² 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.

³ This translation would better suit τὸ δοθηνεῖν, but τὰ θεναναί may be a phrase qualifying τεθναναί. It is not improbable that it is a gloss.
πράττειν αυτούς. περὶ δὲ τῶν σεισμῶν τῶν 4
gεγονότων καὶ γινομένων, οὐκ ἀτοπον ὑμᾶς
ὑπομήνσαι ἀθυμοῦντας μὲν ὅταν περὶ ὅσιν, παρα-
βάλλοντας δὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα πρὸς τὰ ἐκεῖνον. οὐί
μὲν οὖν εὐπαρρησιαστὸνροῖ γίνονται πρὸς τὸν
θεόν, ὑμεῖς δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον καθ᾽ ὃν
ἀγγοεῖν δοκεῖτε, τῶν τε θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἀμελεῖτε
καὶ τῆς θρησκείας τῆς περὶ τὸν ἀθάνατον· ὅν δὴ
tοὺς Χριστιανούς θρησκεύοντας ἐλαύνετε καὶ
dιώκετε ἐως θανάτον. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων 6
ἡδὴ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἡγεμόνων
καὶ τῶι θειοτάτω ἡμῶν ἔγραφαν πατρὶ, οἷς καὶ
ἀντέγραψαν μηδὲν ἐνοχλεῦν τοὺς τοιούτους, εἰ μὴ
ἐμφαίνωντο τι περὶ τὴν ´Ρωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν
ἐγχειροῦντες. καὶ ἐμοὶ δὲ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων
πολλοὶ ἐσήμαναν· οἷς δὴ καὶ ἀντέγραψα κατ-
ακολουθῶν τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμῃ. εἰ δὲ τις ἐπημένοι 7
τινὰ τῶν τοιούτων εἰς πράγματα φέρων ὡς δὴ
tοιούτων, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καταφερόμενος ἀπολελύσθω
τοῦ ἐγκλήματος καὶ ἐὰν φαίνεσθαι τοιοῦτοι ὡς,
ὁ δὲ καταφέρων ἐνοχος ἐσταὶ δίκης. προετέθη ἐν
ˊΕφέσῳ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῆς ᾿Ασίας.´
Τούτων οὖν χωρῆσασι επιμαρτυρῶν Μελίτων, 8
τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος κατ᾽ αὐτὸ
γνωρίζομεν τοῦ χρόνου, δὴλὸς ἐστών ἐκ τῶν
eιρήμενων αὐτῶ ἐν ἡ πεποίηται πρὸς αὐτοκράτορα
Οὐήρον ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς δόγματος ἀπολογία.
XIV. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν δηλομένων, Ἀνικήτου τῆς 1
´Ρωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἡγουμένου, Πολύκαρπον ἔτι
περιόντα τῷ βίῳ γενέσθαι τε ἐπὶ ´Ρώμης καὶ εἰς
ὁμιλίαν τῷ Ἀνικήτῳ ἐλθεῖν διὰ τὸ ζήτημα περὶ
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

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1 The text as it stands in the Greek is hopeless. Possibly καθ' ὅν ἀγνοεῖν δοκεῖτε have been displaced and refer to the "immortal" or the emendation of καθ' ὅν to καὶ θεόν might be accepted.
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣ

τῆς κατὰ τὸ πάσχα ἡμέρας Εἰρηναίος ἱστορεῖ. καὶ ἂλλην δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς περὶ τοῦ Πολυκάρπου παρα-
δίδωσιν διήγησιν, ἢν ἀναγκαίον τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ
dηλουμένους ἐπισυνάψαι, οὕτως ἔχουσαν·

ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΤΡΙΤΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΣ ΑΙΡΕΣΕΙΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΑΙΟΥ

Iren. 3, 3, 4

"Καὶ Πολυκάρπος δὲ οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων ἡμαθητεύεις καὶ συναναστραφεῖς πολλοῖς τοῖς τῶν
κυρίων ἑορτασίωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων κατα-
σταθεῖς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ
ἐπισκοποῖς, ὅν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἑορτάσαμεν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ
ἡμέρᾳ ἡλικία (ἔπει πολὺ γὰρ παρέμεινεν καὶ πάνυ
γηραλέος ἐνδόξως καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτας μαρτυρήσας
ἐξήλθεν τοῦ βίου), ταύτα διδάσας ἀεὶ ἀ καὶ παρὰ
tῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμαθεν, ἀ καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία παρα-
dίδωσιν, ἀ καὶ μόνα ἐστὶν ἀληθή. μαρτυροῦσι
tούτους αἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκκλησίαι πᾶσαι καὶ
οἱ μέχρι νῦν διαδεδεγμένοι τῶν Πολυκαρποῦ,
pολλῷ ἀξιοπιστότερον καὶ βεβαιότερον ἀληθείας
μάρτυρα οὖν τα Ὀδαλεντίνου καὶ Μαρκίωνος καὶ
tῶν λοιπῶν κακογνωσμῶν. ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ Ἁνυκήτου
ἐπιδημήσας τῇ Ῥώμῃ, πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν προ-
eπιρημένων αἱρετικῶν ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
tοῦ θεοῦ, μίαν καὶ μόνην ταυτὴν ἀληθείαν κηρύξας
ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων παρειληφθέναι τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς
ἐκκλησίας παραδεδομένην. καὶ εἰσών οἱ ἀκηκοότες
αὐτοῦ ὁτι Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ κυρίου μαθητὴς ἐν τῇ
Ἐφέσῳ πορευθεῖς λούσασθαι καὶ ἰδὼν ἐσὼ Κή-
ρινθοῦ ἐξήλατο τοῦ βαλανείου μὴ λουσάμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπειπῶν ἰσόμενον, μὴ καὶ τὸ βαλανείον συμπέσῃ,
ἐνδον οὖνος Κηρίνθου τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθροῦ.
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 Μαρκίωνὶ ποτε εἰς τὸν ὁμολογίαν τοῖς ἀπὸ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐλθόντι καὶ φήσαντι ἑπίγνωσκε ἡμᾶς ἀπεκρίθη ἑπίγνωσκον ἑπίγνωσκω τὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ σατανᾶ. τοσαύτην οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτῶν ἔσχον εὐλάβειαν πρὸς τὸ μὲν μέχρι λόγου κοινωνεῖν τινὶ τῶν παραχαρασσόντων τὴν ἀληθείαν, ὡς καὶ Παῦλος ἔφησεν ἀἱρετικὸν ἀνθρωπον μετὰ μίαν καὶ δευτέραν νουθεσίαν παραιτοῦ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐξεστρατεύεται ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ ἀμαρτάνει ὃν αὐτοκατάκριτος. ἔστων 8 ἐγέρση τὸν Πολύκαρπον πρὸς Φιλιππησίους γεγραμμένη ἰκανωτάτη, ἔξ ὅς καὶ τὸν χαρακτὴρα τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς ἀληθείας οἱ βουλόμενοι καὶ φροντίζοντες τῆς ἐπικατάργησαν μιᾶν. ταῦτα ὁ Ἐἰρηναῖος. 9 γε τοῦ Πολύκαρπος ἐν τῇ δηλωθείσῃ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους αὐτοῦ γραφῇ, φερομένῃ εἰς δεύτερο, κέχρηται τοῖς μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς.

'Αντωνίνον μὲν δὲ τὸν Εὐσεβῆ κληθέντα, εἰκοστὸν 1ον καὶ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς ἀρχῆς διανύσαντα, Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ὀὐήρος, δὲ καὶ 'Αντωνίνος, υἱὸς αὐτῶν, σὺν καὶ Δούκιος ἀδελφῶς διαδέχεται. XV. ἐν τούτω 10 δὲ ὁ Πολύκαρπος μεγίστων τῆς Ἀσίαν ἀναθορυβησάντων διωγμῶν μαρτυρίων τελείωται, ἀναγκαίωταν δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ τέλος ἐγγράφως ἐτί fερόμενον ἡγούμαι δεῖν καὶ τῆς ἑσπεριδο ἀνάμεσα καταθέσθαι. ἔστων δὲ ἡ γραφὴ ἐκ προσώπου ἦς 2 αὐτὸς ἐκκλησίας ἤγειτο, ταῖς κατὰ τόπουν 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.¹

Antoninus, called Pius, held the sovereignty for twenty-two years² and was succeeded by Marcus Aurelius Verus, also called Antoninus, his son, together with his brother Lucius. XV. At this time³ 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; iii. 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. 155. See Studia Biblica, ii. pp. 105 ff.
tà kat' autòn apósoymai noussai dia toútw. "'H 3
ékkleisía tòu theòu òi parouikousa Smýrnan tê
ékkleisía tòu theòu tê parouikoush én Philomelúw
cai pásais taix kàtà pánata tòpon tês âgías
katholikís ékkleisias paroukíasis ëleus eirínê kai
agáþê theòu patrôs kai kuriôn ëwmw 'Hsaou
Xristou plhrvnthêi. ëgráýmavem ùmín, âdelfoi,
tà kàtà toûs martruphsanta kai toûn makàrion
Polûkarpon, õstis õasiper epísphragísa dia tês
martruphias autôn katepavse toûn diwigmw."

Tòutous ëxhûs prò tês ãmfi toû Polukárpon
ðinnghêsèwos tà kàtà toûs loupous ãnistoroûs
márturas, òias ënstoasèwes pròs tàs álghdnas
ènedeîzant, diagráfontes. kataplîxai gár fasî
tous èn kûklw periestótas, theswenous toûte mèn
mâstigî mékrî kai tòn èndotâtôf phlebôn kai
àrtphidôn katóaxwmoménous, òs ïdh kai tà èn muchoîs
àpórrehtta toû swmatos ñplâghyn te autwv kai
mèlh kataopteûseðh, toûte ðe toûs àpô thalâttis
khrûkas kai tînas õxées õbélisikous ñpoostrsw-
nyménous, kai ðiâ pântos èidous kolasëwov kai
baßanwv pròodntas kai télos ðhrôn eîs bóran
paradidôménous. málystà ðe ðîstoroûsin diaprêh na
tón genvaiotaton Germainkô, ñpôrrwvnoûnta ñòn
thetaî õarîtî têîn èmòntov peri tòn ðântatov toû
swmatos deîîan. boûloménov gê tôi tôi ànthu-
pátov peîtheîn autôn prôbalلومênov te têîn õlukían
kai èntiboloûntos kômidh véon õnta kai àkmaîov

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
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dioceses¹ 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,² 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 contents of the recesses of their bodies, their entrails and organs, were exposed to sight. At another time they were stretched on seashells and on sharp points, were taken through all kinds of punishment and torture, and finally were given to be eaten by wild beasts. They say that the noble Germanicus was especially distinguished, 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 corresponds 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.

οίκτον ἐαυτοῦ λαβεῖν, μὴ μελλῆσαι, προθύμως δ’ ἐπισπάσασθαι εἰς ἐαυτὸν τὸ θηρίον, μόνον οὖχι βιωσάμενον καὶ παροξύναντα, ὡς ἂν τάξιον τοῦ ἀδίκου καὶ ἀνόμου βίου αὐτῶν ἀπαλλαγεῖν. τούτου δ’ ἐπὶ τῷ διαπρεπεὶ θανάτῳ τὸ πάν πλήθος ἀποθαυμάσαν τῆς ἀνδρείας τὸν θεοφιλή μάρτυρα καὶ τὴν καθόλου τοῦ γένους τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἁρετήν, ἀθρόως ἐπιβοᾶν ἔρξασθαι “αἱρετοὺς ἀθέους· ζητείσθω Πολύκαρπος.’’ καὶ δὴ πλείοτης ἐπὶ ταῖς βοᾷς γενομένης ταραχῆς, Φύγα γενά τὰ γένος, Κώντον τούνομα, νεωστὶ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίας ἐπιστάντα, ἱδόντα τοὺς θήρας καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τούτου ἀπειλάς, καταπτήζας τὴν ψυχήν μαλακισθέντα καὶ τέλος τῆς σωτηρίας ἐνδοῦναι. ἐδήλου δὲ τούτου δ’ τῆς προειρημένης γραφῆς λόγος προπετέστερον ἀλλ’ οὐ κατ’ εὐλάβειαν ἐπιπηδῶς τῷ δικαστηρίῳ σὺν ἑτέρους, ἀλόντα δ’ οὖν ὅμως καταφανεῖς ὑπόδειγμα τοῖς πάσιν παρασχείν, ὅτι μὴ δέοι τοῖς τοιούτοις ριψοκινδύνους καὶ ἀνευλαβῶς ἐπιτολμᾶν. ἀλλὰ ταύτῃ μὲν εἰχὲν πέρας τὰ κατὰ τούτους τὸν γε μὴν θαυμασιώτατον Πολύκαρπον τὰ μὲν πρώτα τούτων ἀκούσαντα ἀτάραχον μέναιν, εὐσταθῆς τὸ ἦθος καὶ ἀκίνητον φιλάξαντα, βούλεσθαι τε αὐτοῦ κατὰ πόλιν περμένειν· πεισθέντα γε μὴν ἀντιβολοῦσι τοῖς ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν καὶ ὡς ἄν ὑπεξέλθοι παρακολούθησι, προελθεῖν εἰς οὐ πόρρω διεστῶτα τῆς πόλεως ἀγρόν διατρίβειν τις οὖν ὀλίγος ἐνταῦθα, νῦκτωρ καὶ μεθ’ ἥμεραν οὕτι ἐτερον πράττοντα ἡ ταῖς πρὸς τὸν κύριον διακαρτεροῦντα εὐχαίς· δι’ ἂν δεῖσθαι καὶ ἴκετεύειν εἰρήνην ἐξαιτούμενον ταῖς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησίας, τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ

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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.
EUSEBIUS

παντὸς αὐτῷ σύνηθες. καὶ δὴ εὐχόμενον, ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὀπτασίᾳ τριῶν πρότερον ἡμερῶν τῆς συλλήψεως νύκτωρ ἰδεῖν τὸ ὑπὸ κεφαλῆς αὐτῷ στρώμα ἀθρόως οὕτως ὑπὸ πυρὸς φλεξθὲν δεδαπανηθαι, ἐξυπνοῦν ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ γενόμενον, εὐθὺς ὑφρημνεύσαι τοῖς παροῦσι τὸ φανέν, μόνον οὐχὶ τὸ μὲλλόν προθεσμίσαντα σαφῶς τε ἀνειπόντα τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὅτι δέοι αὐτοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ πυρὶ τὴν ζωὴν μεταλάξαι. ἐπικείμενον δὴ οὖν σὺν πάσῃ σπουδῇ τῶν ἀναξιοῦντων αὐτόν, ἀδίδω τῷ τῆς τῶν ἄδελφῶν διαθέσεως καὶ στοργῆς ἐκβεβιασμένου μεταβήναι φασιν ἐφ' ἐτερον ἀγρόν. ἐνθα μετ' οὔ πλείστον τοὺς συνελάυνοντας ἐπελθεῖν, δύο ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ συλλαβεῖν παίδων· ὃν θατερον αἰκισμένους ἐπιστήναι δι' αὐτοῦ τῇ τοῦ Πολυκάρπου καταγωγῆς, ὃς ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ὅρας ἐπελθόντας, αὐτόν μὲν εὐρεῖν ἐν ὑπερῶν κατακέμενον, οὔθεν δυνατὸν οὖν αὐτῷ ἐφ' ἐτέραν μεταστήναι οἰκίαν, μὴ βεβουλήσθαι, εἰπόντα "τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ γινέσθω." καὶ δὴ μαθὼν παρόντας, ὡς ὁ λόγος φησί, καταβᾶς αὐτὸς διελέξατο εὗ μάλα φαινρῷ καὶ πραστάτῳ προσώπῳ, ὡς καὶ θαύμα δοκεῖν ὧδὲν τοὺς πάλαι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγνώτας, ἐναποβλέποντας τῷ τῆς ἥλικίας αὐτοῦ πάλαι καὶ τῷ σεμνῷ καὶ εὐσταθεὶ τοῦ τρόπου, καὶ εἰ τοσαύτη γένοιτο σποουθ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοιοῦτον συλληφθῆναι πρεσβύτην. δ' οὖ μελλήσας εὐθέως καὶ τράπεζαν αὐτοὶς παρατεθῆναι προστάτευε, εἶτα τροφῆς ἀφθόνου μεταλαβεῖν ἄξιον, μίαν τε ὡραν, ὡς ἂν προσευξίτω ἄδεως, παρ' αὐτῶν αἰτεῖται· ἐπιτρεψάντων δὲ ἀναστάς ἥχετο, ἐμπλεώς τῆς χάριτος ὅν τοῦ κυρίου, ὡς ἐκπλήττεσθαι τοὺς παρόντας εὐχόμενον 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 ἥδη ἐπὶ τῷ τοιούτων ἀναίρεϊσθαι μέλλειν σεμνόν καὶ θεοπρεπὴ πρεσβύτην.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡ περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφὴ κατὰ λέξιν ἐνὸς πως τὰ ἐξῆς τῆς ἱστορίας ἔχει. "ἔπει δὲ ποτε κατέπαυσε τὴν προσευχὴν μνημονεύσας ἀπάντων καὶ τῶν πῶς τοῖς συμβεβληκότοις αὐτῷ, μικρῶν τε καὶ μεγάλων, ἐνδοξῶν τε καὶ ἀδόξων, καὶ πάσης τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, τῆς ὀρας ἠλθούσης τοῦ ἐξείναι, ὅνως καθίσαντες αὐτὸν ἤγαγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οὔτος σαββάτου μεγάλου. καὶ ὑπῆρντα αὐτῷ ὁ εἰρήναρχος Ἡρώδης καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Νικήτης· οἳ καὶ μεταβέντες αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ὄχημα, ἔπειθον παρακαθέζόμενοι καὶ λέγοντες 'τι γάρ κακὸν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν, κύριος Καίσαρ, καὶ θύσαι καὶ διασώζεσθαι,' ὃ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο, ἐπιμενόντων ὃ δὲ αὐτῶν, ἔφη 'οὐ μέλλω πράττειν ὁ συμβουλευόμενοι· οἱ δὲ ἀποτυχόντες τοῦ πεῖσαι αὐτῶν, δεινὰ ῥήματα ἔλεγον καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς καθήκων, ὡς κατιόντα ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχηματος ἀποσύραι τὸ ἀντικήμιον· ἀλλὰ γὰρ μὴ ἐπιστραφείς, οὐ πεποθῶς, προθύμως μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐπορεύετο, ἀγόμενος εἰς τὸ στάδιον. θορύβου δὲ τηλικοῦτοι ὁντος ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ, ὡς μηδὲ πολλοὶ ἄκουσθήναι, τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ εἰσίν τοῦ στάδιον φωνὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ γέγονεν ἵππους Ἡσυχεὶς, Πολύκαρπε, καὶ ἀνδρίζουν· καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰσόντα οὐδεὶς εἶδεν, τὴν δὲ φωνὴν τῶν ἡμιτέρων πολλοὶ ἦκοσαν. προσαχθέντος οὖν αὐτοῦ, θόρυβος ἦν μέγας ἄκουσαντων ότι Πολυκάρπος συνειλήπται. λοιπὸν οὖν προσελθόντα ἀν-

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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: "Now when he had at last finished his prayer, after remembering all who had ever even come his way, both small and great, high and low, and the whole Catholic Church throughout the world, the hour came for departure, and they set him on an ass, and led him into the city, on a 'great Sabbath day'." And the police captain Herod and his father Niketas met him and removed him into the wagon, and sat by his side trying to persuade him and saying: 'But what harm is it to say, "Lord Caesar," and to offer sacrifice, and to be saved?' But he at first did not answer them, but when they continued he said: 'I am not going to do what you counsel me.' And they gave up the attempt to persuade him, 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 Stud. Bib. ii. pp. 105, and E. Schwartz in Abhandl. der k. Ges. der Wiss. zu Gött. viii. (1905) 6, pp. 125 ff.
ηρώτα δ' ἀνθύπατος εἰ αὐτὸς εἰη Πολύκαρπος, καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος, ἦπειθεν ἀρνεῖσθαι, λέγων 'αἰδέοσθητι σου τὴν ἡλικίαν' καὶ ἑτερα τούτων ἀκόλουθα, ἀ σύνηθες αὐτοῖς ἔστι λέγειν, 'ὀμοσον τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην, μετανόησον, εἰπόν, αἱρε τούς ἀθέους.' ὁ δὲ Πολύκαρπος ἐμβριθεὶ τῷ προσώπῳ τούτῳ πάντα τὸν ὄχλον τὸν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ἐμβλέψας, ἔπυσείσας αὐτοῖς τὴν χείρα στενάξας τε καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, εἶπεν 'αἱρε τοὺς ἀθέους.' ἐγκεκριμένων δὲ τοῦ ἠγουμένου καὶ λέγοντος 'ὀμοσον, καὶ ἀπολύσω σε, λοιδόρησον τὸν Χριστὸν,' ἔφη ὁ Πολύκαρπος 'ὀγδοηκοντα καὶ εξ ἐτη δουλεύω αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐδέν με ἡδύκησεν' καὶ πῶς δύναμαι βλασφημῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα μου, τὸν σώσαντά με; ἐπιμένοντος δὲ πάλιν αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγοντος 'ὀμοσον τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην,' ὁ Πολύκαρπος 'εἰ κενοδοξεῖς, φησίν, 'ίνα ὁμόσω τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην, ὥς λέγεις προστοιούμενος ἀγνοεῖν ὅστις εἰμί, μετὰ παρρησίας ἀκούε· Χριστιανός εἰμι. εἰ δὲ θέλεις τὸν τοῦ Χριστιανοῦν μαθὲν λόγον, δὸς ἡμέραν καὶ ἀκοοῦσον.' ἔφη ὁ δ' ἀνθύπατος 'πείσον τὸν δήμον.' Πολύκαρπος ἔφη, 'σὲ μὲν καὶ λόγον ἡξίωσκα, δεδιδάγμεθα γὰρ ἀρχαίς καὶ ἔξουσίας ὑπὸ θεοῦ τεταγμένας τιμήν κατὰ τὸ προσήκον τὴν μὴ βλάπτουσαν ἡμᾶς ἀπονεμεῖν· ἐκείνους δὲ οὐκ ἄξιοι ἦγον οὐχ οἱ ἀπολογεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς. ὁ δ' ἀνθύπατος εἶπεν 'θηρία ἐξω νῦν τούτως σε παραβάλω, ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσῃς.' ὁ δὲ εἶπεν 'κάλει ἀμετάθετος γὰρ ἡμῖν ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων ἐτὶ τὰ χείρω μετάνοια, καλὸν δὲ μετατίθεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν χαλεπῶν ἐτὶ τὰ δίκαια.' ὁ δὲ πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν 'πυρὶ σε ποιήσω δαμασθήσῃ, 2348

Rom. 13, 1
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, "pergenium Caesaris," or "per genios Caesarum," which was introduced at the beginning of the Empire.
Εὐσεβίου

ἑάν τῶν θηρίων καταφρονήσῃ, ἑάν μὴ μετανοήσῃς.· Πολύκαρπος εἶπεν 'πῦρ ἀπειλεῖσ πρὸς ἄφιν καἰόμενον καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγον σβεννύμενον· ἄγνοεῖς γὰρ τὸ τῆς μελλούσης κρίσεως καὶ αἰωνίου κολά-σεως τοῖς ἀσεβείσι τηρούμενον πῦρ. ἀλλὰ τὶ βραδύνεις; φέρε ὁ βουλεῖ.' ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἐτερα σπλείονα λέγων, θάρσους καὶ χαρᾶσ ἐνεπίμπλατο καὶ τὸ πρόσωπων αὐτοῦ χάριτος ἐπληροῦτο, ὡστε μή μόνον μὴ συμπεσεῖν παραχθὲντα ὑπὸ τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἐκστήναι πέμψαι τε τὸν κήρυκα καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῷ σταδίῳ κηρύξας 'τρίς Πολύκαρπος ὤμολόγησεν ἑαυτὸν Χριστιανὸν εἶναι.' τούτου λεχθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ κήρυκος, πάν τὸ πλήθος ἑθνῶν τε καὶ Ἰουδαίων τῶν τὴν Σμύρναν κατοικούντων ἀκατασχέτω θυμῷ καὶ μεγάλη φωνῇ ἐβοᾷ 'οὔτος ἐστιν ὁ τῆς Ἁσίας διδάσκαλος, ὁ πατήρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ὁ τῶν ἡμετέρων θεῶν καθαιρέτης, ὁ πολλοὺς διδάσκων μὴ θύειν μηδὲ προσκυνεῖν.' ταῦτα λέγοντες, ἐπεβόων καὶ ἠρώτων τὸν ἀσιάρχην Φίλιππον ἦν ἐπαφῆ τῷ Πολύκαρπῳ λέοντα. ο ὁ δὲ ἐφι μὴ εἰναι ἐξών αὐτῷ ἐπειδὴ πεπληρώκει τὰ κυνηγεύσια. τότε ἑδοξὲν αὐτοῖς ὀμοθυμαδὸν ἐπι-βοῆσαι ὡστε ζῶντα τὸν Πολύκαρπον κατακαύσατο. ἐδει γὰρ τὸ τῆς φανερωθείσης αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ 2 προσκεφαλαίου ὀπτασίας πληρωθῆναι, ὅτε ἰδὼν αὐτὸ καἰόμενον προσευχόμενος, εἶπεν ἐπιστραφεῖς τοῖς μετ’ αὐτοῦ πιστοῖς προφητικῶς 'δεῖ μὲ ζῶντα καὶναι.' ταῦτα οὖν μετὰ τοσοῦτον τάχους 2 ἐγένετο θὰττον ἡ ἐλέγετο, τῶν ὄχλων παραχρήμα- συναγόντων ἐκ τῶν ἑργαστηρίων καὶ ἐκ τῶν βαλανείων ἱύλα 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, ώς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, εἰς ταῦτα ὑπουργοῦντων. ἀλλ' ὅτε ἡ πυρὰ ἡτοιμάσθη, ἀποθέμενος ἐαυτῷ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἰμάτια καὶ λύσας τὴν ζώνην, ἔπειρατο καὶ ὑπολύειν ἐαυτόν, μή πρότερον τοῦτο ποιῶν διὰ τὸ ἀεί ἐκαστὸν τῶν πιστῶν σπουδάζειν ὅστις τάχιον τοῦ χρυσοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐφάγηται· ἐν παντὶ γὰρ ἀγαθὸς ἐνεκεν πολιτείας καὶ πρὸ τῆς πολιάς ἐκεκόσμητο. εὕθεως οὖν αὐτῷ περιετίθετο τὰ πρὸς τὴν πυρὰν ἢμισσεμένα ὄργανα· μελλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ προσηλοῦν αὐτόν, εἰπεν 'ἀφετέ με οὐτωσ· ὁ γὰρ διδοὺς ὑπομείναι τὸ πῦρ δώσει καὶ χωρὶς τῆς ύμετέρας ἐκ τῶν ἠλιῶν ἀσφαλείας ἀσκύλτως ἐπιμείναι τῇ πυρᾷ'. οἱ δὲ οὐ καθήλωσαν, προσέδησαν δὲ αὐτὸν. ὁ δ' ὁπίῳς τὰς χεῖρας τοιῆς καὶ προσδεθεὶς ὅσπερ κρίδος ἐπίσημος, ἀναφερόμενος ἐκ μεγάλου πομηνίου δοκαυτώμα δεκτὸν θεῷ παντοκράτορι, εἰπεν 'ὁ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ εὐλογητοῦ παιδὸς σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πατήρ, δι' οὗ τὴν περὶ σὲ ἐπίγνωσιν εὐλήφαμεν, ὁ θεὸς ἀγγέλων καὶ δυνάμεων καὶ πάσης κτίσεως παντὸς τε τοῦ γένους τῶν δικαίων οἱ ζῶσιν ἐνώπιον σου, εὐλογῶ σε ὡς ἡξίωσάς με τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ὡρας ταύτης, τοῦ λαβείν μέρος ἐν ἀριθμῷ τῶν μαρτύρων ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς αἰωνίου ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ πνευμάτως ἁγίоν· εν οἷς προσδιθεῖσίν ἐνώπιον σου σήμερον ἐν θυσίᾳ πίον καὶ προσδεκτῇ, καθὼς προποιήσας, προφανερώσας καὶ πληρώσας ὁ ἀφευθήσεται καὶ ἀληθινὸς θεός. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ πάντων σε ἀιῶν, σε εὐλογῶ, σε δοξάζω διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου ἀρχιερέως 'Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ

Wisd. 3, 6

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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
EUSEBIUS

σου παιδός, δι’ οὗ σου σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ
dόξα καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.
ἀναπέμψαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄμην καὶ πληρώσαντος τὴν
προσευχὴν, οί τού πυρὸς ἀνθρωποί ἐξῆλθαν τὸ
πῦρ, μεγάλης δὲ ἐκλαμψάσης φλογὸς θαύμα εἴδομεν
οίς ίδεῖν ἐδόθη, οἱ καὶ ἐτηρήθησαν εἰς τὸ ἀν-
αγγείλαι τοῖς λοιποῖς τὰ γενόμενα. τὸ γὰρ πῦρ 3
καμάρας εἶδος πούσαν ὡσπερ θόνης πλοίου ὑπὸ
pνεῦματος πληρομένης, κύκλῳ περιετέχισε τὸ
σῶμα τοῦ μάρτυρος, καὶ ἢν μέσον οὗχ ὡς σάρξ
καιμένη, ἀλλ’ ὡς χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν καμίνῳ
πυρῶμενος. καὶ γὰρ εὐωδίας τοσαύτης ἀντελαβό-
μεθα ὡς λιβανωτοῦ πνεόντος ἢ ἄλλου των τῶν
τιμῶν ἀρωμάτων. πέρας γοῦν ἴδοντες οἳ ἄνομοι 3
μὴ δυνάμενον τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς διαπνηθῆναι,
ἐκέλευσαν προσελθόντα αὐτῷ κομψέκτω απα-
βυδαί ξίφος, καὶ τούτο πούσαντος, ἐξῆλθεν πλῆθος 3
αἴματος, ὡστε κατασβέσαι τὸ πῦρ καὶ θαυμάσα
πάντα τὸν ὄχλον εἰ τοσαύτη τις διαφορὰ μεταξὺ
tῶν τε ἀπόστων καὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν· ὃν εἰς καὶ
οὗτος γέγονεν ὁ θαυμασιώτατος ἐν τοῖς καθ’ ἡμᾶς
χρόνοις διδάσκαλος ἀποστολικός καὶ προφητικός
γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Συμφύνη καθολικῆς
ἐκκλησίας· πάν γὰρ ῥήμα ἀφίκεν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος
αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐτελεύτηκε καὶ τελεωθῆσεται.

"Ὁ δὲ ἀντίζηλος καὶ βάσκανος ποιηρός, ὁ
ἀντικείμενος τῷ γένει τῶν δικαίων, ἴδων τὸ
μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς μαρτυρίας καὶ τὴν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς
ἀνεπίληπτον πολιτείαν ἐστεφανωμένον τε τὸν τῆς
ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον καὶ βραβεῖον ἀναντίρρητον
ἀπενημερέμνον, ἐπετήδευσεν ὡς μηδὲ τὸ σωμάτων
αὐτοῦ ὑφ’ ἦμῶν ληφθείη, καίπερ 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
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣ

θυμούντων τούτο ποιήσαι καὶ κοινωνήσαι τῷ ἀγίῳ αὐτοῦ σαρκίῳ. ὑπέβαλον γοῦν τινες Νικήτην, τὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου πατέρα, ἀδελφὸν δ᾿ Ἀλκης, ἐντυχεὶν τῷ ἥγεμόνι ὦστε μὴ δοῦναι αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα, 'μή,' φησίν, 'ἀφέντες τὸν ἐσταιρωμένον, τούτον ἀρξωνταί σέβειν.' καὶ ταῦτα εἶπον ὑποβαλόντων καὶ ἐνυσχυσάντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ καὶ ἐτήρησαν μελλόντων ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι οὔτε τὸν Χριστὸν ποτὲ καταλιπεῖν δυνησόμεθα, τὸν ύπέρ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τῶν σωζομένων σωτηρίας παθόντα, οὔτε ἐτερόν τινα σέβειν. τούτον μὲν γὰρ υἱῶν οὐνα τοῦ θεοῦ προσκυνοῦμεν, τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας ὡς μαθητὰς καὶ μυητὰς τοῦ κυρίου ἀγαπῶμεν ἄξιοι ἐνεκα εὐνοίας ἀνυπερβλήτου τῆς εἰς τὸν ἱδίον βασιλέα καὶ διδάσκαλον· ὃν γένοιτο καὶ ἡμᾶς συγκοινωνοὺς τε καὶ συμμαθητὰς γενέσθαι. ἵδιον οὖν ὁ ἐκατοντάρχης τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων γενομένην φιλονεικίαν, θείς αὐτὸν ἐν μέσῳ, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς ἐκασσεν, οὕτως τῇ ἦμείς ὑστερον ἀνελόμενοι τὰ τιμιώτερα λίθων πολυτελῶν καὶ δοκιμώτερα ὑπὲρ χρυσίων ὁστὰ αὐτοῦ ἀπεθέμεθα ὅπου καὶ ἀκόλουθον ἦν· ἐνθα, ὡς δυνατόν, ἦμῖν συναγομένοις ἐν ἀγαλλίασε καὶ χαρὰ παρέξει οὐ κύριος ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον εἰς τῇ τῶν προηθηκότων μνήμην καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἀσκησίν τε καὶ ἑτομασίαν. τοιαῦτα τὰ κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Πολύκαρπον· σὺν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φιλαδελφείας δωδεκάτων ἐν Σμύρνῃ μαρτυρήσαντος, [ὁς] μόνος ὑπὸ πάντων μᾶλλον μνημονεύεται, ὡς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔθνων 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 Alee, 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
Πολύκαρπον τοιούτου κατηγοροῦσε τέλος, τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σμύρναιον ἐκκλησίαν ἀδελφῶν τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐν ἡ διδακτάμεναι, αὐτῶν ἐπιστολῆς κατατεθηκένων. ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφῇ καὶ ἄλλα μαρτύρια συνήκτοτα κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν Σμύρναιν πεπραγμένα ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν περίοδον τοῦ χρόνου τῆς τοῦ Πολύκαρπον μαρτυρίας, μεθ’ ὦν καὶ Μητροδώρος τῆς κατὰ Μαρκίωνα πλάνης πρεσβύτερος δὴ εἶναι δοκῶν πυρὶ παραδοθεῖσα ἀνήρρηται. τῶν γε μὴν τότε περιβόητος μάρτυς εἰς τις ἐγνω- 4 ρίζετο Πιόνος. οὐ δὲς κατὰ μέρος ὀμολογίας τὴν τῆς λόγου παρρησίαν καὶ τὰς υπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀπολογίας διδασκαλικάς τε δημηγορίας καὶ ἐτί τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ὑποπεπτωκότας τῷ κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν πειρασμὸ δεξιώσεις παραμυθίας τε ἃς ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρκτῆς τοῖς παρ’ αὐτοῦ εἰσαφικνουμένος ἀδελφός παρετύθετο, ἃς τε ἐπὶ τούτως ὑπέμεινεν βασάνους, καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ ταύταις ἀληθονόμας καθηλώσεις τε καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τῆς πυρᾶς καρτερίας τῆς τε ἐφ’ ἄπασιν τοῖς παράδοξοις αὐτοῦ τελευτήν πληρέστατα τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφῆς περιεχούσης, τόσο ὁις φίλον ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀναπέμψομεν τοῖς τῶν ἀρχαίων συν- αχθείσων ἡμῶν μαρτυρίοις ἐντεταγμένην. ἐξῆς δὲ 4 καὶ ἄλλων ἐν Περγάμῳ πόλει τῆς Ἀσίας ὑπο- μνήμαι μεμαρτυρηκότων φέρεται, Κάρπου καὶ Πατύλου καὶ γυναικὸς Ἀγαθονίκης, μετὰ πλείστας καὶ διαπρεπεῖς ὀμολογίας ἐπιδόξως τετελειωμένων.

XVI. Κατὰ τούτους δὲ καὶ ὁ μικρύ πρόσθε ήμιν 1 δηλώσεις Ἰονιστὼς δεύτερον ὑπὲρ τῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς δογμάτων βιβλίων ἀνάδοτος τοὺς δεδηλωμένους ἀρχόουσι, 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.¹ 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,² 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 βίον τε καὶ τρόπον ἔξηλου) τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτῷ καττύσαντος, ἔπειδὴ πλεονάκις ἐν διαλόγοις ἀκροατῶν παρόντων εὐθύνας αὐτῶν, τὰ νικητήρια τελευτῶν ἢς ἐπρέσβεθεν ἀληθείας διὰ τοῦ μαρτυρίου τοῦ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀνεδήσατο.

Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ταῖς ἀληθείαις φιλο-ς σοφῶτατος ἐν τῇ δεδηλωμένῃ ἀπολογίᾳ σαφῶς οὕτως, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἐμελλὲν ὡς οὕτως περὶ αὐτῶν συμβῆσθαι, προλαβὼν ἀποσημαινεῖ τούτωσ τοῖς ρήμασιν: "καὶ φωνὶ προσδοκῶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀνομασμένων ἐπιβουλευθήναι καὶ ξύλῳ ἐνυπαγήναι ἢ κἂν ὑπὸ Κρήσκεντος τοῦ ἠφιλοσόφου καὶ φιλοκόμπου· οὐ γὰρ φιλόσοφον ἐπειδὴ ἀξίων τὸν ἄνδρα, οὐ γε περὶ ὧν μὴ ἐπίσταται, δημοσίᾳ καταμαρτυρεῖ ὡς ἂθέων καὶ ἄσεβῶν Χριστιανῶν ὄντων, πρὸς χάριν καὶ ἡδονὴν τῶν πολλῶν τῶν πεπλανμένων τοῦτο πράττων. εἴτε 4 γὰρ μὴ ἐνυχῶν τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδάγαμασιν κατατρέχει ἡμῶν, παμπόνηρος ἐστι καὶ ἰδιωτῶν πολὺ χείρων, οἱ φυλάττονται πολλάκις περὶ ὧν ὁὐκ ἐπίστασται, διαλέγεσθαι καὶ ψευδομαρτυρεῖν· καὶ εἰ ἐνυχῶν μὴ συνήκη τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς μεγαλεῖν ἡ συνείς πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὑποπτευθῆναι τοιοῦτος ταῦτα ποιεῖ, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀγενής καὶ παμπόνηρος, ἱδιωτικῆς καὶ ἀλόγου δόξης καὶ φόβου ἐλάττων ἣν, καὶ γὰρ προθέντα με καὶ ἐρωτήσαντα αὐτὸν 5 ἐρωτήσεις τινὰς τοιαύτας, μαθεῖν καὶ ἐλέγχαν ὅτι ἀληθῶς μηδὲν ἐπιστᾶται, εἰδέναι ὡς μᾶς βουλομαι, καὶ ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, εἰ μὴ ἀνηρέχθησαν ὡμῶν αἱ κουνώναι τῶν λόγων, ἔτοιμος καὶ ἐφ’ ύμῶν·
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 ἑρωτῆσεων πάλιν. βασιλικῶν δ' ἂν καὶ τούτῳ ἐργόν εὑρ. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐγνώσθησαν ὃ ὑμῖν αἱ ἑρωτήσεις μου καὶ αἱ ἐκείνου ἀποκρίσεις, φανερῶν ὑμῖν ἐστιν ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπίσταται. ἡ εἰ ἐπίσταται, διὰ τούς ἀκούοντας δὲ οὐ τολμᾷ λέγειν, ως πρότερον ἐφήν, οὐ φιλόσοφος, ἄλλα φιλόδοξος ἄνηρ δείκνυται, ὅς γε μηδὲ τὸ Σωκρατικὸν, ἀξιόραστον ὃν, τιμᾷ.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἰουστῖνος· ὅτι δὲ κατὰ τὴν την τῶν τούτων πρόρρησιν πρὸς τὸν Κρήσκεντος συσκευασθείς ἑτελείωθη, Τατιανός, ἀνήρ τὸν πρῶτον αὐτοῦ βίον σοφιστεύσας ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήνων μαθήμασι καὶ δόξαν οὐ συμικρᾶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπεννηνεγμένος πλεῖστα τε ἐν συγγράμμασι αὐτοῦ καταλιπτῶν μνημεῖα, ἐν τῷ Πρὸς Ἐλλήνας ἱστορεῖ, λέγων ὅτε: "καὶ ὁ θαυμασιώτατος Ἰουστῖνος ὅρθος ἐξεφώνησεν ἐοικέναι τοὺς προειρημένους λησταῖς." εἶτε ἐπειδὴ πῶς τινα περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων, εἶπε ταῦτα: "Κρήσκης γοῦν ὁ ἐνεοττεύσας τῇ μεγάλῃ πόλει παιδεραστία μὲν πάντας ὑπερήφανεν, φιλαργυρία δὲ πάνυ προσεχὴς ἤν· θανάτον δὲ ὁ καταφρονεῖν οὐκείης συμβουλεύων οὔτως αὐτὸς ἔδειξε τοῦ θάνατον, ὡς καὶ Ἰουστῖνον, καθάπερ μεγάλῳ κακῷ, τῷ θανάτῳ περιβαλεὶς πραγματεύσασθαι, διότι κηρύττων τὴν ἀλήθειαν λίχνους τοὺς φιλοσόφους καὶ ἀπατεώνας συνήληχεν." καὶ τὸ μὲν κατὰ Ἰουστῖνον μαρτύριον τοιαύτην εἰλήθην αὐτίαν.

XVII. Ὁ δ' αὐτός ἀνήρ πρὸ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν ἄγω· ἐνετέρων πρὸ αὐτοῦ μαρτυρησάντων ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ μνημονεύει ἀπολογία, χρησίμως τῇ ὑποθέσει καὶ ταῦτα ἱστορῶν γράφει δὲ ὅτε: "γνωρίσου τις συνεβιοῦσαν ἄνδρι ἀκολασταίνοντι, ἀκολασταίνουσα καὶ αὐτή 362
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 e).
πρότερον· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδάγματα ἔγνω, ἐσωφρονίσθη, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ὁμοίως σωφρονεῖν πέθειν ἐπειράτο, τὰ διδάγματα ἀναφέρουσα τὴν τε μέλλουσαν τοῖς, οὐ σωφρόνως καὶ μετὰ λόγου ὁρθοῦ βιοῦν ἔσεσθαι ἐν αἰώνιῳ πυρὶ κόλασιν ἀπαγγέλλουσα. ὃ δὲ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἀσελ-γείαις ἐπιμένων, ἀλλοτρίαν διὰ τῶν πράξεων ἐποιεῖτο τὴν γαμετὴν· ἀσεβεῖς γὰρ ἤγουμένη τὸ λοιπὸν ἡ γυνὴ συγκατακλίνεσθαι ἄνδρι παρὰ τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον καὶ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον τόρον ἡδωνής ἐκ παντὸς πειρωμένῳ ποιεῖσθαι, τῆς συζυγίας χαρισθῆναι ἐβουλήθη· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐξ-εὐδυνοπεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῆς, ἐτὶ προσμενῶν συμβουλεύοντων ὡς εἰς ἑλπίδα μεταβολῆς ἤζοντὸς ποτε τοῦ ἄνδρός, βιαζομένη ἐαυτὴν ἐπέμενεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ ταύτης ἀνὴρ εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἤς ἔπεμψε, χαλεπώτερα πράττειν ἀπηγγέλθη, ὅπως μὴ κοινωνὸς τῶν ἀδικημάτων καὶ ἀσβεστήματων γενηται μένουσα ἐν τῇ συζυγίᾳ καὶ ὁμοδίαιτο καὶ ὁμόκοιτος γινομένη, τὸ λεγόμενον παρ' ἥμιν ῥεποῦσιν δοῦσα ἐχωρίσθη. ὃ δὲ καλὸς κἀγαθὸς ὁ ταύτης ἀνὴρ, δεόν αὐτὸν χαίρειν ὅτι ἡ πάλαι μετὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν καὶ τῶν μυσθοφόρων εὐχερῶς ἔπραττε μέθαις χαῖρουσα καὶ κακία πάση, τούτων μὲν τῶν πράξεων πέπαυτο καὶ αὐτὸν τὰ αὐτὰ παύσασθαι πράττοντα ἐβούλετο, μὴ βουλομένου ἀπαλλαγείσης, κατηγορίαν πεποίηται, λέγον αὐτὴν Χριστιανὴν εἶναι. καὶ ἡ μὲν βιβλίδιον σοι τῷ τοῦ ἀυτοκράτορι ἀνέδωκεν, πρότερον συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτῇ διοικήσασθαι τὰ ἐαυτῆς ἄξιον, ἐπείτη ἀπολογίσασθαι περὶ τοῦ κατηγορημάτως μετὰ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῆς διοίκησιν, καὶ συν-364
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
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εὐσέβησας τούτῳ· ὦ δὲ ταύτης ποτὲ ἀνὴρ πρὸς ἐκείνην μὲν μὴ δυνάμενος τὰ νῦν ἔτι λέγεω, πρὸς Πτολεμαίον τινα, ὅν Οὐρβίκιος ἐκολάσατο, διδάσκαλον ἐκείνης τῶν Χριστιανῶν μαθημάτων γενόμενον, ἐτράπετο διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ τρόπου. ἐκατόνταρχον εἰς δεσμὰ ἐμβαλόντα τὸν Πτολεμαίον, φίλον αὐτῶ υπάρχοντα, ἐπεισε λαβέσθαι τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ ἄνερωτησαι εἰ, αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον, Χριστιανὸς ἔστω. καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαίον, φιλαλῆθη ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀπατηλὸν οὐδὲ ψευδολόγον τὴν γνώμην ὄντα, ὀμολογήσαντα ἐαυτὸν εἶναι Χριστιανόν, ἐν δεσμοίς γενέσθαι ὁ ἐκατόνταρχος πεποίηκεν, καὶ ἐπὶ πολν χρόνον ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ ἐκολάσαστο· τελευταῖον δὲ ὅτε ἐπὶ Οὐρβικίου ἤχθη ὁ ἀνθρωπος, ὀμοίως αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ἔξητάσθη, εἰ εἴη Χριστιανός· καὶ πάλιν, τὰ καλὰ ἐαυτῷ συνεπιστάμενοι διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδαχὴν, τὸ διδασκαλεῖον τῆς θείας ἀρετῆς ὀμολογήσειν. ὁ γὰρ ἄρνούμενος ὄτιον ἡ κατεγνωκὼς τοῦ πράγματος ἔξαρνος γίνεται ἡ ἐαυτὸν ἀνάξιον ἐπιστάμενος καὶ ἀλλότριον τοῦ πράγματος τῆς ὀμολογίας φεύγει· ὃν οὐδὲν πρόσεστον τῷ ἀληθινῷ Χριστιανῷ· καὶ τοῦ Οὐρβίκιου κελεύσαντος αὐτὸν ἀπαχθῆναι, Δούκιός τε, καὶ αὐτὸς ὄν Χριστιανός, ὅρων τὴν ἀλγῶς οὕτως γενομένην κρίσιν, πρὸς τὸν Οὐρβίκιον ἔφη 'τίς ἡ αἰτία τοῦ μὴ μοιχὴν μὴτο πόρνον μὴτε ἄνδροφόνον μὴτε λαπωδύτην μὴτε ἄρπαγα μὴτε ἀπλῶς ἀδίκημα τι πράξαντα ελεγχόμενον, ὀνόματος

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 366
affairs. This you granted. But her former husband being now unable to attack her, turned in the following way against a certain Ptolemy, who had been her teacher in Christian doctrines and was punished by Urbicius. 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 Ἐυσεβεῖν αὐτοκράτορι οὐδὲ φιλοσόφῳ Καίσαρος παιδὶ οὐδὲ ἑρᾶ συγκλήτῳ κρίνεις, ὦ Οὐρβίκει; καὶ ὦ, μετὰ οὐδὲν ἀλλο ἀποκρίναμενος, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δούκιον ἔφη ἢ δοκεῖς μοι καὶ σὺ εἶναι τοιοῦτος, καὶ τοῦ Δούκιον φήσαντος ἡμέρας, πάλιν καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπαχθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν; ὁ δὲ χάριν εἰδέναι ὠμολόγει, πονηρῶν γὰρ δεσποτῶν τῶν τοιούτων ἀπηλλάχθαι ἐπείπεν καὶ παρὰ ἀγαθὸν πατέρα καὶ βασιλέα τὸν θεὸν πορεύεσθαι. καὶ ἄλλος δὲ τρίτος ἐπελθὼν κολασθῆναι προσετήθη." τούτοις ἦν Ιουστῖνος εἰκότως καὶ ἄκολοθως ἀς προεμνημονεύσαμεν αὐτὸς φωνὰς ἐπάγει λέγων "κἀγὼ οὖν προσδοκῶ ὑπὸ τινος τῶν ἀνομασμένων ἐπιβουλευθῆναι" καὶ τὰ λοιπά.

XVIII. Πλείστα δὲ οὗτος κατάλειπεν ἦμῖν πε-1 παίδευμας διανοίας καὶ περὶ τὰ θεία ἐσπουδακίας ὑπομνήματα, πάσης ἀφελείας ἐμπλέα· ἐφ' ἃ τῶν φιλομαθῶν ἀναπέμψομεν, τὰ εἰς ἡμετέρας γνῶσιν ἐλθόντα χρησίμως παρασημηνάμευοι. ὁ μὲν τίς 2 ἐστὶν αὐτῷ λόγος πρὸς Ἀντωνίνον τὸν Ἐυσεβῆ προσαγορευθέντα καὶ τοὺς τούτου παῖδας τήν τε Ἐρμαίων συγκλητον προσφωνητικός υπὲρ τῶν καθ' ἤμαις δογμάτων, ὁ δὲ δευτέραν περιέχων υπὲρ τής ἡμετέρας πίστεως ἀπολογίαν, ἤν πε-ποίηται πρὸς τὸν διδαχωμένον αὐτοκράτορος διάδοχον τε καὶ ὁμώνυμον Ἀντωνίνον Οὐρχόν, οὗ τὰ κατὰ τους χρόνους ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος διέξειμεν· καὶ ἄλλος ὁ πρὸς Ἐλλήνας, ἐν ὑμῶν μακρὸν περὶ τοῦ πλείστῳ παρ᾽ ἦμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήνων φιλοσοφοῖς ζητουμένων κατατείνας λόγον, περὶ τής τῶν δαμιῶν διαλαμβάνει φύσεως· ὁ οὖν ἄν ἐπείγον 368
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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.
EUSEBIUS

tὰ νῦν παρατίθεσθαι. καὶ αὕτης ἐτερον πρὸς Ἐλληνας εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλήλυθεν αὐτοῦ σύγγραμμα, ὁ καὶ ἐπέγραψεν Ἐλεγχον, καὶ παρὰ τούτους ἄλλο περὶ θεοῦ μοναρχίας, ἢν οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν παρ’ ἡμῶν γραφῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν συνότητων βιβλίων· ἐπὶ τούτους ἐπιγεγραμμένον Ψάλτης, καὶ ἄλλο σχολικόν Περὶ ψυχῆς, ἐν διαφόροις πεύκοις προτείνας περὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν προβλήματος, τῶν παρ’ Ἐλλησιῶν πιστεύει τὰς δόξας, αἷς καὶ ἀντιλέξειν υποχνεύεται τὴν τε αὐτοῦ αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἐν ἐτέρῳ παραθήκεσθαι συγγράμματι. καὶ διάλογον δὲ πρὸ σ’ Ἰουδαίως συνέταξεν, ὃν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως πρὸς Ἰουδαίων τῶν τότε Ἐβραίων ἐπισκήπτον περιοίτηται. ἐν δὲ τινα πρότον ἡ θεία χάρις αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πίστεως παράμηκε λόγον, δηλοὶ ὅποιαν τὸν πρότερον περὶ τὰ πιστεύον περὶ τὰ πιστευόμενα μαθήματα σπουδὴν εἰσενέκται καὶ ὅσην ἐποίησε τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκθεσμότατην ἡγήσεσθαι. ἦσορεί δὲ ἐν ταύτῳ περὶ Ἰουδαίων ὡς κατὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας ἐπιβούλησαν συσχετισμένων, αὕτα ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Ἰουδαίων ἀποτευκόμενος· "οὐ μόνον δὲ οὐ μετενοήσατε ἐφ’ οἷς ἐπράξατε κακῶς, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρας ἐκλέκτους ἐκλεξάμενοι τότε ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλήμ ἐξεπέμψατε εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, λέγοντες αἱρεσίν ἄθεους Χριστιανῶν πεφάνθαι καταλέγοντες τε παῦσαν ἀνθρώποις. ὥστε οὐ μόνον έαυτοὺς ἀδίκιας αὕτως ὑπάρχετε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπασώς ἀπλῶς ἀνθρώποις."
Again a second treatise against the Greeks has reached us, which he entitled *A Confluxation*, and besides them another about the Sovereignty of God which he compiled not only from our own scriptures but also from the books of the Greeks. Besides these he wrote the book entitled *Psaltes* and another disputation *On the Soul*, 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 αὐτῆς εἶναι λέγων· καὶ ῥητῶν δὲ τινων προφητικῶν μημονευεῖ, διελέγχων τὸν Τρύφωνα ὡς δὴ περικοψάντων αὐτὰ Ἰουδαίων ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς. πλείστα δὲ καὶ ἔτερα παρὰ πολλοῖς φέρεται ἄδελφοις τῶν αὐτοῦ πόνων, οὕτωσι δὲ καὶ σπουδῆς εἶναι ἄξιοι καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἔδοκον οἱ τάνδρος λόγοι, ὡς τὸν Εἰρηναίον ἀπομνημονεύειν αὐτοῦ φωνᾶς, τούτῳ μὲν ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ Πρὸς τὰς αἰρέσεις αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα ἐπιλέγοντα· "καὶ καλῶς ὁ Ἰουστῖνος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μαρκίωνα συντάγματι φησιν ὅτι αὐτῷ τῷ κυρίῳ οὐκ ἂν ἐπείσθην ἄλλον θεόν καταγγέλλοντι παρὰ τὸν δημιουργὸν," τούτῳ δὲ ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως διὰ τούτων· "καὶ καλῶς ὁ Ἰουστῖνος ἐφίστηκεν πρὸ μὲν τῆς τοῦ κυρίου παρουσίας οὐδὲπετείλησεν ὁ σατανᾶς βλασφημήσας τὸν θεόν, ἀπὸ μηδέποτε εἶδος αὐτοῦ τὴν κατάκρισιν." καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἀναγκαῖως εἰρήσθω 1, εἰς προτροπὴν τοῦ μετὰ σπουδῆς τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς καὶ τοὺς τούτου περιέπειν λόγους. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὸνδε τοιαῦτα ἂν.

XIX. Ἡδὴ δὲ εἰς ὅγδοον ἑλαυνοῦσης ἐτος τῆς δηλομενής ἱγμονίας, τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τῆν ἑπισκοπὴν Ἀπόκητον ἐνδεκα τοῖς πάσιν ἔτεσιν διελθόντα Σωτήρ διαδέχεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἁλεξιανρέων παρουσίας Κελαδίωνως τέταρτον ἐπὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν προστάτους, XX. τῆς διαδοχῆς Ἁγιοπτῶν διαλαμβάνει, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείων δὲ ἐκκλησίας Θεόφιλος ἐκτος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγνωρίζετο, τετάρτου μὲν τῶν ἐκεῖσε μετὰ "Ἡρωνα καταστάντος Κορνηλίου, μετὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ πέμπτω βαθμῷ τῆν ἑπισκοπὴν Ἐρωτος διαδεξαμένου.

XXI. Ἡκμαζόν δὲ ἐν τούτοις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
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 ¹ 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.
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥΣ

’Ηγήσιππός τε, δι ἵσμεν ἐκ τῶν προτέρων, καὶ Διονύσιος Κορυνθίων ἐπίσκοπος Πινυτός τε ἄλλος τῶν ἐπὶ Κρήτης ἐπίσκοπος Φιλυππός τε ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ Ἀπολινάριος καὶ Μελίτων Μουσανός τε καὶ Μόδεστος καὶ ἐπὶ πάσιν Εἰρηναῖος, διὸ καὶ εἰς ἤμας τῆς ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως ἡ τῆς ὕμνους πίστεως ἐγγραφὸς κατῆλθεν ὀρθοδοξία.

XXII. Ὅ μὲν οὖν Ἡγήσιππος ἐν πέντε τοῖς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθοῦσιν ὑπομνήμασιν τῆς ἰδίας γνώμης πληροφορικῆς καὶ ἀποτελέσματος: ἐν οἷς δῆλοι ὡς πλείστοι ἐπισκόποι συμμειωμένοι ἀποδημιάων στειλάμενοι μέχρι Ρώμης, καὶ ὡς ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν παρὰ πάντων παρείληφην διδασκαλίαν. ἀκοῦσαι γέ τοι πάρεστιν μετά τινα περὶ τῆς Κλήμεντος πρὸς Κορυνθίους ἐπιστολῆς αὐτῆς εἰρημένα ἐπιλέγοντας ταῦτα. "καὶ ἐπέμενεν ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡ Κορυνθίων ἐν τῷ ὄρθῳ λόγῳ μέχρι Ρώμης ἐπισκόποντον ἐν Κορύνθῳ οἷς συνεμίζα πλέων εἰς Ἐλευθεροῦ καὶ συνδιάτριφα τοῖς Κορυνθίοις ἡμέρας ἱκανός, ἐν αἷς συναντήσαμεν τῷ ὄρθῳ λόγῳ γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Ἐλευθεροῦ διαδοχῆν ἐποιησάμην μέχρι Ἀνικήτου· οὗ διάκονος ἢν Ἐλευθεροῦ, καὶ παρὰ Ἀνικήτου διαδέχεται Σωτήρ, μεθ' ἐν Ἐλευθεροῦ. ἐν ἐκάστῃ δὲ διαδοχῇ καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει οὑτως ἐχεῖ ὡς ὁ νόμος κηρύσσει καὶ οἱ προφήται καὶ ὁ κύριος."

"Ο δὲ αὐτῶς καὶ τῶν κατ’ αὐτόν αἱρέσεων τὰς 4 ἀρχάς ὑποτίθεται διὰ τούτων: "καὶ μετὰ τὸ μαρτυρῆσαι Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον, ὡς καὶ ὁ κύριος, ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ, πάλιν ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ Συμεών ὁ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ καθίστατα εἰπίσκοπος, διὸ προεθεντο πάντες, ὁντα ἀνεψιόν τοῦ κυρίου δεύτερον. διὰ τούτο ἐκάλουν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρθένον, οὕτω γὰρ 374.
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
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣ

ἐφθαρτο ἄκοαις ματαίαις· ἄρχεται δὲ ὁ Θεοβουλις 5
diὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι αὐτόν ἐπίσκοπον ὑποφθείρειν
ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπτά αἱρέσεων, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν, ἐν τῷ
λαῷ, ἂφὶ δὲν Σίμων, θην Σιμωνιανοί, καὶ Κλεόβιος,
θην Κλεοβινοί, καὶ Δοσίθεος, θην Δοσιθιανοί,
καὶ Γορθαῖος, θην Γοραθηνοί, καὶ Μασβωθειο.
ἀπὸ τούτων Μενανδριανισταὶ καὶ Μαρκιανισταὶ
καὶ Καρποκρατιανοί καὶ Οὐαλεντινιανοὶ καὶ Βασιλειδιανοὶ καὶ Σατορνιλιανοὶ ἐκαστὸς ἰδίως καὶ
ἐτεροίς ἰδίαιν δόξαν παρεισηγάγοσαν, ἀπὸ τούτων 6
ψευδόχριστοι, ψευδοπροφήται, ψευδαπόστολοι, οἰ-
tων ἐμερίσαν τὴν ἐνώσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας φθορι-
μαίους λόγους κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ
αὐτοῦ.

"Ἐτὶ δ’ ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ τὰς πάλαι γεγενημένας παρὰ 7
Ἰουδαίοις αἱρέσεις ἱστορεῖ λέγων ‘UNCT, ἂν δὲ
gνώμαι διάφοροι ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ ἐν νεότες Ἰσραηλι-
tῶν κατὰ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰουδα καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ
αὐτοῦ· Ἑσσαίοι Γαλιλαίοι Ἡμεροβαπτισταὶ Μασ-
bωθειο Σαμαρείται Σαδδουκαῖοι Φαρισαῖοί.’

Καὶ ἔτερα δὲ πλείστα γράφει, ὥν ἐκ μέρους ἦδη 8
πρότερον ἐμμηνομενεύσαμεν, οἰκείως τοῖς καιροῖς
τὰς ἱστορίας παραθέμενοι, ἐκ τῶν καὶ ’Εβραίους
ἐναγγελίου καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ καὶ ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς
’Εβραίδος διαλέκτου τινὰ τίθησιν, ἐμφαίνων ἐξ
’Εβραίων ἐαυτῶν πεπιστευκέναι, καὶ ἀλλα δὲ ὡς
ἐξ Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἀγράφου παραδόσεως μνημονεύει. οὐ
μόνος δὲ αὐτός, καὶ Εἰρηναῖος δὲ καὶ ὁ πᾶς τῶν 9
ἀρχαίων χορὸς πανάρετον Σοφίαν τὰς Σολομῶνος
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 Dosithians, 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 Irenaeus 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.

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ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣ

ἀποκρύφων διαλαμβάνων, ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ χρόνων πρὸς τινῶν αἱρετικῶν ἀναπεπλάσθαι τινὰ τοῦτων ἱστορεῖ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐφ’ ἑτέρων ἦδη μεταβατέον.

XXIII. Καὶ πρῶτον γε-περὶ Διονυσίου φατέον ὅτι τῇς ἐν Κορίνθῳ παροικίας τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐγκεχείριστο θρόνον, καὶ ωσ τῆς ἐνθέου φιλοπονίας οὐ μόνοις τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτόν, ἀλλ’ ἦδη καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς ἀφθόνως ἐκοινώνει, χρησμώτατον ἀπασω ἕαυτὸν καθιστάς ἐν αἰσ ὑπετυπούτο καθολικαὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιστολαίς. ὅν ἔστιν ἡ μὲν πρὸς Δακεδαμίνιον ὀρθοδοξίας κατηχητική εἰρήνης τε καὶ ἐνώσεως ὑποθετική, ἡ δὲ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους διεγερτική πίστεως καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πολυτείας, ἢς ὀλυγωρήσαντας ἐλέγχει ὡς ἀν μικροῦ δεῖν ἀποστάντας τὸν λόγον ἐξ οὕτων τὸν προεστῶτα αὐτῶν Πούπλιον μαρτυρῆσαι κατὰ τοὺς τότε συνέβη διωγμοῦ. Κοδράτου δὲ μετὰ τὸν μαρτυρήσαντα Πούπλιον καταστάντος αὐτῶν ἐπισκόπου μέμνηται, ἐπιμαρτυρῶς ὡς διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ σπουδῆς ἐπισυναχθέντων καὶ τῆς πίστεως ἀναξωπύρησον εἰληχότων. δηλοὶ δ׳ ἐπὶ τούτους ὡς καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρεσπαγήτης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου προτραπεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν πίστιν κατὰ τὰ ἐν ταῖς Πραξεσιν δεδηλωμένα, πρῶτος τῆς Ἀθῆνας παροικίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐγκεχείριστο. ἀλλή δ’ ἐπιστολὴ τῆς αὐτοῦ πρὸς Νικομηδεὰς φερεται, ἐν ὡς τῆς Μαρκίωνος αἴρεσιν πολεμῶν τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας παρίσταται κανόνι. καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ δὲ τῇ παροικοῦσῃ Γόρτυναν ἀμα ταῖς λοιπαῖς κατὰ Κρήτην παροικίαις ἐπιστείλας, Φύλιππον ἐπίσκοπον αὐτῶν ἀποδέχεται ἀτε δὴ ἐπὶ πλείστοις μαρτυρομένης ἄνδραγαθίας τῆς ὑπ’ αὐτὸν ἐκ-378
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. Among them the letter to the Lacedaemonians is an instruction in orthodoxy on the subject of peace and unity, and the letter to the Athenians is a call to faith and to life according to the gospel, and for despising this he rebukes them as all but apostates from the truth since the martyrdom of Publius, their leader, in the persecution of that time. 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 αἵρετικῶν διαστροφῆς ὑπο-
μιμάσασθαι. καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ δὲ τῇ παροικίᾳ Ἄμαστρον ἀμα ταῖς κατὰ Πόντου
ἐπιστείλας, Βακχυλίδου μὲν καὶ Ἐλπίστου ὡς ἂν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ γράψαι προτρεπώντων μέμνηται,
γραφῶν τε θείων ἐξηγήσεις παρατεθεῖται, ἐπι-
σκοπον αὐτῶν ὁνόματι Πάλμαν ὑποσημαίνων·
pολλὰ δὲ περὶ γάμου καὶ ἀγνείας τοῖς αὐτῶις
παρανεί, καὶ τοὺς ἐξ οἷας δ’ ὅνα ἀποπτώσεως,
εἰτε πλημμελείας εἰτε μὴν αἵρετικῆς πλάνης,
ἐπιστρέφοντας δεξιοῦσθαι προστάτει. ταύταις
ἀλλῆ ἐγκατείλεκται πρὸς Κυνσίους ἐπιστολή, ἐν
ἡ Πινυτὸν τῆς παροικίας ἐπίσκοπον παρακαλεῖ
μὴ βαρὸν φορτίον ἐπάναγκες τὸ περὶ ἀγνείας τοῖς
ἀδελφοῖς ἐπιτεθέναι, τῆς δὲ τῶν πολλῶν κατα-
στοχάζεσθαι ἀσθενείας· πρὸς ἢν ὁ Πινυτὸς ἀντι-
γράφων, θαυμάζει μὲν καὶ ἀποδέχεται τὸν Διονύσιον,
ἀντιπαρακαλεῖ δὲ στερροτέρας ἢ δὴ ποτὲ μεταδίδοναι
τροφῆς, τελειοτέρους γράμμασιν εἰς αὐθίς τὸν παρ’
αὐτῷ λαὸν ὑποθέμασα, ὡς μὴ διὰ τέλος τοῖς
γαλακτώδεσιν ἐνδιατρίβοντες λόγους τῇ νηπιώδει
ἀγωγῇ λάθους καταγγέλωντες· δι’ ἢς ἐπιστολῆς
καὶ ἡ τοῦ Πινυτοῦ περὶ τὴν πίστιν ὀρθοδοξία τε
καὶ φροντὶς τῆς τῶν ὑπηκόων ὑφελείας τὸ τε
λόγιον καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰ θεία σύνεσις ὡς δι’ ἀκρι-
βεστάτης ἀναδείκνυται εἰκόνος.

"Ἐτὶ τοῦ Διονύσιον καὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπι-
στολῇ φέρεται, ἐπισκόπῳ τῷ τότε Σωτῆρι προσ-
φωνοῦσα· ἔξ ἢς οὐδὲν οἶδαν τὸ καὶ παραθέειθαι
λέεις δι’ ὃν τὸ μέχρι τοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς διωγμὸν
φυλάχθην Ῥωμαίων ἔθος ἀποδεχόμενος ταῦτα
grάφει· "ἐξ αρχῆς γὰρ υμῖν ἔθος 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-
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πάντας μὲν ἀδελφοὺς ποικίλως εὐεργετεῖν ἐκκλησίαις τε πολλαῖς ταῖς κατὰ πάσαν πόλιν ἐφόδια πέμπειν, ὡδὲ μὲν τὴν τῶν δεομένων πενίαν ἀναψύχοντας, ἐν μετάλλοις δὲ ἀδελφοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἐπιχορηγοῦντας διὸ ὃν πέμπτε ἄρχηθεν ἐφοδίων πατροπαράδοτον ἔθος Ἦρωμαίων Ἦρωμαιοι φυλάττοντες, δὲ οὐ μόνον διατετήρηκεν δ ἐμακάριος ὑμῶν ἐπίσκοπος Σωτήρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ γιοῖς, ἐπιχορηγῶν μὲν τὴν διαπεμπομένην δαφύλειαν τὴν εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους, λόγους δὲ μακαρίως τοὺς ἀνίοντας ἀδελφοὺς, ὡς τέκνα πατήρ φιλόστοργος, παρακαλῶν.’’

Ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ ταυτῇ καὶ τῆς Κλήμεντος πρὸς Κορινθίους μέμνηται ἐπιστολής, δηλῶν ἀνέκαθεν ἐξ ἀρχαίων ἔθους ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν αὐτῆς ποιεῖται. λέγει γοῦν, ’’τὴν σήμερον οὖν κυριακῆν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάγομεν, ἐν γὰρ ἀνέγνωμεν ὑμῶν τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἢν ἔξομεν ἀεὶ ποτὲ ἀναγινώσκοντες νουθετεῖσθαι, ὡς καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἡμῖν διὰ Κλήμεντος γραφεῖσαν.’’

’Επὶ δὲ ο αὐτὸς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱδίων ἐπιστολῶν ὡς ῥαδιουργηθεὶσῶν ταύτα φησιν. ’’ἐπιστολὰς γὰρ ἀδελφῶν ἀξιωσάντων με γράφαμε ἐγραψάμεν, καὶ ταύτας οἱ τοῦ διαβόλου ἀπόστολοι ζυζανίων γεγέμικαν, ἢ μὲν ἔξαρποῦτε, ἢ δὲ προστιθέντες. οἰς τὸ οὐαὶ κεῖται, οὐ θαυμαστὸν ἄρα εἰ καὶ τῶν κυριακῶν ῥαδιουργηθησάν τινες ἐπιβεβληθήτων γραφῶν, οπότε καὶ ταῖς οὐ τοιαύταις ἐπιβεβουλεύκασαν.’’

Καὶ ἄλλη δὲ τῆς παρὰ ταύτας ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ Διονυσίου φέρεται Χρυσοφόρα πιστοτάτη ἀδελφή ¹

Matt. 13, 25
Rev. 22, 18, 19

¹ The mines were constantly used by the Romans as convict establishments, as work in them was regarded as unfit even for slaves.
ginnig, to do good in manifold ways to all Christians, and to send contributions to the many churches in every city, in some places relieving the poverty of the needy, and ministering to the Christians in the mines, by the contribution which you have sent from the beginning, preserving the ancestral custom of the Romans, true Romans as you are. Your blessed bishop Soter has not only carried on this habit but has even increased it, by administering the bounty distributed to the saints and by exhorting with his blessed words the brethren who come to Rome, as a loving father would his children.”

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.”

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,

\[\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\text{ It is to be noticed that Dionysius regards both the letter of Soter and the letter of Clement as coming from the church of Rome of which they are the first and second epistles. There is much to be said for A. von Harnack’s view that the letter which we call II. Clement is really the letter of Soter.}\]
Εὐσέβιος

ἐπιστείλαντος, ὑ τὰ κατάλληλα γράφων, τῆς προσηκούσης καὶ αὐτῇ μετεδίδου λογικῆς τροφῆς. καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ Διονυσίου τοσαῦτα.

XXIV. Τοῦ δὲ Θεοφίλου, ὥν τῆς Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπον δεδηλώκαμεν, τρία τὰ πρὸς Ἀυτόλυκουν στοιχείωθη φέρεται συγγράμματα, καὶ ἄλλο Πρὸς τὴν αἱρέσιν Ἐρμογένους τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον, ἐν ὧ ἐκ τῆς Ἀποκάλυψεως Ἰωάννου κέχρηται μαρτυρίας· καὶ ἔτερα δὲ τῶν κατηχητικὰς αὐτοῦ φέρεται βιβλία. τῶν γε μὴν αἱρετικῶν οὐ χεῖρον καὶ τότε ζηταίων δίκην λυμανομένων τὸν εἰλικρινὴ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς διδασκαλίας σπόρον, οἱ πανταχόσε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ποιμένες, ὡσπερ τινὰς θῆρας ἀγρίους τῶν Χριστοῦ προβάτων ἀποσοβοῦντες, αὐτοὺς ἀνείργον τοτε μὲν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς νουθεσίας καὶ παρανεήσευσι, τοτε δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς γυμνότερον ἀποδυόμενοι, ἀγράφοι τε εἰς πρόσωπον ζητήσει καὶ ἀνατροπαῖς, ἦδη δὲ καὶ δὲ ἐγγράφων ὑπομνημάτων τὰς δόξας αὐτῶν ἀκριβεστάτους ἔλεγχοις διευθύνουσι. ὁ γε τοι Θεόφιλος σὺν τοὺς ἄλλους κατὰ τοὺς στρατευσάμενος δήλος ἐστιν ἀπὸ τινὸς οὐκ ἀγεννῶς αὐτῷ κατὰ Μαρκίωνος πεποιημένον λόγον, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς μεθ' ὃν ἄλλων εἰρήκαμεν εἰς ἔτι νῦν διασέωσται. τούτων μὲν οὖν ἔβδομος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τῆς Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησίας διαδεχεται Μαξιμίνος.

XXV. Φιλιππός γε μὴν, ὅν ἐκ τῶν Διονυσίου φωνῶν τῆς ἐν Γορτύνῃ παροικίας ἐπίσκοπον ἐγνωμεν, πάντως ὑπερηφανίστατον πεποιηται καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ Μαρκίωνος λόγου, Εἱρηναῖος τε ὡσαυτός καὶ Μόδεστος, ὡς καὶ διαφερόντως παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους

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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).
EUSEBIUS

tην τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰς ἐκδηλοῦν τοὺς πᾶσιν κατεφώρασε πλάνην, καὶ ἄλλου δὲ πλείον, ὅν παρὰ πλείστοις τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἰς ἐτὶ νῦν οἱ πόνοι διαφυλάττονται.

XXVI. Ἐπὶ τῶνδε καὶ Μελίτων τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσιν παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος Ἀπολυκάριος τε τῆς ἐν Ἱεραπόλει διασπερῶς ἤχμαζον, οἱ καὶ τῷ δηλωθέντι κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ῥωμαίων βασιλεί λόγους ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἰδίως ἐκάτερος ἀπολογίας προσεφωνήσαν. τούτων εἰς ἡμετέραν γνώσιν ἀφίκται τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα. Μελίτωνος, τὰ Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα δῦο καὶ τὸ Περὶ πολυτείας καὶ προφητῶν καὶ ὁ Περὶ ἐκκλησίας καὶ ὁ Περὶ κυριακῆς λόγος, ἐτὶ δὲ ὁ Περὶ πίστεως ἀνθρώπον καὶ ὁ Περὶ πλάσεως, καὶ ὁ Περὶ ὑπακοῆς πίστεως [καὶ Περὶ] αἰσθητηρίων καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὁ Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος [ηνεώς] καὶ ὁ Περὶ λουτροῦ καὶ Περὶ ἀληθείας καὶ Περὶ πίστεως καὶ γενέσεως Χριστοῦ καὶ λόγος 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 πᾶσι καὶ τὸ Πρὸς Ἀντωνίνου βιβλιδίων.

Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα τὸν χρόνον καθ’ ὃν συνεταττεν, ἀρχόμενος σημαίνει ἐν τούτοις: “ἐπὶ Σερουιλίου Παύλου ἀνθυπάτου τῆς Ἀσίας, ὁ 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\(^1\) 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*\(^2\); besides these, *On the Soul and Body*,\(^3\) and *On Baptism and Truth* and *Faith and Christ's Birth*,\(^4\) and a treatise of his prophecy\(^5\) 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*.\(^6\)

At the beginning of the book *On the Passover* he indicates the time at which he was composing it as follows: "In the time of Servilius Paulus,\(^7\) 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."

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4 These appear to be the chapters of a single book.
5 Such must be the meaning of the Greek, but a *πετ* 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 πᾶσχα, ἐμπεσόντος κατὰ καιρὸν ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις, καὶ ἔγραφη ταῦτα.” τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου μέμνηται Κλήμης 4 ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρεὺς ἐν ἰδίῳ Περὶ τοῦ πᾶσχα λόγῳ, ὅν ὦς ἐξ αὐτῶς τῆς τοῦ Μελίτωνος γραφῆς φησὶν ἕαυτόν συντάξαι. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα δι’ ἐπιβλήσ τοιαύτα τινα καθ’ ἡμῶν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ γεγονέναι ἵστορεῖ: “τὸ γὰρ οὐδεπώποτε γενόμενον, νῦν διώκεται τὸ τῶν θεοσεβῶν γένος καινοῖς ἐλαν- νόμενων δόγμασι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν. οἱ γὰρ ἀναι- δεῖς συκοφάνται καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἔραστα ἐκ τῶν διαταγμάτων ἔχοντες ἀφορμήν, φανερῶς λήστευοντι, νῦκτωρ καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν διαρπάζοντες τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας.” καὶ μεθ’ ἐτερὰ φήσιν: “καὶ εἰ μὲν σοῦ κελεύσαντος τοῦτο πράττεται, ἔστω καλῶς γινόμενον” δίκαιοι γὰρ βασιλεῖς οὐκ ἄν ἀδίκως βουλεύσατο πώποτε, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἡδέως φέρομεν τοῦ τοιοῦτον θανάτου τὸ γέρας· ταῦτην δὲ σοι μόνην προσφέρομεν δέησιν ἵνα αὐτὸς πρότερον ἐπιγνοῦσι τοὺς τῆς τοιαύτης φιλονεικίας ἐργάτας, δικαίως κρίνειας εἰ ἄξιοι θανάτου καὶ τιμωρίας ἡ σωτηρίας καὶ ἰσωχίας εἰσὶν. εἰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ σοῦ μὴ εἴη ἡ βουλὴ αὕτη καὶ τὸ κανὸν τοῦτο διάταγμα, δι’ ἡμῶν κατὰ βαρβάρων πρέπει πολεμίου, πολὺ μᾶλλον δεόμεθα σοι μὴ περιοδέων ἡμᾶς ἐν τοιαύτῃ δημοδεί λεγασία.” τούτως ἀδίστη ἐπὶ- τείνει λέγων: “ἡ γὰρ καθ’ ἡμᾶς φιλοσοφία πρό- τερον μὲν ἐν βαρβάροις ἠκμασεν, ἐπανθησάσα δὲ τοῖς σοῖς ἐθνέσιν κατὰ τὴν Λυγούστου τοῦ σοῦ προγόνου μεγάλην ἀρχήν, ἐγενήθη μάλιστα τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦν ἀγαθὸν. ἐκτοτε γὰρ εἰς μέγα καὶ λαμπρόν τὸ Ῥωμαίων ἡμέρηθη κράτος· οὗ συ
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 deere (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 γέγονας τε καὶ ἔση μετὰ τοῦ παιδός, φιλάσωσιν τῆς βασιλείας τὴν σύντροφον καὶ συναρξαμένην Αὐγούστω φιλοσοφίαν, ἢν καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι σου πρὸς ταῖς ἄλλαις θρησκείαις ἐτίμησαν, καὶ τοῦτο μέγιστον τεκμήριον τοῦ πρὸς ἁγαθοῦ τὸν καθ’ ἡμᾶς λόγον συνακμᾶσαι τῇ ἐκ καλῶς ἀρξαμένη βασιλεία, ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν φαύλον ἀπὸ τῆς Αὐγούστου ἀρχῆς ἀπαντῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον ἀπαντᾶ λαμπρὰ καὶ ἐνδοξά κατὰ τὰς πάντως εὐχὰς. μονοὶ πάντων, ἀναπευθεῖτε ὑπὸ τῆς τυνω βασικάνων ἀνθρώπων, τὸν καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἐν διαβολῇ καταστῆσαι λόγον ἠθέλησαν Νέρων καὶ Δομετιανός, ἀφ’ ἄν καὶ τὸ τῆς συκοφαντίας ἄλογῳ συνήθεια περὶ τοὺς τοιούτους ρύμηι συμβέβηκεν ψεῦδος. ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκεῖνων ἁγνοιαν οὐ σοι εὐσεβεῖς πατέρες ἐπημωρθῶσαντο, πολλάκις πολλοῖς ἐπι-πλήξαντες ἐγγράφως ὅσοι περὶ τούτων νεωτερίσαι ἐτόλμησαν· ἐν οἴς ὁ μὲν πάππος σου Ἅδριανὸς πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις, καὶ Φουνδανώ δὲ τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ, ἡγομένῳ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας, γράφων φαίνεται, ὁ δὲ πατήρ σου, καὶ σοῦ τὰ σύμπαντα διωκοῦντος αὐτῷ, ταῖς πόλεσι περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν περὶ ἡμῶν ἐγραφεῖν, ἐν οῖς καὶ πρὸς Λαρισαίους καὶ πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς καὶ Ἀθη-ναῖους καὶ πρὸς πάντας Ἐλληνας. σὲ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον περὶ τούτων τῆν αὐτὴν ἐκεῖνος ἐχοντα γνώμην καὶ πολὺ γε φιλανθρωπότεραν καὶ φιλο-σοφωτέραν, πεπείσμεθα πάντα πράσσειν ὁσα σου δεύμεθα.”

"Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ δηλωθέντι τέθεται ὁ λόγος· ἐν δὲ ταῖς γραφείσαις αὐτῷ Ἐκλογαῖς ὁ
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 *συνδιοικοίνων*, which must be right for Melito, even if not for Eusebius.
αὐτὸς κατὰ τὸ προοίμιον ἀρχόμενος τῶν ὀμολογομένων τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης γραφῶν ποιεῖται κατάλογον· ὁν καὶ ἀναγκαίον ἐνταῦθα καταλέξαι, γράφει δὲ οὕτως· "Μελίτων Ὀνησίμῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ πολλάκις ἥξιωσας, σπουδῆς τῇ πρὸς τὸν λόγον χρώμενος, γενέσθαι σοι ἐκλογάς ἐκ τε 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 ὅπως τὴν τάξιν εἶν, ἐσπούδασα τὸ τοιοῦτο πράξαι, ἐπιστάμενός σου τὸ σπουδαῖον περὶ τὴν πίστιν καὶ φιλομαθές περὶ τὸν λόγον ὅτι τε μάλιστα πάντων πόθῳ τῷ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ταῦτα προκρίνεις, περὶ τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας ἀγωνιζόμενος. ἀνελθὼν οὖν εἰς τὴν ἀνατολήν καὶ ἔως τοῦ τόπου γενόμενος ἐνθὰ ἐκηρύχθη καὶ ἐπράξθη, καὶ ἀκριβῶς μαθὼν τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία, ὑποτάξας ἐπεμψά σοι· ὅν ἔστι τὰ ὅνόματα. Μωσείως πέντε, Γένεσις Ἐξοδος Ἀριμοὶ Λευτικὸν Δευτερονόμιον, Ἰρησόῦς Ναυὴ, Κριταῖ, Ῥοῦθ, Βασίλειῶν τέσσαρα, Παραλειπομένων δύο, Ψαλμῶν Δανίδ, Σολομῶν Παροιμίαι ἣ καὶ Σοφία, Ἐκκλησιαστῆς, Ἀιωνίῳ Ἀιωνίων, Ἰωβ, Προφητῶν Ἡσαίου, Ἰερεμίου τῶν δώδεκα ἐν μονοβίβλῳ Δανίδ, Ἰεζεκιήλ, Ἑσδρας· ἔξ ὅν καὶ τὰς ἐκλογάς ἐπουράνιόν την, εἷς ἐξ βιβλία διελών." καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ Μελίτωνος τοσαῦτα. ΧΧΧΒ. Τοῦ δ' Ἀπολυκαρίου πολλῶν παρὰ πολλοῖς σωζόμενων τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα ἐστὶν τάδε· λόγος ο πρὸς τὸν προειρημένον βασιλέα καὶ Πρὸς Ἐλλήνας συγγράμματα πέντε καὶ Περὶ ἀληθείας 392
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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.
αρχήν, ἐκείνης τῆς τῶν Φρυγῶν αἰρέσεως, μετ' οὗ πολύν καινοτομηθείσης χρόνον, τότε γε μὴν ὁπλάς ἀρχομένης, ἔτη τοῦ Μουσανοῦ ἀμα ταῖς αὐτοῦ ψευδοπροφητίσιον ἄρχας τῆς παρεκτροπῆς ποιομένου.

XXVIII. Καὶ Μουσανοῦ δὲ, ὅν ἐν τοῖς φθάσασιν 1 κατελέξαμεν, φέρεται τίς ἐπιστρεπτικῶτατος λόγος, πρὸς τινας αὐτῷ γραφεῖς ἀδελφοὺς ἀποκλίνοντας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν λεγομένων Ἐγκρατίτων αἴρεσιν, ἀρτί τότε φύειν ἀρχομένην ἐξήνυν τε καὶ φθορμαίαν ψευδοδοξίαν εἰςάγονσιν τῷ βίῳ. XXIX. ἦς παρεκτροπῆς ἄρχηγὸν καταστήναυς Τατιανὸν λόγος ἔχει, οὗ μικρῷ πρόσθεν τὰς πέρι τοῦ θαυμασίου Ἰουστίνου παραπληθείμεθα λέξεις, μαθητὴν αὐτὸν ἱστοροῦντες τοῦ μάρτυρος. δῆλοι δὲ τούτῳ Εἰρηναίῳ ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ τῶν Πρὸς τὰς αἰρέσεις, ὅμως τὰ τε περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτοῦ αἰρέσεως οὕτω γράφων· ἀπὸ Σατορνίνου καὶ Μαρκίωνος οἱ καλοῦμενοι 2 Ἐγκρατεῖς ἀγαμίαν ἐκήρυξαν, ἄθετοντες τὴν ἀρχαίαν πλάσιν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡρέμα κατηγοροῦντες τοῦ ἀρρεν καὶ θηλῆ εἰς γένεσιν ἀνθρώπων πεποιηκότος, καὶ τῶν λεγομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐμψύχων ἀποχὴν εἰσηγήσαντο, ἀχαίρετοντες τῶν πάντων πεποιηκότι θεῶ, ἀντιλέγοις τῇ τῆς πρωτοπλάστου σωτηρία. καὶ τούτῳ νῦν ἐξευρέθη παρ' αὐτοῖς Τατιανοῦ τών πρῶτωσ ταύτην εἰσενέγκαντος τὴν βλασφημίαν· ὡς Ἰουστίνου ἀκροασθῆσαι γεγονός, ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν συνῆνε ἐκείνῳ, οὐδὲν ἐξεφημεν τοιούτοι, μετὰ δὲ τῆν ἐκείνου μαρτυρίαν

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1 See book v. 14-19 (pp. 470-94)
2 Their name was derived from the Greek ἐγκράτεια,
Jews, and after this the treatises which he wrote against the heresy of the Phrygians, which had begun its innovations not long before and was then, as it were, beginning to sprout, while Montanus with his false prophetesses\(^1\) was making the beginnings of the error.

XXVIII. And of Musanus, whom we have mentioned in a previous passage, there is extant a certain very eloquent discourse which he wrote to some Christians who had fallen away to the heresy of the so-called Encretites,\(^2\) 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 Encretites 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 Manichaean.
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣ

ἀποστάς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οἵματι διδασκάλου ἐπι-
αρθείς καὶ τυφώθεις ὡς διαφέρων τῶν λοιπῶν, ἴδιον
χαρακτῆρα διδασκαλείου συνεστήσατο, αἰῶνας
των ἀοράτους ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου
μυθολογήσας γάμων τε φθορὰν καὶ πορνείαν
παραπλησίως Μαρκίωνι καὶ Σατορίνῳ ἀναγορεύ-
σας, τῇ δὲ τοῦ Ἄδαμ σωτηρία παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ τὴν
ἀντλογίαν ποιησάμενος.” ταῦτα μὲν ο Ἐἱρηναῖος
tότε: σιμκρώ δὲ ὑστερον Σευρός τις τούνομα
κρατύνας τὴν προδεδηλωμένην αἰρέσων, αὐτίος τοῖς
ἐξ αὐτῆς ὁρμημένοις τῆς ἂπ’ αὐτοῦ παρηγμένης
Σευριανῶν προσηγορίας γέγονεν. χρώνται μὲν
οὗν οὕτω νόμῳ καὶ προφήταις καὶ ἐυαγγελίοις,
ἰδίως ἐρμηνεύσαντες τῶν ιερῶν τὰ νοὴματα γραφῶν·
βλασφημοῦντες δὲ Παύλου τὸν ἁπόστολον, ἀθε-
tούσιν αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπιστολάς, μηδὲ τὰς Πράξεις
tῶν ἁπόστολων καταδεχόμενοι. ὁ μέντοι γε πρό-
tερος αὐτῶν ἄρχηγὸς ὁ Τατιανὸς συνάφειαν των
καὶ συναγωγήν οὐκ οἶδ’ ὁπως τῶν ἐυαγγελίων
συνθέεις, Τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων τοῦτο προσωνόμασεν,
ὁ καὶ παρὰ τισιν εἰς ἐτὶ νῦν φέρεται τοῦ δ’ ἁποστό-
λου φασὶ τολμήσας τινώ τινών μεταφράσαι φωνᾶς,
ὡς ἐπιδιορθούμενον αὐτῶν τὴν τῆς φράσεως
σύνταξιν. καταλέλουτεν δὲ οὕτω πολὺ τι πλῆθος
συγγραμμάτων, ὃν μάλιστα παρὰ πολλοὶς μνημο-
νεύεται διαβόητος αὐτοῦ λόγος ὁ Πρὸς Ἐλλήνας,
ἐν ὧ καὶ τῶν ἀνέκαθεν χρόνων μνημονεύσας, τῶν
παρ’ Ἐλλησιν εὐδοκίμων ἀπάντων προγενέστερον
Μωυσέα τε καὶ τοὺς Ἐβραίων προφήτας ἀπέ-
φηνεν. ὅσ δὴ καὶ δοκεῖ τῶν συγγραμμάτων ἀπάντων
αὐτοῦ κάλλιστος τε καὶ ὁφελιμωτάτος ὑπάρχειν.
καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τούσδε τοιαῦτα ἢν.
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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, IV. xxix. 3–7

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, πληθυνοῦσαν τῶν αἱρέσεων ἐπὶ τῆς Μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν, Βαρδησάνης, ἰκανώτατός τις ἀνήρ ἐν τῇ Σύρων φωνῇ διαλεκτικῶτατος, πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ Μαρκίανα καὶ τινὰς ἐτέρους διαφόρων προϊσταμένους δογμάτων διαλόγους συστησάμενος τῇ οἰκείᾳ παρέδωκεν γλώσσῃ τε καὶ γραφῇ μετὰ καὶ πλείστων ἐτέρων αὐτοῦ συγγραμμάτων. οὖσα οἱ γνώριμοι (πλεῖστοι δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῷ δυνατῶς τῷ λόγῳ παρισταμένω) ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλήνων ἀπὸ τῆς Σύρων μεταβεβλήκασι φωνῆς. ἐν οἷς ἦστιν καὶ ὁ πρὸς Ἀντωνίου ἰκανώτατος αὐτοῦ Περὶ εἰμαρμένης διάλογος ὡσα τε ἄλλα φασὶν αὐτῶν προφάσει τοῦ τότε διωγμοῦ συγγράφαι. ὃν δ’ οὖσος πρῶτον τῆς κατὰ Οὐαλεντίνου σχολῆς, καταγωγὸς δὲ ταύτης πλείστα τε τῆς κατὰ τούτον μυθοποιίας ἀπελέγξας, ἔδοκεν μὲν πῶς αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν ὀρθότεραν γνώμην μετατεθείσθαι, οὐ μὴν καὶ παντελῶς ὑπὸ ἀπερρύψατο τὸν τῆς παλαιᾶς αἱρέσεως ῥύπον.

Ἐν τούτῳ γε μὴν καὶ ὁ τῆς Ῥωμαιῶν ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος Σωτήρ τελευτᾷ.
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, IV. xxx. 1–3

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 ὁσοὶ καὶ ὁπως κατὰ Οὐήρον ἐπὶ τῆς Γαλλίας τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας διεξῆλθον ἀγώνα.

Β ὡς οἱ θεοφιλεῖς μάρτυρες τοὺς ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ διαπεπτωκότας ἐθεράπευον δεξιοῦμενοι.

Γ ὁποία τῷ μάρτυρι Ἀττάλῳ δι' ὀνείρον γέγονεν ἐπιφάνεια.

Δ ὡς οἱ μάρτυρες τὸν Ἐιρηναῖον δι' ἐπιστολῆς παρετίθεντο.

Ε Ὁσίως Μάρκῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Καίσαρι ταῖς τῶν ἡμετέρων εὐχαῖς οὐρανόθεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπακούσας ὑσεν.

Σ Τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥώμης ἐπισκοπευσάντων κατάλογος.

Ζ ὡς καὶ μέχρι τῶν τότε καρφῶν διὰ τῶν πιστῶν δυνάμεις ἐνηργοῦντο παράδοξοι.

Η ὡς ὁ Ἐιρηναῖος τῶν θείων μνημονεύει γραφῶν.

Θ Οἱ κατὰ Κόμοδον ἐπισκοπεύσαντες.

Ι Περὶ Πανταῖνου τοῦ φιλοσόφου.

ΙΑ Περὶ Κλήμεντος τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως.

ΙΒ Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰεροσολύμοις ἐπισκόπων.

ΙΓ Περὶ Ῥόδωνος καὶ ἦς ἐμνημόνευσεν κατὰ Μαρκίωνα διαφωνίας.
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.

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Πέρι τῶν κατὰ Φρύγας ψευδοπροφητῶν.
ΠΕ Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Βλάστον ἐπὶ 'Ρώμης γενο-
μένου σχίσματος.
ΠΣ 'Οσα περὶ Μοντανοῦ καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ
ψευδοπροφητῶν μνημονεύεται.
ΠΣ Περὶ Μιλτιάδου καὶ δὴν συνέταξε λόγων.
ΠΗ 'Οσα καὶ 'Απολλώνιος τοὺς κατὰ Φρύγας
ἀπῆλεγξεν καὶ τίνων ἐμνημόνευσεν.
ΠΘ Σεραπίωνος περὶ τῆς τῶν Φρυγῶν αἱρέσεως.
Κ 'Οσα Εἰρηναίοις τοῖς ἐπὶ 'Ρώμης σχισματικοῖς
ἐγγράφως διείλεκται.
ΚΑ 'Οπως ἐπὶ 'Ρώμης 'Απολλώνιος ἐμαρτύρησεν.
ΚΒ Τίνες κατὰ τούτους ἐπίσκοποι ἐγνωρίζοντο.
ΚΓ Περὶ τοῦ τότε κυνηθέντος ἀμφὶ τοῦ πάσχα
ζητήματος.
ΚΔ Περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν διαφωνίας.
ΚΕ 'Οπως τοῖς πᾶσι μία ζῆφος περὶ τοῦ πάσχα
συνεφωνήθη.
ΚΣ 'Οσα τῆς Εἰρηναίου φιλοκαλίας καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς
κατῆλθεν.
ΚΖ 'Οσα καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν τηνικάδε συν-
ημμακότων.
ΚΗ Περὶ τῶν τῆς 'Αρτέμιωνος αἱρεσιῶν εἰς ἀρχὴς
προβεβλημένων οἱ τε τοῦ τρόπου γεγονόσιν
καὶ ὅπως τὰς ἀγίας γραφὰς διαφθείραι
tετολμήκασιν.
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 "Catafraygae."
Ε

'Ο μὲν οὖν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος Σωτήρ ἐπὶ οὖν ἔστως ἦγησάμενος τελευτᾶ τὸν βίον τοῦτον διωδέκατος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων Ἐλευθέρος διαδέχεται, ἔτος δ' ἦν ἐπτακαὶδέκατον αὐτοκράτορος Ἀντωνίνου Οὐήρου ἐν δ' κατὰ τινα μέρη τῆς γῆς σφοδρότερον ἀναρριπησθέντος τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν διωγμοῦ, εὐθέσεως τῶν κατὰ πόλεις ἡμών μυριάδας μαρτύρων διαπρέσατο στοχασμῷ λαβεῖν ἐνεστὶν ἀπὸ τῶν καθ' ἐν θέους συμβεβηκότων, ὁ καὶ γραφὴ τοῖς μετέπειτα παραδοθήμει, ἀλήστου μνήμης ὡς ἄληθῶς ἐπάξια ὑπότα, συμβεβήκεν. τῆς μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων ἐντελεστάτης ὕφηγήσεως τὸ πᾶν σύγγραμμα τῆς τῶν μαρτυρῶν ἡμῶν κατατέκταται συναγωγῇ, οὐχ ἱστορικῆς αὐτοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδασκαλικῆν περιέχον διάγνωσιν· ὅπωσα γέ τοι τῆς παρουσίας ἐχοιτο πραγματείας, ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀναλεξάμενος παραθήσομαι. ἀλλοι μὲν οὖν ἱστορικὰς ποιούμενοι διηγήσεις, πάντως ἂν παρέδοκαν τῇ γραφῇ πολέμων νίκας καὶ τρόπαια κατ' ἐχθρῶν στρατηγῶν τε ἀριστείας καὶ ὀπλιτῶν ἀνδραγαθίας, αἰματι καὶ μυρίοις φόνοις παῖδων καὶ πατρίδος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐνεκεν περιουσίας μανθέντων· ὁ δὲ γε τοῦ κατὰ θεόν 404
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 Pius.\(^1\) 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.
EUSEBIUS

πολυτέματος διηγηματικὸς ἡμῖν λόγος τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς κατὰ ψυχήν εἰρηνικοτάτους πολέμους καὶ τοὺς ἐν τούτοις ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας μᾶλλον ἡ πατρίδος καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἡ τῶν φιλτάτων ἀνδρισαμένους αἰώνιας ἀναγράφεται στήλαις, τῶν εὐσεβείας ἀθλητῶν τὰς ἐνστάσεις καὶ τὰς πολυτήτους ἀνδρείας τρόπαια τε τὰ κατὰ δαιμόνων καὶ νῖκας τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀοράτων ἀντιπάλων καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις στεφάνους εἰς αἰώνιον μνήμην ἀνακηρύττων.

I. Γαλλία μὲν οὖν ἡ χώρα ἢν, καθ’ ἢν τὸ τῶν ἰησούν ἀνθρωπομένων συνεκροτεῖτο στάδιον, ἦς μητροπόλεις ἐπίσημοι καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας τῶν αὐτοῦ διαφέρουσα βεβοήνται Λούγδουνος καὶ Βίεννα, δι’ ἐν ἀμφοτέρων τὴν ἀπασαν χώραν πολλῶ τῷ βεματὶ περιπρέων δ’ Ῥόδανος ποταμὸς διέξειν. τὴν ἡ οὖν περὶ τῶν μαρτύρων γραφὴν αἰ τῇ διαφανεύσαται ἐκκλησίαι ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν διαπέμπονται, τὰ παρ’ αὐταῖς πραγμάτων τούτων ἀναφοροῦσα τούτων, παραθέσομαι α’ δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν φωνὰς: ‘ο’ ἐν Βιέννῃ καὶ Λούγδουνῳ τῆς Γαλλίας παρουκοῦντες δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν τὴν αὐτῆς τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως ἡμῖν πίστιν καὶ ἐλπίδα ἔχουσιν ἀδελφοῖς’ εἰρήνη καὶ χάρις ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.’

Εἴτε τούτοις ἔξεις ἐτερα προομισσάμενοι, τὴν τοῦ λόγου καταρχῆν ποιοῦνται ἐν τούτοις: ‘τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγεθος τῆς ἐνθάδε θλίψεως καὶ τὴν τοσαύτην τῶν ἑυνῶν εἰς τοὺς ἅγιος ὀργήν καὶ ὅσα ὕπεμειναν οἱ μακάριοι μάρτυρες, ἐπὶ ἀκριβὲς οὐθ’ ἡμεῖς εἴπειν ἵκανοι οὔτε μὴν γραφῇ 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 σθένει ἐνέσκηψεν ὁ ἀντικεῖ-5
μενος, προομιαζόμενος ἦδη τὴν ἀδεῶς μέλλουσαν
ἔσεθαι παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ διὰ πάντων διήλθεν,
ἐθίζων τοὺς εὐαυτοῦ καὶ προγυμνάζων κατὰ τῶν
dούλων τοῦ θεοῦ, ὥστε μὴ μόνον οὐκιών καὶ
βαλανείων καὶ ἄγορὰς εἴργησθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ
καθόλου φαίνεσθαι ἦμων τινα αὐτὸς ἀπειρήσθαι
ἐν ὑπὸ ὅποιοι δῆστε τόπων. ἀντεστράτηγεν δὲ ἡ ὁ
χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενεῖς ἐρρύετο,
ἀντιπαρέτασσε δὲ στύλους ἔδραιος δυναμένος
dια τῆς ὕπομονῆς πᾶσαν τὴν ὀρμήν τοῦ πονηροῖ
εἰς εὐαυτοὺς ἐλκύσας· οἱ καὶ ὅμοσε ἔξωρον, πᾶν
eἰδὸς ὀνείδισμοι καὶ κολάσεως ἄνεχόμενοι· οἳ καὶ
τὰ πολλὰ ὠλίγα ἠγούμενοι ἐσπευδὸν πρὸς Χριστὸν,
ὀντως ἐπιδεικνύμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα
tοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀπο-
καλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς.

‘Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου πανδημεῖ7
σωρηδὸν ἐπιφερόμενα γενναίως ὑπέμενον, ἐπι-
βοήσεις καὶ πληγὰς καὶ σμύμοις καὶ διαρταγάς
καὶ λίθων βολάς καὶ συγκλείσεις καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα
ἡγοιμένου πλήθει ὡς πρὸς ἐξθροῦς καὶ πολεμίους
φιλεὶ γίνεσθαι, καὶ δὴ ἀναχθέντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν8
ὑπὸ τοῦ χαλιάρχου καὶ τῶν προστηκτότων τῆς
πόλεως ἐξουσίων ἐπὶ παντὸς τοῦ πλῆθους ἀνακρι-
θέντες καὶ ὀμολογήσαντες, συνεκλείσθησαν εἰς τὴν
eἰρκτήν ἐως τῆς τοῦ ἡγεμόνος παρουσίας· μετ-9
ἐπείτα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνα ἀρπάντων αὐτῶν κάκεινον
πάση τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμοτήτη χρωμένου, Ὀυέττιος
Ἐπάγαθος, εἰς ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, πλήρωμα ἀγάπης
tῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸν πληθύον κεχωρικός,
οὐ καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἥκριβωτο ἡ πολιτεία, ὥς
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his might the adversary attacked us, foreshadowing his coming which is shortly to be, and tried everything, practising his adherents and training them against the servants of God, so that we were not merely excluded from houses and baths and markets, but we were even forbidden to be seen at all in any place whatever. But against them the grace of God did captain us; 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
καίπερ ὄντα νέον συνεξισοῦσθαι τῇ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ζαχαρίου μαρτυρίᾳ: πεπόρευτο γοῦν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐντολαῖς καὶ δικαιώμασι τοῦ κυρίου ἄμεμπτος καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πρὸς τὸν πλησίον λειτουργίᾳ ἄοκνος, ἔγαθον θεοῦ πολὺν ἦχων καὶ χρίσων τῷ πνεύματι τοιούτου δὴ τις ᾐν, τῇ οὕτως καθ’ ἡμῶν ἀλόγως γινομένην κρίσιν οὐκ ἐβάστασεν, ἀλλὰ ὑπερηγανάκτησεν καὶ ἥξιον καὶ αὐτὸς ἄκουσθήναι ἀπολογούμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄδελφῶν ὅτι μηδὲν ἄθεου μηδὲ ἄσεβες ἐστον ἐν ἡμῖν. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸ βήμα καταβοθείαντων αὐτοῦ, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἐπίσημος, καὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος μὴ ἀνασχομένου τῆς οὕτως ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ δικαίως προτάθεισις ἀξιώσεως, ἀλλὰ μόνον τούτῳ πυθομένου εἰ καὶ αὐτός εἴῃ Χριστιανός, τοῦ δὲ λαμπροτάτη φωνῆ ὀμολογήσατο, ἀνελήφθη καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸν κλήρον τῶν μαρτύρων, παράκλητος Χριστιανῶν χρηματίσας, ἔχων δὲ τὸν παράκλητον ἐν ἑαυτῷ, τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Ζαχαρίου, ὁ δὲ τὸν πληρώματος τῆς ἁγάπης ἐνεδείξατο, εὐδοκήσας ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄδελφῶν ἀπολογίας καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ θείων ψυχῆς· ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἐστὶν γινόμενος Χριστοῦ μαθητής, ἀκολουθῶν τῷ ἀρνίῳ ὅπου ἄν υπάγῃ.

"Εντεθεὶ δὲ διεκρίνοντο οἱ λοιποί, καὶ φανερὸι καὶ ἑτοιμοί εὑρίσκοντο πρωτομάρτυρες, οἱ καὶ μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας ἀνεπλήρουν τῇ ὀμολογίᾳ τῆς μαρτυρίας, ἐφαίνοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀνέτομοι καὶ ἀγώναστοι καὶ ἔτι ἱσθενεῖς, ἀγῶνως μεγάλου
had gone so far that in spite of his youth his reputation was equal to that of the elder Zacharias.\(^1\) 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,\(^2\) 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\(^3\) 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

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\(^1\) Zacharias the father of John the Baptist, as is shown by the allusion to Luke \(1 \, 6\) 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· ὡς καὶ ἔξετρωσαν ὡς δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν· οἱ καὶ μεγάλην λύπην καὶ πένθος ἀμέτρητον ἐνεποίησαν ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν μὴ συνειλημμένων ἐνέκοψαν· οἱ καίστες πάντα τὰ δεινὰ πάσχοντες, ὡμος συμπαρήσαν τοὺς μάρτυς καὶ ὡς ἀπελεύσαντο αὐτῶν, τότε δὲ οἱ πάντες μεγάλως ἔπτωκθηκεν διὰ τὸ ἄδηλον τῆς ὁμολογίας, οὐ τὰς ἐπιφερομένας κολάσεις φοβούμενοι, ἀλλὰ τὸ τέλος ἀφορώντες καὶ τὸ ἀποπεσεῖν τινα δεδιότες. συνελαμβάνοντο ύμεντοι καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν οἱ ἄξιοι τὸν ἐκείνων ἀναπληροῦντες ἀριθμόν, ὡστε συλλεγόναι ἐκ τῶν δύο ἐκκλησίων πάντας τοὺς σπουδαίους καὶ δι' ὃν μάλιστα συνεστήκει τὰ ἐνθάδε· συνελαμβάνοντο δὲ καὶ ἑθικοὶ τίνες οἰκέται τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἐπεὶ δημοσία ἐκέλευσεν ὁ ἱγμεὼν ἀναζητεῖσθαι πάντας ἡμᾶς· οἱ καὶ κατ' ἐνέδραν τοῦ ζατανᾶ, φοβηθέντες τὰς βασάνους ἃς τοὺς ἁγίους ἐβλεπον πάσχοντας, τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτο παρομοίωσαν αὐτοὺς, κατεφεύγαντο ἡμῶν Θυεστειά δείπνα καὶ Οἰδιποδείους μίξεις καὶ ὁσα μήτε λαλεῖν μήτε νοεῖν θέματα ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ πιστεῦειν εἰ τι τοιοῦτο πώποτε παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἐγένετο. τούτων δὲ φημισθέντων, τοῖς πάντες ἀπεθηριώθησαν εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὡστε καὶ εἰ τίνας τὸ πρότερον δι' οἰκείωτην ἐμπροσθεν, τότε μεγάλως ἐχαλέσαν καὶ διεπρόσκοπος ἐφ' ἡμῖν· ἐπληροῦτο δὲ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν εἰρήμενον ὅτι ἐλεύσεται καιρὸς ἐν ὃ πᾶς ὁ ἀποκτείνας ἡμᾶς δοξεὶ λατρείαν προσφέρειν τῷ θεῷ. ἐνταῦθα λοιπὸν ἡ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἐξηγήσεως ὑπέμενον κολάσεις οἱ ἄγιοι μάρτυρες, φιλοτιμομένου τοῦ ζατανᾶ 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.
ευσεβιος

δι’ ἐκείνων ἰηθηναι τι τῶν βλασφήμων ὑπερβεβλημένως δὲ ἐνέσκηψεν ἡ ὑγιὴ πάσα καὶ ὀχλοῦ καὶ ἡγεμόνος καὶ στρατιωτῶν εἰς Σάγκτον τὸν διάκονον ἀπὸ Βιέννης καὶ εἰς Μάτουρον, νεοφώτιστον μὲν, ἀλλὰ γενναίων ἀγωνιστὴν, καὶ εἰς Ἀτταλον Περγαμηνὸν τῷ γένει, στῦλον καὶ ἔδραϊμα τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἄει γεγονότα, καὶ εἰς Βλανδίναν, δι’ ὑς ἐπεδείξεν ὁ Χριστὸς ὅτι τὰ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις εὐτελῆ καὶ ἀειδῆ καὶ εὐκαταφρόνητα φαινόμενα μεγάλης καταξίωσαν παρὰ θεῶ δόξης διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἁγάπην τὴν ἐν δυνάμει δεικνυμένην καὶ μὴ ἐν εἴδει καυχώμενην. ἦμων γὰρ πάντων δεδιότων καὶ τῆς σαρκίνης δεσποτίνης αὐτῆς, ἢτις ἦν καὶ αὐτὴ τῶν μαρτύρων μία ἀγωνίστρια, ἀγωνιώσης μὴ οὐδὲ τὴν ὁμολογίαν δυνήσεται παραρθείσασθαι διὰ τὸ ἀσθενὲς τοῦ σώματος, ἡ Βλανδίνα τοσαύτης ἐπληρωθῆ δυνάμεως, ἢστε ἐκλυθηναι καὶ παρεθηναί τοὺς κατὰ διαδοχὰς παντὶ τρόπῳ βασανίζοντας αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ἐσθινής ἔως ἐσπέρας, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας ὅτι γενίκυναι μηδὲν ἔχοντες μηκὲν ὁ ποιήσωσιν αὐτῇ, καὶ θαυμάζων ἐπὶ τῷ παραμένον ἐμπνοον αὐτῇν, παντὸς τοῦ σώματος περετραγγότος καὶ ἄνεψωμένου, καὶ μαρτυρεῖν ὅτι ἐν εἴδος στρεβλώσεως ἰκανον ἦν πρὸς τὸ ἐξαγαγεῖν τὴν ψυχήν, οὐχ ὅτι γε τουαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα. ἀλλ’ ἢ μακαρία ἡ γενναίας ἀθλητῆς ἀνενέαζεν ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ, καὶ ἦν αὐτὴς ἀνάληψις καὶ ἀνάπαυσις καὶ ἀναληψία τῶν συμβαλλόντων τὸ λέγειν ὅτι ‘Χριστιανὴ εἰμὶ καὶ παρ’ ἦμιν οὔδὲν φαύλον γίνεται.’

"Ο δὲ Σάγκτος καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπερβεβλημένως καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντα ἀνθρώπων πάσας τὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων
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 Pergamene by race, who had always been a pillar and support of the Christians there, and against Blandina, through whom Christ showed that things which are mean and obscure and contemptible among men are vouchsafed great glory with God because of the love towards him shown in power and not boasted of in appearance. 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
αἰκίας γενναίως υπομένων, τῶν ἀνόμων ἐλπιζόντων διὰ τὴν ἐπιμονήν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν βασάνων ἀκούσασθαι τι παρ’ αὐτοῦ τῶν μὴ δεόντων, τοσαύτη υποστάσει ἀντιπαρετάξατο αὐτοῖς, ὥστε μήτε τὸ ἱδιον κατεύθειν ὄνομα μὴτε ἔθνους μὴτε πόλεως ὅθεν ἦν, μήτε εἰ δοῦλος ἡ ἔλευθεροι εἰη. ἀλλὰ πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἑπερωτώμενα ἀπεκρίνατο τῇ Ῥωμαίικῇ 
φωνῇ ‘Χριστιανός εἰμι’ τοῦτο καὶ ἀντὶ ὅνοματος καὶ ἀντὶ πόλεως καὶ ἀντὶ γένους καὶ ἀντὶ παντὸς ἐπαλλήλως ὁμολόγει, ἀλλὴν δὲ φωνὴν οὐκ ἥκουσαν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔθνη. ὅθεν δὴ καὶ φιλονεικία μεγάλη τοῦ 
te ἡγεμόνος καὶ τῶν βασανιστῶν ἐγένετο πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡστε ὅπως μηκέτι μηδὲν εἴχον δ τοιχίσων 
αὐτῷ, τὸ τελευταῖον χαλκᾶς λεπίδας διαπύρου 
προσεκόλλων τὸς τρυφερωτάτους μέλεσι τοῦ σώ-
ματος αὐτοῦ. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἑκαῖτο, αὐτός δὲ 
παρέμεμεν ἀνεπίκαμπτος καὶ ἀνένδοτος, στερρὸς πρὸς τὴν ὁμολογίαν, ύπο τῆς οὐρανίου πηγῆς τοῦ ὑδατος τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἐξώντος ἐκ τῆς νηδύου τοῦ 
Χριστοῦ δροσιζόμενος καὶ ἐνδυμαμοῦμενος. τὸ 
de σωμάτων μάρτυς ἦν τῶν συμβεβηκότων, ὅλον 
τράυμα καὶ μῶλωψ καὶ συνεστασμένον καὶ ἀπο-
βεβληκός τὴν ἀνθρώπειον ἔξωθεν μορφήν, εὖ ὅ 
pάσχοιν Χριστὸς μεγάλας ἐπετέλει δόξας, καταργῶν 
tὸν ἀντικείμενον καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν ὑπο-
tύπωσιν ὑποδεικνύων ὅτι μηδὲν φοβερὸν ὅπου 
pατρὸς ἀγάπη, μηδὲ ἀλγεινὸν ὅπου Χριστοῦ δόξα. 
tῶν γὰρ ἀνόμων μεθ’ ἡμέρας πάλιν στρεβλούντων 
tὸν μάρτυρα καὶ νομιζόντων ὅτι οἶδοντων καὶ 
φλεγμανόντων τῶν σωμάτων, εἰ τὰ αὐτὰ προσ-
eνέγκαιεν κολαστήρια, περιέσωσεν αὐτοῦ, ὅποτε 
oὐδὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν ἀφῆν ἥνειχετο, ἢ ὅτι
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
έναποθανών ταῖς βασάνους φόβον ἐμποιήσειεν τοῖς λοιποῖς, οὗ μόνον οὐδὲν περὶ αὐτῶν τοιούτο συνέβη, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πάσαν δόξαν ἀνθρώπων ἀνέκυψεν καὶ ἀνωρθώθη τὸ σωμάτιον ἐν ταῖς μετέπειτα βασάνοις, καὶ τὴν ἱδέαν ἀπέλαβεν τὴν προτέραν καὶ τὴν χρήσιν τῶν μελῶν, ὡστε μὴ κόλασιν, ἀλλ' ἰασιν διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν δευτέραν στρέβλωσιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι.

"Καὶ Βιβλίδα δε, μίαν τῶν ἡρωμένων, ἢδη δοκῶν ὁ διάβολος καταπετάκεναι, θελήσας δὲ καὶ διὰ βλασφημίας κατακρίναι, ἤγεν ἐπὶ κόλασιν, ἀναγκάζων εἰπεῖν τὰ ἄθεα περὶ ἡμῶν, ὡς εὐθαυσῶν ἢδη καὶ ἀνανδρόν· ἡ δὲ ἐν τῇ στρέβλῳσε ανένηψεν καὶ ὡς ἂν εἰπεῖν ἐκ βαθέος ὑπνοῦ ἀνεγρηγόρησεν, ὑπομνησθεὶσα διὰ τῆς προσκαίρου τιμωρίας τὴν αἰῶνιν ἐν γεέννῃ κόλασιν, καὶ ἐξ ἐναντίας ἀντείπει τοῖς βλασφήμοις, φήσασαν 'πῶς ἂν παϊδία φάγουν οἰ τοιοῦτοι, ὡς μηδὲ ἀλόγων ζώων αἷμα φαγεῖν ἐξάντλησαν; καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστιανῆν ἑαυτὴν ἠμικαλόγει καὶ τῷ κλήρῳ τῶν μαρτύρων προσετέθη.

"Καταργηθέντων δὲ τῶν τυραννικῶν κολα- στηρίων ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διὰ τῆς τῶν μακαρίων ὑπομονῆς, ἐτέρας μηχανᾶς ὁ διάβολος ἐπενόει, τὰς κατὰ τὴν εἰρκτὴν ἐν τῷ σκότει καὶ τῷ χαλε- πωτάτῳ χωρίῳ συγκλείσεις καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ διατάσεις τῶν ποδῶν, ἐπὶ πέμπτων διατειμομένων τρύπημα, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς αἰκίας, ὡς εἰώθαις ὅργιζόμενοι ὑπουργοὶ καὶ ταῦτα διαβόλου πλήρεις διατίθεναι τοὺς ἐγκλειομένοις· ὡστε ἀποπνιγήσει τοὺς πλεῖστους ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ, ὡσοις γε ὁ κύριος οὔτως ἐξελθεῖν ἠθέλησεν, ἐπιδεικνύων τὴν αὐτοῦ δόξαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ βασανισθέντες πικρῶς ὡστε ζεϊν.
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 ζησαι δύνασθαι, παρέμενον εἰν τῇ εἰρκτῇ, ἔρημοι μὲν τῆς παρὰ ἄνθρωπων ἐπιμελείας, ἀναρρωνύμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ κυρίου καὶ ἐνδυναμούμενοι καὶ σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς παρομμάντες καὶ παραμυθοῦμενοι· οἱ δὲ νεαροὶ καὶ ἀρτί συνελημένοι, ὥν μὴ προκατήκιστο τὰ σώματα, τὸ βάρος οὐκ ἔφερον τῆς συγκλείσεως, ἀλλ’ ἐνδον ἐναπέθηκον.

"Ο δὲ μακάριος Ποθενός, ὁ τὴν διακονίαν τῆς 29 ἐπισκοπῆς ἐν Λουγδούνῳ πεπιστευμένος, ύπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη τῆς ἡλικίας γεγονὼς καὶ πάνω ἀσθενῆς τῷ σώματι, μόλις μὲν ἐμπνεόν διά 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 γήρως καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου λελυμένου, τηρομένης δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν αὐτῷ, ἵνα δι’ αὐτῆς Χριστός θριαμβεύσῃ· ὃς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βήμα 30 κομισθεὶς, παραπεμπόμενος αὐτὸν τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐξοσιῶν καὶ παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους, ἐπιβοήσεις παντοῖας ποιομένων ὡς αὐτοῦ ὄντος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀπεδίδου τὴν καλὴν μαρτυρίαν. ἀνεταξόμενοι δὲ 31 ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος τῆς εἰς Χριστιανῶν ὁ θεός, ἔφη ἑὰν ἦς ἄξιος, γινώσκῃ. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἀφειδώς ἐσύρετο καὶ ποικίλας ἔπασχε πληγάς, τῶν μὲν σύνεγγυς χερσὶν καὶ ποικὶν ἐνυβριζόντων παντοτινῶς, μηδὲ τὴν ἡλικίαν αἰδοιομένων αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ μακράν, δὴ μετὰ χειρὰς ἐκαστὸς εἰχεν, εἰς αὐτὸν ἀκοντιζόντων, πάντων δὲ ἡγομένων μεγάλως πλημμελεῖν καὶ ἀσβεῖν, εἰς τις ἀπολειψθεὶς τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀσελγείας· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν
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 μόνης ἐμπνεὼν ἔρριφη ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ καὶ μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας ἀπέψυξεν.

“Ἐντάδα δὴ μεγάλη τις οἰκονομία θεοῦ ἐγένετο καὶ ἔλεος ἀμέτρητον ἀνεφαίνετο Ἰησοῦ, ὁπανίως 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· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ ὀφελός τι αὐτοῖς ἡ ἔξαρνησις ἐγένετο, ἀλλʼ οἱ μὲν ὁμολογοῦντες οὐ καὶ ἦσαν, συνεκλείοντο ὡς Χριστιανοὶ, μηδὲμιᾶς ἄλλης αὐτίας αὐτοῖς ἐπιφερομένης, οὗτοι δὲ λοιπὸν ὡς ἀνδροφόνοι καὶ μιαροὶ κατείχοντο, διπλότερον παρὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς κολαζόμενοι. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ ἐκούφιζεν ἡ χαρὰ τῆς μαρτυρίας καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν ἀγάπη καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πατρικὸν, τούτως δὲ τὸ συνειδός μεγάλως ἐτμωρείτο, ὡστε καὶ παρά τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀπασιν κατὰ τὰς παρόδους διαδήλους τὰς ὅψεις αὐτῶν εἶναι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐλαροὶ προῆσαν, δόξης 31 καὶ χάριτος πολλῆς ταῖς ὅψεις αὐτῶν συγκεκραμένης, ὡστε καὶ τὰ δεσμὰ κόσμων εὐπρεπῆ περικείσθαι αὐτοῖς, ως νύμφη κεκοσμημένη ἐν κροσσωτοῖς χρυσοῖς πεπουκιλμένους, τὴν εὐωδίαν ὀδωρότες ἀμα τὴν Χριστοῦ, ὡστε ἐνίους δοξαί καὶ μύρως κοσμικῷ κεχρίσθαι αὐτοῖς· οἱ δὲ κατηφεῖς καὶ ταπεινοὶ καὶ δυσειδεῖς καὶ πάσης ἀσχημοσύνης ἀνάπλειοι, προσέτι δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ονειδιζόμενοι ὡς ἀγεννεῖς καὶ ἀνανδροί, ἀνδροφόνων μὲν ἐγκλήματα ἑχοντες, ἀπολωλεκότες δὲ τὴν πάντιμον καὶ ἐνδόξου καὶ ζωοποίον προσηγορίαν. ταῦτα δὴ οἱ λοιποὶ θεωροῦντες ἐστηρίχθησαν, καὶ οἱ 422
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
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συλλαμβανόμενοι ἀδιστάκτως ὠμολόγουν, μηδὲ ἑννοιαν ἔχοντες διαβολικὸν λογισμὸν.

Τούτοις μεταξὺ τινα ἐπειπόντες, αὖθις ἐπὶ-ἀφέρουσιν: "μετὰ ταῦτα δὴ λοιπὸν εἰς πάν εἴδος διηρεῖτο τὰ μαρτύρια τῆς ἐξόδου αὐτῶν, ἐκ διαφόρων γὰρ χρωμάτων καὶ παντοῖων ἀνθῶν ἐνα πλέξαντες στέφανον προσήνεγκαν τῷ πατρὶ ἔχρην δ’ οὖν τοὺς γενναίους ἀθλητὰς ποικίλον ὑπομείναντας ἁγώνα καὶ μεγάλως νικήσαντας ἀπολαβεῖν τὸν μέγαν τῆς ἀθανασίας στέφανον. δ’ μὲν οὖν Μάτουρος καὶ ὁ Σάγκτος καὶ ἡ Βλανδίνα καὶ Ἄτταλος ἥγουντο ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία εἰς τὸ δημόσιον καὶ εἰς κοινὸν τῶν ἐθνῶν τῆς ἀπανθρωπίας θέαμα, επίτηδες τῆς τῶν θηριομαχίων ἄμερας διὰ τοὺς ημετέρους διδομένης. καὶ ὁ μὲν Μάτουρος καὶ ὁ Σάγκτος αὖθις διήσαν ἐν τῷ ἀμφιθέατρῳ διὰ πάσης κολάσεως, ὡς μηδὲν ἄλλως προπετονθότες, μάλλον δ’ ὡς διὰ πλειόνων ἤδη κλήρων ἐκβεβιακότες τῶν ἀντίπαλον καὶ περὶ τοῦ στέφανου αὐτοῦ τὸν ἁγώνα ἔχοντες, ὑπέφερον πάλιν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν μαστίγων τὰς ἐκεῖσε εἰθισμένας καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων ἐλκηθοῦν καὶ πάνθ’ ὁσα μανόμενος ὁ δήμος, ἀλλοὶ ἀλλαχάθεν, ἐπεβόων καὶ ἐπεκελεύοντο, ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὴν σιδηρᾶν καθέδραν, ἐφ’ ὡς τηγανιζόμενα σὰς σώματα κηδείας αὐτοῦς ἐνεφόρει. οἱ δ’ οὖν οὕτως ἐλήγον, ἀλλ’ ἐτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξεμαίνοντο, βουλόμενοι νικήσαι τὴν ἐκείνων ύπομονήν, καὶ οὐδ’ ὡς παρὰ Σάγκτου ἑτερὸν τι εἰσήκουσαν παρ’ ἦν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς εἰθιστο λέγειν τῆς ὠμολογίας φωνῆν.

1 Schwartz thinks with much probability that κοινὸν 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.

¹ 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.
"Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν, δι' ἀγώνος μεγάλου ἐπὶ πολὺ παραμενοῦσις αὐτῶν τῆς ψυχῆς, τοὺςχατον ἐτύθησαν, διὰ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἀντὶ πάσης τῆς ἐν τοῖς μονομαχίοις ποικίλας αὐτοῖς θέαμα γενόμενοι τῷ κόσμῳ. ἦ δὲ Βλανδίνα ἐπὶ ξύλου κρεμασθείσα προύκειτο βορὰ τῶν εἰσβαλλομένων θηρίων. ἦ καὶ διὰ τὸν βλέπεσθαι σταυροῦ σχήματι κρεμαμένη διὰ τῆς εὐτόνου προσευχῆς πολλὴν προθυμίαν τοὺς ἀγωνιζόμενους ἐνεποίησε, βλεπόντων αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἄγωνι καὶ τοὺς ἐξώθην ὀφθαλμοὶ διὰ τῆς ἀδέλφης τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐσταυρωμένον, ἵνα πείσῃ τοὺς πιστεύοντας εἰς αὐτὸν ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς Χριστοῦ δόξης παθῶν τὴν κοινωνίαν ἂεὶ ἔχει μετὰ τοῦ ζωτὸς θεοῦ. καὶ μηδενὸς ἀφαμένου τότε τῶν θηρίων αὐτῆς, καθαρευθεῖσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου ἀνελήφθη πάλιν εἰς τὴν εἰρκτήν, εἰς ἄλλον ἄγωνα τηρομένη, ἵνα διὰ πλεονὸν γνωμασιμάτων νικήσασα, τῷ μὲν σκολιῷ ὄφει ἀπαραίτητον ποιήσῃ τὴν καταδίκην, προτρέψῃ δὲ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς, ἢ μικρὰ καὶ ἀσθενῆς καὶ ἐνκαταφρόνητος μέγαν καὶ ἀκαταγώνιστον ἄθλητήν Χριστοῦ ἐνδεδυμένη, διὰ πολλῶν κλήρων ἐκβιάσασα τὸν ἀντικείμενον καὶ δι' ἀγώνος τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στεφάμενη στέφανον.

"Ο δὲ Ἀτταλος καὶ αὐτὸς μεγάλως ἐξαιτηθείς ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀχλου (καὶ γὰρ ἤν ὄνομαστός), ἔτοιμος εἰσήλθεν ἀγωνισθῆς διὰ τὸ εὐθυνείδητον, ἐπειδὴ γνησίως εἰ τῇ Χριστιανῇ συντάξει γεγυμνασμένος ἦν καὶ ἂεὶ μάρτυς ἐγεγόνει παρ' ἡμῖν ἀληθείας. καὶ περιαχθεῖς κύκλῳ τοῦ ἀμφιθεάτρου, πίνακος αὐτῶν προάγοντος ἐν ὃ ἐγέγραπτο Ἄρωμαίστι, 'οὗτος ἐστιν 'Ατταλος ὁ Χριστιανὸς," 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 σφριγώντος ἐπ’ αὐτῶ, μαθῶν ὁ ἥγεμὼν ὅτι Ὀρωμαῖος ἐστιν, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀναληφθῆναι μετὰ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ ὄντων, περὶ δὲν ἐπέστειλεν τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ περιέμενεν τὴν ἀπόφασιν τὴν ἀπ’ ἐκείνου.

“Ὁ δὲ διὰ μέσου καιρὸς οὐκ ἄργος αὐτοῖς οὕδε ἀκαρπος ἐγίνετο, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς αὐτῶν τὸ ἀμέτρητον ἔλεος ἀνεφαίνετο Χριστοῦ· διὰ γὰρ τῶν ζωτῶν ἐξωποιοῦντο τὰ νεκρά, καὶ μάρτυρες τοὺς μὴ μάρτυσαν ἔχαριζον, καὶ ἐνεγίνετο πολλὴ χαρὰ τῇ παρθένῳ μητρί, οὐς ὡς νεκροὺς ἐξέφρωσε, τούτους ζώντας ἀπολαμβανοῦσι. δὴ ἐκείνων γὰρ οἱ πλείους τῶν ἠρημένων ἀνεμετροῦντο καὶ ἀνεκύσκοντο καὶ ἀνεξωπυροῦντο καὶ ἐμάνθανον ὀμολογεῖν καὶ ζώντες ἡδὴ καὶ τετονωμένοι προσήσαν τῷ βήματι, ἐγγυλυκαίνοντο τοῦ τὸν μὲν βάνατον τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ μὴ βουλομένου, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν μετάνοιαν χρηστευομένου θεοῦ, ἵνα καὶ πάλιν ἐπερωτηθῶσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. ἐπιστείλαντος γὰρ τὸν Καίσαρος τοὺς μὲν ἀποτυπμανισθῆναι, εἰ δὲ τινὲς ἀρνοῦντο, τούτους ἀπολυθῆναι, τῆς ἐνθάδε πανηγύρεως (ἔστιν δὲ αὕτη πολυάνθρωπος ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἔθνων συνερχομένων εἰς αὐτὴν) ἀρχομένης συνεστάναι, ἀνήγου ἐπὶ τὸ βήμα θεατρίζουν τοὺς μακάρους καὶ ἐμποριμένους τοὺς ὀχλοὺς· δὲ ὁ καὶ πάλιν ἀνήτατον εἰς θηρία. ἐδοξάζετο δὲ μεγάλως ὁ Χριστὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς πρῶτοιν ἀρνησμένοις, τότε παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἔθνων ὑπόνοιαν ὀμολογοῦσιν. καὶ γὰρ ἵδια οὗτοι ἀνήταξιντ ως δῆθεν ἀπολυθησόμενοι, καὶ ὀμο-
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 ἄνεμετροῦντο is meaningless. I have translated Schwartz's ἄνεμαίοῦντο, "brought to birth," though it is not quite satisfactory.
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λογοῦντες προσετίθεντο τῷ τῶν μαρτύρων κλήρῳ. ἔμειναν δὲ ἕξω οἱ μηδὲ ἔχοντες πώποτε πίστες μηδὲ ἀφοῦ στὰ σχόντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀναστροφῆς αὐτῶν βλασφημοῦντες τὴν ὁδὸν, τούτ' ἐστὶν οἱ νῦν τῆς ἀπωλείας, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσετέθησαν· ὡς καὶ ἀνεταξομένων, Ἀλέξανδρος τες, Φυλές μὲν τὸ γένος, ἰατρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐπιστήμην, πολλοὶς ἔτεσιν ἐν ταῖς Γαλλίαις διατρίφασι καὶ γνωστὸς σχεδὸν πᾶσιν διὰ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν ἀγάπην καὶ παρρησίαν τοῦ λόγου (ὅν γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἀμοιρὸς ἀποστολικὸν χαρίσματος), παρετῶσ τῷ βήματι καὶ νεύματι προτρέπων αὐτούς πρὸς τὴν ὁμολογίαν, φανερὸς ἦν τοῖς περιεστηκόσιν τὸ βήμα ὁσπερ ὁδίνων. ἀγανακτήσαντες δὲ οἱ ὁχλοὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον ἠρνημένους αὐθίς ὁμολογεῖν, κατεβόησαν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὡς ἔκεινον τοῦτο ποιοῦντος, καὶ ἐπιστήσαντο τοῦ ἢγεμόνος καὶ ἀνετάσαντος αὐτὸν τὸς εἶπεν, τοῦ δὲ φήματος οτι 'Χριστιανός,' ἐν ὀργῇ γενόμενος κατέκρινεν αὐτὸν πρὸς θηρία. καὶ τῇ ἐπιουσίᾳ εἰσῆλθεν μετὰ καὶ τοῦ Ἀτταλοῦ, καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸν Ἕλλην χριστιανὸν ὁ ἢγεμόνως ἐξέδωκε πάλιν πρὸς θηρία· οἱ καὶ διὰ πάντων διελθόντες τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ πρὸς κόλασιν ἐξηρευμένων ὀργάνων καὶ μέγιστον ὑπομείναντες ἁγῶνα, τούχατον ἐτύθησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ, τοῦ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου μήτε στενάξαντος μήτε γρῦξαντός τι ὀλως, ἀλλὰ κατὰ καρδίαν ὁμολογότος τῷ θεῷ, ὁ δὲ Ἕλλην, ὅποτε ἐπὶ τῆς σιδηρᾶς ἐπετέθη καθέδρας καὶ περικαίετο, ἤνικα ή ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος κυῖα ἀνεφέρετο, ἐφι πρὸς τὸ πλήθος τῇ 'Ρωμαιίκῃ φωνῇ ήδον τούτο ἐστιν ἀνθρώπους.
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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
ΕΟΘΙΕΙΝ, ὁ ποιεῖτε ὑμεῖς· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐτε ἀνθρώπους ἐσθίομεν οὐθ' ἐτερον τι πονηρὸν πράσσομεν. ἐπερωτώμενος δὲ τί ὅνομα ἔχει ὁ θεός, ἀπεκρίθη 'ὁ θεὸς ὅνομα οὐκ ἔχει ὡς ἀνθρωπος.'

''Επὶ πάσι δὲ τούτοις τῇ ἐσχάτῃ λοιπὸν ἡμέρᾳ 55 τῶν μονομαχίων ἡ Βλανδίνα πάλιν εἰσεκομίζετο μετὰ καὶ Ποντικοῦ, παιδαρίου ωὐ πεντεκαΐδεκα ἑτῶν, οἷ καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν εἰσήγοντο πρὸς τὸ βλέπειν τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν κόλασιν· καὶ ἡγακάζοντο ὁμνύναι κατὰ τῶν εἰδώλων αὐτῶν, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐμμένειν ἐυσταθῶς καὶ ἐξουθενεῖν αὐτοὺς ἠγριώθη πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸ πλῆθος, ωὐ μήτε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ παιδός οὐκετείραι μήτε τὸ γύναιον αἴδεσθηναι, πρὸς 55 πάντα δὲ τὰ δεινὰ παρέβαλλον αὐτοὺς καὶ διὰ πάσης ἐν κύκλῳ διήγουν κολάσεως, ἐπαλλήλως ἀναγκάζοντες ὁμόσαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ δυνάμενοι τοῦτο πράξαι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ποντικὸς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδελφῆς παρωρμημένος, ωὐ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη βλέπειν ὅτι ἐκείνη ἢν προτρεπομένη καὶ στηρίζονσα αὐτῶν, πάσαν κόλασιν γενναίως υπομείνας ἀπέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα· ὡς οἱ μακαρία Βλανδίνα πάντων ἐσχάτη, καθάπερ 55 μήτηρ εὐγενῆς παρορμήσασα τὰ τεκνά καὶ νική-φόρους προπέμψασα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ἀνα-μετρουμένη καὶ αὐτὴ πάντα τὰ τῶν παίδων ἀγωνίσματα ἔσπευδεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς, χαίρουσα καὶ ἀγαλλιωμένη ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξόδῳ, ωὐ εἰς νυμφικών δείπνων κεκλημένη, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς θηρία βεβλημένη· καὶ μετὰ τὰς μάστιγας, μετὰ τὰ θηρία, μετὰ τὸ 55 τήγανον, τούσχατον εἰς γυργαθὸν βλαχθεῖσα ταύρῳ παρεβλήθη, καὶ ἵκανος ἀναβληθείσα πρὸς τοῦ ζῴου μὴν ἀναθησθῃν ἐπὶ τῶν συμβαινόντων ἔχουσα διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐποχὴν τῶν πεπιστευμένων καὶ.
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 east 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-
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ὅμιλίας πρὸς Χριστόν, ἐτύθη καὶ αὐτή, καὶ αὐτῶν ὁμολογοῦντων τῶν ἐθνῶν ὅτι μὴ δεπώποτε παρ' αὐτοῖς γυνὴ τουαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα ἐπαθεν.

"Αλλ' οὐδ' οὕτως κόμον ἐλάμβανεν αὐτῶν ἡ μανία καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἅγιους ωμότης. ὑπὸ γὰρ ἄγριον θηρὸς ἀγρια καὶ βάρβαρα φῦλα παραχθέντα δυσπαύστως εἶχεν, καὶ ἀλλήν ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς σώμασιν ἐλάμβανεν ἡ υβρίς αὐτῶν. τὸ γὰρ γενικῆςθαι αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐδυσώπει διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπιλογισμῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἐξέκαιεν αὐτῶν τὴν ὀργὴν καθάπερ θηρίου, καὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸ ὄμοιον εἰς ἥμας ἄδικον ἐπιδεικνυμένων μίσος, ὅπως ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ ὁ ἄνομος ἀνομησάτω ἐτη, καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαίωθη ἔτη.

καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐναποτυγήνετος τῇ εἰρκτῇ παρ-5 ἐβαλλόν κυσίν, ἐπιμελῶς παραφυλάσσοντες νῦκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἡ κηδευθῇ τίς ύπ' ἡμῶν· καὶ τότε δὴ προθέντες τὰ τὰ τῶν θηρίων τὰ τὰ τοῦ πυρὸς λείψανα, τῇ μὲν ἐσπαραγμένα, τῇ δὲ ἑνθρακεμένα, καὶ τῶν λυπῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς σὺν τοῖς ἀποτυμήμασιν αὐτῶν ὀσαυτώς ἀτάφους παρα-5φυλαττον μετὰ στρατιωτικῆς ἑπιμελείας ἡμέρας συχναῖς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνεβριμοῦντο καὶ ἐβρυχοῦν τοὺς ὁδόντας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ζητοῦντες των περισσοτέραν ἐκδίκησιν παρ' αὐτῶν λαβείν, οἱ δὲ ἐνεγέλων καὶ ἐπετύμθανον, μεγαλύνοντες ἀμα τὰ εἴσωτα αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκεῖνος προσάπτοντες τὴν τουτῶν τιμωρίαν, οἱ δὲ ἐπιείκεστεροι καὶ κατὰ ποσῶν συμπαθεῖν δοκοῦντες ἄνωθεινον πολὺ, λέ-γοντες 'τοῦ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ αὐτοὺς ἄνησεν ἡ θρησκεία, ἢν καὶ πρὸ τῆς εαυτῶν εἰλαντο ψυχῆς; καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνων τοιαύτην εἶχε τὴν ποικιλίαν, 61

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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 conquered\(^2\) 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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tâ δε καλ' ἡμᾶς ἐν μεγάλῳ καθειστήκει σένθης διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὰ σῶματα κρύψαι τῇ γῇ. οὕτε γὰρ νῦς συνεβάλλετο ἡμῖν. πρὸς τοῦτο οὕτε ἀργύρια ἐπειθεν οὕτε λιτανεία έδυσώπει, παντὶ δὲ τρόπῳ παρετήρουν, ὡς μέγα τι κερδανοῦντες, εἰ μὴ τύχοιν ταφῆς."

Τούτους ἔξης μεθ' ἐτερά φασών. "τὰ δὲν σῶματα τῶν μαρτύρων παντοίοις παραδειγματισθέντα καὶ αἰθριασθέντα ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἔξε, μετέπειτα καέντα καὶ αἰθαλωθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνόμων κατεσαρωθῇ εἰς τὸν Ῥωδανὸν ποταμὸν πλησίον παραρρέοντα, ὅπως μηδὲ λεύσανον αὐτῶν φαίνηται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔτη. καὶ ταυτ' ἐξηντευνός ὡς δυνάμενοι νικῆσαι τὸν θεὸν καὶ αφελέσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν, ἢν, ὡς ἔλεγον ἐκεῖνοι, 'μηδὲ ἐλπίδα σχῶσιν ἀναστάσεως, ἐφ' ἑ πεποιθότες ἐξήνυ τινᾶ καὶ κανὴν εἰσάγουν ἡμῶν θρησκείαν καὶ καταφρονοῦσι τῶν δεινῶν, ἐτοιμοὶ καὶ μετὰ χαρᾶς ήκοντες ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον· νῦν ὑδρομὲν εἰ ἀναστήσονται καὶ εἰ δύναται βοηθῆσαι αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξελέσθαι ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν'."

II. Τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν δεδηλωμένον αὐτο- κράτορα ταῖς Χριστοῦ συμβέβηκεν ἐκκλησίας, ἀφ' δὲν καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐπαρχίαις ἐνηργημένα εἰκότι λογισμῷ στοχάζεσθαι πάρεστω. ἄξιον τούτως ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπισυνάψαι γραφῆς λέξεις ἐτέρας, δι' δὲν τὸ ἐπιεικὲς καὶ φιλάνθρωπον τῶν δεδηλωμένων μαρτύρων ἀναγέγραπται τούτως αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἰμασιν. "οἱ καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ζηλωταὶ καὶ μιμηται Χριστοῦ ἐγένοντο, ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχον οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἤγιστο τὸ εἴναι ἵσα θεῶ, ὡστε ἐν τοιαύτῃ δόξῃ ὑπάρχοντες καὶ οὐχ ἄπαξ

Phil. 2, 6

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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
οúde δίς ἄλλα πολλάκις μαρτυρήσαντες καὶ ἐκ θηρίων ἀθικ ἀναληφθέντες καὶ τὰ καυτήρια καὶ τοὺς μάλωτας καὶ τὰ τραύματα ἔχοντες περικείμενα, οὕτ' ἀυτοὶ μάρτυρας ἑαυτοὺς ἀνεκήρυττον οὕτε μὴν ἦμιν ἐπέτρεπον τούτῳ τῷ ὄνοματι προσαγορεύειν αὐτούς, ἀλλ' εἰ ποτέ τις ἦμιν δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἢ διὰ λόγου μάρτυρας αὐτοὺς προσεύπευν, ἐπέπλησον πικρῶς. ἣδεώς γὰρ παρεχόμον τὴν τῆς μαρτυρίας προσηγορίαν τῷ Χριστῷ, τῷ πιστῷ καὶ ἀληθινῷ μάρτυρι καὶ πρωτοτόκω τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ἀρχηγῷ τῆς ἔως τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἐπεμμήνηκον τῶν ἔξελελυθότων ἢδη μαρτύρων καὶ ἔλεγον ἐκεῖνοι ἢδη μάρτυρες, οὕς ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ Χριστὸς ἴξισον ἀναληφθῆναι, ἐπισφραγισάμενος αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς ἐξόδου τῆς μαρτυρίας, ἴμεῖς δὲ ὁμολογοῦμεν μέτριοι καὶ ταπεινοὶ, καὶ μετὰ δακρύων παρεκάλουν τοὺς ἄδελφοὺς δεόμενοι ὑνα ἐκτενεῖς εὐχαί γίνωνται πρὸς τὸ τελειωθῆναι αὐτούς. καὶ τῆν μὲν δύναμιν τῆς μαρτυρίας ἔργω ἐπεδείκνυτο, πολλὴν παρρησίαν ἄγοντες πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ τὴν εὐγένειαν διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ ἀφοβίας καὶ ἀτρομίας φανερῶν ἐποίουν, τὴν ἐπὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄδελφοὺς τῶν μαρτύρων προσηγορίαν παρηγοῦντο, ἐμπεπλησμένοι φόβου θεοῦ.’’

Καὶ ἀδίκως μετὰ βραχέα φασίν. “ἐταπείνουν ἑαυτοὺς ύπὸ τὴν κραταιὰν χείρα, υφ' ὡς ἰκανῶς νῦν εἰσιν υψωμένοι. τότε δὲ πᾶσι μὲν ἀπελογοῦντο, κατηγόρουν δὲ οὐδενός· ἐλυν ἀπαντας, ἐδέσμευν

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.
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 and first-born from the dead and author of the life of God. And they reminded us of the martyrs who had already passed away, and said 'they are already martyrs, whom Christ vouchsafed to be taken up at their confession, and sealed their witness by their departure, but we are lowly and humble confessors.' And they besought the brethren with tears, begging that earnest prayers might be made for their consecration. The power of martyrdom they actually showed, having great boldness towards the heathen, and they made plain their nobleness by endurance and absence of fear or timidity; 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.

2 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 ὄμολογηταί. Schwartz thinks that it is a primitive error for ὄμολογο[ὑντες ἐτ], and Wendland suggested ὀμόδουλοι.
EUSEBIUS

Acts 7, 60

δὲ οὐδένα· καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τὰ δεινὰ διατιθέντων ἠχύνοτο, καθάπερ Στέφανος ὁ τέλειος μάρτυς 'κύριε, μὴ στήσης αὐτοῖς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ταύτην.' ἐι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν λυθαζόντων ἔδέτο, πόσω μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν.'

Καὶ αὕθις φασὶ μεθ’ ἔτερα· "οὕτος γὰρ καὶ μέγιστος αὐτοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ πόλεμος ἐγένετο διὰ τὸ γνήσιον τῆς ἀγάπης, ἵνα ἀποπνικθεῖς ὁ θήρ οὐς πρότερον ζήτωτο καταπετυκέναι, ζῶντας ἐξεμέσῃ. οὐ γὰρ ἔλαβον καύχημα κατὰ τῶν πεπτωκότων, ἀλλ’ ἐν οἷς ἐπλεόναζον αὐτοῖς, τοῦτο τοῖς ἐνδε-στέροις ἐπήρκουν μητρικά σπλάγχνα ἔχοντες, καὶ πολλὰ περί αὐτῶν ἐκχέοντες δάκρυα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, ζωὴν ἡτήσαντο, καὶ ἐδώκεν αὐτοῖς· ἦν 7 καὶ συνεμείρισαντο τοῖς πλησίον, κατὰ πάντα νικηφόροι πρὸς θεόν ἀπελθόντες. εἰρήνην ἀγα-πήσαντες ἀεὶ καὶ εἰρήνην ἡμῖν παρεγγυήσαντες, μετ’ εἰρήνης ἐχώρησαν πρὸς θεόν, μὴ καταλυπόντες πόνον τῇ μητρὶ μηδὲ στάσιν καὶ πόλεμον τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἄλλα χαρὰν καὶ εἰρήνην καὶ ὁμονοιαν καὶ ἀγάπην.‘ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν μακαρίων 8 ἐκείνων πρὸς τοὺς παραπετυκότας τῶν ἀδελφῶν στοργῆς ὄφελίμως προκείσθω τῆς ἀπανθρώπου καὶ ἀνηλευθένες ἔνεκα διαθέσεως τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀφειδῶς τοῖς Χριστῷ μέλεσιν προσενεχεμένων.

III. Ἡ δ’ αὕτη τῶν προειρημένων μαρτύρων 1 γραφή καὶ ἄλλην τινά μνήμης ἀξίαν ἱστορίαν περι-έχει, ἦν καὶ ουδεὶς ἂν γένοιτο φθόνος μὴ οὐχὶ τῶν

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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.
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.
Εὐσεβίου

ἐντευξομένων εἰς γνώσιν προθείναι ἔχει δὲ οὕτως.

Ἀλκιβιάδου γάρ τινος ἐξ αὐτῶν πάνυ αὐχημέρον
βιοῦντος βίον καὶ μηδενὸς ὅλως τὸ πρότερον
μεταλαμβάνοντος, ἀλλὰ ἣ ἄρτως μόνως καὶ ὅδατι
χρωμένου πειρωμένου τε καὶ ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ οὕτῳ
dιάγειν, Ἀττάλῳ μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον ἄγῶνα ὃν ἐν
τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ ἦν νυσίν, ἀπεκαλύφθη ὅτι μὴ καλῶς
ποιοὶ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὴ χρώμενος τὸς κτίσμασι
tοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἄλλοις τύποις σκανδάλου ὑπολειπόμε
νος. πεισθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης πάντων ἀνέδει
μεταλάμβανεν καὶ γυναρίστει τῷ θεῷ οὗ γάρ
ἀνεπίσκεπτοι χάριτος θεοῦ ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ
ἀγιον ἦν σύμβουλον αὐτοῖς. καὶ ταύτα μὲν ώδὶ
ἐχέτω.

Τῶν δ’ ἀμφὶ τῶν Μοντανῶν καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ
Θεόδοτον περὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἄρτι τότε πρῶτον τὴν
περὶ τοῦ προφητεύειν ὑπόληψιν παρὰ πολλοῖς
ἐκφερομένων (πλείστας γὰρ όν καὶ ἄλλαι παρα
dοξοποιοῖν τοῦ θείου χαρίσματος εἰς ἐτὶ τὸν
κατὰ διαφόρους ἐκκλησίας ἐκτελοῦμενα πίστιν
παρὰ πολλοῖς τοῦ κακείνους προφητεύειν παρεῖχον)
καὶ δὴ διαφωνίας υπαρχούσης περὶ τῶν δεδηλω
mένων, αὕτης οἱ κατὰ τὴν Γαλλίαν ἄδελφοι τὴν
ἰδίαν κρίσιν καὶ περὶ τούτων εὐλαβῆ καὶ ὀρθο
dοξοτάτην ὑποτάττουσιν, ἐκθέμενοι καὶ τῶν παρ’
αὐτοῖς τελευθέντων μαρτύρων διαφόρους ἐπι
στολάς, ἂς ἐν δεσμοῖς ἐτί υπάρχοντες τοῖς ἐπ’
Ἀσίας καὶ Φρυγίας ἄδελφοῖς διεχάραζαν, οὐ μὴν
ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἐλευθέρῳ τῷ τότε Ἤρωμαίων ἑπισκόπῳ,
tῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης ἕνεκα προσβεύοντες.

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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\(^1\) 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.
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥ

IV. Οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ μάρτυρες καὶ τῶν Εἰρηναίων, πρεσ- 1 
βύτερον ἢδη τὸτὲ ὄντα τῆς ἐν Λουγδούνῳ παροικίας, 
tῷ δηλωθέντι κατὰ Ῥώμην ἐπισκόπῳ συνίστων, 
πλείστα τῷ ἄνδρὶ μαρτυροῦντες, ὡς αἱ τούτων ἔχουσαι τὸν τρόπον δηλοῦσι φωναί: “χαίρειν ἐν 2 
θεῷ σε πάλιν εὐχόμεθα καὶ ἀεί, πάτερ Ἑλεοθέρε. 
tαὐτὰ σοι τὰ γράμματα προετρέψαμεθα τοῖν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν καὶ κοινωνίᾳ Εἰρηναῖον διακομίσαι, 
καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν ἔχειν σε αὐτὸν ἐν παραθέσει, 
ξηλωτῆν ὄντα τῆς διαθήκης Χριστοῦ. εἰ γὰρ 
ἡδειμεν τὸπον τινὶ δικαιοσύνην περιποιεῖσθαι, ὡς 
πρεσβύτερον ἐκκλησίας, ὃπερ ἐστὶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἐν 
πρώτοις ἀν παρεθέμεθα.”

Τῇ δὲ καταλέγειν τὸν ἐν τῇ δηλωθείσῃ γραφῇ 3 
tῶν μαρτύρων κατάλογον, ἰδία μὲν τῶν ἀποτμῆσει 
κεφαλῆς τετελεωμένων, ἰδία δὲ τῶν θηροῦν εἰς 
βορᾶν παραβεβλημένων, καὶ ἀδίδω τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς 
εἰρκτῆς κεκουμημένων, τὸν τε ἁριθμὸν τῶν εἰς 
ἔτι τότε περιόντων ὑμολογητῶν; ὅτω γὰρ φίλον, 
καὶ ταῦτα ράδιον πληρέστατα διαγγέλλων μετὰ 
χεῖρας ἀναλαβόντε τὸ σύγγραμμα, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ τῇ 
tῶν μαρτύρων συναγωγῆ πρὸς ἡμῶν, ὡς γοῦν 
ἐφην, κατείλεται. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίου 
τοιαῦτα.

V. Τούτου δὲ ἀδελφὸν Μάρκου Αὐρήλιου Καίσαρα 1 λόγος ἔχει Γερμανοῖς καὶ Σαρμάταις ἀντιπαρα-
tαττόμενον μάχη, δύσει πιεζομένης αὐτοῦ τῇ 
στρατιάς, ἐν ἀμαχίᾳ γενέσθαι· τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τῆς 
Μελητῆς οὕτω καλομενής λεγεώνσι στρατιώτασ 
διὰ πίστεως ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς δεύτερο συνεστώσθη, 
ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους παρατάξει γόνυ θέντας 
ἐπὶ γῆν κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἡμῶν τῶν εὐχῶν ἔθος 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.
EUSEBIUS

tâς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἱκεσίας τραπέσθαι, παραδόξου 2
de tois polemiois tou touioutou de théamatos
fanéntos, állo ti logos exei paradoxoéteron épikatallabein autika, sképtōn mēn eis phugēn kai
apulēian suneilαvontα tois polemiōus, ōμβρōn de
ēpī tēn tōn tō theiōn paraekklēkōtōn stratiān,
pāsan autēn ek tou diwous mēllousan ōsson ouvō
diaφtheiresthai anaktoμēnou.

'Η δ' ιστορία φέρεται mēn kai para toui pōrrw 3
tou kath hēmās logou suggrafevōn ois melon
geγoneν tēs kata touis dehloumēnōus grafihs,
dedēlōtai de kai prōs tōn ħmetērōn. Ālla touis
mēn ἔξωθεν ιστορικoिस, ἀτε tēs pīstēwos ānoukeiōs,
tēthētai mēn tō paradoxōn, ōu mēn kai taīs tōn
ḥmetērōn eухāis tōuth' ωμολογήθη gegovēnai: touis
dē ge ἥmetērous, ἀτε ἄlθeias φίλois, ἀπλω kai
ākakoθēi tρoπo tō prαxhēn parađēdota. tou-
tōn δ' ἀν eίη kai 'Απολλνάριος, ἐξ ἐκείνου φήσας
tēn δi' eухhēs tō paradoxōn peπouihkiaν legeōna
ōikeiān tō gegovōtī prōs tōou bavsilēwos ēl̄h̄fēnai
prosēgoriān, keranvōbolōn tē 'Ρωμaiōn ēπι-
kληθέiαn phvn. mārtuvs de touíōn gegovē'
ān 5
āξwōrexwos ὁ Tertullianōs, tēn 'Ρωμaiikēn tē
sugkλητων prosfωνήςas ὑπὲr tēs ἑpistēwos ἀπo-
logiān, ēs kai prōsθeν ēμυμονεύσαμεν, tēn te
iσtορiān bēbaioν sūn āpōdeīxei meiζoun kai ēnarp-
egestēra: γράφεi δ' ουν kai autōs, leγων Mάrkoυ
5
tou suvnetwātōtou bavsilēwos ēpιstolās eis ēti νūn
féreštai ēn aīs autōs marūrpeī ēn Γερμανiā

1 Dio Cassius, lxxi. 8, who ascribes the miracle to the
Egyptian magician, Arnophys. 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.
ΕUSEBIUS

υδατος ἀπορία μέλλοντα αὐτοῦ τῶν στρατῶν διαφθείρεσθαι ταῖς τῶν Χριστιανῶν εὐχαίς σε-
σώθαι, τοῦτον δὲ φησιν καὶ θάνατον ἀπειλῆσαι τοῖς καθηγορεῖν ἡμῶν ἐπιχειροῦσιν. οἷς ὁ δηλώθεις ἀνήρ καὶ ταῦτα προσεπιλέγει: "ποταποὶ οὖν οἱ νόμοι οὗτοι, οὐς καθ' ἡμῶν μόνων ἔπονται ἀσεβεῖς ἄδικοι ώμοί; οὐς οὖτε Ὀνεσπασιανὸς ἐφύλαξεν, καὶ τοῖς σταῦρος ἐξουθενήσεν, κωλύων ἐκζητεῖσθαι Χρι-
στιανοὺς, οὐς οὖτε Ἀδριανὸς, καὶ τοῖς πάντα τὰ περίεργα πολυπραγμονῶν, οὔτε ὁ Εὐσεβῆς ἐπι-
κληθεῖσι ἐπεκύρωσεν." ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὅτι τις θέλοι, τιθέθην: μετίωμεν δ' ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἔξης ἀκολούθιαν.

Ποθενοῦ δὴ ἐφ' ὅλοις τῆς ζωῆς ἔτεσιν ἑνενήκοντα ἡν τοὺς ἐπὶ Γαλλίας μαρτυρήσασιν τελειωθέντος, Εἰρηναῖος τῆς κατὰ Λούγδουνον ἢς ὁ Ποθενός ἤγειτο παροικίας τὴν ἑπισκόπην διαδέχεται. Πολυ-
κάρπου δὲ τοῦτον ἀκουσθήν γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν νέαν ἐμαυθάνομεν ἥλικιαν. οὖτος τῶν ἐπὶ Ρώμης
tῆς διαδοχῆς ἑπισκόπων ἐν τρίτῃ συντάξει τῶν πρὸς τὰς αἵρεσις παραθέμενος, εἰς Ἐλεύθερον,
οὔ τα κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἡμῶν ἔξετάζεται, ὡς ἁν
dὴ καὶ αὐτῶν σπουδαζομένης αὐτῶ τῆς γραφῆς,
tὸν κατάλογον ἱστήσι, γράφων ὡδε. ΒΙ. "θεμελιώ-
σαντες οὗν καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες οἱ μακάριοι ἀπό-
stολοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, Λίνῳ τὴν τῆς ἑπισκοπῆς
λειτουργίαν ἐνεχειρίσασι· τοῦτον τοῦ Λίνου Παύλου
ev ταῖς πρὸς Τιμόθεου ἑπιστολαῖς μέμνηται. διαδέχεται δ' αὐτῶν 'Ἀνέγκλητος, μετὰ τοῦτον δὲ
tρίτῳ τόπῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν ἑπισκοπὴν
kληροῦται κλήμης, ὁ καὶ ἔορακώς τοὺς μακαρίους
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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, Irenaeus 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.
EUSEBIUS

ἀποστόλους καὶ συμβεβληκὼς αὐτοῖς καὶ ἑτὶ ἔναλον τὸ κήρυγμα τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχων, οὐ μόνος· ἐτὶ γὰρ πολλοὶ ὑπελείποντο τότε ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων δεδιδαγμένοι. ἐπὶ τούτων οὖν τοῦ Κλήμεντος στάσεως οὐκ ὅλης τοῖς ἐν Κορίνθῳ γενομένης ἀδελφοῖς, ἐπέστειλεν ἡ ἐν Ἡρώη ἐκκλησία ἰκανωτάτην γραφήν τοῖς Κορινθίοις, εἰς εἰρήνην συμβιβάζουσα αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνανεύσα τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν καὶ ἢν νεωτέρον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων παράδοσιν εἰλήφει.”

Iren. 3, 3, 3

Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησὶν. “τὸν δὲ Κλήμεντα ἔτοιμον διαδέχεται Εὐάρεστος καὶ τὸν Εὐάρεστον Ἀλέξανδρος, εἰθ’ οὕτως ἔκτος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων καθίσταται Ξύστος, μετὰ δὲ τούτων Τελεσφόρος, ὃς καὶ ἔνδοξως ἐμαρτύρησεν· ἔπευξα Ἡγίνος, εἰτὰ Πῖος, μεθ’ ὅν Ἀνίκητος. διαδεξαμένου τὸν Ἀνίκητον Σωτῆρος, νῦν διδεκάτω τόπῳ τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατέχει κλῆρον Ἐλευθέρους. τῇ αὐτῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ διδαχῇ ἡ τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παράδοσις καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας κήρυγμα κατήντηκεν εἰς ἡμᾶς.”

VII. Ταύτα ὁ Εἰρηναῖος ἀκολούθως ταῖς προ-διεξοδευθεῖσαι ἤμων ὑπογράφας ἱστορίας ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψεν, πέντε οὖν τὸν ἄρθρον, Ἐλέγχου καὶ ἀνατροπῆς τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως, ἐν δευτέρῳ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως, ὅτι δὴ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ὑποδείγματα τῆς θείας καὶ παραδόξου δυνάμεως ἐν εἰκλησίαις τις τῶν ὑπολείποντο, διὰ τούτων ἐπισημαίνεται,

1 The letter in question is generally called “the First Epistle of Clement,” but the true title is “the Epistle of the 450
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.¹

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."²

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 ἐν καθιστήη 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 διάδοχον, "succession," which is implied by the Latin version of Irenaeus.

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Iren. 2, 31, 2 λέγων: “τοσοῦτον δὲ ἀποδέουσιν τοῦ νεκρὸν 2 ἑγεῖραι, καθὼς ὁ κύριος ἠγειρεν καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι διὰ προσευχῆς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀδελφότητι πολλάκις διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τῆς κατὰ τόπον ἐκκλησίας πάσης αἰτησαμένης μετὰ νηστείας καὶ λυταινείας πολλῆς ἐπέστρεψεν τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ τετελευτηκότος καὶ ἐχαρίσθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ταῖς εὐχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων.”

Iren. 2, 32, 4 καὶ αὕτης φησιν μεθ’ ἔτερα: “εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸν κύριον 3 φαντασιωδῶς τὰ τουατα πεποιηκέναι φήσουσιν, ἐπὶ τὰ προφητικὰ ἀνάγοντες αυτοὺς, ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπιδείξομεν πάντα οὕτως περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ προερήθαι καὶ γεγονέναι βεβαιῶς καὶ αὐτὸν μόνον εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ· δι’ ὃ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐκείνου ὑνόματι οἱ ἄληθῶς αὐτοῦ μαθηταί, παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβόντες τὴν χάριν ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἐπ’ εὐεργεσίᾳ τῇ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων, καθὼς εἰς ἐκάστος τὴν δωρεάν ἐξήγην παρ’ αὐτοῦ. οὐ μὲν γὰρ δαίμονας 4 ἐλαύνουσι βεβαιῶς καὶ ἄληθῶς, ὥστε πολλάκις καὶ πιστεύειν ἐκείνους αὐτοὺς τοὺς καθαρισθέντας ἀπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν πνευμάτων καὶ εἶναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐ δὲ καὶ πρόγνωσιν ἔχουσιν τῶν μελλόντων καὶ ὀπτασίας καὶ ῥήσεως προφητικᾶς, ἀλλοι δὲ τοὺς κάμνοντας διὰ τῆς τῶν χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως ἱώντας καὶ ύγιείς ἀποκαθιστάσω, ἣ δὲ, καθὼς ἔφαμεν, καὶ νεκροὶ ἠγέρθησαν καὶ παρέμειναν σὺν ἡμῖν ἔτεσιν ἰκανοῖς, καὶ, τί γὰρ; οὐκ ἔστω ἄριθμον εἴπειν τῶν χαρισμάτων ὧν κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου ἡ ἐκκλησία παρὰ θεοῦ λαβοῦσα ἐν τῷ ὑνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Πνεύματι Πιλάτου ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἐπ’ εὐεργεσίᾳ.

1 Eusebius seems to slip in making his extract from Irenaeus, and by omitting the end of the sentence leaves “so
churches even as far as his time: "But they fall so far\footnote{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.
EUSEBIUS

Matt. 10, 8

τῇ τῶν ἑθνῶν ἐπιτελεῖ, μήτε ἔξαπατώσα τινας μήτε ἐξαργυριζομένη· ὡς γὰρ δωρεὰν ἐἴληφεν παρὰ θεοῦ, δωρεὰν καὶ διακονεῖ.” καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ δὲ τόπῳ ὁ αὐτὸς γράφει: “καθὼς καὶ πολλῶν ἀκούομεν ἄδελφῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προφητικὰ χαρίσματα ἐχόντων καὶ παντοδαπαίς λαλοῦντων διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος γλώσσας καὶ τὰ κρύφια τῶν ἄνθρωπον εἰς φανερὸν ἄγοντων ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι καὶ τὰ μυστήρια τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκδηγουμένων.” ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τοῦ διαφοράς χαρισμάτων μέχρι καὶ τῶν δηλουμένων χρόνων παρὰ τοῖς αξίοις διαμείναι.

VIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀρχόμενοι τῆς πραγματείας ὑπό- σχεσιν πεποιήμεθα παραθήσεσθαι κατὰ καιρὸν εἰπόν- τες τὰς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐκκλησιαστικὰς προσβυτέρων τε καὶ συγγραφέων φωνὰς ἐν αἷς τὰς περὶ τῶν ἐνδιαθήκων γραφῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς κατελθούσας παρατόσεις γραφῆ παραδεδωκασιν, τούτων δὲ καὶ ὁ Εἰρηναῖος ἢν, φέρει, καὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ παραθώμεθα λέξεις, καὶ πρῶτας γε τὰς περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν εὐ- αγγελίων, οὕτως ἔχοούσας: “ὁ μὲν δὴ Μαθαῖος εἰν τοῖς ‘Εβραίοις τῇ ἱδίᾳ αὐτῶν διαλέκτῳ καὶ γραφὴν εξήνεγκεν εὐαγγέλιον, τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου εἰν Ἐρωμῆ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ ἑκατέρους τὴν ἐκκλησίαν: μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον Μάρκος, ὁ μαθητής καὶ ἐρμηνευτής Πέτρου, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παρα- δεδωκεν· καὶ Λουκᾶς δὲ, ὁ ἀκόλουθος Παύλου, τὸ ὑπ’ ἐκείνου κηρυσσόμενον εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βιβλίῳ κατ- ἐκεῖνο. ἔπεσα Ἰωάννης, ὁ μαθητής τοῦ κυρίου, ὁ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος αὐτοῦ ἀναπτεσών, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέδωκε 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 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 Ἀποκαλύψεως καὶ τῆς ψήφου τῆς τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου προσηγορίας οὕτως διαλαμβάνει: "τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἔχοντων καὶ ἐν πάσι δὲ τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τοῦτον κειμένον καὶ μαρτυροῦντος αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν κατ’ ὅψιν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἔορακότων καὶ τοῦ λόγου διδάσκοντος ἡμᾶς ὅτι ὁ ἀριθμὸς τοῦ ὄνοματος τοῦ θηρίου κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων ψήφου διὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτῶ γραμμάτων ἐμφαίνεται," καὶ ὑπο-

καταβάς περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φάσκει: "ἡμεῖς οὖν οὐκ ἀποκινδυνεύομεν περὶ τοῦ ὄνοματος τοῦ ἀντι-

χρίστου ἀποφαινόμενοι βεβαιωτικῶς. εἰ γὰρ ἦδει ἀναφανδόν ἕν τῶν νων καιρῶ κηρύττεσθαι τοῦ-

νομα αὐτοῦ, δι’ ἐκείνου ἀν ἔρρεθη τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἔορακότος: οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ

χρόνου ἐωράθη, ἀλλὰ σχεδοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς."
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, V. viii. 5–8

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

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.
EUSEBIUS

Wisd. 6, 20 δὲ θεοῦ περιποιητικὴ ἀφθαρσίας, ἀφθαρσία δὲ ἐγγύς εἶναι ποιεῖ θεοῦ." καὶ ἀπομνημονευμάτων
Iren. 4, 27, 1. 2, 28, 1. 31, 1. 32, 1
δὲ ἀποστολικὸν τινός πρεσβυτέρου, οὐ τούνομα
σωπῆ παρέδωκεν, μνημονεύει εξηγήσεις τε αὐτὸν
Iren. 4, 6, 2. 5, 26, 2. 28, 4
θείων γραφῶν παρατεθεῖται. ἔτι καὶ 'Ιουστίνου
tοῦ μάρτυρος καὶ 'Ιγνάτιον μνήμην πεποίησαι,
μαρτυρίας αὕτης καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τούτων γραφέντων
Iren. 1, 27, 4 κεχρημένος, ἐπήγγειλται δ’ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν Μαρκίων
συγγραμμάτων ἀντιλέξειν αὐτῷ ἐν ἱδίῳ σπον-
dάσματι.

Καὶ περὶ τῆς κατὰ τοὺς ἐβδομήκοντα ἐρμηνείας
tῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν ἄκουε οἶα κατὰ λέξιν
gράφει: "ὁ θεὸς οὖν ἀνθρωπος ἐγένετο καὶ αὐτὸς
κύριος ἐσώσεν ἡμᾶς, δεδοὺ τὸ τῆς παρθένου σημείον,
ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὃς ἐνοι φασών τῶν νῦν τολμώντων
μεθερμηνεύειν τὴν γραφήν. ' ἰδοὺ ἡ νεάνις ἐν
γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται νῦν’. ὡς Θεοδοτίῳ
ήμηνεσεν ὁ 'Εφέσιος καὶ 'Ακίλας ὁ Ποντικός,
ἀμφότεροι 'Ιουδαῖοι προσήλυτοι, οἷς κατακολοῦ-
θήσαντες οἱ 'Εβιωναῖοι ἐξ 'Ἰωσηφ αὐτῶν γε-
γενήσθαι φάσκοντο.' τούτως ἐπιφέρει μετά
Iren. 3, 21, 1 βραχεὰ λέγων: "πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ 'Ῥωμαίους κρατῆναι
tὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν, ἔτι τῶν Μακεδών τὴν 'Ασίαν
cateχοίτων, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Δάγου φιλοτιμούμενος
tὴν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν κατεσκευασμένην βιβλιοθήκην ἐν
'Αλεξανδρείᾳ κοσμήσαι τοῖς πάντων ἀνθρώπων
συγγράμμασιν ὡσα γε σπουδαία ὑπήρχεν, ἦττάτο
παρὰ τῶν 'Ιεροσολυμίαν εἰς τὴν 'Ελληνικήν
diálektōn σχεῖν αὐτῶν μεταβεβλημένας τὰς γραφάς.
oi δέ, ὑπήκουσιν γὰρ ἐτε τοῖς Μακεδόσων τότε, τοὺς
παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐμπειροτάτους τῶν γραφῶν καὶ
ἀμφοτέρων τῶν διάλεκτων, ἐβδομήκοντα πρεσβυ-
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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.
EUSEBIUS

térous, ἔπεμψαν Πτολεμαίων, ποιήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ ὁπερ ἠβουλετο. ὁ δὲ ἱδιὰ πείραν αὐτῶν λαβεῖν ἠθελῆσα ευλαβθείς τε μή τι ἁρὰ συνθήμενον ἀποκρύψωσι τὴν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς διὰ τῆς ἐρμηνείας ἀλήθειαν, χωρίσας αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐκέλευσε τοὺς πάντας τὴν αὐτὴν ἐρμηνείαν γράφειν, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν βιβλίων ἐποίησεν. συνελ-θόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτῷ παρὰ τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ συναντιβαλόντων ἐκάστοτε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐρμηνείαν, ὁ μὲν θεὸς ἐδοξάσθη, αἱ δὲ γραφαί ὄντως θείαι ἐγνώσθησαν, τῶν πάντων τὰ αὐτὰ ταῖς αὐταῖς λέξεσιν καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀναγορευσάντων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τελούς, ὡστε καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἐθνη γνώναι ὅτι κατ' ἑπίπνοιαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ὑμενευμέναι αἱ γραφαί. καὶ οὐδὲν γε θαυμαστὸν ἑτὸν θεοῦ τοῦτο ἐνηργηκέναι, ὅσο γε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ Ναβουχοδονός αἱχμαλωσία τοῦ λαοῦ διάθραπεσσῶν τῶν γραφῶν καὶ μετὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀνελθόντων εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν, ἔπειτα ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἐνέπνευσεν Ἐσδρα τῷ ἱερεὶ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Λευὶ τοὺς τῶν προγεγονότων προφητῶν πάντας ἀνατάξασθαι λόγους καὶ ἀποκαταστῆσαι τῷ λαῷ τὴν διὰ Μωσέως νομοθεσίαν." τοσαῦτα ὄ Εἱρηναιὸς.

IX. Ἐννέα δὲ καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν τῇ βασιλείᾳ δι- ἀρκέσαντος Ἀντωνίου, Κόμοδος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραλαμβάνει· οὐ κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἐτὸς τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐκκλησιῶν Ἰουλιανὸς ἐγκειρίζεται τὴν ἐπισκοπήν, ἐπὶ δυοκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν Ἀγριππίνου τὴν λειτουργίαν ἀποπλήσαντος.

1 Ezra 9, 38-41
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 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 Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.). See E. Schürer, GJV. vol. ii.

2 In A.D. 180.
Χ. Ἡγεῖτο δὲ τηνικαύτα τῆς τῶν πιστῶν αὐτοθῆς διατριβῆς ἀνὴρ κατὰ παιδείαν ἐπιδοξῶτατος, ὅνομα αὐτῷ Πάνταινος, ἐξ ἀρχαίου ἔθους διδασκαλεῖον τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων παρ' αὐτοῖς συνεστῶτος. οὐ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς παρατείνεται καὶ πρὸς τῶν εὖ λόγω καὶ τῇ περὶ τὰ θεία σπουδὴ δυνατῶν συγκροτεῖσθαι παρειλήφαμεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μάλιστα κατ' ἑκείνον καιρὸν διαλάμψας λόγος ἔχει τὸν δεδηλωμένον, οἷα καὶ ἀπὸ φιλοσόφου ἀγωγῆς τῶν καλομενῶν Στωϊκῶν ὠρμημένον. τοσαυτὴν δ' οὖν φασιν αὐτὸν ἐκθυμοτάτη διαθέσει προθυμιάν περὶ τὸν θείον λόγον ἐνδείξασθαι, ὡς καὶ κήρυκα τοῦ κατὰ Χριστὸν εὐαγγελίου τοῖς ἐπ' ἀνατολῆς ἐθνεσθην ἀναδειχθῆναι, μέχρι καὶ τῆς Ἰνδῶν στειλάμενον γῆς. ἦσαν γὰρ, ἦσαν εἰς ἑτῷ τὸτε πλεῖους εὐαγγελιστὰ τοῦ λόγου, ἐνθεον ζῆλον ἀποστολικοῦ μυμήματος συνεισφέρει ἐπ' αὐξήσι καὶ οἰκοδομῇ τοῦ θείου λόγου προμηθούμενοι: ὀν εἰς γενόμενος καὶ ὁ Πάνταινος, καὶ εἰς Ἰνδοὺς ἐλθεῖν λέγεται, ἐνθα λόγος εὑρεῖν αὐτὸν προφθάσαν τὴν αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν τὸ κατὰ Μάθαιον εὐαγγέλιον παρὰ τισιν αὐτὸθι τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπεγνωκός, οἷς Βαρθολομαίον τῶν ἀποστόλων ἑνα κηρύξαι αὐτοῖς τε Ἑβραίων γράμμασι τὴν τοῦ Μάθαιον καταλείψας γραφήν, ἤν καὶ σύζεσθαι εἰς τὸν δηλομένον χρόνον. ὃ ποι ἡμῶν Πάνταινος ἐπὶ πολλοῖς κατορθώμασι τοῦ κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τελευτῶν ἤγείται διδασκαλεῖον; ζώση φωνῇ καὶ διὰ συγγραμμάτων τοὺς τῶν θείων δογμάτων θησαυροὺς ὑπομνηματιζόμενος.

XI. Κατὰ τοῦτον ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς συνακούμενοι ἔπε' Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἐγγενρίζετο Κλήμης, ὁμώνυμος τῷ πάλαι τῆς Ῥωμαιῶν ἐκκλησίας 462.
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, V. x. 1—xi. 1

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
EUSEBIUS

ηγησαμένω φοιτήτη τῶν ἀποστόλων· δι' ἐκαὶ 2
όνομαστὶ ἐν ἂν συνέταξεν Ἰπποτυπώσεως ὡς ἂν
διδασκάλου τοῦ Πανταίνου μέμνηται, τοῦτον τε
αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν Στρωματέων ἐν πρώτῳ συγγράμ-
ματι αἰνίττεσθαι μοι δοκεῖ, ὅτε τοὺς ἐμφανεστέρους
ὁς κατείληφεν ἀποστολικῆς διαδοχῆς ἐπισημηνα-
μένος ταῦτα φησιν· “’ηδὴ δε οὐ γραφῇ εἰς ἐπίδειξιν
3
tetexnasmēnē ἢδὲ ἡ πραγματεία, ἀλλὰ μοι ὑπο-
μνήματα εἰς γῆρας θησαυρίζεται, λήθης φάρμακον,
εἴδωλον ἀτεχνῶς καὶ σκιαγραφία τῶν ἐναργῶν καὶ
ἐμψύχων ἐκείνων ὅτι κατηξίωθην ἐπακοῦσαί λόγων
τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν μακαρίων καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἄξιολόγων.
τούτων ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐλλάδος, ὁ Ἰωνικός, ὁ δὲ
ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης Ἐλλάδος, τῆς Κοίλης ἀτερος
αὐτῶν Συρίας ἢν, ὁ δὲ ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου, ἄλλοι δὲ
ἀνὰ τὴν ἀνατολήν, καὶ ταύτης ὁ μὲν τις τῶν
Ἁσσυρίων, ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Ἕβραιος
ἀνέκαθεν· ὑστάτῳ δὲ περιτυχῶν, δυνάμει δὲ ἀρὰ
πρῶτος ἢν, ἀνεπανομην τούτων Ἐγύπτου θηρᾶσας
λεληθότα. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τῆς ἀληθῆ τῆς μακαρίας
5
σώξοντες διδασκαλίας παράδοσιν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ Πέτρου
καὶ Ἰσακώβου Ἰωάννου τε καὶ Παύλου τῶν ἄγιων
ἀποστόλων παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεξάμενος (ὅλγοι
δὲ οἱ πατράσις ὁμοίοι), ἥκον δὴ σὺν θεῶ καὶ εἰς
ἡμᾶς, τὰ προγονικὰ ἐκείνα καὶ ἀποστολικὰ κατα-
θησόμενοι στέρματα.”

XII. Ἐπὶ τούτων τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμως ἐκκλη-
σίας ἐπίσκοπος ὁ παρὰ πολλοῖς εἰς ἔτη νῦν βε-
βομένος Νάρκισσος ἐγνωρίζετο, πεντεκαιδεκάτην
ἀγωνίας διαδοχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ
Ἀδριανὸν πολιορκίας, ἐξ οὖ δὴ πρῶτον τὴν
αὐτόθι ἐκκλησίαν ἐξ ἐθνῶν 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,\(^1\) 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,\(^2\) 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."

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

\(^1\) See Introduction, p. xlv.
\(^2\) That is, the district of the Lebanon.
EUSEBIUS

ἐκ περιτομῆς καθηγήσασθαί τε αὐτῶν πρῶτον ἐξ ἑθνῶν ἑπίσκοπον Μάρκουν ἐδηλώσαμεν, μεθ’ οὖν ἑπισκοπεῦσαι Κασσιανοῦ αἰ τῶν αὐτόθι διαδοχαὶ περιέχουσιν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Πούπλιον, εἴτε Μάξιμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἰουλιανὸν, ἐπειτὰ Γάιον, μεθ’ οὖν Σύμμαχον, καὶ Γάιον ἐτερον, καὶ πάλιν ἄλλου Ἰουλιανὸν, Καπιτωνὰ τε πρὸς τούτοις καὶ Ὀὐάλεντα καὶ Δολιχιανὸν, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τῶν Νάρκισσον, τριακοστὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἑξῆς διαδοχὴν γεγενημένων.

XIII. Ἔν τούτω καὶ Ἄρων, γένος τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀσίας, μαθητευθεὶς ἐπὶ Ἡρώμης, ὡς αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ, Τατιανῷ, ὧν ἐκ τῶν πρόσθεν ἐγγομεν, διάφορα συντάξασι βιβλία, μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν Μαρκίωνος παρατέτακται ἀἱρεσιν. ἦν καὶ εἰς διαφόρους γνώμας κατ’ αὐτὸν διαστάσασιν ἱστορεῖ, τοὺς τὴν διάστασιν ἐμπεποιηκότας ἀναγράφων ἐπ’ ἀκριβεῖς τε τὰς παρ’ ἐκάστῳ τούτων ἐπινεοημένας διελέγχων ψευδολογίας. ἢκοιε δ’ οὖν καὶ αὐτοῦ τὰτά γράφοντος. 'ὅδι καὶ παρ’ ἐαυτοῖς ἀσύμφωνοι γεγόνασιν, ἀσυνιστάτου γνώμης ἀντιποιούμενοι. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς τούτων ἀγέλης Ἀπελλῆς μὲν, ὁ τὴν πολιτείαν σεμνυόμενος καὶ τὸ γήρας, μίαν ἄρχην ὀμολογεῖ, τὰς δὲ προφητείας ἐξ ἀντικειμένου λέγει πνεύματος, πειθόμενος ἀποφθέγμασι παρθένου δαιμονώσης, ὅνομα Φιλουμένης ἐτεροι δὲ, καθὼς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ναῦτης [Μαρκίων], δύο ἄρχας εἰσηγοῦνται. ἀφ’ οὖν εἰσὶν Ποτίτος τε καὶ Βασιλικός. καὶ οὐτοὶ μὲν κατακολουθήσαντες τῷ Ποντικῷ λύκῳ καὶ μη εὐφρίσκοντες 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.
καὶ δύο ἀρχαὶ ἀπεφήσαντο ψιλῶς καὶ ἀναποδείκτως. Ἀλλοι δὲ πάλιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἐξοκειλαντες, οὐ μόνον δύο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρεῖς ὑποτίθενται φύσεις. ὡς ἐστιν ἀρχηγὸς καὶ προστάτης Συνέργως, καθὼς οἱ τὸ διδασκαλεῖον αὐτοῦ προβαλλόμενοι λέγουσιν.

Γράφει δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὃς καὶ εἰς λόγους ἐξηλύθει τῷ Ἀπελλῆ, φάσκων οὖτως: "ὁ γὰρ γέρων Ἀπελλῆς συμμίξας ἦμιν, πολλὰ μὲν κακῶς λέγων ἡλέγχθη: οἶθεν καὶ ἔφασκεν μὴ δεῖν ὅλως ἐξετάζειν τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ' ἐκαστὸν, ὃς πεπίστευκεν, διαμένει: σωθήσεσθαι γὰρ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον ἥλπικότας ἀπεφαίνετο, μόνον ἐὰν ἐν ἔργος ἁγαθοῖς εὐρίσκωνται: τὸ δὲ πάντων ἀσαφέστατον ἐδοξαματιζετο αὐτῷ πράγμα, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν, τὸ περὶ θεοῦ. ἐλέγεν μὲν γὰρ μίαν ἀρχὴν καθώς καὶ ὁ ἡμέτερος λόγος." εἶτα προθεὶς αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν 6 δόξαν, ἐπιφέρει φάσκων: "λέγοντος δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν 'πόθεν ἡ ἀπόδειξις αὐτῆς σοι, ἡ πῶς δύνασαι λέγειν μίαν ἀρχήν; φράσον ἡμῖν," ἐφ' ὑπὲρ τὰς μὲν προφητείας ἑαυτὰς ἐλέγχειν διά τὸ μηδὲν ὅλως ἀληθεῖς εἰρήκεια: ἀσύμφωνοι γὰρ ὑπάρχουσι καὶ ψευδεῖς καὶ ἑαυταῖς ἀντικείμεναι. τὸ δὲ πῶς ἐστὶν μία ἀρχή, μὴ γνώσκεις ἐλέγεγεν, οὕτως δὲ κινεῖσθαι μόνον. εἴτ' ἐπομοσαμένον μου τάληθες εἰπεῖν, 7 ὀμνυνεν ἀληθεύων λέγειν μὴ ἐπίστασθαι πῶς εἰς ἐστιν ἀγένητος θεὸς, τοῦτο δὲ πιστεύειν. ἐγὼ δὲ γελᾶσας κατέγνων αὐτοῦ, διότι διδάσκαλος εἶναι λέγων, οὐκ ἤδει τὸ διδασκόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κρατύνειν."
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 μεμαθητεύοις ἐπὶ Ἄρωμης Τατιανῶν ἐαυτὸν ὁμολογεῖν ψηνὲν δὲ καὶ ἐσπονδάσθαι τῷ Τατιανῷ Προβλημάτων βιβλίον· δι’ ὅιν τῷ ἀσάφεις καὶ ἑπικεκρυμμένον τῶν θείων γραφῶν παραστήσεων ὑποσχομένου τοῦ Τατιανοῦ, αὑτὸς ὁ Ἀρώμης ἐν ἰδίῳ συγγράμματι τὰς τῶν ἐκείνου προβλημάτων ἐπιλύσεως εὐθύσεθαι ἐπαγγέλλεται. φέρεται δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐξαίμερον ἀπόμνημα. ὁ γε τοῦ Ἀπελλῆς οὕτως μυρία κατὰ τοῦ Μουσέως ἡσέβησεν νόμοι, διὰ πλεονῶν συγγραμμάτων τοὺς θείους βλασφημήσας λόγοις εἰς ἐλεγχὸν τε, ὡς γε δὴ ἐδόκει, καὶ ἀνατροπὴν αὐτῶν ὁ μικράν πεποιημένον σπουδὴν. ταῦτα μὲν ὁὐν περὶ τούτων·

ΧΙ. Μισοκαλὸς γε μὴν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ φιλοπόνηρος ὦν ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ θεοῦ πολέμιος, μηδένα τε μηδαμῶς τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπολυτῶν ἐπιβουλῆς τρόπον, αἱρέσεις ἤγαν αὐθις ἐπιφύεσθαι κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐνήργεις. διὸ καὶ μὲν βολῶν δίκην ἐρπετῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἁσίας καὶ Φρυγίας εἰρτοῦ, τοὺς μὲν δὴ παράκλητον Μοντανόν, τάς δὲ εἰ αὐτοῦ γυναῖκας, Πρίσκιλλαν καὶ Μαξιμιλλαν, ὡς ἀν τοῦ Μοντανοῦ προφήτηδας γεγονούσας, αὐχοῦντες· Χ. οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ Ἀρώμης ἡκμαζοῦν, διὸ τῇ γείτον Φλωρίνος, πρεσβυτερίου τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποσεῶν, Βλάστος τε σὺν τούτω, παραπλησίως πτώματι κατεσχημένος· οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείους τῆς ἐκκλησίας περιέλκοντες ἐπὶ τὸ σφῶν ὑπήγον βουλήμα, ἰδιῶς δὲν περὶ τῆν ἀλήθειαν νευτερίζειν πειρώμενον.

ΧΙΒ. Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τῆν λεγομένην κατὰ Φρύγας αἱρεσιν ὁπλὸν ἱσχυρὸν καὶ ἀκαταγωνιστὸν ἐπὶ τῆς 470
writer states that he had been himself a disciple of Tatian at Rome, and he says that Tatian had prepared a book on Problems, in which he undertook to set out what was unclear and hidden in the divine Scriptures, and Rhodo himself in his own work announces that he will set out the answers to Tatian's Problems. There is also extant a treatise of Rhodo on the Hexaëmeron.\textsuperscript{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 Cataphrygian\textsuperscript{2} heresy the power which champions the truth raised up a powerful and invincible weapon at Hierapolis in

\textsuperscript{1} That is, the Narrative of Creation in six days.
\textsuperscript{2} \textit{i.e.} Montanist.
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣ

'Ιεραπόλεως τῶν Ἀπολινάριον, οὗ καὶ πρόσθεν μνήμην ὁ λόγος πεποίητο. Ἀλλοις τε σύν αὐτῷ πλείονς τῶν την κακίας λογίων ἀνδρῶν ἢ τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπέρμαχος ἀνίστη δύναμις, ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἡμῖν ἱστορίας πλείστη τις ὑπόθεσις καταλέιπεται. Ἀρχόμενος γοῦν τῆς κατ' αὐτῶν γραφῆς, τῶν εἰρημένων δή τις πρώτον ἐπισημαίνεται ὡς καὶ ἀγράφοις τοῖς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπεξέλθου ἐλέγχοις· προοιμάζεται γοῦν τούτον τὸν πρόπον· "ἐκ πλείστου ὅσου καὶ ἰκανώτατοι χρόνου, ἀγαπητε Ἀυρήκιε Μάρκελλε, ἐπιταχθεὶς ὑπὸ σοῦ συγγράφαι τινὰ λόγον εἰς τὴν τῶν κατὰ Μιλτιάδην λεγομένων αἴρεσιν, ἕφεσικώτερον πως μέχρι νῦν διεκείμην, οὐκ ἀπορία τοῦ δύνασθαι ἐλέγχειν μὲν τὸ ψεῦδος, μαρτυρεῖν δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, δεδιώκη δὲ καὶ ἐξευλαβούμενος μή τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ ἐπισυγγράφειν ἡ ἐπιδιατάσσεσθαι τῷ τῆς τοῦ εὐαγγελιοῦ καινῆς διαθήκης λόγῳ, οὕτῳ προσθείναι μὴτε ἀφελεῖν δυνατὸν τῷ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτὸ πολιτεύεσθαι προημένων. προσφάτως δὲ γενόμενος ἐν Ἀγκύρᾳ τῆς Γαλατίας καὶ καταλαβὼν τὴν κατὰ τόπον ἐκκλησίαν ὑπὸ τῆς νεάς ταύτης, οὐχ, ὡς αὐτοὶ φασιν, προφητείας, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον, ὡς δεικτήσεται, ψευδοπροφητείας διατεθρυπνημένα, καθ' ὅσον δυνατὸν, τοῖς κυρίοις παρασχόντος, περὶ αὐτῶν τε τούτων καὶ τῶν προτεινόμενων ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκαστὰ τε διελέχθημεν ἕμεραις πλείοσιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἡς τὴν μὲν ἐκκλησίαν ἀγαλλιάζημαί καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀληθείαν ἐπιρρωσθῆναι, τοὺς δ' ἐξ ἐναντίας πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἀποκρουσθῆναι καὶ τοὺς ἀντιθέτους λυπηθῆναι. ἄξιοντων οὖν τῶν κατὰ τόπον πρεσβυτέρων ὑπὸ τῶν λεγόντων κατὰ τῶν ἀντιδιατιθεμένων τῷ τῆς 472
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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 ἐκτενεστᾶτα instead of the impossible ἐκαστάς τε.
αληθείας λόγω υπόμνημα τι καταλείπωμεν, παράντος καὶ τοῦ συμπρεσβυτέρου ἡμῶν Ζωτικοῦ τοῦ Ὄστρηνοι, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπράξαμεν, ἐπηγγειλάμεθα δὲ, ἐνβάδε γράψαντες, τοῦ κυρίου διδόντος, διὰ σπουδῆς πέμψειν αὐτοῖς.

Ταῦτα καὶ ἐξῆς τούτοις ἔτερα κατ’ ἀρχὰς εἰπὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόγου, τοῦ αἰτιον τῆς δηλούμενης αἴρεσεως προὶ τοῦτον ἀνιστορεῖ τοῖς τρόποις ‘‘ἡ τοῖνυν ἐνστασις αὐτῶν καὶ πρόσφατος τοῦ ἀποσχίσματος αἴρεσις πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν αἰτίαν ἐσχε τουαύτην. κάμη τις ἐναι λέγεται ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν 7 Φρυγίαν Μυσία, καλομενὴ Ἀρδαβαί τοῦνόμα. ἐνθα φασί των νεοπίστων πρώτως, Μοντανὸν τοῦνομα, κατὰ Γρατὸν Ἀσίας ἀνθύπατον, ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ ψυχῆς ἀμέτρῳ φιλοπρωτείας δόντα πάροδον εἰς ἑαυτὸν τῷ ἀντικειμένῳ πνευματοφορηθήναι τε καὶ αἵφνιδίως ἐν κατοχῇ τινι καὶ παρεκπόθαι γενόμενον ἐνθοσιὰν ἀρξισθαι τε λαλεῖν καὶ ἕνωσιν εἰς παραδοσια καὶ κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἀνώθεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας έδος δήθεν προφητεύοντα. τῶν δὲ κατ’ ἐκείνον καροῦ ἐν τῇ τῶν ἑρωιδῶν ἐκφωνημάτων ἀκρασίᾳ γενομένων οἱ μὲν ως ἐπὶ ἐνεργουμένω καὶ δαιμονώτατο καὶ ἐν πλάσις πνεύματι υπάρχοντο καὶ τοὺς ὀχλοὺς παράττοντο ἀχοθόμενοι, ἐπετήμων καὶ λαλεῖν ἑκώλυν, με- μνημένοι τῆς τοῦ κυρίου διαστολῆς τε καὶ ἀπελῆς πρὸς τὸ φιλάττεσθαι τῆν τῶν πνευματικῶν ἐγγραφότως παροιμίαν· οἱ δὲ ως ἄγων πνεύματι καὶ προφητικῷ χαρίσματι ἐπαιρόμενοι καὶ οὐχ ἀκούσαντα ἀκούσας καὶ τῆς διαστολῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἑπιλαμβάνοντες, τὸ βλασφήμον καὶ ὑποκοριστικὸν καὶ λαοπλάνον πνεῦμα προκαλοῦντο, θελγόμενοι 474.
word of the truth, when Zoticus of Otrosis, 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
EUSEBIUS

καὶ πλανώμενοι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸ μηκέτι κολύσεσθαι σιωπᾶν. τέχνη δὲ τινι, μᾶλλον δὲ τοιαύτῃ μεθόδῳ κακοτεχνίας ὁ διάβολος τὴν κατὰ τῶν παρηκόμων ἀπώλειαν μηχανησάμενος καὶ παρ’ ἀξίαν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τιμώμενος ὑπεζήγηνερέν τε καὶ προσεξέκασαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀποκεκομημένην ἀπὸ τῆς κατ’ ἀλῆθειαν πίστεως διάνοιαν, ὡς καὶ ἔτερας τινὰς δύο γυναικές ἐπεγείραι καὶ τοῦ νόθου πνεύματος πληρώσαι, ὡς καὶ λαλεῖν ἐκφρόνως καὶ ἀκαίρως καὶ ἀλλοτριότροπως, ὁμοίως τῷ προειρημένῳ. καὶ τοὺς μὲν χαῖροντας καὶ χαυνομένους ἐπ’ αὐτῶν μακαρίζοντος τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ διὰ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν ἐπαγγελμάτων ἐκφυσιοῦντος, ἔσθ’ ὅπι δὲ καὶ κατακρίνοντος στοχαστικῶς καὶ ἀξιοπίστως αὐτοῖς ἀντικρος, ἰνα καὶ ἑλεγκτικὸν εἶναι δοκῇ (ὁλίγοι δ’ ἦσαν οὗτοι τῶν Φρυγῶν ἐξηπατημένουι), τὴν δὲ καθόλου καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκκλησίαν βλασφημεῖν διδάσκοντος τοῦ ἀπηθανασμένου πνεύματος, ὅτι μὴ τηρήσαι μὴ τέλεσαι τοῦ αὐτῆς τὸ ψευδοπροφητικὸν ἐλάμβανεν πνεῦμα, τῶν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πιστῶν πολλάκις καὶ πολλαχῇ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τοῦτο συνελθόντως καὶ τοὺς προσφάτους λόγους ἐξετασάντως καὶ βεβήλους ἀποφηνάντων καὶ ἀποδοκιμασάντως τὴν ἁφέσιν, ὡς ὅτι τῆς τε ἐκκλησίας ἐξεσωθησαν καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας εἰροθησαν.''

Ταῦτα ἐν πρώτοις ἱστορήσας καὶ δι’ ὅλον τοῦ συγγράμματος τὸν ἐλεγχὸν τῆς κατ’ αὐτοῦ πλάνης ἐπαγαγών, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς

1 The meaning is plain, though it is not quite clear whether the subject of the infinitives (κολύσεσθαι σιωπᾶν) is Montanus or the "seducing spirit," but there is a word too much in the 476
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, V. xvi. 8-11

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.

2 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.
EUSEBIUS

tῶν προδεδηλωμένων ταῦτα φησιν· ἡπειδὴ τοῖνυν ἐργασάτο
καὶ προφητοφόρτες ἡμᾶς ἀπεκάλουν, ὅτι μὴ τοὺς
ἀμετροφώνους αὐτῶν προφήτης ἐδεξάμεθα (τοὺς
γὰρ εἰναὶ φασιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἑρωγεῖλατο τῷ λαῷ
πέμψειν ὁ κύριος), ἀποκρινάσθωσαν ἡμῖν πρὸς
θεοῦ· ἔστων τις, ὦ βέλτιστοι, τούτων τῶν ἀπὸ
Μοντανοῦ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν λαλεῖν ἀρξαμένων
ὀστίς ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἐδιώκθη ἡ ὑπὸ παρανόμων
ἀπεκτάνθη; οὐδὲις. οὔδὲ γε τις αὐτῶν κρατήθηκεν
ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀνεσταυρώθη; οὐ γὰρ οὖν.
οὔδὲ μὴν οὔδὲ ἐν συναγωγαῖς Ἰουδαίων τῶν
γυναικῶν τις ἐμαστηγώθη ποτὲ ἡ ἐλθοβολήθη;
οὔδαμοσε οὐδαμίως, ἄλλω δὲ θανάτῳ τελευτήσαι
λέγονται Μοντανὸς τὸ καὶ Μαξίμιλλα. τούτους
γὰρ ὑπὸ πνεῦματος βλαψίφρωνος ἐκατέρωσε ὑπο-
κινήσαντος λόγος ἀναρτήσαί ἐαυτοὺς οὐχ ὁμοῦ,
κατὰ δὲ τὸν τῆς ἐκάστου τελευτής καιρὸν φήμη
πολλῇ καὶ οὕτω δὲ τελευτήσαι καὶ τὸν βίον κατα-
στρέψαι Ἰουδαὶ προδότου δίκην, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν
θαυμαστὸν ἐκείνον τὸν πρῶτον τῆς κατ’ αὐτῶν
λεγομένης προφητείας οἶον ἐπίτροπόν τινα Θεό-
δοτον πολὺς ἀἱρεῖ λόγος ὡς αἱρόμενον ποτε καὶ
ἀναλαμβανόμενον εἰς οὐρανοὺς παρεκτήσατε τέ
καὶ καταπιστεύσατε ἐαυτοῖς τῷ τῆς ἀπάτης πνεῦματι
cαὶ δισκευέντα κακῶς τελευτήσαι· φασὶ γοῦν
τοῦτο οὕτως γεγονέναι. ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀνεύ τοῦ ἰδείν
ἡμᾶς ἐπίστησατε τι τῶν τοιούτων νομίζωμεν, ὦ
μακάριε· ὦσις μὲν γὰρ οὕτως, ὦσις δὲ οὐχ οὕτως
tετελευτήκασιν Μοντανὸς τε καὶ Θεόδοτος καὶ ἡ
προερημένη γυνῆ·.

Ἄθις δ’ ἐν τῷ αὐτῶ φησιν λόγῳ τοὺς τότε
ἱεροὺς ἐπισκόπους πεπειράσθαι μὲν τὸ ἐν τῇ
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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
Μαξιμιλλῆς πνεῦμα διελέγξαι, κεκωλύσθαι δὲ πρὸς ἐτέρων, συνεργοῦντων δηλαδή τῷ πνεύματι· γράφει δὲ οὕτως: “καὶ μὴ λεγέτω ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ τῷ κατὰ ’Αστέριον ’Ορβανὸν τὸ διὰ Μαξιμιλλῆς πνεῦμα ‘διώκομαι ὡς λύκος ἐκ προβάτων’ οὐκ εἰμὶ λύκος· ῥῆμα εἰμὶ καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ δύναμις, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι δύναμιν ἐναργῶς δειξάτω καὶ ἐλεγξάτω καὶ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος καταναγκασάτω τοὺς τότε παρόντας εἰς τὸ δοκιμάσαι καὶ διαλεχθῆναι τῷ πνεύματι λαλοῦντι, ἀνδρὰς δοκίμους καὶ ἐπισκόπους, Ζωτικὸν ἀπὸ Κουμάνης κόμης καὶ ’Ιουλιανὸν ἀπὸ ’Απαμείας, ὅν οἱ περὶ Θεμίσωνα τὰ στόματα φιμώσαντες οὐκ εἰσασαν τὸ ψευδὲς καὶ λασπλάνων πνεῦμα ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἑλεγχθῆναι.”

Ἐν ταῦτῳ δὲ πάλιν ἔτερα μεταξὶ πρὸς ἑλεγχον τῶν τῆς Μαξιμιλλῆς ψευδοπροφητεῖων εἰπὼν, ὁμοὶ τὸν τε χρόνον καθ’ ὅν ταῦτ’ ἐγραφεν, σημαίνει καὶ τῶν προρρήσεων αὐτῆς μέμηται δι’ ὃν πολέμους ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀκαταστασίας προεμπνεύσατο, ὅν καὶ τὴν ψευδολογίαν εὐθύνει, ὥδε λέγων: "καὶ πῶς οὐ καταφανὲς ἡ δη γέγονε ν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψεύδος; πλείω γὰρ ἡ τρισκαίδεκα ἔτη εἰς ταῦτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξ οὗ τετελεύτηκεν ἡ γυνὴ, καὶ οὔτε μερικός οὔτε καθολικὸς κόσμῳ γέγονεν πόλεμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ Χριστιανοὶ μᾶλλον εἰρήνη διάμονος ἐξ ἐλέου θεοῦ.”

Καὶ ταῦτα δ’ ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου συγγράμματος. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου δὲ σμικρὰς παραθήσομαι

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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
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.

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λέξεις, δι' ὧν πρὸς τοὺς αὐχοῦντας ὡς ἂρα πλέουσι καὶ αὐτῶν μεμαρτυρηκότες ἔλει, ταύτα φησιν· "ὅταν τοίνυν ἐν πάσι τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐλεγχθέντες ἀπορήσωσιν, ἐπὶ τοὺς μάρτυρας καταφεύγειν πει- ρώνται, λέγοντες πολλοὺς ἔχειν μάρτυρας καὶ τούτ’, εἶναι τεκμήριον πιστὸν τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ παρ’ αὐτοῖς λεγομένου προφητικοῦ πνεύματος. τὸ δ’ ἐστὶν ἄρα, ὡς ἔσκειν, παντὸς μᾶλλον οὐκ ἀληθεῖς. καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων αἱρέσεων τινὲς πλείστους ὅσους ἔχουσι μάρτυρας, καὶ οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δήποτε συγκαταθησόμεθα, οὔτε ἀλήθειαν ἔχειν αὐτοὺς ὁμολογήσομεν. καὶ πρῶτοι γε οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Μαρκίωνος αἱρέσεως Μαρκιανοῦ κα- λοῦμενοι πλείστους ὅσους ἔχειν Χριστοῦ μάρτυρας λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν γε Χριστὸν αὐτὸν κατ’ ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ὁμολογοῦσιν."

Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα τούτοις ἐπιφέρει λέγων· "ὅθεν τοι καὶ ἐπειδὰν οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς κατ’ ἀλήθειαν πίστεως μαρτύριον κληθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τύχωσι μετὰ τινων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Φρυγῶν αἱρέσεως λεγομένων μαρτύρων, διαφέρονται τε πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ κοινωνίσαντες αὐτοῖς τελειοῦνται διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι συγκαταθέσθαι τῷ διὰ Μοντανοῦ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν πνεύματι. καὶ ὅτι τούτ’ ἀληθεῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων χρόνων ἐν 'Απαμείᾳ τῇ πρὸς Μαιάνδρῳ τυγχāνει γεγενημένον ἐν τοῖς περὶ Γάιον καὶ 'Αλέξανδρον ἀπὸ Ἐμμενείας μαρτυρήσασι πρόδηλον."

XVII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ συγγράμματι καὶ Μυλτιάδου συγγραφέως μέμνηται, ὡς λόγον τινά καὶ αὐτὸν κατὰ τῆς προειρημένης αἱρέσεως γε- γραφότος· παραθέμενος γοῦν αὐτῶν λέξεις τινάς, 482.
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, V. xvi. 20—xvii. 1

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
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Ὅτους μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα: ὃ γε τοὺ πρὸς αὐτοῦ δεδηλωμένος Μιλτιάδης καὶ ἄλλας ἧμῖν τῆς θείας περὶ τὰ θεία λόγια οποιοῦ ἡμῖν καταλέλοιπεν

1 Schwartz and almost all editors except McGiffert emend this to Miltiades. This emendation certainly seems

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 1 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 ignorance, 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 mentioned 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.
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18. Τῆς δὲ κατὰ Φρύγας καλουμένης αἱρεσεως καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος, ἐκκλησιαστικὸς συγγραφεύς, ἀκμαζοῦσις εἰς ἐτε κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐλεγχον ἐνστησάμενος, ἰδιὸν κατ' αὐτῶν πεποίηται συγγραμμα, τὰς μὲν φερομένας αὐτῶν προφητείας ψευδεῖς οὔσας κατὰ λέξιν εὐθύνων, τὸν δὲ βίον τῶν τῆς αἵρεσεως ἀρχηγῶν ὁποῖοι τις γέγονεν, διελέγχων αὐτοῖς δὲ ρήμασι περὶ τοῦ Μοντανοῦ ταῦτα λέγοντος ἄκουσε: " ἀλλὰ τὶς ἐστὶν οὕτως ὁ πρόσφατος διδάσκαλος, τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ διδασκαλία δείκνυσιν. οὕτως ἐστιν ὁ διδάξας λύσεις γάμων, ἡ νηστείας νομοθετήσας, ὁ Πέπουζαν καὶ Τίμιον Ἰερούσαλημ ὄνομάσας (πόλεις δ' εἰσὶν αὐταὶ μικραὶ τῆς Φρυγίας), τοὺς παντοχόθεν ἐκεῖ συναγαγεῖν ἐθέλων, ὅπρακτηρας χρημάτων καταστήσας, ὁ ἐπ' ὀνόματι προσφορῶν τὴν διωρολησίαν ἐπιτεχνώμενος, ὁ σαλάρια χορηγῶν τοῖς κηρύσσουσιν αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον, ἢ διὰ τῆς γαστρομαργίας ἢ διδασκαλία τοῦ λόγου κρατύνηται."

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ Μοντανοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν προφητίδων δὲ αὐτοῦ ὑποκαταβὰς οὕτω γράφει: " ἰδίκως εἰς αὐτὰς πρότασας τὰς προφητίδας ταῦτα, ἀν' οὗ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπιληπώθησαν, τοὺς ἀνδρὰς καταλυσοῦσας. πῶς οὖν ἐφευώδοντο Πρίσκιλλαν παρθένον ἀποκαλοῦντες; εἰτ' ἐπιφέρεις λέγων: " δοκεῖ σοι πᾶσα γραφὴ κωλύειν προφήτην λαμβάνειν ἰδώρα καὶ χρήματα; ὅταν οὖν ἦδο τὴν

Didache 11, 12

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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? There-
προφήτων εἰληφθέντας καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ πολυτελεῖς ἐσθῆτας, πῶς αὐτὴν μὴ παραπτῆσομαι."  
Αὕτη δ' ὑποκαταβὰς περὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς ὁμολογητῶν ταῦτα φησιν: "ἐτι δὲ καὶ Θεμίσων, ὁ τὴν ἀξιόπιστον πλευνεύαν ἡμιφυσιμένος, ὁ μὴ βαστάσας τῆς ὁμολογίας τὸ σημεῖον, ἀλλὰ πλήθει χρημάτων ἀποθέμενος τὰ δεσμά, δέον ἐπὶ τούτῳ ταπεινοφρονεῖν, ὡς μάρτυς καυχόμενος, ἐτόλμησεν, μμούμενος τὸν ἀπόστολον, καθολικῶς τῶν συνταξάμενος ἐπιστολήν, κατηχεῖν μὲν τοὺς ἁμείνον αὐτὸν πεπιστευκότας, συναγωγῆςεις δὲ τοῖς τῆς κενοφωνίας λόγοις, βλασφημησάς δὲ εἰς τὸν κύριον καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν." καὶ ἐτέρου δὲ αὕτης τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς πετυμμένοις ὡς δὴ μαρτύρων οὕτω γράφει: "‘ίνα δὲ μὴ περί πλευνῶν λέγωμεν, ἡ προφήτης ἤμιν εἰσάκω τὰ κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον, τὸν λέγοντα ἐαυτὸν μάρτυρα, ὃς συνεστιᾶται, ὃς προσκυνοῦσιν καὶ αὑτῷ πολλοί· οὗ τὰς ληστείας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τολμήματα ἐφ' οἷς κεκόλασται, οὐχ ἤμισ πει λέγειν, ἀλλὰ ὁ ὅπισθόδομος ἔχει. τίς οὖν τίνι χαρίζεται τὰ μαρτήματα; πῶτερον ὁ προφήτης τὰς ληστείας τῷ μάρτυρι ἢ ὁ μάρτυς τῷ προφήτῃ τὰς πλευνεύσις; εἰρηκότος γὰρ τοῦ κυρίου μὴ κτήσῃσθε χρυσὸν μὴ ἁργυρὸν μηδὲ δύο χιτῶνας, οὕτω πάν τοναντίον πεπλημμελήκασιν περὶ τὰς τούτων τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων κτήσεις. δεῖξομεν γὰρ τοὺς λεγομένους παρ' αὐτοῖς προφήτας καὶ

Matt. 10, 9.
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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 Themisio. Apparently Themisio 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 prophetess¹ 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 erimes for which he has been punished, but the record-house² 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 aquisition of these forbidden things. For we will show that their so-called prophets and martyrs make

² ὀπισθόδομος, 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.
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μάρτυρας μὴ μόνου παρὰ πλουσίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πτωχῶν καὶ ὀρφανῶν καὶ χηρῶν κερματιζο-
μένους. καὶ εἰ πεποίθησιν ἔχουσιν, στήτωσαν ἐν 8
tούτω καὶ διορισάσθησαν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὡν ἐὰν ἐλεγχθῶσιν, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ παύσωσι πλη-
μελοῦντες. δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς καρποὺς δοκιμάζεσθαι
tοῦ προφήτου· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ ἔνδον 9
γυμνόσκεται. ὥν δὲ τοὺς βουλομένους τὰ κατὰ
Ἀλέξανδρον ἥ γυνώρια, κέκριται ὑπὸ Αἰμιλίου
Φροντίνου ἀνθυπάτου ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, οὐ διὰ τὸ
ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ δι᾽ ἄς ἐτόλμησεν ληστεῖα, ὡν ἦν
παραβάτης. εἰτ᾽ ἐπιψευσάμενος τῷ ὅνοματι τοῦ
κυρίου, ἀπολέλυται, πλανήσας τοὺς ἐκεῖ πι-
στοὺς, καὶ ἡ ἱδία παροικία αὐτὸν, ὃθεν ἦν,
oὐκ ἐδέξατο διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ληστὴν, καὶ
οἱ θέλοντες μαθεῖν τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔχουσιν τὸ
tῆς Ἀσίας δημόσιον ἀρχεῖον; ὥν ὁ προφήτης
συνόντα πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἀγνοεῖ. τοῦτον ἐλέγ-
χοντες ἥμεις, δι᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ύπόστασιν ἐξ-
ἐλέγχομεν τοῦ προφήτου. τὸ ὄμοιον ἐπὶ πολλῶν
dυνάμεθα ἀποδείξει, καὶ εἰ θαρροῦσιν, ὑπομεινά-
tωσαν τὸν ἐλέγχον.”

Πάλιν τε αὐτὸ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τοῖς τοῦ συγγράμματος 11
περὶ δὲν αὐχοῦσι προφητῶν ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα: “ἐὰν
ἀρνῶνται διὰ τούς προφήτας αὐτῶν εἰληφέναι,
tοῦτον ὁμολογησάτωσαν ὅτι ἐὰν ἐλεγχθῶσιν εἰλη-
φώτες, οὐκ εἰσὶ προφήται, καὶ μυρίας ἀποδείξεις
tούτων παραστῆσομεν. ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἐστίν πάντας
καρποὺς δοκιμάζεσθαι προφήτου. προφήτης, εἰπέ
μοι, βάπτεται; προφήτης στιβίζεται; προφήτης
φιλοκοσμεῖ; προφήτης τάβλαις καὶ κύδων παῖξει;
προφήτης δανείζει; ταῦτα ὁμολογησάτωσαν πό-
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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, procconsul in Ephesus, not for being a Christian but for his daring robberies, and he was an old offender. Then, by falsely claiming the name of the Lord he was released, having deceived the Christians there, and his own diocese from which he came would not receive him because he was a robber, and those who wish to learn his story have the public records of Asia at their disposition. The prophet is ignorant about him though he lived with him for many years, 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 ἐξεστών ἡ μῆ, ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι γέγονεν παρ’ αὐτοῖς, δεῖξω’

‘Ο δ’ αὐτὸς οὗτος Ἀπολλώνιος κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἱσ-

σύγγραμμα ἱστορεῖ ὡς ἄρα τεσσαρακοστὸν ἐτύγ-

χανεν ἔτος ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ συγγράμματος αὐτοῦ ὑ-

γραφήν εἴ οὗ τῇ προοιμίᾳ τοῦ προφητεία

ο Μοντανὸς ἐπικεχείρηκεν, καὶ πάλιν φησίν ὡς ἄρα 

Ζωτίκος, οὗ καὶ ὁ πρότερος συγγραφεὺς ἐν 

μημόνευσεν, ἐν Πεπούχους προφητεύειν ὅτι προσ-

ποιμένης τῆς Μαξιμίλλης ἐπιστάς διελέγεται τὸ 

ἐνεργοῦν ἐν αὐτῇ πνεῦμα πεπείραται, ἐκωλύθη γε 

μὴ πρὸς τῶν τὰ ἐκεῖνης φρονοῦντων. καὶ Ὁρασέα 

dὲ τινὸς τῶν τὸτε μαρτύρων μημόνευε. ἔτι δὲ 

ωσ ἐκ παραδοσεως τὸν σωτήρα φησίν προστετα-

χέναι τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀποστόλοις ἔπι δώδεκα ἔτεσιν 

μὴ χωρισθῆναι τῆς Ἰεροουσια, κέχρηται δὲ 

καὶ μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου Ἀποκαλύψεως, 

καὶ νεκρὸν δὲ δυνάμει θεία πρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου 

ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ ἐγγενέσθαι ἱστορεῖ, καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ 

φησίν, δι’ ὅν ίκανός τῆς προειρημένης αἰρέσεως 

πληρέστατα διηύθυνεν τὴν πλάνην. ταῦτα καὶ 

δ’ Ἀπολλώνιος.

XIX. Τῶν δὲ Ἀπολλιναρίου κατὰ τῆς δηλωθείσης 1 

αἰρέσεως μνήμην πεποίητα Σεραπίων, ὤν ἐπὶ τῶν 

dηλομένων χρόνων μετὰ Μαξιμίλου ἐπίσκοπον 

tῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίας γενέσθαι κατέχει λόγος-

μέμνηται δ’ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἱδίᾳ ἐπιστολῆ τῇ πρὸς 

Καρικὸν καὶ Πόντιον, ἐν ᾗ διευθύνων καὶ αὐτῶς 

τὴν αὐτὴν αἰρέσιν, ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα: “ὅπως δὲ 2 

καὶ τούτο εἴδητε ὅτι τῆς ψευδοῦς ταύτης τάξεως 

tῆς ἐπικαλομένης νέας προφητείας ἐβδολυκται ἢ 

ἐνέργεια παρὰ πάση τῇ ἐν κόσμῳ ἀδελφότητι, 

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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 Zoticus, 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 Thraseas¹ 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 Caricus 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

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πέπομφα ὑμῖν καὶ Κλαυδίου Ἀπολυκαρίου, τοῦ μακαριωτάτου γενομένου ἐν Ἰεραπόλει τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπισκόπου, γράμματα." ὡς ταύτη δὲ τῇ τοῦ 3 Σεραφίμωνος ἐπιστολῆ καὶ ὑποσημειώσεις φέρονται διαφόρων ἐπισκόπων, ὥς ὁ μὲν τις ὡδὲ πως ὑποσημειώσεις τῆς Ἀυρήλιος Κυρίνιος μάρτυς ἐρ- ρώσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχόμαι," ὡς τίς τούτον τὸν τρόπον.

"Αἵλιος Πούπλιος Ἰουλίου ἀπὸ Δεβελτοῦ κολωνίας τῆς Θράκης ἐπίσκοπος. ὅπερ θεὸς ὡς ὅτι τοῖς σφηναῖοι, ὅτι Σωτὰς ὁ μακάριος ὃ ἐν Ἀγχιάλῳ ἡθέλησε τὸν δαίμονα τοῦ Προκύπηλης ἐκβαλεῖν, καὶ οἱ ὑποκρίται οὐκ ἀφήκαν." καὶ ἄλλων δὲ πλειόνων τῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐπισκόπων συμπήφων τούτοις ὃν τῶς δηλωθείσων γράμμασιν αὐτόγραφοι φέρονται σημειώσεις. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τούτοις ἃν τοιαῦτα.

XX. Ἔξ ἕναντια δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης τὸν ὑψί 1 τῆς ἐκκλησίας θεσμὸν παραχαραττόντων, Εἱρναίος διαφόροις ἐπιστολάς συντάττει, τὴν μὲν ἐπιγράφας Πρὸς Βλάστου περὶ σχόματος, τὴν δὲ Πρὸς Φλωρίνου περὶ μοναρχίας ἡ περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι τὸν θεοῦ ποιητὴν κακῶν. ταύτης γὰρ τὸς γνώμης οὗτος ἐδόκει προασπίζειν. δὲ ὅτι αὐτῆς ὑποσυρόμενον τῇ κατὰ Θυαλεντίου πλάνη καὶ τὸ Περὶ ὁγδοάδος συντάττει τῷ Εἱρναίῳ σπούδασμα, ἐν ὧδε καὶ ἐπιστημονεῖ τὴν πρώτην τῶν ἀποστόλων κατ- ειληφθέναν ἐαυτὸν διαδοχὴν. ἐνθα πρὸς τῷ τοῦ συγ- 2 γράμματος τέλει χαριεστάτην αὐτὸν σημείωσιν εὐρότε, ἀναγκαίως καὶ ταύτην τῇ διε καταλέξομεν τῇ γραφῇ, τούτου ἐχοῦσαν τὸν τρόπον. ὁρκίζω σε τὸν μεταγραφόμενον τὸ βιβλίον τούτο ἐκ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἐνδόξου παρουσίας αὐτοῦ, ἢς ἔρχεται κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ

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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 Cyrenaecus, a martyr, pray for your welfare.” Another as follows: “I, Aelius Publius Julius, bishop of Debeltum, a colony of Thraec. As God lives in the heavens the blessed Sotas in Anchialus wished to drive the devil out of Priseilla and the hypoerites 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

1 The μονάρχια 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 ὑπόστασις) was not yet used in this sense.

2 Some Gnostics regarded God as eightfold.
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νεκρούς, ἦνα ἀντιβάλης δὲ μετεγράφω, καὶ κατορθώσεις αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦτο οὔτε μετεγράφω, ἐπιμελῶς· καὶ τὸν ὀρκον τοῦτον ὀμοίως μεταγράφεις καὶ θησεῖς ἐν τῷ ἀντίγραφῳ." καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ὄφελίμως ὑπ’ ἐκείνου λελέχθω πρὸς ἥμων τε ἑστορεῖσθαι, ὡς ἂν ἔχωμεν ἀριστον σπουδαιότατος ἐπιμελείας τοὺς ἀρχαίους ἐκείνους καὶ ὄντως ἱέρους ἄνδρας ὑπόδειγμα.

Ἐν ἂ γε μὴν προειρήκαμεν πρὸς τὸν Φλωρίνον ὁ Ἐιρηναῖος ἐπιστολῇ αὐθεῖς τῆς ἁμα Πολυκάρπῳ συνουσίας αὐτοῦ μιμημονεύει, λέγων: "ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα, Φλωρίνε, ἦνα πεφευγμένως εἴπως, οὐκ ἐστιν ὑγιῶς γνώμης: ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα ἀσύμφωνα ἐστιν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰς τὴν μεγίστην ἁσέβειαν περιβάλλοντα τοὺς πειθομένους αὐτοῖς: ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα οὔδε οἱ ἐξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας αἰρετικοί ἐτόλμησαν ἀποφήμασθαί ποτε· ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις συμφωνήσαντες, οὐ παρέδωκάν σοι. εἶδον γὰρ 5 σε, παῖς ἐτί ἂν, ἐν τῇ κάτω Ἀσίᾳ παρὰ Πολυκάρπῳ, λαμπρῶς πράσσοντα ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ καὶ πειρώμενον εὐδοκιμεῖν παρ’ αὐτῷ. μᾶλλον γὰρ τὰ τότε διαμνημονεύω τῶν ἐναγχος γνωμένων (αἱ γὰρ ἐκ παῖδων μαθήσεως υπαύξουσαι τῇ ψυχῇ, εἴναι ἀυτῇ), ὡστε με δύνασθαι εἰπεῖν καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν ὧδε καθεξόμενος διελέγετο ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος, καὶ τὰς προόδους αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους καὶ τὸν χαρακτήρα τοῦ βίου καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἱδέαν καὶ τὰς διαλέξεις ἃς ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τὴν μετὰ Ἰωάννου συναναστροφήν ὡς ἀπήγγελλε καὶ τὴν μετὰ τῶν λουτρῶν τῶν ἑορκότων τῶν κύριων, καὶ ὡς ἀπειμνημόνευε τοὺς 496
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 doctrine. These opinions are inconsistent with the church, and bring those who believe in them into the greatest impiety. These opinions not even the heretics outside the church ever dared to proclaim. These opinions those who were presbyters before us, they who accompanied the apostles, did not hand on to you. 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 intercourse with John and with the others who had seen the Lord, how he remembered their words, and what
λόγους αὐτῶν, καὶ περὶ τοῦ κυρίου τίνα ἢν ἀ παρ' ἐ κείνων ἀκηκόει, καὶ περὶ τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτῶν, καὶ περὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας, ὥς παρὰ τῶν αὐτοπτῶν τῆς ξωῆς τοῦ λόγου παρειλήφως ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἀπήγγελεν πάντα σύμφωνα ταῖς γραφαῖς. ταῦτα ταύτης καὶ τότε διὰ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἐπὶ ἐμοὶ γεγονὸς σπουδαῖως ἦκονον, ὑπομνηματιζόμενος αὐτὰ ὅπως ἐν χάρτῃ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ ἀεὶ διὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ γνησίως αὐτὰ ἀναμαρυκώμαι, καὶ δύναμαι διαμαρτύρασθαι ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι εἰ τις τοιούτων ἀκηκόει ἐκεῖνοι ὁ μακάριος καὶ ἀποστολικὸς πρεσβύτερος, ἀνακράζας ἄν καὶ ἐμφράζας τὰ ὅσα αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὸ σύνηθες αὐτῶ εἰπὼν ὡς καλεῖ θεέ, εἰς οἰόνι με καιροὺς τετήρηκας, ἵνα τούτων ἀνέχωμαι, πεφεύγει ἄν καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν ὧν καθεζόμενος ή ἔστως τῶν τοιούτων ἀκηκόει λόγων. καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἃν εἴπεστελεν ἦτοι ταῖς γειτνώσαις ἐκκλησίαις, ἐπιστηρίζων αὐτάς, ἡ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τισί, νοθετῶν αὐτούς καὶ προτρπῆμενος, δύναται φανερωθῆναι. ταῦτα ὁ Εἰρηναῖος.

XXI. Κατὰ δὲ τόν αὐτόν τῆς Κομόδου βασιλείας 1 χρόνον μεταβέβλητο μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ πράει τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἐφήνης σὺν θείᾳ χάριτι τὰς καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης διαλαβοῦσας ἐκκλησίας. ὡς καὶ ὁ σωτήριος λόγος ἐκ παντὸς γένους ἀνθρώπων πᾶσαν ὑπήγετο ψυχὴν ἐπὶ τὴν εὐσεβῆ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ θρησκείαν, ὡς ἢδη καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Ὀρώμης εἰ μᾶλα πλούτως καὶ γένει διαφανῶν πλείους ἐπὶ τὴν σφῶν ὁμόσε χωρεῖν πανοικεῖ τε καὶ παγγενεῖ σωτηρίαν. οὐκ ἢν δὲ ἄρα τοῦτο τῷ μισοκάλῳ δαίμονι βασικάνω 2 ὄντι τὴν φύσιν οἰστόν, ἀπεδύετο δ' οὖν εἰς αὖθις, 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,
ποικίλας τὰς καθ’ ἡμῶν μηχανὰς ἐπιτεχνώμενος. ἐπὶ γοῦν τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως Ἀπολλώνιον, ἀνδρά τῶν τότε πιστῶν ἐπὶ παιδεία καὶ φιλοσοφία βεβοημένον, ἐπὶ δικαστήριον ἄγει, ἐνα γε τῶν εἰς ταῦτ’ ἐπιτηδείων αὐτῶ διακόνων ἐπὶ κατηγορία τάνδρος ἐγείρει. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν δείλαιος παρὰ καυρὸν τὴν δίκην εἰσελθὼν, ὅτι μὴ ἥκη ἤδη κατὰ βασιλικόν ὅρον τοὺς τῶν τοιῶνδε μηνυτάς, αὐτίκα κατεάγνυται τὰ σκέλη, Περεννίου δικαστοῦ τοιαύτην κατ’ αὐτοῦ ψήφου ἀπενέγκαντος. ὁ δὲ γε θεό- φιλεστάτος μάρτυς, πολλὰ λαπηρῶς ἱκετεύσαντος τοῦ δικαστοῦ καὶ λόγου αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς αὐτῆσαντος, λογιστάτην ὑπὲρ ἢς ἐμερ- τύρει πίστεως ἐπὶ πάντων παρασχῶν ἀπολογίαν, κεφαλικῆς κολάσει ὡς ἀν ἀπὸ δόγματος συγκλήτου τελειοῦται, μηδ’ ἄλλως ἄφεσθαι τοὺς ἀπαξ εἰς δικαστήριον παριόντας καὶ μηδαμῶς τῆς προ- θέσεως μεταβαλλομένων ἀρχαίων παρ’ αὐτοῖς νόμου κεκρατηκότος. τούτου μὲν οὖν τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ δικαστοῦ φωνὰς καὶ τὰς ἀποκρύσεις ὅς πρὸς πεύσων πεποίητο τοῦ Περεννίου, πάσαν τε τῆν πρὸς τῆς συγκλήτου ἀπολογίαν, ὅτω διαγινώσκει δίκην, ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων μαρτύρων συναχθείσης ἡμῶν ἀναγραφῆς εἰσεται.

XXII. Δεκάτω γε μὴν τῆς Κομόδου βασιλείας ἐτεί δέκα πρὸς τρισών ἐτεσίων τῆν ἐπισκοπὴν λε- λειτουργηκότα Ἐλευθερον διαδέχεται Βίκτωρ· ἐν ὧ καὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ δέκατον ἅτε ἀποτελήσαντος, τῶν καὶ Ἀλεξίδρειαν παροικίων τῆς λειτουργίαν ἐγχειρίζεται Δημήτριος· καὶ οὕς καὶ τῆς Ἀντιο- χέων ἐκκλησίας ὁγδοος ἢπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ πρόσθεν ἡδὴ δεδηλωμένος ἐτε 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.\footnote{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.}

XXII. In the tenth year of the reign of Commodus\footnote{That is, in A.D. 189.} 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
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ἐπίσκοπος ἐγνωρίζετο. Καυσαρείας δὲ τῆς Παλαιοστίνων Ἡγεῖτο Θεόφιλος, καὶ Νάρκισσος δὲ ὁμοίως, οὐ καὶ πρόσθεν ὁ λόγος μνήμην ἐπούσατο, τῆς ἐν Ἰεροσολύμω ἔκκλησίας ἐπὶ τὸ τὴν λειτουργίαν εἶχεν, Κορίνθου δὲ τῆς καθ' Ἐλλάδα κατὰ τοὺς αὐτούς ἐπίσκοπος ἦν Βάκχυλλος καὶ τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παροικίας Πολυκράτης. καὶ ἄλλοι δ', ὡς ὅς γε εἰκός, ἐπὶ τούτους μυρίου κατὰ τούσδε διέπρεπον· ἄν γε μὴν ἔγραφος ἡ τῆς πίστεως εἰς ἡμᾶς κατῆλθεν ὀρθοδοξία, τούτους εἰκότως ἄνομαστε κατελέξαμεν.

XXIII. Ζητήσεως δῆτα κατὰ τούσδε οὐ σμικρᾶς ἀνακηνθεῖσης, ὅτι δὴ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης αἱ παροικίαι ὡς ἕκ παραδόσεως ἀρχαιοτέρας σελήνης τὴν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκατὴν ζωντο δεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ σωτηρίου πάσχα ἑορτῆς παραφυλάττειν, ἐν ἡ ὥνεν τὸ πρόβατον Ἰουδαίοις προηγόρευτο, ὡς δεόν ἕκ παντὸς κατὰ ταύτην, ὧποια δὲν ἦμερα τῆς ἑβδομάδος περιτυγχάνοι, τὰς τῶν ἁσιτίων ἐπιλύσεις ποιεῖσθαι, οὐκ ἔθους ὄντος τούτων ἐπιτελεῖν τὸν τρόπον ταῖς ἀνὰ τὴν λοιπὴν ἀπασαν οἰκουμένην ἔκκλησίας, εἰς ἀποστολικὴς παραδόσεως τὸ καὶ εἰς δεύρο κρατήσαν ἔθος φυλαττούσαις, ὡς μηδ' ἐτέρα προσήκειν παρὰ τὴν τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ σωτηρίου ἡμῶν ἡμέρα τὰς νηστείας ἐπιλύσθαι, σύνοδοι δὴ καὶ συγκροτήσεις ἐπισκόπων ἐπὶ 2 ταύτων ἔγινοντο, πάντες τε μᾶς γνώμη δὴ ἐπιστολῶν ἔκκλησιαστικῶν δόγμα τοῖς πανταχόσε διετυπώντο ὡς ἂν μηδ' ἐν ἄλλῃ ποτὲ τῆς κυριακῆς ἡμέρα τοῦ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως ἐπιτελοῦτο τοῦ κυρίου μυστηρίου, καὶ ὅπως ἐν ταύτῃ μόνη τῶν κατὰ τὸ

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of Antioch and the eighth from the apostles. Theophilus ruled Caesarea in Palestine, and Narcissus, whom our work has mentioned before, was still holding the administration of the church at Jerusalem, and at the same time Bacchyllus was bishop of Corinth in Greece and 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.
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πάσχα νηστείων φυλαττούμεθα τὰς ἐπιλύσεις. φέρεται δ’ εἰς ἄτι νῦν τῶν κατὰ Παλαιστῖνης τὴν κάθε συγκεκριμένων γραφῆς, ὥς προτετάκτο Θεόφιλος τῆς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος καὶ Νάρκισσος τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ὅμοιως ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ξητήματος, ἐπίσκοπον Βίκτορα δηλούσα, τῶν τε κατὰ Πόντου ἐπισκόπων, ὡς Πάλμας ὡς ἀρχαίοτατος προτετάκτο, καὶ τῶν κατὰ Γαλλίαν δὲ οἱ παροικίων, ὡς Εἰρήναιος ἐπεσκόπη, ἐτί τε τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ὀσροην οἱ καὶ τὰς ἐκείσε πόλεις, καὶ ἰδίως Βακχύλλου τῆς Κορυνθίων ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ πλείστων οὐκ ἄλλων, οἱ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν δόξαν τε καὶ κρίσιν ἔξενηνεμένοι, τὴν αὐτὴν τέθεισα ψῆφον.

XXIV. Καὶ τούτων μὲν ἦν ὁρὸς εἰς, ὁ δεδηλω- 1μένος· τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπισκόπων τὸ πάλαι πρότερον αὐτοῖς παραδοθὲν διαφυλάττειν ἔδος χρήνα διαυχυριζομένων ἤγειτο Πολυκράτης. ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἦ πρὸς Βίκτορα καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν διευθυνόσατο γραφὴ τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλθούσαν παράδοσιν ἐκτίθεται διὰ τούτων. ἦ ἡμεῖς δὲ οὖν ἀραγουργήσαν κἀγαμὲν τὴν ἡμέραν, μήτε προστίθεντες μήτε ἀφαιροῦμενοι. καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν μεγαλὰ στοιχεῖα κεκοίμηται· ἀτιμὰ ἀναστήσεται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου, ἐν ἦ ἐρχεται μετὰ δόξης ἐς οὐρανῶν καὶ ἀναζητήσει πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους, Φίλιππον τῶν δώδεκα ἄγως ἀποστόλων, ὡς κεκοίμηται ἐν Ἰεραπόλει καὶ δύο θυγατέρες αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένα παρθένου καὶ ἡ ἐτέρα αὐτοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐν ἀγίω πνεύματι πολιτευσμένη ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀναπαύεται· ἦτε δὲ καὶ σ.
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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 Bacchylus, 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,

\(^1\) στοιχεῖα in late Greek often means the planets.

\(^2\) Some mss. (AB) read ἀναστήσει, "raise up," and this may be the right reading.

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'Ιωάννης ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος τοῦ κυρίου ἀναπεσὼν, ὃς ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορεκῶς καὶ μάρτυς καὶ διδάσκαλος· οὗτος ἐν Ἑφέσῳ κε-4 κοίμηται, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Πολύκαρπος ἐν Σμύρνῃ, καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς· καὶ Ὀρασέας καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς ἀπὸ Εὐμενείας, ὃς ἐν Σμύρνῃ κεκοὶ-5 μήται. τί δὲ δὲι λέγειν Σάγαριν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ μάρτυρα, ὃς ἐν Λαοδίκειᾳ κεκοίμηται, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Παπίριον τὸν μακάριον καὶ Μελίτωνα τὸν εὐνοῦχον, τὸν ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι πάντα πολιτευσάμενον, ὃς κεῖται ἐν Σάρδεσιν περιμένων τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐν ἦ 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 καγὼ ὁ μικρότερος πάντων ὑμῶν Πολυκράτης, κατὰ παράδοσιν τῶν συγγενών μου, οἷς καὶ παρηκκολούθησά τισιν αὐτῶν. ἐπτά 7 μὲν ἦσαν συγγενεῖς μου ἐπίσκοποι, ἐγὼ δὲ ὅγδοος· καὶ πάντοτε τὴν ἡμέραν ἡγαγόν οἱ συγγενεῖς μου ὅταν ὁ λαὸς ἠρωνεύ τὴν ξύμην. ἐγὼ οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἐξήκοντα πέντε ἐτη ἔχων ἐν κυρίῳ καὶ συμ-βεβληκός τοῖς ἁπτῇ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀδελφοῖς καὶ πάσαν ἀγίαν γραφὴν διελήλυθώς, οὐ πτύρομαι ἐπὶ τοῖς καταπλησσομένοις· οἱ γὰρ ἐμοὶ μείζονες εἰρή-κασι 'πειθαρχεῖν δει θεῷ μᾶλλον ἡ ἀνθρώπους.'

Τούτοις ἐπιφέρει περὶ τῶν γράφοντι συμπαρόντων 8 αὐτῷ καὶ ὁμοδοξοῦντων ἐπισκόπων ταῦτα λέγων 'ἐδυνάμην δὲ τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῶν συμπαρόντων μημονεύσαι, οὐδὲ ὑμεῖς ἥξιωσατε μετακληθῆναι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ μετεκαλεσάμην· ὅτι τὰ ὄνοματα ἔαν γράφω, πολλὰ πλῆθη 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 Eumenae, 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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μικρὸν μου ἀνθρωπόν συνηνοδόκησαν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, εἶδότες ὅτι εἰκῇ πολιάς οὐκ ἦνεγκα, ἀλλ' ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ πάντοτε πεπολύτευμαι.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ μὲν τῆς Ρωμαίων προεστῶς 9 Βίκτωρ ἀθρόως τῆς Ἀσίας πάσης ἀμα ταῖς ὀμόροις ἐκκλησίαις τὰς παροικίας ἀποτέμενεν, ὡς ἂν ἑτεροδοξοῦσας, τῆς κοινῆς ἐνώσεως πειράται, καὶ στηλιτείως ἢ διὰ γραμμάτων ἀκοινωνήτων πάντας ἄρδην τοὺς ἑκέεσε ἀνακρύττων ἄδελφους· ἀλλ' οὐ πᾶσι γε τοῖς ἐπισκόποις ταύτ' ἥρέσκετο. ἢ ἀντιπαρακλείονται δὴ τα ὑπὸ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον ἐνώσεως τε καὶ ἀγάπης φρονεῖν, φέρονται δὲ καὶ αἱ τοῦτον φωναί πλη- κτικῶτερον καθαπτομένων τοῦ Βίκτορος· ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Εἰρηναῖος ἐκ προσώπου δὲν ἤγειτο κατὰ τὴν Γαλλίαν ἄδελφων ἐπιστείλας, παρίσταται μὲν τῷ δείν ἐν μόνῃ τῇ τῆς κυριακῆς ἡμέρα τῷ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἀναστάσεως ἐπιτελεῖσθαι μυστήριον, τῷ γε μὴν Βίκτορι προσηκόντως, ὡς μὴ ἀποκόπτον̄ ὀλας ἐκκλησίας θεοῦ ἄρχαιον ἐθοὺς παράδοσιν ἐπιτηρούσας, πλείστα ἐτέρα παραμεῖναι, καὶ αὐτοῖς δὲ ῥήμασιν τάδε ἐπιλέγων ὁνδὲ γὰρ μὸνον περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐστὶν ἡ ἀμφισβήτησις, ἀλλ' καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἰδοὺς αὐτοῦ τῆς νηστείας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἶνονται μίαν ἡμέραν δεῖν αὐτοὺς νηστεύεν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείονες· οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ὠρας ἡμερινὰς τε καὶ νυκτερινὰς συμμετροῦσαν τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν. καὶ τοιοῦτο μὲν ποικιλία τῶν ἐπιτηροῦντων οὐ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν γεγοννα, ἀλλ' 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
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 = forties) 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: γεγονύα seems a mistake for γέγονε.
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ēpὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν, τῶν παρὰ τὸ ἀκριβὲς, ὡς εἰκὸς, κρατοῦντων τὴν καθ’ ἀπλότητα καὶ ἱδιωτικῶν συνήθειαν εἰς τὸ μετέπειτα πεποιηκότων, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλαττον πάντες οὕτω εἰρήνευσάν τε καὶ εἰρηνεύομεν πρὸς ἅλληλους, καὶ ἡ διαφωνία τῆς νηστείας τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τῆς πίστεως συνίστησιν.

Τούτους καὶ ἴστορίαν προστίθησιν, ἦν οἰκείως 1 παραθήσομαι, τούτον ἔχουσαν τὸν τρόπον. “ἐν οἷς καὶ οἱ πρὸ Σωτῆρος πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ προστάντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἦς σὺ νῦν ἀφηγή, Ἀνίκητον λέγομεν καὶ Πίον ᾿Ὑγνὸν τε καὶ Τελεσφόρον καὶ ᾿Εὐστοῦν, οὗτε αὐτοὶ ἐτήρησαν οὗτο τοῖς μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐπέτρεπον, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλαττον αὐτοὶ μὴ τηροῦντες εἰρήνευσαν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικῶν ἐν αἷς ἐτηρεῖτο, ἐρχομένους πρὸς αὐτούς· καίτοι μᾶλλον ἐναντίον ἦν τὸ τηρεῖν τοῖς μὴ τηροῦν. καὶ οὐδέποτε διὰ τὸ εἶδος τούτο ἀπεβλήθησαν τῶν, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ μὴ τηροῦντες οἱ πρὸ σοῦ πρεσβύτεροι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικῶν τηροῦσιν ἐπεμπὸν εὐχαριστίαν, καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Πολυκάρπου ἐπιδημήσαστος τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ ᾿Ανίκητον καὶ περὶ ἅλλων τινῶν μικρὰ σχόντες πρὸς ἅλληλους, εὐθὺς εἰρήνευσαν, περὶ τούτου τοῦ κεφαλαίου μὴ φιλεριστήσαντες εἰς ἑαυτούς. οὗτε γὰρ ὁ ᾿Ανίκητος τὸν Πολυκάρπον πείσας ἐδύνατο μὴ τηρεῖν, ἀτε μετὰ ᾿Ιωάννου τοῦ μαθητοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων οἷς συνδιέτρυψεν, ἀεὶ τετηρηκότα, οὗτε μὴν ὁ Πολύκαρπος τὸν ᾿Ανίκητον ἐπείσεν 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.
Λέγοντα τὴν συνήθειαν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πρεσβυτέρων ὅθείλειν κατέχεν, καὶ τούτων οὕτως ἔχοντων, ἐκουσώνησαν ἐαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεχώρησεν ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ, κατ' ἐντροπὴν δηλονότι, καὶ μετ' εἰρήνης ἀπ' ἄλληλων ἀπηλλάγησαν, πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰρήνης ἔχοντων, καὶ τῶν τηροῦντων καὶ τῶν μὴ τηροῦντων.'

Καὶ ὁ μὲν Εἰρηναῖος φερώνυμός της ὅν τῇ προσήγορίᾳ αὐτῷ τε τῷ τρόπῳ εἰρημοποιοῦ, τοιαύτα ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησίων εἰρήνης παρεκάλει τε καὶ ἐπρέσβευεν, ὁ δ' αὐτοῦ οὐ μόνος τῷ Βίκτορι, καὶ διαφόροις δὲ πλείστοις ἄρχουσιν ἐκκλησίων τὰ κατάληλα δι' ἐπιστολῶν περὶ τοῦ κεκυημένου ξητήματος ωμίλει.

XXV. Οἱ γε μὴν ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνης, οὐς ἀρτίως διεληλύθαμεν, ὁ τε Νάρκισσος καὶ Θεόφιλος, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Κάσσιος τῆς κατὰ Τύρον ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος καὶ Κλάρος τῆς ἐν Πτολεμαίδι οὗ τε μετὰ τούτων συνεληλυθότες, περὶ τῆς κατελθούσης εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκ διαδοχῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων περὶ τοῦ πᾶσχα παραδόσεως πλείστα διεληλύθατε, κατὰ τὸ τέλος τῆς γραφῆς αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν ἐπιλέγουσιν ταῦτα: "τῆς δ' ἐπιστολῆς ἡμῶν πειράθητε κατὰ πᾶσαν παροικίαν ἀντίγραφα διαπέμβαςθαι, ὅπως μὴ ἐνοχοὶ ὑμεῖς τοὺς ράδιος πλανῶσιν ἑαυτῶν τὰς ψυχὰς. δηλούμεν δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἄγουσιν ἦπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς· παρ' ἡμῶν γὰρ τὰ γράμματα κομίζεται αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡμῖν παρ' αὐτῶν, ὡστε συμφώνως καὶ ὡμοὶ ἅγειν ἡμᾶς τὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν."

XXVI. Ἄλλα γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ἀποδοθείσων Εἰρη-
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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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ναίον συγγράμμασιν καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς φέρεται τις αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἑλληνας λόγους συντομώτατος καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀναγκαῖοτάτος, Περὶ ἐπιστήμης ἐπιγεγραμμένος, καὶ ἄλλος, ὃν ἀνατέθηκεν ἀδελφῷ Μαρκιανῷ τοῦνομα εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος, καὶ βιβλίον τι διαλέξων διαφόρων, ἐν ὧν τῆς πρὸς Εβραίους ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τῆς λεγομένης Σολομώνος Σοφίας μνημονεύει, ὑπητά τινα ἐξ αὐτῶν παραθέμενος. καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰς ἡμετέραν ἑλθόντα γνώσιν τῶν Εὐρυφαίου τοσάτα.

Κομόδου δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐτί δέκα καὶ τριαίς ἔτεσιν καταλύσαντος, αὐτοκράτωρ Σευήρος οὐδ’ ὀλοὺς μηδὲν ἐξ μετὰ τὴν Κομόδου τελευτήν Περτίνακος διαγενομένου κρατεῖ. XXVII. πλείστα μὲν οὖν παρὰ πολλοῖς εἰς ἐτὶ νῦν τῶν τότε οὐφεται παλαιῶν καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἑναρέτου ἐπουδής ὑπομνήματα· ὅν γε μην αὐτοὶ διέγνωμεν, εἰς ἃν τὰ Ἡρακλείτου εἰς τὸν ἀπόστολον, καὶ τὰ Μαξίμου περὶ τοῦ πολυθρυλήτου παρὰ τοῖς αἱρεσιῶταις ξητήματος τοῦ πόθεν ἢ κακία, καὶ περὶ τοῦ γενητῆν ὑπάρχειν τῇν ὑλῆν, τὰ τε Κανδίδου εἰς τὴν ἔξαγήμερον, καὶ Ἀπίωνος εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ὁμοίως Σεξτοῦ περὶ ἀναστάσεως, καὶ ἄλλη τις ὑπόθεσις Ἀραβιανοῦ, καὶ μνημών ἄλλων, ὅν διὰ τὸ μυθεμιάν ἔχειν ἀφορμὴν ὁμοὶον τὸν τοῦτος χρόνους παραδούναι γραφὴν ὑδο’ ἱστορίας μνήμην ὑποσημύνασθαι. καὶ ἄλλων δὲ πλείστων, ὅν οὐδὲ τὰς προσηγορώαις καταλέγειν ἡμῶν δυνατόν, ἠλθον εἰς ἡμᾶς λόγοι, ὀρθοδόξων μὲν καὶ ἐκκλη-

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.

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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.\footnote{XXVII. 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,\footnote{2} 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,\footnote{3} 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. \footnote{3} That is, the Six days of creation.
σιαστικῶν, ὡς γε δὴ ἡ ἐκάστου παραδείκνυσιν τῆς θείας γραφῆς ἐρμηνεία, ἀδήλων δὲ ὁμοι ὑμῖν, ὅτι μὴ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπάγεται τῶν συγγραφα-μένων.

XXVIII. Τούτων ἐν τυφλοὶ σπουδάσματι κατὰ 1 τῆς Ἀρτέμινος αἰρέσεως πεπονημένην, ἢν αὖθις ὁ ἐκ Σαμοσάτων Παύλος καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἀνανεώσασθαι πεπείραται, φέρεται τις διήγησις ταῖς ἐξεταζο-μέναις ἡμῖν προσήκουσα ἱστορίας. τὴν γὰρ τοῦ 2 δεδηλωμένην αἴρεσιν ψιλῶν ἀνθρωπον γενέσθαι τὸν σωτῆρα φάσκονσαν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τε νεω-τερισθεὶσαν διευθύνων, ἐπειδὴ σεμνύνει αὐτὴν ὡς ἄν ἀρχαίαν οἱ ταύτης ἡθελον εἰσηγηταί, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα εἰς ἑλεγχον αὐτῶν τῆς βλασφήμου ψευδηγορίας παραθείς ὁ λόγος ταύτα κατὰ λέξιν ἱστορεῖ. "φασίν γὰρ τοὺς μὲν προτέρους ἀπάντας 3 καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἀποστόλους παρειληφέναι τε καὶ δεδιδαχέναι ταῦτα ἄ νῦν ὁμοί λέγουσιν, καὶ τετηρῆσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ κηρύγματος μέχρι τῶν Βίκτωρος χρόνων, ὅς ἦν τρισκαίδεκατος ἀπὸ Πέτρου ἐν 'Ῥώμη εἰσίκοπος· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ διαδόχου αὐτοῦ Ζεφυρίου παρακεχαράχθη τῇ ἀλήθειαν. ἦν δ’ ἂν τυχὸν πιθανὸν τὸ λεγόμενον, εἰ μὴ πρῶ- 4 τον μὲν ἀντέπιπτον αὐτοῖς αἱ θείαι γραφαὶ καὶ ἄδελφων δὲ τινῶν ἑστὶν γράμματα, προσβυτερα τῶν Βίκτωρος χρόνων, ἀ ἐκεῖνου καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐθνὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀλήθειας καὶ πρὸς τὰς τότε αἰρέσεις ἔγραψαν, λέγω δὲ Ἰουστίνου καὶ Μιλτιάδου καὶ Τατιανοῦ καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ ἑτέρων πλείονων, ἐν οἷς ἄπασιν θεολογεῖται ὁ Χριστός. τὰ γὰρ 5 Εἱρηναίοι τε καὶ Μελῖτωνος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τις ἰγνοεῖ βιβλία, θεὸν καὶ ἀνθρωπον καταγγέλλοντα ς 516
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.
εvon Χριστόν, ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὡςοι καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἡ ἀρχή ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφεῖται τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὑμνοῦσιν θεολογοῦντες; πῶς οὖν ἐκ τοσοῦτων ἐτῶν καταγγελλομένου τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ φρονῆματος, ἐνδέχεται τοὺς μέχρι Βίκτορος οὕτως ὡς οὗτοι λέγουσιν κεκηρυχέναι; πῶς δὲ οὐκ αἰδοῦνται ταῦτα Βίκτορος κατα-ψευδεσθαι, ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες ὅτι Βίκτωρ Θεόδωτον τὸν σκυτέα, τὸν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ πατέρα ταύτης τῆς ἀρνησιθέου ἀποστασίας, ἀπεκήρυξεν τῆς κοινωνίας, πρῶτον εἰπόντα ψιλῶν ἀνθρωπον τὸν Χριστόν; εἰ γὰρ Βίκτωρ κατ’ αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἔφρονει ὡς ἡ τούτων διδάσκει βλασφημία, πῶς ἂν ἀπέβαλεν Θεόδωτον τὸν τῆς αἱρέσεως ταύτης εὐρετήν;”

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὸν Βίκτορα τοσαῦτα. τούτου τὸ ἐτεως δέκα προστάντος τῆς λειτουργίας διάδοχος καθίσταται Ζεφυρίνος ἀμφὶ τὸ ἐνατὸν τῆς Σενήρου βασιλείας ἔτος. προστίθηκαν δὲ ὁ τὸ προειρημένον συντάξας περὶ τοῦ κατάρχαντος τῆς δηλωθείσης αἱρέσεως βιβλίον καὶ ἀλλήν κατὰ Ζεφυρίνον γενομένην πρᾶξιν, ὡδὲ τωσ αὐτοῖς ῥήμασι γράφον. “ὑπομνήσω γοῦν πολλοὺς τῶν ἀδελφῶν πράγμα ἐφ’ ἡμῶν γενόμενον, ὅ νομίζω ὅτι εἷ ἐν Σοδόμω εἰσέγει, τυχὸν ἂν κακεῖνος ἐνοπληθησεν. Νατάλιος ῥὶ τὸς όμολογητὴς, οὐ πάλαι, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων γενόμενος καιρῶν. οὕτως ἡπατήθη ποτὲ ὑπὸ Ἀσκληπιόδοτος καὶ ἔτερον Θεόδωτον τινὸς τραπεζίτου, ἤσαν δὲ οὕτως ἀμφὶ Θεόδωτον τὸν σκυτέως μαθηταὶ τοῦ πρῶτον ἐπὶ ταύτη τῇ φρονήσει, μᾶλλον 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

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.
Εὐσεβις, τοῦ τιρεώντος, διακόπτων δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολήν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ κύριως ἐπειδὴ τὸν τοῦτον ἁγιον ἐχάρισεν, ἐπεὶ προφθάσας ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῷ πατρί ἐποίησεν καὶ ἐποίησεν καὶ ἐποίησεν ἡ ζωὴ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πάντα τοὺς ἄνθρωπον. Νεώτερος ἦσαν ἐκεῖνοι οἱ προ精英, καὶ ταύτα καὶ τοιαύτα ὑπενθύμισεν ἡ ζωὴ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πάντα τοὺς ἄνθρωπον. Νεώτερος ἦσαν ἐκεῖνοι οἱ προ精英, καὶ ταύτα καὶ τοιαύτα ὑπενθύμισεν ἡ ζωὴ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πάντα τοὺς ἄνθρωπον.
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 seaweely 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.”
τερον συνημμένον ἢ διεξευγμένον δύναται ποιήσαι σχῆμα συλλογισμοῦ· καταλιπόντες δὲ τὰς ἄγιας 14 τοῦ θεοῦ γραφάς, γεωμετρίαν ἐπιτηδεύουσιν, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὄντες καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαλοῦντες καὶ τὸν ἄνωθεν ἔρχόμενον ἄγνοοντες. Εὐκλείδης γοῦν παρά τισιν αὐτῶν φιλοσόφοις γεωμετρεῖται, Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ καὶ Θεόφραστος θαυμάζονται. Γαληνὸς γὰρ ἤσως ὑπὸ τινῶν καὶ προσκυνεῖται. οἱ δὲ ταῖς τῶν ἀπίστων τέχναις εἰς τὴν τῆς αἱρέσεως αὐτῶν γνώμην ἀποχρώμενοι καὶ τῇ τῶν ἁθέων πανουργίᾳ τῆς ἀπλῆς τῶν θείων γραφῶν πίστιν κατηγοῦντες, ὅτι μηδὲ ἐγγὺς πίστεως ὑπάρχουσι, τί δεὶ καὶ λέγειν; διὰ τοῦτο ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ἀφόβως ἐπέβαλον τὰς χεῖρας, λέγοντες αὐτὰς διωρθωκέναι. καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο μὴ καταβευδόμενος αὐτῶν λέγω, 15 ὁ βουλόμενος δύναται μαθεῖν. εἰ γὰρ τις θελήσῃ συγκομίσας αὐτῶν ἐκάστου τὰ αὐτίγραφα ἐξ-ετάξειν πρὸς ἄλληλα, κατὰ πολὺ ἄν εὖροι διαφωνοῦντα. ἀσύμφωνα γοῦν ἔσται τὰ Ἀσκλη-17 πίδων τοῖς Θεοδότου, πολλῶν δὲ ἐστιν εὐπορήσαι διὰ τὸ φιλοτίμως ἐκγεγράφθαι τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτῶν τὰ ὑφ’ ἐκάστου αὐτῶν, ὡς αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν, κατωρθωμένα, τοῦτ’ ἐστὶν ἰδιαυσμένα πάλιν δὲ τούτοις τὰ Ἐρμοφίλου οὐ συνάδει. τὰ γὰρ Ἀπολλωνιάδου οὐδὲ αὐτὰ ἐαυτοὶς ἐστὶν σύμφωνα ἐνεστὶν γὰρ συγκρίναι τὰ πρότερον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν κατασκευασθέντα τοῖς ὑστερον πάλιν ἐπιδιαστρα-

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 copies³ 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.
EUSEBIUS

φείσων καὶ εὑρεῖν κατὰ πολὺ ἀπάδοντα. ὡς ἂ δὲ ἑτέρα, τὸλμης ἐστὶ, τοῦτο τὸ ἀμάρτημα, εἰκὸς μηδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἁγιοῦν. ἦ γὰρ οὗ πιστεύουσιν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι λελέχθαι τὰς θείας γραφὰς, καὶ εἰσιν ἄπιστοι. ἦ ἕαυτος ἴγονται σοφωτέρους τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ὑπάρχειν, καὶ τὶ ἔτερον ἢ δαιμονῶσιν; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄρνησασθαι δύνανται ἕαυτῶν εἶναι τὸ τὸλμημα, ὅποταν καὶ τῇ ἑαυτῶν χειρὶ ἡ γεγραμμένα, καὶ παρ’ ὃν κατηχηθέναι, μὴ τοιαύτας παρέλαβον τὰς γραφὰς, καὶ δείξαι ἀντίγραφα ὅθεν αὕτα μετεγράφαστο, μὴ ἔχωσιν. ἔνιοι δ’ ἑαυτῶν οὐδὲ παραχαράσσειν ἥξιώσαν αὐτὰς, ἀλλ’ ἀπλῶς ἁρνησάμενοι τὸν τὸ νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας, ἀνόμου καὶ ἄθεου διδασκαλίας προφάσει χάριτος εἰς ἔσχατον ἀπωλείας ὀλεθρον κατωλύσθησαν."

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τοῖτον ἰστόρησθω 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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