

# Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica

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## Disclaimer

Please note, as indicated above, that this translation is a machine-generated translation. There are several older works, like Eusebius's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, that are either not available in English or only available in old and difficult to read translations. This translation is an attempt to provide a readable and fairly literal modern English translation of the source text. It is provided in a diglot format so the source text can be appealed to by readers if they run into sticky spots. The process that created this translation has done its best to mitigate hallucinations, but there will still be translation issues.

## About the Source

Translated from: Eusebius, *Eusebii Caesariensis Opera*. Teubner:Leipzig, 1871.

The source edition of *Historia Ecclesiastica* was retrieved from the Github repository **First1KGreek**. For more information: <https://opengreekandlatin.github.io/First1KGreek/>. The actual source file this translation uses as its source text is available at <https://github.com/OpenGreekAndLatin/First1KGreek/tree/master/data/tlg2018/tlg002/tlg2018.tlg002.1st1K-grc1.xml>.

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## About the Publisher

This translation was created and published by Rick Brannan for the Appian Way Press. This diglot edition is available for download at <https://github.com/AppianWayPress/Eusebius>. We are also evaluating low-priced, translation-only print, ebook, and audio editions through Amazon and other providers.

## Book One (ΛΟΓΟΣ Α.)

### Section 1

1.1.1 | Τὰς τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων διαδοχὰς σὺν καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς διηνυσμένοις χρόνοις, ὅσα τε καὶ πηλίκα πραγματευθῆναι κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἴστορίαν 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 Θεῖον ἐπρέσβευσαν λόγον, τίνες τε καὶ ὅσοι καὶ ὀπηνίκα νεωτεροποιίας ἰμέρῳ πλάνης εἰς ἔσχατον ἐλάσαντες ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως εἰσηγητὰς ἐαυτοὺς ἀνακεκρύχασιν, ἀφειδῶς οἴα λύκοι βαρεῖς τὴν Χριστοῦ ποίμνην ἐπεντρίβοντες,

1.1.1 | The succession of the holy apostles, along with those from our Savior, is told in the times that have passed down to us. It is said how many things were dealt with in the church history, and how many have led and been in charge in the most notable communities. Each generation has either orally or through writings represented the divine word. Who and how many, and when, driven by a desire for new ideas, have declared themselves teachers of false knowledge, like heavy wolves ruthlessly pressing upon the flock of Christ.

1.1.2 | πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τὰ παραυτίκα τῆς κατὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλῆς τὸ πᾶν τουδιάν ἔθνος περιελθόντα, ὅσα τε αὖ καὶ ὀποῖα καὶ καθ' οὓς χρόνους πρὸς τῶν ἔθνῶν ὁ Θεῖος πεπολέμηται λόγος, καὶ πηλίκοι κατὰ καιροὺς τὸν δ' αἴματος καὶ βασάνων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διεξῆλθον ἀγῶνα, τά τ' ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς μαρτύρια, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἔλεω καὶ εὔμενῇ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀντίληψιν γραφῆ παραδοῦναι προηρημένος οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἢ ἀπὸ πρώτης ἄρξομαι τῆς κατὰ τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκονομίας.

1.1.2 | In addition to this, I will also discuss the immediate threats against our Savior that have come upon the whole nation of the Jews. I will mention how and when the divine word has fought against the nations, and how many times there has been a struggle for him through blood and suffering. I will also include the testimonies about these matters and about us, and I will aim to present the gracious and kind support of our Savior in writing, starting from the very beginning of the story of our Savior and Lord Jesus Christ, the economy of God.

1.1.3 | ἀλλά μοι συγγνώμην ἥδη εύγνωμόνων ἐντεῦθεν ὁ λόγος αίτε, μεῖζον ἢ καθ' ἡμετέραν δύναμιν διμολογῶν εἶναι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἐντελῆ καὶ ἀπαράλειπτον ὑποσχεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πρῶτοι νῦν τῆς

1.1.3 | But I ask for forgiveness from those who are grateful, for the word here seeks something greater than our power to promise completely and without fail. Since the first ones have now taken on this task,

ύποθέσεως ἐπιβάντες οἵα τινα ἔρήμην καὶ ἀτριβῇ ίέναι ὁδὸν ἔγχειροῦμεν, θεὸν μὲν ὀδηγὸν καὶ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου συνεργὸν σχήσειν εὐχόμενοι δύναμιν, ἀνθρώπων γε μὴν οὐδαμῶς εὔρεῖν οἷοί τε ὅντες ἔχνη γυμνὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμῖν προωδευκότων, μὴ ὅτι σμικρὰς αὐτὸς μόνον προφάσεις, δι' ὃν ἄλλος ἄλλως ὃν διηνύκασι χρόνων μερικὰς ἡμῖν καταλελοίπασι διηγήσεις, πόρρωθεν ὡσπερεὶ πυρσοὺς τὰς ἑαυτῶν προανατείνοντες φωνὰς, καὶ ἄνωθέν πιθεν ὡσπερ ἐξ ἀπόπτου καὶ ἀπὸ σκοπιᾶς βιῶντες καὶ διακελευόμενοι, ἢ χρὴ βαδίζειν καὶ τὴν τοῦ λόγου πορείαν ἀπλανῶς καὶ ἀκινδύνως εύθύνειν.

we are trying to set out a path that is somewhat empty and untraveled. We pray for God to be our guide and for the Lord to grant us strength. However, we find no traces of men who have walked the same path as us, not because they have only small excuses, but because others have left behind different stories over the years. They seem to raise their voices like flames from afar, and from above, like someone calling out from a high place, urging us on where we should walk and guiding the journey of the word safely and without danger.

1.1.4 | ὅσα τοίνυν είς τὴν προκειμένην λυσιτελήσειν ὑπόθεσιν ἡγούμεθα, τόν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις σποράδην μνημονευθέντων ἀναλεξάμενοι, καὶ ὡσὰν ἐκ λογικῶν λειμώνων τὰς ἐπιτηδείους αὐτῶν τῶν πάλαι συγγραφέων ἀπανθισάμενοι φωνὰς, δι' ὑφηγήσεως ἴστορικῆς πειρασόμεθα σωματοποιῆσαι, ἀγαπῶντες, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀπάντων, τῶν γοῦν μάλιστα διαφανεστάτων τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀποστόλων τὰς διαδοχὰς κατὰ τὰς διαπρεπούσας καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν μνημονευομένας ἐκκλησίας ἀνασωσαίμεθα.

1.1.4 | Therefore, as we consider what will be useful for the matter at hand, we will recall those things that have been mentioned here and there. Just as we gather the voices of their ancient writers from logical pastures, we will try to give them a physical form through historical explanation. We will focus on, if not all, at least the most clear accounts of the successors of our Savior's apostles, in order to preserve them for the well-known churches that are still remembered today.

1.1.5 | ἀναγκαιότατα δέ μοι πονεῖσθαι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἡγοῦμαι, ὅτι μηδένα πω είς δεῦρο τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων διέγνων περὶ τοῦτο τῆς γραφῆς σπουδὴν πεποιημένον τὸ μέρος· ἐλπίζω δ' ὅτι καὶ ὠφελιμωτάτη τοῖς φιλοτίμως περὶ τὸ χρηστομαθὲς τῆς ἴστορίας ἔχουσιν ἀναφανήσεται.

1.1.5 | I believe it is very necessary for me to work hard on this matter, since I have not yet seen any of the church writers who have taken care to write about this topic. However, I hope that it will also be very beneficial for those who are eager to learn about the good things in history.

1.1.6 | ἢδη μὲν οὖν τούτων καὶ πρότερον ἐν οἷς διετυπωσάμην χρονικοῖς κανόσιν ἐπιτομὴν κατεστησάμην, πληρεστάτην δ' οὖν ὅμως αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ὥρμήθην τὴν ἀφήγησιν ποιήσασθαι.

1.1.7 | καὶ ἄρξεταί γέ μοι ὁ λόγος, ὡς ἔφην, ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπινοουμένης ὑψηλοτέρας τε καὶ κρείττονος ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον οἰκονομίας τε καὶ θεολογίας.

1.1.8 | καὶ γὰρ οὖν τὸν γραφῇ μέλλοντα τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ὑφηγήσεως παραδώσειν τὴν ιστορίαν, ἀναθεν ἐκ πρώτης τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν Χριστὸν, ὅτι περ ἔξ αὐτοῦ καὶ προσωνυμίας ἡξιώθημεν, θειοτέρας ἢ κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν τοῖς πολλοῖς οἰκονομίας ἀναγκαῖον ἀν εἴη κατάρξασθαι.

1.1.6 | Indeed, I have already set up a summary of these things in earlier chronological works. However, I have now been inspired to create a more complete account of them.

1.1.7 | And my account will begin, as I said, from the higher and greater thoughts about Christ, rather than from human matters of economy and theology.

1.1.8 | For indeed, in order to hand down the history of the church's teaching in writing, it is necessary to begin from the very first thoughts about Christ, especially regarding the names we have received from him, which are more divine than what seems necessary to most people.

## Section 2

1.2.1 | Διττοῦ δὲ ὅντος τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν τρόπου, καὶ τοῦ μὲν σώματος ἔοικότος κεφαλῇ, ἢ θεὸς ἐπινοεῖται, τοῦ δὲ ποσὶ παραβαλλομένου, ἢ τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν ἄνθρωπον δημοιοπαθῆ τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἔνεκεν ὑπέδυ σωτηρίας, γένοιτ' ἀν ἡμῖν ἐντεῦθεν ἐντελής ἡ τῶν ἀκολούθων ὑπόθεσις, εἰ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ιστορίας ἀπάσης ἀπὸ τῶν κεφαλαιωδεστάτων καὶ κυριωτάτων τοῦ λόγου τὴν ὑφήγησιν ποιησαίμεθα. ταύτῃ δὲ ἦδη καὶ τῆς Χριστιανῶν ἀρχαιότητος τὸ παλαιὸν ὅμοῦ καὶ θεοπρεπὲς τοῖς νέαν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐκτετοπισμένην, χθὲς καὶ οὐ πρότερον φανεῖσαν ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἀναδειχθήσεται.

1.2.1 | Since there are two ways of understanding him, one as the body resembling the head, which is thought of as God, and the other as the feet, which represent the human being among us, who shares in our suffering for our salvation, it would be fitting for us to have a complete understanding of the followers' beliefs from this point. If we make our account of the entire history about him based on the most important and central ideas of the word, then this will also reveal the ancient and divine nature of Christianity, which has only recently become clear to those who have not seen it before.

1.2.2 | Γένους μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀξίας, αὐτῆς τε

1.2.2 | Indeed, no words can fully express

ούσίας τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ φύσεως οὕτις ἀν εἰς ἔκφρασιν αὐτάρκης γένοιτο λόγος. ἢ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον ἐν προφητείαις “τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ” φησι “τίς διηγήσεται;” ὅτι δὴ οὕτε τὸν πατέρα τις ἔγνω, εἴ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς, οὗτ’ αὖ τὸν υἱὸν τις γνοίτι ποτὲ κατ’ ἀξίαν, εἴ μὴ μόνος ὁ γεννήσας αὐτὸν πατήρ.

the nature and worth of Christ himself. This is why the divine spirit in the prophecies says, "Who can tell of his generation?" It shows that no one knows the Father except the Son, and no one can truly know the Son except the Father who begot him.

1.2.3 | τό τε φῶς τὸ προκόσμιον καὶ τὴν πρὸ αἰώνων νοερὰν καὶ οὐσιώδη σοφίαν, τὸν τε ζῶντα καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ τυγχάνοντα θεὸν λόγον τίς ἀν πλὴν τοῦ πατρὸς καθαρῶς ἐννοήσειε, πρὸ πάσης κτίσεως καὶ δημιουργίας ὄρωμένης τε καὶ ἀοράτου τὸ πρῶτον καὶ μόνον τού θεοῦ γέννημα, τὸν τῆς κατ’ οὐρανὸν λογικῆς καὶ ἀθανάτου στρατιὰς ἀρχιστράτηγον, τὸν τῆς μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελον, τὸν τῆς ἀρρήτου γνώμης τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπουργὸν, τὸν τῶν ἀπάντων σὺν τῷ πατρὶ δημιουργὸν, τὸν δεύτερον μετὰ τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὅλων αἵτιον, τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ παῖδα γνήσιον καὶ μονογενῆ, τὸν τῶν γεννητῶν ἀπάντων κύριον καὶ θεὸν καὶ βασιλέα, τὸν τὸ κῦρος ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ κράτος αὐτῇ θεότητι καὶ δυνάμει καὶ τιμῇ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑποδεδεγμένον, ὅτι δὴ κατὰ τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ μυστικὰς τῶν γραφῶν θεολογίας “ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος· πάντα δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἔν.”

1.2.3 | Who can fully understand the light that is beyond the world and the wise essence that has existed before the ages? Who can grasp the living Word of God that is with the Father from the beginning? He is the first and only creation of God, the leader of the heavenly and immortal army, the angel of the great counsel, the minister of the Father's unspoken will, the creator of all things along with the Father, the second cause of everything after the Father, the true and only Son of God, the Lord and God and King of all created beings. He shares the glory, power, and honor with the Father. As the sacred writings say about him, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made through him, and without him nothing was made."

1.2.4 | τοῦτό τοι καὶ ὁ μέγας Μωυσῆς, ὡσὰν προφητῶν ἀπάντων παλαί τατὸς, Θείῳ πνεύματι τὴν τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίωσίν τε καὶ διακόσμησιν ὑπογράφων, τὸν κοσμοποιὸν καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων αὐτῷ δὴ τῷ Χριστῷ, καὶ οὐδὲ ἄλλῳ ἢ τῷ Θείῳ δηλαδὴ καὶ πρωτογόνῳ ἐαυτοῦ λόγῳ τὴν τῶν ὑποβεβηκότων ποίησιν

1.2.4 | This is also what the great Moses, the oldest of all the prophets, writes about with divine spirit, explaining the essence and arrangement of everything. He teaches about the creator of the world, who is Christ, and he does not give this role to anyone else but to the divine and original Word of himself. He also speaks about the

παραχωροῦντα διδάσκει, αὐτῷ τε κοινολογούμενον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπογονίας. "εἶπε γάρ' φησὶν "ὸ θεὸς, ποιήσωμεν ἀνθρωπὸν κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὅμοιώσιν."

1.2.5 | ταύτην δὲ ἔγγυᾶται τὴν φωνὴν προφητῶν ἄλλος, ὃδέ πως ἐν ὕμνοις Θεολογῶν' αὐτὸς εἶπε, καὶ ἐγεννήθησαν· αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο, καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν," τὸν μὲν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν εἰσάγων ὡσὰν πανηγεμόνα βασιλικῷ νεύματι προστάττοντα, τὸν δὲ τούτῳ δευτερεύοντα Θεῖον λόγον, οὐχ ἔτερον τοῦ πρὸς ἡμῶν κηρυττομένου, ταῖς πατρικαῖς ἐπιτάξεσιν ὑπουργοῦντα.

1.2.6 | τοῦτον καὶ ἀπὸ πρώτης ἀνθρωπογονίας πάντες, ὅσοι δὴ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ θεοσεβείᾳ ἀρετῇ διαπρέψαι λέγονται, ἀμφί τε τὸν μέγαν Θεράποντα Μωυσέα, καὶ πρὸ γε αὐτοῦ πρῶτος Ἀβραὰμ, τούτου τε οἱ παῖδες καὶ ὅσοι μετέπειτα δίκαιοι πεφήνασι καὶ προφῆται, καθαροῖς διανοίας ὅμμασι φαντασθέντες ἔγνωσάν τε καὶ οἴα θεοῦ παιδὶ τὸ προσῆκον ἀπένειμαν σέβας.

1.2.7 | αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἀπορραφυμῶν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς εὐσεβείας διδάσκαλος τοῖς πᾶσι τῆς πατρικῆς καθίστατο γνώσεως. Ὕφθαι γοῦν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἀνείρηται οἴα τις κοινὸς ἀνθρωπὸς τῷ Ἀβραὰμ καθημένῳ παρὰ τὴν δρῦν τὴν Μαμβρῆ. ὁ δ' ὑποπεσὼν αὐτίκα, καίτοι γε ἀνθρωπὸν ὄφθαλμοῖς ὀρῶν, προσκυνεῖ μὲν ὡς θεὸν, ἱκετεύει δὲ ὡς κύριον, ὁμολογεῖ τε μὴ ἀγνοεῖν ὅστις εἴη, ὥρμασιν αὐτοῖς λέγων "κύριε ὁ κρίνων

creation of humans. "For God said, 'Let us make man in our image and according to our likeness.'"

1.2.5 | Another voice of the prophets confirms this, saying in hymns of theology: "He said, and they were created; He commanded, and they came into being." This shows the Father and creator as the one giving a royal command, while the divine Word, which is the same as the one preached to us, serves in carrying out the Father's orders.

1.2.6 | From the very first creation of humans, all those who are said to excel in righteousness and piety, gather around the great servant Moses, and before him, the first Abraham. His children and all the righteous and prophets who came after him, having seen with pure minds, recognized and gave the proper honor to the Son of God.

1.2.7 | He himself did not at all hesitate to teach everyone about the piety of the Father and established knowledge of the Father. Indeed, the Lord God appeared as a common man to Abraham sitting by the oak of Mamre. And he, although seeing a man with his eyes, worshiped him as God and begged him as Lord, admitting that he did not know who he was, saying to him, "Lord, will you not judge all the earth?"

πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, οὐ ποιήσεις κρίσιν ;”

1.2.8 | εἴ γάρ μηδεὶς ἐπιτρέποι λόγος τὴν ἀγέννητον καὶ ἄτρεπτον ούσιαν θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος εἰς ἀνδρὸς εἶδος μεταβάλλειν, μηδ’ αὖ γεννητοῦ μηδενὸς φαντασίᾳ τὰς τῶν ὀρώντων ὄψεις ἔξαπατάν, μηδὲ μὴν ψευδῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα πλάττεσθαι τὴν γραφὴν, θεὸς καὶ κύριος ὁ κρίνων πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν καὶ ποιῶν κρίσιν ἐν ἀνθρώπου ὀρώμενος σχῆματι, τίς ἀν ἔτερος ἀναγορεύοιτο, εἰ μὴ φάναι θέμις τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ὅλων αἴτιον, ἡ μόνος ὁ προών αὐτοῦ λόγος; περὶ οὗ καὶ ἐν ψαλμοῖς ἀνείρηται “ἀπέστειλε τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ιάσατο αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐρρύσατο αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν διαφθορῶν αὐτῶν.”

1.2.8 | For if no one allows the uncreated and unchanging essence of God the Almighty to change into the form of a man, nor can the imagination of any created being deceive the appearances of those who see, and certainly such things cannot falsely be written in scripture, then God and Lord, who judges all the earth and carries out judgment in the form of a man, who else could be called, except to say that the first cause of all things is the divine Word himself? About whom it is also said in the Psalms, "He sent his Word, and healed them, and rescued them from their destruction."

1.2.9 | τοῦτον δεύτερον μετὰ τὸν πατέρα κύριον σαφέστατα Μωυσῆς ἀναγορεύει λέγων “ἔβρεξε κύριος ἐπὶ Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα θεῖον καὶ πῦρ παρὰ κυρίου.” τοῦτον καὶ τῷ Ἰακὼβ αὕθις ἐν ἀνδρὸς φανέντα σχῆματι θεὸν ἡ θεία προσαγορεύει γραφὴ, φάσκοντα τῷ Ἰακὼβ “οὐκέτι ικληθήσεται τὸ ὄνομά σου Ἰακὼβ ἀλλ’ Ἰσραὴλ ἔσται τὸ ὄνομά σου, διὶ τοῦ ἐνίσχυσας μετὰ θεοῦ. ὅτε καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Ἰακὼβ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου εἶδος θεοῦ, λέγων “εἶδον γάρ τὸν θεὸν πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον, καὶ ἐσώθη ἡ ψυχὴ μου.”

1.2.9 | Moses clearly calls this one Lord after the Father, saying, "The Lord rained down sulfur and fire on Sodom and Gomorrah from the Lord." This same one also appears to Jacob in the form of a man, as the divine scripture calls him God, saying to Jacob, "Your name will no longer be called Jacob, but Israel will be your name, for you have struggled with God." Then Jacob named that place the face of God, saying, "For I have seen God face to face, and my life has been saved."

1.2.10 | καὶ μὴν οὐδ’ ὑποβεβηκότων ἀγγέλων καὶ λειτουργῶν θεοῦ τὰς ἀναγραφείσας θεοφανείας ὑπονοεῖν θέμις, ἐπεὶ καὶ τούτων ὅταν τις ἀνθρώποις παραφαίνηται, οὐκ ἐπικρύπτεται ἡ γραφὴ, ὄνομαστὶ οὐ θεὸν, οὐδὲ μὴν κύριον, ἀλλ’ ἀγγέλους χρηματίσαι λέγουσα, ὡς διὰ

1.2.10 | And indeed, it is not right to think that the appearances of God are recorded as those of angels and servants of God, since when any of these appear to people, the scripture does not hide it, calling them not God, nor Lord, but referring to them as angels, so that it is easy to believe through

μυρίων μαρτυριῶν πιστώσασθαι ἡάδιον.

many testimonies.

1.2.11 | τοῦτον καὶ ὁ Μωυσέως διάδοχος Ἰησοῦς ὡσὰν τῶν ούρανίων ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων τῶν τε ὑπερκοσμίων δυνάμεων ἡγούμενον, καὶ ὡσανεὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπαρχον, 5 τὰ δευτερεῖα τῆς κατὰ πάντων βασιλείας τε καὶ ἀρχῆς ἐμπεπιστευμένον, ἀρχιστράτηγον δυνάμεως κυρίου ὄνομάζει, οὐκ ἄλλως αὐτὸν ἡ αὐθις ἐν ἀνθρώπου μορφῇ καὶ σχήματι θεωρήσας.

1.2.11 | This one is also called the successor of Moses, Jesus, who is considered as the leader of the heavenly angels and archangels, and of the powers beyond the world. He is seen as existing with the Father, entrusted with the second place in the kingdom and authority over all things, and is named the commander of the Lord's power, not in any other way than when he is seen again in the form and appearance of a man.

1.2.12 | γέγραπται γοῦν "καὶ ἐγενήθη, ὡς ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἐν Ἱεριχώ, καὶ ἀναβλέψας ὅρᾳ ἀνθρωπὸν ἐστηκότα κατέναντι αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ ρομφαία ἐσπασμένη ἐν Γῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ προσελθὼν Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν, ἡμέτερος εἰς ἣ τῶν ὑπεναντίων; καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ἐγώ ἀρχιστράτηγος δυνάμεως κυρίου νυνὶ παραγέγονα. καὶ Ἰησοῦς ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, δέσποτα, τί προστάσσεις τῷ σῷ οἰκέτῃ; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος κυρίου πρὸς Ἰησοῦν, λῦσον τὸ ὑπόδημα ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν σου· ὃ γὰρ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ σὺ ἔστηκας, τόπος ἄγιός ἐστιν.

1.2.12 | It is written, "And it happened that when Jesus was in Jericho, he looked up and saw a man standing in front of him, with a drawn sword in his hand. Jesus approached him and asked, 'Are you for us or for our enemies?' And he said to him, 'I am the commander of the Lord's army. Now I have come.' Then Jesus fell on his face to the ground and said to him, 'Master, what do you command your servant?' And the commander of the Lord's army said to Jesus, 'Take off your sandals from your feet, for the place where you are standing is holy ground.'"

1.2.13 | ἔνθα καὶ ἐπιστήσεις ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ῥημάτων ὅτι μὴ ἔτερος οὗτος εἴη τοῦ καὶ Μωυσεῖ κεχρηματικότος, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς ῥήμασι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε φησιν ἡ γραφή "ώς δὲ εἶδε κύριος ὅτι προσάγει ἴδειν, ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν κύριος ἐκ τοῦ βάτου λέγων, Μωυσῆς Μωυσῆς· ὃ δὲ εἶπε τί ἔστι; καὶ εἶπε, μὴ ἐγγίσῃς ὡδεῖς λῦσον τὸ ὑπόδημα ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν σου· ὃ γὰρ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ σὺ ἔστηκας ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, γῆ ἀγία ἐστί.

1.2.13 | Here you will also notice from the same words that this one is not different from the one who was called by Moses, since the scripture says about him, "When the Lord saw that he turned to look, the Lord called to him from the bush, saying, 'Moses, Moses!' And he said, 'What is it?' And he said, 'Do not come near; take off your sandals from your feet, for the place where you are standing is holy ground.'

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ἐγώ είμι ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων σου, ὁ Θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Θεὸς Ἰακώβ.

And he said to him, 'I am the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.'

1.2.14 | κώ δτι γέ ἔστιν ούσια τις προκόσμιος ζῶσα καὶ ὑφεστῶσα, ἡ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ θεῷ τῶν ὅλων εἰς τὴν τῶν γενητῶν ἀπάντων δημιουργίαν ὑπηρετησαμένη, λόγος θεοῦ καὶ σοφία χρηματίζουσα, πρὸς ταῖς τεθειμέναις ἀποδείξεσιν ἔτι καὶ αὐτῆς ἐξ ἴδιου προσώπου τῆς σοφίας ἐπακοῦσαι πάρεστι, διὰ Σθλομῶνος λευκότατα ὕδε πως τὰ περὶ ἐαυτῆς μυσταγωγούσης 'ἐγὼ ἡ σοφία κατεσκήνωσα βουλὴν καὶ γνῶσιν, καὶ ἔννοιαν ἐγὼ ἐπεκαλεσάμην' δι' ἐμοῦ βασιλεῖς βασιλεύουσι, καὶ οἱ δυνάσται γράφουσι δικαιοσύνην' δι' ἐμοῦ μεγιστᾶνες μεγαλύνονται, καὶ τύραννοι δι' ἐμοῦ κρατοῦσι γῆς.

1.2.14 | And that there is indeed a living essence that exists before the world, serving the Father and God of all in the creation of all beings, is the Word of God and wisdom that speaks. It is also possible to hear from its own presence of wisdom, as it is said by Solomon in a very clear way, "I, wisdom, have made my dwelling in counsel and knowledge, and I have called for understanding. Through me, kings reign, and rulers write justice. Through me, great ones are honored, and tyrants rule the earth."

1.2.15 | οἵς ἐπιλέγει "κύριος ἔκτισέ με ἀρχὴν ὄδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ, πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐθεμελίωσέ με ἐν ἀρχῇ, πρὸ τοῦ τὴν γῆν ποιῆσαι, πρὸ τοῦ ποροελθεῖν τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων, πρὸ τοῦ ὅρη ἐδρασθῆναι, πρὸ δὲ πάντων βουνῶν γεννᾷ με. ἡνίκα ἦτοί μαξε τὸν οὐρανὸν, συμπαρήμην αὐτῷ, καὶ ὡς ἀσφαλεῖς ἐτίθει πηγὰς τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανὸν, ἥμην παρ' αὐτῷ ἀρμόζουσα. ἐγὼ ἥμην ἦτορ προσέχαιρε, καθ' ἡμέραν δὲ ηύφραινόμην ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ, ὅτε ηύφραίνετο τὴν οἰκουμένην"

1.2.15 | To whom it is said, "The Lord created me as the beginning of his ways for his works. Before the ages, he established me at the start, before he made the earth, before the springs of water came forth, before the mountains were set, before all the hills, I was brought forth. When he prepared the heavens, I was there with him, and when he set the fountains under the heavens, I was beside him, arranging things. I was his delight, rejoicing before him every day, rejoicing in all the world."

1.2.16 | ὅτι μὲν οὖν προην, καὶ τισὶν εἴ καὶ μὴ τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁ Θεῖος λόγος ἐπεφαίνετο, ταῦθ' ἡμῖν ὡς ἐν βραχέσιν είρησθω.

1.2.16 | So, indeed, it was beforehand, and to whom, even if not to all, the divine Word was revealed, let these things be said to us

briefly.

1.2.17 | Τί δὴ οὖν ούχὶ καθάπερ τανῦν, καὶ πάλαι πρότερον εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ πᾶσιν ἔθνεσιν ἐκηρύττετο, ὥδε ἀν γένοιτο πρόδηλον. οὐκ ἦν 'π' χωρεῖν οἶός τε τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πάνσοφον καὶ πάνα ρετον διδασκαλίαν ὡς πάλαι τῶν ἀνθρωπὸν βίος.

1.2.18 | εύθυνς μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐν μακαρίοις ζωὴν ὡς πρῶτος ἀνθρωπος, ἥττον τῆς θείας ἐντολῆς φροντίσας, εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν θνητὸν καὶ ἐπίκηρον βίον καταπέπτωκε, καὶ τὴν ἐπάρατον ταυτηνὶ γῆν τῆς πάλαι ἐνθέου τρυφῆς ἀντικατηλάξατο, οὕτε ἀπὸ τούτου τὴν καθ' ἡμὰς σύμπασαν πληρώσαντες, πολὺ χείρους ἀναφανέντες ἐκτὸς ἐνός που καὶ δευτέρου, θηριώδῃ τινὰ τρόπον καὶ βίον ἀβίωτον ἐπανήρηντο·

1.2.19 | ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτε πόλιν οὕτε πολιτείαν, οὐ τέχνας, οὐκ ἐπιστήμας ἐπὶ νοῦν ἐβάλλοντο, νόμων τε καὶ δικαιωμάτων καὶ προσέτι ἀρετῆς καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐδὲ ὄνόματος μετεῖχον, νομάδες δὲ ἐπ' ἔρημίαις οἴά τινες ἄγριοι καὶ ἀπηνεῖς διῆγον, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ φύσεως προσήκοντας λογισμοὺς, τά τε λογικὰ καὶ ἡμερα τῆς ἀνθρώπων ψυχῆς σπέρματα αύτοπροαιρέτου κακίας ὑπερβολῇ διαφθείροντες, ἀνοσιουργίαις δὲ πάσαις ὅλους σφᾶς ἐκδεδωκότες, ὡς τοτὲ μὲν ἀνθρωποβορεῖν, τοτὲ δὲ ἀλληλοκτονεῖν, ἄλλοτε δὲ ἀνθρωποβορεῖν, θεομαχίας τε καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσι βιωμένας γιγαντομαχίας ἐπιτολμᾶν, καὶ γῆν μὲν ἐπιτειχίζειν ούρανῷ διανοεῖσθαι, μανίᾳ δὲ φρονήματος ἐκτόπου αὐτὸν τὸν ἐπὶ

1.2.17 | What then, just as now, was it not proclaimed to all people and to all nations long before? This would make it clear. There was no way for the wise and all-encompassing teaching of Christ to be hidden from the life of people in the past.

1.2.18 | For right away, in the beginning, after the first life in bliss, the first man, caring less for the divine command, fell into this mortal and troubled life. He exchanged the once divine joy of this earth for it. Those who came after him, filling the whole world, became much worse, living in a wild way and an unbearable life.

1.2.19 | But neither city nor community, nor crafts or knowledge were in their minds. They had no share in laws, rights, virtue, or philosophy. Instead, they lived as wild and harsh nomads in the wilderness. They followed natural instincts, destroying the logical and gentle seeds of the human soul with excessive evil. They gave themselves over to all kinds of wickedness, sometimes hunting each other, at other times killing one another, and at times hunting humans. They dared to fight against the divine and attempted to build a wall to the heavens, preparing to wage war against the God above all.

πάντων θεὸν πολεμεῖν παρασκευάζεσθαι.

1.2.20 | ἐφ' οἷς τοῦτον ἐαυτοὺς ἄγουσι τὸν τρόπον κατακλυσμοῖς αὐτοὺς καὶ πυρπολήσειν ὡσπερ ἀγρίαν ὕλην κατὰ πάσης τῆς γῆς κεχυμένην θεός ὁ πάντων ἔφορος μετήι, λιμοῖς τε συνεχέσι καὶ λοιμοῖς, πολέμοις τε αὖ καὶ κεραυνόν βολαῖς ἄνωθεν αὐτοὺς υπετέμνετο, ὡσπερ τινὰ δεινὴν καὶ χαλεπωτάτην νόσον ψυχῶν πικροτέροις ἀνέχων τοῖς κολαστηρίοις.

1.2.21 | τότε μὲν οὖν, ὅτε δὴ πολὺς ἦν ἐπικεχυμένος ὄλιγου δεῖν κατὰ πάντων ὁ τῆς κακίας κόρος, οἴα μέθης δεινῆς τὰς ἀπάντων σχεδὸν ἀνθρώπων ἐπισκιαζούσης καὶ ἐπισκοτούσης ψυχὰς, ἡ πρωτόγονος καὶ πρωτόκτιστος τοῦ θεοῦ σοφία καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ προών λόγος φιλανθρωπίας ὑπερβολῇ τοτὲ μὲν δι' ὄπτασίας ἀγγέλων τοῖς ὑποβεβηκόσι, τοτὲ δὲ καὶ δι' ἐαυτοῦ οἴα θεοῦ δύναμις σωτήριος ἐνί που καὶ δευτέρῳ τῶν πάλαι θεοφιλῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ δι' ἀνθρώπου μορφῆς, ὅτι μηδ' ἐτέρως ἦν δυνατὸν, αὐτοῖς ὑπεφαίνετο.

1.2.22 | ὡς δ' ἥδη διὰ τούτων τὰ θεοσεβείας σπέρματα εἰς πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν καταβέβλητο, ὅλον τε τὸ ἔθνος ἐπὶ τῇ θεοσεβείᾳ προσανέχον ἀνέκαθεν ἔξ Έβραίων ὑπέστη τοῦτο, τούτοις μὲν ὡσανεὶ πλήθεσιν ἔτι ταῖς παλαιαις ἀγωγαῖς ἐκδεδιητημένοις διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Μωυσέως είκόνας καὶ σύμβολα σαββάτου τινὸς μυστικοῦ καὶ περιτομῆς, ἐτέρων τε νοητῶν θεωρημάτων εἰσαγωγὰς, ὅλλ' οὐκ αὐτὰς ἐναργεῖς παρεδίδουν τὰς

1.2.20 | On these things, as they lead themselves, God, the overseer of all, moves among them with floods and fires, like wild wood spread across all the earth. He cuts them down with constant famines and plagues, and again with wars and lightning strikes from above, as if enduring a terrible and harsh sickness of souls, more bitter than punishments.

1.2.21 | Then, when the abundance of evil was greatly spread, like a terrible drunkenness overshadowing and darkening almost all human souls, the original and first wisdom of God, along with the pre-existing word of compassion, appeared in various ways. Sometimes it came through visions of angels to those who had fallen, and at other times it came through itself, like a saving power of God, in the form of a human, since it was not possible in any other way for it to be revealed to them.

1.2.22 | As the seeds of piety were scattered among many men, the whole nation turned to piety, having received it from the Hebrews. To these people, as if in great numbers, the old teachings were still being handed down through the prophet Moses, along with images and symbols of a certain mysterious Sabbath and circumcision, as well as introductions to other spiritual insights. However, they did not clearly pass on the mysteries

μυσταγωγίας.

1.2.23 | ὡς δὲ τῆς παρὰ τούτοις νομοθεσίας βιωμένης, καὶ πνοής δίκην εύώδους είς ἄπαντας ἀνθρώπους διαδιδομένης, ἥδη τότε ἔξ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς πλείσι τῶν ἐθνῶν διὰ τῶν πανταχόσε νομοθετῶν τε καὶ φιλοσόφων ἡμέρωτο τὰ φρονήματα, τῆς ἀγρίας καὶ ἀπηνοῦς θηριωδίας ἐπὶ τὸ πρᾶον μεταβεβλημένης, ὡς καὶ εἰρήνην βαθεῖαν φιλίας τε καὶ ἐπιμιξίας πρὸς ἄλλήλους ἔχειν, τηγικαῦτα πᾶσι δὴ λοιπὸν ἀνθρώποις καὶ τοῖς ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔθνεσιν, ὡσὰν προωφελημένοις καὶ ἥδη τυγχάνουσιν ἐπιτηδείοις πρὸς παραδοχὴν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς γνώσεως, ὃ αὐτὸς δὴ πάλιν ἔκεινος ὁ τῶν ἀρρήτων διδάσκαλος, ὃ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπουργὸς, ὃ Θεῖος καὶ οὐράνιος τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, δι' ἀνθρώπου κατὰ μηδὲν σώματος οὐσίᾳ τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν διαλλάττοντος, ἀρχομένης τῆς Ψωμαίων βασιλείας ἐπιφανείς, τοιαῦτα ἔδρασέ τε καὶ ἔπαθεν, οἵα ταῖς προφητείαις ἀκόλουθα ἦν, ἀνθρωπὸν δόμοῦ καὶ θεὸν ἐπιδημήσειν τῷ βίῳ παρασόξων ἔργων ποιητὴν, καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἔθνεσι διδάσκαλον τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς εὔσεβείας ἀναδειχθήσεσθαι, τό τε παράδοξον αὐτοῦ τῆς γενέσεως καὶ τὴν καινὴν διδασκαλίαν καὶ τῶν ἔργων τὰ θαυμάσια, ἐπὶ τε τούτοις τοῦ θανάτου τὸν τρόπον, τὴν τε ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν είς οὐρανοὺς ἔνθεον ἀποκατάστασιν αὐτοῦ προκηρυττούσαις.

1.2.24 | τὴν γοῦν ἐπὶ τέλει βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ Δανιὴλ ὁ προφήτης συνορῶν θείω πνεύματι ὥδε πως ἐθεοφορεῖτο, ἀνθρωπινώτερον τὴν θεοπτίαν ὑπογράφων. "γάρ" φησὶν "ἴως οὗ θρόνοι

themselves.

1.2.23 | As the law from these people was being proclaimed, and a sweet breath was spreading among all humans, at that time, many of the nations were being softened by the lawmakers and philosophers everywhere. The wild and savage brutality was changing into gentleness, so that there was deep peace and friendship among each other. Then, indeed, all people and the nations across the world, as if they were being helped, were already receiving the knowledge of the Father. The same teacher of the unspeakable, who serves in all good things of the Father, the divine and heavenly word of God, appeared through a human, without changing our nature in any way. With the beginning of the Roman Empire, he acted and suffered such things as were foretold by the prophecies: to be both man and God, living among us, a creator of wonderful deeds, and to be a teacher of the piety of the Father for all nations. He would reveal the paradox of his birth, his new teaching, and the marvelous works, including the manner of his death, the resurrection from the dead, and his divine restoration to the heavens, proclaiming these things.

1.2.24 | Indeed, the prophet Daniel, seeing his kingdom in a divine vision, described it in a more human way. He says, "Until thrones were set up, and the Ancient of Days took his seat. His clothing was white

έτέθησαν, καὶ παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν ἐκάθητο.  
καὶ τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ λευκὸν ὥσει χιῶν, καὶ  
ἡ θρὶξ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὥσει ἔριον  
καθαρὸν δὲ θρόνος αὐτοῦ φλὸξ πυρὸς, οἱ  
τροχοὶ αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον. ποταμὸς πυρὸς  
εἶλκεν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ. χίλιαι χιλιάδες  
ἔλειτούργουν αὐτῷ, καὶ μύριαι μυριάδες  
παρειστήκεισαν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ.  
κριτήριον ἐκάθισε καὶ βίβλοι ἡνεῳχθησαν."

like snow, and the hair of his head was like pure wool. His throne was a flame of fire, and its wheels were burning fire. A river of fire flowed out before him. Thousands upon thousands served him, and myriads upon myriads stood before him. The court sat in judgment, and the books were opened."

1.2.25 | καὶ ἔξῆς "ἔθεώωωρουν" φησὶ "καὶ  
ἴδοὺ μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὥσει  
υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος, καὶ ἵως τοῦ  
παλαιοῦ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἔφθασε, καὶ ἐνώπιον  
αὐτοῦ προσηνέχθη· καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόθη ἡ ἀρχὴ  
καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία, καὶ πάντες οἱ  
λαοὶ, φυλαὶ, γλῶσσαι αὐτῷ δουλεύουσιν. ἡ  
ἔξουσία αὐτοῦ ἔξουσία αἰώνιος) ἥτις οὐ  
παρελεύσεται. καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ οὐ  
διαφθαρήσεται."

1.2.25 | And then he says, "I saw, and behold, with the clouds of heaven, one like a son of man was coming. He came to the Ancient of Days and was presented before him. To him was given dominion, glory, and a kingdom, and all peoples, nations, and languages served him. His authority is an everlasting authority that will not pass away, and his kingdom will not be destroyed."

1.2.26 | ταῦτα δὲ σαφῶς οὐκ ἔφ' ἔτερον,  
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον σωτῆρα, τὸν ἐν ἀρχῇ  
πρὸς τὸν θεὸν θεὸν λόγον ἀναφέροιτο ἄν,  
υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου διὰ τὴν ὑστάτην  
ἐνανθρώπησιν αὐτοῦ χρηματίζοντα.

1.2.26 | These things clearly do not refer to another, but to our Savior, who is the Word of God with God from the beginning, being called the Son of Man because of his final incarnation.

1.2.27 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐν οίκειοις ὑπομνήμασι  
τὰς περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ  
προφητικὰς ἐκλογὰς συναγαγόντες,  
ἀποδεικτικώτερόν τε τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ  
δηλούμενα ἐν ἐτέροις συστήσαντες, τοῖς  
είρημένοις ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος  
ἀρκεσθησόμεθα.

1.2.27 | But indeed, by gathering the prophetic selections about our Savior, Jesus Christ, in our own writings, we will show more clearly what is said about him in other texts, and we will be satisfied with what has been mentioned so far.

### Section 3

1.3.1 | [Nic. H. E. 1-4] "Οτι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ

1.3.1 | That the name of Jesus and also that

τοῦνομα τοῦ τε Ἰησοῦ καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ τοῦ  
Χριστοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς πάλαι θεοφιλέσι  
προφήταις τετίμητο ἥδη καιρὸς  
ἀποδεικνύναι.

1.3.2 | σεπτὸν ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα καὶ ἔνδοξον  
τὸ Χριστοῦ ὄνομα πρῶτος αὐτὸς γνωρίσας  
Μωυσῆς, τύπους οὐρανίων καὶ σύμβολα  
μυστηριώδεις τε εἰκόνας ἀκολούθως  
χρησμῷ φήσαντι αὐτῷ "ὄρα, ποιήσεις  
πάντα κατὰ τὸν τύπον τὸν δειχθέντα σοι ἐν  
τῷ ὅρει" παραδιδοὺς, ἀρχιερέα θεοῦ, ὡς  
ἐνῆν μάλιστα δυνατὸν, ἀνθρωπὸν  
ἐπιφημίσας, τοῦτον Χριστὸν ἀναγορεύει.  
καὶ ταύτῃ γε τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην  
ἀξίᾳ, πᾶσαν ὑπερβαλλούσῃ παρ' αὐτῷ τὴν  
ἐν ἀνθρώποις προεδρίαν, ἐπὶ τιμῇ καὶ δόξῃ  
τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ περιτίθησιν ὄνομα. οὕτως  
ἄρα τὸν Χριστὸν θεῖόν τι χρῆμα ἡπίστατο.

1.3.3 | ὁ δ' αὐτὸς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ  
προσηγορίαν εὗ μάλα πνεύματι θείῳ  
προϊδὼν πάλιν τινὸς ἔξαιρέτου προνομίας  
καὶ ταύτην ἀξιοῦ. οὕποτε γοῦν πρότερον  
ἔκφωνηθὲν εἰς ἀνθρώπους πρὶν ἡ Μωυσέα  
γνωσθῆναι τὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πρόσσημα τούτῳ  
Μωυσῆς πρώτῳ καὶ μόνῳ περιτίθησιν, ὃν  
κατὰ τύπον αὐθίς καὶ σύμβολον ἔγνω μετὰ  
τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευτὴν διαδεξόμενον τὴν κατὰ  
πάντων ἀρχήν.

1.3.4 | οὐ πρότερον γοῦν τὸν αὐτοῦ  
διάδοχον τῇ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ κεχρημένον  
προσηγορίᾳ, ὄνόματι δὲ ἐτέρῳ τῷ Λύσῃ,  
ὅπερ οἱ γεννήσαντες αὐτῷ τέθειντο,  
καλούμενον, Ἰησοῦν αὐτὸς ἀναγορεύει,  
γέρας ὥσπερ τίμιον παντὸς πολὺ μεῖζον  
βασιλικοῦ διαδήματος τοῦνομα αὐτῷ  
δωρούμενος, ὅτι δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τοῦ Ναοῦ

of Christ was honored by those ancient  
God-loving prophets is now the time to  
show.

1.3.2 | Moses was the first to recognize how  
sacred and glorious the name of Christ is.  
He, following the heavenly patterns and  
mysterious symbols, said to him in a  
prophecy, "See that you make everything  
according to the pattern shown to you on  
the mountain." By doing this, he appointed  
him as the high priest of God, and he called  
him Christ, as it was most fitting for a man.  
In this way, by the honor of the priesthood,  
he gives the name of Christ a position of  
great honor and glory above all human  
authority. Thus, it seems that Christ was  
known to be something divine.

1.3.3 | He also foresaw the name of Jesus  
very well with divine spirit and recognized  
it as a special privilege. Indeed, before  
Moses, the name of Jesus was never spoken  
to people. Moses alone first gave this name,  
which he recognized as a type and symbol,  
knowing that it would succeed him as the  
head over all.

1.3.4 | Before this, the successor of Moses  
was called by another name, Lysas, which  
those who gave birth to him had set. But  
Moses himself called him Jesus, giving him  
a title much greater than any royal  
inheritance, because he, the Jesus of Nun,  
brought the image of our Savior. He was the  
only one, along with Moses, to inherit the

Ίησοῦς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τὴν εἰκόνα  
ἔφερε, τοῦ μόνου μετὰ Μωθσέα καὶ τὸ  
συμπέρασμα τῆς δι' ἐκείνου παραδοθείσης  
συμβολικῆς λατρείας, τῆς ἀληθοῦς καὶ  
καθαρωτάτης εύσεβείας τὴν ἀρχὴν  
διαδεξαμένου.

1.3.5 | καὶ Μωυσῆς μὲν ταύτῃ πῃ δυσὶ τοῖς  
κατ' αὐτὸν ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξῃ παρὰ πάντα τὸν  
λαὸν προφέρουσιν ἀνθρώποις, τῷ μὲν  
ἀρχιερεῖ, τῷ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν ἡγησομένῳ, τὴν  
τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ίησοῦ Χριστοῦ  
προσηγορίαν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ  
περιτέθειται.

1.3.6 | σαφῶς δὲ καὶ οὕτω μετὰ ταῦτα  
προφῆται ὄνομαστὶ τὸν Χριστὸν  
προαναφωνοῦσιν, ὅμοῦ τὴν μέλλουσαν  
ἔσεσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ συσκευὴν τοῦ  
Ιουδαίων λαοῦ, ὅμοῦ δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἔθνῶν  
δι' αὐτοῦ κλῆσιν προμαρτυρόμενοι, τοτὲ  
μὲν ὥδε πως Ἱερεμίας λέγων "πνεῦμα πρὸ<sup>τ</sup>  
προσώπου ἡμῶν Χριστὸς κύριος συνλήφθη  
ἐν ταῖς διαφθοραῖς αὐτῶν, οὗ εἴπαμεν ἐν  
τῇ σκιᾷ αὐτοῦ ζησόμεθα ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι,"  
τοτὲ δὲ ἀμηχανῶν Δαβὶδ, διὰ τούτων Ὅνα τί<sup>τ</sup>  
ἔφρυαξαν ἔθνη καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν κενά;  
παρέστησαν οἵ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς, καὶ οἱ  
ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸν, κατὰ  
τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.  
οἵς ἐξῆς ἐπιλέγει ἔξ αὐτοῦ δὴ προσώπου  
τοῦ Χριστοῦ κύριος εἶπε πρός με, υἱός μου  
εἶ σὺ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε. αἴτησαι  
παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν  
κληρονομίαν σου, καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσίν σου  
τὰ πέρατα τῆς"

1.3.7 | οὐ μόνους δὲ ἄρα τοὺς ἀρχιερωσύνη  
τετιμημένους, ἐλαίω σκευαστῷ τοῦ

symbolic worship that was handed down  
through him, taking on the beginning of  
true and pure piety.

1.3.5 | Moses, with this, honors two people  
among the people for their virtue and glory  
above all. He gives the name of our Savior  
Jesus Christ to the high priest and to the  
one who will lead after him, placing it in the  
highest honor.

1.3.6 | Clearly, after this, the prophets also  
name the Christ, together announcing the  
future gathering of the Jewish people and  
the calling of the nations through him. For  
example, Jeremiah says, "The Spirit of the  
Lord Christ is upon us; we will live in his  
shadow among the nations." At another  
time, David, in confusion, asks, "Why do the  
nations rage and the people plot in vain?  
The kings of the earth take their stand, and  
the rulers gather together against the Lord  
and against his Christ." Then, he continues  
by saying, "The Lord said to me, 'You are  
my son; today I have become your father.  
Ask of me, and I will give you the nations as  
your inheritance, and the ends of the earth  
as your possession.'"

1.3.7 | Not only those honored with the  
high priesthood, who are anointed with the

συμβόλου χριομένους ἔνεκα, τὸ τοῦ  
Χριστοῦ κατεκόσμει παρ' Ἐβραίοις ὄνομα,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς βασιλέας, οὓς καὶ αὐτοὺς  
νεύματι θείω προφῆται χρίοντες  
εἰκονικούς τινας Χριστοὺς ἀπειργάζοντο,  
ὅτι δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς τού μόνου καὶ ἀληθοῦ  
Χριστοῦ τοῦ κατὰ πάντων ὁ βασιλεύοντος  
θείου λόγου βασιλικῆς καὶ ἀρχικῆς  
έξουσίας τοὺς τύπους δι' ἐαυτῶν ἔφερον.

holy oil of the covenant, bear the name of Christ among the Hebrews, but also the kings. The prophets, by divine command, anointed certain figures as symbolic Christs, showing that they too carried the types of the one true and real Christ, who reigns over all by divine authority and royal power.

1.3.8 | ἡδη δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν προφητῶν  
τινὰς διὰ χρίσματος Χριστοὺς ἐν τύπῳ  
γεγονέναι παρειλήφαμεν, ὡς τούτους  
ἀπαντας τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ Χριστὸν, τὸν  
ἔνθεον καὶ οὐράνιον λόγον, ἀναφορὰν  
ἔχειν, μόνον ἀρχιερέα τῶν ὅλων καὶ μόνον  
ἀπάσης κτίσεως βασιλέα καὶ μόνον  
προφητῶν ἀρχιπροφήτην τοῦ πατρὸς  
τυγχάνοντα.

1.3.8 | Indeed, we have seen that some of the prophets became Christs in a symbolic way through anointing. All of these figures have a reference to the true Christ, the divine and heavenly Word, who is the only high priest of all, the only king of all creation, and the only chief prophet of the Father.

1.3.9 | τούτου δ' ἀπόδειξις τὸ μηδένα πω  
τῶν πάλαι διὰ τοῦ συμβόλου κεχρισμένων,  
μήτε ἱερέων μήτε βαισλέων μήτε μὴν  
προφητῶν, τοσαύτην ἀρετῆς ἔνθέου  
δύναμιν κτήσασθαι, ὅσην ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ  
κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ μόνος καὶ ἀληθινὸς  
Χριστὸς ἐπιδέδεικται.

1.3.9 | The proof of this is that none of those who were anointed in the past, whether priests, kings, or prophets, ever possessed such a divine power of virtue as the Savior and Lord Jesus, the one and true Christ, has shown.

1.3.10 | οὐδείς γέ τοι ἔκείνων καίπερ  
ἀξιώματι καὶ τιμῇ ἐπὶ πλείσταις ὅσαις  
γενεαῖς παρὰ τοῖς οίκείοις διαλαμψάντων  
τοὺς ὑπηκόους πώποτε ἐκ τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς  
εἰκονικῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσρήσεως  
Χριστιανοὺς ἐπεφήμισεν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ  
σεβάσμιός τινι τούτων πρὸς τῶν ὑπηκόων  
ὑπῆρξε τιμῇ· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν  
τοσαύτη διάθεσις, ὡς καὶ  
ὑπεραποθνήσκειν ἐτοίμως ἔχειν τοῦ  
τιμωμένου· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πάντων τῶν ἀνὰ τὴν

1.3.10 | No one among them, even with their rank and honor, has ever called their followers Christians based on the symbolic name of Christ, despite shining for many generations among their own people. There was no respect or honor given to any of these figures by their followers. Even after their death, there was not such a disposition to be ready to die for them. Nor was there such a movement among all the nations of the world for any of them at that

οίκουμένην ἔθνῶν περὶ τινα τῶν τότε τοσαύτη γέγονε κίνησις, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ τοσοῦτον ἐν ἑκείνοις ἡ τοῦ συμβόλου δύναμις οἴα τε ἦν ἐνεργεῖν, ὅσον ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας παράστασις διὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐνδεικνυμένη·

1.3.11 | ὃς οὕτ' ἐ σύμβολα καὶ τύπους ἀρχιερωσύνης παρά του λαβὼν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ γένος τὸ περὶ σῶμα ἐξ ἱερωμένων κατάγων, οὐδ' ἄνδρῶν δορυφορίαις ἐπὶ βασιλείαν προαχθεὶς, οὐδὲ μὴν προφήτης ὁμοίως τοῖς πάλαι γενόμενος, οὐδ' ἀξίας ὅλως ἥ τινος παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις τυχών προεδρίας, ὅμως τοῖς πᾶσιν εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς συμβόλοις, ἀλλ' αὐτῇ γε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς κεκόσμητο.

1.3.12 | οὐχ ὁμοίων δ' οὖν οἵς προειρήκαμεν τυχών, πάντων ἑκείνων καὶ Χριστὸς μᾶλλον ἀνηγόρευται. καὶ ωσὰν μόνος καὶ ἀληθὴς αὐτὸς ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ Χριστιανῶν τὸν πάντα κόσμον τῆς ὅντως σεμνῆς καὶ ἱερᾶς αὐτοῦ προσηγορίας κατέπλησεν, οὐκέτι τύπους οὐδὲ εἰκόνας, ἀλλ' αὐτὰς γυμνὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ βίον οὐράνιον αὐτοῖς ἀληθείας δόγμασι τοῖς θιασώταις παραδοίς.

1.3.13 | τό τε χρῖσμα, οὐ τὸ διὰ σωμάτων σκευαστὸν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ δὴ πνεύματι θείῳ τὸ θεοπρεπὲς, μετοχῇ τῆς ἀγεννήτου καὶ πατρικῆς θεότητος ἀπειλήφει. ὁ καὶ αὐτὸς πάλιν Ἡσαίας διδάσκει, ωσὰν ἥ αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ ὕδε πως ἀναβοῶν "πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμὲ, οὗ εἴνεκεν ἔχρισέ με, εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς ἀπέσταλκέ με, κηρῦξαι αἱχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν καὶ τυφλοῖς

time, since the power of their symbolic anointing was not as effective as the presentation of the truth shown through our Savior.

1.3.11 | He did not receive symbols or types of the priesthood from anyone, nor was he born from a lineage of priests, nor was he promoted to kingship by men with swords, nor did he become a prophet like those in the past, nor did he gain any position of honor among the Jews. Yet, he was adorned with the truth itself from the Father, even if not with symbols.

1.3.12 | Therefore, Christ is proclaimed more than all those we mentioned. And as the one and true Christ of God, he filled the whole world of Christians with his truly sacred and holy name, no longer with symbols or images, but with the bare virtues and a heavenly life, which he handed down to his followers through the teachings of truth.

1.3.13 | The anointing is not made through physical substances, but it is truly divine and comes from the Spirit of God, sharing in the pure and fatherly divinity. Isaiah also teaches this, as if calling out from Christ himself: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to bring good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim freedom for the captives and

άνάβλεψιν.

recovery of sight for the blind."

1.3.14 | καὶ οὐ μόνος γε Ἰησαίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ Δαβὶδ εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ πρόσωπον ἀναφωνεῖ λέγων "ὁ Θρόνος σου, Θεὸς, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος, ἥραβδος εὐθύτητος ἢ ἥραβδος τῆς βασιλείας σου. ἡγάπησας δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἐμίσησας ἀνομίαν· διὰ τοῦτο ἔχρισέ σε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Θεός σου ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως παρὰ τοὺς μετόχους σου." ἐν οἷς ὁ λόγος ἐν μὲν τῷ πρώτῳ στίχῳ θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐπιφημίζει, ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ σκήπτρῳ βασιλικῷ τιμᾷ.

1.3.14 | And not only Isaiah, but also David calls out to him, saying, "Your throne, O God, is forever and ever; the scepter of your kingdom is a scepter of righteousness. You have loved righteousness and hated wickedness; therefore God, your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness beyond your companions." In this, the first line honors God himself, while the second line gives royal honor to the scepter.

1.3.15 | εἶθ' ἐξῆς ὑποβὰς μετὰ τὴν ἔνθεον καὶ βασιλικὴν δύναμιν τρίτῃ τάξει Χριστὸν αὐτὸν γεγονότα ἐλαίῳ, οὐ τῷ ἐξ ὅλης σωμάτων, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐνθέῳ τῆς ἀγαλλιάσεως ἥλειμμένον παρίστησι, παρὸ καὶ τὸ ἐξαίρετον αὐτοῦ καὶ πολὺ κρεῖττον καὶ διάφορον τῶν πάλαι διὰ τῶν εἰκόνων σωματικώτερον κεχρισμένων ὑποσημαίνει.

1.3.15 | Then, moving on, he shows that Christ himself has been anointed with oil, not from physical substances, but with the divine oil of gladness. This anointing is much greater and different from the earlier anointings done through physical images.

1.3.16 | καὶ ἄλλαχοῦ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὥδε πως τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ δηλοῖ λέγων "εἴπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου, κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἵως ἀν θῶ τοὺς ἔχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου," καὶ "ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἐωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε. ὕμισε κύριος καὶ οὐ μεταμεληθήσεται· σὺ εἰς ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ."

1.3.16 | And elsewhere, he also shows things about him, saying, "The Lord said to my Lord, 'Sit at my right hand until I make your enemies a footstool for your feet,' and 'From the womb before the dawn, I have begotten you. The Lord has sworn and will not change his mind; you are a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek.'"

1.3.17 | οὗτος δὲ εἰσάγεται ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς λόγοις ὁ Μελχισεδέκ, ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου, οὐκ ἐν σκευαστῷ τινι χρίσματι ἀναδεειγμένος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ διαδοχῇ γένους προσήκων τῇ καθ' Εβραίους ἱερωσύνῃ. διὸ

1.3.17 | But Melchizedek is introduced in the sacred writings as a priest of God Most High, not appointed with some physical anointing, nor through a lineage belonging to the priesthood according to the

κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τάξιν, ἀλλ’ οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων σύμβολα καὶ τύπους ἀνειληφότων Χριστὸς καὶ Ἱερεὺς μεθ’ ὅρκου παραλήψεως δὲ σωτῆρ ἡμῶν ἀνηγόρευται.

1.3.18 | ὅθεν ούδε σωματικῶς παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις χρισθέντα αὐτὸν ἡ ἱστορία παραδίδωσιν, ἀλλ’ ούδ’ ἐκ φυλῆς τῶν Ἱερωμένων γενόμενον, ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ πρὸ ἐωσφόρου μὲν, τουτέστι πρὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συστάσεως οὐσιωμένον, ἀθάνατον δὲ καὶ ἀγήρω τὴν Ἱερωσύνην εἰς τὸν ἄπειρον αἰώνα διακατέχοντα.

1.3.19 | τῆς δ' εἰς αὐτὸν γενομένης ἀσωμάτου καὶ ἐνθέου χρίσεως μέγα καὶ ἐναρλὲς τεκμήριον τὸ μόνον αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν πώποτε εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καθ' ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου Χριστὸν ἐπιφημίζεσθαι, ὅμολογεῖσθαι τε καὶ μαρτυρεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀπάντων ἐπὶ τῇ προσηγορίᾳ, παρά τε Ἑλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις μνημονεύεσθαι, καὶ εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν παρὰ τοῖς ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην αὐτοῦ θιασώταις τιμᾶσθαι μὲν ὡς βασιλέα, θαυμάζεσθαι δὲ ὑπὲρ προφήτην, δοξάζεσθαι τε ὡσὰν ἀληθῆ καὶ μόνον θεοῦ ἀρχιερέα, καὶ ἐπὶ πάσι τούτοις οἶα θεοῦ λόγον προόντα καὶ πρὸ αἰώνων ἀπάντων οὐσιωμένον, τὴν σεβάσμιον τιμὴν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπειληφότα, καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι ὡσὰν θεόν.

1.3.20 | τό γε μὴν ἀπαντῶ παραδοξότατον, ὅτι μὴ φωναῖς αὐτὸ μόνον καὶ ḥημάτων ψόφοις αὐτὸν γεραίρομεν οἱ καθωσιωμένοι αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσῃ διαθέσει ψυχῆς, ὡς καὶ αὐτῆς προτιμᾶν τῆς

Hebrews. Therefore, according to his order, but not according to the symbols and types of the others, Christ is declared as both priest and Savior with an oath.

1.3.18 | Therefore, the history does not tell that he was physically anointed by the Jews, nor that he came from the tribe of the priests. But he was appointed by God before the dawn, that is, before the creation of the world, possessing a priesthood that is immortal and unchanging, lasting into eternity.

1.3.19 | The great and clear proof of the spiritual and divine anointing that has come upon him is that Christ is honored by all people throughout the world, both now and in the past. He is acknowledged and testified to by everyone with this name, remembered by both Greeks and non-Greeks, and even now he is honored by his followers across the earth as a king, admired as a prophet, and praised as the true and only high priest of God. In all these ways, he is recognized as the Word of God, existing before all ages, having received the honorable respect from the Father, and worshiped as God.

1.3.20 | It is indeed very strange that we who are devoted to him do not honor him only with voices and the sounds of words, but also with every attitude of our souls, as we prefer to bear witness to him over our

έαυτῶν ζωῆς τὴν είς αύτὸν μαρτυρίαν.

own lives.

## Section 4

1.4.1 | [Nic. H. E. I, 5] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαίως πρὸ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐνταῦθά μοι κείσθω, ὡς ἀν μὴ νεώτερόν τις εἶναι νομίσειε τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν διὰ τοὺς τῆς ἐνσάρκου πολιτείας αὐτοῦ χρόνους. ἔνα δὲ μηδὲ τὴν διδασκαλίαν αὐτοῦ νέαν εἶναι καὶ ξένην, ὡσὰν ὑπὸ νέου καὶ μηδὲν τῶν λοιπῶν διαφέροντος ἀνθρώπου συστᾶσάν τις ὑπονοήσειε, φέρε βραχέα καὶ περὶ τούτου διαλάβωμεν.

1.4.2 | ἄρτι μὲν ὁμολογουμένως τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας νεωστὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐπιλαμψάσης, νέον ὁμολογουμένως ἔθνος οὐ μικρὸν ούδ' ἐπὶ γωνίας ποι γῆς ἰδρυμένον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἔθνῶν πολυανθρωπότατόν τε καὶ θεοσεβέστατον, ταύτη τε ἀνώλεθρον καὶ ἀήττητον, ἥ καὶ εἰς ἀεὶ τῆς παρὰ θεοῦ βοηθείας τυγχάνει, χρόνων προθεσμίαις ἀρρήτοις ἀθρόως οὔτως ἀναπέφηνε, τὸ παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσι τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσηγορίᾳ τετιμημένον.

1.4.3 | τοῦτο καὶ προφητῶν κατεπλάγη τις θείου πνεύματος ὄφθαλμῷ τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι προθεωρήσας, ὡς καὶ τάδε ἀναφθέγξασθαι τίς ἥκουσε τοιαῦτα, καὶ τίς ἐλάλησεν οὕτως; εἰ ὡδινε γῆ ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ εἰ ἔτέχθη ἔθνος εἰσάπαξ, ὑποσημαίνει δέ πως καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν ὡς αὐτὸς προσηγορίαν λέγων "τοῖς δὲ δουλεύουσί μοι κληθήσεται ὄνομα καινὸν, ὃ εύλογηθήσεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς."

1.4.1 | Therefore, these things must necessarily be stated here before the history, so that no one thinks that our Savior and Lord Jesus Christ is newer because of the time of his earthly life. And let no one think that his teaching is new and foreign, as if it were put together by a new person who differs in nothing from the others. Let us briefly discuss this matter.

1.4.2 | Now, it is clearly acknowledged that with the recent coming of our Savior Jesus Christ, a new nation has shone upon all people. This nation is not small or located in a corner of the earth, but is the largest and most god-fearing of all nations. It is also indestructible and undefeated, receiving help from God forever. In this way, it has boldly proclaimed the name of Christ, which is honored by all.

1.4.3 | This is something that amazed the prophets, as they saw with the eye of divine spirit what would happen in the future. Who has ever heard such things, and who has spoken like this? If the earth gave birth in one day, and if a nation was born all at once. The same name also hints at what is to come, saying, "To those who serve me, a new name will be given, which will be blessed on the earth."

1.4.4 | ἀλλ' εί καὶ νέοι σαφῶς ἡμεῖς, καὶ τοῦτο καινὸν ὄντως ὄνομα τὸ Χριστιανῶν ἀρτίως παρὰ πᾶσιν ἔθνεσι γνωρίζεται, ὁ βίος δ' οὖν ὅμως καὶ τῆς ἀγωγῆς ὃ τρόπος αὐτοῖς εὔσεβείας δόγμασιν ὅτι μὴ ἔναγχος ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐπιπέπλασται, ἐκ πρώτης δὲ ὡς εἴπειν ἀνθρωπογονίας φυσικαῖς ἐννοίαις τῶν πάλαι θεοφιλῶν ἀνδρῶν κατωρθοῦτο, ὅδέ πως ἐπιδείξομεν.

1.4.5 | οὐ νέον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀρχαιότητι τετιμημένον ἔθνος, τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ αὐτὸν γνώριμον, τὸ Ἐβραίων τυγχάνει. λόγοι δὴ παρὰ τούτῳ καὶ γράμματα παλαιοὺς ἀνδρας περιέχουσι, σπανίους μὲν καὶ ἀριθμῷ βραχεῖς, ἀλλ' ὅμως εὔσεβείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ λοιπῇ διενεγκόντας ἀρετῆς, πρὸ μὲν γε τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ διαφόρους, δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἐτέρους τῶν τε τοῦ Νῶε παίδων καὶ ἀπογόνων, ἀτὰρ καὶ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ, ὃν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ προπάτορα σφῶν αὐτῶν παῖδες Ἐβραίων αύχοῦσι.

1.4.6 | πάντας δὴ ἔκείνους ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ μεμαρτυρημένους, ἔξ αὐτοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἀνιοῦσιν ἀνθρωπον, ἔργῳ Χριστιανοὺς εί καὶ μὴ ὄνόματι προσειπών τις οὐκ ἀν ἐκτὸς βάλοι τῆς ἀληθείας.

1.4.7 | ὅ γάρ τοι δηλοῦν ἔθέλει τοῦνομα τὸ Χριστιανοῦ, ἀνδρα διὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ γνώσεως καὶ διδασκαλίας, σωφροσύνῃ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, καρτερίᾳ τε βίου καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀνδρείᾳ, εὔσεβείᾳς τε ὄμολογίᾳ ἐνὸς καὶ μόνου τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ διαπρέπειν, τοῦτο πᾶν ἔκείνοις οὐ χεῖρον ἡμῶν

1.4.4 | But even if we are new, and this name of Christians is truly recognized recently among all nations, their way of life and their teachings of piety are not made up by us. From the very beginning, as it were, the natural ideas of the ancient God-loving men have been established. In this way, we will show this clearly.

1.4.5 | It is not new, but rather an ancient nation honored by all people, which is known to everyone, namely the Hebrews. Their words and writings contain the thoughts of ancient men, which are few in number and rare, but still show piety, justice, and all other virtues. Before the flood, they were different, and also among the children and descendants of Noah, as well as Abraham, whom the children of the Hebrews claim as their leader and ancestor.

1.4.6 | All of those men are clearly shown to be just, starting from Abraham, the first man. Even if someone does not call them Christians by name, they would not be outside the truth by their actions.

1.4.7 | For this is what the name Christian means: a man who, through the knowledge and teaching of Christ, shows self-control and justice, endurance in life, and courage in virtue, and who openly acknowledges the one and only God who rules over all. This is not any worse than what we strive

έσπουδάζετο.

for.

1.4.8 | οὗτ' οὖν σώματος αύτοῖς περιτομῆς ἔμελεν, ὅτι μηδὲ ἡμῖν, οὕτε σαββάτων ἐπιτηρήσεως, ὅτι μηδὲ ἡμῖν' ἀλλ' ούδε τῶν τοιῶνδε τροφῶν πα φυλακῆς, ούδε τῶν ἄλλων διαστολῆς, ὅσα τοῖς μετέπειτα πρῶτος ἀπάντων Μωυσῆς ἀρξάμενος ἐν συμβόλοις τελεῖσθαι παραδέδωκεν, ὅτι μηδὲ νῦν Χριστιανῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἀλλὰ καὶ σαφῶς αὐτὸν ἥδεσαν τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἴ γε ὥφθαι μὲν τῷ Ἀβραὰμ, χρηματίσαι δὲ τῷ Ἰσαὰκ, λελαληκέναι δὲ τῷ Ἰακὼβ, Μωυσῆς τε καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα προφήταις ὡμιληκέναι προδέδεικται.

1.4.9 | ἔνθεν αύτοὺς δὴ τοὺς θεοφιλεῖς ἑκείνους εὔροις ἀν καὶ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατηξιωμένους προσωνυμίας, κατὰ τὴν φάσκουσαν περὶ αὐτῶν φωνήν "μὴ ἄψησθε τῶν χριστῶν μου, καὶ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις μου μὴ πονηρεύτεσθε."

1.4.10 | ὥστε σαφῶς πρώτην ἡγεῖσθαι δεῖν καὶ πάντων παλαιτάτην τε καὶ ἀρχαιοτάν θεοσεβείας εὔρεσιν, αὐτῶν ἑκείνων δὴ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ θεοφιλῶν ἀνδρῶν, τὴν ἀρτίως διὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας πᾶσιν ἔθνεσι κατηγγελμένην.

1.4.11 | εἰ δὲ δὴ μακρῷ ποθ' ὕστερον χρόνῳ περιτομῆς φασι τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἐντολὴν εἰληφέναι, ἀλλά γε πρὸ ταύτης δικαιοσύνην διὰ πίστεως μαρτυρηθεὶς ἀνείρηται, ὥδε πως φάσκοντος τοῦ θείου λόγου "ἐπίστευσε δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην."

1.4.8 | So they did not care about circumcision of the body, just as we do not, nor about observing the Sabbath, just as we do not. They also did not worry about such foods or other distinctions, which Moses first established in laws to be followed. This is not the case for Christians today. But they clearly knew Christ of God, since he appeared to Abraham, spoke to Isaac, and was revealed to Jacob, and it is shown that he spoke with Moses and the prophets who came after him.

1.4.9 | From this, you would find those beloved by God also worthy of the name of Christ, according to the voice that says about them, "Do not touch my anointed ones, and do not harm my prophets."

1.4.10 | Therefore, it is clear that we should consider those men around Abraham as the first and oldest finders of true worship of God, who have now been proclaimed to all nations through the teaching of Christ.

1.4.11 | If indeed it is said that Abraham received the command of circumcision a long time later, yet before this, he was declared righteous through faith, as the divine word states, "Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him as righteousness."

1.4.12 | καὶ δὴ τοιούτῳ πρὸ τῆς περιτομῆς γεγονότι χρησμὸς ὑπὸ του φήναντος ἐκαυτὸν αὐτῷ θεοῦ οὗτος δ' ἦν αὐτὸς ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος) περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς μετέπειτα χρόνοις τὸν ὅμιοιν αὐτῷ δικαιοῦσθαι τρόπον μελλόντων ἡγμασιν αὐτοῖς προεπήγγελται λέγων 'καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πάσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς. καὶ ὡς ὅτι ἔσται εἰς ἔθνος μέγα καὶ πολύ. καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς.'

1.4.13 | τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἐπιστῆσαι εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐκπεπληρωμένῳ πάρεστι. πίστει μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τῇ εἰς τὸν ὄφθέντα αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον τὸν Χριστὸν δεδικαίωτο, πατρώας μὲν ἀποστὰς δεισιδαιμονίας καὶ πλάνης βίου προτέρας, ἵνα δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων ὅμιογήσας θεόν, καὶ τοῦτον ἔργοις ἀρετῆς, οὐχὶ δὲ θρησκείᾳ νόμου τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα Μωυσέως θεραπεύσας, τοιούτῳ τε ὅντι εἴρητο ὅτι δὴ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν αὐτῷ εὐλογηθήσονται.

1.4.14 | ἔργοις δὲ λόγων ἐναργεστέροις ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος παρὰ μόνοις Χριστιανοῖς καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀσκούμενος αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ τῆς θεοσεβείας του Ἀβραὰμ ἀναπέφηνε τρόπος.

1.4.15 | τί δὴ οὖν λοιπὸν ἐμποδὼν ἂν εἴη, μὴ οὐχὶ ἔνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν βίον τε καὶ τρόπον εύσεβείας ἡμῖν τε τοῖς ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῖς πρόπαλαι θεοφιλέσιν ὅμιλογενῖ; ὥστε μὴ νέαν καὶ ξένην, ἀλλ' εἰ δεῖ φάναι ἀληθεύοντα, πρώτην ὑπάρχειν καὶ μόνην

1.4.12 | And indeed, before circumcision, a prophecy was made by the one who called himself God (this was Christ, the word of God) about how in later times, those who are like him would be justified. It was foretold with these words: "And all the families of the earth will be blessed in you. And it will be that there will be a great and numerous nation. And all the nations of the earth will be blessed through him."

1.4.13 | And to this, it is clear that it has been fulfilled for us. For he was justified by faith in the word of God that appeared to him, Christ. He turned away from the superstitions and false ways of life of his ancestors, and he acknowledged one God above all, and he showed this through good deeds, not by the religion of the law that came later with Moses. With this being the case, it was said that indeed all the families of the earth and all the nations will be blessed in him.

1.4.14 | And through clear words and actions, he himself, the one who practiced the worship of God like Abraham, showed the way among all Christians throughout the world.

1.4.15 | So what would stop us from confessing the same life and way of worship as those who are from Christ and the earlier friends of God? Therefore, if we must speak the truth, the first, only, and true way of worship is shown to us through

καὶ ἀληθῆ κατόρθωσιν εύσεβείας τὴν διὰ  
τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας  
παραδοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν ἀποδείκνυσθαι. καὶ  
ταῦτα μὲν ὡδε ἔχετω.

## Section 5

1.5.1 | [Nic. H. H. I, 6] Φέρε δὲ ἥδη μετὰ τὴν  
δέουσαν προκατασκευὴν τῆς προτεθείσης  
ἡμῖν ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἴστορίας ἥδη λοιπὸν  
ἀπὸ τῆς ἑνσάρκου τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν  
ἐπιφανείας οἴᾳ τινος ὀδοιπορίας  
ἔφαψωμεθα, τὸν τοῦ λόγου πατέρα θεὸν  
καὶ τὸν δηλούμενον αὐτὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν  
τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν, τὸν οὐράνιον  
τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον βοηθὸν ἡμῖν καὶ συνεργὸν  
τῆς κατὰ τὴν διήγησιν ἀληθείας  
ἐπικαλεσάμενοι.

1.5.2 | ἦν δὴ οὖν τοῦτο δεύτερον καὶ  
τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος τῆς Αύγούστου  
βασιλείας, Αίγυπτου δ' ὑποταγῆς καὶ  
τελευτῆς Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας,, εἰς ἣν  
ὑστάτην ἡ κατ' Αἴγυπτον τῶν Πτολεμαίων  
κατέληξε δυναστεία, ὅγδοον ἔτος καὶ  
είκοστὸν, ὀπηώικα ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ  
κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐπὶ τῆς τότε  
ἀπογραφῆς πρώτης, ἡγεμονεύοντος  
Κυρινίου τῆς Συρίας, ἀκολούθως ταῖς περὶ  
αὐτοῦ προφητείαις, ἐν Βηθλεὲμ γεννᾶται  
τῆς Ιουδαίας.

1.5.3 | ταύτης δὲ τῆς κατὰ Κυρίνιον  
ἀπογραφῆς καὶ ὁ τῶν παρ' Ἐβραίοις  
ἐπισημότατος ἴστορικόν Θλαύιος Ἰώσηπος  
μνημονεύει, καὶ ἄλλην ἐπισυνάπτων  
ἱστορίαν περὶ τῆς τῶν Γαλιλαίων κατὰ  
τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπιφυείσης χρόνους αἰρέσεως,  
ἥς καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ Λουκᾶς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι

the teachings of Christ. Let this be the case.

1.5.1 | Now, after the necessary  
preparation of the church history we have  
set before us, let us touch upon something  
like a journey from the time of our Savior's  
appearance in the flesh. We call upon God,  
the Father of the Word, and Jesus Christ,  
our Savior and Lord, the heavenly Word of  
God, to help and support us in telling the  
truth in this account.

1.5.2 | This was indeed the second and  
fortieth year of the reign of Augustus,  
during the submission of Egypt and the end  
of Antony and Cleopatra, in which the last  
dynasty of the Ptolemies in Egypt came to  
an end. In the eighth year and twentieth  
year, our Savior and Lord Jesus Christ was  
born in Bethlehem of Judea during the first  
census, when Quirinius was governor of  
Syria, according to the prophecies about  
him.

1.5.3 | In this census under Quirinius, the  
most notable historian among the Jews,  
Josephus, mentions it and adds another  
history about the Galileans during the same  
time of uprising. Luke also recalls this in  
the Acts, saying, "After him, Judas the  
Galilean arose in the days of the census,

μνήμην ὡδέπως λέγων πεποίηται "μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνέστη Ἰούδας ὁ Γαλιλαῖος ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἀπογραφῆς, καὶ ἀπέστησε λαὸν ὅπίσω αὐτοῦ, κάκεῖνος ἀπώλετο, καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐπείσθησαν αὐτῷ διεσκορπίσθησαν."

1.5.4 | τοῦτοις δ' οὖν καὶ ὁ δεδηλωμένος ἐν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας συνάδων ταῦτα παρατίθεται κατὰ λέξιν "Κυρίνιος δὲ τῶν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν συναγομένων ἀνὴρ, τάς τε ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἐπιτετελεκώς καὶ διὰ πασῶν ὀδεύσας ὑπατος γενέσθαι, τά τε ἄλλα ἀξιώματι μέγας, σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπὶ Συρίας παρῆν, ὑπὸ Καίσαρος δικαιοδότης τοῦ ἔθνους ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ τιμητὴς τῶν οὐσιῶν γενησόμενος."

1.5.5 | καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησίν "Ιούδας δὲ Γαυλανίτης ἀνὴρ ἐκ πόλεως ὄνομα Γαμάλας, Σάδδοκον Φαρισαῖον προσλαβόμενος, ἡπείγετο ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει, τήν τε ἀποτίμησιν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἄντικρυς δουλείαν ἐπιφέρειν λέγοντες, καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐπ' ἀντιλήψει παρακαλοῦντες τὸ ἔθνος."

1.5.6 | καὶ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ δὲ τῶν ἱστοριῶν τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα γράφει "ἐπὶ τούτοις τις ἀνὴρ Γαλιλαῖος Ἰούδας "εἰς ἀποστασίαν ἐνῆγε τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, "ζων, εἰ φόρον τε Ῥωμαίοις τελεῖν ὑπομένουσι καὶ "μετὰ τὸν θεὸν οἴσουσι θνητοὺς δεσπότας." ταῦτα ὁ Ἰώσηπος.

and he led a people after him, and he perished, and all who were convinced by him were scattered."

1.5.4 | To these things, the one mentioned in the eighteenth of the Antiquities adds these words: "Quirinius, a man gathered to the council, having completed the other offices and having come to be consul, was great in other honors, and he was present in Syria with a few, sent by Caesar as a judge of the nation, and becoming an overseer of the properties."

1.5.5 | And shortly after, he says, "Judas the Galilean, a man from the city of Gamala, having joined with a Pharisee named Sadducee, urged for a revolt, saying that the tribute was nothing but a direct slavery, and calling the nation to take hold of their freedom."

1.5.6 | And in the second of the histories of the Jewish War, he writes about the same things: "On these matters, a Galilean man named Judas led the locals to revolt, saying that if they endure paying tribute to the Romans, they will carry mortal masters along with God." This is what Josephus says.

## Section 6

1.6.1 | [Nic. H. E. I, (3)] Τηνικαῦτα δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ιουδαίων ἔθνους Ἡρώδου πρώτου τὸ γένος ἀλλοφύλου διειληφότος τὴν βασιλείαν ἡ διὰ Μωυσέως περιγραφὴν ἐλάμβανε προφητείᾳ "οὐκ ἐκλείψειν ἄρχοντα ἔξ Ιούδα ούδὲ ἡγούμενον ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ" φήσασα, ἔως ἂν ἐλθῇ ὁ ἀπόκειται, "δὸν καὶ ἀποφαίνει προσδοκίαν ἔθνῶν ἔσεσθαι.

1.6.2 | ἀτελῆ γέ τοι τὰ τῆς προρρήσεως ἦν, καθ' ὃν ὑπὸ τοῖς οἰκείοις τοῦ ἔθνους ἄρχουσι διάγειν αὐτοῖς ἔξην χρόνον, ἀνωθεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ Μωυσέως καταρξαμένοις καὶ εἰς τὴν Αύγούστου βασιλείαν διαρκέσασι· καθ' ὃν πρῶτος ἀλλόφυλος Ἡρώδης τὴν κατὰ Ιουδαίων ἐπιτρέπεται ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων ἀρχὴν, ὡς μὲν Ἰώσηπος παραδίδωσιν, Ἰδουμαῖος ὅν κατὰ πατέρα τὸ γένος, Ἀράβιος δὲ κατὰ μητέρα, ὡς δ' Ἀφρικανὸς, οὐχ ὁ τυχῶν δὲ καὶ οὗτος γέγονε συγγραφεὶς), φασὶν οἱ τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀκριβοῦντες, Ἀντίπατρου, τοῦτον δὲ Ἡρώδου τινὸς Ἀσκαλωνίτου τῶν περὶ τὸν νεῶν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱεροδούλων καλουμένων γεγονέναι.

1.6.3 | ὃς Ἀντίπατρος ὑπὸ Ἰδουμαίων ληστῶν παιδίον αίχμαλωτισθεὶς σὺν ἐκείνοις ἦν, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὸν πατέρα πένητα ὄντα λύτρα κάτα θέσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. ἐντραφεὶς δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνων ἥθε' σιν ὑστερὸν Ὅρκανῷ τῷ Ιουδαίων ἀρχιερεῖ φιλοῦτ τούτῳ παῖς γίνεται ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἡρώδη

1.6.1 | At that time, the prophecy through Moses was taking hold of the kingdom of Herod, the first of the Jews, who was of foreign descent. It said, "A ruler will not be cut off from Judah, nor a leader from his descendants," until the one comes to whom it belongs, which also shows that there will be a hope for the nations.

1.6.2 | Indeed, the prophecy was incomplete, during which time it was possible for the rulers of the nation to lead them, beginning with Moses from above and lasting into the reign of Augustus. During this time, the first foreigner, Herod, was given authority over the Jews by the Romans. As Josephus reports, he was of Idumean descent on his father's side and Arab on his mother's side. Some who study his background say that he was the son of Antipater, and that he became a priest among the temple servants of Apollo in Ascalon.

1.6.3 | He was captured as a child by Idumean bandits and was with them because his father, being poor, could not pay a ransom for him. After being raised by them, he later became a friend of Hyrcanus, the Jewish high priest, and this Herod became the one who is known as our Savior.

1.6.4 | είς δὴ οῦν τὸν τοιοῦτον τῆς Ιουδαίων περιελθο σὴς βασιλείας, ἐπὶ θύραις ἥδη καὶ ἡ τῶν ἔθνῶν ἄκ λούθως τῇ προφητείᾳ προσδοκία παρῆν, ἀτε διαλελοιπότων ἐξ ἑκείνου τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐξ αύτοῦ Μωυσέως κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἀρξάντων τε καὶ ἡγησαμένων.

1.6.5 | πρὸ μὲν γε τῆς αίχμαλωσίας αύτῶν καὶ τῆς εἰς Βαβυλῶνα μεταναστάσεως ἐβασιλεύοντο, ἀπὸ Σαοὺλ πρώτου καὶ Δαβὶδ ἀρξάμενοι· πρὸ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἄρχοντες αύτοὺς διεῖπον, οἱ προσαγορευόμενοι κρῖ ταὶ, ἀρξαντες καὶ αύτοὶ μετὰ Μωυσέα καὶ τὸν τούτου διάδοχον Ἰησοῦν.

1.6.6 | μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος ἐπάνοδον οὐ διέλιπον πολιτείᾳ χρώμενοι ἀριστοκρατικῇ μετὰ ὀλιγαρχίας. οἱ γὰρ ἄρχιερεῖς προεστήκεσαν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἄχρις οὗ Πομπήιος Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ἐπιστάς τὴν μὲν Ιερουσαλήμ πολιορκεῖ τὰ κράτος, μιαίνει τε τὰ ἄγια μέχρι τῶν ἀδύτων τοῦ ἱεροῦ προελθών, τὸν δὲ ἐκ προγόνων διαδοχῆς εἰς ἑκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ διαρκέσαντα βασιλέα τε ὅμοι καὶ ἄρχιερέα, Ἀριστόβουλος ὄνομα ἦν αύτῷ, δέσμιον ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ἄμα τέκνοις ἐκπέμψας, Υρκανῷ μὲν τῷ τούτου ἀδελφῷ τὴν ἄρχιερωσύνην παραδίδωσι, τὸ δὲ πᾶν Ιουδαίων ἔθνος ἐξ ἑκείνου Ῥωμαίοις ὑπόφορον κατεστήσατο.

1.6.7 | αὐτίκα γοῦν καὶ Υρκανοῦ, εἰς ὃν ὑστατον τὰ τῆς τῶν ἄρχιερέων περιέστη διαδοχῆς, ὑπὸ Παρθῶν αἵχμαλώτου ληφθέντος, πρῶτος, ὡς γοῦν ἔφην, ἀλλόφυλος Ἡρώδης ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου

1.6.4 | So, at that time of the Jewish kingdom, the hope of the nations was already at the doors, waiting for the prophecy to be fulfilled, since those who had come after Moses were leading and guiding them.

1.6.5 | Before their captivity and the migration to Babylon, they were ruled, starting from Saul and then David. But before the kings, they were led by rulers, who were called judges, beginning with Moses and his successor Joshua.

1.6.6 | After the return from Babylon, they did not abandon their government, which was aristocratic with some oligarchy. For the high priests were in charge of affairs, until Pompey, the Roman general, came and besieged Jerusalem, defiling the holy places even to the innermost parts of the temple. He took Aristobulus, the king and high priest who had ruled since the time of his ancestors, as a prisoner to Rome along with his children. He gave the high priesthood to Hyrcanus, the brother of Aristobulus, and the whole nation of the Jews became subject to the Romans from that time.

1.6.7 | Indeed, when Hyrcanus, who was the last in the line of the high priests, was taken captive by the Parthians, Herod, a foreigner, was first given the rule over the Jewish nation by the Roman Senate and

‘Ρωμαίων καὶ Αύγούστου βασιλέως τὸ  
Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἔγχειρίζεται.

1.6.8 | καθ' ὃν ἐναργῶς τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας ἐνστάσης καὶ τῶν ἔθνῶν ἡ προσδοκωμένη σωτηρία τε καὶ ιλῆσις ἀκολούθως τῇ προφητείᾳ προφητείᾳ παρηκολούθησεν· ἔξ οῦ δὴ χρόνου τῶν ἔξ Ἰούδα ἀρχόντων τε καὶ ἡγουμένων, λέγω δὲ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους διαλελοιπότων, εἰκότως αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐκ προγόνων εὔσταθῶς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔγγιστα διαδόχους κατὰ γενεὰν προιούσης ἀρχιερωσύνης παραχρῆμα συγχεῖται

1.6.9 | ἔχεις καὶ τούτων ἀξιόχρεων τὸν Ἰώσηπον μάρτυρα, δηλοῦντα ὡς τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιτραπεὶς Ἡρώδης οὐκέτι τοὺς ἔξ ἀρχαίου γένους καθίστησιν ἀρχιερεῖς, ἀλλὰ τισιν ἀσήμιοις τὴν τιμὴν ἀπένεμεν· τὰ δημοια δὲ πρᾶξαι τῷ Ἡρώδῃ περὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν ἀρκιερέων· Ἀρχέλαον τε τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ῥωμαίους, τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων παρειληφότας.

1.6.10 | ὁ δ' αὐτὸς δηλοῖ ὡς ἄρα καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν στολὴν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως πρῶτος Ἡρώδης ἀποκλείσας ὑπὸ ίδίαν σφραγῖδα πεποίηται, μηκέτ' αὐτὴν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν ἔχειν ὑφ' ἐαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέψας· ταύτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸν μετ' αὐτὸν Ἀρχέλαον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ῥωμαίους διαπράξασθαι.

1.6.11 | καὶ ταῦτα δ' ἡμῖν είρήσθω εἰς ἐτέραν ἀπόδειξιν προφητείας κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πεπερασμένης. σαφέστατα γοῦν

King Augustus.

1.6.8 | During this time, the clear presence of Christ and the expected salvation and calling of the nations followed the prophecy. From that time, the rulers and leaders from Judah, I mean those from the Jewish nation, were left behind. It was fitting for them that the high priesthood, which had been stable from their ancestors, was suddenly mixed up among the closest successors by generation.

1.6.9 | You also have the worthy witness Josephus, who shows that after Herod was given the kingdom by the Romans, he no longer appointed high priests from the ancient lineage. Instead, he gave the honor to some unknown people. Similarly, his son Archelaus and after him the Romans took over the leadership of the Jews.

1.6.10 | He also shows that Herod was the first to seal the sacred garments of the high priest with his own seal, no longer allowing the high priests to have them under their control. The same was done by Archelaus after him and then by the Romans.

1.6.11 | And let these things be said to show another proof of prophecy regarding the appearance of our Savior, Jesus Christ, which has been fulfilled. Indeed, in Daniel,

έν τῷ Δανιὴλ ἐβδομάδων τινῶν ἀριθμὸν ὄνομαστὶ ἡώς Χριστοῦ ἥγουμένου περιλαβὼν ὁ λόγος, περὶ ὧν ἐν ἑτέροις διειλήφαμεν, μετὰ τὸ τούτων συμπέρασμα ἔξολοθρευθήσεσθαι τὸ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις χρῖσμα προφητεύει. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ σαφῶς κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ γενέσεως ἀποδείκνυται συμπεπληρωμένον. ταῦτα δ' ἡμῖν ἀναγκαίως είς παράστασιν τῆς τῶν χρόνων ἀληθείας προτετηρήσθω.

## Section 7

1.7.1 | [Nic. H. E. I, 11] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὴν περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενεαλογίαν διαφόρως ἡμῖν ὅτε Ματθαῖος καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς εὐαγγελιζόμενοι παραδεδώκασι, διαφωνεῖν τε νομίζονται τοῖς πολλοῖς, τῶν τε πιστῶν ἔκαστος ἀγνοίᾳ τάληθοῦς εὐρησιλογεῖν εἰς τοὺς τόπους πεφιλοτίμηται, φέρε καὶ τὴν περὶ τούτων κατελθοῦσαν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἴστορίαν παραθώμεθα, ἦν δὲ ἐπιστολῆς Ἀριστείδη γράφων περὶ συμφωνίας τῆς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις γενεαλογίας ὃ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἡμῖν δηλωθεὶς Ἀφρικανὸς ἐμνημόνευσε,

1.7.2 | τὰς μὲν τῶν λοιπῶν δόξας ὡσὰν βιαίους καὶ διεψευσμένας ἀπελέγχας, ἦν δὲ αὐτὸς παρείληφεν ἴστορίαν, τούτοις αὐτοῖς ἐκτιθέμενος τοῖς ῥήμασιν "ἐπειδὴ γάρ τὰ ὄνόματα "τῶν γενῶν ἐν Ἰσραὴλ ἡριθμεῖτο ἢ φύσει ἢ νόμῳ, "φύσει μὲν, γνησίου σπέρματος διαδοχῇ, νόμῳ δὲ, "ἕτερου παιδοποιουμένου εἰς ὄνομα τελευτήσαντος "ἀδελφοῦ ἀτέκου· (ὅτι γάρ οὐδέπω δέδοτο ἐλπὶς "ἀναστάσεως σαφῆς, τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀνα"στάσει ἐμιμοῦντο θνητῇ, ἵνα ἀνέκλειπτον τὸ ὄνομα "μείνῃ τοῦ μετηλλαχότος).

the number of weeks is clearly mentioned until Christ comes. About these things, we have discussed in other places, and after this, it is prophesied that the anointing among the Jews will be destroyed. This is clearly shown to be fulfilled at the time of the birth of our Savior, Jesus Christ. These things must be presented as a testimony to the truth of the times.

1.7.1 | Since both Matthew and Luke have given different genealogies of Christ, they are thought to disagree by many. Each of the believers, being unaware of the truth, tries to find explanations in their favored places. Let us also consider the history that has come down to us about these matters, which was mentioned by the African, who wrote in a letter to Aristides about the agreement in the genealogies found in the Gospels.

1.7.2 | He refutes the other opinions as violent and false, and he presents the history he has received, explaining with the words: "For the names of the generations in Israel were counted either by nature or by law. By nature, it was through the succession of genuine seed; by law, it was when another was born in the name of a brother who had died without children. (For since a clear hope of resurrection has not yet been given, they imitated the future promise of resurrection in a mortal, so that the name of the one who had changed

would remain unforgotten.)"

1.7.3 | ἐπεὶ οὖν οἱ τῇ γενεᾷ λογίᾳ ταύτῃ ἔμφερόμενοι οἱ μὲν διεδέξαντο παῖς πατέρα γησίως, οἱ δὲ ἐτέροις μὲν ἔγεννήθησαν, ἐτέροις δὲ προσετέθησαν κλήσει, ἀμφοτέρων γέγονεν ἡ "μνήμη, καὶ τῶν γεγεννηκότων καὶ τῶν ὡς γεγενηκότων.

1.7.3 | Since those who are related by this genealogy have either been born as genuine sons of their fathers or have been added to others by name, the memory of both has been preserved, both of those who were born and of those who are considered to have been born.

1.7.4 | οὕτως οὐδέτερον τῶν εὐαγγελίων ψεύδεται, καὶ φύσιν ἀριθμοῦν καὶ νόμον ἐπεπλάκη γὰρ ἀλλήλοις τὰ γένη, τό τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Σολομῶνος καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νάθαν, ἀναστάσεσιν ἀτέκνων καὶ δευτερογαμίαις καὶ ἀναστάσει σπερμάτων, ὡς δικαίως τοὺς "αὐτοὺς ἄλλοτε ἄλλων νομίζεσθαι, τῶν μὲν δοκούντων ἡπατέρων, τῶν δὲ ὑπαρχόντων ὡς ἀμφοτέρας "τὰς διηγήσεις κυρίως ἀληθεῖς οὔσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωσὴφ "πολυπλόκως μὲν, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς κατελθεῖν.

1.7.4 | Thus, neither of the Gospels lies, counting both by nature and by law. For the generations have been mixed up with each other, both from Solomon and from Nathan, through the resurrection of childless ones and second marriages and the resurrection of seeds, so that it is justly believed that the same people are sometimes considered to be from different fathers, some being thought to be fathers and others actually existing. Therefore, both accounts are truly accurate regarding Joseph, though they are complex, but they descend precisely.

1.7.5 | Ἱνα "δὲ σαφές ἡ τὸ λεγόμενον, τὴν ἐπαλλαγὴν τῶν γενῶν "διηγήσομαι. ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαβὶδ διὰ Σολομῶνος τὰς γε "νεὰς καταριθμουμένοις τρίτος ἀπὸ τέλους εὐρίσκεται "Ματθὰν, ὃς ἔγεννησε τὸν Ἰακὼβ τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ τὸν "πατέρα· ἀπὸ δὲ Νάθαν τοῦ Δαβὶδ κατὰ Λουκᾶν "ὅμοίως τρίτος ἀπὸ τέλους Μελχὶ, οὗ νιὸς ὁ Ἡλὶ ὁ "τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ πατήρ· Ἰωσὴφ γὰρ νιὸς Ἡλὶ τοῦ Μελχὶ. "

1.7.5 | To make the statement clear, I will explain the change of generations. From David through Solomon, counting the generations, the third from the end is Matthew, who fathered Jacob, the father of Joseph. And from Nathan, son of David, according to Luke, the third from the end is Melchi, whose son is Heli, the father of Joseph. For Joseph is the son of Heli, the son of Melchi.

1.7.6 | σκοποῦ τοίνυν ἡμῖν κειμένου τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ ἀποδεῖ "κτέον πῶς ἐκάτερος αύτοῦ πατὴρ ἴστορεῖται, ὅ τε "Ιακὼβ ὁ ἀπὸ

1.7.6 | Therefore, let us examine how each of Joseph's fathers is recorded: Jacob, who is from Solomon, and Heli, who is from

Σολομῶνος καὶ Ἡλὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νάθαν  
“ἐκάτερος κατάγοντες τὸ γένος, ὅπως τε  
πρότερον “οὗτο δὴ ὁ τε Ἰακὼβ καὶ ὁ Ἡλὶ<sup>1</sup>  
δύο ἀδελφοὶ, καὶ πρό “γε, πῶς οἱ τούτων  
πατέρες Ματθὰν καὶ Μελχὶ δια“φόρων  
σητες γενῶν τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ ἀναφαίνονται  
πάπ“ποι.

1.7.7 | καὶ δὴ οὖν ὁ τε Ματθὰν καὶ ὁ Μελχὶ<sup>2</sup>  
ἐν μέρει “τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγαγόμενοι γυναῖκα  
διμομητρίους ἀδελφοὺς φοὺς ἐπαιδοποιήσαντο,  
τοῦ νόμον μὴ κωλύοντος “χηρεύουσαν ἦτοι  
ἀπολελυμένην ἥ καὶ τελευτήσαντος “τοῦ  
ἀνδρὸς ἄλλω γαμεῖσθαι.

1.7.8 | ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἐσθᾶ “(τοῦτο γὰρ  
καλεῖσθαι τὴν γυναῖκα παραδέδοται)  
“πρῶτος Ματθὰν ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σολομῶνος τὸ  
γένος κατά “γων τὸν Ἰακὼβ γεννᾷ· καὶ  
τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Ματθὰν Μελχὶ ὁ ἐπὶ<sup>3</sup>  
τὸν Νάθαν κατὰ γένος ἀναφερό “μενος  
χηρεύουσαν ἐκ μὲν τῆς αὐτῆς φυλῆς, ἔξ  
ἄλλου “δὲ γένους ὧν, ὡς προεῖπον,  
ἀγαγόμενος αὐτὴν ἔσχεν “νιὸν τὸν Ἡλὶ.

1.7.9 | οὕτω δὴ διαφόρων δύο γενῶν  
εὐρή “σομεν τόν τε Ἰακὼβ καὶ τὸν Ἡλὶ<sup>4</sup>  
διμομητρίους ἀδελφοὺς φοὺς, ὃν ὁ ἔτερος  
Ἰακὼβ, ἀτέκνου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ  
τελευτήσαντος Ἡλὶ, τὴν γυναῖκα  
παραλαβών ἐγένεν “νησεν ἔξ αὐτῆς τρίτον  
τὸν Ἰωσὴφ, κατὰ φύσιν μὲν “ἐαυτῷ καὶ  
κατὰ λόγον διὸ καὶ γέγραπται Ἰακὼβ “δὲ  
ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωσὴφ, κατὰ νόμον δὲ τοῦ  
Ἡλὶ “νιὸς ἦν· ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ὁ Ἰακὼβ ἀδελφὸς  
ὧν ἀνέστησ’ “σπέρμα.

Nathan, each tracing their lineage. It should be noted that both Jacob and Heli are two brothers, and before that, we should see how their fathers, Matthew and Melchi, though from different lineages, are shown to be grandfathers of Joseph.

1.7.7 | And indeed, both Matthew and Melchi, bringing in the same woman, made her their common mother for their children, since the law does not prevent a widow from marrying another man, whether she is divorced or her husband has died.

1.7.8 | From Esther (for this is how the woman is called), first Matthew, who is from Solomon, traces his lineage and begets Jacob. And after Matthew's death, Melchi, who is from Nathan by lineage, marries her, being from the same tribe but of a different lineage, as I mentioned before, and he had a son named Heli.

1.7.9 | Thus, we find that Jacob and Heli are half-brothers from different lineages. Jacob, after the death of his childless brother Heli, took his wife and had a third son, Joseph, both by nature and by law. Therefore, it is written, "Jacob begot Joseph," but by law, he was the son of Heli, for Jacob, being his brother, raised up offspring for him.

1.7.10 | διόπερ ούκ ἀκυρωθήσεται καὶ ἡ κατ' "αὐτὸν γενεαλογία, ἦν Ματθαῖος μὲν ὁ εὐαγγελιστῆς "ἔξαριθμούμενος 'Ιακώβ δὲ' φησίν ' ἐγέννησε τὸν "Ιωσήφ" ὁ δὲ Λουκᾶς ἀνάπαλιν 'ὅς ἦν υἱὸς, ὡς "ένομίζετο (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο προστίθησι) τοῦ Ιωσήφ "τοῦ 'Ηλὶ τοῦ Μελχί' τὴν γὰρ κατὰ νόμον γένεσιν "ἐπισημότερον ούκ ἦν ἔξειπεῖν. καὶ τὸ "ἐγέννησεν" "ἐπὶ τῆς τοιᾶσδε παιδοποιίας ἄχρι τέλους ἐσιώπησε, "τὴν ἀναφορὰν ποιησάμενος ἥως τοῦ Ἀδὰμ τοῦ θεοῦ "κατ' ἀνάλυσιν.

1.7.11 | ούδε μὴν ἀναπόδεικτον ἡ ἐσχε "διασμένον ἔστι τοῦτο· τοῦ γοῦν σωτῆρος οὶ κατὰ "σάρκα συγγενεῖς, εἴτ' οῦν φανητῶντες εἴθ' ἀπλῶς "έκδιδάσκοντες, πάντως δὲ ἀληθεύοντες, παρέδοσαν "καὶ ταῦτα, ὡς Ἰδουμαῖοι λησταὶ Ἀσκάλωνι πόλει τῆς "Παλαιστίνης ἐπελθόντες ἔξ εἰδωλείου Ἀπόλλωνος, ὁ "πρὸς τοῖς τείχεσιν ἤδρυτο, Ἀντίπατρον Ἡρώδου τινὸς "ἱεροδούλου παῖδα πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις σύλοις αἰχμάλω "τὸν ἀπῆγον, τῷ δὲ λύτρᾳ ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ καταθέσθαι "μὴ δύνασθαι τὸν Ἱερέα ὁ Ἀντίπατρος τοῖς τῶν Ἰδου "μαίων ἔθεσιν ἐντραφεὶς ὕστερον Ὅρκανῷ φιλοῦται "τῷ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀρχιερεῖ.

1.7.12 | πρεσβεύσας δὲ πρὸς "Πομπήιον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ὅρκανοῦ, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν "έλευθερώσας αὐτῷ ὑπὸ Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ "περικοπτομένην, αὐτὸς ηύτυχησεν ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς "Παλαιστίνης χρηματίσας διαδέχεται δὲ τὸν Ἀντί "πατρὸν φθόνῳ τῆς πολλῆς εύτυχίας δολοφονηθέντα "υἱὸς Ἡρώδης, ὃς ὕστερον ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου καὶ τοῦ "Αύγουστου συγκλήτου δόγματι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκρίθη

1.7.10 | Therefore, his genealogy will not be canceled. Matthew the evangelist counts, "Jacob begot Joseph." But Luke, on the other hand, says, "who was the son, as it was thought, of Joseph, the son of Heli, the son of Melchi." For it was more important to mention the legal lineage. And he remained silent about "begot" in this kind of parentage until the end, making the account go back to Adam, the son of God, in a sequence.

1.7.11 | Yet this is not unproven or confused. The relatives of the Savior according to the flesh, whether they are appearing or simply teaching, are all telling the truth. They also handed down these things, as the Idumeans, having attacked the city of Ashkelon in Palestine, came from the idol of Apollo, which was set up near the walls. They took captive the son of a certain Herod Antipater, along with other captives. But Antipater, unable to pay the ransom for his son, later became close to Hyrcanus, the high priest of Judea, due to the customs of the Idumeans.

1.7.12 | After he pleaded with Pompey on behalf of Hyrcanus and freed his kingdom from Aristobulus, his brother, he himself became the governor of Palestine. Antipater, who was envious of this great success, was killed. He was the son of Herod, who later was chosen to be king by the decree of Antony and Augustus among the Jews. Herod's children and the other tetrarchs are from him. These things are

“βασιλεύειν· οὗ παῖδες Ἡρώδης οὗ τ' ἄλλοι τετράρχαι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ κοινὰ καὶ ταῖς Ἑλλήνων ἴστοις ρίαις.

1.7.13 | ἀναγράπτων δὲ εἰς τότε ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις “ὅντων τῶν Ἐβραϊκῶν γενῶν, καὶ τῶν ἀρχιπροσῆλυτων ἀναφερομένων ἔως Ἀχιώρ τοῦ Ἀμμανίτου καὶ “Ροὺθ τῆς Μωαβίτιδος, τῶν τε ἀπ' Αἴγυπτου συνεκπεσόντων ἐπιμίκτων, ὁ Ἡρώδης οὐδέν τι συμβαλλομένου τοῦ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν γένους αὐτῷ, καὶ τῷ “συνειδότι τῆς δυσγενείας κρουόμενος, ἐνέπρησεν αὐτὸν τὰς ἀναγραφὰς τῶν γενῶν, οἰόμενος εὐγενῆς “ἀναφανεῖσθαι τῷ μηδὲ ἄλλον ἔχειν ἐκ δημοσίου συγγραφῆς τὸ γένος ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατριάρχας ἢ “προσηλύτους, τούς τε καλουμένους γειώρας τοὺς ἐπιμίκτους.

1.7.14 | ὄλιγοι δὴ τῶν ἐπιμελῶν ἰδιωτικὰς “ἐαυτοῖς ἀπογραφάς, ἢ μνημονεύσαντες τῶν ὀνομάτων, “ἢ ἄλλως ἔχοντες ἐξ ἀντιγράφων, ἐναβρύνονται, σωζομένης τῇ μνήμῃ τῆς εὐγενείας· ὧν ἐτύγχανον οἱ “προειρημένοι δεσπόσυνοι καλούμενοι, διὰ τὴν πρὸς “τὸ σωτήριον γένος συνάφειαν, ἀπό τε Ναζάρων καὶ Κωχαβάτων τοῦ Ιουδαϊκῶν τῇ λοιπῇ γῇ “σαντες, καὶ τὴν προκεμένην γενεαλογίαν \*\* ἐκ τε τῆς “βίβλου τῶν ἡμερῶν εἰς ὅσον ἔξικνοῦντο εξηγησάμενοι.

1.7.15 | εἴτ' οὖν οὕτως εἴτ' ἄλλως ἔχει, σαφεῖς τέραταν ἔξήγησιν οὐκ ἀνέχοι τις ἄλλος ἔξευρεῖν, ὡς “ἔγωγε νομίζω πᾶς τε ὃς εὐγνῶμων τυγχάνει. καὶ “αὕτη μελέτω, εἴ καὶ μὴ ἐμμάρτυρός ἐστι, τῷ “μὴ κρείττονα ἢ ἀληθεστέραν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν. τό γέ τοι

indeed common and found in the histories of the Greeks.

1.7.13 | While writing at that time in the archives of the Hebrew tribes, and mentioning the chief proselytes up to Achior the Ammonite and Ruth the Moabitess, and those mixed people who came from Egypt, Herod, having no connection to the lineage of the Israelites and being aware of his low birth, burned their records of genealogy. He thought that he would appear noble if he had no one else from public records tracing his lineage back to the patriarchs or proselytes, including those called georites, the mixed people.

1.7.14 | Indeed, few of the governors kept private records for themselves, or noted the names, or otherwise had copies from other records, while the memory of their nobility was preserved. Those mentioned earlier, called noble lords, due to their connection to the saving lineage, came from Nazareth and the Jewish village of Kochab, and they explained their genealogy from the book of days as far as they could trace it.

1.7.15 | Whether it is this way or that, no one else could find a clearer explanation than I think, everyone who is wise would agree. And let this be considered, even if it is not proven, that it is better to say nothing less or more true. For indeed, the gospel is

εύαγγέλιον πάντως ἀληθεύει.”

1.7.16 | καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιστολῆς προστίθησι ταῦτα· Ματθὰν ὁ ἀπὸ Σολομῶνος ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰακώβ.  
“Ματθὰν ἀποθανόντος Μελχὶ ὁ ἀπὸ Νάθαν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς γυναικὸς ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἡλὶ. ὅμοιμήτριοι ἄρα ἀδελφοὶ “Ἡλὶ καὶ Ἰακώβ.  
Ἡλὶ ἀτέκνου ἀποθανόντος ὁ Ἰακὼβ  
“ἀνέστησεν αὐτῷ σπέρμα, γεννήσας τὸν Ἰωσὴφ, κατὰ “φύσιν μὲν ἐστῶ, κατὰ νόμον δὲ τῷ Ἡλὶ. οὕτως “ἀμφοτέρων υἱὸς ἦν ὁ Ἰωσὴφ.” τοσαῦτα ὁ Ἀφρικανός.

1.7.17 | καὶ δὴ τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ ὡδέ πως γενεαλογουμένου, δυνάμει καὶ ἡ Μαρία σὺν αὐτῷ πέφηνεν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς οὖσα φυλῆς, εἴ γε κατὰ τὸν Μωυσέως νόμον οὐκ ἔξῆν ἐτέραις ἐπιμίγνυσθαι φυλαῖς· ἐνὶ γάρ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δήμου καὶ πατριᾶς τῆς αὐτῆς ξεγνυνυσθαι πρὸς γάμον παρακελεύεται ὡς ἀν μὴ περιστρέψοιτο τοῦ γένους ὁ κλῆρος ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἐπὶ φυλήν. ὡδὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα ἔχετω.

## Section 8

1.8.1 | [Nic. H. E. I, 12—15] Ἀλλὰ γάρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γεννηθέντος ταῖς προφητείαις ἀκολούθως ἐν Βηθλεὲμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας κατὰ τοὺς δεδηλωμένους χρόνους, Ἡρώδης ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἔξ ἀνατολῆς μάγων ἀνερωτήσει, ὅπῃ εἴη διαπυνθανομένων ὁ τεχθεὶς βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἐωρακέναι γάρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀστέρα, καὶ τῆς τοσῆσδε πορείας τοῦτ' αἴτιον αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι, οἵα θεῷ προσκυνῆσαι τῷ τεχθέντι διὰ σπουδῆς πεποιημένοις, οὐ σμικρῶς ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι

completely truthful.

1.7.16 | And at the end of the same letter, he adds these things: Matthew, who was from Solomon, fathered Jacob. When Matthew died, Melchi, who was from Nathan by the same woman, fathered Eli. Therefore, Eli and Jacob were brothers by the same mother. When Eli died without children, Jacob raised up a descendant for him, fathering Joseph, according to nature for himself, but according to law for Eli. Thus, Joseph was the son of both. This is what the African said.

1.7.17 | And indeed, as Joseph was being traced in genealogy, Mary also was shown to be from the same tribe, since according to the law of Moses, it was not allowed for different tribes to mix. For it is commanded that one should marry someone from the same people and family, so that the inheritance does not change from tribe to tribe. Thus, let these things also be held.

1.8.1 | But when Christ was born, according to the prophecies, in Bethlehem of Judea at the appointed times, Herod asked the wise men from the East where the king of the Jews had been born. For they had seen his star and had come to worship him. Not without danger to himself, as he thought, he was moved by the matter and, learning from the teachers of the law among his people where the Christ was to be born, he understood that the prophecy of Micah

άτε κινδυνευούσης, ὡς γε δὴ ὥετο, αύτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς διακινηθεὶς, πυθόμενος τῶν παρὰ τῷ ἔθνει νομοδιδασκάλων ποῦ τὸν Χριστὸν γεννηθήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν, ὡς ἔγνω τὴν Μιχαίου προφητείαν ἐν Βηθλεέμ προαναφωνοῦσαν, ἐνὶ προστάγματι τοὺς ὑπομαζίους ἔν τε τῇ Βηθλεέμ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς δρίοις αύτῆς ἀπὸ διετοῦς καὶ κατωτέρω παῖδας κατὰ τὸν ἀπηκριβωμένον αύτῷ χρόνον παρὰ τῶν μάγων ἀναιρεθῆναι προστάττει, πάντως που καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὡς γε ἦν εἰκός, τῆς αύτῆς τοῖς ὅμήλιξι συναπολαῦσαι συμφορᾶς οἴόμενος.

announced Bethlehem. He ordered that all the boys in Bethlehem and in all its districts who were two years old and under be killed, according to the time he had learned from the wise men, thinking that Jesus would also suffer the same fate as the others of his age.

1.8.2 | φθάνει γε μὴν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν είς Αἴγυπτον διακομισθεὶς ὁ παῖς, δι’ ἐπιφρανείας ἀγγέλου τὸ μέλλον προμεμαθηκότων αύτοῦ τῶν γονέων. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ ἱερὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διδάσκει γραφή.

1.8.2 | The child was brought to Egypt to escape the plot, through the appearance of an angel who had informed his parents about what was to come. Thus, this is what the holy scripture of the gospel teaches.

1.8.3 | ἄξιον δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις συνιδεῖν τάπιχειρα τῆς Ἡρώδου κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν δημητίκων αύτῷ τόλμης, ὡς παραυτίκα, μηδὲ σμικρᾶς ἀναβολῆς γεγενημένης, ἡ θεία δίκη περιόντα ἔτ' αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ βίῳ μετελήλυθε, τὰ τῶν μετὰ τὴν ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγὴν διαδεξομένων αὐτὸν ἐπιδεικνῦσα προοίμια.

1.8.3 | It is worth noting the actions of Herod against Christ and the boldness shown toward those of his age. For immediately, without any small delay, divine justice took him away from life, showing the events that would follow after his departure.

1.8.4 | ὡς μὲν οὖν τὰς κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν αύτῷ νομισθείσας εὐπραγίαις κατὰ τὸν οἶκον ἐπαλλήλοις ἡμαύρωσε συμφοραῖς, γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν μάλιστα πρὸς γένους ἀναγκαιοτάτων τε καὶ φιλτάτων μιαιφονίαις, ούδὲ οἶόν τε νῦν καταλέγειν, τραγικὴν ἀπασαν δραματουργίαν ἐπισκιαζούσης τῆς περὶ τούτων ὑποθέσεως, ἦν είς πλάτος ἐν ταῖς

1.8.4 | As for the calamities that he caused in his kingdom, they were overshadowed by the misfortunes of women and children, and of those most dear to him, through murders that were both necessary and tragic. It is not possible to describe them all now, as the tragic drama surrounding these events is covered in detail in Josephus's

καθ' αὐτὸν ἱστορίαις ὁ Ἰώσηπος  
διελήλυθεν.

1.8.5 | ὡς δ' ἄμα τῇ κατὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος  
ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νηπίων ἐπιβουλῇ  
Θεήλατος αὐτὸν καταλαβοῦσα μάστιξ εἰς  
θάνατον συνήλασεν, οὐ χεῖρον καὶ τῶν  
φωνῶν τοῦ συγγρα φέως ἐπακοῦσαι, κατὰ  
λέξιν ἐν ἐπτακαιδεκάτῳ τῆς Ἰουστικῆς  
ἀρχαιολογίας τὴν καταστροφὴν τοῦ κατ'  
αὐτὸν βίου τοῦτον γράφοντος τὸν τρόπον·  
“Ἡρώδῃ “δὲ μειζόνως ἡ νόσος  
ἐνεπικραίνετο, δίκην ὃν πάρα “νομήσειν  
ἐκπρασσομένου τοῦ θεοῦ.

1.8.6 | πῦρ μὲν γὰρ “μαλακὸν ἦν, οὐχ ᾔδει  
πολλὴν ἀποσημαῖνον τοῖς ἐπα φωμένοις  
τὴν φλόγωσιν, δοσην τοῖς ἐντὸς προσετίθει  
“τὴν κάκωσιν, ἐπιθυμίᾳ δὲ δεινὴ τοῦ  
δέξασθαί τι, ούδε “ἥν μὴ οὐχ ὑπουργεῖν, καὶ  
ἔλκωσις τῶν τε ἐντέρων, “καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ  
κώλου δειναὶ ἀλγηδόνες, καὶ φλέγμα  
“ὑγρὸν περὶ τοὺς πόδας καὶ διαυγές.

1.8.7 | παραπλησία δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸ ἡτρον  
κάκωσις ἦν. ναὶ μὴν καὶ τοῦ αἰδοίου σῆψις  
σκώληκας ἐμποιοῦσα, πνεύματός τε ὄρθια  
ἔντασις, καὶ αὐτὴ λίαν ἀηδής ἀχθηδόνι τε  
τῆς “ἀποφορᾶς καὶ τῷ πυκνῷ τοῦ  
ἀσθματος. δι. σπασμός τε περὶ πᾶν ἥν  
μέλος, ἴσχὺν οὐχ ὑπομενητὴν  
προστιθέμενος.

1.8.8 | ἐλέγετο γοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν θειαζόντων,  
καὶ “οἵ ταῦτα προαποφθέγγεσθαι σοφίᾳ  
προύκειτο, ποι “νὴν τοῦ πολλοῦ δυσσεβοῦς  
ταύτην ὁ θεὸς εἰσπράττεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ  
βασιλέως.” ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ δηλωθείσῃ

own histories.

1.8.5 | When the divine punishment struck  
our Savior and the other infants, it gathered  
them to death. It is no less than the voices  
of the writings that can be heard, as  
mentioned in the seventeenth book of  
Josephus's Antiquities, describing the  
destruction of his life in this way: "But the  
disease prevailed greatly over Herod, as a  
punishment for what he had done against  
God."

1.8.6 | The fire was very soft, not showing  
much of its burning to those outside, but it  
added to the suffering of those inside.  
There was a terrible desire to receive  
something, and it was not possible to avoid  
it. There were pains in the insides, and  
especially in the bowels, with great  
suffering, and a clear fluid around the feet.

1.8.7 | There was a similar suffering around  
the belly. Yes, and there was decay in the  
private parts, producing worms, and a  
tightness in the breathing, which was very  
unpleasant, along with the heaviness of the  
discharge and the thick asthma. There were  
spasms all around, adding unbearable  
strength to the pain.

1.8.8 | It was said by those who were  
inspired, and to those for whom this  
wisdom was revealed, that this punishment  
from God was to be collected from the king  
for his great impiety. These things are

γραφῇ παρασημαίνεται ὁ προειρημένος.

marked in the written account that has been revealed.

1.8.9 | καὶ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ δὲ τῶν ἱστοριῶν τὰ παραπλήσια περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραδίδωσι, ὡδέ πως γράφων “ἐνθεν αὐτὸν τὸ σῶμα πάντα ἡ νόσος διαλαβοῦσα ποικίλοις πάσῃ θέσιν ἐμέριζεν. πυρετὸς μὲν γὰρ ἦν οὐ λάβρος, ‘κνησμὸς δ’ ἀφόρητος τῆς ἐπιφανείας ὅλης, καὶ κώλου “ἀλγηδόνες, περί τε τοὺς πόδας ὡς ὑδρω“ πιπωντος οἰδήματα, τοῦ τε ἥτρου φλεγμονὴ, καὶ αἴδοίου σηπεδῶν σκώληκας γεννῶσα. πρὸς τούτοις “όρθόπνοια καὶ δύσπνοια καὶ σπάς μοὶ πάντων τῶν “μελῶν 5 ὥστε τοὺς ἐπιθειάζοντας ποινὴν εἶναι τὰ ‘νοσήματα λέγειν.

1.8.9 | And in the second of the histories, similar things about the same are told, writing in this way: "From there, the disease took hold of the whole body, dividing it into various sufferings. There was a fever that was not mild, unbearable itching all over the skin, and painful sensations around the buttocks, as well as swelling around the feet like those with dropsy, inflammation of the belly, and decay in the private parts producing worms. In addition to these, there was difficulty in breathing and tightness in all the limbs, so that those who were nearby considered the diseases to be a punishment."

1.8.10 | ὁ δὲ παλαίων τοσούτοις πάθε“σιν ὅμως τοῦ ζῆν ἀντείχετο, σωτηρίαν τε ἥλπιζε, “καὶ θεραπείας ἐπενόει. διαβάς γοῦν τὸν Ἰορδάνην τοῖς κατὰ Καλλιρρόην θερμοῖς ἔχρητο. ταῦτα δὲ “ἔξεισι μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀσφαλτῖτιν λίμνην, ὑπὸ γλυκύ“τητος δέ ἐστι καὶ πότιμα.

1.8.10 | But he, despite such sufferings, resisted living, hoping for salvation and seeking healing. Having crossed the Jordan, he used the warm waters at Callirhoe. These waters lead into the Asphaltic Lake, which is sweet and drinkable.

1.8.11 | δόξαν δ’ ἐνταῦθα τοῖς “ἰατροῖς ἔλαιώ θερμῷ πάντα ἀναθάλψαι τὸ σῶμα χα“λασθὲν εἰς ἔλαιον πλήρη πύελον ἐκλύει τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς καὶ ὡς τεθνεώς ἀνέστρεψεν. θορύβου δὲ τῶν θεραπόντων γενομένου πρὸς μὲν τὴν κραυγὴν ἀνή“νεγκεν, εἰς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπογονοὺς τὴν σωτηρίαν, τοῖς τε στρατιώταις ἀνὰ δραχμὰς πεντήκοντα ἑκάτερες διανεῖμαι, καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα τοῖς ἡγεμόσι καὶ τοῖς

1.8.11 | It was thought that here the doctors could revive the whole body with warm olive oil, pouring it into a bowl full of oil, and he seemed to come back to life. But when there was a commotion among the attendants, he let out a cry, and then, losing hope for salvation, he ordered that fifty drachmas be distributed to the soldiers, as well as a lot of money to the leaders and friends.

φίλοις.

1.8.12 | αὐτὸς δ' ὑποστρέψων εἰς  
Ίεριχοῦντα παραγίνεται, μελαγχολῶν ἥδη,  
καὶ μονονουχὶ "αὐτῷ τι τῷ θανάτῳ  
ἀπειλῶν προέκοψεν εἰς ἐπιβολὴν  
"ἀθεμίτου πράξεως. τοὺς γὰρ ἀφ' ἐκάστης  
κώμης "ἐπισήμους ἄνδρας ἐξ ὅλης Ἰουδαίας  
συναγαγάνων εἰς "τὸν καλούμενον  
ἰππόδρομον ἐκέλευσε συγκλεῖσαι. "

1.8.12 | He himself, returning to Jericho,  
was already feeling depressed, and he  
threatened death to himself, moving  
towards an unlawful act. For he gathered  
notable men from each village throughout  
Judea to the place called the hippodrome  
and ordered them to be confined.

1.8.13 | προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ Σαλώμην τὴν  
ἀδελφὴν καὶ "τὸν ἄνδρα ταύτης  
Ἀλέξανδρον οἴδα ἔφη Ἰουδαΐ"ους τὸν ἐμὸν  
ἐορτάσοντας θάνατον. δύναμαι δὲ  
πενθεῖσθαι δι' ἐτέρων καὶ λαμπρὸν  
ἐπιτάφιον σχεῖν, ἢν ὑμεῖς θελήσητε ταῖς  
έμαις ἐντολαῖς ὑπουργῆσαι. "τοὺς δὲ  
φρουρουμένους ἄνδρας, ἐπειδὰν  
ἐκπνεύ"σω, τάχιστα κτείνατε  
περιστήσαντες τοὺς στρατιώ"τας, ἵνα  
πᾶσα Ἰουδαία καὶ πᾶς οἶκος καὶ ἄκων ἐπ'  
"ἔμοὶ δακρύσῃ."

1.8.13 | He called for Salome, his sister, and  
her husband Alexander, saying that he  
knew the Jews were celebrating his death.  
But he could be mourned by others and  
have a grand tomb, if you all want to help  
with my commands. And when I breathe  
my last, quickly kill the guarded men,  
surrounding the soldiers, so that all Judea  
and every household will weep for me.

1.8.14 | καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησίν "αὖθις δὲ,  
καὶ γὰρ ἐνδείᾳ τροφῆς καὶ βηχὶ σπασμῶδει  
διε"τείνετο, τῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἡττηθεὶς  
φθάσαι τὴν εἰμαρ"έπεβάλετο. λαβὼν δὲ  
μῆλον ἤτησε καὶ μαχαίριον" εἰώθει γὰρ  
ἀποτέμνων ἐσθίειν· ἐπειτα περια"θρήσας,  
μή τις ὁ κωλύων αὐτὸν εἴη, ἐπῆρε τὴν  
δεξιὰν "ώς πλήξων ἐαυτόν."

1.8.14 | And after a short time, he said  
again, "For he was suffering from lack of  
food and was having spasms from  
coughing, defeated by his pains, he was  
about to meet his fate. Taking an apple, he  
asked for a small knife; for he was used to  
cutting it to eat. Then, looking around, to  
make sure no one was stopping him, he  
raised his right hand as if to strike himself."

1.8.15 | ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ αὐτὸς ἴστορεῖ  
συγγραφεὺς ἔτερον αὐτοῦ γνήσιον παῖδα  
πρὸ τῆς ἐσχάτης τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς, τρίτον  
ἐπὶ δυσὶν ἥδη προανηρημένοις, δι'

1.8.15 | In addition to this, the same writer  
tells of another legitimate son of his, before  
the end of his life, the third after the two  
already mentioned, who, by order, took his

έπιτάξεως άνελόντα παραχρῆμα τὴν ζωὴν οὐ μετὰ σμικρῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἀπορρῆξαι.

1.8.16 | καὶ τοιοῦτο μὲν τὸ πέρας τῆς Ἡρώδου γέγονε τελευτῆς, ποινὴν δικαίαν ἔκτισαντος ὃν ἀμφὶ τὴν Βηθλεὲμ ἀνεῦλε παίδων, τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλῆς ἔνεκα. μεθ' ἣν ἄγγελος ὅναρ ἐπιστὰς ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ διατρίβοντι τῷ Ἰωσὴφ ἀπᾶραι ἄμα τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τῇ τούτου μητρὶ ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίαν παρακελεύεται, τεθνηκέναι δηλῶν τοὺς ἀναζητοῦντας τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ παιδίου. τούτοις δ' ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ἐπιφέρει λέγων ' ἀκούσας δ' ὅτι Ἀρχέλαος βασιλεύει τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀντὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἡρώδου ἐφοβήθη ἐκεῖ ἀπελθεῖν· χρηματισθεὶς δὲ κατ' ὅναρ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Γαλιλαίας.'

## Section 9

1.9.1 | Τῇ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν μετὰ τὸν Ἡρώδην τοῦ Ἀρχελάου καταστάσει συνάδει καὶ ὁ προειρημένος ἱστορικὸς, τὸν τε τρόπον ἀναγράφων, καθ' ὃν ἐκ διαθηκῶν Ἡρώδου τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐπικρίσεως τε Καίσαρος Αὔγουστου, τὴν κατὰ Ἰουδαίων βασιλείαν διεδέξατο, καὶ ὡς τῆς ἀρχῆς μετὰ δεκαέτη χρόνον ἀποπεσόντος οἱ ἀδελφοὶ Φίλιππός τε καὶ ὁ νέος Ἡρώδης ἄμα Λυσανίᾳ τὰς ἐαυτῶν διεῖπον τετραρχίας.

1.9.2 | ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἐν ὀκτωγαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας κατὰ τὸ δωδέκατον ἔτος τῆς Τιβερίου βασιλείας (τοῦτον γὰρ τὴν καθ' ὅλων ἀρχὴν διαδέξασθαι ἐπτὰ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεσι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπικρατήσαντος Αὔγουστου) Πόντιον

life immediately without suffering from minor pains.

1.8.16 | And this was the end of Herod's life, who paid a just penalty for killing the children around Bethlehem, because of the plot against our Savior. After this, an angel appeared in a dream to Joseph while he was staying in Egypt, telling him to take the child and his mother and go to Judea, for those who were seeking the child's life had died. But the evangelist adds that, hearing that Archelaus was ruling Judea in place of his father Herod, he was afraid to go there. After being warned in a dream, he withdrew to the regions of Galilee.

1.9.1 | At the beginning, after Herod, the aforementioned historian agrees with the rule of Archelaus, describing how he inherited the kingdom over the Jews from the wills of his father Herod and the decision of Caesar Augustus. And after the rule lasted for fifteen years, the brothers Philip and the young Herod, together with Lysanias, divided their own tetrarchies.

1.9.2 | In the eighteenth year of the study of antiquities, during the twelfth year of the reign of Tiberius (for he inherited the rule for seventy-seven years under Augustus), it is stated that Pontius Pilate was appointed to govern Judea. He remained there for

Πιλᾶτον ἐπιτραπῆναι δηλοῖ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν,  
ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐφ' ὅλοις ἔτεσι δέκα σχεδὸν εἰς  
αὐτὴν παραμεῖναι τὴν Τιβερίου τελευτήν.

almost ten whole years until the death of Tiberius.

1.9.3 | ούκοῦν σαφῶς ἀπελήλεγκται τὸ  
πλάσμα τῶν κατὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν  
ὑπομνήματα χθὲς καὶ πρώην  
διαδεδωκότων, ἐν οἷς πρῶτος αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς  
παρασημειώσεως χρόνος τῶν πεπλακότων  
ἀπελέγχει τὸ ψεῦδος

1.9.3 | Therefore, it is clearly shown that the accounts against our Savior have been spread yesterday and before, in which the first time of the recording of the events proves the falsehood.

1.9.4 | ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης γοῦν ὑπατείας  
Τιβερίου, ἣ γέγονεν ἔτους ἐβδόμου τῆς  
βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, τὰ περὶ τὸ σωτήριον  
πάθος αὐτοῖς τολμηθέντα περιέχει, καθ' ὃν  
δείκνυται χρόνον μηδ' ἐπιστάς πω τῇ  
Ἰουδαίᾳ Πιλᾶτος, εἴ γε τῷ Ιωσήπῳ μάρτυρι  
χρήσασθαι δέον, σαφῶς οὕτω σημαίνοντι  
κατὰ τὴν δηλωθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ γραφὴν ὅτι δὴ  
δωδεκάτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς Τιβερίου βασιλείας  
ἐπίτροπος τῆς Ἰουδαίας ὑπὸ Τιβερίου  
καθίσταται Πιλᾶτος.

1.9.4 | In the fourth consulship of Tiberius, which happened in the seventh year of his reign, the events concerning the saving passion are included. During this time, it is shown that Pilate was not yet in Judea, unless one should use Josephus as a witness. It is clearly indicated in his writings that in the twelfth year of the reign of Tiberius, Pilate was appointed governor of Judea by Tiberius.

## Section 10

1.10.1 | [Nic. H. E. I, 18-29] Ἐπὶ τούτων δὴ  
οῦν κατὰ τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν ἔτος  
πεντεκαιδέκατον Τιβερίου Καίσαρος  
ἄγοντος, τέταρτον δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας  
Ποντίου Πιλάτου, τῆς τε λοιπῆς Ἰουδαίας  
τετραρχούντων Ηρώδου καὶ Λυσανίου καὶ  
Φιλίππου, ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν  
Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀρχόμενος  
ώσει ἔτῶν τριάκοντα, ἐπὶ τὸ Ιωάννου  
βάπτισμα παραγίνεται, καταρχήν τε  
ποιεῖται τηνικαῦτα τοῦ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον  
κηρύγματος.

1.10.1 | At that time, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar's rule, in the fourth year of the governorship of Pontius Pilate, while Herod, Lysanias, and Philip were ruling the rest of Judea, our Savior and Lord Jesus Christ, about thirty years old, came to be baptized by John. This marks the beginning of the preaching according to the Gospel.

1.10.2 | φησὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἡ θεία γραφὴ τὸν πάντα τῆς διδασκαλίας διατελέσαι χρόνον ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἀννα καὶ Καϊάφα, δηλοῦσα ὅτι δὴ ἐν τοῖς μεταξὺ τῆς τούτων ἔτεσι λειτουργίας ὁ πᾶς τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτῷ συνεπεράνθη χρόνος· ἀρξαμένου μὲν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀννα ἀρχιερωσύνην, μέχρι δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Καϊάφα παραμείναντος, οὐδ' ὅλος ὁ μεταξὺ τετραέτης παρίσταται χρόνος.

1.10.3 | τῶν γάρ τοι κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἥδη πως καθηρημένων ἐξ ἑκείνου θεσμῶν, λέλυτο μὲν, ὡς διὰ βίου καὶ ἐκ προγόνων διαδοχῆς τὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θεραπείας προσήκοντα ἦν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἡγεμόνων ἄλλοτ’ ἄλλοι τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐπιτρεπόμενοι οὐ πλέον ἔτους ἐνὸς ἐπὶ ταύτης διετέλουν.

1.10.4 | ἴστορεῖ δ' οὗν ὁ Ἰώσηπος τέσσαρας κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἐπὶ Καϊάφαν ἀρχιερεῖς μετὰ τὸν Ἀνναν διαγενέσθαι, κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας γραφὴν ὡδέ πως λέγων "Οὐαλέριος Γράτος, παύσας "ἰερᾶσθαι Ἀνανον, Ἰσμάγλον ἀρχιερέα ἀποφαίνει τὸν "τοῦ Φαβί. καὶ τοῦτον δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ μεταστήσας "Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν Ἀνάνου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱὸν ἀποδεί"κνυσιν ἀρχιερέα.

1.10.5 | ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ διαγενομένου καὶ "τόνδε παύσας Σίμωνι τῷ Καμίθου τὴν ἀρχιερω"συνὴν παραδίδωσιν. οὐ πλέον δὲ καὶ τῷδε ἐνιαυτοῦ "τὴν τιμὴν ἔχοντι διεγένετο χρόνος, καὶ Ἰώσηπος, ὁ "καὶ Καϊάφας, διάδοχος ἦν αὐτῷ.'

1.10.6 | ούκοῦν ὁ σύμπας οὐδ' ὅλος

1.10.2 | The divine scripture says that he carried out his entire teaching during the high priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas, showing that indeed, during the years between their service, all the time of his teaching was completed. It began during the high priesthood of Annas and continued until the start of Caiaphas's term, and the entire time in between is not even four years.

1.10.3 | For those who were already removed from their offices according to the law, the high priesthood was no longer held for life or passed down from ancestors. Instead, under the Roman governors, different people were allowed to hold the high priesthood, and they no longer served for more than one year at a time.

1.10.4 | So, Josephus tells us that there were four high priests in succession after Caiaphas, following Annas. In the same historical writing, he says: "Valerius Gratus, having removed Annas from the priesthood, appointed Ishmael as high priest of the family of Fabus. And shortly after this, he replaced him with Eleazar, the son of Annas, and he was made high priest."

1.10.5 | After a year had passed, he removed Simon from the high priesthood and handed it over to Caiaphas. And in that same year, the time of honor was no longer held, and Josephus, who was also a successor to Caiaphas, was appointed.

1.10.6 | Therefore, the entire four-year

τετραέτης ἀποδείκνυται τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν διδασκαλίας χρόνος, τεσσάρων ἐπὶ τέσσαρσιν ἔτεσιν ἀρχιερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀννα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Καϊάφα κατάστασιν ἐνιαύσιον λειτουργίαν διατελεκότων. τὸν γέ τοι Καϊάφαν ἀρχιερέα εἰκότως τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, καθ' ὃν τὰ τοῦ σωτηρίου πέθους ἐπετελεῖτο, ἡ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου παρεσμήνατο γραφὴ, ἐξ ἣς καὶ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἀπάδων τῆς προκειμένης ἐπιτηρήσεως ὁ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας ἀποδείκνυται χρόνος.

period is shown to be the time of our Savior's teaching, during the four years of high priests from Annas to Caiaphas, serving one year at a time. It is fitting to mention Caiaphas as the high priest during the year when the events of salvation were fulfilled, as noted in the writing of the Gospel, from which the time of the teaching of Christ is also shown.

1.10.7 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν οὐ μετὰ πλεῖστον τῆς καταρχῆς τοῦ κηρύγματος τοὺς δώδεκα ἀποστόλους ἀνακαλεῖται, οὓς καὶ μόνους τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν κατά τι γέρας ἔξαίρετον ἀποστόλους ὡνόμασεν. καὶ αὖθις ἀναδείκνυσιν ἑτέρους ἐβδομήκοντα, οὓς καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλεν ἀνὰ δύο δύο πρὸ προσάπου αὐτοῦ εἰς πάντα τόπον καὶ πόλιν οὗ ἤμελλεν αὐτὸς ἔρχεσθαι.

1.10.7 | But indeed, our Savior and Lord calls the twelve apostles not long after the beginning of his preaching, whom he named as the only special apostles among his other disciples. And again, he appoints another seventy, whom he also sent out two by two ahead of him to every place and city where he was about to go.

## Section 11

1.11.1 | [Nic. H, E. I, 19-20] Οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν δὲ τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου ὑπὸ τοῦ νέου Ἡρώδου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθέντος μνημονεύει μὲν καὶ ἡ θεία τῶν εὐαγγελίων γραφή· συνιστορεῖ γε μὴν καὶ ὁ Ἰώσηπος, ὁνομαστὶ τῆς τε Ἡρωδιάδος μνήμην πεποιημένος καὶ ὡς ἀδελφοῦ γυναῖκα οὕσαν αὐτὴν ἥγαγετο πρὸς γάμον Ἡρώδης, ἀθετήσας μὲν τὴν προτέραν αὐτῷ κατὰ νόμους γεγενημένην Ἀρέτα δ' ἦν αὕτη τοῦ Πιετραίων βασιλέως Θυγάτηρ, τὴν δὲ Ἡρωδιάδα ζῶντος διαστήσας τοῦ ἀνδρός· δι' ἥν καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἀνελὼν πόλεμον αἴρεται πρὸς τὸν Ἀρέταν, ὡσὰν

1.11.1 | Not long after the beheading of John the Baptist by the new Herod, the divine writing of the Gospels also remembers this. Josephus also tells the story, mentioning the memory of Herodias, and how Herod took her as his wife, even though she was his brother's wife. He set aside his first wife, who was legally married to him, and that was Aretas, the daughter of the king of Petra. He did this while her husband was still alive. Because of this, he raised a conflict against Aretas for dishonoring his daughter.

ήτιμασμένης αύτῷ τῆς θυγατρός.

1.11.2 | ἐν ᾧ πολέμῳ μάχης γενομένης πάντα φησὶ τὸν Ἡρώδου στρατὸν διαφθαρῆναι, καὶ ταῦτα πεπονθέναι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἔνεκεν τῆς κατὰ τοῦ Ἰωάννου γεγενημένης.

1.11.3 | ὁ δ' αὐτὸς Ἰώσηπος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα δικαιότατον καὶ βαπτιστὴν ὄμοιογῶν γεγονέναι τὸν Ἰωάννην, τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν τῶν εὐαγγελίων γραφὴν ἀναγεγραμμένοις συμμαρτυρεῖ. ἴστορεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην τῆς βασιλείας ἀποπεπτωκέναι διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν Ἡρωδιάδα, μεθ' ἣς αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν ἀπεληλάσθαι, Βίενναν τῆς Γαλλίας οἰκεῖν καταδικασθέντα.

1.11.4 | καὶ ταῦτά γε αύτῷ ἐν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας δεδήλωται, ἔνθα συλλαβαῖς αὐταῖς περὶ τοῦ Ἰωάννου ταῦτα γράφει ‘τισὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐδόκει ὅλω “λέναι τὸν Ἡρώδου στρατὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ μάλα “δικαίως τιννυμένου κατὰ ποινὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ κα“λουμένου βαπτιστοῦ.

1.11.5 | ικτείνει γάρ τοῦτον Ἡρώδης, ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κελεύοντα, “ἀρετὴν ἐπασκοῦσι καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἄλλήλους δικαιοσύνη “καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὔσεβείᾳ χρωμένοις βαπτισμῷ “συνιέναι. οὕτω γάρ δὴ καὶ τὴν βάπτισιν ἀποδέκτην αύτῷ φανεῖσθαι, μὴ ἐπὶ τινων ἀμαρτάδων παραι“τήσει χρωμένων, ἀλλ’ ἐφ’ ἀγνείᾳ τοῦ σώματος, ἄτε “δὴ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς

1.11.2 | In this war, he says that all of Herod's army was destroyed, and that this happened because of the plot against John.

1.11.3 | The same Josephus also agrees that John was a very righteous man and that he was a Baptist, supporting what is written about him in the Gospels. He also tells that Herod lost his kingdom because of Herodias, with whom he was sent away to the region beyond, being condemned to live in Vienne in Gaul.

1.11.4 | And these things are shown to him in the eighteenth book of his *Antiquities*, where he writes about John. Some of the Jews thought that Herod's army was destroyed by God, and that this was very justly done as punishment for John, who is called the Baptist.

1.11.5 | For Herod kills this man, a good man who urged the Jews to practice virtue and justice toward each other and to be pious toward God, coming together for baptism. For this reason, his baptism was shown to him, not as a way to escape certain sins, but for the purity of the body, since the justice of the soul had already been cleansed.

δικαιοσύνη προεκκεκαθαρμένης. '

1.11.6 | καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συστρεφομένων καὶ γὰρ ἥσθησαν “ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῇ ἀκροάσει τῶν λόγων), δείσας ‘Ἡρώ’ δῆς τὸ ἐπὶ τοσόνδε πιθανὸν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, “μὴ ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει τινὶ φέροι, πάντα γὰρ ἔώκεσαν “συμβουλῇ τῇ ἑκείνου πράξοντες), πολὺ κρεῖττον “ἡγεῖται, πρίν τι νεώτερον ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, προ“λαβὼν ἀναιρεῖν, ἡ μεταβολῆς γενομένης εἰς πρά“γματα ἐμπεσών μετανοεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑποψίᾳ τῇ “Ἡρώδου δέσμιος εἰς τὸν Μαχαιροῦντα πεμφθεὶς, τὸ “προειρημένον φρούριον, ταύτῃ κτίννυται.

1.11.6 | And as the others were gathering, they were very pleased by the hearing of his words. Herod, fearing that such a strong influence over the people might lead to a rebellion, thought it much better to act first and kill him before something newer happened, rather than wait and then regret it after a change in events. So, suspecting Herod, he was sent as a prisoner to the place called Machaerus, where he was killed.

1.11.7 | ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ Ἰωάννου διελθών καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ συγγράμματος ἱστορίαν ὃνδε πως μέμνηται ‘γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς, “σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, εἴ γε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή. ἦν γὰρ “παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητὴς, διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων “τῶν ἡδονῆς τάληθη δεχομένων, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν “Ιουδαίων, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐπῃ“γάγετο.

1.11.7 | After discussing these things about John, the writer also mentions our Savior in the same history. At that time, Jesus comes, a wise man, if it is right to call him a man. For he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of people who accepted the truth with pleasure, and he attracted many of the Jews and many from the Greek world.

1.11.8 | ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει “τῶν πρώτων ἄνδρῶν παρ’ ἡμίν σταυρῷ ἐπιτειμή “κότος Πιλάτου, οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο οἵ τὸ πρῶτον ἀγα“πήσαντες. ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν “πάλιν ζῶν, τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα “μυρία περὶ αὐτοῦ θαυμάσια είρηκότω ’ν. είσετι τε “νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦτο ὡνομασμένων οὐκ “ἐπέλιπε τὸ φῦλον.”

1.11.8 | This was Christ. And he was shown by Pilate, who had him punished on the cross, but those who first loved him did not stop. For on the third day, he appeared to them alive again, and many wonderful things about him were said by the divine prophets. Even now, the group called Christians has not ceased to exist from that time.

1.11.9 | ταῦτα τοῦ ἑξ αὐτῶν Ἐβραίων συγγραφέως ἀνέκαθεν τῇ ἐαυτοῦ γραφῇ περὶ τε τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν παραδεδωκότος, τίς ἂν ἔτι λείποιτο ἀποφυγὴ τοῦ μὴ ἀναισχύντους ἀπελέγχεσθαι τοὺς τὰ κατ' αὐτῶν πλασαμένους ὑπομνήματα; ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἔχετω ταύτῃ.

## Section 12

1.12.1 | [Nic. H. E. I, 21-22] Τῶν γε μὴν τοῦ σωτηρὸς ἀποστόλων παντί τω σαφῆς ἐκ τῶν εὐαγγελίων ἡ πρόσρησις. τῶν δ' ἐβδομήκοντα μαθητῶν κατάλογος μὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδαμὴ φέρεται· λέγεται γε μὴν εἰς αὐτῶν Βαρνάβας γεγονέναι, οὐ διαφόρως μὲν καὶ αἱ Πραξεῖς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμνημόνευσαν, οὐχ ἦκιστα δὲ καὶ ὁ Παῦλος Γαλάταις γράφων. τούτων δ' εἶναι φασι καὶ Σωσθένην τὸν ἄμα Παύλῳ Κορινθίοις ἐπιστείλαντα.

1.12.2 | ἡ δ' ἱστορία παρὰ Κλήμεντι κατὰ τὴν πέμπτην τῶν Ὑποτυπώσων, ἐν ᾧ καὶ Κηφᾶν, περὶ οὗ φησιν ὁ Παῦλος ὅτε δὲ ἤλθε Κηφᾶς εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντέστην, ἵνα φησὶ γεγονέναι τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα μαθητῶν, διμώνυμον Πέτρῳ τυγχάνοντα τῷ ἀποστόλῳ.

1.12.3 | καὶ Ματθίαν δὲ τὸν ἀντὶ Ἰούδα τοῖς ἀποστόλοις συγκαταλεγέντα, τὸν τε σὺν αὐτῷ τῇ ὁμοίᾳ ψήφῳ τιμηθέντα, τῆς αὐτῆς τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα κλήσεως ἡξιῶσθαι κατέχει λόγος. καὶ Θαδδαῖον δὲ ἔνα τῶν αὐτῶν εἶναι φασι, περὶ οὐ καὶ ἱστορίαν ἐλθοῦσαν εἰς ἡμᾶς αὐτίκα μάλα ἐκθήσομαι.

1.11.9 | These things were handed down by a Hebrew writer about both John the Baptist and our Savior. Who would still be able to escape being ashamed if they were to be shown the writings made about them? But let these things be kept here.

1.12.1 | Indeed, the calling of the Savior's apostles is clear from the gospels. However, there is no list of the seventy disciples found anywhere. It is said that Barnabas was one of them, who is mentioned in different ways in the Acts of the Apostles, and also by Paul when writing to the Galatians. They say that Sosthenes also was among those who sent a letter with Paul to the Corinthians.

1.12.2 | The history from Clement in the fifth of the "Hypotyposes" mentions Cephas, about whom Paul says, "When Cephas came to Antioch, I opposed him to his face." It is said that he was one of the seventy disciples, sharing the same name as the apostle Peter.

1.12.3 | And Matthias, who was chosen to take the place of Judas among the apostles, is said to have been honored with the same vote. It is claimed that he was worthy of the same calling as the seventy. They also say that Thaddeus was one of them, about whom I will soon tell the story that has

come to us.

1.12.4 | καὶ τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα δὲ πλείους τοῦ σωτῆρος πεφηνέναι μαθητὰς εύροις ἀνέπιτηρήσας, μάρτυρι χρώμενος τῷ Παύλῳ, μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἔγερσιν ὥφθαι αὐτὸν φήσαντι πρῶτον μὲν Κηφᾶ, ἔπειτα τοῖς δώδεκα, καὶ μετὰ τούτους ἐπάνω πεντακοσίοις ἀδελφοῖς ἐφάπαξ, ὃν τινὰς μὲν ἔφασκε κεκοιμῆσθαι, τοὺς πλείους δὲ ἔτι τῷ βίῳ, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν αὐτῷ ταῦτα συνετάττετο, περιεῖναι.

1.12.4 | And if you pay attention, you will find that there were more disciples of the Savior among the seventy. Paul uses this as evidence, saying that after the resurrection, he was seen first by Cephas, then by the twelve, and after them all at once by more than five hundred brothers, some of whom he said had fallen asleep, but most were still alive at the time he wrote this.

1.12.5 | ἔπειτα δὲ ὥφθαι αὐτὸν Ἰακώβῳ φησίν· εἰς δὲ καὶ οὗτος τῷ φερομένων τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀδελφῶν ἦν. εἴθ' ὡς παρ' τούτους κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν δώδεκα πλείστων ὅσω ὑπαρξάντων ἀποστόλων, οὗτος καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Παῦλος ἡ προστίθησι λέγων· ἔπειτα ὥφθη τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσι." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶνδε. τῆς δὲ περὶ τὸν Θαδδαῖον ἱστορίας τοιοῦτος γέγονεν ὁ τρόπος.

1.12.5 | Then he says that he was seen by James. This James was also one of the brothers of the Savior. After this, just like the twelve, he mentions that most of the apostles were present, including Paul himself, who adds, "Then he was seen by all the apostles." So, this is what we have about these matters. Now, the story about Thaddeus happened in this way.

## Section 13

1.13.1 | [Nic. H. E. II, 7 et Euagr. IV, 29] Ἡ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ θειότης, εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους τῆς παραδοξοποιοῦ δυνάμεως ἔνεκεν βοωμένη, μυρίους ὅσους καὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἄλλοδαπῆς πορρωτάτω τε τῆς Ἰουδαίας νόσων καὶ παντοίων παθῶν ἐλπίδι θεραπείας ἐπήγετο.

1.13.1 | The divinity of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, because of its wonderful power, is proclaimed to all people. Many, even those far away from Judea, suffering from various diseases and ailments, came hoping for healing.

1.13.2 | ταύτῃ τοι βασιλεὺς Ἀβγρος, τῶν ὑπὲρ Εύφρατην ἔθνῶν ἐπισημότατα δυναστεύων, πάθει τὸ σῶμα δεινῷ καὶ οὐ θεραπευτῷ ὅσον ἐπ' ἀνθρωπείᾳ δυνάμει

1.13.2 | At this time, King Abgar, who ruled over the nations beyond the Euphrates with great power, was suffering from a terrible and incurable illness that was

καταφθειρόμενος, ώς καὶ τοῦνομα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πολὺ καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις συμφώνως πρὸς ἀπάντων μαρτυρουμένας ἐπύθετο, ἵκετης αὐτοῦ πέμψας δὲ ἐπιστοληφόρου γίνεται, τῆς νόσου τυχεῖν ἀπαλλαγῆς ἀξιῶν.

1.13.3 | ὁ δὲ μὴ τότε καλοῦντι ὑπακούσας ἐπιστολῆς γοῦν αὐτὸν ἰδίας καταξιοῦ, ἵνα τῶν αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν ἀποστέλλειν ἐπὶ Θεραπείᾳ τῆς νόσου, δόμοῦ τε αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν καὶ τὸν προσηκόντων ἀπάντων ὑπισχνούμενος.

1.13.4 | οὐκ εἰς μακε`ν δὲ ἄρα αὐτῷ ἐπληροῦτο τὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, μετὰ γοῦν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν καὶ τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἄνοδον Θωμᾶς, τῶν ἀποστόλων εἰς τῶν δώδεκα, Θαδδαῖον, ἐν ἀριθμῷ καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαθητῶν κατειλεγμένον, κινήσει θειοτέρᾳ ἐπὶ τὴν "Ἐδεσσαν κήρυκα καὶ εύαγγελιστὴν τῆς περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας ἔκπεμπει, πάντα τε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τέλος ἐλάμβανεν ἐπαγγελίας.

1.13.5 | ἔχεις καὶ τούτων ἀνάγραπτον τὴν μαρτυρίαν, ἐκ τῶν κατὰ "Ἐδεσσαν τὸ τηνικαῦτα βασιλευομένην πόλιν γραμματοφυλακείων ληφθεῖσαν. ἐν γοῦν τοῖς αὐτόθι δημοσίοις χάρταις, τοῖς τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀβγαρὸν πραχθέντα περιέχουσι, καὶ ταῦτα εἰσέτι νῦν ἔξ ἐκείνου πεφυλαγμένα εὑρηταιούδεν δὲ οἶον καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπακοῦσαι τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχείων ἡμῖν ἀναληφθεισῶν, καὶ τόνδε αὐτοῖς ρήμασιν ἐκ τῆς Σύρων φωνῆς μεταβληθειῶν τὸν

destroying his body. Hearing about the name of Jesus and the miracles he performed, he sent a messenger with a letter, asking to be freed from his sickness.

1.13.3 | But he, not responding to the call at that time, still deemed him worthy to send one of his own disciples for the healing of his illness, promising both his own salvation and that of all who were with him.

1.13.4 | So, it was not in vain that the promise was fulfilled for him. After the resurrection from the dead and the ascension into heaven of Thomas, one of the twelve apostles, Thaddeus, who was also counted among the seventy disciples of Christ, was sent as a messenger and evangelist of the teaching about Christ to Edessa. Through him, everything concerning the end of our Savior's promise was received.

1.13.5 | You also have an unwritten testimony of these things, taken from the archives of the city that was then ruled in Edessa. In the public records there, which contain the old documents and those concerning Abgar, these are still preserved even now. Nothing like them has been heard from the letters taken from the archives, and this has been changed into the Syrian language. A copy of the letter written by Abgar the ruler to Jesus, and sent to him by Ananias the messenger to

τρόπον. Ἐντίγραφον ἐπιστολῆς  
γραφείσης ὑπὸ Ἀβγάρου τοπάρχου τῷ  
Ἰησοῦ, καὶ πεμφθείσης αὐτῷ δι' Ἀνανία  
ταχυδρόμου εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

1.13.6 | “Ἄβγαρος τοπάρχης Ἐδέσσης  
Ἰησοῦ σωτῆρι “ἀγαθῷ ἀναφανέντι ἐν  
τόπῳ Ἱεροσολύμων χαιρεῖν. “ῆκουσταί μοι  
τὰ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν ἱαμάτων, ὡς  
“ἄνευ φαρμάκων καὶ βοτανῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ  
γινομένων. “ὡς γὰρ λόγος, τυφλοὺς  
ἀναβλέπειν ποιεῖς, χωλοὺς “περιπατεῖν,  
καὶ λεπροὺς ἀναβλέπειν ποιεῖς, χωλοὺς  
“πνεύματα καὶ δαίμονας ἐκβάλλεις, καὶ  
τοὺς ἐν μα“κρονοσίᾳ βασανίζομένους  
θεραπεύεις, καὶ νεκροὺς “έγείρεις.

1.13.7 | καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἀκούσας περὶ σοῦ  
κατὰ “νοῦν ἔθεμην τὸ ἔτερον τῶν δύο, ἥ ὅτι  
σὺ εἶ ὁ θεός “καὶ καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ  
ποιεῖς ταῦτα, ἥ υἱὸς “εἴ τοῦ θεοῦ ποιῶν  
ταῦτα.

1.13.8 | διὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν γρά“ψας ἐδεήθην  
σου σκυλῆναι πρὸς ἐμὲ, καὶ τὸ πάθος, “ὅ  
ἔχω, θεραπεῦσαι. καὶ γὰρ ἤκουσα ὅτι καὶ  
Ἰουδαῖοι “καταγογγύζουσί σου καὶ  
βούλονται κακῶσαίσε. πόλις “δὲ μικροτάτη  
μοί ἔστι καὶ σεμνὴ, ἥτις ἔξαρκεῖ  
ἀμφο“τέροις.”

1.13.9 | [Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔγραψε, τῆς  
Θείας αὐτὸν τέως μικρὸν αὐγασάσης  
ἀλλάμψεως. ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοῦ  
Ἰησοῦ αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
γραμματοκομιστοῦ ἀποσταλείσης  
ἀπακοῦσαι ὄλιγοστίχου μὲν, πολυδυνάμου  
δὲ ἐπιστολῆς, τοῦτον ἔχούσης καὶ αὐτῆς

Jerusalem.

1.13.6 | "Abgar, ruler of Edessa, to Jesus the Savior, greetings. "I have heard about you and your healings, how they happen without medicines and herbs. For it is said that you make the blind see, the lame walk, and the lepers clean. You cast out spirits and demons, and you heal those who are tormented for a long time, and you raise the dead.

1.13.7 | And having heard all these things about you, I considered one of two things: either that you are God and have come down from heaven to do these things, or you are the Son of God doing these things.

1.13.8 | Therefore, I wrote to ask you to come to me and heal the suffering that I have. For I also heard that the Jews are complaining about you and want to harm you. But my city is small and honorable, which is enough for both of us.

1.13.9 | And he wrote these things, shining with a small divine light. It is also worthy to hear about the letter sent to Jesus by the same messenger, which was short in length but powerful in meaning, having its own style. The copy was sent by Jesus through

τὸν τρόπον.] Τὰ ἀντιγραφέντα ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ  
διὰ Ἀνανία ταχυδρόμου τοπάρχῃ Ἀβγάρῳ.

Ananias, the swift messenger, to Abgar.

1.13.10 | “Μακάριος εἶ πιστεύσας ἐν ἐμοὶ  
μὴ ἐωρα“κώς με. γέγραπται γὰρ περὶ ἐμοῦ  
τοὺς ἐωρακότας “με μὴ πιστεύσειν μοι, καὶ  
ἴνα οἱ μὴ ἐωρακότες αὐτὸι πιστεύσωσι καὶ  
ζήσωνται. περὶ δὲ οὗ ἔργαψάς “μοι ἐλθεῖν  
πρὸς σὲ, δέον ἐστὶ πάντα, δι’ ἣν ἀπεστάτην,  
ἐνταῦθα πληρῶσαι με, καὶ μετὰ τὸ  
πληρῶσαι “οὕτως ἀναληφθῆναι πρὸς τὸν  
ἀποστείλαντά με. καὶ “ἔπειδὰν ἀναληφθῶ,  
ἀποστελῶ σοί τινα τῶν μαθητῶν “μου, ἵνα  
ἰάσηται σου τὸ πάθος καὶ ζωήν σοι καὶ  
“τοῖς σὸν σοὶ παράσχηται.”

1.13.10 | Blessed are you who believed in  
me without having seen me. For it is  
written about me that those who have seen  
me should not believe in me, and that those  
who have not seen should believe and live.  
As for what you wrote to me about coming  
to you, it is necessary to fulfill everything  
for which I was sent. Here, fulfill me, and  
after fulfilling me, I will be taken up to the  
one who sent me. And when I am taken up,  
I will send you one of my disciples to heal  
your suffering and give you life and provide  
for those with you.

1.13.11 | Ταύταις δὲ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ᾔτι καὶ  
ταῦτα συνῆπτο τῇ Σύρων φωνῇ. μετὰ δὲ τὸ  
ἀναληφθήνα τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ  
Ἰούδας ὁ καὶ Θωμᾶς Θαδδαῖον ἀπόστολον,  
ἔνα τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα· δος ἐλθών κατέμενε  
πρὸς Τωβίαν τὸν τοῦ Τωβία. ὡς δὲ  
ήκουσθη περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἐμηνύθη τῷ Ἀβγάρῳ  
ὅτι ἐλήλυθεν ἐνταῦθα ἀπόστολος τοῦ  
Ἰησοῦ, καθὰ ἐπέστειλε σοι.

1.13.11 | Along with these letters, these  
things were also added in the Syrian  
language. After Jesus was taken up, Judas,  
who is also called Thomas, the apostle, one  
of the seventy, was sent to him. He came  
and stayed with Tobias, the son of Tobias.  
When it was heard about him, it was  
reported to Abgar that an apostle of Jesus  
had come here, as he had sent to you.

1.13.12 | ἤρξατο οὖν ὁ Θαδδαῖος ἐν δυνάμει  
θεοῦ θεραπεύειν πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ  
μαλακίαν, ὥστε πάντας θαυμάζειν· ὡς δὲ  
ήκουσεν ὁ Ἀβγαρος τὰ μεγαλεῖα καὶ τὰ  
θαυμάσια, ἢ ἐποίει, καὶ ὡς ἐθεράπευεν, ἐν  
ὑπονοίᾳ γέγονεν ὡς ὅτι αὐτός ἐστι, περὶ οὗ  
ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐπέστειλε λέγων, ἐπειδὰν  
ἀναληφθῶ, ἀποστελῶ σοί τινα τῶν  
μαθητῶν μου, δος τὸ πάθος σου ιάσετει.

1.13.12 | Then Thaddeus began to heal  
every disease and sickness by the power of  
God, so that everyone was amazed. When  
Abgar heard about the great things and  
wonders he was doing, and how he was  
healing, he suspected that this was the one  
about whom Jesus had sent, saying, 'When I  
am taken up, I will send you one of my  
disciples who will heal your suffering.'

1.13.13 | μετακαλεσάμενος οὖν τὸν

1.13.13 | Then Abgar called Tobias, with

Τωβίαν, παρ' ῥι κατέμενεν, εἶπεν, ἤκουσα  
ὅτι ἀνήρ τις δυνάστης ἐλθὼν κατέμεινεν ἐν  
τῇ σῇ οἰκίᾳ· ἀνάγαγε αὐτὸν πρὸς ἐμέ.  
ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Τωβίας παρὰ Θαδδαῖῷ εἶπεν  
αὐτῷ, ὃ τοπάρχης Ἀβγαρος  
μετακαλεσάμενός με εἶπεν ἀναγαγεῖν σε  
παρ' αὐτῷ, ἔνα θεραπεύσης αὐτοῦ τὸ  
πάθος. καὶ ὁ Θαδδαῖος, ἀναβαίνω, ἔφη,  
ἔπειδή περ δυνάμει παρ' αὐτῷ ἀπέσταλμαι.

whom he was staying, and said, 'I heard  
that a powerful man has come and is  
staying in your house; bring him to me.'  
When Tobias came to Thaddeus, he said to  
him, 'The governor Abgar has called me  
and said to bring you to him, so that you  
may heal his suffering.' And Thaddeus  
replied, 'I will go up, since I have been sent  
by him with power.'

1.13.14 | ὥρθεισας οὖν ὁ Τωβίας τῇ ἑξῆς  
καὶ παραλαβὼν τὸν Θαδδαῖον ἦλθε πρὸς  
τὸν Ἀβγαρον· ὡς δὲ ἀνέβη, παρόντων καὶ  
ἐστώτων τῶν μεγιστάνων αὐτοῦ,  
παραχρῆμα ἐν τῷ εἰσιέναι αὐτὸν ὅραμα  
μέγα ἐφάνη τῷ Ἀβγάρῳ ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ  
τοῦ ἀποστόλου Θαδδαίου. ὅπερ ἴδων  
Ἀβγαρος προσεκύνησε τῷ Θαδδαῖῳ, θαῦμά  
τε ἔσχε πάντας τοὺς περιεστῶτας· αὐτὸι  
γάρ οὐχ ἐωράκεσαν τὸ ὅραμα, ὃ μόνω τῷ  
Ἀβγάρῳ ἐφάνη.

1.13.14 | Then Tobias got up early the next  
day and took Thaddeus to Abgar. As he  
entered, while the great men of Abgar were  
present and standing, a great vision  
appeared to Abgar in the face of the apostle  
Thaddeus. When Abgar saw this, he  
worshiped Thaddeus, and everyone around  
was amazed; for they did not see the vision,  
which was shown only to Abgar.

1.13.15 | ὅς καὶ τὸν Θαδδαῖον ἤρετο, εἰ ἐπ'  
ἀληθείας μαθητὴς εἴ Ιησοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ  
Θεοῦ, ὅς είρήκει πρὸς ἐμέ "ἀποστελῶ σοι  
τινα τῶν μαθητῶν μου, ὅστις ίάσεται σε καὶ  
ζωήν σοι παρέξει. καὶ ὁ Θαδδαῖος ἔφη "ἐπεὶ  
μεγάλως πεπίστευκας είς τὸν  
ἀποστείλαντά με, διὰ τοῦτο ἀπεστάλην  
πρὸς σέ. καὶ πάλιν ἔλαν πιστεύσης ἐν αὐτῷ,  
ὡς ἂν πιστεύσῃς ἔσται σοι τὰ αίτήματα τῆς  
καρδίας σου.

1.13.15 | He asked Thaddeus if he was  
really a disciple of Jesus, the son of God,  
who had said to me, 'I will send you one of  
my disciples, who will heal you and give  
you life.' And Thaddeus said, 'Since you  
have greatly believed in the one who sent  
me, that is why I was sent to you. And  
again, if you believe in him, whatever you  
ask for in your heart will be given to you.'

1.13.16 | καὶ ὁ Ἀβγαρος πρὸς αὐτὸν "οὕτως  
ἐπίστευσα, φησὶν, ἐν αὐτῷ, ὡς καὶ τοὺς  
Ἰουδαίους τοὺς σταυρώσαντας αὐτὸν  
βουληθῆναι δύναμιν παραλαβὼν  
κατακόψαι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν  
Ρωμαίων ἀνεκόπην τούτου." καὶ ὁ

1.13.16 | And Abgar said to him, "I have  
believed in him so much that I wanted to  
take power and kill those Jews who  
crucified him, if it were not for the Roman  
kingdom stopping me." And Thaddeus said,  
"Our lord fulfilled the will of his father, and

Θαδδαῖος εἶπεν "ὸ κύριος ἡμῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ πεπλήρωκε, καὶ πληρώσας ἀνελήφθη πρὸς τὸν πατέρα."

after completing it, he was taken up to the father."

1.13.17 | λέγει αὐτῷ Ἀβγαρος "κάγὼ πεπίστευκα εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ." καὶ ὁ Θαδδαῖος "διὰ τοῦτο, φησὶ, τίθημι τὴν χεῖρά μου ἐπὶ σὲ ἐν ὄνόματι αὐτοῦ." καὶ τοῦτο πράξαντος παραχρῆμα ἐθεραπεύθη τῆς νόσου καὶ τοῦ πάθους οὐ εἶχεν.

1.13.17 | Abgar said to him, "I also have believed in him and in his father." And Thaddeus said, "For this reason, I place my hand on you in his name." And as soon as he did this, he was healed of the sickness and suffering he had.

1.13.18 | ἔθαύμασέ τε ὁ Ἀβγαρος, δτι καθὼς ἥκουσται αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, οὕτως τοῖς ἔργοις παρέλαβε διὰ τοῦ μαθητοῦ αὐτοῦ Θαδδαίου, ὃς αὐτὸν ἄνευ φαρμακείας καὶ βοτανῶν ἐθεράπευσεν, καὶ οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀβδον τὸν τοῦ Ἀβδου ποδάραν ἔχοντα, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς προσελθὼν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἔπεσεν, εύχάς τε διὰ χειρὸς λαβὼν ἐθεραπεύθη· πολλούς τε ἄλλους συμπολίτας αὐτῶν ὃ αὐτὸς ἰάσατο, θαυμαστὰ καὶ μεγάλα ποιῶν, καὶ κηρύσσων τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ.

1.13.18 | Abgar was amazed that just as he had heard about Jesus, he received such works through his disciple Thaddeus, who healed him without medicines or herbs. And not only him, but also Abdon, who had a foot disease, came and fell at his feet. After receiving prayers through his hand, he was healed. Thaddeus also healed many other fellow citizens, performing wonderful and great deeds, and preaching the word of God.

1.13.19 | μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀβγαρος "σὺ Θαδδαῖε, ἔφη, σὺν δυνάμει τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα ποιεῖς, καὶ ἡμεῖς σε αὐτοὶ ἐθαυμάσαμεν. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τούτοις δέομαί σου, διήγησάι μοι περὶ τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πῶς ἐγένετο, καὶ περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν ποίᾳ δυνάμει ταῦτα ἐποίει, ἄτινα ἡκούσαμεν."

1.13.19 | After this, Abgar said, "You, Thaddeus, do these things with the power of God, and we ourselves are amazed by you. But I ask you for this: tell me about the coming of Jesus, how it happened, and about his power, and with what power he did these things that we have heard."

1.13.20 | καὶ ὁ Θαδδαῖος "νῦν μὲν σιωπήσομαι, ἔφη, ἐπειδὴ κηρῦξαι τὸν λόγον ἀπεστάλην, αὔριον δὲ ἐκκλησίασόν μοι τοὺς πολίτας σου πάντας, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν κηρύξω τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ

1.13.20 | And Thaddeus said, "Now I will be silent, because I was sent to preach the word. But tomorrow, I will gather all your citizens, and I will preach the word of God to them, and I will plant in them the word

σπερῶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον τῆς ζωῆς, περὶ τε τῆς ἔλευσεως τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καθὼς ἐγένετο; καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀποστολῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐνεκά τίνος ἀπεστάλη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ, καὶ μυστηρίων ὃν ἐλάλησεν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ ποίᾳ δυνάμει ταῦτα ἐποίει, καὶ περὶ τῆς καινῆς αὐτοῦ κηρύξεως, καὶ περὶ τῆς σμικρότητος καὶ περὶ τῆς ταπεινώσεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ πῶς ἐταπείνωσεν ἐαυτὸν καὶ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἐσμίκρυνεν αὐτοῦ τὴν θεότητα καὶ ἐσταυρώθη, καὶ κατέβη εἰς τὸν Ἀΐδην, καὶ διέσχισε φραγμὸν τὸν ἔξ αἰῶνος μὴ σχισθέντα, καὶ ἀνήγαγεν νεκρούς· καταβὰς γὰρ μόνος συνήγειρεν πολλοὺς, εἴθ' οὕτως ἀνέβη πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ.

of life, about the coming of Jesus as it happened. I will talk about his mission, why he was sent by the Father, and about the power of his works, and the mysteries he spoke of in the world, and with what power he did these things. I will also speak about his new preaching, and about his humility and how he humbled himself, died, and reduced his divinity. He was crucified, went down to Hades, broke the barrier that had not been broken for ages, and raised the dead. For he went down alone and gathered many, and then he ascended to his Father."

1.13.21 | ἐκέλευσεν οὖν ὁ Ἄβγαρος τῇ Ἱώθεν συνάξαι τοὺς πολίτας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκοῦσαι τὴν κήρυξιν Θαδδαίου, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα προσέταξεν αὐτῷ δοθῆναι χρυσὸν καὶ ἄσημον. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξατο εἰπών "εἰ τὰ ἡμέτερα καταλελοίπαμεν, πῶς τὰ ἀλλότρια ληψόμεθα;"

1.13.21 | So Abgar ordered his people to gather and listen to Thaddeus's preaching. After this, he commanded that gold and silver be given to him. But Thaddeus did not accept it, saying, "If we have left behind our own, how can we take what belongs to others?"

1.13.22 | ἐπράχθη ταῦτα τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ τριακοοιστῷ ἔτει, ἀ καὶ οὐκ εἰς ἄχρηστον πρὸς λέξιν ἐκ τῆς Σύρων μεταβληθέντα φωνῆς ἐνταῦθά μοι κατὰ καιρὸν κείσθω.

1.13.22 | These things happened in the thirty-second year, and I will not mention them uselessly, but let them be recorded here in the language of the Syrians at the right time.

## Book Two (ΛΟΓΟΣ Β.)

### Introduction

2.praef.1 | [Προοίμιον.] Ὅσα μὲν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ιστορίας ἔχρην ὡς ἐν προοιμίῳ διαστείλασθαι, τῆς τε θεολογίας

2.praef.1 | [Introduction.] As for what should be separated in the introduction of the church history, about the theology

πέρι τοῦ σωτηρίου λόγου καὶ τῆς  
άρχαιολογίας τῶν τῆς ἡμετέρας  
διδασκαλίας δογμάτων, ἀρχαιότητός τε τῆς  
κατὰ Χριστιανούς εὐαγγελικῆς πολιτείας,  
οὐ μὴν ἄλλακαὶ ὅσα περὶ τῆς γενομένης  
ἔναγχος ἐπιφανείας αὐτοῦ, τά τε περὶ τοῦ  
πάθους καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων  
ἐκλογῆς ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου, συντεμόντες  
τὰς ἀποδείξεις διειλήφαμεν.

concerning the saving word and the archaeology of our teachings, and the ancient nature of the evangelical life among Christians, we will also include what happened during his recent appearance, the matters concerning his suffering, and the selection of the apostles before this, having gathered the evidence together.

2.praef.2 | φέρε δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἥδη  
καὶ τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν αὐτοῦ  
διασκεψώμεθα, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν θείων  
παρασημανόμενοι γραμμάτων, τὰ δ'  
ἔξωθεν προσιστοροῦντες ἔξ ὧν κατὰ  
καιρὸν μνημονεύσομεν ὑπομνημάτων.

2.praef.2 | Now let us also discuss what happened after his ascension, looking at the things marked by divine writings and those told from outside sources, from which we will remember things in due time in our notes.

## Section 1

2.1.1 | [Nic. H. E. II, 1—6] Πρῶτος  
τοιγαροῦν εἰς τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ  
προδότου Ἰούδα κληροῦται Μαθίας, εῖς  
καὶ αὐτὸς, ὡς δεδήλωται, τῶν τοῦ κυρίου  
γενόμενος μαθητῶν. καθίστανται δὲ δι'  
εὐχῆς καὶ χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως τῶν  
ἀποστόλων εἰς διακονίαν, ὑπηρεσίας ἔνεκα  
τοῦ κοινοῦ, ἄνδρες δεδοκιμασμένοι τὸν  
ἀριθμὸν ἐπτὰ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Στέφανον, ὃς καὶ  
πρῶτος μετὰ τὸν κύριον, ἅμα τῇ  
χειροτονίᾳ, ὥσπερ εἰς αὐτὸν τοῦτο  
προαχθεὶς, λίθοις εἰς θάνατον πρὸς τῶν  
κυριοκτόνων βάλλεται, καὶ ταύτῃ πρῶτος  
τὸν αὐτῷ φερώνυμον τῶν ἀξιονίκων τοῦ  
Χριστοῦ μαρτύρων ἀποφέρεται στέφανον.

2.1.1 | First, therefore, Matthias is chosen as an apostle instead of the traitor Judas, as it has been declared, being one of the disciples of the Lord. They are appointed through prayer and the laying on of hands by the apostles for the ministry, for the service of the community, seven men who are tested, those around Stephen. He, being the first after the Lord, at the time of his ordination, as if promoted for this very purpose, is stoned to death by those who oppose the Lord, and in this way, he is the first to receive a crown among the worthy martyrs of Christ.

2.1.2 | τότε δῆτα καὶ Ἰάκωβον, τὸν τοῦ  
κυρίου λεγόμενον ἀδελφὸν ὅτι δὴ καὶ  
οὗτος τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ ὡνόμαστο παῖς· τοῦ δὲ  
Χριστοῦ πατήρ, ὁ Ἰωσὴφ, ὃ μνηστευθεῖσα

2.1.2 | Then indeed, James, who is called the brother of the Lord, is mentioned, for he is also called the son of Joseph. Joseph, the father of Christ, to whom the virgin was

ἡ παρθένος, πρὶν ἡ συνελθεῖν αύτοὺς,  
ηὕρητο ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα ἐκ πνεύματος  
ἀγίου, ὡς ἡ Ἱερὰ τῶν εὐαγγελίων διδάσκει  
γραφή), τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ἰάκωβον, ὃν καὶ  
δίκαιον ἐπίκλην οἱ πάλαι δὲ ἀρετῆς  
ἐκάλουν προτερήματα, πρῶτον ἱστοροῦσι  
τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας τὸν τῆς  
ἐπισκοπῆς ἐγχειρισθῆναι θρόνον.

betrothed, before they came together, was found to have her pregnant by the Holy Spirit, as the sacred writings of the gospels teach. This James, who was also called the Just because of his virtue, is first recorded as having been entrusted with the throne of the episcopate in the church of Jerusalem.

2.1.3 | Κλήμης δὲ ἐν ἕκτῳ τῶν  
ἐγχειρισθῆναι γράφων ὅδε παρίστησι  
‘Πέτρον “γάρ φησι καὶ Ἰάκωβον καὶ  
Ἰωάννην μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τού σωτῆρος,  
ώσαν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου  
προτετιμημένους, μὴ ἐπιδικάζεσθαι δόξης,  
ἄλλ’ Ἰάκω “βον τὸν δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπον  
Ἱεροσολύμων ἐλέσθαι.”

2.1.3 | Clement, in the sixth of the writings entrusted, presents this: "For Peter, and James, and John, after the ascension of the Savior, are honored by the Lord as those who should not be judged for glory, but James the Just, the bishop of Jerusalem, should be chosen."

2.1.4 | ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἐν ἐβδόμῳ τῆς αὐτῆς  
ὑποθέσεως ἔτι καὶ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν  
“Ιακώβῳ τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ Πέτρῳ  
μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν παρέδωκε “τὴν γνῶσιν  
ὁ κύριος, οὗτοι τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις  
παρέδωκαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι τοῖς  
ἐβδομήκοντα, ὃν εἰς ἦν καὶ Βαρνάβας.

2.1.4 | He also says in the seventh of the same writings about him: "The Lord gave knowledge to James the Just, and to John and Peter after the resurrection. These men passed it on to the other apostles, and the other apostles passed it on to the seventy, one of whom was Barnabas."

2.1.5 | δύο δὲ γεγόνασιν Ἰάκωβοι, εἷς ὁ  
δίκαιος, ὁ κατὰ τοῦ πτερυγίου βληθεὶς καὶ  
ὑπὸ γναφέως ξύλῳ πληγεὶς εἰς θάνατον,  
ἔτερος δὲ ὁ καρατομηθείς.” αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ  
δικαίου καὶ ὁ Παῦλος μνημονεύει γράφων  
“ἔτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον, εἴ μη  
Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου.”

2.1.5 | There are two Jameses: one is the Just, who was thrown from the roof and struck to death by a wooden beam, and the other was beheaded. Paul also mentions this Just one in his writings, saying, "I did not see any other apostles, except James, the brother of the Lord."

2.1.6 | ἐν τούτοις καὶ τὰ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος  
ἡμῶν πρὸς τὸν τῶν Ὀσροηνῶν βασιλέα  
τέλος ἐλάμβανεν ὑποσχέσεως. ὁ γοῦν  
Θωμᾶς τὸν Θαδδαῖον κινήσει θειοτέρᾳ ἐπὶ

2.1.6 | In these matters, the end of our Savior's mission was reaching the king of the Osroenes. Indeed, Thomas the Didymus sent a messenger and evangelist to Edessa

τὴν Ἔδεσσαν κήρυκα καὶ εύαγγελιστὴν τῆς περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας ἐκπέμπει, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐρεθείσης αὐτόθι γραφῆς μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἐδηλώσαμεν.

2.1.7 | ὃ δὲ τοῖς τόποις ἐπιστὰς τὸν τε Ἀβγαρὸν ἵσται τῷ Χριστοῦ λόγῳ καὶ τοὺς αὐτόθι πάντας τοῖς τῶν θαυμάτων παραδόξοις ἐκπλήττει, ἱκανῶς τε αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἔργοις διαθείς, καὶ ἐπὶ σέβας ἀγαγὼν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δυνάμεως, μαθητὰς τῆς σωτηρίου διδασκαλίας κατεστήσατο· εἰσέτι τε νῦν ἔξ ἐκείνου ἡ πᾶσα τῶν Ἐδεσσηνῶν πόλις τῇ Χριστοῦ προσανάκεται προσηγορίᾳ, οὐ τὸ τυχὸν αὐτοὺς εὐεργεδῆγμα τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν καὶ εἰς αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσίας.

2.1.8 | καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς ἔξ ἀρχαίων ἱστορίας εἰρήσθω, μετίωμεν δ' αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν θείαν γραφήν. γενομένου δῆτα ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Στεφάνου μαρτυρίᾳ πρώτου καὶ μεγίστου πρὸς αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας διωμοῦ, πάντων τε τῶν μαθητῶν πλὴν ὅτι τῶν δώδεκα μόνων ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τε καὶ Σαμάρειαν διασπαρέντων τινὲς, ἥφησιν ἡ θεία γραφὴ, διελθόντες ἔως Φοινίκης καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Ἀντιοχείας, οὕπω μὲν ἔθνεσιν οἷοί τε ἦσαν τοῦ τῆς πίστεως μεταδιδόναι λόγου τολμᾶν, μόνοις δὲ τοῦτον Ἰουδαίοις κατήγγελλον.

2.1.9 | τηνικαῦτα καὶ Παῦλος ἐλυμαίνετο εἰσέτι καὶ τότε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, κατ' οἴκους τῶν πιστῶν εἰσπορευόμενος, σύρων τε ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ εἰς φυλακὴν παραδιδούς.

to preach the teaching about Christ, as we showed earlier from the writing found there a little while ago.

2.1.7 | When he arrived in those places, he healed Abgar by the word of Christ and amazed all the people there with his miraculous deeds. He sufficiently impressed them with his works and led them to respect the power of Christ. He established disciples of the teaching of salvation. Even now, the whole city of Edessa is named after Christ, and they are not just fortunate to receive the blessings of our Savior, but they also benefit from his kindness.

2.1.8 | And let these things be said as from ancient history; let us return again to the divine writing. When the martyrdom of Stephen, the first and greatest, took place, there was a persecution against the church in Jerusalem by the Jews. All the disciples were scattered throughout Judea and Samaria, except for the twelve. As the divine writing says, they went as far as Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch, but they were not yet bold enough to share the message of faith with the Gentiles; they only preached it to the Jews.

2.1.9 | At that time, Paul was still making trouble for the church. He would go into the homes of the believers, dragging off both men and women and handing them over to prison.

2.1.10 | ἀλλὰ καὶ Φίλιππος, εἷς τῶν ἄμα  
Στεφάωω προχειρισθέντων εἰς τὴν  
διακονίαν, ἐν τοῖς διασπαρεῖσι γενόμενος,  
κάτεισιν εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν, θείας τε  
ἔμπλεως ὧν δυνάμεως κηρύττει πρῶτος  
τοῖς αὐτόθι τὸν λόγον. τοσαύτη δ' αὐτῷ  
θεία συνήργει χάρις ὡς καὶ Σίμωνα τὸν  
μάγον μετὰ πλείστων ὅσων τοῖς αὐτοῦ  
λόγοις ἐγχθῆναι

2.1.10 | But Philip, one of those chosen along with Stephen for the service, went down to Samaria. Filled with divine power, he was the first to preach the word there. So great was the divine grace working with him that even Simon the magician and many others were amazed by his words.

2.1.11 | ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δ' ὁ Σίμων  
βεβοημένος κατ' εκεῖνο καιροῦ τῶν  
ἡπατημένων ἐκράτει γοητείᾳ ὡς τὴν  
μεγάλην αὐτὸν ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι δύναμιν τοῦ  
θεοῦ. τότε δ' οὖν καὶ οὕτος τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ  
Φιλίππου δυνάμει θείᾳ τελουμένας  
καταπλαγεὶς παραδοξοποιίας παραδύεται,  
καὶ μέχρι λουτροῦ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν  
καθυποκρίνεται.

2.1.11 | At that time, Simon was so well-known among the deceived that he claimed to be someone great, thinking he had the power of God. Then, amazed by the signs and wonders done by Philip, he was drawn in by the strange things happening and pretended to believe in Christ, even to the point of baptism.

2.1.12 | ὃ καὶ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον εἰς δεῦρο  
γινόμενον πρὸς τῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τὴν ἀπ'  
ἐκείνου μιαρωτάτην μετιόντων αἵρεσιν, οἱ  
τῇ τοῦ σφῶν προπάτορος μεθόδῳ τὴν  
ἐκκλησίαν λοιμώδους καὶ ψωραλέας νόσου  
δίκην ὑποδυόμενοι τὰ μέγιστα λυμαίνονται  
τοὺς οὓς ἐναπομάχασθαι οἴοι τε ἀν εἰεν τὸν  
ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀποκεκρυμμένον δυσαλθῆ καὶ  
χαλεπὸν ίόν. ἥδη γέ τοι πλείους τούτων  
ἀπεώσθησαν, ὅποιοί τινες ἤσαν τὴν  
μοχθηρίαν ἀλόντες, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ὁ Σίμων  
αὐτὸς πρὸς τοῦ Πέτρου καταφωραθεὶς ὃς  
ἢν τὴν προσήκουσαν ἔτισε τιμωρίαν.

2.1.12 | It is worth noting that even now, there are those who follow the most polluted teachings that come from him. They take on the church like a terrible and contagious disease, harming the people who might be left. Many of these have already been driven away, having been caught in their wickedness, just like Simon himself, who was exposed before Peter and received the punishment he deserved.

2.1.13 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰς αὕξην ὀσημέραι  
προϊόντος τοῦ σωτηρίου κηρύγματος  
οἰκονομία τις ἤγεν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰθιόπων

2.1.13 | But indeed, as the message of salvation was spreading every day, a certain plan was at work. From Ethiopia,

τῶν τῆς αύτόθι βασιλίδος, κατά τι πάτριον  
ἔθος ὑπὸ γυναικὸς τοῦ ἔθνους εἰσέτι νῦν  
βασιλευομένου, δυνάστην· ὃν πρῶτον ἔξ  
ἔθνῶν πρὸς τοῦ Φιλίππου δι' ἐπιφανείας  
τὰ τοῦ θείου λόγου ὄργια μετασχόντα, τῶν  
τε ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πιστῶν ἀπαρχῆν  
γενόμενον, πρῶτον κατέχει λόγος ἐπὶ τὴν  
πάτριον παλινοστήσαντα γῆν  
εὐαγγελίσασθαι τὴν τοῦ ὄλων θεοῦ  
γνῶσιν, καὶ τὴν ζωοποιὸν εἰς ἀνθρώπους  
τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπιδημίαν, ἔργῳ  
πληρωθείσης δι' αὐτοῦ τῆς “Αἴθιοπία  
προφθάσει χεῖρα αύτῆς τῷ θεῷ”  
περιεχούσης προφητείας.

there was a woman who was still ruling as queen of her people. She was the first among the nations to come to Philip, having participated in the divine teachings. She became the first fruit of the faithful throughout the world. The message was brought back to her homeland, sharing the knowledge of God and the life-giving presence of our Savior among people. This was fulfilled through her, as the prophecy said, “Ethiopia will stretch out its hands to God.”

2.1.14 | ἐπὶ τούτοις Παῦλος, τὸ τῆς ἐκλογῆς  
σκεῦος, οὐκ ἔξ ἀνθρώπων ούδὲ δι'  
ἀνθρώπων, δι' ἀποκαλύψεως δ' αὐτοῦ  
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς, τοῦ  
ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀπόστολος  
ἀναδείκνυται, δι' ὄπτασίας καὶ τῆς κατὰ  
τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν οὐρανίου φωνῆς ἀξιωθεὶς  
τῆς κλήσεως.

2.1.14 | In addition to this, Paul, the chosen vessel, was made an apostle not by human means or through any human, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ and God the Father, who raised him from the dead. He was shown this through a vision and was honored with the call from the heavenly voice.

## Section 2

2.2.1 | [Nic. H. E. II, 8] Καὶ δὴ τῆς  
παραδόξου τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν  
ἀναστάσεως τε καὶ εἰς οὐρανοὺς  
ἀναλήψεως τοῖς πλείστοις ἥδη περιβοήτου  
καθεστώσης, παλαιοῦ κεκρατηκότος ἔθους  
τοῖς τῶν ἔθνῶν ἀρχουσι, τὰ παρὰ σφίσι  
καινοτομούμενα τῷ τὴν βασίλειον ἀρκῆν  
ἐπικρατοῦντι σημαίνειν, ὡς ἀν μηδὲν  
αὐτὸν διαδιδράσκοι τῶν γινομένων, τὰ  
περὶ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως τοῦ  
σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς πάντας  
ἥδη καθ' ὅλης τῆς Παλαιστίνης βεβοημένα  
Πιλᾶτος Τιβερίῳ βασιλεῖ κοινοῦται,

2.2.1 | And indeed, with the amazing resurrection of our Savior and his ascension into heaven already being widely known, the old customs held by the rulers of the nations were being challenged. The new teachings were meant to show that nothing should escape their attention regarding what was happening. The news about the resurrection of our Savior Jesus Christ from the dead was already being shared throughout all of Palestine, made known to Pilate and the emperor Tiberius.

2.2.2 | ὃν τάς τε ἄλλας αύτοῦ πυθόμενον τερατείας καὶ ὡς ὅτι μετὰ θάνατον ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστὰς θεὸς εἶναι παρὰ πολλοῖς ἥδη πεπίστευτο ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν σύγκλητον, ἔκεινην τ' ἀπώσασθαι φασι τὸν λόγον, τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν, ὅτι μὴ πρότερον αὐτὴ τοῦτο δοκιμάσασα ἦν, παλαιοῦ νόμου κεκρατηκότος μὴ ἄλλως τινὰ παρὰ 'Ρωμαίοις θεοποιεῖσθαι μὴ οὐχὶ ψήφῳ καὶ δόγματι συγκλήτου, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ, ὅτι μηδὲ τῆς ἔξ ἀνθρώπων ἐπικρίσεως τε καὶ συστάσεως ἡ σωτήριος τοῦ θείου κηρύγματος ἐδεῖτο διδασκαλία.

2.2.3 | ταύτη δ' οὖν ἀπωσαμένης τὸν προσαγγελθέντα περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν λόγον τῆς 'Ρωμαίων βουλῆς τὸν Τιβέριον ἦν καὶ πρότερον εἶχε γνώμην τηρήσαντα μηδὲν ἄτοπον κατὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας ἐπινοῆσαι.

2.2.4 | ταῦτα Τερτυλλιανὸς, τοὺς 'Ρωμαίων νόμους ἡκριβωκώς ἀνήρ, τά τε ἄλλα ἔνδοξος καὶ τῶν μάλιστα ἐπὶ 'Ρώμης λαμπρῶν, ἐν τῇ γραφείσῃ μὲν αὐτῷ τῇ 'Ρωμαίων φωνῇ, μεταβληθείσῃ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν ἀπολογίᾳ τίθησι κατὰ λέξιν τοῦτον ἴστορῶν τὸν τρόπον "ἔνα δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς γενέσεως διαλεχθῶμεν τῶν τοιούτων νόμων, παλαιὸν ἦν δόγμα μηδένα θεὸν ὑπὸ βασιλέως καθιεροῦσθαι, πρὶν ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δοκιμασθῆναι. Μάρκος Αίμιλιος οὕτως περὶ τίνος εἰδώλου πεποίηκεν Ἀλβούρνου. καὶ τοῦτο ὑπὲρ τού ἡμῶν λόγου πεποίηται, ὅτι παρ' ὑμῖν ἀνθρωπείᾳ δοκιμῇ ἡ θεότης δίδοται.

2.2.2 | Many already believed that he was a god, having risen from the dead, after hearing about his miracles. They said that he should be brought before the Senate, but they wanted to dismiss the matter. Some thought that she had not tested this before, since the old law held that no one should be made a god by the Romans except by a vote and decree of the Senate. However, the truth was that the saving message of the divine teaching did not need the judgment or approval of humans.

2.2.3 | So, after dismissing the message about our Savior from the Roman Senate, Tiberius, who had previously held the opinion of not thinking anything wrong against the teachings of Christ, did not come up with anything unusual.

2.2.4 | Tertullian, a man who carefully studied Roman laws and was famous for other things, especially in Rome, wrote in the Roman language. Later, it was translated into Greek for a defense of Christians. He stated this in his writings: "Let us discuss the laws of such matters, for it was an old rule that no god should be established by a king before being tested by the Senate. Marcus Aemilius made this point about a certain idol. And this is said about our message, that divinity is given through human judgment among you."

2.2.5 | έὰν μὴ ἀνθρώπῳ θεὸς ἀρέσῃ, θεὸς οὐ γίνεται. οὕτως κατά γε τοῦτο ἀνθρωπὸν θεῷ ἔλεων εἶναι προσήκει.

2.2.5 | If a god does not please a human, then that god does not become one. Thus, for this reason, it is fitting for a person to be favorable to a god.

2.2.6 | Τιβέριος οὗν ἐφ' οὐ τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ὄνομα εἰς τὸν κόσμον εἰσελήνυθεν, ἀγγελθέντος αὐτῷ ἐκ Παλαιστίνης τοῦ δόγματος τούτου, ἐνθα πρῶτον ἥρξατο, τῇσυγκλήτῳ ἀνεκοινώσατο, δῆλος ὡν ἐκείνοις ὡς τῷ δόγματι ἀρέσκεται. ἡ δὲ δεσύγκλητος, ἐπεὶ οὐκ αὐτὴ δεδοκιμάκει, ἀπώσατο· ὅδε ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀποφάσι εἴ ἔμεινεν, ἀπειλήσας θάνατον τοῖς τῶν Χριστιανῶν κατ' ηγόροις,” τῆς ούρανίου προνοίας κατ' οίκονομίαν τοῦτ' αὐτῷ πρὸς νοῦν βαλλομένης, ὡς ἀν ἀπαραποδίστως ἀρχὰς ἔχων ὁ του εὐαγγελίου λόγος πανταχόσε γῆς διαδράμοι.

2.2.6 | So, when the name of Christians entered the world during Tiberius's time, after he was informed about this teaching from Palestine, where it first began, he shared it with the Senate, clearly showing them that he liked the teaching. But the Senate, since it did not judge it itself, rejected it. And in his own decision, if he remained, he threatened death to the leaders of the Christians, while this was being considered by the divine plan, so that the message of the Gospel might run everywhere on earth without hindrance.

### Section 3

2.3.1 | [Nic. H. E. II, 8] Οὕτω δῆτα ούρανίῳ δυνάμει καὶ συνεργίᾳ ἀθρόως οἴά τις ήλίου βολὴ τὴν σύμπασαν οίκουμένην ὁ σωτήριος κατηγάζε λόγος, αὐτίκα ταῖς θείαις ἐπομένως γραφαῖς ἐπὶ πᾶσαν προήσει τὴν γῆν ὁ φθόγγος τῶν θεσπεσίων εὐαγγελιστῶν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποστόλων, καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οίκουμένης τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν.

2.3.1 | Thus, by the heavenly power and cooperation, the saving message brightly shone upon the whole world like the rays of the sun. Immediately, following the divine scriptures, the sound of the heavenly evangelists and apostles spread over all the earth and reached the ends of the world.

2.3.2 | καὶ δῆτα ἀνὰ πάσας τὰς πόλεις τε καὶ κώμας, πληθυούσης ἄλωνος δίκην, μυρίανδροι καὶ παμπληθεῖς ἀθρόως ἐκκλησίαι συνειστηκεσαν, οἵ τε ἐκ προγόνων διαδοχῆς καὶ τῆς ἀνέκαθεν

2.3.2 | And indeed, in all the cities and villages, like a growing harvest, countless and very many churches were gathered together. These were made up of people whose souls were bound by the old

πλάνης παλαιαῖ νόσῳ δεισιδαιμονίας είδώλων τὰς ψυχὰς πεπεδημένοι, πρὸς τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δυνάμεως διὰ τῆς τῶν φοιτητῶν αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας τε δύο καὶ παραδοξοποίας ὡσπερ δεινῶν δεσποτῶν ἀπηλαγμένοι, εἰργμῶν τε χαλεπωτάτων λύσιν εὐράμενοι, πάσης μὲν δαιμονικῆς κατέπτυνον πολυθεῖας, ἔνα δὲ μόνον εἶναι θεὸν ὡμολόγουν τὸν τῶν συμπάντων δημιουργὸν, τοῦτόν τε αὐτὸν θεσμοῖς ἀληθοῦς εύσεβείας δι' ἐνθέου καὶ σώφρονος θρησκείας τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίῳ κατασπαρείσης ἐγέραιρον.

sickness of idolatry and superstition, passed down from their ancestors. But through the power of Christ, they were freed from the terrible bonds of cruel masters, finding release from the hardest chains. They rejected all demonic polytheism and confessed that there is only one God, the creator of all. They worshiped this same God with true piety and wise religion, which was revealed by our Savior, raising up the lives of humans.

2.3.3 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ τῆς χάριτος ἥδη τῆς θείας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ χεομένης ἔθνη, καὶ πρώτου μὲν κατὰ τὴν Παλαιστινῶν Καισάρειαν Κορνηλίου σὺν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ δι' ἐπιφανείας θειοτέρας ὑπουργίας τε Πέτρου τὴν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πίστιν καταδεξαμένου, πλείστων τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας Ἑλλήνων, οἵς οἱ κατὰ τὸν Στεφάνου διωγμὸν διασπαρέντες ἐκήρυξαν, ἀνθούσης ἄρτι καὶ πληθυούσης τῆς κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν ἐκκλησίας, ἐν ταύτῳ τε ἐπιπαρόντων πλείστων ὅσων τῶν τε ἀπὸ Ιεροσολύμων προφητῶν, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Βαρνάβᾳ καὶ Παύλου, ἐτέρου τε πλήθους ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀδελφῶν, ἡ Χριστιανῶν προσηγορία τότε πρῶτον αὐτόθι ὡσπερ ἀπ' εὐθαλοῦς καὶ γονίμου πηγῆς ἀναδίδοται.

2.3.3 | But indeed, the grace of God was already being poured out on the nations. First, in the region of Caesarea in Palestine, Cornelius and all his household received faith in Christ through the greater appearance and ministry of Peter. Many others, Greeks in Antioch, who had been scattered during the persecution of Stephen, preached as well. Now, as the church in Antioch was blooming and growing, many of the prophets from Jerusalem were present, along with Barnabas and Paul, and a large number of other brothers. It was then that the name of Christians was first given there, like water springing forth from a fruitful and rich source.

2.3.4 | καὶ Ἀγαβὸς μὲν, εἷς τῶν συνόντων αὐτοῖς προφητῶν, περὶ τοῦ μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι λιμὸν προθεσπίζει, Παῦλος δὲ καὶ Βαρνάβας ἔξυπηρετησόμενοι τῇ τῶν ἀδελφῶν παραπέμπονται διακονίᾳ.

2.3.4 | And Agabus, one of the prophets who was with them, predicted that a famine was going to happen. But Paul and Barnabas were sent to serve the needs of the brothers.

## Section 4

2.4.1 | [Nic. H. E. II, 9] Τιβέριος μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τὰ δύο καὶ εἴκοσι βασιλεύσας ἔτη τελευτᾶς, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Γάϊος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραλαβὼν αὐτίκα τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀρχῆς Ἀγρίππα τὸ διάδημα περιτίθησιν, βασιλέα καταστήσας αὐτὸν τῆς τεΦιλίππου καὶ τῆς Λυσανίου τετραρχίας, πρὸς αῖς μετ' οὐ πολὺν αὐτῷ χρόνον καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου τετραρχίαν παραδίδωσιν, ἀιδίῳ φυγῇ τὸν Ἡρώδην οὗτος δ' ἦν δὲ κατὰ τὸ πάθος τοῦ σωτῆρος) σὺν καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ Ἡρωδιάδι πλείστων ἐνεκα ζημιώσας αίτιῶν. μάρτυς Ἰώσηπος καὶ τούτων.

2.4.1 | Tiberius ruled for twenty-two years and then died. After him, Gaius took over leadership and immediately gave the crown of the Jews to Agrippa, making him king of the territories of Philip and Lysanias. Not long after, he also handed over the tetrarchy of Herod to him, who was in exile for life. This Herod was the one who suffered because of the actions against the Savior, along with his wife Herodias, due to many reasons for punishment. Josephus is a witness to these events.

2.4.2 | κατὰ δὴ τοῦτον Φίλων ἐγνωρίζετο, πλείστοις ἀνὴρ οὐ μόνον τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξωθεν ὀρμωμένων παιδείας ἐπισημότατος. τὸ μὲν οὖν γένος ἀνέκαθεν Ἐβραῖος ἦν, τῶν δ' ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐν τέλει διαφανῶν οὐδενὸς χείρων.

2.4.2 | During this time, Philo was recognized as a very important man, not only among our people but also among those who came from outside for education. His family was originally Hebrew, and he was not inferior to anyone in Alexandria in terms of status.

2.4.3 | περὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ θεῖα καὶ πάτρια μαθήματα ὅσον τε καὶ ὁπτλίκον εἰσενήνεκται πόνον ἔργω πᾶσι δῆλος· καὶ περὶ τὰ φιλόσοφα δὲ καὶ ἑλευθέρια τῆς ἔξωθεν παιδείας οἶός τις ἦν οὐδὲν δεῖ λέγειν, δτε καὶ μάλιστα τὴν κατὰ Πλάτωνα καὶ Πυθαγόραν ἐζηλωκώς ἀγωγὴν διενεγκεῖν ἄπαντας τοὺς καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἴστορεῖται.

2.4.3 | About the divine and traditional teachings, it is clear how much effort he put into all his work. As for philosophy and the freedom of outside education, there is no need to say much, especially since he greatly admired the teachings of Plato and Pythagoras, and he is known to have led all his students in that direction.

## Section 5

2.5.1 | [Nic. H. E. II, 9.] Καὶ δὴ τὰ κατὰ Γάϊον

2.5.1 | This man gives five books about

ούτος Ἰουδαίοις συμβάντα πέντε βιβλίοις παραδίδωσιν, δόμοῦ τὴν Γαίου διεξιῶν φρενοβλάβειαν, ὡσὰν θεὸν ἐκαυτὸν ἀναγορεύσαντος καὶ μυρία περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνυβρίσαντος, τάς τε κατ' αὐτὸν Ἰουδαίων ταλαιπωρίας, καὶ ἦν αὐτὸς στειλάμενος ἐπὶ τῆς Ρωμαίων πόλεως ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὁμοεθνῶν ἐποιήσατο πρεσβείαν, καὶ ὅπως ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαίου καταστὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίων νόμων οὐδέν τι πλέον γέλωτος καὶ διασυρμῶν ἀπηνέγκατο, μικροῦ δεῖν καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς ζωῆς ἀνατλὰς κίνδυνον.

what happened to Gaius and describes Gaius's madness, as he declared himself a god and insulted many regarding his authority. He also talks about the sufferings of the Jews and how he himself sent an embassy to the Roman city on behalf of his fellow countrymen in Alexandria. When Gaius came to power, he did not bring anything but laughter and mockery against the ancestral laws, and there was a small danger concerning his life.

2.5.2 | μέμνηται δὲ καὶ τούτων ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐν ὄκτωκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας, κατὰ λέξιν ταῦτα γράφων "καὶ δὴ στάσεως ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ γενομένης Ἰουδαίων τε, οἱ ἔνοικοῦσι, "καὶ Ἑλλήνων τρεῖς ἀφ' ἐκατέρας τῆς στάσεως πρεσβευταὶ "αἰρεθέντες παρῆσαν πρὸς τὸν Γάϊον.

2.5.2 | Josephus also remembers these events in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities, writing this: "And indeed, when there was a conflict in Alexandria, the Jews who lived there and three representatives from the Greeks from each side came to Gaius."

2.5.3 | καὶ "ἥν γὰρ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων πρέσβεων εἶς Ἀπίων, ὃς "εἰς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐβλασφήμησεν, ἄλλα τε "λέγων καὶ ὡς τῶν Καίσαρος τιμῶν περιορῶν πάντων γοῦν, ὅσοι τῇ Ρωμαίων ἀρχῇ ὑποτελεῖς εἴεν, βωμοὺς τῷ Γαῖῳ καὶ ναοὺς ιδρυμένων, τά τε ἄλλα "ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτὸν ὕσπερ τοὺς θεοὺς δεχομένων, μόνους τούσδε ἄδοξον ἡγεῖσθαι ἀνδριᾶσι τιμᾶν καὶ "ὅρκιον αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ποιεῖσθαι.

2.5.3 | And one of the ambassadors from Alexandria was Apion, who blasphemed against the Jews, saying other things and claiming that he was disregarding the honors of Caesar. Indeed, all those who were subject to Roman rule had altars and temples built for Gaius, and in everything, they accepted him as a god, but they thought it shameful to honor these men with statues and to make his name an oath.

2.5.4 | πολλὰ δὲ καὶ χαλεπὰ Ἀπίωνος εἰρηκότος, ὑφ' ὧν ἀρθῆναι ἤλπιζε τὸν Γάϊον καὶ είκὸς ἦν, Φίλων ὁ προεστὼς τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῆς πρεσβείας, ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ἔνδοξος, Ἀλεξανδρου τε τοῦ ἀλαβάρχου ἀδελφὸς ὧν, καὶ φιλο"σοφίας οὐκ ἄπειρος,

2.5.4 | And after Apion said many harsh things, Gaius hoped to be supported by those who were present, and it was likely. Philo, who led the Jewish delegation, was a very respected man, being the brother of Alexander the alabarch, and he was not

οῖος τε ἦν ἐκ ἀπολογία χωρεῖν "τῶν κατηγορημένων.

lacking in philosophy, able to defend those who were accused.

2.5.5 | διακλείει δ' αὐτὸν Γάϊος, "κελεύσας ἔκποδῶν ἀπελθεῖν, περιοργής τε ὡν φα"νερὸς ἦν ἐργασόμενός τι δεινὸν αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ Φίλων "ἔξεισι περιυβρισμένος, καί φησι πρὸς τοὺς "Ιου δαί"ους, οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἥσαν, ὡς χρὴ θαρρεῖν, Γαῖοτ "λόγω μὲν αὐτοῖς ὠργισμένου, ἔργω δὲ ἥδη τὸν θεὸν "ἀντιπαρεξάγοντος." ταῦτα ὁ Ἰώσηπος.

2.5.5 | And Gaius dismissed him, ordering him to leave, and he was clearly angry, ready to do something terrible to them. But Philo went out insulted and said to the Jews who were with him that they should take courage, for Gaius was angry in words, but in action, he was already opposing the god. This is what Josephus wrote.

2.5.6 | καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Φίλων ἐν ἡ συνέγραψε πρεσβείᾳ τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀκριβῶς τῶν τότε πραχθέντων αὐτῷ δηλοῖ, ὃν τὰ πλεῖστα παρεὶς ἔκεινα μόνα παραθήσομαι, δι' ὃν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι προφανῆς γενήσεται δήλωσις τῶν ἄμα τε καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν τῶν κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τετολμημένων ἔνεκεν Ἰουδαίοις συμβεβηκότων.

2.5.6 | And Philo himself, in the report he wrote about the delegation, clearly shows the details of what happened to him at that time. I will only mention the most important parts, through which it will become clear to those who encounter them what happened to the Jews because of the actions taken against Christ, and not for a long time.

2.5.7 | πρῶτον δὴ οὖν κατὰ Τιβέριον ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς Ῥωμαίων μ' πόλεως ἴστορεῖ Σηιανὸν, τῶν τότε παρὰ βασιλεῖ τὰ μέγιστα δυνάμενον, ἄρδην τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος ἀπολέσθαι σπουδὴν εἰσαγηρχέναι, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας Πιλᾶτον, καθ' ὃν τὰ περὶ τὸν σωτῆρα τετόλμητο, περὶ τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἔτι τότε συνεστῶς ἱερὸν ἐπιχειρήσαντά τι παρὰ τὸ Ἰουδαίοις ἔξὸν, τὰ μέγιστα αὐτοὺς ἀναταράξαι.

2.5.7 | First, then, regarding Tiberius, he tells about Sejanus, who was very powerful at that time with the Romans, and he wanted to completely destroy the whole nation by bringing in a great danger. And regarding Judea, he speaks of Pilate, under whom the actions against the Savior were taken, especially concerning the temple in Jerusalem, which at that time was trying to do something against the Jews that would greatly disturb them.

## Section 6

2.6.1 | [Nic. H. E. II, 10] Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Τιβερίου τελευτὴν Γάϊον τὴν ἀρχὴν

2.6.1 | After the death of Tiberius, Gaius took power and insulted many people in

παρειληφότα πολλά μὲν εἰς πολλοὺς καὶ  
ἄλλα ἐνυβρίσαι, πάντων δὲ μάλιστα τὸ πᾶν  
Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος οὐ σμικρὰ καταβλάψαι· ἀ  
καὶ ἐν βραχεῖ πάρεστι διὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ  
καταμαθεῖν φωνῶν, ἐν αἷς κατὰ λέξιν  
ταῦτα γράφει

2.6.2 | “τοσαύτη μὲν οὖν “τις ἡ τοῦ Γαῖου  
περὶ τὸ ἥθος ἦν ἀνωμαλία πρὸς “ἄπαντας,  
διαφερόντως δὲ πρὸς τὸ Ἰουδαίων γένος,  
“ῷ χαλεπῶς ἀπεχθανόμενος τὰς μὲν ἐν ταῖς  
ἄλλαις “πόλεσι προσευχὰς, ἀπὸ τῶν κατ’  
Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀρξά“μενος, σφετερίζεται  
καταπλήσας εἰκόνων καὶ ἀνδρὶ “ἀντων τῆς  
ἰδίας μορφῆς, (ὸ γὰρ ἐτέρων ἀνατιθέντων  
“έφιεις αὐτὸς ἰδρύετο δυνάμει), τὸν δὲ ἐν τῇ  
ἱερῷ “πόλει νεών, δὲ λοιπὸν ἦν ἄψαυστος,  
ἀσυλίας ἡξιω“μένος τῆς πάσης,  
μεθηρόζετο καὶ μετεσχημάτιζεν “εἰς  
οίκειον ἱερὸν, ἵνα Διὸς ἐπιφανοῦς νέου  
χρημα“τίζῃ Γαῖου.”

2.6.3 | μυρία μὲν οὖν ἄλλα δεινὰ καὶ πέρα  
πάσης διηγήσεως ὁ αὐτὸς κατὰ τὴν  
Ἀλεξάνδρειαν συμβεβηκότα Ἰουδαίοις ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τοῦ δηλουμένου ἐν δευτέρῳ συγγράμματι  
ῷ ἐπέγραψε “περὶ ἀρετῶν” ἴστορει.  
συνάδει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Ἰώσηπος, ὅμοιως  
ἀπὸ τῶν Πιλάτου χρόνων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τοῦ  
σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τετολμημένων τὰς κατὰ  
παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους ἐνάρξασθαι σημαίνων  
συμφοράς.

2.6.4 | ἄκουε δὲ οὖν οἶα καὶ οὗτος ἐν  
δευτέρῳ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου αὐταῖς  
συλλαβαῖς δηλοῖ λέγων πεμφθεὶς δὲ εἰς  
Ἰουδαίαν ἐπὶ “τροπος ὑπὸ Τιβερίου Πιλάτος  
νύκτωρ κεκαλυμμένας “εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα  
παρεισκομίζει τὰς Καίσαρος εἰκόνας·

various ways, but most of all, he greatly  
harmed the entire Jewish nation. This can  
be learned quickly through his own words,  
in which he writes these things literally.

2.6.2 | Such was the character of Gaius, who  
was unusually harsh toward everyone, but  
especially toward the Jewish people. He  
greatly hated their prayers in other cities,  
starting from those in Alexandria, and filled  
them with images and statues of his own  
likeness. (For he was setting up his own  
power while others were being dedicated.)  
He also changed the temple in the holy city,  
which had been untouchable and granted  
safety to all, into a private shrine, so that  
Gaius could be honored as a new god.

2.6.3 | Many other terrible things also  
happened to the Jews in Alexandria, which  
are beyond all description, as told in the  
second writing where he wrote about  
'virtues.' Josephus agrees with him, also  
mentioning events from the time of Pilate  
and the actions taken against our Savior,  
showing that misfortunes began against the  
entire nation.

2.6.4 | Listen to what this person also  
shows in the second book of the Jewish  
War, saying that Pilate was sent as  
governor by Tiberius and secretly brought  
the images of Caesar into Jerusalem at  
night. They are called signs. This caused a

“σημαῖαι καλοῦνται. τοῦτο μεθ’ ἡμέραν μεγίστην “ταραχὴν ἥγειρε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. οἱ γὰρ ἐγγὺς πρὸς “τὴν ὄψιν ἔξεπλάγησαν, ὡς πεπατημένων αὐτοῖς τῶν νόμων. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀξιοῦσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει δείκηλον “τίθεσθαι.”

2.6.5 | ταῦτα δὲ συγκρίνας τῇ τῶν εὐαγγελίων γραφῇ εἰσῃ ὡς οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν αύτοὺς μετῆλθεν, ἣν ἔρρηξαν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ Πιλάτου φωνὴν, δι’ ἣς οὐκ ἄλλον ἢ μόνον ἔχειν ἐπεβόων Καίσαρα βασιλέα

2.6.6 | εἶτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἔξῆς ὁ αύτὸς συγγραφεὺς ἴστορεῖ μετελθεῖν αύτοὺς συμφορὰν ἐντούτοις “μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 7 “ἔτεραν ταραχὴν ἐκίνει, τὸν Ἱερὸν Θησαυρὸν, καλεῖται δὲ κορβανᾶς, εἰς καταγωγὴν ὑδάτων ἔξαναλί“σκων. κατήιει δὲ ἀπὸ τριακοσίων σταδίων. πρὸς “τοῦτο τοῦ πλήθους ἀγανάκτησις ἦν.

2.6.7 | καὶ τοῦ Πι“λάτου παρόντος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα περιστάντες τὸ βῆμα “κατεβόων. ὁ δὲ προήδει γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν ταραχὴν) “τῷ πλήθει τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐνόπλους, ἐσθῆσιν ἴδιω“τικαῖς κεκαλυμμένους ἐγκαταμίζας, καὶ ξίφει μὲν “χρήσασθαι κωλύσας, ξύλοις δὲ παίειν τοὺς κεκρα“γότας ἐγκελευσάμενος, σύνθημα δίδωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ “βήματος. τυπτόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπὸ “τῶν πληγῶν, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ “καταπατηθέντες ἀπώλοντο, πρὸς δὲ τὴν συμφορὰν “τῶν ἀνηρημένων καταπλαγέν τὸ πλῆθος ἐσιώπησεν.

great disturbance among the Jews the next day. Those who were nearby were shocked, as if their laws had been broken. For they do not allow anything to be shown in the city.

2.6.5 | When you compare these things to the writing of the gospels, you will see that it was not long before they changed, which Pilate announced with a voice, by which he called for no one else but only Caesar to be king.

2.6.6 | Then the same writer tells about another disaster that happened to them. After this, another disturbance arose over the sacred treasure, which is called Corban, being used for the supply of water. It was coming down from three hundred stadia. Because of this, the crowd was very angry.

2.6.7 | And while Pilate was present in Jerusalem, he came down from the platform. He foresaw their disturbance and mixed the soldiers in private clothing with the crowd, telling them to be armed. He prevented them from using swords but ordered them to strike the shouting people with sticks, giving a signal from the platform. Many Jews were beaten, some died from the blows, and many were trampled by their own people in their flight. Because of the disaster of those who were killed, the crowd fell silent.

2.6.8 | ἐπὶ τούτοις μυρίας ἄλλας ἐν αὐτοῖς Ιεροσολύμοις κεκινῆσθαι νεωτεροποιίας ὁ αὐτὸς ἔμφαίνει, παριστὰς ὡς οὐδαμῶς ἐξ ἑκείνου διέλιπον τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἅπασαν στάσεις καὶ πόλεμοι καὶ κακῶν ἐπάλληλοι μηχαναὶ, εἰσότε τὸ πανύστατον ἡ κατὰ Οὐεσπασιανὸν αὐτοὺς μετῆλθε πολιορκία. Ἰουδαίους μὲν οὖν, ὃν κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τετολμήκασι, ταύτῃ πῃ τὰ ἐκ τῆς θείας μετήσει δίκης.

## Section 7

2.7.1 | [Nic. H. E. II, 10] Οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν δὲ ἄξιον ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ἑκεῖνον τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος Πιλᾶτον, κατὰ Γάϊον, οὗ τοὺς χρόνους διέξιμεν, τοσάνταις περιπεσεῖν κατέχει λόγος συμφοραῖς ὡς ἐξ ἀνάγκης αὐτοφονευτὴν ἐαυτοῦ καὶ τιμωρὸν αὐτόχειρα γενέσθαι, τῆς θείας, ὡς ἔοικε, δίκης οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν αὐτὸν μετελθούσης. Ἰστοροῦσιν Ἑλλήνων οἱ τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας ἄμα τοῖς κατὰ χρόνους πεπραγμένοις ἀναγράψαυτες.

## Section 8

2.8.1 | [Nic. H. E. II, 11-12] Ἀλλὰ γὰρ Γάϊον οὐδ' ὅλοις τέτταρσιν ἔτεσι τὴν ἀρχὴν διακατασχόντα Κλαύδιος αὐτοκράτωρ διαδέχεται. καθ' ὃν λιμοῦ τὴν οἰκουμένην πιέσαντος, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ οἱ πόρρω τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου συγγραφεῖς ταῖς αὐτῶν Ἰστορίαις παρέδοσαν), ἡ κατὰ τὰς Πραξεῖς τῶν ἀποστόλων Ἀγά βου προφήτου περὶ τοῦ μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι λιμὸν ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην πέρας ἐλάμβανε πρόρρησις.

2.8.2 | τὸν δὲ κατὰ Κλαύδιον λιμὸν

2.6.8 | In addition to this, the same writer shows that countless other innovations were stirring in Jerusalem, stating that they left the city and all of Judea with no peace, only disturbances, wars, and the repeated schemes of evils, especially when the final siege came against them under Vespasian. Therefore, the Jews, who had dared against Christ, were suffering from this divine punishment.

2.7.1 | It is worth noting that even Pilate, who was in charge of the Savior, according to Gaius, faced so many disasters during his time that he was forced to take his own life and become his own punisher, as it seems, not long after the divine judgment fell upon him. The Greeks who recorded the Olympic years also wrote about events that happened over time.

2.8.1 | But indeed, Gaius was succeeded by Emperor Claudius, who ruled for four years. During his time, famine struck the whole world, and this is also reported by those who wrote about events close to our time in their histories. According to the Acts of the Apostles, the prophet Agabus predicted that a famine would come over the entire world.

2.8.2 | Luke, noting the famine during

έπισημηνάμενος ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσιν δὲ  
Λουκᾶς, ἱστορήσας τε ὡς ἄρα διὰ Παύλου  
καὶ Βαρνάβα οἱ κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν ἀδελφοὶ  
τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐξ ὧν ἔκαστος  
ηύπόρει διαπεμψήμενοι ἦσαν ἐπιφέρει  
λέγων·

Claudius's time in the Acts, tells how the brothers in Antioch, through Paul and Barnabas, decided to send help to the brothers in Judea, each giving what they could.

## Section 9

2.9.1 | "Κατ' ἑκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν, δῆλον  
ὅτι ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου, ἐπέβαλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς  
Ἡρώδης τὰς χεῖρας, κακῶσαι τινας τῶν  
ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀνεῖλέ τε Ἰάκωβον τὸν  
ἀδελφὸν Ἰωάννου μαχαίρᾳ."

2.9.1 | At that time, clearly during Claudius's reign, King Herod laid hands on some from the church, and he killed James, the brother of John, with a sword.

2.9.2 | περὶ τούτου δ' ὁ Κλήμης τοῦ  
Ἰακώβου καὶ ἱστορίαν μνήμης ἀξίαν ἐν τῇ  
τῶν Ὑποτυπώσεων ἐβδόμῃ παρατίθεται,  
ὡσάν ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ  
φάσκων, ὅτι δὴ ὁ εἰσαγαγὼν αὐτὸν εἰς  
δικαστήριον, μαρτυρήσαντα ἴδων αὐτὸν,  
κινηθεὶς ὡμολόγησεν εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸς  
ἐαυτὸν Χριστιανόν.

2.9.2 | About this, Clement of Alexandria gives a worthy account of James in the seventh book of his Hypotypes, as it was handed down by those before him. It says that the one who brought him to court, seeing him testify, was moved and confessed that he himself was also a Christian.

2.9.3 | συναπήχθησαν οὖν ἄμφω, φησὶ, καὶ  
κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἥζεωσεν ἀφεθῆναι αὐτῷ  
ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰακώβου. ὃ δὲ ὀλίγον σκεψάμενος  
"εἰρήνη σοι" εἶπε, καὶ κατεφίλησεν αὐτόν.  
καὶ οὕτως ἄμφοτεροι ὅμοι  
ἐκαρατομήθησαν.

2.9.3 | So they both came together, he says, and along the way, James allowed him to be released. But after thinking for a moment, he said, 'Peace be with you,' and kissed him. And so both of them were beheaded together.

2.9.4 | τὸ τηνικαῦτα δὲ, ὡς φησιν ἡ Θεία  
γραφὴ, ἴδων ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἰακώβου  
ἀναιρέσει ὅτι δὴ πρὸς ἡδονῆς εἴη τὸ  
πραχθὲν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ἐπιτίθεται καὶ  
Πέτρῳ, δεσμοῖς τε αὐτὸν παραδοὺς ὅσον  
οὕπω καὶ τὸν κατ' αὐτοῦ φόνον ἐνήργησεν  
ἄν, εἰ μὴ διὰ θείας ἐπιφανείας ἐπιστάντος

2.9.4 | At that time, as the divine scripture says, Herod, seeing that the killing of James pleased the Jews, also laid hands on Peter. He put him in chains, intending to execute him after the Passover. But because of a divine appearance, an angel came to him at night and freed him from his chains,

αύτῷ νύκτωρ ἀγγέλου παραδόξως τῶν εἰργμῶν ἀπαλλαγεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος ἀφεῖτο διακονίαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Πέτρον οὕτως εἶχεν οἰκονομίας.

## Section 10

2.10.1 | [Nic. H. E. II, 13] Τὰ δέ γε τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔγχειρήσεως τοῦ βασιλέως οὐκέτ' ἀναβολῆς εἴχετο, ἀλλά γέ τοι αὐτὸν ὁ τῆς θείας δίκης τιμωρὸς διάκονος μετήι, παραυτίκα μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπιβουλὴν, ὡς ἡ τῶν Πράξεων ἴστορεῖ γραφὴ, ὅρμήσαντα μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Καισάρειαν, ἐν ἐπισήμῳ δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἐορτῆς ἡμέρᾳ λαμπρᾶ καὶ βασιλικῇ κοσμησάμενον ἐσθῆτι, ὑψηλόν τε πρὸ βήματος δημηγορήσαντα τοῦ γάρ τοι δήμου παντὸς ἐπευφημήσαντος τῇ δημηγορίᾳ, ὡς ἐπὶ θεοῦ φωνῇ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπου, παραχρῆμα τὸ λόγιον πατάξαι αὐτὸν ἄγγελον κυρίου ἴστορεῖ, γενόμενόν τε σκωληκόβρωτον ἐκψῆξαι.

2.10.2 | Θαυμάσαι δ' ἄξιον τῆς περὶ τὴν θείαν γραφὴν καὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ παραδόξῳ συμφωνίας τὴν τοῦ Ἰωσήπου ἴστορίαν, καθ' ἣν ἐπιμαρτυρῶν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ δῆλος ἔστιν ἐν τόμῳ τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας ἐννεακαιδεκάτῳ, ἔνθα αὐτοῖς γράμμασιν ὥδε πως τὸ θαῦμα διηγεῖται

2.10.3 | “τρίτον “ἔτος αύτῷ βασιλεύοντι τῆς ὅλης Ἰουδαίας πεπλήρωτο, καὶ παρῆν εἰς πόλιν Καισάρειαν, ἵνα τὸ πρότερον Στράτωνος πύργος ἐκαλεῖτο. συνετέλει δὲ ἐνταῦθα θεωρίας εἰς τὴν Καίσαρος τιμὴν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας ἐορτήν τινα ταύτην ἐπιστάμενος. καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν

allowing him to continue his preaching. And so things were arranged concerning Peter.

2.10.1 | But the king's attack against the apostles could no longer be delayed. The avenging servant of divine justice came immediately after the plot against the apostles, as the Acts of the Apostles records. He rushed to Caesarea, and there, on a bright and royal festival day, he was dressed in splendid clothing and spoke in front of the crowd. When the whole people cheered his speech, as if it were the voice of a god and not of a man, an angel of the Lord struck him down, and he was eaten by worms.

2.10.2 | It is worth marveling at the agreement of the divine scripture with the strange story of Josephus, which confirms the truth. This is clearly shown in the thirteenth book of his Antiquities, where he describes the miracle in these words.

2.10.3 | It was the third year of his reign over all of Judea, and he was in the city of Caesarea, which was formerly called Straton's Tower. There, he was holding a festival in honor of Caesar, knowing it was a celebration for his safety. And near it, a large crowd gathered from the surrounding

ῆθροιστο τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπάρχιον ἐν' καὶ προβεβηκότων εἰς ἀξίαν πλῆθος.

2.10.4 | δευτέρᾳ δὲ τῶν θεωριῶν ἡμέρᾳ στολὴν ἐνδυσάμενος ἔξ ἀ πεποιημένην πᾶσαν, ὡς θαυμάσιον ὑφὴν εἶναι, παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας· ταῖς πρώταις τῶν ἡλιακῶν ἀκτίνων ἐπιβολαῖς “ὸ ἄργυρος καταυγασθεὶς θαυμασίως ἀπέστιλβε, μαρ“μαίρων τι φοβερὸν καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀτενίζουσι φρικῶδες.

2.10.5 | εύθὺς δὲ οἱ κόλακες τὰς οὐδὲν ἔκεινω “πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν φωνὰς ἀνεβόων, θεὸν προσαγορεύοντες, ‘εὔμενής τε εἴης ἐπιλέγοντες’ εἰ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὡς ἄνθρωπον ἐφοβήθημεν, ἀλλὰ τούτευθεν κρείττονά σε θνητῆς τῆς φύσεως ὅμολο“γοῦμεν.’

2.10.6 | οὐκ ἐπέπληξε τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς, οὐδὲ “τὴν κολακείαν ἀσεβοῦσαν ἀπετρίψατο. ἀνακύψας “δὲ μετ’ ὀλίγον τῆς ἐαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς ὑπερκαθεζόμενον “εἶδεν ἄγγελον. τοῦτον εύθὺς ἐνόησε κακῶν εἶναι “αἴτιον, τὸν καί ποτε τῶν ἀγαθῶν γενόμενον, καὶ “διακάρδιον ἔσχεν ὁδύνην.

2.10.7 | ἄθρουν δ' αὐτῷ τῆς “κοιλίας προσέφυσεν ἄλγημα, μετὰ σφοδρότητος ἀρξά“μενον. ἀναθεωρῶν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ὁ θεὸς “ὑμῖν ἐγὼ, φησὶν, ἥδη καταστρέφειν ἐπιτάττομαι τὸν “βίον, παραχρῆμα τῆς εἰμαρμένης τὰς ἄρτι μου κατε“ψευσμένας φωνὰς ἐλεγχούσης. ὁ κληθεὶς ἄθανατος “ὑμῶν ἥδη θανεῖν

region, including many who had risen to positions of honor.

2.10.4 | On the second day of the festival, he put on a splendid robe, as if to be something wonderful, and went into the theater at the start of the day. There, as the first rays of the sun shone down, the silver of his robe sparkled brilliantly, sending out a terrifying light that was frightening to those who looked at him.

2.10.5 | Immediately, the flatterers shouted different praises to him from all around, calling him a god, saying, 'May you be gracious! Although until now we feared you as a man, we now confess that you are greater than mortal nature.'

2.10.6 | The king was not pleased with these things, nor did he reject the impious flattery. After a little while, he looked up from where he was sitting and saw an angel. He immediately realized that this angel was the cause of his troubles, which had once been a source of good, and he felt deep sorrow in his heart.

2.10.7 | Then a pain suddenly struck him in his belly, starting with great intensity. Looking towards his friends, he said, "I am already ordered to end my life, as the fate that has been decided is now revealing my false hopes. The immortal one who has been called is already about to die. Accept the fate that the god has willed. For we

ἀπάγομαι. δεκτέον δὲ τὴν "πεπρωμένην, ἥ  
θεὸς βεβιούληται. καὶ γὰρ βεβιώ" κάμεν  
οὐδαμῆ φαύλως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς  
μακαριζομένης "λαμπρότητος. ταῦτα δὲ  
λέγων ἐπιτάσει τῆς ὁδύνης 'κατεπονεῖτο.

2.10.8 | μετὰ σπουδῆς οὖν εἰς τὸ βασίλειον  
"έκομίσθη, καὶ διῆξε λόγος εἰς πάντας, ὡς  
ἔχοι τοῦ "τεθνάναι παντάπασι μετ' ὄλιγον.  
ἡ πληθὺς δ' αὐτίκα σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν  
ἐπὶ σάκκον καθεσθεῖσα 'τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ  
τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτευον ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως,  
οἱμωγῆς τε πάντ' ἦν ἀνάπλεα καὶ θρήνων.  
'έν ψηλῷ δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς δωματίῳ  
κατακείμενος καὶ κάτω βλέπων αὐτοὺς  
πρηνεῖς προσπίπτοντας ἄδα "κρυς οὐδ'  
αὐτὸς ἔμενεν.

2.10.9 | συνεχῶς δ' ἐφ' ἡμέρας "πέντε τῷ  
τῆς γαστρὸς ἀλγήματι διεργασθεὶς τὸν  
βίον "κατέστρεψεν, ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἄγων  
πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος "καὶ τέταρτον, τῆς δὲ  
βασιλείας ἔβδομον. τέσσαρας "μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
Γαίου Καίσαρος ἐβασίλευσεν ἐνιαυτοὺς,  
"τῆς Φιλίππου μὲν τετραρχίας εἰς τριετίαν  
ἄρξας, τῷ 'τετάρτῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου  
προσειληφώς, τρεῖς δ' "ἐπιλαβὼν τῆς  
Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος αὐτοκρατορίας.'

2.10.10 | ταῦτα τὸν Ἰώσηπον μετὰ τῶν  
ἄλλων ταῖς θείαις συναληθεύοντα γραφαῖς  
ἀποθαυμάζω. εἴ δὲ περὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως  
προσηγορίαν δόξειέ τισι διαφωνεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅ  
γε χρόνος καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις τὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα  
δείκνυσιν, ἥτοι κατά τι σφάλμα γραφικὸν  
ἐνηλλαγμένου τοῦ ὄνόματος, ἥ καὶ  
διωνυμίας περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν, οἷα καὶ περὶ  
πολλοὺς, γεγενημένης.

have lived not poorly, but in the brightness  
of the blessed." Saying these things, he was  
overwhelmed by his pain.

2.10.8 | So he was hurriedly taken to the  
palace, and news spread to everyone that  
he would soon die completely. The crowd,  
along with their wives and children, sat on  
the ground and prayed to the god according  
to their ancestral custom for the king, filled  
with cries and mourning. Meanwhile, the  
king lay in his high chamber, looking down  
at them as they fell down in despair, and he  
himself did not remain calm.

2.10.9 | He suffered from the pain in his  
belly for five days and then ended his life,  
having lived fifty-four years from his birth  
and seven years of his reign. He ruled for  
four years under Gaius Caesar, began his  
rule over Philip's tetrarchy for three years,  
and in the fourth year, he took over Herod's  
territory, and then he held power during  
the reign of Claudius Caesar.

2.10.10 | These things amaze Josephus,  
along with the other writings that are  
divine. If some seem to disagree about the  
title of the king, the time and the events  
show that it is the same person, either due  
to some mistake in the written name, or  
because of different names for the same  
person, as has happened with many others.

## Section 11

2.11.1 | [Nic. H. E. II, 11] Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ὁ Λουκᾶς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσιν εἰσάγει τὸν Γαμαλίηλ ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων σκέψει λέγοντα ὡς ἄρα κατὰ τὸν δηλούμενον χρόνον ἀνέστη Θευδᾶς, λέγων ἐαυτὸν εἶναι τινὰ, δις κατελύθη, καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐπείσθησαν αὐτῷ διελύθησαν, φέρε καὶ τὴν περὶ τούτου παραθώμεθα τοῦ Ἰωσήπου γραφήν.

2.11.2 | ἴστορεῖ τοίνυν αὗθις κατὰ τὸν ἀρτίως δεδηλωμένον αὐτοῦ λόγον αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν "Φάδου δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπεύοντος γόης "τις ἀνὴρ, Θευδᾶς ὀνόματι, πείθει τὸν πλεῖστον ὄχλον "ἀναλαβόντα τὰς κτήσεις ἐπεσθαι πρὸς τὸν Ἰορδάνην "ποταμὸν αὐτῷ. προφήτης γὰρ ἔλεγεν εἶναι, καὶ προστάγματι τὸν ποταμὸν σχίσας δίσδον ἔφη παρέ"χειν αὐτοῖς ῥαδίαν. καὶ ταῦτα λέγων πολλοὺς ἡπάτησεν.

2.11.3 | οὐ μὴν εἴασεν αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀφροσύνης ὄνα'σθαι Φάδος, ἀλλ' ἔξεπεμψεν Ἰηνὸν ἵππεων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, ᾧτις ἀπροσδόκητος ἐπιπεσοῦσα πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνεῖλε, "πολλοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν· αὐτὸν τε τὸν Θευδᾶν ζωγρήσαντες ἀποτέμνουσι τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ κομίζου"σιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα." τούτοις ἔξῆι καὶ τοῦ κατὰ Κλαύδιον λιμοῦ γενομένου μνημονεύει ὡδέ πιως·

2.11.1 | When Luke again introduces Gamaliel in the Acts, he says that during that time, a man named Theudas rose up, claiming to be someone important. He was defeated, and all who believed in him were scattered. Come, let us also consider what Josephus wrote about this.

2.11.2 | He tells again, according to his recently stated account, these very things in detail: "While Fadus was governor of Judea, a man named Theudas persuaded most of the crowd to follow him to the Jordan River, claiming to be a prophet. He said that he would part the river by command and make a path for them to cross easily." By saying this, he deceived many.

2.11.3 | However, Fadus did not allow them to continue in their foolishness. He sent a troop of horsemen against them, which unexpectedly attacked and killed many, while capturing others alive. They cut off the head of Theudas and brought it back to Jerusalem. After this, he also mentions the famine that occurred during Claudius's time in this way:

## Section 12

2.12.1 | [Nic. H. E. II, 11] "Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ

2.12.1 | During this time, a great famine

καὶ τὸν ὡμέγαν λιμὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν συνέβη γενέσθαι, καθ' ὃν καὶ ἡ βασίλισσα Ἐλένη πολλῶν χρημάτων ὡνησαμένη σῖτον ἀπὸ τῆς Αἴγυπτου διένειμε τοῖς “ἀπορουμένοις.”

2.12.2 | σύμφωνα δ' ἂν εὕροις καὶ ταῦτα τῇ τῶν Πραξέων τῶν ἀποστόλων γραφῇ, περιεχούσῃ ὡς ἄρα τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν μαθητῶν καθὼς ηύπορειτό τις, ὡρισαν ἔκαστος εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστεῖλαι τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ· δὲ καὶ ἐποίησαν, ἀποστεῖλαντες πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους διὰ χειρὸς Βαρνάβα καὶ Παύλου.

2.12.3 | τῆς γέ τοι Ἐλένης, ἣς δὴ καὶ ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἐποήσατο μνήμην, εἰσ' ἔτι νῦν στῆλαι διαφανεῖς ἐν προαστείοις δείκνυνται τῆς νῦν Αἰλίας. τοῦ δὲ Ἀδιαβηνῶν ἔθνους αὕτη βασιλεῦσαι εἶλέγετο.

## Section 13

2.13.1 | [Nic. H. E. II, 14-27. Eus. infi a IV, 21] Ἄλλὰ γὰρ τῆς εἰς τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἥδη διαδεδομένης πίστεως δὲ τῆς ἀνθρώπων πολέμιος σωτηρίας, τὴν βασιλεύουσαν προαρπάσασθαι πόλιν μηχανώμενος, ἐνταῦθα Σύμωνα τὸν πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένον ἄγει, καὶ δὴ ταῖς ἐντέχνοις τάνδρος συναιρόμενος γοητείαις πλείους τῶν τὴν Ῥώμην οἰκούντων ἐπὶ τὴν πλάνην σφετερίζεται.

2.13.2 | δηλοῖ δὲ τοῦτο μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς διαπρέψας

also happened in Judea, during which Queen Helena bought a lot of grain from Egypt and distributed it to those in need.

2.12.2 | You would also find this in the writing of the Acts of the Apostles, which says that the disciples in Antioch, as someone suggested, each decided to send help to those living in Judea. They did this by sending it through the hands of Barnabas and Paul.

2.12.3 | Of course, Helena, of whom the writer made a mention, is still shown today in clear places outside the current Aelia. This was said to be the queen of the Adiabene people.

2.13.1 | But indeed, as the faith in our Savior and Lord Jesus Christ has already spread to all people, the enemy of human salvation is trying to seize the ruling city. Here, he brings in Simon, who has been previously mentioned, and he is using the clever tricks of this man to deceive many of those living in Rome.

2.13.2 | This is shown not long after the apostles by Justin, about whom I will

λόγω Ιουστῖνος, περὶ οὗ τὰ προσήκοντα κατὰ καιρὸν παραθήσομαι. καὶ μοι λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι τοῦδε τὴν γραφὴν, ἣν ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ πρὸς Ἀντωνῖνον ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς δόγματος ἀπολογίᾳ γράφων ὥδε φησιν

provide the relevant details in due time. And take this writing and read it, which he wrote in his earlier defense to Antoninus regarding our doctrine, where he says this.

2.13.3 | "καὶ "μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ κυρίου εἰς οὐρανὸν προεβάλ"λοντο οἱ δαίμονες ἀνθρώπους τινὰς, λέγοντας ἐαυ"τοῦς εἶναι θεοὺς, οἱ οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἔδιωχθησαν ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῶν ἡξιώθησαν. Σίμωνα μέν "τινα Σαμαρέα τὸν ἀπὸ κώμης λεγομένης Γιττᾶν, ὃς ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐνεργούντων "δαιμόνων τέχνης δυνάμεις μαγικὰς ποιήσας ἐπὶ τῇ 'πόλει υἱῶν τῇ βασιλίδι Ρώμῃ θεὸς ἐνομίσθη, καὶ "ἀνδριάντι παρ' ὑμῖν ὡς θεὸς τετίμηται, ἐν τῷ Τί"βέρει ποταμῷ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο γεφυρῶν, ἔχων Ρω "μαϊκὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ταύτην" SIMONI DEO SANCTO, " ὅπερ ἐστὶ Σίμωνι θεῷ ἀγίῳ.

2.13.3 | And after the Lord's ascension into heaven, the demons began to present certain men, claiming to be gods. These men were not only not chased away by you, but they were also honored. One was a certain Samaritan named Simon from a village called Gitta, who during the reign of Claudius Caesar performed magical powers through the art of the active demons and was considered a god in your city, the royal Rome. And a statue was honored among you as a god, by the Tiber River between the two bridges, having this Roman inscription: SIMONI DEO SANCTO, which means 'to Simon the holy god.'

2.13.4 | "καὶ σχεδὸν μὲν "πάντες Σαμαρεῖς, ὄλιγοι δὲ καὶ ἐν ᾱλλοις ἔθνες"σιν, ὡς τὸν πρῶτον θεὸν ἐκεῖνον ὁμολογοῦντες "προσκυνοῦσι. καὶ Ἐλένην τινὰ, τὴν συμπερινοῦσι "στήσασαν αὐτῷ κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ, πρότερον ἐπὶ "τέγους σταθεῖσαν ἐν Τυρῷ τῆς Φοινίκης, τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πρώτην ἔννοιαν λέγουσιν."

2.13.4 | And almost all Samaritans, and a few in other nations, confess and worship that first god. And they mention a certain Helen, who accompanied him at that time, who was previously set up on a roof in Tyre of Phoenicia, saying that she was the first thought from him.

2.13.5 | ταῦτα μὲν οὕτος. συνάδει δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Εἰρήναιος, ἐν πρώτῳ τῶν πρὸς τὰς αἱρέσεις ὁμοῦ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν ἀνοσίαν καὶ μιαρὰν αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίαν ὑπογράφων, ἣν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος περιττὸν ἀν εἴη καταλέγειν, παρὸν τοῖς βουλομένοις

2.13.5 | This is what he says. Irenaeus also agrees with him, in the first book against the heresies, where he writes about the man and his impiety and his filthy teaching, which would be unnecessary to summarize here. It is available for those who want to

καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν κατὰ μέρος  
αἱρεσιαρχῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τοὺς βίους καὶ  
τῶν ψευδῶν δογμάτων τὰς ὑποθέσεις τά  
τε πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτετηδευμένα διαγνῶναι,  
οὐ κατὰ πάρεργον τῇ δεδηλωμένῃ τοῦ  
Εἰρηναίου παραδεδομένα βίβλῳ.

know about the leaders of heresies after  
him, their beginnings and lives, and the  
foundations of their false doctrines, so that  
everyone can understand what they  
practice, not as an extra to the book of  
Irenaeus that has been clearly presented.

2.13.6 | πάσης μὲν οὖν ἀρχηγὸν αἱρέσεως  
πρῶτον γενέσθαι τὸν Σίμωνα  
παρειλήφαμεν, ἐξ οὐ καὶ εἰς δεῦρο οἱ τὴν  
κατ' αὐτὸν μετιόντες αἱρεσιν, τὴν  
σώφρονα καὶ διὰ καθαρότητα βίου παρὰ  
τοῖς πᾶσι βεβοημένην Χριστιανῶν  
φιλοσοφίαν ὑποκρινόμενοι, ἡς μὲν ἔδοξαν  
ἀπαλλάττεσθαι περὶ τὰ εἴδωλα  
δεισιδαιμονίας οὐδὲν ἥττον αὐθίς  
ἐπιλαμβάνονται, καταπίπτοντες ἐπὶ  
γραφὰς καὶ εἰκόνας αύτοῦ τε τοῦ Σίμωνος  
καὶ τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ δηλωθείσης Ἐλένης,  
θυμιάμασί τε καὶ θυσίαις καὶ σπονδαῖς  
τούτους θρησκεύειν ἔγχειροῦντες.

2.13.6 | Therefore, we have first mentioned  
Simon as the leader of every heresy, from  
whom the sect that follows him comes to  
this day. They pretend to be the wise and  
pure philosophy of Christians, but they are  
still caught up in superstitions about idols.  
They fall back on the writings and images  
of Simon himself and the Helen who is  
shown with him, offering incense,  
sacrifices, and drink offerings to worship  
them.

2.13.7 | τὰ δὲ τούτων αύτοῖς  
ἀπορρητότερα, ὃν φασι τὸν πρῶτον ὡ  
ἔπακούσαντα ἐκπλαγήσεσθαι, καὶ κατά τι  
παρ' αὐτοῖς λόγιον ἔγγραφον  
θαμβωθήσεσθαι, θάμβους ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ  
φρενῶν ἐκστάσεως καὶ μανίας ἔμπλεα  
τυγχάνει, τοιαῦτα ὄντα, ὡς μὴ μόνον μὴ  
δυνατὰ εἶναι παραδοθῆναι γραφῇ, ἀλλ'  
οὐδὲ χείλεσιν αύτὸ μόνον δι' ὑπερβολὴν  
αἰσχρουργίας τε καὶ ἀρρητοποιίας ἀνδράσι  
σώφροσι λαληθῆναι.

2.13.7 | But their more secret teachings are  
such that they say the first one who heard  
them was amazed, and that he was struck  
with wonder by a certain written saying  
among them. They claim that this brings  
true amazement and fills the mind with  
confusion and madness. These teachings  
are such that they cannot be passed down  
in writing, and they are not even to be  
spoken by decent men due to their extreme  
shamefulness and unspeakable nature.

2.13.8 | Ὁ τι ποτὲ γάρ ἀν εἴη ἡ ἐπινοηθείη  
παντὸς αἰσχροῦ μιαρώτερον, τοῦτο πᾶν  
ὑπερηκόντισεν ἡ τῶνδε μυστικωτάτη  
αἱρεσις, ταῖς ἀθλίαις καὶ παντοίων ὡς  
ἀληθῶς κακῶν σεσωρευμέναις γυναιξὶν

2.13.8 | For whatever might be thought to  
be more shameful or filthy than any kind of  
wickedness, this is all surpassed by this  
most disgusting sect, which plays around  
with miserable women who are truly piled

έγκαταπαιζόντων.

up with all sorts of evils.

## Section 14

2.14.1 | [Nic. H. E. 14] Τοιούτων κακῶν πατέρα καὶ δημιουργὸν τὸν Σίμωνα κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ, ὡσπερεὶ μέγαν καὶ μεγάλων ἀντίπαλον τῶν θεσπεσίων τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀποστόλων, ἡ μισόκαλος καὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἐπίβουλος σωτηρίας πονηρὰ δύναμις προστήσατο.

2.14.1 | Simon was the father and creator of such evils at that time, as if he were a great opponent of our Savior's glorious apostles. The wicked power of hatred and the enemy of human salvation arose.

2.14.2 | ὅμως δ' οὖν ἡ θεία καὶ ὑπερουράνιος χάρις, τοῖς αὐτῆς συναιρομένη διακόνοις, δι' ἐπιφανείας αὐτῶν καὶ παρουσίας ἀναπτομένην τοῦ πονηροῦ τὴν φλόγα ἢ τάχος ἐσβέννυ, ταπεινοῦσα δι' αὐτῶν καὶ καθαιροῦσα πᾶν ὑψωμα ἐπαιρόμενον κατὰ τ(??) γνώσεως τοῦ θεοῦ.

2.14.2 | However, the divine and heavenly grace, joined with its ministers, quickly extinguishes the flame of evil that rises through their appearance and presence. It humbles and brings down every height that is lifted up against the knowledge of God.

2.14.3 | διὸ δὴ οὕτε Σίμωνος ὁ ἄλλου του τῶν τότε φυέντων συγκρότημά τι κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους τοὺς ἀποστολικοὺς ὑπέστη χρόνους. ὑπερενίκα γάρ τοι καὶ ὑπερίσχυεν ἀπαντα τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας φέγγος, δὲ λόγος αὐτὸς ὁ θεῖος ἄρτι θεόθεν ἀνθρώποις ἐπιλάμψας, αὐτός τε ἐπὶ γῆς ἀκμάζω καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀποστόλοις ἐμπολιτευόμενος.

2.14.3 | Therefore, neither Simon nor any of the others who arose at that time could compare to those apostles. For the light of truth truly overcame and prevailed over everything. The divine word, shining down from God to people, was thriving on earth and working through its own apostles.

2.14.4 | αὐτíκ' ὁ δηλωθεὶς γόης ὥσπερ ὑπὸ θείας καὶ παραδόξου μαρμαρυγῆς τὰ τῆς διανοίας πληγεὶς ὅμματα, δτε πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐφ' οῖς ἐπονηρεύσατο πρὸς τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου κατεφωράθη, μεγίστην καὶ ὑπερπόντιον ἀπάρας πορείαν τὴν ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν ἐπὶ δυσμὰς ὠχετο

2.14.4 | Immediately, the revealed sorcerer, struck by a divine and strange light, had his eyes opened, just as he had previously plotted against the apostle Peter in Judea. He took a great and dangerous journey from the east to the west, fleeing, thinking

φεύγων, μόνως ταύτη βιωτὸν αὐτῷ κατὰ γνώμην εἶναι οἰόμενος.

2.14.5 | ἐπιβὰς δὲ τῆς Ἀρωμαίων πόλεως, συναιρομένης αὐτῷ τὰ μεγάλα τῆς ἔφεδρευούσης ἐνταῦθα δυνάμεως, ἐν δόλιγῳ τοσοῦτον τὰ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἥνυστο, ὡς καὶ ἀνδριάντος ἀναθέσει πρὸς τῶν τῆδε οἴα θεὸν τιμηθῆναι.

2.14.6 | οὐ μὴν είς μακρὸν αὐτῷ ταῦτα προυχώρει. παρὰ πόδας γοῦν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς Κλαυδίου βασιλείας ἢ πανάγαθος καὶ φιλανθρωποτάτη τῶν ὅλων πρόνοια τὸν καρτερὸν καὶ μέγαν τῶν ἀποστόλων, τὸν ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπάντων προήγορον, Πέτρον, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρώμην ὡς ἐπὶ τηλικοῦτον λυμεῶνα βίου χειραγωγεῖ, δὲς οἵα τις γενναῖος θεοῦ στρατηγὸς τοῖς θείοις ὅπλοις φραξάμενος τὴν πολυτίμητον ἐμπορίαν τοῦ νοητοῦ φωτὸς ἐξ ἀνατολῶν τοῖς κατὰ δύσιν ἐκόμιζεν, φῶς αὐτὸ καὶ λόγον ψυχῶν σωτήριον, τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας εὐαγγελιζόμενος.

## Section 15

2.15.1 | [Nic. H. E. II, 15] Οὕτω δὴ οὖν ἐπιδημήσαντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ θείου λόγου ἡ μὲν τοῦ Σίμωνος ἀπέσβη καὶ παραχρῆμα σὺν καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ καταλέλυτο δύναμις, τοσοῦτο δ' ἐπέλαμψεν ταῖς τῶν ἀκροατῶν τοῦ Πέτρου διανοίαις εύσεβείας φέγγος ὡς μὴ τῇ εἰσάπαξ ίκανῶς ἔχειν ἀρκεῖσθαι ἀκοῇ, μηδὲ τῇ ἀγράφῳ τοῦ θείου κηρύγματος διδασκαλίᾳ, παρακλήσει δὲ παντοίαις Μάρκου, οὓς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον φέρεται, ἀκόλουθον ὄντα Πέτρου λιπαρῆσαι, ὡς ἀν καὶ διὰ γραφῆς ὑπόμνημα

that this was the only way for him to live.

2.14.5 | Having entered the city of the Romans, while the great power that was stationed there was gathering around him, he achieved so little in his efforts that he could only dedicate a statue to honor some god here.

2.14.6 | But these things did not last long for him. Under the reign of Claudius, the all-good and most loving care of all guided the strong and great apostle Peter, who was a leader of all the others because of his virtue, to Rome as a kind of refuge for life. He, like a brave general of God, used divine weapons to protect the precious trade of the spiritual light, bringing it from the east to the west, the light and the saving word of souls, proclaiming the good news of the kingdom of heaven.

2.15.1 | So, when the divine word was present among them, the power of Simon faded away and immediately with him was broken. But the light of piety shone so brightly in the minds of Peter's listeners that they could not be satisfied with just hearing it once, nor with the unwritten teaching of the divine message. They called upon Mark, who is said to have brought the gospel, to follow Peter closely, so that he might leave behind a written record of the teaching given to them through the word.

τῆς διὰ λόγου παραδοθείσης αύτοῖς καταλείψοι διδασκαλίας, μὴ πρότερον τε ἀνεῖναι ἡ κατεργάσασθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ταύτῃ αἴτίους γενέσθαι τῆς τοῦ λεγομένου κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγελίου γραφῆς.

This way, they would not forget or fail to carry out the man's teachings, and thus Mark became the reason for the writing of what is called the Gospel according to Mark.

2.15.2 | γνόντα δὲ τὸ πραχθέν φασι τὸν ἀπόστολον ἀποκαλύψαντος αὐτῷ πνεύματος ἡσθῆναι τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν προθυμίᾳ, κυρῶσαι τε τὴν γραφὴν εἰς ἔντευξιν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, (Κλήμης ἐν ἔκτῳ τῶν 'Ὑποτυπώσεων παρατέθειται τὴν ἱστορίαν, συνεπιμαρτυρεῖ δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Ἱεραπολίτης ἐπίσκοπος ὄνόματι Παπίας), τοῦ δὲ Μάρκου μνημονεύειν τὸν Πέτρον ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐπιστολῇ, ἦν καὶ συντάξαι φασὸν ἐπ' αὐτῆς 'Ρόμης, σημαίνειν τε τοῦτ' αὐτὸν, τὴν πόλιν τροπικώτερον Βαβυλῶνα προσειπόντα διὰ τούτων "ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτὴ καὶ Μάρκος ὁ υἱός μου.

2.15.2 | After realizing what had happened, they say that the apostle was filled with the spirit because of the eagerness of the men, and he approved the writing for the benefit of the churches. (Clement mentions this story in the sixth of his "Hypotyposes," and the bishop of Hierapolis named Papias also supports him.) Mark is said to mention Peter in the earlier letter, which they say he wrote in Rome, and he indicates this by calling the city "Babylon," saying, "The chosen one in Babylon greets you, and Mark, my son."

## Section 16

2.16.1 | [Nic. H. E. II, 15] Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Μάρκον πρῶτον φασιν ἐπὶ τῆς Αἴγυπτου στειλάμενον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ δή καὶ συνεγράψατο κηρῦξαι, ἐκκλησίας τε πρῶτον ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας συστήσασθαι.

2.16.1 | They say that this Mark was the first to bring the gospel to Egypt, which he also wrote down to preach. He was the one who first established the church in Alexandria.

2.16.2 | τοσαύτη δ' ἄρα τῶν αὐτόθι πεπιστευκότων πληθὺς ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν ἐκ πρώτης ἐπιβολῆς συνέστη, δι' ἀσκήσεως φιλοσοφωτάτης τε καὶ σφιδροτάτης, ὡς καὶ γραφῆς αὐτῶν ἀξιῶσαι τὰς διατριβὰς καὶ τὰς συνηλύσεις, τά τε συμπόσια καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πᾶσαν τοῦ βίου ἀγωγὴν τὸν Φίλωνα.

2.16.2 | So, there was a great number of men and women who believed there from the very beginning, due to their intense and serious study of philosophy. They even valued their writings for their discussions and gatherings, as well as for their meals and all other aspects of life, like Philo did.

## Section 17

2.17.1 | Nic. H. E. II, 16-17] "Ον καὶ λόγος ἔχει κατὰ Κλαύδιον ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης εἰς διμιλίαν ἐλθεῖν Πέτρῳ, τοῖς ἑκεῖσε τότε κηρύττοντι, καὶ οὐκ ἀπεικὸς ἀν εἴη τοῦτό γε, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὅ φαμεν αὐτῷ σύγγραμμα εἰς ὕστερον καὶ μετὰ χρόνους αὐτῷ πεπονημένον, σαφῶς τοὺς εἰσέτι νῦν καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς πεφυλαγμένους τῆς ἐκκλησίας περιέχει κανόνας.

2.17.2 | ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν βίον τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀσκητῶν ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα ἀκριβέστατα ἴστορῶν γένοιτ' ἀν ἔκδηλος οὐκ εἰδὼς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποδεχόμενος, ἐκθειάζων τε καὶ σεμνύνων τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν ἀποστολικοὺς ἄνδρας, ἐξ Ἐβραίων, ὡς ἔστι, γεγονότας, ταύτῃ τε ίουδαικώτερον τῶν παλαιῶν ἔτι τὰ πλεῖστα διατηροῦντας ἔθῶν.

2.17.3 | πρῶτόν γέ τοι τὸ μηδὲν πέρα τῆς ἀληθείας οἴκοθεν καὶ ἔξ ἐαυτοῦ προσθήσειν· ἐν οἷς ἴστορήσειν ἔμελλεν ἀπισχυρισάψενος, ἐν ᾧ ἐπέγραψε λόγῳ περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ ἥ ἱκετῶν θεραπευτὰς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς σὺν αὐτοῖς γυναικας θεραπευτρίδας ἀποκαλεῖσθαι φησι τὰς αἰτίας ἐπειπὼν τῆς τοιᾶσδε προσρήσεως· ἥτοι γάρ παρὰ τὸ τὰς ψυχὰς τῦν προσιόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀπὸ κακίας παθῶν ἰατρῶν δίκην ἀπαλλάττοντας ἀκεῖσθαι καὶ θεραπεύειν, ἥ τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον καθαρὰς καὶ εὐλικρινοῦς θεραπείας τε καὶ θρησκείας ἔνεκα.

2.17.4 | εἴτ' οὖν ἔξ ἐαυτοῦ ταύτην αὐτοῖς

2.17.1 | There is also a story about Claudius in Rome, that he came to speak with Peter, who was preaching there at that time. This seems likely, since we say that a writing was later prepared for him, which clearly contains rules for those who are still preserved in the church today.

2.17.2 | But also, the life of the ascetics among us could be described very accurately, not only by someone who does not know, but also by someone who accepts it, praising and honoring the apostolic men who came from the Hebrews. They seem to keep many of the older Jewish customs.

2.17.3 | First of all, one should not add anything beyond the truth from their own home or from themselves. In this, he was going to tell a story that he would not believe, in which he wrote about the life of those who are philosophers or called healers of the suppliants, along with their women being called healers too, mentioning the reasons for such a statement. For they either help the souls of those who come to them by freeing them from evil passions, or they do so for the sake of pure and sincere healing and worship of the divine.

2.17.4 | So, whether he himself adds this

έπιτέθειται τὴν προσηγορίαν, οίκείως  
έπιγράψας τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν  
τοῦνομα, εἴτε καὶ ὅντως τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς  
ἐκάλουν κατ' ἄρχας οἱ πρῶτοι, μηδαμῶς  
πω τῆς Χριστιανῶν προσρήσεως ἀνὰ  
πάντα τόπον ἐπιτεφημισμένης, οὕτι πω  
διατείνεσθαι ἀναγκαῖον.

2.17.5 | ὅμως δ' οὖν ἐν πρώτοις τὴν  
ἀπόταξιν αὐτοῖς τῆς ούσίας μαρτυρεῖ  
φάσκων ἀρχομένους φιλοσοφεῖν  
ἔξιστασθαι τοῖς προσήκουσι τῶν  
ὑπαρχόντων, ἔπειτα πάσαις  
ἀποταξαμένους ταῖς τοῦ βίου φροντίσιν,  
ἔξω τειχῶν προελθόντας, ἐν μοναγρίοις καὶ  
κήποις τὰς διατριβὰς ποιεῖσθαι, τὰς ἐκ τῶν  
ἀνομοίων ἐπιμιξίας ἀλυσιτελεῖς καὶ  
βλαβερὰς εὗ εἰδότας, τῶν κατ' ἑκεῖνο  
καιροῦ τοῦθ' ὡς εἰκὸς ἐπιτελούντων  
ἐκθύμω καὶ θερμοτάτῃ πίστει, τὸν  
προφητικὸν ζηλοῦν ἀσκούντων βίον.

2.17.6 | τοιγαροῦν κάν ταῖς  
δομολογουμέναις τῶν ἀποστόλων Πράξεσιν  
ἐμφέρεται ὅτι δὴ πάντες οἱ τῶν  
ἀποστόλων γνώριμοι ὡς τὰ κτήματα καὶ τὰς  
ὑπάρξεις διαπιπράσκοντες ἐμέριζον ἀπασι  
καθ' ὃ ἂν τις χρείαν εἶχεν, ὡς μηδ' εἶναί  
τινα ἐνδεῇ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὅσοι γοῦν κτήτορες  
χωρίων ἢ οἰκιῶν ὑπῆρχον, ὡς ὁ λόγος  
φησὶ, πωλοῦντες ἔφερον τὰς τιμὰς τῶν  
πιπρασκομένων, ἐτίθεσάν τε παρὰ τοὺς  
πόδας τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὥστε διαδίδοσθαι  
ἐκάστῳ καθὸ ἂν τις χρείαν εἶχεν.

2.17.7 | τὰ παραπλήσια δὲ τούτοις  
μαρτυρήσας τοῖς δηλουμένοις ὁ Φίλων  
συλλαβαῖς αὐταῖς ἐπιφέρει λέγων ταῦτα  
περὶ αὐτῶν οὕτω “πολλαχοῦ μὲν οὖν τῆς

title to them, writing it in the manner of  
men, or whether they were truly called this  
by the first ones at the beginning, it is by no  
means necessary to claim that the name of  
Christians has been widely known  
everywhere.

2.17.5 | However, in the beginning, it shows  
their complete separation from the  
essence, claiming that they began to think  
philosophically, distancing themselves  
from the things that exist. Then, having  
turned away from all concerns of life, they  
went outside the walls, spending their time  
in solitude and gardens, knowing well the  
useless and harmful mixtures from  
different things. During that time, it is likely  
that they pursued a life filled with  
passionate and intense faith, seeking the  
prophetic life.

2.17.6 | Therefore, in the well-known Acts  
of the Apostles, it is reported that all the  
apostles, being familiar with the  
possessions and resources, distributed  
everything to each one according to their  
need, so that no one would be lacking  
among them. Those who owned land or  
houses, as the story says, sold their goods  
and brought the money to the feet of the  
apostles, so that it could be given to each  
person as they had need.

2.17.7 | Philo, having testified to similar  
things about those being discussed, adds  
these words about them: "Indeed, the race  
is found in many places of the world; for it

οίκουμένης ἔστι τὸ γένος· ἔδυ γὰρ ἀγαθοῦ τελείου μετασχεῖν καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν βάρβαρον. πλεονάζει δ' ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων νομῶν, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν.

has shared in the good and perfect, both in Greece and among the barbarians. It is more abundant in Egypt, according to each of the so-called laws, especially around Alexandria."

2.17.8 | οἱ δὲ πανταχόθεν ἄριστοι, καθάπερ εἰς πατρίδα θεραπευτῶν, ἀποικίαν στέλλονται πρός τι χωρίον ἐπιτηδειότατον, ὅπερ ἔστιν ὑπὲρ λίμνης Μάριας κείμενον ἐπὶ γεωλόφου χθαμαλωτέρου σφόδρα εύκαίρως, ἀσφαλείας τε ἔνεκα καὶ ἀέρος εύκρασίας.'

2.17.8 | The best people from everywhere, just like going to the homeland of healers, are sent to establish a colony in a very suitable place, which is located above Lake Marias on a low hill, very conveniently, for safety and pleasant air.

2.17.9 | εἶθ' ἔξῆς τὰς οἰκήσεις αὐτῶν ὅποιαί τινες ἡσαν διαγράψας περὶ τῶν κατὰ χώραν ἐκκλησιῶν ταῦτά φησιν ἐν ἐκάστῃ δὲ οἰκίᾳ ἔστιν οἴκημα ἱερὸν ὃ καλεῖται σεμνεῖον καὶ μοναστήριον, ἐν ᾧ μονούμενοι τὰ τοῦ σεμνοῦ βίου μυστήρια τελοῦνται, μηδὲν εἰσκομίζοντες, μὴ ποτὸν, μὴ σιτίον, μηδέ τι τόν ἄλλων ὄσα πρὸς τὰς τοῦ σώματος χρείας ἀναγκαῖα, ἀλλὰ νόμους καὶ λόγια θεσπισθέντα διὰ προφητῶν καὶ ὕμνους, καὶ τἄλλα οἵς ἐπιστήμη καὶ εύσεβεια συναύξονται καὶ τελειοῦνται.'

2.17.9 | Then, afterwards, having described their houses, he says this about the local churches: "In each house, there is a sacred room called a shrine and monastery, where those living alone perform the mysteries of a holy life, bringing nothing in, neither drink nor food, nor anything else necessary for the needs of the body. Instead, they have laws and teachings established through the prophets, hymns, and other things that bring together knowledge and piety and lead to perfection."

2.17.10 | καὶ μεθ' ἔτερά φησι "τὸ δ' ἔξ ἐωθινοῦ "μέχρις ἐσπέρας διάστημα σύμπαν αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ἄσκη"σις. ἐντυγχάνοντες γὰρ τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασι τὴν "πάτριον φιλοσοφοῦσι σοφίαν ἀλληγοροῦντες, ἐπειδὴ "σύμβολα τὰ τῆς ὥρης ἐρμηνείας νομίζουσιν ἀποκε"κρυμμένης φύσεως, ἐν ὑπονοίαις δηλουμένης.

2.17.10 | And then he says, "The time from morning until evening is a complete period of practice for them. For, encountering the sacred writings, they interpret the 'ancestral wisdom' allegorically, since they believe that the symbols of the literal meaning are hidden in nature, revealed through hints."

2.17.11 | "ἔστι δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ συγγράμματα παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν, "οἱ τῆς αἰρέσεως αὐτῶν

2.17.11 | They also have writings from ancient men, who became the leaders of

άρχηγέται γενόμενοι πολλὰ "μνημεῖαδ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀλληγορουμένοις ίδεας ἀπέλιπον, "οἵς καθάπερ τισὶν ἀρχετύποις χρώμενοι μιμοῦνται τῆς προαιρέσεως τὸν τρόπον.

their belief and left behind many reminders of the ideas expressed in allegories. They use these as models, imitating the way of their choice.

2.17.12 | ταῦτα μὲν ἔοικεν εἰρῆσθαι τῷ ἀνδρὶ, τὰς Ἱερὰς ἔξηγουμένων αὐτῶν ἐπακροασαμένῳ γραφάς. τάχα δ' εἰκὸς, ἥ φησιν ἀρχαίων παρ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι συγγράμματα, τά τε εὐαγγέλια καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀποστόλων γραφὰς, διηγήσεις τέ τινας κατὰ τὸ εἰκός τῶν πάλαι προφητῶν ἐρμηνευγικάς, ὅποιας ἡ τε πρὸς Ἐβραίους καὶ ἄλλαι πλείους τοῦ Παύλου περιέχουσιν ἐπιστολαὶ, ταῦτ' εἶναι.

2.17.12 | These things seem to be said by the man, having listened to the sacred writings being explained. It is likely that the ancient writings they have include the gospels and the writings of the apostles, as well as certain narratives that interpret the old prophets, such as those found in the letters of Paul to the Hebrews and others.

2.17.13 | εἴτα πάλιν ἐξῆς περὶ τοῦ νέους αὐτοὺς ποιεῖσθαι ψαλμοὺς οὕτως γράφει "ὦστ' οὐ θεωροῦσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιοῦσιν ᾧσματα καὶ ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν διὰ παντοίων μέτρων καὶ μελῶν, ὃνθιμοῖς σεμνοῖ τέροις ἀναγκαίως χαράσσοντες."

2.17.13 | Then he writes next about how these young people make psalms like this: 'So they do not only observe, but also create songs and hymns to God through various meters and melodies, necessarily marking them with more serious rhythms.'

2.17.14 | πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα, περὶ ὃν ὁ λόγος, ἐν ταύτῳ διέξεισιν, ἐκεῖνα δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἐφάνη δεῖν ἀναλέξασθαι, δι' ὃν τὰ χαρακτηριστικὰ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀγωγῆς ὑποτίθεται.

2.17.14 | Therefore, many other things, about which the discussion goes on, will be explained in the same way. But it is necessary to mention those things, through which the characteristics of church teaching are suggested.

2.17.15 | εἰ δέ τῳ μὴ δοκεῖ τὰ εἰρημένα ἴδια εἶναι τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πολιτείας, δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις παρὰ τοὺς δεδηλωμένους ἀρμόττειν, πειθέσθω κανὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξῆς αὐτοῦ φωνῶν, ἐν αἷς ἀναμφήριστον,

2.17.15 | If someone does not think that what has been said is specific to the way of life according to the gospel, and that it can also fit with other things besides those mentioned, let them be convinced even from the following words, in which it is clear.

2.17.16 | εί εύγνωμονοίη, κομίσεται τὴν περὶ τοῦδε μαρτυρίαν. γράφει γὰρ ὡδες "έγκράτειαν δ' ὥσπερ τινὰ θεμέλιον "προκαταβαλλόμενοι τῇ ψυχῇ τάς ἄλλας ἐποικοδομοῦσιν ἀρετάς σιτίον δὲ ἡ ποτὸν οὐδεὶς ἀν αὐτῶν "προσενέγκαιτο πρὸ ήλιου δύσεως, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν φιλο"σοφεῖν φωτὸς ἄξιον κρίνουσιν εἶναι, σκότους δὲ τὰς "τοῦ σώματος ἀνάγκας, δθεν τῷ μὲν ἡμέρας, ταῖς δὲ 'νυκτὸς βραχύ τι μέρος ἀπένειμαν.

2.17.17 | ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ "διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὑπομιμήσκονται τροφῆς, οἵς πλείων ὁ πόθος ἐπιστήμης ἐνίδρυται, τινὲς δ' οὔτως "ἐνευφραίνονται καὶ τρυφῶσιν, ὑπὸ σοφίας ἐστιώ"μένοι πλουσίως καὶ ἀφθόνως τὰ δόγματα χορηγού"σῆς, ὡς καὶ πρὸς διπλασίονα χρόνον ἀντέχειν, καὶ ' μόγις δι' ἔξ ἡμερῶν ἀπογεύεσθαι τροφῆς ἀναγκαίας ἐθισθέντες. ταύτας τοῦ Φίλωνος σαφεῖς καὶ ἀναντιρρήτους περὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ἡγούμεθα λέξεις

2.17.18 | εί δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀντιλέγων τις ἔτι σκληρύνοιτο, καὶ οὗτος ἀπαλλαττέσθω τῆς δυσπιστίας, ἐναργεστέραις πειθαρχῶν ἀποδείξειν, ἃς οὐ παρά τισιν, ἡ μόνη τῇ τῶν Χριστιανῶν εὐρεῖν ἔστι κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον θρησκείᾳ.

2.17.19 | φησὶ γὰρ δὴ τοῖς περὶ ὅν ὁ λόγος καὶ γυναῖκας συνεῖναι, ὅν αἱ πλεῖσται γηραλέαι τυγχάνουσι παρθένοι, τὴν ἀγνείαν οὐκ ἀνάγκη, καθάπερ ἔνιαι τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησιν Ἱερειῶν, φυλάξασαι μᾶλλον ἡ

2.17.16 | If someone is grateful, they will receive the testimony about this. For it is written like this: 'Self-control, like a foundation, supports the other virtues in the soul. No one would bring food or drink to them before sunset, since they consider that seeking wisdom deserves light, but the needs of the body are darkness, from which they give a little part of the day and a short part of the night.'

2.17.17 | Some also remember food for three days, where the desire for knowledge is stronger. Some rejoice and indulge, being richly and abundantly fed by wisdom's teachings, so that they can endure for twice the time, and they are hardly used to tasting necessary food for six days. We consider these words of Philo to be clear and undeniable about what exists concerning us.

2.17.18 | If someone still hardens themselves against these things, let them be freed from their doubt by clearer proofs of obedience, which can be found not only with some, but also solely within the religion of Christians according to the gospel.

2.17.19 | For he says that concerning these things, women also are involved, of whom many old maidens are found. Their purity is not by necessity, just as some of the priestesses among the Greeks have kept it

καθ' ἐκούσιον γνώμην, διὰ ζῆλον καὶ πόθον σοφίας, ἢ συμβιοῦν σπουδάσασαι τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἡδονῶν ἡλόγησαν, οὐ θνητῶν ἐκγόνων, ἀλλ' ἀθανάτων ὄρεχθεῖσαι, ἢ μόνη τίκτειν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς οἴα τέ ἔστιν ἡ θεοφιλὴς ψυχή.

more out of zeal and desire for wisdom, having worked hard to disregard the pleasures of the body. They are not seeking after mortal offspring, but rather after immortal ones, which only the God-loving soul can give birth to from itself.

2.17.20 | εἴθ' ὑποκαταβὰς ἐμφαντικώτερον ἐκτίθεται καὶ ταῦτα "αἱ δ' ἔξηγήσεις τῶν Ἱερῶν γραμμάτων γίνονται αὐτοῖς "δι' δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἐν ἀλληγορίαις. ἅπασα γὰρ ἡ νομο "θεσία δοκεῖ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τούτοις ἐοικέναι ζῷῳ, καὶ 'σῦμα μὲν ἔχειν τὰς ἥρητὰς λέξεις, ψυχὴν δὲ τὸν ἐνά' ποκείμενον ταῖς λέξεσιν ἀόρατον νοῦν, δν ἥρξατο "διαφερόντως ἡ θρησκεία αὕτη θεωρεῖν, ὡς διὰ κατό"πτρου τῶν ὄνομάτων ἔξαίσια κάλλη νοημάτων ἐμφαι"νόμενα κατιδοῦσα.

2.17.20 | Then, going deeper, it is explained more clearly that 'the interpretations of the sacred writings are made through hints in allegories.' For all the law seems to these men to be like a living creature, having the literal words as its body, but the soul is the unseen mind that lies beneath the words. This religion began to see differently, as if through a mirror, revealing the wonderful beauty of meanings.

2.17.21 | τί δεῖ τούτοις ἐπιλέγειν τὰς ἐπὶ ταύτον συνόδους, καὶ τὰς ἴδια μὲν ἀνδρῶν, ἴδιᾳ δὲ γυναικῶν ἐν ταύτῃ διατριβὰς, καὶ τὰς ἔξ ἔθους εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν πρὸς ἡμῶν ἐπιτελουμένας ἀσκήσεις, ἃς διαφερόντως κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους ἐορτὴν ἐν ἀσιτίαις καὶ διανυκτερεύσεσιν, προσοχαῖς τε τῶν θείων λόγων ἐκτελεῖν εἰώθαμεν.

2.17.21 | What need is there to mention the gatherings for the same purpose, both those of men and those of women, and the practices that are still carried out among us today? These practices are different during the festival of salvation, with fasting and all-night vigils, as we are accustomed to performing them with attention to the divine words.

2.17.22 | ἢ καὶ ἐπ' ἀκριβέστερον αὕτος, δν καὶ εἰς δεῦρο τετήρηται παρὰ μόνοις ἡμῖν τρόπον, ἐπισημηνάμενος ὁ δηλωθεὶς ἀνὴρ τῇ ἴδιᾳ παραδέδωκε γραφῇ· καὶ μάλιστά γε τὰς τῆς μεγάλης ἐορτῆς παννυχίδας καὶ τὰς ἐν ταύταις ἀσκήσεις, τούς τε λέγεσθαι εἰώθότας πρὸς ἡμῶν ὕμνους ἴστορῶν, καὶ ὡς ἐνὸς μετὰ ῥυθμοῦ κοσμίως ἐπιψάλλοντος οἱ λοιποὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀκροώμενοι τῶν ὕμνων τὰ ἀκροτελεύτια

2.17.22 | What need is there to speak more precisely about the practices that have been handed down to us alone? The man who has been revealed has especially passed down in writing the details of the all-night vigils of the great festival and the exercises that take place during them. Those who are accustomed to sing hymns among us tell how, with a harmonious rhythm, the rest quietly listen to the

συνεξήχοῦσιν, ὅπως τε κατὰ τὰς δεδηλωμένας ἡμέρας ἐπὶ στιβάδων χαμευνοῦντ πέντε οἶνου μὲν τὸ παράπαν, ὡς αὐτοῖς ὥρμασιν ἀνέγραψεν, οὐδ' ἀπογεύονται, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἐναίμων τινὸς, ὕδωρ δὲ μόνον αὐτοῖς ἔστι ποτὸν, καὶ προσόψημα μετ' ἄρτου ἀλες καὶ ὄσσωπον.

hymns, joining in the final parts. On the appointed days, they lie down on the ground, completely avoiding wine, as he has written in his words. They do not even taste anything sweet, but only have water to drink, along with a little bread, salt, and hyssop.

2.17.23 | πρὸς τούτοις γράφει τὸν τῆς προστασίας τρόπον τῶν τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς λειτουργίας ἔγκεχειρισμένων, διακονίας τε καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀνωτάτω τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς προεδρίας, τούτων δ' ὅτῳ πόθος ἔνεστι τῆς ἀκριβοῦς ἐπιστάσεως, μάθοι ἀν ἐκ τῆς δηλωθείσης τάνδρὸς ἱστορίας.

2.17.23 | Along with these, he writes about the way of leadership for those who are in charge of church services, including the deacons and those in the highest position of the episcopacy. Whoever has a desire for precise knowledge can learn from the history of the man who has been revealed.

2.17.24 | ὅτι δὲ τοὺς πρώτους κήρυκας τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον διδασκαλίας, τὰ τε ἀρχῆθεν πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔθη παραδεδομένα καταλαβὼν ὁ Φίλων ταῦτ' ἔγραφε, παντί τῷ δῆλον.

2.17.24 | That Philo wrote these things is clear, as he understood the customs handed down from the apostles regarding the teaching of the Gospel and the first preachers.

## Section 18

2.18.1 | [Nic. H. E. II, 17-18] Πολύς γε μὴν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ πλατὺς ταῖς διανοίαις, ὑψηλὸς τε ὁν καὶ μετέωρος ἐν ταῖς εἰς τὰς θείας γραφὰς θεωρίαις γεγενημένος, ποικίλην καὶ πολύτροπον τῶν ιερῶν λόγων πεποίηται τὴν ὑφῆγησιν· τοῦτο μὲν εἰρμῷ καὶ ἀκολουθίᾳ, τὴν τῶν εἰς τὴν γένεσιν διεξελθών πραγματείαν, ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε νόμων ιερῶν ἀλληγορίαις, τοῦτο δὲ, κατὰ μέρος διαστολὰς κεφαλαίων τῶν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς ζητουμένων, ἐπιστάσεις τε καὶ διαλύσεις ποιούμενος, ἐν οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς καταλλήλως τῶν ἐν γενέσει καὶ τῶν ἐν ἔξαγωγῇ ζητημάτων τε καὶ λύσεων

2.18.1 | Indeed, he is very wordy and broad in his thoughts, being high and lofty in his views of the divine writings. He has created a varied and multifaceted explanation of the sacred words. This is done through harmony and sequence, as he goes through the work on creation, in which he wrote about the allegories of sacred laws. On the other hand, he also makes distinctions in the chapters sought in the writings, creating explanations and divisions, in which he appropriately places the titles of the questions and solutions regarding both creation and the matters in the exodus.

τέθειται τὴν ἐπιγραφήν.

2.18.2 | ἔστι δ' αὐτῷ παρὰ ταῦτα προβλημάτων τινῶν ίδιως πεπονημένα σπουδάσματα, οἵα ἔστι τὰ περὶ γεωργίας δύο, καὶ τὰ περὶ μέθης τοσαῦτα, καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα διαφόρου καὶ οἰκείας ἐπιγραφῆς ήξιωμένα, οἷος ὁ περὶ ὧν νήψας ὁ νοῦς εὔχεται καὶ καταρᾶται, καὶ ὁ περὶ συγχύσεως τῶν διαλέκτων, καὶ ὁ περὶ φυγῆς καὶ αἰρέσεως, καὶ ὁ περὶ φύσεως καὶ εὐρέσεως, καὶ ὁ περὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰ παιδεύματα συνόδου, περὶ τε τοῦ τίς ὁ τῶν θείων ἔστι κληρονόμος, ἢ περὶ τῆς εἰς τὰ ἵσα καὶ ἐναντία τὸ 'μῆς, καὶ ἔτι ὁ περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀρετῶν, ἃς σὺν ἄλλῃ ἀνέγραψε Μωυσῆς.

2.18.2 | Besides these, he has written some special studies on certain problems, such as two about farming, and as many about drunkenness, along with other various topics that have their own titles. These include the one about being sober, which the mind wishes for and prays for, and the one about the confusion of languages, and the one about fleeing and choosing, and the one about nature and discovery, and the one about the gathering of teachings. There is also one about who is the heir of the divine, or about equality and opposition to the 'not,' and still another about the three virtues that Moses wrote about along with others.

2.18.3 | πρὸς τούτοις ὁ περὶ τ' μετονομαζομένων καὶ ὧν ἔνεκα μετονομάζονται, ὡς φησι συντεταχέναι καὶ περὶ διαθηκῶν πρῶτον κ' δεύτερον.

2.18.3 | Along with these, there is one about those who are renamed and the reasons for their renaming, in which he says that it has been arranged and also about covenants, both the first and the second.

2.18.4 | ἔστι δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ ἀποικίας, καὶ βίου σοφοῦ τοῦ κατὰ δικαιοσύνην τελειωθέντος, ἢ νόμων ἀγράφων. καὶ ἔτι περὶ γιγάντων, ἢ περὶ τοῦ μὴ τρέπεσθαι τὸ θεῖον, περὶ τε τοῦ κατὰ Μωυσέα θεοπέμπτους εἶναι τοὺς ὄνειρους πρῶτον, δεύτερον, τρίτον, τέταρτον, πέμπτον. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα τῶν εἰς τὴν γένεσιν.

2.18.4 | There is also one about colonies, and about the wise life that is perfected according to justice, or about unwritten laws. Additionally, there is one about giants, or about not turning away from the divine, and about the dreams that are sent by God according to Moses, first, second, third, fourth, and fifth. And these are the things that have come to us regarding creation.

2.18.5 | εἰς δὲ τὴν ἔξοδον ἔγνωμεν αὐτοῦ ζητημάτων καὶ λύσεων πρῶτον, δεύτερον,

2.18.5 | Regarding the exit, we know of his inquiries and solutions, first, second, third,

τρίτον, τέταρτον, πέμπτον. καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς σκηνῆς, τό τε περὶ τῶν δέκα λογίων, καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀναφερομένων ἐν εἴδει νόμων εἰς τὰ συντείνοντα κεφάλαια τόν δέκα λόγων, ἀ β' γ' δ'. καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν εἰς τὰς ἱερουργίας ζώων, καὶ τίνα τὰ τῶν θυσιῶν εἴδη. καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν προκειμένων ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς ἄθλων, τοῖς δὲ πονηροῖς ἐπιτιμίων καὶ ἀρῶν

fourth, and fifth. There is also one about the tent, and about the ten sayings, and those concerning the laws mentioned in relation to the connecting chapters of the ten sayings, which are the second, third, and fourth. And there is one about the sacrifices of animals, and what kinds of sacrifices there are. Lastly, there is one about what is presented in the law, for the good, rewards, and for the wicked, punishments and removals.

2.18.6 | πρὸς τούτοις ἄπασι καὶ μονόβιβλα αὐτοῦ φέρεται, ὡς τὸ περὶ προνοίας, καὶ ὁ περὶ Ἰουδαίων αὐτῷ συνταχθεὶς λόγος, καὶ ὁ πολιτικός· ἔτι τε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἢ περὶ τοῦ λόγου ἔχειν τὰ ἀλογα ζῷα. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ περὶ τοῦ δοῦλον εἶναι πάντα φαῦλον, ὃ ἔξῆς ἐστιν ὁ περὶ τοῦ πάντα σπουδαῖον ἐλεύθερον εἶναι.

2.18.6 | Along with all these, his single books are mentioned, such as the one about providence, and the discourse written about the Jews, and the political one; also, the one by Alexander, or about having reason in irrational animals. In addition to these, there is the one about being a slave being entirely bad, which is followed by the one about being entirely serious and free.

2.18.7 | μεθ' οὓς συντέτακται αὐτῷ ὁ περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ ἢ ἱκετῶν, ἐξ οὗ τὰ περὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ἀνδρῶν διεληλύθαμεν· καὶ τῶν ἐν νόμῳ δὲ καὶ προφήταις Ἐβραϊκῶν ὄνομάτων αἱ ἐρμηνεῖαι τοῦ αὐτοῦ σπουδαὶ εἶναι λέγονται.

2.18.7 | With those, the one about the theoretical life or the supplicants is arranged for him, from which we have explained the life of the apostolic men. And among the laws and the prophets, the interpretations of the Hebrew names are said to be of the same importance.

2.18.8 | οὗτος μὲν οὖν κατὰ Γάϊον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀρωμῆς ἀφικόμενος τὰ περὶ τῆς Γαϊου θεοστυγίας αὐτῷ γραφέντα, ἀ μετὰ ἥθους καὶ είρωνείας περὶ ἀρετῶν ἐπέγραψεν, ἐπὶ πάσης λέγεται τῆς Ἀρωμαίων συγκλήτου κατὰ Κλαύδιον διελθεῖν, ὡς καὶ τῆς ἐν βιβλιοθήκαις ἀναθέσεως θαυμασθέντας αὐτοῦ καταξιωθῆναι τοὺς λόγους.

2.18.8 | This man, therefore, arriving in Rome according to Gaius, wrote about the divinity of Gaius, which he described with character and irony regarding virtues. It is said that he went through the entire Roman Senate under Claudius, so that his words were admired and honored in the libraries.

2.18.9 | τηνικαῦτα δὲ καὶ Πιαύλου τὴν ἀπὸ Τερουσαλὴμ καὶ κύκλῳ πορείαν μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ διανύοντος, Ἰουδαίους Ψώμης ἀπελαύνει Κλαύδιος, ὃ τε Ακύλας καὶ Πρίσκιλλα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰουδαίων τῆς Ψώμης ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν καταίρουσιν, ἐνταῦθα τε Παύλῳ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ συνδιατρίβουσι, τοὺς αὐτόθι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἄρτι πρὸς αύτοῦ καταβληθέντας θεμελίους ἐπιστηρίζοντι. διδάσκαλος καὶ τούτων ἡ Ἱερὰ τῶν Πραξέων γραφή.

## Section 19

2.19.1 | [Nic. H. E. II. 26] ἔτι δὲ Κλαυδίου τὰ τῆς βασιλείας διέποντος, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πάσχα ἐορτὴν τοσαύτην ἐπὶ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων στάσιν καὶ ταραχὴν ἐγγενέσθαι συνέβη ὡς μόνων τῶν περὶ τὰς ἔξοδους τοῦ Ἱεροῦ βίᾳ συνωθουμένων τρεῖς μυριάδας Ἰουδαίων ἀποθανεῖν πρὸς ἄλλήλων καταπατηθέντων, γενέσθαι τε τὴν ἐορτὴν πένθος μὲν ὅλῳ τῷ ἔθνει, θρῆνον δὲ καθ' ἐκάστην οἰκίαν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ λέξιν ὁ Ἰώσηπος.

2.19.2 | Κλαύδιος δὲ Ἀγρίππαν, Ἀγρίππου παῖδα, Ἰουδαίων καθίστησι βασιλέα, Φήλικα τῆς χώρας ἀπάσης Σαμαρείας τε καὶ Γαλιλαίας καὶ προσέτι τῆς ἐπικαλουμένης Περαίας ἐπίτροπον ἐκπέμψας. διοικήσας δὲ αὐτὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔτεσιτρισὶ καὶ δέκα πρὸς μησὸν ὀκτὼ Νέρωνα τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον καταλιπὼν τελευτᾶ.

2.18.9 | At that time, Claudius expelled the Jews from Rome, including Aquila and Priscilla, who, along with the other Jews, went to Asia after leaving Rome. There, they stayed with Paul the apostle, supporting the foundations of the churches that had just been established there. The sacred writing of the Acts serves as a teacher for these things.

2.19.1 | While Claudius was ruling, during the festival of Passover, such a disturbance and turmoil happened in Jerusalem that only those around the exits of the temple were violently pushing, causing three myriads of Jews to be trampled to death by one another. The festival turned into mourning for the whole nation, and there was wailing in each household. This is what Josephus reports in detail.

2.19.2 | Claudius made Agrippa, the son of Agrippa, king of the Jews, and sent Felix as governor over the whole region of Samaria and Galilee, as well as the area called Perea. After ruling for three years and eight months, he left the leadership to Nero as his successor.

## Section 20

2.20.1 | [INic. H. E. II, 26] Κατὰ δὲ Νέρωνα Φήλικος τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπεύοντος αὐτοῖς ἡγμασιν αύθις ὁ Ἰώσηπος τὴν εἰς ἀλλήλους τῶν ἱερέων στάσιν ὥδε πως ἐν είκοστῷ τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας γράφει

2.20.1 | Under Nero, while Felix was governing Judea, Josephus again writes about the conflict among the priests in this way in the twentieth book of his Antiquities.

2.20.2 | “ἔξα“πτεται δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι στάσις πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς ‘καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, ‘ ἔκαστός τε αὐτῶν, στῖφος ἀνθρώπων τῶν θρασυτάτων καὶ νεωτεριστῶν ἐστῶ ποιήσας, ἡγεμὼν ἦν. ‘καὶ συρράσσοντες ἔκακολόγουν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ λί“θοις ἔβαλλον. ὁ δ’ ἐπιπλήξων ἦν οὐδὲ εῖς, ἀλλ’ ὡς “ἐν ἀπροστατεύτῳ πόλει ταῦτ’ ἐπράσσετο μετ’ ἔξου“σίας.

2.20.2 | There was also a conflict among the high priests against the other priests and the leaders of the people of Jerusalem. Each of them made a group of the boldest and most innovative men to follow him as their leader. They were fighting and hitting each other with stones. No one was in charge, and it was like things were happening in a city without protection.

2.20.3 | τοσαύτη δὲ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς κατέλαβεν ἀναί“δεια καὶ τόλμα ὥστε ἐκπέμπειν δούλους ἑτόλμων “ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλωνας, τοὺς ληψιμένους τὰς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν “όφειλομένας δεκάτας. καὶ συνέβαινε τοὺς ἀπορου“μένους τῶν ἱερέων ὑπ’ ἐνδείας ἀπολλυμένους θεω“οὔτως ἐκράτει τοῦ δικαίου παντὸς ἡ τῶν στα“σιαζόντων βίᾳ. ”

2.20.3 | Such boldness and daring took hold of the high priests that they sent out daring servants to the harvests to collect the tithes owed to the priests. It also happened that the priests who were in need were being ruined by poverty, and the violence of those in conflict completely overpowered all justice.

2.20.4 | πάλιν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὑποφυῆναι ληστῶν τι εἶδος ἴστορεῖ, οἱ ‘μεθ’ ἡμέραν ὡς φησι “καὶ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει ἐφόνευον τοὺς συναντῶντας.

2.20.4 | Again, the same writer tells of a certain type of robbers in Jerusalem during those same times, who, as he says, would kill those they met in the middle of the city every day.

2.20.5 | μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς μιγνυμένους τῷ πλήθει, καὶ ταῖς ἑσθῆσιν ὑποκρύπτοντας μικρὰ ξιφίδια, τούτοις

2.20.5 | Especially during the festivals, they mixed in with the crowd, hiding small daggers in their clothing, and would stab

νύττειν τοὺς διαφόρους· ἔπειτα πεσόντων, μέρος γίνεσθαι τῶν ἐπαγανακτούντων αὐτοὺς τοὺς πεφονευκότας· διὸ καὶ παντάπασιν ὑπ' ἀξιοπιστίας ἀνευρέτους γενέσθαι.

those who were different from them. Then, when their victims fell, some of those who were angry with them would become part of the group that killed. Because of this, they became completely untraceable and hard to catch.

2.20.6 | πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἰωνάθην τὸν ἀρχιερέα κατασφαγῆναι, μετὰ δ' αὐτὸν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναιρεῖσθαι πολλοὺς, καὶ τῶν συμφορῶν τὸν φρόβον εἶναι χαλεπώτερον, ἐκάστου καθάπερ ἐν πολέμῳ καθ' ὥραν τὸν θάνατον προσδεχομένου."

2.20.6 | First, they killed Jonathan the high priest, and after that, many were killed every day. The fear of these disasters was even worse, as each person awaited death like in a war, hour by hour.

## Section 21

2.21.1 | [Nic. H. E. II, 26] Ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις ἐπιφέρει μεθ' ἔτερα λέγων μείζονι δὲ τούτων πληγῇ Ἰουδαίους ἐκάκωσεν ὁ Αίγυπτιος ψευδοπροφήτης. παραγενόμενος γὰρ εἰς τὴν χώραν ἄνθρωπος γόνης, καὶ "προφήτου πίστιν ἐπιθεὶς ἐαυτῷ, περὶ τρισμυρίους μὲν ἀθροίζει τῶν ἡπατημένων, περιαγαγών δ' αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐρημίας εἰς τὸ ἔλαιων καλούμενον ὅρος ἐκεῖθεν οὗτος τε ἦν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παρελθεῖν βιάζεσθαι, καὶ κρατήσας τῆς τε Ῥωμαϊκῆς φρουρᾶς καὶ τοῦ δῆμου τυραννεῖν, χρώμενος τοῖς συνεισπεσοῦσι "δορυφόροις.

2.21.1 | Next, the Egyptian false prophet harmed the Jews with a greater blow than these. For a sorcerer came to the land, claiming to be a prophet, and gathered about thirty thousand deceived people. He led them from the wilderness to a mountain called the Mount of Olives, and from there he intended to force his way into Jerusalem. He took control of the Roman guard and ruled over the people, using those who joined him as soldiers.

2.21.2 | φθάνει δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁρμὴν Φῆλιξ, "ὑπαντήσας μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ὀπλιτῶν. καὶ πᾶς "ὸ δῆμος συνεφήψατο τῆς ἀμύνης, ὡστε συμβολῆς "γενομένης τὸν μὲν Αίγυπτιον φυγεῖν μετ' ὀλίγων, "διαφθαρῆναι δὲ καὶ ζωγρηθῆναι πλείστους τῶν σὺν

2.21.2 | Then Felix came upon him with the Roman soldiers. And the whole crowd joined in the defense, so that when a battle happened, the Egyptian fled with a few, while most of those with him were killed or captured.

2.21.3 | ταῦτα ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἱστοριῶν  
ὸ Ιώσηπος· ἐπιστῆσαι δὲ ἄξιον τοῖς  
ἐνταῦθα κατὰ τὸν Αἴγυπτιον δεδηλωμένοις  
καὶ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων.  
ἔνθα τὰ κατὰ Φήλικα πρὸς τοῦ ἐν  
Ἱεροσολύμοις χιλιάρχου εἴρηται τῷ Παύλῳ,  
ὅπηνίκα κατεστασίαζεν αὐτοῦ τὸ τῶν  
Ἰουδαίων πλῆθος· οὐκ ἄρα σὺ εἰ ὁ  
Αἴγυπτιος ὁ πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν  
ἀναστατώσας καὶ ἔξαγαγὼν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ  
τοὺς τετρακισχλίους ἄνδρας τῶν  
σικαρίων;" ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Φήλικα  
τοιαῦτα.

## Section 22

2.22.1 | [Nic. H. E. II, 28 –33] Τούτου δὲ  
Φῆστος ὑπὸ Νέρωνος διάδοχος πέμπεται,  
καθ' ὃν δικαιολογησάμενος ὁ Παῦλος  
δέσμιος ἐπὶ Ψώμης ἄγεται. Ἀρίσταρχος δ'  
αὐτῷ συνῆν, ὃν καὶ είκότως  
συναιχμάλωτόν που τῶν ἐπιστολῶν  
ἀποκαλεῖ. καὶ Λουκᾶς δὲ, ὁ τὰς πράξεις τῶν  
ἀποστόλων γραφῆ παραδοὺς, ἐν τούτοις  
κατέλυσε τὴν ἱστορίαν, διετίαν ὅλην ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τῆς Ψώμης τὸν Παῦλον ἀνετον διαστρῖψαι,  
καὶ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον ἀκωλύτως κηρῦξαι  
ἐπισημηνάμενος.

2.22.2 | τότε μὲν οὖν ἀπολογησάμενον  
αὐθίς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος διακονίαν  
λόγος ἔχει στείλασθαι τὸν ἀπό στόλον 5  
δεύτερον δ' ἐπιβάντα τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει τῷ  
κατ' αὐτὸν τελειωθῆναι μαρτυρίῳ. ἐν ᾧ  
δεσμοῖς ἔχόμενος τὴν πρὸς Τιμόθεον  
δευτέραν ἐπιστολὴν συντάττει ὁμοῦ  
σημαίνων τὴν τε προτέραν αὐτῷ γενομένη  
ἀπολογίαν καὶ τὴν παρὰ πόδας τελείωσιν.

2.21.3 | These things are found in the  
second book of the histories by Josephus. It  
is worth noting here about the Egyptian  
and those mentioned in the Acts of the  
Apostles. There, it is said about Felix and  
the tribune in Jerusalem, when he was  
causing trouble among the Jewish crowd:  
"Are you not the Egyptian who stirred up  
trouble a few days ago and led four  
thousand men, the assassins, into the  
wilderness?" But these are the matters  
concerning Felix.

2.22.1 | Then Festus was sent by Nero as  
his successor, and Paul, having made his  
defense, was taken as a prisoner to Rome.  
Aristarchus went with him, who is also  
rightly called a fellow prisoner in some of  
the letters. And Luke, who wrote the Acts of  
the Apostles, in these things summarized  
the history, showing that Paul spent a  
whole two years in Rome without being  
hindered, and he boldly preached the word  
of God.

2.22.2 | Then, after making his defense  
again for the ministry of preaching, he had  
a message sent to the apostle. When he  
arrived in the same city, he completed his  
testimony. While in chains, he wrote the  
second letter to Timothy, also mentioning  
the earlier defense he had made and the  
completion of his life.

2.22.3 | δέχου δὴ καὶ τούτων τάς αὐτοῦ μαρτυρίας· "ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ μου, φησὶν, ἀπολογίᾳ οὐδείς μοι συμπαρεγένετο, ἀλλὰ πάντες με ἐγκατέλιπον, μὴ αὐτοῖς λογισθείη], ὃ δὲ κύριός μοι παρέστη καὶ ἐνεδυνάμωσέ με, ἵνα δὲ ἔμοι τὸ κήρυγμα πληροφορηθῇ καὶ ἀκούσωσι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ ἐρρύσθη ἐκ στόματος λέοντος."

2.22.4 | σαφῶς δὴ παρίστησι διὰ τούτων ὅτι δὴ τὸ πρότερον, ὅπως ἀν τὸ κήρυγμα τὸ δὶ' αὐτοῦ πληρωθείη, ἐρρύσθη ἐκ στόματος λέοντος, (τὸν Νέρωνα ταύτη, ὡς ἔσικε, διὰ τὸ ὡμόθυμον προσειπών). οὐκ οὖν ἐξῆς προστέθεικε παραπλήσιόν τι τῷ "ἢσεται με ἐκ στόματος λέοντος." ἐώρα γὰρ τῷ πνεύματι τὴν ὅσον οὕπω μέλλουσαν αὐτοῦ τελευτήν.

2.22.5 | διό φησιν ἐπιλέγων τῷ 'καὶ ἐρρύσθη ἐκ στόματος λέοντος" τὸ "ἢσεται με ὁ κύριος ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ, καὶ σώσει εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπουράνιον,' σημαίνων τὸ παραυτίκα μαρτύριον, ὃ καὶ σαφέστερον ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ προλέγει γραφῇ φάσκων "ἔγὼ γὰρ ἥδη σπένδομαι, καὶ ὁ καιρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀναλύσεως ἐφέστηκεν."

2.22.6 | νῦν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς δευτέρας ἐπιστολῆς τῶν πρὸς Τιμόθεον τὸν Λουκᾶν μόνον γράφοντι αὐτῷ συνεῖναι δηλοῦ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν προτέραν ἀπολογίαν οὐδὲ τοῦτον διθεν εἰκότως τὰς τῶν ἀποστόλων πράξεις ἐπ' ἑκεῖνον ὁ Λουκᾶς περιέγραψε τὸν χρόνον, τὴν μέχρις ὅτε τῷ Παύλῳ συνῆν

2.22.3 | Receive also his testimonies: "In my first defense," he says, "no one stood by me, but everyone deserted me. May it not be counted against them. But the Lord stood by me and strengthened me, so that through me the preaching might be fully proclaimed and all the nations might hear it, and I was rescued from the mouth of the lion."

2.22.4 | Clearly, he shows through these things that before, in order for the preaching through him to be fulfilled, he was rescued from the mouth of the lion (referring to Nero, it seems, because of his fierce nature). Therefore, he did not add anything similar to "he will rescue me from the mouth of the lion." For he saw in the spirit how his end was not yet near.

2.22.5 | Therefore, he says, choosing the phrase "and I was rescued from the mouth of the lion," to mean "the Lord will rescue me from every evil work and will save me into his heavenly kingdom," indicating the immediate testimony, which he also states more clearly in the same writing, saying, "For I am already being poured out, and the time of my departure has come."

2.22.6 | Now, in the second letter to Timothy, it shows that only Luke was with him writing. In the earlier defense, Luke did not mention him, as he described the actions of the apostles during the time when he was with Paul.

ιστορίαν ὑφηγησάμενος.

2.22.7 | ταῦτα δὲ ἡμῖν εἴρηται παρισταμένοις ὅτι μὴ καθ' ἦν ὁ Λουκᾶς ἀνέγραψεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ Παύλου τὸ μαρτύριον αὐτῷ συνεπεράνθη.

2.22.7 | These things have been said to us, showing that when Luke wrote about Paul's visit to Rome, his testimony was included.

2.22.8 | εἰκός γέ τοι κατὰ μὲν ἀρχὰς ἡπιώτερον τοῦ Νέρωνος διακειμένου ḥῶν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δόγματος τοῦ Παύλου καταδεχθῆναι ἀπολογίαν, προελθόντος δὲ εἰς ἀθεμίτους τόλμας μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὰ κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπιχειρῆσαι.

2.22.8 | It is likely that at first, when Nero was more mild, it was easier to accept Paul's defense of his teaching. But as time went on, he became bold with others and tried to act against the apostles.

## Section 23

2.23.1 | [Nic. H. E. II, 38] Ἰουδαῖοί γε μὴν τοῦ Παύλου Καίσαρα ἐπικαλεσαμένου, ἐπί τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ὑπὸ Φήστου παραπεμφθέντος, τῆς ἐλπίοος καθ' ἦν ἔξήρτυον αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἀποπεσόντες, ἐπὶ Ιάκωβον τὸν τοῦ κυρίου τρέπονται ἀδελφὸν, ὃ πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ὃ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐγκεχείριστο θρόνος. τοιαῦτα δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ κατὰ τούτου τολμᾶται.

2.23.1 | The Jews, when Paul called upon Caesar and was sent to the city of the Romans by Festus, lost hope in the plot they had against him. They turned against James, the brother of the Lord, who was the one appointed to the position of leadership among the apostles in Jerusalem. They dared to act in such a way against him.

2.23.2 | εἰς μέσον αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες ἄρνησιν τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πίστεως ἐπὶ παντὸς ἔζήτουν τοῦ λαοῦ. τοῦ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἀπάντων γνώμην ἐλευθέρᾳ φωνῇ καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ προσεδόκησαν ἐπὶ τῆς πληθύος ἀπάσης παρρησιασαμένου, καὶ ὅμοιογήσαντος νιὸν εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν, μηκέθ' οἷοί τε τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μαρτυρίαν φέρειν, τῷ καὶ δικαιότατον αὐτὸν παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσι

2.23.2 | They brought him into the middle and sought to deny the faith in Christ among all the people. But contrary to everyone's opinion, with a free voice and more boldly than they expected, the whole crowd spoke out and confessed that Jesus is the Son of God, our Savior and Lord. They could no longer bear the man's testimony, and they killed him, taking the opportunity to seize power in the chaos, since at that

δι' ἀκρότητα ἦς μετήει κατὰ τὸν βίον  
φιλοσοφίας τε καὶ θεοσεβείας  
πιστεύεσθαι, κτείνουσι, καιρὸν εἰς  
έξουσίαν λαβόντες τὴν ἀναρχίαν, ὅτι δὴ  
τοῦ Φήστου κατ' αὐτὸν καιροῦ ἐπὶ τῆς  
Ἰουδαίας τελευτήσαντος ἄναρχα καὶ  
ἀνεπιτρόπευτα τὰ τῆς αὐτόθι διοικήσεως  
καθειστήκει.

2.23.3 | τὸν δὲ τῆς τοῦ Ἰακώβου τελευτῆς  
τρόπον ἥδη μὲν πρότερον αἱ παρατεθεῖσαι  
τοῦ Κλήμεντος φωναὶ δεδηλώκασιν, ἀπὸ  
τοῦ πτερυγίου βεβλῆσθαι ξύλῳ τε τὴν πρὸς  
θάνατον πεπλῆχθαι αὐτὸν ἴστορηκότος.

2.23.4 | ἀκριβέστατά γε μὴν τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν  
ὁ Ἡγήσιππος, ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης τῶν  
ἀποστόλων γενόμενος διαδοχῆς, ἐν τῷ  
πέμπτῳ αὐτοῦ ὑπομνήματι τοῦτον λέγων  
ἰστορεῖ τὸν τρόπον "δια"δὲ 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 ἔκαλοῦντο.

2.23.5 | οὗτος "δὲ ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ  
ἄγιος ἦν. οἶνον καὶ σί"κερα οὐκ ἔπιεν, ούδε  
ἔμψυχον ἔφαγε. ξυρὸν ἐπὶ "τὴν κεφαλὴν  
αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἔλαιον οὐκ ἤλείψατο,  
"καὶ βαλανείῳ οὐκ ἔχρήσατο.

2.23.6 | τούτῳ μόνῳ ἔξῆν "εἰς τὰ ἄγια  
εἰσιέναι. ούδε γάρ ἔρεοῦν ἔφόρει, ἀλλὰ  
"σινδόνας. καὶ μόνος εἰσήρχετο εἰς τὸν  
ναὸν, ηὐρί"κετό τε κείμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς  
γόνασι, καὶ αἴτούμενος "ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ

time, with Festus having recently died in Judea, the government there was left without order and oversight.

2.23.3 | The way James died has already been revealed by the accounts of Clement, which show that he was struck by a wooden beam and was beaten to death.

2.23.4 | The most accurate details about him come from Hegesippus, who became a successor among the first apostles. In his fifth memoir, he tells the story that "the brother of the Lord, James, known as 'the Just,' was called so by everyone from the time of the Lord until our own day, since many were named James."

2.23.5 | He was holy from his mother's womb. He did not drink wine or strong drink, nor did he eat anything that had life. He did not let a razor come upon his head, he did not anoint himself with oil, and he did not use a bathhouse.

2.23.6 | He alone was allowed to enter the holy places. For he did not wear wool, but linen. And he would enter the temple alone, found kneeling and asking for forgiveness for the people, so that his knees became

άφεσιν, ώς άπεσκληκέναι τὰ γόνατα  
“αύτοῦ δίκην καμήλου, διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ κάμπτειν  
προσκυνοῦντα τῷ θεῷ τὰ γόνατα καὶ  
αἴτεῖσθαι ἄφεσιν τῷ “λαῷ.

2.23.7 | διά γέ τοι τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς  
δικαιοσύνης “αύτοῦ ἐκαλεῖτο δίκαιος καὶ  
ἀβλίας, ὃ ἔστιν Ἑλλη “νιστὶ περιοχὴ τοῦ  
λαοῦ καὶ δικαιοσύνη, ώς οἱ προφῆται  
δηλοῦσι περὶ αὐτοῦ.

2.23.8 | τινὲς οὖν τῶν ἐπτὰ “αἰρέσεων τῶν  
ἐν τῷ λαῷ, τῶν προγεγραμμένων μοι “ἐν  
τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν, ἐπυνθάνοντο αὐτοῦ τίς  
ἡ θύρα “τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. καὶ ἔλεγε τοῦτον εἶναι  
τὸν σωτῆρα.

2.23.9 | ἐξ “ῶν τινες ἐπίστευσαν ὅτι Ἰησοῦς  
ἔστιν ὁ Χριστός. αἱ “αἰρέσεις αἱ  
προειρημέναι οὐκ ἐπίστευον οὔτε ἀνά “οὔτε  
ἐρχόμενον ἀποδοῦν· αἱ ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ  
“ἔργα αὐτοῦ. δοσοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπίστευσαν, διὰ  
Ιάκωβον.

2.23.10 | πολλῶν οὖν καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων  
πιστευόντων ἦν “θόρυβος τῶν Ἰουδαίων  
καὶ γραμματέων καὶ Φαρι“σαίων λεγόντων  
ὅτι κινδυνεύει πᾶς ὁ λαὸς Ἰησοῦν “τὸν  
Χριστὸν προσδοκῶν. ἔλεγον οὖν  
συνελθόντες “τῷ Ἰακώβῳ· παρακαλοῦμέν  
σε, ἐπίσχες τὸν “έπει ἐπλανήθη εἰς Ἰησοῦν,  
ώς αὐτοῦ ὄντος τοῦ Χρι“στοῦ.  
παρακαλοῦμέν σε πεῖσαι πάντας τοὺς  
ἔλθόν “τας εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ πάσχα περὶ  
Ἰησοῦ. σοὶ γὰρ “πάντες πειθόμεθα. ἡμεῖς  
γάρ μαρτυροῦμέν σοι καὶ “πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ὅτι  
δίκαιος εῖ καὶ ὅτι πρόσωπον οὐ λαμβάνεις.

hard like a camel's, because he always bent down to worship God on his knees and ask for forgiveness for the people.

2.23.7 | Because of the greatness of his righteousness, he was called just and pious, which means in Greek "the protector of the people and righteousness," as the prophets show about him.

2.23.8 | Some of the seven sects among the people, which I have mentioned in my notes, were asking him who the door of Jesus was. And he said that this was the savior.

2.23.9 | From these, some believed that Jesus is the Christ. The sects mentioned before did not believe, neither in his coming nor in his returning, each according to their own actions. But those who did believe, did so because of James.

2.23.10 | So there was a commotion among many of the rulers, the Jews, the scribes, and the Pharisees, saying that all the people are in danger of expecting Jesus as the Christ. Therefore, they came together to James, saying, "We urge you, hold back the people, since they have been led astray to Jesus, as if he is the Christ. We ask you to persuade all those who come on the day of Passover about Jesus. For we all are persuaded by you. For we testify to you and all the people that you are just and that you do not show favoritism."

2.23.11 | πεῖσον οὖν σὺ τὸν ὄχλον περὶ Ἰησοῦ μὴ “πλανᾶσθαι. καὶ γὰρ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς καὶ πάντες πειθό “μεθά σοι. στῆθι οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ, “ἴνα ἄνωθεν ἡς ἐπιφανῆς καὶ ἡ εὐάκουστά σου τὰ “ρήματα παντὶ τῷ λαῷ. διὰ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα συνελη “λύθασι πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἑθνῶν.

2.23.12 | “ἔστησαν οὖν οἱ προειρημένοι γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρι“σαῖοι τὸν Ἰάκωβον ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ναοῦ, καὶ “ἔκραξαν αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπαν, δίκαιε, ὃ πάντες πείθε“σθαι ὀφείλομεν, ἐπεὶ ὁ λαὸς πλανᾶται ὅπίσω Ἰησοῦ “τοῦ σταυρωθέντος, ἀπάγγειλον ἡμῖν τίς ἡ θύρα τοῦ “Ιησοῦ.

2.23.13 | καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, τί με ἔπει“ρωτᾶτε περὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου; καὶ αὐτὸς κάθηται ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς μεγάλης “δυνάμεως, καὶ μέλλει ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν “τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

2.23.14 | καὶ πολλῶν πληροφορηθέντων, “καὶ δοξαζόντων ἐπὶ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τοῦ Ἰακώβου, καὶ “λεγόντων ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαβὶδ, τότε πάλιν οἱ αὐτοὶ τοὶ γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι πρὸς ἄλλήλους ἔλεγον, “κακῶς ἐποιήσαμεν τοιαύτην μαρτυρίαν παρασχόντες “τῷ Ἰησοῦ· ἀλλὰ ἀναβάντες καταβάλωμεν αὐτὸν, ἵνα “φοβηθέντες μὴ πιστεύσωσιν αὐτῷ.

2.23.15 | καὶ ἔκραξαν “λέγοντες, ὡ ὡ, καὶ ὡ

2.23.11 | So persuade the crowd about Jesus not to be led astray. For all the people and everyone is persuaded by you. Therefore, stand on the roof of the temple, so that you may be visible from above and your words may be heard by all the people. For because of Passover, all the tribes have gathered together, along with the nations.

2.23.12 | So the previously mentioned scribes and Pharisees set James on the roof of the temple, and they shouted to him and said, "Righteous one, to whom we all must listen, since the people are being led astray after Jesus, the one who was crucified, tell us who is the door of Jesus."

2.23.13 | And he answered with a loud voice, "Why do you ask me about Jesus, the son of man? He himself sits in heaven at the right hand of the great power, and he is about to come on the clouds of heaven."

2.23.14 | And many were convinced and praised the testimony of James, and they shouted "Hosanna to the son of David." Then again, the same scribes and Pharisees said to each other, "We have done wrong by giving such testimony to Jesus; but let us go up and bring him down, so that they may be afraid and not believe in him."

2.23.15 | And they cried out saying, "Oh, oh,

δίκαιος ἐπλανήθη. καὶ ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν γραφὴν τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐᾳ γεγραμμένην· “ἄρωμεν τὸν δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχρηστος ἡμῖν ἔστι· τοί“ νῦν τὰ γεννήματα τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν φάγονται.

and the righteous one has been led astray." And they fulfilled the scripture written in Isaiah: "Let us take away the righteous one, for he is troublesome to us; therefore, the fruits of their deeds will be eaten."

2.23.16 | ἀναβάντες οὖν κατέβαλον τὸν δίκαιον, καὶ ἔλεγον “ἀλλήλοις, λιθάσωμεν Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον. καὶ ἦρξαντο λιθάζειν αὐτὸν, ἐπεὶ καταβληθεὶς οὐκ ἀπέθανεν, θάνεν, ἀλλὰ στραφεὶς ἔθηκε τὰ γόνατα λέγων, “καλῶ, κύριε Θεὲ πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς” οὐ γάρ οἴδασι “τί ποιοῦσιν.

2.23.16 | Then they went up and threw down the righteous one, and they said to each other, 'Let us stone James the righteous.' And they began to stone him, but when he was thrown down, he did not die. Instead, turning around, he knelt down and said, 'Good Lord, God, Father, forgive them; for they do not know what they are doing.'

2.23.17 | οὕτω δὲ καταλιθοβολούντων αὐτὸν “εἰς τῶν Ἱερέων τῶν υἱὸν Φῆχαβ υἱοῦ Ραχαβεὶμ τῶν “μαρτυρουμένων ὑπὸ Ἱερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου ἔκραζε “λέγων, παύσασθε· τέ ποιεῖτε; εὔχεται ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν “ὁ δίκαιος.

2.23.17 | While they were stoning him, one of the priests, the son of Rechab, the son of Rachab, who were mentioned by the prophet Jeremiah, cried out saying, 'Stop! What are you doing? The righteous one is praying for you.'

2.23.18 | καὶ λαβών τις ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰς τῶν “γναφέων τὸ ξύλον, ἐν ᾧ ἀπεπίεζε τὰ ἱμάτια, ἤνεγκε “κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ δικαίου. καὶ οὕτως ἐμάρτυρε “ρησεν. καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ τόπῳ παρὰ τῷ “ναῷ, καὶ ἔτι αὐτοῦ ἡ στήλη μένει παρὰ τῷ ναῷ. ‘μάρτυς οὗτος ἀληθὴς Ἰουδαίοις τε καὶ “Ἐλλησι γεγένηται ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός ἔστιν. καὶ εὐθὺς Οὐε “σπασιανὸς πολιορκεῖ αὐτούς.”

2.23.18 | And one of the scribes took a piece of wood, with which he was pressing down his clothes, and brought it against the head of the righteous one. And so he testified. And they buried him in the place by the temple, and even now the stone remains by the temple. 'This true witness has become known to both Jews and Greeks that Jesus the Christ is.' And immediately, Vespasian besieged them.

2.23.19 | ταῦτα διὰ πλάτους συνῳδὰ τῷ Κλήμεντι καὶ ὁ Ἡγήσιππος, οὕτω δὲ ἄρα θαυμάσιός τις ἦν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασιν ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ βεβόητο ὁ Ἰάκωβος

2.23.19 | These things were sung by many along with Clement and Hegesippus. And thus, James was truly wonderful and was praised by all for his righteousness, as he

ώς καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίων ἔμφρονας δοξάζειν ταύτην εἶναι τὴν αἴτιαν τῆς παραχρῆμα μετὰ τὸ μαρτύριον αὐτοῦ πολιορκίας τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἥν δὲ οὐδὲν ἔτερον αὐτοῖς συμβῆναι ἡ διὰ τὸ κατ' αὐτοῦ τολμηθὲν ἄγος.

also made the Jews believe that this was the reason for the immediate siege of Jerusalem, which happened to them for no other reason than the offense committed against him.

2.23.20 | ἀμέλει γέ τοι καὶ ὁ Ἰώσηπος οὐκ ἀπώκνησε καὶ τοῦτ' ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτύρασθαι δι' ὧν φησι λέξεων "ταῦτα δὲ συμβέβηκεν" Ἰουδαίοις κατ' ἐκδίκησιν Ἰακώβου τοῦ δικαίου, ὃς ἦν ἀδελφὸς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, ἐπειδήπερ δικαιότατον αὐτὸν ὅντα οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀπέκτειναν."

2.23.20 | Indeed, Josephus did not hesitate to write this down, as he says in his words, 'These things happened to the Jews as punishment for James the righteous, who was the brother of Jesus called Christ, because the Jews killed him, even though he was very righteous.'

2.23.21 | ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐν εἰκοστῷ τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας δηλοῖ διὰ τούτων πέμπει "δὲ Καῖσαρ Ἀλβῖνον εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἔπαρχον, Φή"στου τὴν τελευτὴν πυθόμενος. ὁ δὲ παρειληφέναι, "νος, ὃν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην εἴπαμεν παρειληφέναι, "θρασὺς ἦν τὸν τρόπον καὶ τολμητὴς διαφερόντως, "ἄρεσιν δὲ μετήπει τὴν Σαδδουκαίων, οἵπερ εἰσὶ περὶ "τὰς κρίσεις ὡμοὶ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, καὶ "θῶς ἥδη δεδηλώκαμεν.

2.23.21 | He also shows the death of James in the twentieth book of his Antiquities, saying this: 'Caesar sent Albinus as governor to Judea, having learned of the death of Festus. And he had taken over the high priesthood, which we mentioned earlier. He was bold and very daring, and he followed the teachings of the Sadducees, who are known to be harsh in their judgments among all the Jews, as we have already made clear.'

2.23.22 | ἄτε δὴ οὖν τοιοῦτος ὧν "ὁ Ἀνανος, νομίσας ἔχειν καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον, διὰ τὸ "τεθνάναι μὲν Φῆστον, Ἀλβῖνον δὲ ἔτι κατὰ τὴν ὄδὸν "ὑπάρχειν, καθίζει συνέδριον κριτῶν, καὶ παραγαγών "εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ λεγομένου, "Ιάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, καὶ τινας ἐτέρους, ὡς παρανο"μησάντων κατηγορίαν ποιησάμενος παρέδωκε λευ"σθησομένους.

2.23.22 | Since Ananus was such a person, thinking he had a good opportunity because 'Festus had died and Albinus was still on the way,' he convened a council of judges. He brought before them the brother of Jesus called Christ, whose name was James, along with some others, making accusations against them as lawbreakers, and he handed them over to be tried.

2.23.23 | ὅσοι δὲ ἐδόκουν ἐπιεικέστατοι τῶν “κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀκριβεῖς, βαρέως ἥνεγκαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, καὶ πέμπουσι πρὸς “τὸν βασιλέα κρύφα, παρακαλοῦντες αὐτὸν ἐπιστεῖλαι “τῷ Ἀνάνῳ μηκέτι τοιαῦτα πράσσειν· μηδὲ γὰρ τὸ “πρῶτον ὄρθως αὐτὸν πεποιηκέναι.

2.23.24 | τινὲς δὲ αὐτόν καὶ “τὸν Ἀλβῖνον ὑπαντιάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας “ὸδοιποροῦντα, καὶ διδάσκουσιν ὡς οὐκ ἔξὸν ἦν Ἀνάνῳ “χωρὶς τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης καθίσαι συνέδριον. “Ἀλβῖνος δὲ πεισθεὶς τοῖς λεγομένοις γράφει με “όργης τῷ Ἀνάνῳ, λήψεσθαι παρ’ αὐτοῦ δίκας ἀπει “λῶν. λῶν. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἀγρίππας διὰ τοῦτο τ’ “ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφελόμενος αὐτοῦ ἀρξαντος μῆνα ‘τρεῖς, Ἰησοῦν τὸν τοῦ Δαμμαίου κατέστησεν.” τὸ αὐτὰ καὶ τὰ κατὰ Ἰάκωβον, οὗ ἡ πρώτη τῶν ὀνομαζομένων καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν εἶναι λέγεται.

2.23.25 | ίστέον δὲ ὡς νοθεύεται μὲν, οὐ πολλοὶ γοῦν τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτῆς ἔμνημόνουσαν, ὡς οὐδὲ τῆς λεγομένης Ἰούδα μιᾶς καὶ αὐτῆς οὕσης τῶν ἐπτὰ λεγομένων καθολικῷ ὅμως δ’ ἵσμεν καὶ ταύτας μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν πλείσταις δεδημοσιευμένας ἐκιλησίαις.

## Section 24

2.24.1 | [Nic. H. E. II, 15] Νέρωνος δὲ ὅγδοον ἀγοντος τῆς βασιλείας ἔτος πρῶτος μετὰ Μάρκου τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παροικίας Ἀννιανὸς τὴν

2.23.23 | Those who were considered the most fair and strict about the laws in the city were very upset about this. They sent a secret message to the king, asking him to stop Ananus from doing such things anymore, for he had not acted correctly in the first place.

2.23.24 | Some people met him and Albinus on the road from Alexandria, teaching that it was not right for Ananus to hold a council without his approval. Albinus, convinced by what they said, wrote to Ananus in anger, saying he would take legal action against him. And King Agrippa, for this reason, removed Ananus from the high priesthood after three months, and he appointed Jesus, the son of Damnaius, in his place. This is also related to James, of whom the first of the so-called Catholic letters is said to be.

2.23.25 | It should be known that it is corrupted, as not many of the ancient texts mention it. Just as there is not even one of the so-called Jude letters among the seven so-called Catholic letters, we do know that these letters, along with the others, have been published in many churches.

2.24.1 | In the eighth year of Nero's reign, the first year after Mark the Evangelist, Anianus takes over the ministry of the church in Alexandria.

λειτουργίαν διαδέχεται.

## Section 25

2.25.1 | [Nic. H. E. II, 34 — 37]

Κραταιουμένης δὲ ἦδη τῷ Νέρωνι τῆς ἀρχῆς, εἰς ἀνοσίους ἔξοκείλας ἐπιτηδεύσεις κατ' αὐτῆς ὠπλίζετο τῆς εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν εύσεβείας. γράφειν μὲν οὖν οἶδός τις οὐτος γεγένηται τὴν μοχθηρίαν οὐ τῆς παρούσης γένοιτ’ ἀν σχολῆς.

2.25.2 | πολλῶν γε μὴν τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀκριβεστάταις παραδεδωκότων διηγήσεσι, πάρεστιν ὅτῳ φύλον ἐξ αὐτῶν τὴν σκαιότητα τῆς τάνδρος ἐκτόπου καταθεωρῆσαι μανίας, καθ’ ἣν, οὐ μετὰ λογισμοῦ, μυρίων ὅσων ἀπωλείας διεξελθών ἐπὶ τοσαύτην ἥλασε μιαιφονίαν ώς μηδὲ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων τε καὶ φιλτάτων ἐπισχεῖν, μητέρα δὲ ὄμοιώς καὶ ἀδελφοὺς καὶ γυναικαὶ σὺν καὶ ἄλλοις μυρίοις τῷ γένει προσήκουσι τρόπον ἔχθρῶν καὶ πολεμίων ποικίλαις θανάτων ἴδεαις διαχρήσασθαι.

2.25.3 | ἐνέδει δὲ ἄρα τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπιγραφῆναι αὐτῷ, ὡς ἀν πρῶτος αὐτοκρατόρων τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον εύσεβείας πολέμιος ἀναδειχθείη.

2.25.4 | τούτου δὲ πάλιν ὁ Ψωμαῖος Τερτυλλιανὸς ὡδέ πως λέγων μνημονεύει “ἐντύχετε τοῖς “ὑπομνήμασιν ὑμῶν. ἐκεῖ εὐρήσετε πρῶτον Νέρωνα τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα, ἡνίκα μάλιστα ἐν Ρώμῃ τὴν ἀνατολὴν “πάσαν ὑποτάξας ὡμὸς ἦν εἰς πάντας, διώξαντα. “τοιούτῳ τῆς κολάσεως ἡμῶν

2.25.1 | While Nero was already strong in power, he was preparing for wicked actions against the worship of the one true God. Therefore, it seems that this person has become so evil that he would not have any rest from his wrongdoing.

2.25.2 | Many have given very detailed accounts about him, and it is possible for someone who is a friend to see the madness of this man. In his madness, he acted without reason, causing countless deaths, even among his closest and dearest, like his mother, brothers, and wife, along with many others related to him, treating them like enemies and using various cruel methods of killing.

2.25.3 | It was clear to everyone that he should be labeled as the first among rulers who became an enemy of true worship of God.

2.25.4 | Again, the Roman Tertullian mentions this in such a way: 'In your writings, you will find first that Nero was the one who, when he was most cruel in Rome, was harsh to everyone, pursuing them. We boast that he is the leader of our punishment. For whoever understands that

ἀρχηγῷ καυχώμεθα. ὁ γὰρ εἰδὼς ἐκεῖνον νοῆσαι δύναται, ως οὐκ “ἄν, εί μὴ μέγα τι ἀγαθὸν ἦν, ὑπὸ Νέρωνος κατακριθῆναι.”

can see that he would not have been condemned by Nero unless it was for something truly good.'

2.25.5 | ταύτη γοῦν οὗτος θεομάχος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πρῶτος ἀνακηρυχθεὶς ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπήρθη σφαγάς. Παῦλος δὴ οὖν ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ρώμης τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθῆναι, καὶ Πέτρος ὡσαύτως ἀνασκολιπισθῆναι κατ' αὐτὸν ἴστοροῦνται. καὶ πιστοῦνταί γε τὴν ἴστορίαν ἡ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου εἰς δεῦρο κρατήσασα ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτόθι κοιμητηρίων πρόσρησις.

2.25.5 | Indeed, this enemy of God was the first to be declared responsible for the massacres against the apostles. Paul, therefore, is said to have had his head cut off in Rome, and Peter is likewise said to have been crucified upside down. And the story of Peter and Paul is trusted, as they were buried in the nearby cemeteries.

2.25.6 | ούδεν δ' ἥττον καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἀνὴρ, Γάϊος ὄνόματι, κατὰ Ζεφυρίνον Ρωμαίων γεγονὼς ἐπίσκοπον· δὲς δὴ Πρόκλω τῆς κατὰ Φρύγας προϊσταμένω γνώμης ἔγγράφως διαλεχθεὶς αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν τόπων, ἐνθα τῶν είρημένων ἀποστόλων τὰ ιερὰ σκηνώματα κατατέθειται, φησίν “ἔγώ δὲ τὰ “τρόπαια τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχω δεῖξαι.

2.25.6 | Nevertheless, there was also a church leader named Gaius, who became a bishop among the Romans at Zephyrinus. He, having spoken in writing to Proclus, who was in charge in Phrygia, about these places where the holy tents of the mentioned apostles are laid to rest, says, 'I have to show the trophies of the apostles.'

2.25.7 | ἔὰν γὰρ θελήσῃς ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Βατικανὸν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ὄδὸν “τὴν Ωστίαν, εὐρήσεις τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ταύτην ίδρυσαμένων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.”

2.25.7 | For if you wish to go to the Vatican, or to the road called 'Ostian,' you will find the trophies of those who founded this church.

2.25.8 | ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄμφω καιρὸν ἐμαρτύρησαν, Κορινθίων ἐπίσκοπος Διονύσιος ἔγγράφως Ρωμαίοις ὅμιλῶν ὡδέ πως παρίστησιν “ταῦτα καὶ ὑμεῖς διὰ τῆς τοσαύτης νουθεσίας “τὴν ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φυτείαν γενηθεῖσαν “Ρωμαίων τε καὶ Κορινθίων συνεκεράσατε. καὶ γὰρ “ἄμφω καὶ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν Κόρινθον φυτεύσαντες ἡμᾶς ὁμοίως ἐδίδαξαν·

2.25.8 | As both of them testified at the same time, Dionysius, the bishop of Corinth, in writing to the Romans, presents these things in this way: 'And you, through such teaching, have joined the planting that came from Peter and Paul, both of you Romans and Corinthians. For both of them also planted us in our Corinth and taught us in the same way; and likewise, they taught

όμοιώς δὲ καὶ είς τὴν Ἰτο "λίαν ὄμόσε  
διδάξαντες ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν  
καιρόν." καὶ ταῦτα δὲ, ὡς ἀνὴρ ἔτι μᾶλλον  
πιστωθεὶς τὰ τῆς ἱστορίας.

## Section 26

2.26.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 3.] Αὔθις δ' ὁ  
Ἰώση(??) πλεῖστα ὅσα περὶ τῆς τὸ πᾶν  
Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος κατ' λαβούσης διελθών  
συμφορᾶς δηλοῦ κατὰ λέξιν, ἐ πλείστοις  
ἄλλοις μυρίους ὄσους τῶν παρὰ Ἰουδαῖοι  
τετιμημένων μάστιξιν αἰκισθέντας ἐν αὐτῇ  
τῇ Ἱερουσαλήμ ἀνασταυρωθῆναι ὑπὸ  
Φλώρου. τοῦτον δὲ εἶναι τῆς Ἰουδαίας  
ἐπίτροπον, ὃπηνίκα τὴν ἀρχὴν  
ἀναρριπισθῆναι τοῦ πολέμου, ἔτους  
δωδεκάτου τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας,  
συνέβη.

2.26.2 | εἴτα δὲ καὶ καθ' ὅλην τὴν Συρίαν  
ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀποστάσει δεινήν  
φησι κατειληφέναι ταραχὴν, πανταχόσε  
τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους πρὸς τῶν κατὰ πόλιν  
ἐνοίκων ὡσὰν πολεμίων ἀνηλεῶς  
πορθουμένων, ὥστε ὀρᾶν τὰς πόλεις  
μεστὰς ἀτάφων σωμάτων, καὶ νεκροὺς ἄμα  
νηπίοις γέροντας ἐρριμένους, γύναιά τε  
μηδὲ τῆς ἐπ' αἰδοῦ σκέπης μετειληφότα, καὶ  
πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἐπάρχιον μεστὴν ἀδιηγήτων  
συμφορῶν, μείζονα δὲ τῶν ἐκάστοτε  
τολμωμένων τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπειλουμένοις  
ἀνάτασιν. ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν ὁ Ἰώσηπος. καὶ  
τὰ μὲν κατὰ Ἰουδαίους ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

in Italy and testified at the same time.<sup>1</sup> And these things are said to make the history even more trustworthy.

2.26.1 | Again, Josephus, going through many things about the whole Jewish nation after the disaster, clearly states that many others were tortured in Jerusalem and were crucified by Florus. He was the governor of Judea when the beginning of the war happened, in the twelfth year of Nero's rule.

2.26.2 | Then he says that throughout all of Syria, during the Jewish revolt, there was a terrible disturbance, with people from the nation being ruthlessly attacked by those living in the cities, so that the cities were full of unburied bodies, with the dead lying together, infants and old people, and women not even covered by clothing. The whole region was filled with indescribable disasters, greater than those that each side had dared to inflict. This is stated by Josephus. And these things were about the Jews.

## Book Three (ΛΟΓΟΣ Γ.)

### Section 1

3.1.1 | [Nic. H. E. II, 39 –44. III, 1] Τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ Ἰουδαίους ἐν τούτοις ἦν. τῶν δὲ ἱερὸν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀποστόλων τε καὶ μαθητῶν ἐφ' ἄπασαν κατασπαρέντων τὴν οἰκουμένην, Θωμᾶς μὲν, ὡς ἡ παράδοσις περιέχει, τὴν Παρθίαν εἴληχεν, Ἀνδρέας δὲ τὴν Σκυθίαν, Ἰωάννης τὴν Ἀσίαν, πρὸς οὓς καὶ διατρίψας ἐν Ἐφέσω τελευτᾷ.

3.1.2 | Πέτρος δὲ ἐν Πόντῳ καὶ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ Βιθυνίᾳ Καππαδοκίᾳ τε καὶ Ἀσίᾳ κεκηρυχέναι τοῖς ἐν διασπορᾷ Ἰουδαίοις ἔσοικεν· ὃς καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει ἐν Ῥώμῃ γενόμενος ἀνεσκολοπίσθη κατὰ κεφαλῆς, οὕτως αὐτὸς ἀξιώσας παθεῖν.

3.1.3 | τί δεῖ περὶ Παύλου λέγειν, ἀπὸ Ιερουσαλήμ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ πεπληρωκότος τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τούτου Χριστοῦ, καὶ ὑστερον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος μεμαρτυρηκότος; ταῦτα Ὄριγένει κατὰ λέξιν ἐν τρίτῳ τόμῳ τῶν εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν ἔξηγητικῶν εἴρηται.

### Section 2

3.2.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 2] Τῆς δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας μετὰ τὴν Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου μαρτυρίαν πρῶτος κληροῦται τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν Λίνος. μνημονεύει τούτου Τιμοθέῳ γράφων ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ὁ Παῦλος κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τέλει τῆς ἐπιστολῆς πρόσρησιν.

3.1.1 | These things were about the Jews. As for the holy places of our Savior, when the apostles and disciples spread throughout the whole world, Thomas took Parthia, Andrew took Scythia, and John took Asia, where he also spent time in Ephesus before he died.

3.1.2 | Peter preached in Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia to the Jews who were scattered. He also ended up in Rome, where he was crucified upside down, as he felt worthy to suffer in that way.

3.1.3 | What is there to say about Paul? From Jerusalem to Illyricum, he filled the world with the gospel of Christ, and later in Rome, he testified during the time of Nero. These things are mentioned by Origen in the third volume of his commentaries on Genesis.

3.2.1 | After the martyrdom of Paul and Peter, Linus was the first to be appointed as bishop of the Roman church. Paul mentions him in a letter to Timothy from Rome at the end of the letter.

## Section 3

3.3.1 | [Nic. H. E. II, 45-46] Πέτρου μὲν οὖν ἐπιστολὴ μία ἡ λεγομένη αὐτοῦ προτέρα ἀνωμολόγηται· ταύτη δὲ καὶ οἱ πάλαι πρεσβύτεροι ὡς ἀναμφιλέκτῳ ἐν τοῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν κατακέχρηνται συγγράμμασι. τὴν δὲ φερομένην αὐτοῦ δευτέραν οὐκ ἔνδιαθηκον μὲν εἶναι παρειλήφαμεν, ὅμως δὲ πολλοῖς χρήσιμος φανεῖσα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐσπουδάσθη γραφῶν.

3.3.2 | τό γε μὴν τῶν ἐπικεκλημένων αὐτοῦ πράξεων, καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν ὄνομασμένον εὐαγγέλιον, τό τε λεγόμενον αὐτοῦ κήρυγμα, καὶ τὴν καλουμένην ἀποκάλυψιν ούδ' ὅλως ἐν καθολικαῖς ἴσμεν παραδεδομένα, ὅτι μήτε ἀρχαίων μήτε τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τις ἐκκλησιαστικὸς συγγραφεὺς ταῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν συνεχρήσατο μαρτυρίαις.

3.3.3 | προι'ούσης δὲ τῆς ἱστορίας προύργου ποιήσομαι σὺν ταῖς διαδοχαῖς ὑποσημήνασθαι τίνες τῶν κατὰ χρόνους ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων ὅποιαις κέχρηνται τόν ἀντιλεγομένων, τίνα τε περὶ τῶν ἔνδιαθήκων καὶ ὁμολογουμένων γραφῶν, καὶ ὅσα περὶ τῶν μὴ τοιούτων αὐτοῖς εἴρηται.

3.3.4 | ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ὄνομαζόμενα Πέτρου, ὧν μόνην μίαν γνησίαν ἔγνων ἐπιστολὴν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πάλαι πρεσβυτέροις ὡμολογημένην, τοσαῦτα.

3.3.5 | τοῦ δὲ Παύλου πρόδηλοι καὶ σαφεῖς αἱ δεκατέσσαρες ἐπιστολαί. ὅτι γε μήν

3.3.1 | One letter of Peter, called his first, is accepted as genuine. In this letter, the elders of old are clearly mentioned as having used it in their writings. However, we have not found the second letter attributed to him to be genuine, yet it seems useful to many and has been studied along with the other writings.

3.3.2 | Indeed, we know that none of the acts attributed to him, nor the gospel named after him, nor what is called his preaching, nor the revelation known by that name, are accepted in the universal churches, because no ancient or contemporary church writer has used their testimonies.

3.3.3 | Now, as I begin this history, I will point out, along with the succession of events, which church writers from different times have used the writings of those who are debated, what they have said about the accepted and acknowledged texts, and what has been said about those that are not like them.

3.3.4 | But the writings called Peter's, of which I know only one genuine letter that is acknowledged by the ancient elders, are as follows.

3.3.5 | There are clearly and distinctly fourteen letters of Paul. However, some

τινες ἡθετήκασι τὴν πρὸς Ἐβραίους, πρὸς τῆς Ψωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ως μὴ Παύλου οὖσαν αὐτὴν ἀντιλέγεσθαι φήσαντες, οὐ δίκαιον ἀγνοεῖν. καὶ τὰ περὶ ταύτης δὲ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν είρημένα κατὰ καιρὸν παραθήσομαι. οὐδὲ μὴν τὰς λεγομένας αὐτοῦ Πραξεῖς ἐν ἀναμφιλέκτοις παρείληφα.

have rejected the letter to the Hebrews, claiming that it does not belong to Paul, especially from the church of the Romans, which is not right to ignore. I will also mention what has been said about this in the times before us. Moreover, I have included his so-called Acts without any doubt.

3.3.6 | ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀπόστολος ἐν ταῖς ἐπὶ τέλει προσρήσεσι τῆς πρὸς Ψωμαίους μνήμην πεποίηται μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ Ἐρμᾶ, οὗ φασιν ὑπάρχειν τὸ τοῦ ποιμένος βιβλίον, ἰστέον ὡς καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς μὲν τινῶν ἀντιλέλεκται, δι' οὓς οὐκ ἀν ἐν διμολογούμενοις τεθείη, ὥφ' ἐτέρων δὲ ἀναγκαιότατον οἵς μάλιστα δεῖ στοιχειώσεως εἰσαγωγικῆς κέκριται. ὅθεν ἥδη καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις ἴσμεν αὐτὸν δεδημοσιευμένον, καὶ τῶν παλαιτάτων δὲ συγγραφέων κεχρημένους τινὰς αὐτῷ κατείληφα.

3.3.6 | Since the same apostle has made a mention of Hermas in his final remarks to the Romans, where they say the book of the Shepherd exists, you should know that this is disputed by some, who would not place it among the accepted writings. However, others consider it very necessary for introductory teaching. Therefore, we already know that it has been published in the churches, and I have included some of the oldest writers who have used it.

3.3.7 | ταῦτα είς παράστασιν τῶν τε ἀναντιρρήτων καὶ τῶν μὴ παρὰ πᾶσιν διμολογούμενων θείων γραμμάτων είρησθω.

3.3.7 | Let these things be said as a presentation of both the unquestionable and those not accepted by everyone as divine writings.

## Section 4

3.4.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 1-2] "Οτι μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἔξ έθνῶν κηρύσσων ὁ Παῦλος τοὺς ἀπὸ Ιερουσαλὴμ καὶ κύκλῳ μέχρι τού Ίλλυρικοῦ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καταβέβλητο θεμελίους δῆλον ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ γένοιτ' ἀν φωνῶν καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ὁ Λουκᾶς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσιν ἴστορησεν.

3.4.1 | That Paul, while preaching to the Gentiles, laid the foundations of the churches from Jerusalem and all around to Illyricum, is clear from his own words and from what Luke recorded in the Acts.

3.4.2 | καὶ ἐκ τῶν Πέτρου δὲ λέξεων ἐν  
δόποσαις καὶ οὗτος ἐπαρχίαις τοὺς ἐκ  
περιτομῆς τὸν Χριστὸν εὐαγγελιζόμενος  
τὸν τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης παρεδίδου λόγον  
σαφὲς ἀν εἴη ἀφ' ἣς εἰρήκαμεν  
δομολογουμένης αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολῆς, ἐν ḥ τοῖς  
ἐξ Ἐβραίων οὓσιν ἐν διασπορᾷ Πόντου καὶ  
Γαλατίας Καππαδοκίας τε καὶ Ἀσίας καὶ  
Βιθυνίας γράφει.

3.4.3 | ὅσοι δὲ τούτων καὶ τίνες γνήσιοι  
ζηλωταὶ γεγονότες τὰς πρὸς αὐτῶν  
ἰδρυθείσας ἱκανοὶ ποιμαίνειν  
ἔδοκιμάσθησαν ἐκκλησίας οὐ ράδιον  
είπειν, μὴ ὅτι γε ὅσους ἄν τις ἐκ τῶν  
Παύλου φωνῶν ἀναλέξοιτο.

3.4.4 | τούτου γὰρ οὖν μυρίοι συνεργοὶ καὶ  
ώς αὐτὸς ὡνόμασε συστρατιῶται  
γεγόνασιν, ὃν οἱ πλείους ἀλήστου πρὸς  
αὐτοῦ μνήμης ἡξίωνται, διηνεκῆ τὴν περὶ  
αὐτῶν μαρτυρίαν ταῖς ἴδιαις ἐπιστολαῖς  
έγκαταλέξαντος. οὐ μὴν ἄλλὰ καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς  
ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι τοὺς γνωρίμους αὐτοῦ  
καταλέγων ἔξ ὄνδρατος αὐτῶν μνημονεύει.

3.4.5 | Τιμόθεός γε μὴν τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ  
παροικίας ιστορεῖται πρῶτος τὴν  
ἐπισκοπὴν εἰληχέναι, ὡς καὶ Τίτος τῶν ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
Κρήτης ἐκκλησιῶν.

3.4.6 | Λουκᾶς δὲ τὸ μὲν γένος ὃν τῶν ἀπ'  
Ἀντιοχείας, τὴν ἐπιστήμην δὲ ἰατρὸς, τὰ  
πλεῖστα συγγεγονώς τῷ Παύλῳ, καὶ τοῖς  
λοιποῖς δὲ οὐ παρέργως τῶν ἀποστόλων  
ῷμιληκώς, ἣς ἀπὸ τούτων προσεκτήσατο  
ψυχῶν θεραπευτικῆς ἐν δυ' ἡμῖν  
ὑποδείγματα θεοπνεύστοις καταλέλοιπε

3.4.2 | And from Peter's words, in how  
many and which regions he preached  
Christ to the circumcised, it would be clear  
from his acknowledged letter, in which he  
writes to those from the Hebrews in the  
dispersion of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia,  
Asia, and Bithynia.

3.4.3 | But how many of these and which  
ones became true zealots, and were judged  
capable of shepherding the churches that  
were established among them, is not easy  
to say, especially since anyone could  
choose from Paul's words.

3.4.4 | For he had many co-workers, and as  
he himself named them, they became  
fellow soldiers, of whom many deserve to  
be remembered forever. He left a lasting  
witness about them in his own letters.  
Moreover, Luke, in the Acts, mentions those  
known to him by name.

3.4.5 | Timothy is indeed recorded as the  
first to have been chosen for the bishopric  
in Ephesus, just as Titus was for the  
churches in Crete.

3.4.6 | Luke, being of the lineage from  
Antioch and a physician by profession, was  
mostly associated with Paul. He also  
interacted with the other apostles. He  
collected examples of healing souls and left  
behind inspired writings in two books: the  
Gospel, which he is said to have written,

βιβλίοι τῷ τε εὐαγγελίῳ, δὲ καὶ χαράξαι μαρτυρεῖται, καὶ παρέδοντο αὐτῷ οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτόταται καὶ ὑπηρέτη γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου, οἵς καὶ φησιν ἐπάνωθεν ἀπὸ παρηκολουθηκέναι, καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀποστόλων πράξεσιν, ἃς οὐκέτι δι' ἀκοῆς, ὀφθαλμοῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς παρὰ λαβών συνετάξατο.

3.4.7 | φασὶ δὲ ὡς ἄρα τοῦ κατ' τὸν εὐαγγελίου μνημονεύειν ὁ Παῦλος εἴωθεν ὅπηνίκ' ὡς περὶ ἴδιου τινὸς εὐαγγελίου γράφων ἔλεγε "κατ' τὸ εὐαγγέλιον μου"

3.4.8 | τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἀκολούθοι τοῦ Παύλου Κρίσκης μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς Γαλλίας στειλάμει ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ μαρτυρεῖται, Λίνος δὲ, οὗ μέμνηται συνόντος ἐπὶ Ψώμης αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολὴν, πρῶτος μετὰ Πέτρον τῆς Ψωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἥδη πρότερον κληρωθεὶς δεδήλωται.

3.4.9 | ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Κλήμης τῆς Ψωμαίων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκκλησίας τρίτος ἐπίσκοπος καταστὰς Παύλου συνεργὸς καὶ συναθλητὴς γεγονέναι πρὸς αὐτοῦ μαρτυρεῖται.

3.4.10 | ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τὸν Ἀρεοπαγίτην ἐκεῖνον, Διονύσιος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, ὃν ἐν Πράξεσι μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους Παύλου δημηγορίαν πρῶτον πιστεῦσαι ἀνέγραψεν ὁ Λουκᾶς) τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐκκλησίας πρῶτον ἐπίσκοπον ἀρχαίων τις ἔτερος Διονύσιος τῆς Κορινθίων παροικίας ποιμὴν ἴστορεῖ

and the Acts of the Apostles. He received information from those who were from the beginning, who were eyewitnesses and servants of the word. He says that he followed these closely, and he compiled the deeds of the apostles, which he did not hear about but saw with his own eyes.

3.4.7 | They say that Paul was accustomed to mention the Gospel whenever he spoke about his own Gospel, saying, 'according to my Gospel.'

3.4.8 | Of the others who followed Paul, Crescens is said to have been sent to Galatia, while Linus, who is mentioned in the second letter to Timothy, is declared to have been the first to be appointed as bishop of the Roman church after Peter.

3.4.9 | But Clement, who became the third bishop of the Roman church, is also said to have been a coworker and companion of Paul.

3.4.10 | Besides these, there is also the Areopagite named Dionysius, who is said to have been the first to believe after Paul's speech to the Athenians on the Areopagus, as recorded by Luke. Another Dionysius, from the Corinthian community, is said to have been the first bishop of the church in Athens.

γεγονέναι.

3.4.11 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁδῷ προβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ καιροῦ τὰ τῆς κατὰ χρόνους τῶν ἀποστόλων διαδοχῆς ήμīν εἰρήσεται. νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξης ἴωμεν τῆς ἱστορίας.

3.4.11 | But as they go along, the order of the succession of the apostles will be told in due time. Now, let us move on to the next part of the history.

## Section 5

3.5.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 8] Μετὰ Νέρωνα δέκα πρὸς τρισὶν ἔτεσι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπικρατήσαντα τῶν ἀμφὶ Γάλβαν καὶ "Οθωνα ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ μησὶν ἔξ διαγενομένων Οὐεσπασιανὸς, ταῖς κατὰ Ἰουδαίων παρατάξεσι λαμπρυνόμενος, βασιλεὺς ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἀναδείκνυται τῆς Ἰουδαίας, αὐτοκράτωρ πρὸς τῶν αὐτόθι στρατοπέδων ἀναγορευθείς. τὴν ἐπὶ Ρώμης οὖν αὐτίκα στειλάμενος Τίτω τῷ παιδὶ τὸν κατὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐγχειρίζει πόλεμον.

3.5.1 | After Nero, in the tenth year of the rule of those around Galba and Otho, Vespasian became emperor after six years had passed. He was honored for his campaigns against the Jews and was declared king of Judea, having been proclaimed emperor at the camps there. Therefore, he immediately sent his son Titus to take charge of the war against the Jews.

3.5.2 | μετά γε μὴν τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀνάληψιν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς τῷ κατ' αὐτοῦ τολμήματι ἥδη καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ πλείστας ὅσας ἐπιβουλὰς μεμηχανημένων, πρώτου τε Στεφάνου λίθοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀνηρημένου, εἴτα δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἰακώβου, ὃς ἦν Ζεβεδαίου μὲν παῖς, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἰωάννου, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθέντος, ἐπὶ πᾶσί τε Ἰακώβου, τοῦ τὸν αὐτόθι τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς θρόνον πρώτου μετὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀνάληψιν κειληρωμένου, τὸν προδηλωθέντα τρόπον μεταλλάξαντος, τῶν τε λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων μυρία εἰς θάνατον ἐπιβεβουλευμένων, καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἰουδαίας γῆς ἀπεληλαμένων, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τοῦ κηρύγματος διδασκαλίᾳ τὴν εἰς σύμπαντα τὰ ἔθνη στειλαμένων πορείαν

3.5.2 | After the ascension of our Savior, the Jews, emboldened by this act, plotted many schemes against his apostles. First, they stoned Stephen, and then after him, James, who was the son of Zebedee and the brother of John, was beheaded. This James was the first to be chosen for the bishopric there after the ascension of our Savior. Many of the other apostles were also condemned to death, and some were driven out of Judea. They were sent to preach the message to all nations, with the power of Christ saying to them, 'Go therefore and make disciples of all nations in my name.'

σὺν δυνάμει τοῦ Χριστοῦ φήσαντος αύτοῖς  
“πορευθέντες μαθητεύ“σατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη  
ἐν τῷ ὄνόματί μου,”

3.5.3 | οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τῆς ἐν  
Ἱεροσολύμοις ἑκκλησίας κατά τινα  
χρησμὸν τοῖς αὐτόθι δοκίμοις δι'  
ἀποκαλύψεως διθέντα πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου  
μεταναστῆναι τῆς πόλεως καί τινα τῆς  
Περαίας πόλιν οἴκειν κεκελευσμένου,  
Πέλλαν αὐτὴν ὄνομάζουσιν, ἐν ᾧ τῶν εἰς  
Χριστὸν πεπιστευκότων ἀπὸ τῆς  
Ἱερουσαλὴμ μετωκισμένων, ὡσὰν  
παντελῶς ἐπιλελοιπότων ἀγίων ἀνδρῶν  
αὐτήν τε τὴν Ἰουδαίων βασιλικὴν  
μητρόπολιν καὶ σύμπασαν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν  
γῆν, ἡ ἐκ θεοῦ δίκη λοιπὸν αὐτοὺς ἄτε  
τοσαῦτα εἴς τε τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ τοὺς  
ἀποστόλους αὐτοῦ παρηνομηκότας μετήιει,  
τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἄρδην τὴν γενεὰν αὐτὴν  
ἔκείνην ἔξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανίζουσα.

3.5.4 | ὅσα μὲν οὖν τηνικάδε κατὰ πάντα  
τόπον ὅλω τῷ ἔθνει συνερρύῃ κακὰ, ὅπως  
τε αὐτὸν μάλιστα οἱ τῆς Ἰουδαίας οἰκήτορες  
εἰς ἔσχατον περιηλάθησαν συμφορῶν,  
ὅπόσαι τε μυριάδες ἡβηδὸν γυναιξὶν ἄμα  
καὶ παισὶ ξίφει καὶ λιμῷ καὶ μυρίοις ἄλλοις  
εἴδεσι περιπεπτώκασι θανάτου, πόλεων τε  
Ἰουδαϊκῶν ὅσαι τε καὶ οἷαι γεγόνασι  
πολιορκίαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπόσα οἱ ἐπ' αὐτὴν  
Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὡσὰν ἐπὶ μητρόπολιν  
όχυρωτάτην καταπεφευγότες δεινὰ καὶ  
πέρα δεινῶν ἐωράκασι, τοῦ τε παντὸς  
πολέμου τὸν τρόπον, καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτῳ  
γεγενημένων ἐν μέρει ἔκαστα, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τέλει τὸ πρὸς τῶν προφητῶν  
ἀνηγορευμένον βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως  
ἐν αὐτῷ κατέστη τῷ πάλαι τοῦ θεοῦ  
περιβοήτῳ νεῷ, παντελῇ φθορᾷν καὶ

3.5.3 | However, the people of the church in  
Jerusalem, following a certain prophecy  
given to the worthy there through  
revelation, were commanded to leave the  
city before the war and to settle in a city of  
Perea, which they call Pella. In this city,  
many believers in Christ from Jerusalem  
had moved, as if completely abandoned by  
the holy men, both the royal mother city of  
the Jews and all the land of Judea. The  
judgment from God then pursued them, as  
they had sinned so much against Christ and  
his apostles, completely wiping out that  
generation of the wicked.

3.5.4 | Therefore, many evils flowed  
everywhere throughout the whole nation,  
so that the inhabitants of Judea were driven  
to the very end of misfortunes. Countless  
young women and children fell by the  
sword, starvation, and many other forms of  
death. Many cities of Judea faced sieges,  
and those who took refuge in Jerusalem,  
the strongest mother city, saw terrible  
things and even worse. They witnessed the  
entire nature of the war and everything  
that happened in parts of it. In the end, the  
prophecy of desolation was fulfilled in the  
temple of God, which had long been a place  
of great destruction and complete ruin,  
remaining only as a remnant through fire.  
It is possible for anyone who wishes to  
read the detailed history written by

άφανισμὸν ἔσχατον τὸν διὰ πυρὸς  
ὑπομείναντι, πάρεστιν ὅτῳ φίλον ἐπ'  
ἀκριβὲς ἐκ τῆς τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ γραφείσης  
ἀναλέξασθαι ἴστορίας.

Josephus.

3.5.5 | ως δὲ αύτὸς οὕτος τῶν  
ἀθροισθέντων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀπάσης ἐν  
ἡμέραις τῆς τοῦ Πάσχα ἑορτῆς ὥσπερ ἐν  
εἰρκτῇ ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς ἀποκλεισθῆναι εἰς  
τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀμφὶ τριακοσίας μυριάδας  
τὸ πλῆθος ἴστορεῖ, ἀναγκαῖον  
ὑποσημήνασθαι.

3.5.5 | As this group gathered from all of Judea during the days of the Passover festival, they were shut in like in a prison, with the number of people being about three hundred thousand. It is important to note this.

3.5.6 | χρῆν γοῦν, ἐν αἷς ἡμέραις  
τὸνπάντων σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην τὸν  
Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ κατὰ τὸ πάθος  
διατέθεινται, ταῖς αύταις ὥσπερ ἐν εἰρκτῇ  
κατακλεισθέντας τὸν μετελθόντα αύτοὺς  
ὅλεθρον πρὸς τῆς θείας δίκης  
καταδέξασθαι.

3.5.6 | Indeed, during those days, when the Savior and benefactor Christ of God was being prepared for suffering, they were shut in like in a prison, facing destruction as a result of divine judgment.

3.5.7 | παρελθών δὴ τὰ τῶν ἐν μέρει  
συμβεβηκότων αύτοῖς ὅσα διὰ ξίφους καὶ  
ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐγκεχείρισται  
μόνας τὰς διὰ τοῦ λιμοῦ ἀναγκαῖον  
ἡγοῦμαι συμφορὰς παραθέσθαι, ὡς ἂν ἐκ  
μέρους ἔχοιεν οἵ τῇδε τῇ γραφῇ  
ἐντυγχάνοντες εἰδέναι ὅπως αύτοὺς τῆς εἰς  
τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ παρανομίας οὐκ εἰς  
μακρὸν ἡ ἐκ θεοῦ μετῆλθε τιμωρία.

3.5.7 | After discussing what had happened to those in the area, I think it is necessary to mention the disasters they faced from the sword and other means, especially those caused by starvation. This way, those reading this text can understand how they did not escape the punishment from God for their wrongdoing against Christ.

## Section 6

3.6.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 6] Φέρε δὴ οὗν τῶν  
ἱστοριῶν τὴν πέμπτην τοῦ Ἰωσήπου μετὰ  
χεῖρας αὖθις ἀναλαβὼν τῶν τότε  
πραχθέντων δίελθε τὴν τραγῳδίαν· τοῖς γε  
μὴν εὐπόροις" φησὶ "καὶ τὸ μένειν πρὸς

3.6.1 | Now, take up the fifth book of Josephus's histories and go through the tragedy of what happened then. He says that for those who were able, staying meant equal loss. For some, the excuse of

“ἀπωλείας ἵσον ἦν. προφάσει γὰρ αὐτομολίας ἀνη “ρεῖτό τις διὰ τὴν ούσιαν. τῷ λιμῷ δὲ ἡ ἀπόνοια ‘τῶν στασιαστῶν συνήκμαζε, καὶ καθ’ ἡμέραν ἀμφότερα προσεξεκάετο τὰ δεινά.

3.6.2 | φανερὸς μέν γε ού “δάμου σῆτος ἦν, ἐπεισπηδῶντες δὲ διηρεύνων τὰς “οίκιας, ἔπειθ’ εὐρόντες μὲν ὡς ἀρνησαμένους ἥκι “ζοντο, μὴ εὐρόντες δὲ ὡς ἔπιμελέστερον κρύψαντας ἐβασάνιζον. τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦ τ’ ἔχειν καὶ μὴ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀθλίων ἦν, ὃν οἱ μὲν ἔτι συνεστῶτες εύπορεῖν τροφῆς ἐδόκουν, οἱ τηκόμενοι δὲ ἥδη παρωδεύοντο, καὶ κτείνειν ἄλογον ἐδόκει τοὺς ὑπ’ ἐνδείας τεθνηξομένους αὐτίκα.

3.6.3 | πολλοὶ δὲ λάθρα τὰς κτήσεις ἐνὸς ἀντικατηλλάξαντο μέτρου, πυρῶν μὲν, εἰ πλουσιώτεροι τυγχάνοιεν ὅντες, οἱ δὲ πενέ “στεροι κριθῆσ. ἔπειτα κατακλείοντες ἐαυτοὺς εἰς τὰ μυχαίτατα τῶν οίκιῶν τινὲς μὲν ὑπ’ ἄκρας ἐνδείας “τὸν σῆτον ἥσθιον, οἱ δὲ ἔπεισσον, ὡς ἢ τε ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ δέος παρήνει.

3.6.4 | καὶ τράπεζα μὲν “ούδαμοῦ παρειθετο, τοῦ δὲ πυρὸς ἀφέλκοντες ἔτ’ “ώματά τὰ σιτία διήρπαζον. ἐλεεινὴ δ’ ἦν ἡ τροφὴ κ’ “δακρύων ἄξιος ἡ θέα, τῶν μὲν δυνατωτέρων πλέο “νεκτούντων, τῶν δὲ ἀσθενῶν ὁδυρομένων.

3.6.5 | πά “των μὲν δὴ παθῶν ὑπερίσταται λιμὸς, οὐδὲν “ούτως ἀπόλλυσιν ὡς αἰδώς, τὸ γὰρ ἄλλως ἐντροπῆς “ἄξιον ἐν τούτῳ καταφρονεῖται. γυναῖκες γοῦν ἀν “δρῶν καὶ

fleeing was due to their possessions. But hunger was causing madness among the rebels, and every day both sides faced terrible things.

3.6.2 | Clearly, there was no food in the city. As they rushed into the houses, those they found were treated as if they had denied it, while those they did not find were tortured as if they had hidden it more carefully. A sign of having food was not the bodies of the poor, some of whom still seemed able to find food, while others were already melting away, and it seemed unreasonable to kill those who were dying from hunger.

3.6.3 | Many secretly exchanged their possessions for food, some trading wheat if they were richer, while the poorer ones traded for barley. Then, locking themselves in the deepest parts of their houses, some ate food out of extreme hunger, while others fell down, as necessity and fear urged them on.

3.6.4 | And no table was set anywhere, but they were still snatching raw food from the fire. The food was pitiful, and the sight was worthy of tears, with the stronger killing more, while the weaker were crying out in pain.

3.6.5 | Among all the sufferings, hunger stands out; nothing destroys like shame. For in this, the other feelings of embarrassment are disregarded. Women,

παῖδες πατέρων, καὶ τὸ οἴκτρότατον, μ'  
‘τέρες νηπίων ἔξηρπαζον ἔξ αὐτῶν τῶν  
στομάτων τ’ τροφάς. καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων ἐν  
χερσὶ μαραινομένῳ “οὐκ ἦν φειδὼ τοὺς τοῦ  
ζῆν ἀφελέσθαι σταλαγμοῦ”

indeed, were taking food from men, and the most pitiful thing was that they were snatching food from the mouths of helpless infants. And among the dearest, there was no mercy for those who were dying, as they took away the drops of life.

3.6.6 | τοιαῦτα δ' ἐσθίοντες ὅμως οὐ  
διελάνθανον. πανταχοῦ δ' οὖν ἐφίσταντο  
οἱ στασιασταὶ καὶ τούτω “ταῖς ἀρπαγαῖς.  
ὅποτε γάρ κατίδοιεν ἀποκεκλεισμένη  
“οἰκίαν, σημεῖον ἦν τοῦτο τοὺς ἔνδον  
προσφέρεσθαι “τροφήν. εὐθέως δὲ  
εἰσαράξαντες τὰς θύρας εἰσεπή·δων, καὶ  
μόνον οὐκ ἐκ τῶν φαρύγγων  
ἀναθλίβον“τες τοὺς ἀκόλους ἀνέφερον.

3.6.6 | While they were eating such things, they were still not safe. Everywhere, the robbers stood ready for these raids. For whenever they saw a house closed up, this was a sign that those inside had food. Immediately, they would break down the doors and rush in, and they would not only take food from the throats of the helpless but also lift them up.

3.6.7 | ἐτύπτοντο δὲ γέρον“τες ἀντεχόμενοι  
τῶν σιτίων, καὶ κόμης ἐσπαράσσοντο  
“γυναῖκες, συγκαλύπτουσαι τὰ ἐν χερσὶν·  
ούδέ τις “ἦν οἶκτος πολιάς ἢ νηπίων, ἀλλὰ  
συνεπαίροντες “νήπια τῶν ψωμῶν  
ἐκκρεμάμενα κατέσειον εἰς ἔδα“φος. τοῖς  
δὲ φθάσασι τὴν εἰσδρομὴν αὐτῶν καὶ  
“προκαταπιοῦσι τὸ ἀρπαγησόμενον ὡς  
ἀδικηθέντες ‘ἥσαν ώμότεροι.

3.6.7 | The old men were being beaten while holding on to their food, and women were being pulled by their hair, trying to cover what they had in their hands. There was no pity for the old or the infants, but they were dragging the babies down to the ground, still holding onto their pieces of bread. Those who reached them first would swallow the food they were about to take, as if they had been wronged and were more ruthless.

3.6.8 | δεινὰς δὲ βασάνων ὄδοις ἐπε'νόουν  
πρὸς ἔρευναν τροφῆς, ὄρόβοις μὲν  
ἐμφράττοντες τοῖς ἀθλίοις τοὺς τῶν  
αἰδοίων πόρους, ὥραδοις δὲ ὄξείαις  
ἀναπείροντες τὰς ἔδρας. τὰ φρικτὰ δὲ καὶ  
‘άκοαῖς ἔπασχέ τις εἰς ἔξομολόγησιν ἐνὸς  
ἄρτου καὶ “ἔνα μηνύσῃ δράκα μίαν  
κεκρυμμένην ἀλφίτων.

3.6.8 | They were searching for food through terrible paths of torture, blocking the poor from their private places with obstacles, and using sharp sticks to poke at their seats. Some were suffering from frightful sounds, begging for just one piece of bread and to reveal a hidden handful of flour.

3.6.9 | οὶ “βασανισταὶ δ’ οὐκ ἐπείνων, (καὶ γὰρ ἀν ἡττον ὥμδον “ἥν τὸ μετ’ ἀνάγκης), γυμνάζοντες δὲ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν, ‘καὶ προπαρασκευάζοντες ἐαυτοῖς εἰς τὰς ἐξῆς ἡμέρας ἔφοδια.

3.6.10 | τοῖς δ’ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων φρουρὰν νύ“κτωρ ἔξερπύσασιν ἐπὶ λαχάνων συλλογὴν ἄγριων καὶ πόας ὑπαντῶντες, ὅτι ἥδη διαπεφευγέναι τοὺς “πολεμίους ἐδόκουν, ἀφήρπαζον τὰ κομισθέντα, καὶ “πολλάκις ἱκετεύονταν, καὶ τὸ φρικτότατον ἐπικαλοῦμένων ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ, μεταδοῦναί τι μέρος αὐτοῖς ὁ ὄν κινδυνεύσαντες ἤνεγκαν, οὐδ’ ὅτιοῦν μετέδοσαν. ‘ἀγαπητὸν δ’ ἥν τὸ μὴ καὶ προσαπολέσθαι σεσυλημένον.”

3.6.11 | τούτοις δὲ μεθ’ ἔτερα ἐπιφέρει λέγων Ἰουδαίοις δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἔξόδων ἀπεκόπη πᾶσα σωτηρίας ἐλπίς. καὶ βαθύνας ἐαυτὸν ὁ λιμὸς κατ’ οἴκους “καὶ γενεὰς τὸν δῆμον ἐπεβόσκετο. καὶ τὰ μὲν τέγη ‘πεπλήρωτο γυναικῶν καὶ βρεφῶν λελυμένων, οἱ “στενωποὶ δὲ γερόντων νεκρῶν.

3.6.12 | παῖδες δὲ καὶ ‘νεανίαι διοιδοῦντες ὥσπερ εἴδωλα κατὰ τὰς ἀγορὰς “ἀνειλοῦντο καὶ κατέπιπτον, ὅπῃ τινὰ τὸ πάθος καταλαμβάνοι· θάπτειν δὲ τοὺς προσήκοντας οὕτε ἵσχουν οἱ κάμνοντες, καὶ τὸ διευτονοῦν ὕκνει, διά τε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ τὸ κατὰ σφᾶς ἄδηλον. πολλοὶ γοῦν τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν θαπτομένοις ἐπαπέθνησκον, πολλοὶ δ’ ἐπὶ τὰς θήκας, πρὶν ἐπιστῆναι τὸ χρεών) προηλθον.

3.6.9 | The torturers did not stop, for it was even more cruel to be forced to endure it. They were sharpening their cruelty and preparing supplies for themselves for the days to come.

3.6.10 | Those who had escaped from the Roman guard at night gathered wild plants and met with others, thinking they had already escaped from the enemies. They seized what had been brought, and many begged, calling out the most terrible name of the god, asking for a share of what they had risked their lives to bring, but they did not give them anything. It was dear to them not to lose what had been stolen.

3.6.11 | To these, he added other things, saying that for the Jews, all hope of salvation was cut off with their exits. And famine deeply affected the homes and generations of the people. The roofs were filled with women and children who were weakened, while the narrow streets were filled with the dead of the old.

3.6.12 | Boys and young men wandered through the marketplaces like shadows, being taken by their suffering and falling down wherever they were struck by it. Those who were weak could not even bury their relatives, and they hesitated to dig graves because of the number of dead and the uncertainty about themselves. Many, indeed, died over those being buried by them, and many went to the graves before they realized what was needed.

3.6.13 | οὕτε δὲ θρῆνος ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς οὕτε ὄλοφυρμὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' ὁ λιμὸς ἥλεγχε τὰ πάθη. ξηροῖς δὲ τοῖς ὅμμασιν οἱ δυσθανατοῦν “τες ἔφεώρων τοὺς φθάσαντας ἀναπαύσασθαι. βα“θεῖα δὲ τὴν πόλιν περιεῖχε σιγή, καὶ νὺξ θανάτου γέμουσα. καὶ τούτων οἱ λησταὶ χαλεπώτεροι.

3.6.14 | τυμβωρυχοῦντες γοῦν τὰς οἰκίας ἐσύλων τοὺς νεκροὺς, καὶ τὰ καλύμματα τῶν σωμάτων περισπῶντες μετὰ γέλωτος ἔξηεσαν, τάς τε ἀκμὰς τῶν ξιφῶν “έδοκίμαζον ἐν τοῖς πτώμασι, καί τινας τῶν ἑρριμένων ἔτι ζῶντας διήλαυνον, ἐπὶ πείρᾳ τοῦ σιδήρου, τοὺς δὲ ἱκετεύοντας χρῆσαι σφίσι δεξιὰν καὶ ξίφος, τῷ λιμῷ κατέλιπον ὑπερηφανοῦντες. καὶ τῶν ἐκπνεόντων ἔκαστος ἀτενές εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἔφεώρα, τοὺς στασιαστὰς ζῶντας ἀπολιπών.

3.6.15 | οἵ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου θησαυροῦ τοὺς νεκροὺς “θάπτειν ἐκέλευον, τὴν ὄσμὴν οὐ φέροντες· ἔπειθ’ “ώς οὐ δοήρκουν, ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἑρρίπτουν εἰς τὰς, φάραγγας. περιιών δὲ ταύτας ὁ Τίτος ὡς ἔθεάσατο πεπλησμένας τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ βαθὺν ίχωρα μυδῶντων τὸν ὑπορρέοντα τῶν σωμάτων, ἐστέναξέ τε καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας κατεμαρτύρατο τὸν θεόν, ὡς “οὐκ εἴη τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ.”

3.6.16 | τούτοις ἔπειπών τινα μεταξὺ ἐπιφέρει λέγων οὐκ ἀν ὑποστειλαίμην είπειν ἃ μοι κελεύει τὸ πάθος. οἴμαι

3.6.13 | There was neither mourning in the disasters nor wailing, but famine was revealing the suffering. With dry eyes, those who were dying looked at the ones who had reached rest. A deep silence surrounded the city, and the night was filled with death. Among these, the robbers were the worst.

3.6.14 | The grave robbers were indeed plundering the houses, stealing the dead, and pulling off the coverings of the bodies while laughing as they left. They tested the edges of their swords on the corpses and passed through some of the still living, trying their iron on them. Those who begged to use their right hand and sword were left behind, proud in their hunger. Each of those who were dying looked intently at the temple, leaving behind the living who were fighting.

3.6.15 | At first, they ordered the dead to be buried from the public treasury, not caring about the smell. Then, when they did not want to, they threw them from the walls into the ravines. As Titus went around and saw the ravines filled with the dead and the deep echo of the bodies flowing, he groaned and raised his hands, testifying to the god that this was not his work.

3.6.16 | After saying this, he added that he would not hold back from saying what the suffering commanded him. He thought that

‘Ρωμαίων βραδυνάντων ἐπὶ τοὺς  
ἀλιτηρίους, ἢ καταποθῆναι ἀν ‘ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup>  
χάσματος, ἢ κατακλυσθῆναι τὴν πόλιν, ἢ  
τοὺς “τῆς Σοδομηνῆς μεταλαβεῖν  
κεραυνούς. πολὺ γὰρ τῶν ταῦτα  
παθόντων ἦνεγκε γενεὰν ἀθεωτέραν. τῇ  
‘γοῦν τούτων ἀπονοίᾳ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς  
συναπώλετο.’

if the Romans were slow to act against the criminals, they would either be swallowed by a chasm, or the city would be flooded, or they would share in the lightning of Sodom. For many who suffered these things endured a generation that did not believe. Indeed, because of this neglect, the whole people was destroyed.

3.6.17 | καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔκτῳ δὲ βιβλίῳ οὕτω  
γράφει τῶν δ’ ὑπὸ “τοῦ λιμοῦ φθειρομένων  
κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἄπειρον μὲν ἔπιπτε τὸ  
πλῆθος, ἀδιήγητα δὲ συνέβαινε τὰ πάθη.  
καθ’ ἐκάστην γὰρ οἰκίαν, εἴ που τροφῆς  
παραφανείη σκιὰ, πόλεμος ἦν, καὶ διὰ  
χειρῶν οἱ φίλτατοι πρὸς ἄλλήλους,  
ἔξαρπάζοντες τὰ ταλαίπωρα τῆς ψυχῆς  
έφόδια. πίστις δ’ ἀπορίας οὐδὲ τοῖς  
Θνήσκουσιν ἦν.

3.6.17 | And in the sixth book, it is written that those who were destroyed by the famine in the city faced an endless crowd, and unspeakable sufferings occurred. For in each house, if a shadow of food appeared, there was war, and among those who were closest to each other, they grabbed the miserable supplies of life. And there was no hope for the dying.

3.6.18 | ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐμπνέοντας οἵ  
λησταὶ διηρεύνων, μή τις ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔχων  
τροφὴν σκήπτοιτο τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ. οἱ  
δ’ ὑπ’ ἐνδείας κεχηνότες ὥσπερ λυσσῶντες  
κύνες ἐφήλοντο καὶ παρεφέροντο, ταῖς τε  
θύραις ἐνσειόμενοι μεθύόντων τρόπον καὶ  
ὑπ’ ἀμηχανίας εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς οἴκους  
εἰσεπήδων δὶς ἢ τρὶς ὥρα μιᾶ.

3.6.18 | But even the ones who were breathing were searched by thieves, so that no one hiding food would escape death. Those who were choked by hunger, like rabid dogs, rushed at each other and fought, shaking the doors in a drunken way and, out of desperation, broke into their own houses two or three times in an hour.

3.6.19 | πάντα δ’ ὑπ’ ὁδόντας ἦγεν ἡ  
ἀνάγκη, καὶ τὰ μηδὲ τοῖς ὃυπαρωτάτοις  
τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων πρόσφορα συλλέγοντες  
ἐσθίειν ὑπέφερον. ζωστήρων γοῦν καὶ  
ὑποδημάτων τὸ τελευταῖον οὐκ ἀπείχοντο,  
καὶ τὰ δέρματα τῶν θυρεῶν ἀποδέροντες  
έμασῶντο. τροφὴ δὲ ἦν καὶ χόρτου τισὶ<sup>2</sup>  
παλαιοῦ σπαράγματα. τὰς γὰρ ἵνας ἔνιοι  
συλλέγοντες ἐλάχιστον σταθμὸν ἐπώλουν

3.6.19 | Everything was driven by necessity, and they even gathered food that was not suitable for the dirtiest of animals and ate it. They did not shy away from the last bits of clothing or shoes, and they tore apart the hides of shields to chew on them. There was also some old scraps of grass for food. For some, gathering the seeds, they sold the smallest amount for four Attic

Ἄττικῶν τεσσάρων.

3.6.20 | καὶ τί δεῖ τὴν ἐπ' ἀψύχοις ἀναίδειαν 'τοῦ λιμοῦ λέγειν; εῖμι γὰρ αὐτοῦ δηλώσων ἔργον, "ὸποῖον μήτε Ἑλλησι μήτε παρὰ βαρβάροις ίστό" ρηται, φρικτὸν μὲν εἰπεῖν, ἀπιστον δ' ἀκοῦσαι. καὶ "ἔγωγε μὴ δόξαιμι τερατεύεσθαι τοῖς αὗθις ἀνθρώποις, κἀν παρέλιπον τὴν συμφορὰν ἡδέως, εἰ μὴ "τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν εἶχον ἀπείρους μάρτυρας· ἄλλως τε καὶ ψυχρὰν ἀν καταθείμην τῇ πατρίδι χάριν καθυφέμενος τὸν λόγον ὃν πέπονθε τὰ ἔργα.

3.6.21 | γυνὴ "τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰορδάνην κατοικούντων, Μαρία τοῦ" νομα, πατρὸς Ἐλεαζάρου, κώμης Βαθεζώρ, "νει δὲ τοῦτο οἴκος ὑσσώπου,) διὰ γένος καὶ πλοῦτον "ἐπίσημος, μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ πλήθους εἰς τὰ Ιεροσόλυμα καταφυγοῦσα συνεπολιορκεῖτο.

3.6.22 | ταύτης τὴν "μὲν ἄλλην κτῆσιν οἱ τύραννοι διήρπασαν, ὅσην ἐκ "πόλιν, Περαίας ἀνασκευασαμένη μετήνεγκεν εἰς τὴν "πόλιν, τὰ δὲ λείψανα τῶν κειμηλίων κἀν εἴ τι τροφῆς ἐπινοηθείη, καθ' ἡμέραν εἰσπηδῶντες ἥρπαζον 'οι δορυφόροι. δεινὴ δὲ τὸ γύναιον ἀγανάκτησις εἰσ" ἦσι, καὶ πολλάκις λοιδοροῦσα καὶ καταρωμένη τὸ "ἄρπαγας ἐφ' ἐαυτὴν ἡρέθιζεν.

3.6.23 | ὡς δ' οὕτε παρ' "ξυνόμενός τις οὔτ' ἔλεων αὐτὴν ἀνήρει, καὶ τὸ μὲ "εὐρεῖν τι σιτίον ἄλλοις ἐκοπία, πανταχόθεν δ' ἄπο

drachmas.

3.6.20 | And what need is there to speak of the shamelessness of famine against the lifeless? For I will go and show the work, "what has not been told either by Greeks or by barbarians," terrible to say, unbelievable to hear. And "I would not think to exaggerate to those who are here again, even if I gladly left behind the disaster, unless I had countless witnesses from my own experience. Besides, I would bury the cold truth for the sake of my homeland, keeping silent about the things that were suffered in the actions."

3.6.21 | A woman named Maria, from the region beyond the Jordan, the daughter of Eleazar, from the village of Batezora, was notable for her family and wealth. She, along with the rest of the crowd, fled to Jerusalem and was besieged there.

3.6.22 | The tyrants seized all her other possessions, as much as she had brought from the city of Perea. They carried her belongings into the city, and whatever remains of her valuables or any food that could be thought of, the soldiers would rush in daily and grab. The woman was filled with great anger, and many times, while insulting and cursing the robbers, she stirred them up against herself.

3.6.23 | As no one was there to help her or to show her pity, finding any food was a struggle for others as well. There was

"ρον ἦν ἥδη καὶ τὸ εὐρεῖν, ὁ λιμὸς δὲ διὰ σπλάγχνων καὶ μυελῶν ἔχώρει, καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ μᾶλλον ἔξει" καίοντο οἱ θυμοὶ, σύμβουλον λαβοῦσα τὴν ὄργην "μετὰ μετὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐπὶ τὴν φύσιν ἔχώρει, καὶ τέκνον, ἦν δ' αὐτῇ παῖς ὑπομάσθιος, ἀρπασαμένη,"

already a lack of food everywhere, and hunger was spreading through their hearts and bones. The hunger burned even more fiercely in their spirits. Taking her anger as a guide, she moved toward her nature, and she had a child who was still young, having been taken away.

3.6.24 | βρέφος, εἶπεν, ἄθλιον, ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ λιμῷ καὶ στάσει, τίνι σε τηρῶ; τὰ μὲν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δους "λεία, κάν ζήσωμεν ἐπ'" αὐτοὺς, φθάνει δὲ καὶ δους "λείαν ὁ λιμὸς, οἱ στασιασταὶ δὲ ἀμφοτέρων χαλεπώτεροι. Ιθι, γενοῦ μοι τροφὴν, καὶ τοῖς στασιασταῖς "έρινὺς, καὶ τῷ βίῳ μῦθος, ὁ μόνος ἐλλείπων ταῖς "Ιουδαίων συμφοραῖς.

3.6.24 | O poor child," she said, "in war, hunger, and strife, who will take care of you? With the Romans, there is slavery, and even if we live under them, hunger reaches us too. The rebels are even worse for both sides. Go, become food for me, and bring the rebels anger, and let my life be a story, the only thing missing in the troubles of the Jews.

3.6.25 | καὶ ταῦθ' ἄμα κτείνει τὸν υἱόν. ἔπειτ' ὄπτήσασα τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ κατεσθίει, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν κατακαλύψασα ἐφύλαττεν. εὐθέως δ' δὶ στασιασταὶ παρῆσαν, καὶ τῆς ἀθεμίτου κνίσης σπάσαντες ἡπείλουν, εἰ μὴ δείξει τὸ παρασκευασθὲν, ἀποσφάξειν αὐτὴν εὐθέως. ἡ δὲ καὶ μοῖραν αὐτοῖς εἰποῦσα καλὴν τετηρηκέναι τὰ λείψανα τοῦ τέκνου διανεκάλυψεν.

3.6.25 | And with that, she killed her son. Then, having roasted half of him, she ate it, while covering the rest to keep it safe. Immediately, the rebels came, and breaking through the forbidden smell, they threatened her, saying that if she did not show them what she had prepared, they would kill her right away. She, telling them that she had kept the remains of her child safe, uncovered them.

3.6.26 | τοὺς δ' εὐθέως "φρίκῃ καὶ φρενῶν ἔκστασις ἥρει, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὄψιν ἐπεπτήγεσαν. ἡ δὲ, ἐμὸν, ἔφη, τοῦτο τὸ τέκνον γνήσιον, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐμόν. φάγετε, καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ βέβρωκα. μὴ γένησθε μήτε μαλακώτεροι γυναικὸς μήτε συμπαθέστεροι μητρός. εἰ δ' ὑμεῖς εύσεβεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀποστρέψεσθε θυσίαν, ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῖν βέβρωκα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δ' ἐμοὶ

3.6.26 | They were immediately filled with horror and a shock of madness came over them, and they turned away from her sight. But she said, "This child is mine, and this act is my own. Eat, for I have eaten too. Do not be softer than a woman or more compassionate than a mother. If you are pious and turn away from my sacrifice, I have already eaten, and let what is left be

μεινάτω.

mine."

3.6.27 | μετὰ ταῦθ' οὶ μὲν τρέμοντες ἔξήεσαν, πρὸς ἐν τοῦτο δειλοὶ, καὶ μόλις ταύτης τῆς τροφῆς παραχωρήσαντες τῇ μητρί. ἀνεπλήσθη δ' εὐθέως ὅλη τοῦ μύσους ἡ “πόλις, καὶ πρὸ ὄμμάτων ἔκαστος τὸ πάθος ἀναλαμβάνειν ὡς παρ' αὐτοῦ τολμηθὲν δεινῶς ἔφριττε.

3.6.27 | After this, the trembling ones went out, afraid, and barely giving this food to the mother. Immediately, the whole city was filled with the secret, and before their eyes, each one took on the suffering as if it had been boldly done by them, and they shuddered.

3.6.28 | σπουδὴ δὲ τῶν λιμωττόντων ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον ἦν, καὶ μακαρισμὸς τῶν φθασάντων πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι καὶ θεάσασθαι κακὰ τηλικαῦτα.” τοιαῦτα τῆς Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ παρανομίας τε καὶ δυσσεβείας τάπιχειρα.

3.6.28 | There was urgency among those starving to death, and a blessing for those who had died before hearing and seeing such terrible things. Such were the lawlessness and impiety of the Jews against Christ of God.

## Section 7

3.7.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 4] Παραθεῖναι δ' αὐτοῖς ἄξιον τὴν ἀψευδῆ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν πρόρρησιν, δι' ἣς αὐτὰ ταῦτα δηλοῖ ὁδέ πως προφητεύων οὐαὶ δὲ ταῖς ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχούσαις καὶ ταῖς θηλαζούσαις ἐν ἑκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις· προσεύχεσθε δὲ, ἵνα μὴ γένηται ἡ φυγὴ ὑμῶν χειμῶνος, μηδὲ σαββάτῳ. ἔσται γὰρ τότε θλῖψις μεγάλη, οἴα οὐκ ἐγένετο ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμου ἔως τοῦ νῦν, οὐδὲ μὴ γένηται.”

3.7.1 | It is worth mentioning to them the true words of our Savior, through which he shows that he prophesied in this way: "Woe to those who are pregnant and nursing in those days! Pray that your escape may not be in winter or on the Sabbath. For then there will be great distress, such as has not happened since the beginning of the world until now, nor will ever happen."

3.7.2 | συναγαγὼν δὲ πάντα τὸν τῶν ἀνηρημένων ἀριθμὸν ὁ συγγραφεὺς λιμῷ καὶ ξίφει μυριάδας ἐκατὸν καὶ δέκα διαφθαρῆναι φησι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς στασιώδεις καὶ λῃστρικοὺς, ὑπ' ἀλλήλων μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν ἐνδεικνυμένους, ἀνηρῆσθαι, τῶν δὲ νέων τοὺς ὑψηλοτάτους καὶ κάλλει σώματος διαφέροντας

3.7.2 | The writer, gathering the total number of those killed, says that ten thousand and one hundred were destroyed by famine and the sword. The rest, who were rebellious and bandits, were killed by each other after the capture. The young men, the tallest and most beautiful, were taken as trophies. The rest of the crowd,

τετηρῆσθαι θριάμβῳ, τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ πλήθους τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐπτακαίδεκα ἔτη δεσμίους εἰς τὰ κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἔργα παραπεμφθῆναι, πλείους δὲ εἰς τὰς ἐπαρχίας διανενεμῆσθαι φθαρησομένους ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις σιδήρῳ καὶ θηρίοις, τοὺς δ' ἐντὸς ἐπτακαίδεκα ἑτῶν αίχμαλώτους ἀχθέντας διαπεπρᾶσθαι, τούτων δὲ μόνων τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἰς ἑννέα μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν συναχθῆναι.

3.7.3 | ταῦτα δὲ τοῦτον ἐπράχθη τὸν τρόπον, δευτέρῳ τῆς Ούεσπασιανοῦ βασιλείας ἔτει, ἀκολούθως ταῖς προγνωστικαῖς τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ προρρήσεσιν, θείᾳ δυνάμει ὥσπερ ἥδη παρόντα προεωρακότος αὐτὰ, ἐπιδακρύσαντός τε καὶ ἀποκλαυσαμένου κατὰ τὴν τῶν ιερῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν γραφὴν, οἵ καὶ αὐτὰς αὐτοῦ παρατέθεινται τὰς λέξεις, τοτὲ μὲν φήσαντος ὡς πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν Ιερουσαλήμ

3.7.4 | “εἰ ἔγνως· καί γε σὺ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ τὰ πρὸς εἱρήνην σοι· νῦν δὲ ἐκρύβῃ ἀπὸ ὄφθαλμῶν σου· ὅτι ἥξουσιν ἡμέραι ἐπὶ σὲ, καὶ περιβαλοῦσί σοι οἱ ἔχθροί σου χάρακα, καὶ περικυκλώσουσί σε, καὶ συνέξουσί σε πάντοθεν, καὶ ἀδαφιοῦσί σε καὶ τὰ τέκνα σου·”

3.7.5 | τοτὲ δὲ ὡς περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ “ἔσται ἔσται γὰρ ἀνάγκη μεγάλῃ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ὄργῃ τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ· καὶ πεσοῦνται ἐν στόματι μαχαίρας καὶ αίχμαλωτισθήσονται εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη· καὶ Ιερουσαλήμ ἔσται πατουμένη ὑπὸ τῶν ἔθνῶν, ἄχρις οὗ πληρωθῶσι καιροὶ ἔθνῶν.” καὶ πάλιν “ὅταν

those over seventeen years old, were sent to work in Egypt, while many others were distributed to the provinces to be destroyed in the theaters by iron and wild beasts. Those who were under seventeen years old were taken and sold. Among these, only the number of nine thousand men was gathered.

3.7.3 | These things happened in this way in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, according to the predictions of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. By divine power, as if he had already seen them present, he wept and mourned according to the writings of the holy evangelists, who also record his words. At one point, he said concerning Jerusalem...

3.7.4 | If you had known, even you, on this day, the things that lead to peace for you! But now they are hidden from your eyes. For the days will come upon you when your enemies will surround you with a trench, and they will encircle you and press in on you from every side, and they will crush you and your children.

3.7.5 | Then concerning the people, it will be, "For there will be great distress upon the land, and wrath against this people. And they will fall by the sword and be taken captive to all the nations. And Jerusalem will be trampled by the nations until the times of the nations are fulfilled."

δὲ ἵδητε κυκλουμένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, τότε γνῶτε ὅτι ἥγγικεν ἡ ἔρημωσις αὐτῆς."

And again, "When you see Jerusalem surrounded by armies, then know that its desolation is near."

3.7.6 | συγκρίνας δέ τις τὰς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν λέξεις ταῖς λοιπαῖς τοῦ συγγραφέως ἱστορίαις ταῖς περὶ τοῦ παντὸς πολέμου πῶς οὐκ ἀν ἀποθαυμάσειν θείαν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ὑπερφυῶς παράδοξον τὴν πρόγνωσιν ὅμοιον καὶ πρόρρησιν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ὄμοιογήσας;

3.7.6 | If someone compares the words of our Savior with the other histories written about the whole war, how could they not be amazed at the divine and truly extraordinary prediction and prophecy of our Savior, which he declared?

3.7.7 | περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν μετὰ τὸ σωτήριον πάθος καὶ τὰς φωνὰς ἔκείνας, ἐν αἷς ἡ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πληθὺς τὸν μὲν ληστὴν καὶ φονέα τοῦ θανάτου παρήτηται, τὸν δὲ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἱκέτευσεν ἀρθῆναι, τῷ παντὶ συμβεβηκότων ἔθνει, οὐδὲν ἀν δέοι ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἐπιλέγειν.

3.7.7 | About the events after the saving passion and those voices, in which the crowd of the Jews rejected the murderer and the one who brings death, but begged for the leader of life to be released, when all these things happened to the people, there is no need to add anything to the histories.

3.7.8 | ταῦτα δ' ἀν εἴη δίκαιον ἔτι προσθεῖναι, ἢ γένοιτ' ἀν παραστατικὰ φιλανθρωπίας τῆς παναγάθου προνοίας, τεσσαράκοντα ἐφ' ὅλοις ἔτεσι μετὰ τὴν κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τόλμαν τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν ὅλεθρον ὑπερθεμένης, ἐν ὅσοις τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν πλείους, Ἰάκωβός τε αὐτὸς ὁ τῇδε πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος, τοῦ κυρίου χρηματίζων ἀδελφὸς, ἔτι τῷ βίῳ περιόντες, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων πόλεως τὰς διατριβὰς ποιούμενοι, ἔρκος ὥσπερ ἔχυρώτατον παρέμενον τῷ τόπῳ,

3.7.8 | It would be right to add these things, which could serve as a demonstration of the kindness of the all-good providence, forty years after the bold act against Christ, which brought destruction upon them. During this time, many of the apostles and disciples were present, including James, who was the first bishop here and the brother of the Lord, still living, and they were staying in the city of Jerusalem, remaining like a strong fortress for the place.

3.7.9 | τῆς θείας ἐπισκοπῆς εἰσέτι τότε μακροθυμούσης, εἰ ἄρα ποτὲ δυνηθεῖν ἐφ' οἷς ἔδρασαν μετανοήσαντες συγγνώμης καὶ σωτηρίας τυχεῖν, καὶ πρὸς τῇ τοσαύτῃ

3.7.9 | At that time, the divine oversight was still being patient, in case they could ever, having repented, obtain forgiveness and salvation for what they had done. And

μακροθυμίᾳ παραδόξους θεοσημίας τῶν μελλόντων αύτοῖς μὴ μετανοήσασι συμβήσεσθαι παρασχομένης. ἀ καὶ αὐτὰ μνήμης ἡξιωμένα πρὸς τοῦ δεδηλωμένου συγγραφέως ούδὲν οἶον τοῖς τῆδε προσιοῦσι τῇ γραφῇ παραθεῖναι.

because of such great patience, it was surprising that signs from God would not happen to them if they did not repent. These things are worthy of remembrance, but the author of this writing has not added anything like them for those who come to this text.

## Section 8

3.8.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 4] Καὶ δὴ λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἔκτην τῶν ἱστοριῶν αὐτῷ δεδηλωμένα ἐν τούτοις ‘τὸν γοῦν ἄθλιον δῆμον οἱ μὲν ἀπατεῶνες καὶ καταψευδόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ τηνικαῦτα παρέπειθον, τοῖς δ' ἐναργέσι καὶ προσημαίνουσι τὴν μέλλουσαν ἔσεσθαι ἔρημίαν τέρασιν οὕτε προσεῖχον οὕτε ἐπίστευον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐμβεβροντημένοι καὶ μήτε ὅμματα μήτε ψυχὴν ἔχοντες τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ κηρυγμάτων παρήκουον·

3.8.1 | And so, take a look at what is said in the sixth of the histories. It shows that the wretched people were misled at that time by deceivers who lied about God. They did not pay attention to the clear signs that pointed to the terrible desolation that was going to come, nor did they believe them. Instead, they were like those who were stunned, having neither eyes nor soul, and they ignored the messages from God.

3.8.2 | τοῦτο μὲν ὅτε ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἄστρον ἔστη ῥομφαίᾳ παραπλήσιον καὶ παρατείνας ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν κομήτης, τοῦτο δὲ ἡνίκα πρὸ τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον κινήματος, ἀθροιζομένου τού λαοῦ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων ἐօρτὴν, ὁγδόῃ Ξανθικου μηνὸς κατὰ νυκτὸς ἐνάτην ὥραν τοσοῦτο φῶς περιέλαμψε τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὸν ναὸν ὡς δοκεῖν ἡμὲραν εἶναι λαμπράν. καὶ τοῦτο παρέτεινεν ἐφ' ἡ σειαν ὥραν· ὅ τοῖς μὲν ἀπείροις ἀγαθὸν ἐδεῖναι, τοῖς δὲ Ἱερογραμματεῦσι πρὸ τῶν ἀποβεβ κότων εύθέως ἐκρίθη.

3.8.2 | At that time, a star appeared over the city, resembling a sword, and a comet stretched out for a year. This happened just before the uprising and the movement toward war, when the people were gathering for the festival of unleavened bread. On the eighth of the month Xanthicus, at the ninth hour of the night, such a bright light shone on the altar and the temple that it seemed to us to be radiant. This lasted for about an hour. For some, it was seen as a good sign, but for the priests and scribes, it was immediately judged as a bad omen.

3.8.3 | καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐօρ τὴν βοῦς μὲν ἀχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως πρὸς τη θυσίαν

3.8.3 | And during the same festival, a cow that was burdened by the high priest gave

ἔτεκεν ἄρνα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μέσῳ.

3.8.4 | ή δ' ἀν τολικὴ πύλη τοῦ ἐνδοτέρῳ  
χαλκῇ μὲν οὖσα καὶ στ βαρωτάτῃ,  
κλειομένη δὲ περὶ δείλην μόλις ὑπ  
ἀνθρώπων εἴκοσι, καὶ μοχλοῖς μὲν  
ἐπερειδομένη σιδηροδέτοις, κατάπηγας δ'  
ἔχουσα βαθυτάτου "ῶφθη κατὰ νυκτὸς  
ῶραν ἔκτην αὐτομάτως ἡνοιγμένη."

3.8.5 | μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐορτὴν ἡμέραις οὐ  
πολλαῖς ὕστερον, "μιᾶς καὶ εἰκάδι  
Ἄρτεμισίου μηνὸς, φάσμα τι δαιμόνιον  
"ῶφθη μεῖζον πίστεως. τέρας δ' ἀν ἔδοξεν  
εἶναι τὸ "ρηθησόμενον, εἰ μὴ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς  
Θεασαμένοις ιστό" ρῆτο καὶ τὰ  
ἐπακολουθήσαντα πάθη τῶν σημείων "ἢν  
ἄξια. πρὸ γὰρ ἡλίου δύσεως ὔφθη μετέωρα  
πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν ἄρματα καὶ φάλαγγες  
ἔνοπλοι διάτ" τουσαι τῶν νεφῶν καὶ  
κυκλούμεναι τὰς πόλεις.

3.8.6 | 'κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐορτὴν, ἦ πεντηκοστὴ  
καλεῖται, νύκτωρ 'οὶ ἵερεῖς παρελθόντες εἰς  
τὸ ἱερὸν, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς 'ἔθος ἦν, πρὸς τὰς  
λειτουργίας πρῶτον μὲν κινήσεως ἔφασαν  
ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ κτύπου, μετὰ δὲ  
'ταῦτα φωνῆς ἀθρόας 'μεταβαίνομεν  
ἔντεῦθεν.'

3.8.7 | τὸ "δὲ τούτων φοβερώτερον" Ἰησοῦς  
γάρ τις υἱὸς Ἀνανίου, τῶν ἴδιωτῶν  
ἄγροικος, πρὸ τεσσάρων ἑτῶν τοῦ  
πολέμου, τὰ μάλιστα τῆς πόλεως  
εἰρηνευομένης καὶ "εὐθηνούσης, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τὴν ἐορτὴν, ἐν ᾧ σκηνοποιεῖ" σθαι πάντας  
ἔθος ἦν τῷ θεῷ, κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἔξαπίνης  
"ἀναβοῦν ἤρξατο 'φωνὴ ἀπ' ἀνατολῆς,

birth to a lamb in the middle of the temple.

3.8.4 | And the great bronze gate inside,  
which was very heavy and closed, could  
hardly be opened by twenty men. It was  
supported by iron levers, but it was seen to  
be opened by itself at the sixth hour of the  
night.

3.8.5 | And after the festival, not many days  
later, on the twenty-first of the month  
Artemisius, a certain ghostly vision  
appeared, greater than could be believed. It  
seemed to be a monster, if it were not also  
reported by those who had seen it and the  
following events of the signs were worthy.  
For before sunset, armed chariots and  
troops were seen moving through the  
clouds and circling the cities.

3.8.6 | And during the festival, which is  
called Pentecost, at night the priests, as was  
their custom, went into the temple for the  
rituals. First, they said they felt a  
movement and a noise, and after that, they  
moved on from there with a loud voice.

3.8.7 | But more frightening than these  
things was this: a certain Jesus, son of  
Ananias, a countryman among the common  
people, four years before the war, when the  
city was mostly at peace and thriving, came  
to the festival, during which it was  
customary for everyone to make tents for  
God. Suddenly, in the temple, he began to

φωνὴ ἀπὸ δύ'σεως, φωνὴ ἀπὸ τῶν  
τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, φωνὴ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ  
τὸν ναὸν, φωνὴ ἐπὶ νυμφίους καὶ νύμφας,  
φωνὴ ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν λαόν.' τοῦτο μεθ'  
ἡμέραν καὶ 'νύκτωρ κατὰ πάντας τοὺς  
στενωποὺς περιήι κεκρα"γώς.

cry out with 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 brides and grooms, a voice  
against all the people. This continued day  
and night, going around all the narrow  
places, crying out.

3.8.8 | τῶν δ' ἐπισήμων τινὲς δημοτῶν  
ἀγανακτήσαντες πρὸς τὸ κακόφημον  
συλλαμβάνουσι τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ πολλαῖς  
αἰκίζονται πληγαῖς. ὁ δὲ οὕθ' ὑπὲρ ἔαυτοῦ  
φθεγξάμενος οὔτε ἴδιᾳ πρὸς τοὺς  
παρόντας ἀς καὶ πρότερον φωνὰς βοῶν  
διετέλει.

3.8.8 | Some of the prominent citizens,  
being angered by the man's bad reputation,  
seized him and beat him with many blows.  
But he did not speak a word for himself,  
nor did he say anything privately to those  
present, but continued to shout the same  
things as before.

3.8.9 | νομίσαντες δ' οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὅπερ ἦν,  
δαιμονιώτερον εἶναι κίνημα τάνδρος  
ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις  
ἔπαρχον ἔνθα μάστιξι μέχρις ὀστέων  
ξαινό"μενος οὕθ' ἱκέτευσεν οὕτ'  
ἐδάκρυσεν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐνῆν "μάλιστα τὴν  
φωνὴν ὄλοφυρτικῶς παρεγκλίνων πρὸς  
"ἐκάστην ἀπεκρίνατο πληγὴν, αἴαῖ  
Ἱεροσολύμοις."

3.8.9 | The rulers, thinking that it was a  
more demonic movement of the man, led  
him to the governor among the Romans.  
There, being tortured until his bones were  
exposed, he neither begged for mercy nor  
cried, but as he was there, he mostly  
responded to each blow with a loud lament,  
saying, "Alas for Jerusalem!"

3.8.10 | ἔτερον δέ τι τούτου  
παραδοξότερον ὁ αὐτὸς Ἰστορεῖ  
συγγραφεὺς χρησμόν τινα φάσκων ἐν  
ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν ηὐρῆσθαι περιέχοντα ὡς  
κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας τις  
αὐτῶν ἀρξεῖ τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὃν αὐτὸς μὲν  
ἐπὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸν πεπληρῶσθαι  
έξειληφεν·

3.8.10 | The same writer tells another story  
that is even stranger, claiming that a  
certain prophecy was found in sacred  
writings, saying that during that time,  
someone from their land would rule the  
world, and he himself believed that this  
would happen under Vespasian.

3.8.11 | ἀλλ' οὐχ ἀπάσης γε οὗτος ἢ μόνης  
ἥρξεν τῆς ὑπὸ 'Ῥωμαίους' δικαιότερον δ'  
ἄν ἐπὶ τὸν χριστὸν ἀναχθείη, πρὸς ὃν

3.8.11 | But this man did not begin to rule  
over all or even just one of the Romans. It  
would be more just to refer to Christ, to

εῖρητο ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς "αἴτησαι παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου, καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσίν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς." οὗ δὴ κατ' αὐτὸ δὴ ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος τῶν Ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ δήματα ἀυτῶν.

whom it was said by the Father, "Ask of me, and I will give you the nations as your inheritance, and the ends of the earth as your possession." Indeed, during that time, the voice of the holy apostles went out into all the earth, and their words reached the ends of the world.

## Section 9

3.9.1 | [Nic. H. E. II, 18] Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄπασιν ἄξιον μηδ' αὐτὸν τὸν Ἰώσηπον, τοσαῦτα τῇ μετὰ χεῖρας συμβεβλημένον ἱστορίᾳ, ὅπόθεν τε καὶ ἀφ' οἵου γένους ὡρμάτῳ ἀγνοεῖν. δηλοῖ δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦτο λέγων ὥδε "Ιώσηπος Ματταθίου παῖς, ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων Ἱερεὺς, αὐτός τε Ῥωμαίους πολεμήσας τὰ πρῶτα καὶ τοῖς ὕστερον παρατυχών ἐξ ἀνάγκης."

3.9.1 | In all of this, it is worth noting that Josephus himself, who was so involved in history, did not know from where or from what kind of people he came. He shows this again by saying, "Josephus, son of Matthias, a priest from Jerusalem, fought against the Romans at first and later, out of necessity, encountered them."

3.9.2 | μάλιστα δὲ τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ Ἰουδαίων παρὰ μόνοις τοῖς ὅμοεθνέσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις γέγονεν ἀνὴρ ἐπιδοξότατος, ὃς αὐτὸν μὲν ἀναθέσει ἀνδριάντος ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίωντιμηθῆναι πόλεως, τοὺς δὲ σπουδασθέντας αὐτῷ λόγους βιβλιοθήκρας ἀξιωθῆναι.

3.9.2 | Especially among the Jews of that time, there arose a very distinguished man, not only among his own people but also among the Romans. He was honored with a statue in the city of the Romans, and those who studied his words were deemed worthy of a library.

3.9.3 | οὗτος δὴ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν ἐν ὅλοις εἴκοσι καταβέβληται συγγράμμασι, τὴν δὲ ἱστορίαν τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου ἐν ἐπτά, ἢ οὐ μόνον τῇ Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ τατρίῳ φωνῇ παραδοῦναι αὐτὸς ἐστῶ μαρτυρεῖ, ἄξιός γε ὧν διὰ τὰ λοιπὰ πιστεύεσθαι.

3.9.3 | This man has laid out all of Jewish history in twenty books, and he wrote the history of the Jewish war in seven books. He himself testifies that he has handed this down not only in Greek but also in his native language, and he is worthy to be believed for the rest.

3.9.4 | καὶ ἔτερα δὲ αὐτοῦ φέρεται σπουδῆς ἄξια δύο, τὰ περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων

3.9.4 | There are also other works of his that are worthy of attention, concerning the

άρχαιότητος, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἀντιρρήσεις πρὸς Ἀπίωνα τὸν γραμματικὸν κατὰ Ἰουδαίων τηνικάδε συντάξαντα λόγον πεποίηται καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους, οἱ διαβάλλειν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πάτρια τού Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἐπειράθησαν.

antiquities of the Jews. In these, he has written arguments against Apion the grammarian, who composed a speech against the Jews, and against others who tried to slander the traditions of the Jewish people.

3.9.5 | τούτων ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῆς λεγομένης παλαιᾶς τῶν ἐνδιαθήκων γραφῶν τίθησι, τίνα τὰ παρ' Ἐβραίοις ἀναντίρρητα, ὡσὰν ἐξ ἀρχαίας παραδόσεως, αὐτοῖς ὅμιλασι διὰ τούτων διδάσκων·

3.9.5 | In the first of these, he states the number of the so-called ancient writings among the Hebrews, which are undeniable, teaching them through these words as if from ancient tradition.

## Section 10

3.10.1 | “Οὐ μυριάδες οὖν βιβλίων εἰσὶ παρ' ἡμῖν “ἀσυμφώνων καὶ μαχομένων, δύο δὲ μόνα πρὸς τοῖς “εἴκοσι βιβλίᾳ, τοῦ παντὸς ἔχοντα χρόνου τὴν ἀναγραφὴν, τὰ δικαίως θεῖα πεπιστευμένα.

3.10.1 | There are not countless books among us that disagree and fight with each other, but only two against the twenty books, which contain the record of all time, justly believed to be divine.

3.10.2 | καὶ τούτων πέντε μέν ἔστι τὰ Μωυσέως, ἃ τούς τε νόμους “περιέχει καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀνθρωπογονίας παράδοσιν, ‘μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς. οὗτος ὁ χρόνος ἀπολείπει τρισχιλίων ὀλίγων ἑτῶν.

3.10.2 | And of these, five are by Moses, which contain both the laws and the tradition of human creation, up to his own death. This time is just a little less than three thousand years.

3.10.3 | ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Μωυσέως ‘τελευτῆς μέχρι τῆς Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ μετὰ Ξέρξην Περσῶν βασιλέως οἱ μετὰ Μωυσῆν προφῆται τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς πραχθέντα συνέγραψαν ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα βιβλίοις. αὗτὲ λοιπαὶ τέσσαρες ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑποθήκας τοῦ βίου περιέχουσιν.

3.10.3 | From the death of Moses until Artaxerxes, who ruled after Xerxes, the prophets who came after Moses wrote down what happened to them in thirteen books. The other four contain hymns to God and advice for humans about life.

3.10.4 | ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀρταξέρξου μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου 'γέγραπται μὲν ἔκαστα, πίστεως δ' οὐχ ὁμοίας ἡξί"ωται τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν, διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν προ"φητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχήν.

3.10.5 | δῆλον δ' ἐστὶν ἔργῳ πῶς "ἡμεῖς πρόσιμεν τοῖς ἴδιοις γράμμασι. τοσούτου γὰρ αἱ"ῶνος ἥδη παρωχηκότος οὕτε προσθεῖναι οὕτε ἀφε"λεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὕτε μεταθεῖναι τετόλμηκε, πᾶσι δὲ "σύμφυτόν ἐστιν εὐθὺς ἐκ πρώης γενέσεως Ἰουδαίοις "τὸ νομίζειν αὐτὰ θεοῦ δόγματα, καὶ τούτοις ἐπιμένειν, "καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἰ δέοι, θνήσκειν ἡδέως."

3.10.6 | καὶ ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ συγγραφέως χρησίμως ὅδε παρατεθείσθω. πεπόνηται δὲ καὶ ἄλλο οὐκ ἀγεννὲς σπούδασμα τῷ ἀνδρὶ περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ, ὃ τινες Μακκαβαϊκὸν ἐπέγραψαν, τῷ τοὺς ἀγῶνας τῶν ἐν τοῖς οὕτω καλούμενοις Μακκαβαϊκοῖς συγγράμμασιν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὔσεβείας ἀνδρισμένων Ἐβραίων περιέχειν.

3.10.7 | καὶ πρὸς τῷ τέλει δὲ τῆς είκοστῆς ἀρχαιολογίας ἐπισημαίνεται ὁ αὐτὸς, ὡσὰν προηρημένος ἐν τέτταρσι συγγράψαι βιβλίοις κατὰ τὰς πατρίους δόξας τῶν Ἰουδαίων περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ούσίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ περὶ τῶν νόμων, διὰ τί κατ' αὐτοὺς τὰ μὲν ἔξεστι πράττειν, τὰ δὲ κεκώλυται. καὶ ἄλλα δὲ αὐτῷ σπουδασθῆναι ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ἴδιοις αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει λόγοις.

3.10.8 | πρὸς τούτοις εὖλογον καταλέξαι καὶ ἀς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας τοῦ

3.10.4 | From Artaxerxes until our time, each thing has been written down, but the faith is not the same as that of those before them, because there has not been a true succession of the prophets.

3.10.5 | It is clear how we approach their own writings. For such a long time has already passed that no one has dared to add, take away, or change anything from them. It is natural for the Jews, from the very beginning, to believe these as God's teachings, to hold on to them, and, if necessary, to gladly die for them.

3.10.6 | And let these things be presented usefully by the writer. There is also another not unworthy work by the man about the thoughts of the ruler, which some have titled Maccabees, containing the struggles of those in the so-called Maccabean writings, about the bravery of the Hebrews who devoted themselves to piety toward God.

3.10.7 | And at the end of the twentieth book of archaeology, the same person is noted, as he has chosen to write in four books according to the ancestral beliefs of the Jews about God and his essence, and about the laws, explaining why some things are allowed to be done and others are forbidden. He also mentions other matters that he has studied in his own words.

3.10.8 | Along with these, it is reasonable to mention also the statements he makes at

τέλους φωνὰς παρατέθειται, είς πίστωσιν τῆς τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ παραληφθέντων ἡμῖν μαρτυρίας. διαβάλλων δῆτα Ἰοῦστον Τιβεριέα, ὅμοιώς αὐτῷ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς αύτοὺς ἴστορησαι χρόνους πεπειραμένον, ὡς μὴ τάληθῇ συγγεγραφότα πολλάς τε ἄλλας εὐθύνα ἐπαγαγὼν τῷ ἀνδρὶ, καὶ ταῦτα αὐτοῖς βήμασιν ἐπιλέγει

the end of his archaeology, as proof of the testimonies we have received from him. He indeed criticizes Josephus of Tiberias, who, like him, has tried to write about the same historical times, claiming that he has not written the truth and has brought many other accusations against the man, and he addresses these matters with his words.

3.10.9 | “οὐ μὴν ἔγώ σοι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον περὶ τῆς “έμαυτοῦ γραφῆς ἔδεισα, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῖς ἐπέδωκα τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσι τὰ βιβλία, μόνον οὐχὶ τῶν ἔργων ἥδη βλεπομένων. συνήδειν γὰρ ἔμαυτῷ τετηρηκότι τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας παράδοσιν, ἐφ’ ἣν μαρτυρίας τεύξεσθαι προσδοκήσας οὐ διήμαρτον.

3.10.9 | Indeed, I did not fear to write about myself in the same way, but I gave the books to the rulers, not just about the works already seen. For I knew that I had preserved the tradition of truth, hoping to obtain testimonies based on it, and I did not go wrong.

3.10.10 | καὶ ἄλλοις δὲ πολλοῖς ἐπέδωκα τὴν ἴστορίαν, ὃν ἔνιοι καὶ παρατευχήκεσαν τῷ πολέμῳ, καθάπερ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας καὶ τινες αὐτοῦ τῶν συγγενῶν.

3.10.10 | And I also gave the history to many others, some of whom were involved in the war, like King Agrippa and some of his relatives.

3.10.11 | ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ Τίτος οὕτως ἐκ μόνων αὐτῶν ἐβουλήθη τὴν γνῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παραδοῦναι τῶν πράξεων, ὡστε χαράξας τῇ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ τὰ βιβλία δημοσιεύεσθαι προσέταξεν, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ἔξήκοντα δύο ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὰς, τῇ τῆς ἀληθείας παραδόσει μαρτυρῶν, ἀφ’ ὃν καὶ δύο παρατίθησιν. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τοῦτον ταύτη πῃ δεδηλώσθω, ἵωμεν δ’ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξῆς.

3.10.11 | For Emperor Titus wanted to give knowledge of the actions to the people, so he ordered that the books be published, having written them with his own hand. King Agrippa wrote sixty-two letters, as testimonies to the tradition of truth, of which he presents two. But let what has been said about him be made clear here; let us move on to the next things.

## Section 11

3.11.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 9] Μετὰ τὴν Ἰακώβου

3.11.1 | After the martyrdom of James and

μαρτυρίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτίκα γενομένην ἄλωσιν τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ λόγος κατέχει τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν τοὺς εἰσέτι τῷ βίῳ λειπομένους ἐπὶ ταύτῳ πανταχόθεν συνελθεῖν, ἅμα τοῖς πρὸς γένους κατὰ σάρκα τοῦ κυρίου (πλείους γάρ καὶ τούτων περιῆσαν εἰσέτι τότε τῷ βίῳ) βουλήν τε δόμοῦ τοὺς πάντας περὶ τοῦ τίνα χρὴ τῆς Ἰακώβου διαδοχῆς ἐπικρῖναι ἄξιον ποιήσασθαι, καὶ δὴ ἀπὸ μιᾶς γνώμης τοὺς πάντας Συμεὼνα τὸν τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, οὗ καὶ ἡ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου μνημονεύει γραφὴ, τοῦ τῆς αὐτόθι παροικίας θρόνου ἄξιον εἶναι δοκιμάσαι, ἀνεψιόν γε, ὡς φασι, γεγονότα τοῦ σωτῆρος, τὸν γάρ οὗν Κλωπᾶν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ ὑπάρχειν Ἡγήσιππος ἴστορε.

## Section 12

3.12.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 10] Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις Οὔεσπασιανὸν μετὰ τὴν τάν Ἱεροσολύμων ἄλωσιν πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ γένους Δαβὶδ, ὡς ἀν μὴ περιλειφθείη παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς φυλῆς, ἀναζητεῖσθαι προστάξαι, μέγιστόν τε Ἰουδαίοις αῦθις ἐν ταύτῃς διωγμὸν ἐπαρτηθῆναι τῆς αἰτίας.

## Section 13

3.13.1 | Ἐπὶ δέκα δὲ τὸν Οὔεσπασιανὸν ἔτεσι βασιλεύσαντα αύτοκράτωρ Τίτος ὁ παῖς διαδέχεται, οὐ κατὰ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς βασιλείας Λίνος ἐπίσκοπο τῆς Ἠρμαίων ἐκκλησίας δυοκαίδεκα τὴν λειτουργία ἐνιαυτοῖς κατασχών Ἀνεγκλήτω ταύτην παραδίδωσι Τίτον δὲ Δομετιανὸς ἀδελφὸς διαδέχεται, δύο ἔτεο καὶ μησὶ τοῖς ἵσοις βασιλεύσαντα.

the immediate capture of Jerusalem, a discussion took hold of the apostles and the disciples of the Lord who were still alive, to gather from everywhere together, along with those of the Lord's family by blood (for many of them were still alive at that time), to decide together who should be chosen as the successor of James. And they all agreed to appoint Simeon, the son of Clopas, of whom the writing of the Gospel makes mention, as worthy to take the throne of the local community, being a cousin, as they say, of the Savior. For Hegesippus tells that Clopas was the brother of Joseph.

3.12.1 | And after the capture of Jerusalem, Vespasian ordered that all those from the lineage of David be sought out, so that none from the royal family would be left among the Jews. This was a great cause for the Jews to be raised again in this persecution.

3.13.1 | After ten years of Vespasian's rule, his son Titus succeeded him as emperor. In the second year of his reign, Linus became the bishop of the Roman church, holding the office for twelve years. He passed it on to Anencletus, and then Titus was succeeded by Domitian, his brother, who ruled for two and a half years.

## Section 14

3.14.1 | Τετάρτῳ μὲν οὖν ἔτει Δομετιανοῦ τῆς κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παροικίας ὁ πρῶτος Ἀννιανὸς, δύο πρὸς εἴκοσιν ἀναπλήσας ἔτη, τελευτῇ, διαδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν δεύτερος Ἄβιλιος.

3.14.1 | In the fourth year of Domitian, the first Anianus, having completed twenty-two years, died. The second, Abilius, succeeded him.

## Section 15

3.15.1 | Δωδεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς ἡγεμονίας τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας Ἀνέγκλητον ἔτεσιν ἐπισκοπεύσαντα δεκαδύο διαδέχεται Κλήμης, ὃν συνεργὸν ἔαυτοῦ γενέσθαι Φιλιππησίοις ἐπιστέλλων ὁ ἀπόστολος διδάσκει λέγων "μετὰ καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν "συνεργῶν μου μου, ὃν τὰ ὄνόματα ἐν βίβλῳ ζωῆς."

3.15.1 | In the twelfth year of the leadership of the Roman church, Anencletus, who served as bishop for twelve years, was succeeded by Clement. The apostle, sending a letter to the Philippians, teaches that he is with Clement and the other 'my fellow workers, whose names are in the book of life.'

## Section 16

3.16.1 | Τούτου δὴ οὖν τοῦ Κλήμεντος δόμολογουμένη μία ἐπιστολὴ φέρεται, μεγάλῃ τε καὶ θαυμασίᾳ, ἣν ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τῇ Κορινθίων διετυπώσατο, στάσεως τηγικάδε κατὰ τὴν Κόρινθον γενομένης. ταύτην δὲ καὶ ἐν πλείσταις ἐκκλησίαις ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ δεδημοσιευμένην πάλαι τε καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς αύτοὺς ἔγνωμεν. καὶ ὅτι γε κατὰ τὸν δηλούμενον τὰ τῆς Κορινθίων κεκίνητο στάσεως ἀξιόχρεως μάρτυς ὁ Ἡγήσιππος.

3.16.1 | Of this Clement, a well-known letter is said to exist, which is both great and wonderful. It was written from the Roman church to the Corinthians, during a time of division in Corinth. This letter has been published in many churches long ago and we ourselves have recognized it. Moreover, concerning the division among the Corinthians, a worthy witness is Hegesippus.

## Section 17

3.17.1 | [Nic. II. E. III, 9] Πόλλην γε μὴν εἰς πολλοὺς ἐπιδειξάμενος ὁ Δομετιανὸς ὡμότητα, οὐκ ἀλίγον τε τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης εὔπατριδῶν τε καὶ ἐπισήμων ἀνδρῶν

3.17.1 | Indeed, Domitian showed great cruelty to many, killing a considerable number of the noble and prominent men in Rome without reasonable judgment. He

πλῆθος οὐ μετ' εύλόγου κρίσεως κτείνας, μυρίους τε ἄλλους ἐπιφανεῖς ἄνδρας ταῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἐνορίαν ζημιώσας φυγαῖς καὶ ταῖς τῶν οὐσιῶν ἀποβολαῖς ἀναιτίως, τελευτῶν τῆς Νέρωνος θεοεχθρίας τε καὶ θεομαχίας διάδοχον ἐαυτὸν κατεστήσατο. δεύτερος δῆτα τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν ἀνεκίνει διωγμὸν, καίπερ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ μηδὲν καθ' ἡμῶν ἄτοπον ἐπινοήσαντος.

also caused the exile of countless other famous men and took away their property without cause, establishing himself as a successor to the hostility and god-fighting of Nero. He was the second to stir up persecution against us, even though his father Vespasian had not thought anything wrong against us.

## Section 18

3.18.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 9] Ἐν τούτῳ κατέχει λόγος τὸν ἀπόστολον ἅμα καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν Ἰωάννην ἔτι τῷ βίῳ ἐνδιατρίβοντα, τῆς εἰς τὸν θεῖον λόγον ἔνεκεν μαρτυρίας, Πάτμον οἴκειν καταδικασθῆναι τὴν νῆσον.

3.18.1 | In this time, the apostle and evangelist John was still living, spending time for the sake of his testimony to the divine word. He was condemned to live on the island of Patmos.

3.18.2 | γράφων γέ τοι ὁ Είρήναιος περὶ τῆς ψήφου τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἀντίχριστον προσηγορίας φερομένης ἐν τῇ Ἰωάννου λεγομένῃ προσηγορίᾳς αὐταῖς συλλαβαῖς ἐν πέμπτῳ τῶν πρὸς τὰς αἰρέσεις ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ Ἰωάννου φησίν

3.18.2 | Irenaeus is writing about the vote concerning the name associated with the Antichrist, mentioned in the writings of John. He says these things about John in the fifth of his works against heresies.

3.18.3 | “εἰ δὲ ἔδει ἀναφανδὸν ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ ιηρύττεσθαι τοῦνομα αὐτοῦ, δι’ ἔκείνου ἀνέρρεθη τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἐωρακότος. οὐδὲ γάρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἐωράθη, “ἄλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς.”

3.18.3 | If it was necessary to openly proclaim his name in the present time, it would have been said by the one who has seen the revelation. For it was not seen long ago, but almost during our generation, toward the end of the reign of Domitian.

3.18.4 | είς τοσοῦτον δὲ ἄρα κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους ἡ τῆς ἡμετέρας πίστεως διέλαμπε διδασκαλία, ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἄποθεν τοῦ καθ’ ἡμάς λόγου συγγραφεῖς μὴ

3.18.4 | Thus, according to those who are making it clear, the teaching of our faith shone so brightly that even the writers from outside our community did not

ἀποκνῆσαι ταῖς αὐτῶν ἴστορίαις τόν τε διωγμὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ μαρτύρια παραδοῦναι, οἵ γε καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς ἐπεσημήνατο, ἐν ἔτει πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ Δομετιανοῦ μετὰ πλείστων ἑτέρων καὶ Φλαουίαν Δομέτιλλαν ἴστορη σαντες, ἐξ ἀδελφῆς γεγονυῖαν Φλαουίου Κλήμεντος ἐνὸς τῶν τηνικάδες ἐπὶ Ὦρμης ὑπάτων, τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν μαρτυρίας ἔνεκεν εἰς νῆσον Ποντίαν κατὰ τιμορίαν δεδόσθαι.

## Section 19

3.19.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 10] Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ Δόμετιανοῦ τοὺς ἀπὸ γένους Δαβὶδ ἀναιρεῖσθαι προσταξαντος παλαιὸς κατέχει λόγος τῶν αἱρετικῶν τινα κατηγορῆσαι τῶν ἀπογόνων Ἰούδα, (τοῦτον δὲ ἀδελφὸν κατὰ σάρκα τοῦ σωτῆρος), ὡς ἀπὸ γένους τυγχανόντων Δαβὶδ, καὶ ὡς αὐτοῦ συγγένειαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ φερόντων. ταῦτα δὲ δηλοῦ κατὰ λέξιν ὥδε πως λέγων ὁ Ἡγήσιππος·

## Section 20

3.20.1 | Ἔτι δὲ περιῆσαν οἱ ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ κυρίου “ὑἱοὶν Ἰούδα, τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα λεγομένου αὐτοῦ “ἀδελφοῦ, οὓς ἐδηλατόρευσαν ὡς ἐκ γένους ὅντας ‘Δαβὶδ. τούτους δ' ὁ Ἰουσόκατος ἤγαγε πρὸς Δομετίανον Καίσαρα· ἐφοβεῖτο γάρ τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ Χριστοῦ ὡς καὶ Ἡρώδης.

3.20.2 | καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτὸν εἰ ἐκ Δαβὶδ εἴσι, καὶ ὡμολόγησαν. τότε ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτοὺς πόσας κτήσεις

hesitate to pass on their histories about the persecution and the testimonies in it. They even pointed out the exact time, in the fifteenth year of Domitian, along with many others, including Flavian Domitilla, who was related to Flavius Clement, one of the consuls in Rome at that time, who was sent to the island of Pontian because of his testimony for Christ.

3.19.1 | Of the same Domitian, an old saying holds that he ordered those of the lineage of David to be killed, accusing some of the descendants of Judah (this one being a brother by flesh of the Savior) as being from the lineage of David, and as having a relation to Christ. This is shown in the following way, as Hegesippus says:

3.20.1 | Moreover, those from the lineage of the Lord, the sons of Judah, who is called his brother by flesh, were still around. They were shown to be from the lineage of David. These were brought before Domitian Caesar by Joakim, for he feared the presence of Christ, just as Herod did.

3.20.2 | And he asked them if they were from David, and they admitted it. Then he asked them how many possessions they

έχουσιν, ἢ πόσων χρημάτων κυριεύουσιν. οἱ δὲ εἴπαν ἀμφότεροι ἐννακισχίλια δηνάρια ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς μόνα, ἐκάστῳ “αὐτῶν ἀνήκοντος τοῦ ἡμίσεος. καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐν “ἀργυρίοις ἔφασκον ἔχειν, ἀλλ’ ἐν διατιμήσει γῆς πλέθρων τριάκοντα ἑννέα μόνων, ἔξ δῶν καὶ τοὺς ‘φόρους ἀναφέρειν καὶ αὐτοὺς αὐτουργοῦντας δια” τρέφεσθαι.

had, or how much money they controlled. They said that they had about 18,000 denarii, each of them owning half of that. And they claimed that this was not in silver coins, but in the value of land, about 39 acres, from which they could pay taxes and also support themselves.

3.20.3 | εἴτα δὲ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας τὰς ‘ἐπιδεικνύναι, μαρτύριον τῆς αὐτουργίας τὴν τοῦ σώ“ματος σκληρίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συνεχοῦς ἐργασίας ‘ ἐναποτυπωθέντας ἐπὶ τῶν ἴδιων χειρῶν τύλους πα’ριστάντας.

3.20.3 | Then they also showed their hands, a proof of their hard work, with the toughness of their bodies and the marks from their continuous labor clearly visible on their own hands.

3.20.4 | ἐρωτηθέντας δὲ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, ὅποια τις εἴη καὶ ποῖ καὶ πότε φανησομένη, λόγον δοῦναι ὡς οὐ κοσμικὴ μὲν οὐδ’ ἐπίγειος, ἐπουράνιος δὲ καὶ ἀγγελικὴ τυγχάνει, ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰώνος γενησομένη, διηγήσας ἐλθών ἐν δόξῃ κρινεῖ ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς, καὶ ἀποδώσει ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτοῦ.

3.20.4 | When they were asked about Christ and his kingdom, what it would be like, where it would be, and when it would appear, they gave an answer saying that it is not worldly or earthly, but heavenly and angelic. It will come at the end of the age, when he comes in glory to judge the living and the dead, and will give each person according to their deeds.

3.20.5 | ἐφ’ οὓς μηδὲν αὐτῶν κατεγνωκότα τὸν Δημετιανὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς εύτελῶν καταφρονήσαντα, ἐλευθέρους μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀνεῖναι, καταπαῦσαι δὲ διὰ προστάγματος τὸν κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διωγμόν.

3.20.5 | On these matters, nothing was found against them by Domitian, but he also looked down on them as worthless. He allowed them to be free, but ordered a stop to the persecution against the church.

3.20.6 | τοὺς δὲ ἀπολυθέντας ἡγήσασθαι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ὡσὰν δὴ μάρτυρας ὅμοι καὶ ἀπὸ γένους ὄντας τοῦ κυρίου, γενομένης τε εἰρήνης μέχρι Τραϊανοῦ παραμεῖναι αὐτοὺς τῷ βίῳ.”

3.20.6 | Those who were released were thought to be leaders of the churches, as if they were indeed witnesses and of the same lineage as the Lord. After peace was established, they remained alive until Trajan.

3.20.7 | ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἡγήσιππος, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Τερτυλιανὸς τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ τοιαύτην πεποίηται μνήμην· “πεπειράκει ποτὲ καὶ Δομετιανὸς ταύτῳ ‘ποιεῖν ἔκείνω, μέρος ὧν τῆς Νέρωνος ὡμότητος. ἀλλ’ οἴμαι ἄτε ἔχων τι συνέσεως τάχιστα ἐπαύσατο, ‘ἀνακαλεσάμενος καὶ οὓς ἔξεληλάκει.”

3.20.8 | μετὰ δὲ τὸν Δομετιανὸν πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ἐπικρατήσαντα Νέρουνα τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδεξαμένου καθαιρεθῆναι μὲν τὰς Δομετιανο τιμὰς, ἐπανελθεῖν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα μετὰ τοῦ καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἀπολαβεῖν τοὺς ἀδίκως ἔξεληλαμένους, ἡ Ῥωμαίων σύγκλητος βουλὴ ψηφίζεται· ἴστοροῦσιν οἱ γραφῇ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους παραδόντες.

3.20.9 | τότε δὴ οὗν καὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον Ἰωάννην ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον φυγῆς τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐφέσου διατριβὴν ἀπειληφέναι ὁ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀρχαίων παραδίδωσι λόγος.

## Section 21

3.21.1 | Μικρῷ δὲ πλέον ἐνιαυτοῦ βασιλεύσαντα Νέρουναν διαδέχεται τραϊανός, οὗ δὴ πρῶτον ἔτο ἦν, ἐν ᾧ τῆς κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παροικίας Ἀβίλιο δέκα πρὸς τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ἡγησάμενον διαδέχεται Κε δῶν. τρίτος οὗτος τῶν αὐτόθι μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον Ἅ(??) νιανὸν προέστη. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ῥωμαίων είσέτι Κλη μὴς ἡγεῖτο, τρίτον καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπέχων τῶν τῆδε μετ Παῦλόν τε καὶ Πέτρον ἐπισκοπευσάντων βαθμόν Λίνος δὲ

3.20.7 | These things are said by Hegesippus. However, Tertullian also remembers Domitian in this way: 'Domitian once tried to do the same thing, being part of Nero's cruelty. But I think that, having some understanding, he quickly stopped, calling back those he had released.'

3.20.8 | After Domitian, Nero was in power for fifteen years. When Nerva took over, the honors of Domitian were removed, and he allowed those who had been unjustly removed to return to their homes and regain their property. The Roman Senate voted on this. The writings tell the history of those times.

3.20.9 | Then indeed, the ancient writings that we have say that the apostle John was taken from his exile on the island and stayed in Ephesus.

3.21.1 | After Nerva ruled for a little more than a year, Trajan took over. He was the first to lead the community in Alexandria for ten years out of thirteen. This third leader came after the first. During this time, Clement was still leading the Romans, being the third bishop after Paul and Peter. The first was Linus, and after him came Anencletus.

ὁ πρῶτος ἡν, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἀνέγκλητος.

## Section 22

3.22.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 11] Ἄλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπ'  
Ἄη τιοχείας Εύοδίου πρώτου καταστάντος  
δεύτερος τοῖς δηλουμένοις Ἰγνάτιος  
έγνωρίζετο. Συμεὼν ὁμοίως δεύτερος μετὰ  
τὸν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀδελφὸν τῆς ἐν  
Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας κατὰ τούτους τὴν  
λειτουργίαν εἶχεν,

3.22.1 | But also, after Euodius became the first in Antioch, Ignatius was recognized as the second among those mentioned. Similarly, Simon, after our Savior's brother, had the leadership of the church in Jerusalem during this time.

## Section 23

3.23.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 11 H, 42] Ἐπὶ τούτοις  
κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔτι τῷ βίῳ περιλειπόμενος  
αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος, ὃν ἡγάπα ὁ Ἰησοῦς,  
ἀπόστολος ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐαγγελιστής  
Ιωάννης τὰς αὐτόθι διεῖπεν ἐκκλησίας, ἀπὸ  
τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον μετὰ τὴν Δομετιανοῦ  
τελευτὴν ἐπανελθὼν φυγῆς.

3.23.1 | During this time, John, the apostle and evangelist whom Jesus loved, was still living in Asia. He spoke to the churches there after returning from exile on the island, following the death of Domitian.

3.23.2 | ὅτι δὲ εἰς τούτους ἔτι τῷ βίῳ  
περιῆν ἀπόχρη διὰ δύο πιστώσασθαι τὸν  
λόγον μαρτύρων. πιστοὶ δ' ἀν εἴεν οὗτοι,  
τῆς πρεσβεύσαντες ὄρθιοδοξίας, εἰ δὴ  
τοιοῦτοι Εἰρηναῖος καὶ Κλήμης ὁ  
Ἀλεξανδρεύς.

3.23.2 | That he was still living at this time is useful to confirm the words of the martyrs. These men would be faithful, having supported the true teaching, if indeed they were like Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria.

3.23.3 | ὃν ὁ μὲν πρότερος ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν  
πρὸς τὰς αἱρέσεις ὡδέ πως γράφει κατὰ  
λέξιν "καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι  
μαρτυροῦσιν, οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ιωάννη  
τῷ τοῦ "κυρίου μαθητῇ συμβεβληκότες,  
παραδεδωκέναι τὸν "Ιωάννην. παρέμεινε  
γάρ αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν τραϊανοῦ χρόνων."

3.23.3 | The former writes in the second book against the heresies, saying exactly: 'And all the elders bear witness, those who have met with John, the disciple of the Lord, in Asia, that he handed down the teaching about John. For he remained with them until the times of Trajan.'

3.23.4 | καὶ ἐν τρίτῳ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς  
ὑποθέσεως ταύτῳ τοῦτο δηλοῖ διὰ τούτων  
“ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ “ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup>  
Παύλου μὲν τεθεμελιωμένη, “Ιωάννου δὲ  
παραμείναντος αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν  
Τραϊ“ανοῦ χρόνων, μάρτυς ἀληθής ἔστι τῆς  
τῶν ἀπὸ“στόλων παραδόσεως.”

3.23.5 | ὁ δὲ Κλήμης ὅμοι καὶ τὸν χρόνον  
ἐπισημηνάμενος καὶ ιστορίαν  
ἀναγκαιοτάτην οἷς τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἐπωφελῆ  
φίλον ἀκούειν προστίθησιν ἐν ᾧ “τίς ὁ  
σωζόμενος πλούσιος” ἐπέγραψεν αὐτοῦ  
συγγράμματι. λαβὼν δὲ ἀνάγνωθι ὥδε πως  
ἔχουσαν καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν γραφήν

3.23.6 | “ἄκουσον μῦθον οὐ μῦθον, ἀλλὰ  
δοντα λόγον, περὶ Ἰωάννου τού ἀποστόλου  
στόλου παραδεδομένον καὶ μνήμῃ  
πεφυλαγμένον. ἐπειδὴ γάρ τοῦ τυράννου  
τελευτήσαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου  
μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον, ἀπήιει  
παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα  
τῶν ἔθνῶν, ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους  
καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὄλας ἐκκλησίας  
ἀρμόσων, ὅπου δὲ κλήρῳ ἔνα γέ τινα  
κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος  
σημαινομένων.

3.23.7 | ἐλθὼν οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τινα τῶν οὐ  
μακρὰν πόλεων, ἣς καὶ τοῦνομα λέγουσιν  
ἴνιοι, καὶ τἄλλα ἀναπαύσας τοὺς  
ἀδελφοὺς, ἐπὶ πᾶσι τῷ καθεστῶτι  
προσβλέψας ἐπισκόπῳ, νεανίσκον ἱκανὸν  
τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ ὄψει ἀστεῖον καὶ θερμὸν  
τὴν ψυχὴν ἴδων, “τοῦτον” ἔφη σοὶ  
παρακατατίθεμαι μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς, ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup>  
τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μάρτυρος.”  
τοῦ δὲ δεχομένου καὶ πάνθ’ ὑπισχνούμενου

3.23.4 | And in the third book of the same  
work, it shows the same thing through  
these words: 'But the church in Ephesus,  
founded by Paul, remained with them until  
the times of Trajan under John, who is a  
true witness of the teaching of the  
apostles.'

3.23.5 | But Clement also marks the time  
and adds a very important history, to which  
he adds the good and useful things that are  
pleasing to hear, in which he wrote, 'Who is  
the rich man to be saved?' Take and read it  
as it is written by him.

3.23.6 | Listen to a story, not a fable, but a  
true account about John the apostle, passed  
down and kept in memory. For after the  
death of the tyrant, he came from the island  
of Patmos to Ephesus, going around  
encouraging and visiting the nearby  
nations, where he would appoint bishops,  
where he would set up whole churches, and  
where he would ordain some clergy as  
indicated by the Spirit.

3.23.7 | Then, having come to one of the  
nearby cities, which some also mention by  
name, and after resting the brothers, he  
looked at all the established leaders. Seeing  
a young man who was strong in body and  
handsome in appearance, and warm in  
spirit, he said, 'I entrust this one to you  
with all diligence, for the church and as a  
witness of Christ.' The one receiving him  
promised everything and again spoke and

καὶ πάλιν τὰ αὐτὰ διελέγετο καὶ διεμαρτύρετο.

testified the same things.

3.23.8 | εἶτα ὁ μὲν ἀπῆρεν ἐπὶ τὴν "Ἐφεσον, ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος ἀναλαβὼν οἴκαδε τὸν παραδοθέντα νεανίσκον ἔτρεφε, συνεῖχεν, ἔθαλπε, τὸ τελευταῖον ἐφώτισε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο "ὑφῆκε τῆς πλείονος ἐπιμελείας καὶ παραφυλακῆς, ὡς "τὸ τέλειον αὐτῷ φυλακτήριον ἐπιστήσας τὴν σφρα- "γῖδα τοῦ κυρίου.

3.23.8 | Then the one went away to Ephesus, and the elder, taking the entrusted young man, raised him, nurtured him, and finally enlightened him. After this, he left him under greater care and watchfulness, as he set the seal of the Lord as a perfect guardian over him.

3.23.9 | Τῷ δὲ ἀνέσεως πρὸ ὥρας λαβο- "μένῳ προσφθείρονταί τινες ἥλικες ἄργοι καὶ ἀπερ- "ρωγότες, ἔθαδες κακῶν. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν δὶ ἐστιά- "σεων πολυτελῶν αὐτὸν ἐπάγονται, εἶτά που καὶ νύ- "κτωρ ἐπὶ λωποδυσίαν ἔξιόντες συνεπάγονται, εἶτά "τι καὶ μεῖζον συμπράττειν ἡξίουν.

3.23.9 | Then, when he was still young, some lazy and idle young men approached him, being a source of troubles. First, they led him into lavish banquets, and then at night they took him out to steal. After that, they thought it was right to involve him in even greater things.

3.23.10 | ὁ δὲ κατ' ὄλι- "γον προσειθίζετο, καὶ διὰ μέγεθος φύσεως, ἐκστὰς" ὥσπερ ἄστομος καὶ εὔρωστος ἅππος ὥρθης ὁδοῦ καὶ "τὸν χαλινὸν ἐνδακών, μειζόνως κατὰ τῶν βαράθρων "έφρετο.

3.23.10 | But he, little by little, was being led away, and because of his strong nature, he stood like a strong and healthy horse on a straight path, holding the reins tightly, and was carried more greatly toward the depths.

3.23.11 | ἀπογνοὺς δὲ τελέως τὴν ἐν θεῷ σω- "τηρίαν οὐδὲν ἔτι μικρὸν διενοεῖτο, ἀλλὰ μέγα τι "πράξας, ἐπειδήπερ ἄπαξ, ἀπολώλει, ἵσα τοῖς ἄλλοις "παθεῖν ἡξίον. Αὐτοὺς δὴ τούτονς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ λω- "στήριον σνγκροτήσας ἔτοιμος λήσταρχος ἦν, βιαιό"τατος, μιαιφονώτατος, χαλεπώτατος.

3.23.11 | But he, completely losing hope in salvation from God, no longer thought of anything small, but aimed to do something great, since he had once been lost and thought he deserved to suffer like the others. So, taking these men and gathering them together as a band, he was ready to be their leader, very violent, very murderous, and very harsh.

3.23.12 | χρόνος ἐν “μέβῳ, καὶ τίνος ἐπιπεσούης χρείας ἀνακαλοῦσι τὸν “Ιωάννην. ὁ δε ἐπει τά ἄλλα ὡν χάριν ἤκε κατεβτή“σατο, ἄγε δὴ, ἔφη, ὡς ἐπίσκοπε, τὴν παρακαταθή“κην ἀπόδος ἡμῖν, ἦν ἐγώ τε καὶ ο Χριστός σοι πα“ρακατεθέμεθα ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκκλησίας, ἥς προκαδίζῃ, “μάρτυρος.

3.23.13 | ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔξεπλάγη, χρή“ματα οἰόμενος, ἅπερ οὐκ ἔλαβε, σνκοφαντεῖσθαι, καὶ “οὕτε πιστεύειν εἶχεν ὑπὲρ ὡν οὐκ ἔσχεν οὕτε ἀπιστεῖν “Ιωάννη. ὡς δὲ “τὸν νεανίσκον” εἶπεν “ἀπαιτῶ καὶ τὴν “φνχὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ,” στενάξας κάτωθεν ὁ πρεσβύτης “καὶ τι καὶ ἐπιδιακρύσας, “έκεῖνος” ἔφη “τέθνηκε.” “πῶς καὶ τίνα θάνατον;” “θεῷ τέθνηκεν” εἶπεν. “ἀπέβη γὰρ πονηρός καὶ εξώλης, καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον, “ληστής. Καὶ νῦν ἀντὶ τῆς ἑκκλησίας τὸ ὄρος κατεί“ληφε μεθ' ὄμοιον στρατιωτικοῦ”

3.23.14 | καταρρηζάμε“νος οὖν τὴν ἐσθῆτα ὁ ἀπόστολος, καὶ μετὰ μεγάλης “οἴμωγῆς πληξάμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν, καλόν γε, ἔφη, “φύλακα τῆς τάδελφοῦ ψυχῆς κατέλιπον. ἀλλ’ ἵππος “ἥδη μοι παρέστω, καὶ ἡγεμῶν γινέσθω μοί τις τῆς “ὅδοῦ. ἥλαυνεν, ὕσπερ εἶχεν, αὐτόθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκ“κλησίας.

3.23.15 | ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ χωρίον ὑπὸ τῆς προ“φυλακῆς τῶν ληστῶν ἀλίσκεται, μήτε φεύγων μήτε “παραιτούμενος, ἀλλὰ βοῶν, ἐπὶ τοῦτ’ ἐλήλυθα, ἐπὶ “τὸν ἄρχοντα ὑμῶν ἀγάγετέ με.

3.23.12 | After some time, and because of a certain need, they called for John. He, having come down for the other things for which he had come, said, 'Come now, bishop, give us the deposit that both I and Christ have entrusted to you for the church of which you are the leader, as a witness.'

3.23.13 | But at first he was surprised, thinking of money that he had not received, and he had neither faith about what he did not have nor doubt about John. But when he said, 'I demand the soul of the brother,' the elder sighed deeply and even shed some tears, and he replied, 'He has died.' 'How and what kind of death?' 'He has died to God,' he said. 'For he has become wicked and lost, and the main thing, a robber. And now, instead of the church, he has taken the mountain with a similar group of soldiers.'

3.23.14 | Therefore, tearing his robe, the apostle struck his head with great lamentation and said, 'I have left a good guardian of the brother's soul. But a horse is already ready for me, and let someone be my leader on the way.' He rode off, just as he had come from the church.

3.23.15 | And when he came to the place, he was caught under the guard of the robbers, neither fleeing nor refusing, but shouting, 'I have come for this, bring me to your leader.'

3.23.16 | ὃς τέως, ὥσπερ “ῷπλιστο,  
ἀνέμενεν, ὡς δὲ προσιόντα ἐγνώρισε τὸν  
“Ιωάννην, εἰς φυγὴν αἰδεσθεὶς ἐτράπετο. ὁ  
δὲ ἔδι“ωκεν ἀνὰ κράτος, ἐπιλαθόμενος τῆς  
ἡλικίας τῆς ἐαυ“τοῦ, κεκραγώς,

3.23.17 | τί με φεύγεις, τέκνον, τὸν σαυ“τοῦ  
πατέρα, τὸν γυμνὸν, τὸν γέροντα; ἐλέησόν  
με, “τέκνον, μὴ φοβοῦ. ἔχεις ἔτι ζωῆς  
ἐλπίδα. ἔγὼ “Χριστῷ λόγον δώσω ὑπὲρ  
σοῦ, ἀν δέη, τὸν σὸν θά“νατον ἐκῶν  
ὑπομενῶ, ὡς ὁ κύριος τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.  
“ὑπὲρ σοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀντιδώσω τὴν ἐμήν.  
στῆθι, “πίστευσον, Χριστός με ἀπέστειλεν.

3.23.18 | ὃ δὲ ἀκού“σας πρῶτον μὲν ἔστη  
κάτω βλέπων, εἴτα ἔρριψε τὰ “ὅπλα, εἴτα  
τρέμων ἔκλαιε πικρῶς. προσελθόντα δὲ  
“τὸν γέροντα περιέλαβεν, ἀπολογούμενος  
ταῖς οίμω“γαῖς ὡς ἐδύνατο καὶ τοῖς  
δάκρυσι βαπτιζόμενος ἐκ “δευτέρου, μόνην  
ἀποκρύπτων τὴν δεξιάν.

3.23.19 | ὃ δ’ “ἔγγυώμενος, ἐπομνύμενος,  
ὡς ἄφεσιν αὐτῷ παρὰ “τοῦ σωτῆρος  
ηὔρηται, δεόμενος, γονυπετῶν, αὐτὴν “τὴν  
δεξιάν ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς μετανοίας  
κεκαθαρμένην κα“ταφιλῶν, ἐπὶ τὴν  
ἐκκλησίαν ἐπανήγαγε, καὶ δαψι“λέσι μὲν  
εὐχαῖς ἔξαιτούμενος, συνεχέσι δὲ νηστείαις  
“συναγωνιζόμενος, ποικίλαις δὲ σειρῆσι  
λόγων κατε“πάδων αὐτοῦ τὴν γνώμην οὐ  
πρότερον ἀπῆλθεν, ὡς “φασι, πρὶν αὐτὸν  
ἀποκατέστησε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, διδοὺς “μέγα  
παράδειγμα μετανοίας ἀληθινῆς καὶ μέγα  
γνώ“ρισμα παλιγγενεσίας, τρόπαιον

3.23.16 | He, for a time, waited as if armed,  
but when he recognized John approaching,  
he turned to flee, feeling ashamed. But John  
chased him with strength, forgetting his  
own age, shouting,

3.23.17 | Why are you fleeing from me, my  
child, your naked father, the old man? Have  
mercy on me, my child, do not be afraid.  
You still have hope for life. I will give an  
account to Christ for you, if needed, I will  
willingly endure your death, as the Lord did  
for us. For you, I will give my soul in  
exchange. Stand firm, believe, Christ has  
sent me.

3.23.18 | But when he first heard, he stood  
still, looking down, then he threw down his  
weapons and, trembling, cried bitterly.  
When he approached the old man, he  
embraced him, apologizing with his cries as  
best as he could, and being baptized with  
tears a second time, hiding only his right  
hand.

3.23.19 | But he, promising and swearing  
that forgiveness had been found for him  
from the Savior, begging while kneeling,  
kissed that right hand as if it were cleansed  
by repentance. He brought it back to the  
church, and while asking with many  
prayers, he competed with continuous  
fasts, and with various chains of words, he  
did not leave his opinion until, as they say,  
he restored him to the church, giving a  
great example of true repentance and a  
great sign of rebirth, a trophy of  
resurrection seen.

άναστάσεως βλεπο“μένη.”

## Section 24

3.24.1 | [Nic. H. E. II, 45] Ταῦτα τοῦ Κλήμεντος, Ἰστορίας ὅμοι καὶ ὀφελείας τῆς τῶν ἐντευχομένων ἔνεκεν, ἐνταῦθά μοι κείσθω. φέρε δὲ καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὰς ἀναντιρρήτους ἐπισημηνώμεθα γραφάς.

3.24.2 | καὶ δὴ τὸ κατ’ αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον ταῖς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν διεγνωσμένον ἐκιλησίαις πρῶτον ἀνωμοιογήσθω. ὅτι γε μὴν εὐλόγως πρὸς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐν τετάρτῃ μοίρᾳ τῶν ἄλλων τριῶν κατείλεκται, ταύτῃ ἀν γένοιτο δῆλον.

3.24.3 | οἱ θεσπέσιοι καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς θεοπρεπεῖς, φημὶ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοὺς ἀποστόλους, τὸν βίον ἄκρως κεκαρθαρμένοι, καὶ ἀρετῇ πάσῃ τὰς ψυχὰς κεκοσμημένοι, τὴν δὲ γλῶτταν ἴδιωτεύοντες, τῇ γε μὴν πρὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος αὐτοῖς δεδωρημένῃ θείᾳ καὶ παραδοξοποιῷ δυνάμει θαρσοῦντες, τὸ μὲν ἐν περινοίᾳ καὶ τέχνῃ λόγων τὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου μαθήματα πρεσβεύειν οὕτε ἥδεσαν οὕτε ἐνεχείρουν, τῇ δὲ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος τοῦ συνεργοῦντος αὐτοῖς~ ἀποδείξει καὶ τῇ δι’ αὐτῶν συντελουμένῃ θαυματουργῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δυνάμει μόνῃ χρώμενοι, τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας τὴν γνῶσιν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν κατήγγελλον τὴν οἰκουμένην, σπουδῆς τῆς περὶ τὸ λογογραφεῖν μικρὰν ποιούμενοι φροντίδα.

3.24.4 | καὶ τοῦτ’ ἔπραττον ἄτε μείζονι καὶ

3.24.1 | Let these things of Clement, for the sake of both history and the benefit of those who are praying, be placed here for me. And let us also note the undeniable writings of this apostle.

3.24.2 | And indeed, let the gospel concerning him be first acknowledged by the churches recognized under heaven. For it is reasonable that it is chosen in the fourth place among the other three, as this would make it clear.

3.24.3 | The divine and truly godly ones, I mean the apostles of Christ, having their lives completely purified and their souls adorned with every virtue, while using ordinary language, boldly relied on the divine and wondrous power given to them by the Savior. They neither knew nor cared to argue about the teachings of the master through cleverness or skill in words. Instead, relying solely on the proof of the divine spirit working with them and the miraculous power of Christ that was accomplished through them, they proclaimed the knowledge of the kingdom of heaven to the whole world, giving little thought to the effort of writing.

3.24.4 | And they did this as if serving a

ύπερ ἄνθρωπον ἔξυπηρετούμενοι διακονίᾳ.  
ὸ γοῦν Παῦλος πάντων ἐν παρασκευῇ  
λόγων δυνατώτατος νοήμασί τε  
ὶκανώτατος γεγονὼς, οὐ πλέον τῶν  
βραχυτάτων ἐπιστολῶν γραφῇ παρα  
δέδωκε, καίτοι μυρία γε καὶ ἀπόρρητα  
λέγειν ἔχων, ἅτε τῶν μέχρις οὐρανοῦ  
τρίτου θεωρημάτων ἐπιψαύσας, ἐπ' αὐτόν  
τε τὸν θεοπρεπῆ παράδεισον ἀναρπασθεὶς  
καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε ρήμάτων ἀρρήτων ἀξιωθεὶς  
ἐπακοῦσαι.

greater cause and a ministry beyond human needs. Indeed, Paul, being the most powerful in preparing words and very capable in understanding, did not write more than the briefest letters. Although he had many things to say that were countless and secret, having touched upon the third heaven, he was caught up into the divine paradise and was deemed worthy to hear the unspeakable words from there.

3.24.5 | οὐκ ἄπειροι μὲν οὖν ὑπῆρχον τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν φοιτηταὶ, δώδεκα μὲν ἀπόστολοι,  
ἐβδομήκοντα δὲ μαθηταὶ, ἄλλοι τε ἐπὶ τούτοις μυρίοι. ὅμως δ' οὖν ἔξ ἀπάντων τῶν τοῦ κυρίου διατριβῶν ὑπομνήματα Ματθαῖος ἡμῖν καὶ Ἰωάννης μόνοι καταλελοίπασιν, οὓς καὶ ἐπάναγκες ἐπὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἐλθεῖν κατέχει λόγος.

3.24.5 | So, there were not only the same ones, but also others who were followers of our Savior: twelve apostles, seventy disciples, and many others besides them. However, from all the teachings of the Lord, only Matthew and John have left us written records, and it is necessary that they be compelled to come to writing.

3.24.6 | Ματθαῖος μὲν γὰρ πρότερον Ἐβραίοις κηρύξας, ὃς ἥμελλεν καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέρους ιέναι, πατρίῳ γλώττῃ γραφῇ παραδοὺς τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον τὸ λεῖπον τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ τούτοις, ἀφ' ᾧν ἐστέλλετο, διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἀπεπλήρου.

3.24.6 | Matthew, after preaching to the Hebrews, as he was about to go to others, gave his gospel in his native language to those present at his own time. From them, he was sent out, and through his writing, he filled it up.

3.24.7 | ἥδη δὲ Μάρκου καὶ Λουκᾶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς εὐαγγελίων τὴν ἔκδοσιν πεποιημένων Ἰωάννην φασὶ, τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἀγράφῳ κεχρημένον κηρύγματι, τέλος καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἐλθεῖν τοιᾶσδε χάριν αἰτίας. τῶν προαναγραφέντων τριῶν εἰς πάντας ἥδη καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν διαδεδομένων ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν φασιν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιμαρτυρήσαντα, μόνην δὲ ἄρα λείπεσθαι τῇ γραφῇ τὴν περὶ τῶν ἐν πρώτοις καὶ κατ'

3.24.7 | They say that after Mark and Luke had published their gospels, John, who had always preached without writing, finally came to write for this reason. Since the three mentioned before had already been spread among everyone, they claimed that they testified to the truth. However, it seemed that only the account of what happened first and at the beginning of the preaching by Christ was left out of the

άρχὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πεπραγμένων διήγησιν.

3.24.8 | καὶ ἀληθῆς γε ὁ λόγος. τοὺς ἄλλους γοῦν τρεῖς εὐαγγελιστὰς συνιδεῖν πάρεστι μόνα τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ κάθειρξιν ἐφ' ἔνα ἐνιαυτὸν πεπραγμένα τῷ σωτῆρι συγγεγραφότας, αὐτό τε τοῦτ' ἐπισημηναμένους κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆς αὐτῶν ἴστορίας.

3.24.9 | μετὰ γοῦν τὴν τεσσαρακονταήμερον νηστείαν καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῇ πειρασμὸν τὸν χρόνον τῆς ἰδίας γραφῆς ὁ μὲν Ματθαῖος δηλοῦ λέγων “ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι Ἰωάννης πα“ρεδόθη ἀνεχώρησεν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἰς τὴν “λιλαίαν.”

3.24.10 | ὁ δὲ Μάρκος ὠσαύτως “μετὰ δὲ τὸ “παραδοθῆναι” φησὶν “Ιωάννην ἥλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς “τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.” καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς δὲ, πρὶν ἄρχασθαι τῶν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πράξεων, παραπλησίως ἐπιτηρεῖ φάσκων ὡς ἄρα προσθεὶς Ἡρώδης οἶς διεπράξατο πονηροῖς κατέκλεισε τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐν φυλακῇ.

3.24.11 | παρακληθέντα δὴ οὖν τούτων ἔνεκά φασι τὸν ἀπόστολον Ἰωάννην τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν προτέρων εὐαγγελιστῶν παρασιωπηθέντα χρόνον καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοῦτον πεπραγμένα τῷ σωτῆρι (ταῦτα δ' ἦν τὰ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ καθείρξεως) τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγελίῳ παραδοῦναι, αὐτό τε τοῦτ' ἐπισημήνασθαι, τοτὲ μὲν φήσαντα ‘ταύτην ἀρχὴν ἐποίησε τῶν παραδόξων ὁ Ἰησοῦς,’ τοτὲ δὲ

writing.

3.24.8 | And indeed, the statement is true. It is possible to see that the other three evangelists wrote about events that happened during the one year of imprisonment of John the Baptist, and they marked this at the beginning of their own accounts.

3.24.9 | After the forty-day fast and the temptation during that time, Matthew shows this in his writing, saying, "And when he heard that John had been handed over, he withdrew from Judea to Galilee."

3.24.10 | Mark also says, "After John was handed over, Jesus came into Galilee." And Luke, before starting the actions of Jesus, similarly notes that Herod had locked up John in prison because of the evil things he had done.

3.24.11 | Therefore, it is said that the apostle John, who was left out by the earlier evangelists, gave an account of the time and events concerning him to the Savior (these were things that happened before the imprisonment of the Baptist). He points this out by sometimes saying, "Jesus made this the beginning of his wonders," and at other times mentioning the Baptist among the actions of Jesus, as when he says

μνημονεύσαντα τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ μεταξὺ τῶν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πράξεων, ὡς ἔτι τότε βαπτίζοντος ἐν Αἶνῶν ἐγγὺς τοῦ Σαλείμ, σαφῶς τε τοῦτο δηλοῦν ἐν τῷ λέγειν "οὕπω γὰρ ἦν, φησὶν, Ἰωάννης βεβλημένος "φυλακήν.

that John was still baptizing near Aenon, close to Salim, clearly showing this when he says, "For John had not yet been thrown into prison."

3.24.12 | ούκοῦν ὁ μὲν Ἰωάννης τῇ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγελίου γραφῇ τὰ μηδέπω τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ βεβλημένου εἰς φυλακὴν πρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ πραχθέντ παραδίωσιν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τρεῖς εὐαγγελισταὶ τὰ μετ τὴν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον κάθειρξιν τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ μνημονεύουσιν.

3.24.12 | So, John in his gospel gives an account of things that happened before the Baptist was thrown into prison, while the other three evangelists mention events that took place after the Baptist's imprisonment.

3.24.13 | οἵς καὶ ἐπιστήσαντι οὐκέτι ἀν δόξα διαφωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις τὰ εὐαγγέλια, τῷ τὸ μὲν καὶ Ἰωάννην τὰ πρῶτα τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πράξεων περιε χειν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ χρόνου αὐτῷ γε γενημένην ἴστορίαν εἰκότως δ' οὖν τὴν μὲν τη σαρκὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν γενεαλογίαν, ἃτε Ματθαίω καὶ Λουκᾶ προγραφεῖσαν, ἀποσιωπῆσαι τὸν Ἰωάννην, τῆς δὲ θεολογίας ἀπάρξασθαι, ὡσὰν αὐτῷ πρὸς τοῦ θείου πνεύματος οἰα κρείττονι παραπεψυλαγμένης.

3.24.13 | If this is understood, then the gospels would no longer disagree with each other. John includes the earlier actions of Christ, while the other gospels focus on the events that happened later in time. Therefore, it is reasonable that John does not mention the genealogy of our Savior in the flesh, which is written by Matthew and Luke, but begins with theology, as if he is protected by the divine spirit in a stronger way.

3.24.14 | ταῦτα μὲν ούν ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου γραφῆς είρήσθω. καὶ τῆς κατὰ Μάρκον δὲ ἡ γενομένη αἴτια ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ἡμῖν δεδήλωται.

3.24.14 | Let this be said about the writing of the gospel according to John. And the reason for the gospel according to Mark has been explained in what we said before.

3.24.15 | ὁ δὲ Λουκᾶς ἀρχόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν συγγράμματος τὴν αἴτιαν προύθηκε, δι ἦν πεποίηται τὴν σύνταξιν, δηλῶν ὡς ἄρα πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων

3.24.15 | Luke also begins by explaining the reason for his writing, showing how he has arranged his account. He says that many others have already written before him,

προπετέστερον ἐπιτετηδευκότων διήγησιν ποιήσασθαι ὡν αὐτὸς πεπληροφόρητο λόγων, ἀναγκαίως ἀπαλλάττων ἡμᾶς τῆς περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀμφηρίστου ὑπολήψεως τὸν ἀσφαλῆ λόγον ὡν αὐτὸς ἱκανῶς τὴν ἀλήθειαν κατειλήφει, ἐκ τῆς ἅμα Παύλῳ συνουσίας τε καὶ διατριβῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων ὁμιλίας ὥφελημένος, διὰ τοῦ ἴδιου παρέδωκεν εὐαγγελίου.

3.24.16 | καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἡμεῖς περὶ τούτων οἴκειότερον δὲ κατὰ καιρὸν διὰ τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων παραθέσεως τὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις περὶ αὐτῶν είρημένα πειρασόμεθα δηλῶσαι.

3.24.17 | τῶν δὲ Ἰωάννου συγγραμμάτων πρὸς τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ καὶ ἡ προτέρα τῶν ἐπιστολῶν παρά τε τοῖς νῦν καὶ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀναμίλεκτος ὡμολόγηται, ἀντιλέγονται δὲ αἱ λοιπαὶ δύο.

3.24.18 | τῆς δ' Ἀποκαλύψεως ἐφ' ἐκάτερον ἔτι νῦν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς περιέλκεται ἡ δόξα. ὅμως γε μὴν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων μαρτυρίας ἐν οἴκειῷ καιρῷ τὴν ἐπίκρισιν δέξεται καὶ αὐτή.

## Section 25

3.25.1 | [Nic. H. E, II, 46] Εὔλογον δ'  
ἐνταῦθα γενομένους ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι  
τὰς δηλωθείσας τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης  
γραφάς. καὶ δὴ τακτέον ἐν πρώτοις τὴν  
ἀγίαν τῶν εὐαγγελίων τετρακτύν, οἵ  
ἴπεται ἡ τῶν πράξεων τῶν ἀποστόλων  
γραφή.

and he has carefully gathered information from those who were eyewitnesses. He aims to give us a clear and reliable account, based on what he learned from Paul and the other apostles, so he presents his own gospel.

3.24.16 | And this is what we say about these things; at a later time, we will try to explain what has been said by the ancients and the others about them.

3.24.17 | The writings of John, along with the first of his letters, are accepted by both the present and the ancient ones as genuine. However, the other two letters are disputed.

3.24.18 | The Revelation still has a good reputation among many people. However, it will also be judged in its own time based on the testimony of the ancients.

3.25.1 | It is reasonable to summarize the writings of the New Testament that have been revealed. First, we should arrange the four holy gospels, which are followed by the writing of the Acts of the Apostles.

3.25.2 | μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὰς Παύλου καταλεκτέον ἐπιστολὰς, αἷς ἔξῆς τὴν φερομένην Ἰωάννου προτέραν καὶ ὅμοιῶς τὴν Πέτρου κυρωτέον ἐπιστολήν. ἐπὶ τούτοις τακτέον, εἴ γε φανείη, τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν Ἰωάννου, περὶ ᾧ τὰ δόξαντα κατὰ καιρὸν ἐκθησόμεθα.

3.25.3 | καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις. τῶν δ' ἀντιλεγομένων, γνωρίμων δ' οὖν ὅμως τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἡ λεγομένη Ἰακώβου φέρεται καὶ ἡ Ἰούδα, ἡ τε Πέτρου δευτέρα ἐπιστολὴ, καὶ ἡ ὄνομαζομένη δευτέρα καὶ τρίτη Ἰωάννου, εἴτε τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ τυγχάνουσαι, εἴτε καὶ ἐτέρου ὀμωνύμου ἐκείνῳ.

3.25.4 | ἐν τοῖς νόθοις κατατετάχθω καὶ τῶν Παύλου πράξεων ἡ γραφὴ, ὃ τε λεγόμενος Ποιμὴν, καὶ ἡ Ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἡ φερομένη Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολὴ, καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι διδαχαί· ἔτι τε, ὡς ἔφην, ἡ Ἰωάννου Ἀποκάλυψις, εἰ φανείη, ἣν τινες, ὡς ἔφην, ἀθετοῦσιν, ἔτεροι δὲ ἐγκρίνουσι τοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις.

3.25.5 | ἥδη δ' ἐν τούτοις τινὲς καὶ τὸ καθ' Ἐβραίους εὐαγγέλιον κατέλεξαν, ὡς μάλιστα Ἐβραίω οἱ τὸν Χριστὸν παραδεξάμενοι χαίρουσι. ταῦτα πάντα τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων ἀν εἴη.

3.25.6 | ἀναγκαίως δὲ καὶ τούτων ὅμως τὸν

3.25.2 | After this, we should collect the letters of Paul, and then the earlier letter of John and likewise the letter of Peter should be confirmed. On top of these, we should arrange the Revelation of John, about which we will explain what is believed in due time.

3.25.3 | These writings are accepted by many. However, among those that are disputed, the letter of James is mentioned, as well as the letter of Jude, the second letter of Peter, and the letters known as the second and third of John, whether they are by the evangelist or by another person with the same name.

3.25.4 | In the disputed writings, we should include the Acts of Paul, the so-called Shepherd, the Revelation of Peter, and also the letter attributed to Barnabas, along with the teachings of the apostles known as the Didache. Furthermore, as I mentioned, the Revelation of John should be considered, which some reject, while others accept it along with the accepted writings.

3.25.5 | Already in these writings, some have also included the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which especially brings joy to the Hebrews who have accepted Christ. All of these would be among the disputed writings.

3.25.6 | It is necessary for us to make a list

κατάλογον πεποιήμεθα, διακρίναντες τάς τε κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν παράδοσιν ἀληθεῖς καὶ ἀπλάστους καὶ ἀνωμολογημένας γραφάς, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας παρὰ ταύτας, οὐκ ἐνδιαθήκους μὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντιλεγομένας, ὅμως δὲ παρὰ πλείστοις τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν γινωσκομένας, ἵν' εἰδέναι ἔχοιμεν αὐτάς τε ταύτας καὶ τὰς ὀνόματι τῶν ἀποστόλων πρὸς τῶν αἱρετικῶν προφερομένας, ἥτοι ὡς Πέτρου καὶ Θωμᾶ καὶ Ματθία ἢ καὶ τινων παρὰ τούτους ἄλλων εὐαγγέλια περιεχούσας, ἢ ὡς Ἀνδρέου καὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων πράξεις, ᾧν οὐδὲν οὐδαμῶς ἐν συγγράμματι τῶν κατὰ τὰς διαδοχὰς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τις ἀνήρ εἰς μνήμην ἀγαγεῖν ἡξίωσεν.

of these writings, distinguishing between those that are true, simple, and recognized according to church tradition, and the others that are not part of the covenant but are disputed. However, many in the church recognize them, so that we may know both these writings and those named after the apostles that are put forward by heretics. This includes writings attributed to Peter, Thomas, and Matthew, or other gospels from them, as well as the Acts of Andrew, John, and the other apostles, none of which any man has deemed worthy to be remembered in the records of church succession.

3.25.7 | πόρρω δέ που καὶ ὁ τῆς φράσεως παρὰ τὸ ἥθος τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ἐναλλάττει χαρακτὴρ, ἢ τε γνώμῃ καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς φερομένων προαίρεσις, πλεῖστον ὅσον τῆς ἀληθοῦς ὄρθιοδοξίας ἀπάδουσα, ὅτι δὴ αἱρετικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀναπλάσματα τυγχάνει σαφῶς παρίστησιν· ὅθεν οὐδ' ἐν νόθοις αὐτὰ κατατακτέον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄτοπα πάντη καὶ δυσσεβῇ παραιτητέον. ἴωμεν δὴ λοιπὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἔξῆς ἴστορίαν.

3.25.7 | Far from it, the style of these writings changes from the apostolic character. The opinion and intention of those mentioned in them greatly depart from true orthodoxy, clearly presenting the ideas of heretical men. Therefore, they should not be included even among the false writings, but should be completely rejected as strange and irreverent. Let us now move on to the next history.

## Section 26

3.26.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 42] Σίμωνα τὸν μάγον Μένανδρος διαδεξάμενος ὅπλον δεύτερον, οὐ χεῖρον τοῦ προτέρου, τῆς διαβολικῆς ἐνεργείας ἀποδείκνυται τὸν τρόπον· ἦν καὶ οὗτος Σαμαρεὺς, εἰς ἄκρον δὲ γοητείας οὐκ ἔλαττον τοῦ διδασκάλου προελθών μείζοσιν ἐπιδαψιλεύεται τερατολογίαις, ἐαυτὸν μὲν ὡς ἄρα εἴη, λέγων, ὃ σωτὴρ, ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄνωθέν ποθεν ἔξ

3.26.1 | Simon the magician, having succeeded Menander, shows a second weapon, not worse than the first, revealing the way of his devilish power. He was also a Samaritan and, having advanced to the highest level of sorcery, he boasts even more than his teacher with great wonders. He claims to be the savior, saying that he was sent from the unseen realms for the

άιοράτων αίώνων ἀπεσταλμένος σωτηρίᾳ,

salvation of humanity.

3.26.2 | διδάσκων δὲ μὴ ἄλλως δύνασθαι τινα καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν κοσμοποιῶν ἀγγέλων περιγενήσεσθαι, μὴ πρότερον διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτοῦ παραδιδομένης μαγικῆς ἐμπειρίας ἀχθέντα, καὶ διὰ τοῦ μεταδιδομένου πρὸς αὐτοῦ βαπτίσματος, οὐ τοὺς κατηξιωμένους ἀθανασίαν ἀῖδιον ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ μεθέξειν τῷ βίῳ, μηκέτι θνήσκοντας, αὐτοῦ δὲ παραμένοντας, εἰς τὸ ἀεὶ ἀγήρως τινὰς καὶ ἀθανάτους ἐσομένους. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐκ τῶν Εἰρηναίου διαγνῶναι ἡγδιον.

3.26.2 | He teaches that no one can surpass even the world-creating angels unless they first go through his magical experience and receive his baptism. Through this baptism, those deemed worthy will share in eternal life with him, no longer dying, but remaining with him to become ageless and immortal. These things are indeed easy to understand from the writings of Irenaeus.

3.26.3 | καὶ ὁ Ἰουστῖνος δὲ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸν Σίμωνος μνημονεύσας καὶ τὴν περὶ τούτου διήγησιν ἐπιφέρει, λέγων “Μένανδρον δέ τινα καὶ αὐτὸν Σαμαρέα, τὸν ἀπὸ “κώμης Καππαραττέας, γενόμενον μαθητὴν τοῦ Σίμωνος, οἰστρηθέντα καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων “καὶ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ γενόμενον πολλοὺς ἔξαπατῆσαι “διὰ μαγικῆς τέχνης οἴδαμεν, δς καὶ τοὺς αὐτῷ ἐπομένους ὡς μὴ ἀποθνήσκοιεν ἔπεισεν. καὶ νῦν “τινές εἰσιν ἀπ’ ἐκείνου τοῦτο δημολογοῦντες.”

3.26.3 | Justin also mentions the same thing about Simon, adding the story about him. He says, "There was a certain Menander, a Samaritan from the village of Cappadocia, who became a disciple of Simon. He was also driven by demons and, while in Antioch, he deceived many through magical arts. He convinced those who followed him that they would not die. And even now, there are some who confess this from him."

3.26.4 | ἦν δ' ἄρα διαβολικῆς ἐνεργείας διὰ τοιῶνδε γοήτων τὴν Χριστιανῶν προσηγορίαν ὑποδυομένων τὸ μέγα τῆς θεοσεβείας μυστήριον ἐπὶ μαγείᾳ σπουδάσαι διαβαλεῖν, διασῦραί τε δι' αὐτῶν τὰ περὶ ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας καὶ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως ἐκκλησιαστικὰ δόγματα. ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν τούτους σωτῆρας ἐπιγραψάμενοι τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀποπεπτώκασιν ἐλπίδος.

3.26.4 | There was indeed a devilish power at work, as those who practiced such sorcery tried to undermine the great mystery of godliness among Christians. They aimed to attack the teachings about the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the dead, spreading confusion about these church doctrines. But these people, calling themselves saviors, have fallen away from true hope.

## Section 27

3.27.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 13] Ἀλλους δὲ ὁ πονηρὸς δαίμων, τῆς περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ διαθέσεως ἀδυνατῶν ἐκσεῖσαι, θατέρᾳ ληπτοὺς εὐρών ἐσφετερίζετο. Ἐβιωναίους τούτους οίκειώς ἐπεφήμιζον οἱ πρῶτοι, πτωχῶς καὶ ταπεινῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοξάζοντας.

3.27.2 | λιτὸν μὲν γάρ αὐτὸν καὶ κοινὸν ἡγοῦντο κατὰ προκοπὴν ἥθους αὐτὸ μόνον ἄνθρωπον δεδικαιωμένον, ἐξ ἀνδρός τε κοινωνίας καὶ τῆς Μαρίας γεγεννημένον· δεῖν δὲ πάντως αὐτοῖς νομικῆς θρησκείας, ὡς μὴ ἀν διὰ μόνης τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πίστεως καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν βίου σωθησομένοις.

3.27.3 | ἄλλοι δὲ παρὰ τούτους τῆς αὐτῆς ὄντες προσηγορίας τὴν μὲν τῶν είρημένων ἔκτοπον διεδίδρασκον ἀτοπίαν, ἐκ παρθένου καὶ ἀγίου πνεύματος μὴ ἀρνούμενοι γεγονέναι τὸν κύριον, οὐ μὴν ἔθ' ὅμοίως καὶ οὗτοι προυπάρχειν αὐτὸν, θεὸν λόγον ὄντα καὶ σοφίαν, ὅμολογοῦντες τῇ τῶν προτέρων περιετρέποντο δυσσεβείᾳ, μάλιστα ὅτε καὶ τὴν σωματικὴν περὶ τὸν νόμον λατρείαν ὅμοίως ἐκείνοις περιέπειν ἐσπούδαζον.

3.27.4 | οὗτοι δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἀποστόλου πάσας τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀρνητέας ἡγοῦντο εἶναι δεῖν, ἀποστάτην ἀποκαλοῦντες αὐτὸν τοῦ νόμου· εὐαγγελίῳ δὲ μόνῳ τῷ καθ' Ἐβραίους λεγομένῳ χρώμενοι τῶν λοιπῶν σμικρὸν ἐποιοῦντο λόγον.

3.27.1 | The wicked demon found others who were weak in their understanding of the arrangement concerning Christ of God, and he took them in another direction. These Ebionites were the first to be mentioned, praising the things about Christ in a poor and humble way.

3.27.2 | For they considered him to be simple and common, believing that he was just a man who was justified, born from a human father and Mary. They thought it was necessary for them to follow the Jewish law, as if they would not be saved by faith alone in Christ and by living according to that faith.

3.27.3 | Others, however, while being of the same group, taught a strange idea that was different from what was mentioned before. They did not deny that the Lord was born from a virgin and the holy spirit, but they also claimed that he existed before that, being the Word of God and wisdom. They agreed with the earlier group but fell into impiety, especially when they also tried to follow the physical worship of the law like those before them.

3.27.4 | These people thought that all the letters of the apostle should be rejected, calling him a rebel against the law. They only used the gospel that is called "according to the Hebrews," making little use of the others.

3.27.5 | καὶ τὸ μὲν σάββατον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰουδαϊκὴν ἀγωγὴν ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις παρεφύλαττον, ταῖς δ' αὐτὸν κυριακαῖς ἡμέραις ἡμῖν τὰ παραπλήσια εἰς μνήμην τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἀναστάσεως ἐπετέλουν.

3.27.6 | ὅθεν παρὰ τὴν τοιαύτην ἔγχείρησιν τῆς τοιᾶσδε λελόγχασι προσηγορίας, τοῦ Ἐβιωναίων ὄνόματος, τὴν τῆς διανοίας πτωχείαν αὐτῶν ὑποφαίνοντος· ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐπίκλην ὁ πτωχὸς παρ' Ἐβραίοις ὄνομάζεται.

## Section 28

3.28.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 14] Κατὰ τοὺς δεδηλωμένους χρόνους ἐτέρας αἱρέσεως ἀρχηγὸν γενέσθαι Κήρινθον παρειλήφαμεν. Γάιος, οὗ φωνὰς ἥδη πρότερον παρατέθειμαι, ἐν τῇ φερομένῃ αὐτοῦ ζητήσει ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γράφει

3.28.2 | “ἄλλὰ καὶ Κήρινθος “ὸ δι’ ἀποκαλύψεων ὡς ὑπὸ ἀποστόλου μεγάλου γε “γραμμένων τερατολογίας ἡμῖν ὡς δι’ ἀγγέλων αὐτῷ “δεδειγμένας ψευδόμενος ἐπεισάγει λέγων μετὰ τὴν “ἀνάστασιν ἐπίγειον εἶναι τὸ βασίλειον τοῦ Χρι“στοῦ, καὶ πάλιν ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς ἐν Ιερου“σαλήμ τὴν σάρκα πολιτευομένην δουλεύειν. καὶ “ἔχθρὸς ὑπάρχων ταῖς γραφαῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀριθμὸν “χιλιονταετίας ἐν γάμῳ ἐορτῆς, θέλων πλανᾶν, λέγει “γίνεσθαι.”

3.28.3 | καὶ Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ τῆς κατ‘

3.27.5 | They also kept the Sabbath and other Jewish practices like those before them, but on the Lord's days, they celebrated similar things in memory of the Lord's resurrection.

3.27.6 | From this, their lack of understanding is shown by the name they have taken, which is that of the Ebionites. For in this way, the poor are called among the Hebrews.

3.28.1 | According to the stated times, we have noted that Cerinthus became the leader of another sect. Gaius, whose words I have already mentioned before, writes these things about him in his inquiry.

3.28.2 | But Cerinthus, as written in revelations by a great apostle, falsely claims that the kingdom of Christ will be on earth after the resurrection, saying that the flesh will live in Jerusalem, serving desires and pleasures. And being an enemy of the scriptures of God, he wants to mislead by saying that there will be a thousand years of celebration in marriage.

3.28.3 | And Dionysius, who holds the

Ἄλεξάνδρειαν παροικίας καθ' ἡμᾶς τὴν  
έπισκοπὴν εἰληχώς, ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν  
ἐπαγγελιῶν περὶ τῆς Ἰωάννου  
Ἀποκαλύψεως εἴπων τινα ὡς ἐκ τῆς  
ἀνέκαθεν παραδόσεως, τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
μέμνηται ἀνδρὸς τούτοις τοῖς ἥμασι

bishopric in our area of Alexandria, in the second of the promises about the Revelation of John, mentions someone as coming from the ancient tradition, and he refers to the same man with these words.

3.28.4 | “Κήρινθον δὲ τὸν καὶ τὴν ἄπ’  
ἐκείνου κλη“θεῖσαν Κήρινθιανὴν αὔρεσιν  
συστησάμενον ἀξιό“πιστον ἐπιφημίσαι  
θελήσαντα τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πλάσματι “ὄνομα.  
τοῦτο γάρ εἶναι τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ τὸ  
“δόγμα, ἐπίγειον ἔσεσθαι τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
βασιλείαν. ”

3.28.4 | And Cerinthus, who also established the sect called the Cerinthians, wanted to give a trustworthy name to his own creation. For this is the teaching of his doctrine, that the kingdom of Christ will be on earth.

3.28.5 | καὶ ὃν αὐτὸς ὠρέγετο  
φιλοσώματος ὃν καὶ πάνυ “σαρκικὸς, ἐν  
τούτοις ὄνειροπολεῖν ἔσεσθαι, γαστρὸς  
“καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γαστέρα πλησμοναῖς,  
τουτέστι σιτίοις “καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ γάμοις, καὶ  
δι’ ὃν εὐφημότερον “ταῦτα φήθη  
ποριεῖσθαι, ἐορταῖς καὶ θυσίαις καὶ  
ἰε“ρείων σθαγαῖς.”

3.28.5 | And since he was fond of the body and very fleshly, he thought that in these things there would be dreams of the belly and the satisfactions of the belly, that is, food and drink and marriages, and through these he believed that these things would be provided more honorably, with feasts and sacrifices and the services of priests.

3.28.6 | ταῦτα Διονύσιος. ὁ δὲ Είρήναιος  
ἀπορρητοτέρας δή τινας τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
ψευδοδοξίας ἐν πρώτῳ συγγράμματι τῶν  
πρὸς τὰς αἱρέσεις προθεὶς ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ καὶ  
ἰστορίαν οὐκ ἀξίαν λήθης τῇ γραφῇ  
παραδέδωκεν, ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως  
Πολυκάρπου φάσκων Ἰωάννην τὸν  
ἀπόστολον εἰσελθεῖν ποτε ἐν βαλανείῳ,  
ὡστε λούσασθαι, γνόντα δὲ ἔνδον ὅντα τὸν  
Κήρινθον ἀποπηδῆσαι τε τοῦ τόπου καὶ  
ἐκφυγεῖν θύραζε, μηδ’ ὑπομείναντα τὴν  
αὐτὴν αὐτῷ ὑποδῦναι στέγην, ταύτῳ δὲ  
τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ παραινέσαι  
φήσαντα, “φύγωμεν, μὴ καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον  
“συμπέσῃ, ἔνδον ὅντος Κήρινθου τοῦ τῆς

3.28.6 | These things Dionysius. But Irenaeus, mentioning some of the more secret false beliefs in the first book against the heresies, in the third also handed down a story not worthy of forgetfulness in writing, claiming that according to the tradition of Polycarp, John the Apostle once entered a bathhouse to wash, and upon realizing that Cerinthus was inside, he jumped up and fled out, not even staying to put on the same roof with him, and he advised those with him, saying, 'Let us flee, lest the bathhouse fall in, with Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, inside.'

άληθείας έχθροῦ.

## Section 29

3.29.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 15] Ἐπὶ τούτῳ δῆτα καὶ ἡ λεγομένη τῶν Νικολαϊτῶν αἵρεσις ἐπὶ σμικρότατον συνέστη χρόνον, ἵς δὴ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἰωάννου Ἀποκάλυψις μνημονεύει. οὗτοι Νικόλαον ἔνα τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Στέφανον διακόνων πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἐνδεῶν θεραπείᾳ προκεχειρισμένων ηὔχουν. ὃ γε μὴν Ἀλεξανδρεὺς Κλήμης ἐν τρίτῳ στρωματεῖ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ λέξιν ἴστορεῖ

3.29.1 | At this time, indeed, the so-called heresy of the Nicolaitans lasted for a very short time, which is also mentioned in the Revelation of John. These people honored Nicholas, one of the deacons appointed by the apostles for the care of the needy. Clement of Alexandria, in the third book of his writings, tells these things about him word for word.

3.29.2 | “ώραίαν, φασὶ, γυ“ναῖκα ἔχων οὗτος μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ὄνειδισθεὶς ζηλοτυπίαν εἰς “μέσον ἀγαγῶν τὴν γυναικα γῆμαι τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐπέ”τρεψεν. ἀκόλουθον γὰρ εἶναι φασι τὴν πρᾶξιν ταύτην ἐκείνη τῇ φωνῇ, τῇ δὲ παραχρᾶσθαι τῇ σαρκὶ “δεῖ. καὶ δὴ κατακολουθήσαντες τῷ γεγενημένῳ τῷ “τε εἰρημένῳ ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀβασανίστως ἀναίδην ἐκ“πορνεύουσιν οἱ τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτοῦ μετιόντες.

3.29.2 | They say that this man, having a beautiful woman, after the ascension of the Savior, was reproached by the apostles for his jealousy and brought the woman into their midst, allowing her to marry whoever wanted. For they claim that this action follows that voice, which says that it is necessary to indulge the flesh. And indeed, those who participate in his heresy shamelessly engage in fornication, following this teaching simply and without questioning.

3.29.3 | “πυνθάνομαι δ’ ἐγὼ τὸν Νικόλαον μηδεμιᾶς ἐτέρᾳ “παρ’ ἦν ἔγημε κεχρῆσθαι γυναικὶ, τῶν τε ἐκείνου “τέκνων τὰς μὲν θηλείας καταγηράσαι παρθένους, “ἄφθορον δὲ διαμεῖναι τὸν υἱόν. ὃν οὕτως ἔχόντων “ἀποβολὴ πάθους ἦν ἡ εἰς μέσον τῶν ἀποστόλων τῆς “ζηλοτυπουμένης ἐγκύκλησις γυναικός, καὶ ἡ ἐγκρά“τεια τῶν περισπουδάστων ἡδονῶν τὸ “παραχρᾶσθαι τῇ σαρκὶ” ἐδίδασκεν. οὐ γὰρ οἴμαι ἔβούλετο κατὰ “τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος

3.29.3 | I ask about Nicholas, to whom no other woman was given in marriage, and of his children, the daughters were made to be virgins, while the son remained unblemished. With this situation, the jealous woman's proposal was a loss of control among the apostles, and the self-control of those who valued pleasure taught that it is necessary to indulge the flesh. For I do not think he wanted to serve two masters, as the command of the Savior

έντολὴν δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν, “ἡσονῇ καὶ κυρίῳ.

3.29.4 | λέγουσι δ' οὖν καὶ τὸν Ματ "θίαν οὕτω διδάξαι, σαρκὶ μὲν μάχεσθαι καὶ παρα"χρᾶσθαι, μηδὲν αὐτῇ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐνδιδόντα, ψυ"χὴν δ' αὔξειν διὰ πίστεως καὶ γνώσεως." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους χρόνους παραβραβεῦσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἔγκεχειρηκότων, λόγου γε μὴν θᾶττον εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἀπεσβηκότων, είρήσθω.

## Section 30

3.30.1 | [Nic. H. E. II, 44]. Ό μέντοι Κλήμης, οὗ τὰς φωνὰς ἀρτίως ἀνέγνωμεν, τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐξῆς διὰ τοὺς ἀθετοῦντας γάμον τοὺς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔξετασθέντας ἐν συζυγίαις καταλέγει φάσκων "ἢ καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἀποδοκιμάσουσι. Πέτρος μὲν γὰρ "καὶ Φίλιππος ἐπαιδοποιήσαντο, Φίλιππος δὲ καὶ τὰς "θυγατέρας ἀνδράσιν ἔξεδωκε. καὶ ὅ γε Παῦλος οὐκ "όκνεῖ ἐν τινὶ ἐπιστολῇ τὴν αὐτοῦ προσαγορεῦσαι σύ"ζυγον, ἥν οὐ περιεκόμιζε διὰ τὸ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας εὐ"σταλές."

3.30.2 | ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτων ἐμνήσθημεν, οὐ λυπεῖ καὶ ἄλλην ἀξιοδίγητον ἴστορίαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραθέσθαι, ἥν ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ στρωματεῖ τοῦτον ἴστορῶν ἀνέγραψε τὸν τρόπον "φασὶ γοῦν τὸν μακάριον Πέ"τρον, θεασάμενον τὴν ἐαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἀπαγομένην τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἡσθῆναι μὲν τῆς κλήσεως χάριν "καὶ καὶ τῆς ἐπ' οἴκον ἀνακομιδῆς, ἐπιφωνῆσαι δὲ εῦ "μάλα προτρεπτικῶς καὶ παρακλητικῶς ἔξ ονόματος προσειπόντα 'μέμνησο, ὡ αὕτῃ,

says, one being God and the other being a lord.

3.29.4 | They say that Matthias taught this: to struggle with the flesh and indulge it not at all for pleasure, but to grow the soul through faith and knowledge. These things, then, about the events of those times, if the truth has been confirmed, should be said quickly, as the matter has completely faded away.

3.30.1 | However, Clement, whose words we have just read, concludes the previous points by examining the marriages of the apostles, saying that 'they may even reject the apostles. For Peter and Philip had children, and Philip gave his daughters in marriage. And Paul does not hesitate in one of his letters to call his own wife, whom he did not bring along because of his service.'

3.30.2 | Since we have mentioned these things, it is fitting to present another noteworthy story from the same source, which was written in the seventh book of the histories. They say that the blessed Peter, seeing his wife being led away to death, was glad for her calling and for her return home. He called out to her very encouragingly and comfortingly, saying, 'Remember, dear, the Lord.' This was the marriage of the blessed one, and it was a

τοῦ κυρίου.’ “τος ἦν ὁ τῶν μακαρίων γάμος καὶ ἡ τῶν φιλτάτων “τελεία διάθεσις.” καὶ ταῦτα δ' οίκεῖα ὄντα τῇ μετὰ χεῖρας ὑποθέσει ἐνταῦθά μοι κατὰ καιρὸν κείσθω.

perfect arrangement of the dearest things. And since these things are relevant, let them be set down here at the right time.

## Section 31

3.31.1 | [Nic. H. E. I, 35] Πιαύλου μὲν οὖν καὶ Πέτρου τῆς τελευτῆς ὃ τε χρόνος καὶ ὁ τρόπος καὶ προσέτι τῆς μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ βίου τῶν σκηνῶν αὐτῶν καταθέσεως ὁ χῶρος ἥδη πρότερον ἡμῖν δεδήλωται.

3.31.1 | Now, the time and manner of the deaths of Paul and Peter, as well as the place where their bodies were laid after their departure from life, have already been made clear to us.

3.31.2 | τοῦ δὲ Ἰωάννου τὰ μὲν τοῦ χρόνου ἥδη πως εἴρηται, τὸ δέ γε τοῦ σκηνώματος αὐτοῦ χωρίον ἔξ ἐπιστολῆς Πολυκράτους (τῆς δ' ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος οὗτος ἦν) ἐπιδείκνυται, ἣν Οὐίκτορι 'Ρωμαίων ἐπισκόπῳ γράφων ὅμοι τε αὐτοῦ καὶ Φιλίππου μνημονεύει τοῦ ἀποστόλου τῶν τε τούτου θυγατέρων ὥδε πως "καὶ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τὴν "Ἄσιαν μεγάλα στοιχεῖα κεκοίμηται, ἄτινα ἀναστή"σεται τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου, "ἐν ᾧ ἔρχεται μετὰ δόξης ἔξ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἀναζητήσει "πάντας τοὺς ἀγίους, Φίλιππον τὸν τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, ὃς κεκοίμηται ἐν Ἱεραπόλει, καὶ δύο θυγατέρες αὐτοῦ γεγηρακυῖαι παρθένοι, καὶ ἡ ἐτέρα 'αύτοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι πολιτευσαμένη, ἡ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀναπαύεται,

3.31.2 | Now, the time of John's death has already been mentioned, but the place of his burial is shown in a letter from Polycrates (who was the bishop of the community in Ephesus). In this letter, he writes to Victor, the bishop of the Romans, mentioning both John and Philip, the apostle, and his daughters. He says that 'great relics are laid to rest in Asia, which will rise on the last day of the Lord's coming, when he comes in glory from heaven, and will seek all the saints, including Philip, one of the twelve apostles, who rests in Hierapolis, and his two daughters, who are aged and remain virgins, and the other daughter who lived in the Holy Spirit, resting in Ephesus.'

3.31.3 | ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ 'στῆθος τοῦ κυρίου ἀναπεσὼν, ὃς ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορηκώς καὶ μάρτυς καὶ διδάσκαλος' οὐ "τος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κεκοίμηται." ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶνδε τελευτῆς.

3.31.3 | Also, John, who leaned on the Lord's chest, became a priest wearing the priestly robe, a martyr, and a teacher; he rests in Ephesus. This is also about the end of his life.

3.31.4 | καὶ ἐν τῷ Γαῖου δὲ, οὐ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθημεν, διαλόγῳ Πρόκλος, πρὸς ὃν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ζήτησιν, περὶ τῆς Φιλίππου καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς συνάδων τοῖς ἔκτεθεῖσιν οὕτω φησίν μετὰ τοῦτον δὲ προφήτιδες τέσσαρες αἱ Φιλίππου γεγένηνται ἐν Ἱεραπόλει τῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσέαν· ὁ τά“φος αὐτῶν ἔστιν ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν. ”

3.31.4 | And in Gaius, whom we mentioned a little earlier, there is a conversation with Proclus, to whom he was making inquiries about the end of Philip and his daughters. He says that 'four prophetesses have been born from Philip in Hierapolis, which is in Asia; their tomb is there, along with their father's.'

3.31.5 | ταῦτα μὲν οὗτος. ὁ δὲ Λουκᾶς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων τῶν Φιλίππου θυγατέρων ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἄμα τῷ πατρὶ τότε διατριβουσῶν, προφητικοῦ τε χαρίσματος ἡξιωμένων, μνημονεύει κατὰ λέξιν ὡδέ πως λέγων "ἡλθομεν εἰς Και"σάρειαν, καὶ εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὸν οἶκον Φιλίππου "τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ ὅντος ἐκ τῶν ἐπτὰ ἑμείναμεν παρ αὐτῷ. τούτῳ δὲ ἥσαν παρθένοι θυγατέρες προφητεύουσαι τέσσαρες."

3.31.5 | This is what this person says. But Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles, mentions the daughters of Philip in Caesarea of Judea, while their father was staying there. He notes that they were honored with a prophetic gift, saying something like this: 'We came to Caesarea, and entering the house of Philip, who was one of the seven, we stayed with him. He had four daughters who were prophesying.'

3.31.6 | τὰ μὲν οὖν εἰς ἡμετέραν ἐλθόντα γνῶσιν περὶ τε τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν χρόνων, ὃν τε καταλελοίπασιν ἡμῖν Ἱερῶν γραμμάτων, καὶ τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων μὲν, ὅμως δ' ἐν πλείσταις ἐκκλησίαις παρὰ πολλοῖς ἀποστολικῆς μένων, τῶν τε παντελῶς νόθων καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὄρθοδοξίας ἀλλοτρίων ἐν τούτοις διευληφότες ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἔξῆς προΐωμεν ἴστορίαν.

3.31.6 | Therefore, as we come to our understanding about the apostles and the apostolic times, of which we have left behind sacred writings, and of those that are disputed, yet in many churches, many remain apostolic. We have included those that are completely false and those that are foreign to the apostolic orthodoxy, and we will proceed to the history that follows.

## Section 32

3.32.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 16] Μετὰ Νέρωνα καὶ Δομιτιανὸν, κατὰ τοῦτον οὐ νῦν τοὺς χρόνους ἔξετάζομεν, μερικῶς καὶ κατὰ

3.32.1 | After Nero and Domitian, during the time we are now examining, there was a report of a persecution that arose in some

πόλεις ἔξ έπαναστάσεως δῆμων τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν κατέχει λόγος ἀνακινηθῆναι διωγμὸν, ἐν ᾧ Συμεῶνα τὸν τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, ὃν δεύτερον καταστῆναι τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπον ἐδηλώσαμεν, μαρτυρίῳ τὸν βίον ἀναλῦσαι παρειλήφαμεν.

3.32.2 | καὶ τούτου μάρτυς αὐτὸς ἑκεῖνος, οὗ διαφόροις ἥδη πρότερον ἔχρησάμεθα φωναῖς, Ηγήσιππος· ὃς δὴ περὶ τινῶν αἱρετικῶν ἴστορῶν ἐπιφέρει δηλῶν ὡς ἄρα ὑπὸ τούτων κατὰ τόνδε τὸν χρόνον ὑπομείνας κατηγορίαν, πολυτρόπως ὁ δηλούμενος ὡσὰν Χριστιανὸς ἐπὶ πλείσταις αἴκισθεὶς ἡμέραις, αὐτὸν τε τὸν δικαστὴν καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ μέγιστα καταπλήξας, τῷ τοῦ κυρίου πάθει παραπλήσιον τὸ τέλος ἀπηνέγκατο.

3.32.3 | ούδεν δὲ οἶον καὶ τοῦ συγγραφέως ἐπακοῦσαι, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα κατὰ λέξι ὅδε πως ἴστοροῦντος "ἀπὸ τούτων δηλαδὴ τῶν αἱρετικῶν κατηγοροῦσί τινες Συμεῶνος τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, ὡς "οὗτος ἀπὸ Δαβὶδ καὶ Χριστιανοῦ, καὶ οὕτω μαρτυρεῖ ἐτῶν ὡν ἐκατὸν εἴκοσιν, ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ὑπατικοῦ Ἀττικοῦ."

3.32.4 | φησὶ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὡς ἄρα καὶ τοὺς κατηγόρους αὐτοῦ, ζητουμένων τότε τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς Ἰουδαίων φυλῆς, ὡσὰν ἔξ αὐτῆς ὄντας ἀλῶναι συνέβη. λογισμῷ δ' ἀν καὶ τὸν Συμεῶνα τῶν αὐτοπτῶν καὶ αὐτηκόων εἴποι ἄν τις γεγονέναι τοῦ κυρίου, τεκμηρίω τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου τῆς αὐτοῦ ζωῆς χρώμενος, καὶ τῷ μνημονεύει τὴν τῶν εὐαγγελίων γραφὴν Μάριας τῆς τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, οὗ γεγονέναι αὐτὸν καὶ

cities due to a rebellion of the people. In this, we have noted that Simeon, the son of Clopas, who was the second bishop of the church in Jerusalem, was put to death for his testimony.

3.32.2 | And this man himself was a witness, whom we have already mentioned with different voices, Hegesippus. He tells about some heretical stories, saying that during this time, after enduring accusations from them, he was tortured in many ways as a Christian for many days. He struck both the judge and those around him with great fear, and he met a death similar to that of the Lord.

3.32.3 | And nothing like what the writer says can be heard, as he indeed tells these things in this way: 'Some accuse Simeon, the son of Clopas, of being from David and a Christian, and thus he witnesses that he was 120 years old during the time of Emperor Trajan and the consul Atticus.'

3.32.4 | And he says that his accusers, who were then seeking those from the royal Jewish tribe, happened to be caught as if they were from it. And someone might say that Simeon was one of the eyewitnesses and those who heard about the Lord, using the length of time of his life as proof, and by recalling the writing of the Gospels of Mary, the daughter of Clopas, of whom the word has already shown that he was born before.

πρότερον ὁ λόγος ἐδήλωσεν.

3.32.5 | ὁ δ' αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς καὶ ἑτέρους ἀπὸ γένους ἐνὸς τῶν φερομένων ἀδελφῶν τοῦ σωτῆρος, ὃ ὄνομα Ἰούδας, φησὶν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιβιῶναι βασιλείαν, μετὰ τὴν ἥδη πρότερον ἴστορηθεῖσαν αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πίστεως ἐπὶ Δομετιανοῦ μαρτυρίαν.

3.32.6 | γράφει δὲ οὕτως "ἔρχονται οὖν καὶ προηγοῦνται πάσης ἐκκλησίας ὡς μάρτυρες καὶ ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ γενομένης εἰρήνης βαθείας ἐν πάσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ μένουσι μέχρι Τραϊανοῦ Καίσαρος, μέχρις οὗ ὁ ἐκ Θείου τοῦ κυρίου, ὁ προειρημένος Συμεὼν υἱὸς Κλωπᾶ, συκοφαντηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν αἰρέσεων, ὡσαύτως κατηγορήθη καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ ἐπὶ Αττικοῦ τοῦ ὑπατικοῦ. καὶ ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις αἴκιζόμενος ἔμαρτύρησεν, ὡς πάντας ὑπερθαυμάζειν καὶ τὸν ὑπατικὸν πῶς ἐκατὸν εἴκοσι τυγχάνων ἐτῶν ὑπέμεινε· καὶ ἐκελεύσθη σταυρωθῆναι."

3.32.7 | ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ διηγούμενος τὰ κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους ἐπιλέγει, ὡς ἄρα μέχρι τῶν τότε χρόνων παρθένος καθαρὰ καὶ ἀδιάφθορος ἔμενεν ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἐν ἀδήλῳ που σκότει φωλευόντων εἰσέτι τότε τῶν, εἰ καί τινες ὑπῆρχον, παραφθείρειν ἐπιχειρούντων τὸν ὑγιῆ κανόνα τοῦ σωτηρίου κηρύγματος.

3.32.8 | ὡς δ' ὁ ἱερὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων χορὸς διάφορον εἰλήφει τοῦ βίου τέλος, παρεληλύθει τε ἡ γενεὰ ἐκείνη τῶν αὐταῖς

3.32.5 | And the same writer also says that another from the same family of the Savior's brothers, whose name was Judas, lived in the same kingdom, after the earlier account of their martyrdom for faith in Christ during the time of Domitian.

3.32.6 | And he writes this: 'Therefore they come and are presented as witnesses of the whole church and from the family of the Lord, and after a deep peace took place in the whole church, they remained until Emperor Trajan, until the time when Simeon, son of Clopas, mentioned before, was slandered by the heresies, and he himself was accused by the same word during the consulship of Atticus. And after many days of being tortured, he testified, so that everyone was amazed, and how the consul, being 120 years old, endured; and he was ordered to be crucified.'

3.32.7 | On this, the same man, telling about those who are being revealed, says that until those times the church remained a pure and uncorrupted virgin, in some unclear darkness where even then there were some trying to corrupt the healthy rule of the salvation message.

3.32.8 | As the holy choir of the apostles reached the end of their lives, that generation had passed, having been

άκοαῖς τῆς ἐνθέου σοφίας ἐπακοῦσαι κατηξιωμένων, τηνικαῦτα τῆς ἀθέου πλάνης ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανεν ἡ σύστασις, διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐτεροδιδασκάλων ἀπάτης, οἱ καὶ, ἄτε μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν ἀποστόλων λειπομένου, γυμνῇ λοιπὸν ἥδη τῇ κεφαλῇ τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας κηρύγματι τὴν ψευδώνυμον γνῶσιν ἀντικηρύττειν ἐπεχείρουν.

## Section 33

3.33.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 17] Τοσοῦτός γε μὴν ἐν πλείσι τόποις ὁ καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπετάθη τότε διωγμὸς, ὃς Πλίνιον Σεκοῦνδον ἐπισημότατον ἡγεμόνων ἡγεμόνων, ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν μαρτύρων κινηθέντα, βασιλεῖ κοινωσασθαι περὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἀναιρουμένων, ἅμα δ' ἐν ταύτῳ μηνῦσαι, μηδὲν ἀνόσιον μηδὲ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους πράττειν αὐτοὺς κατειληφέναι, πλὴν τὸ γε ἅμα τῇ ἔω διεγειρομένους τὸν Χριστὸν θεοῦ δίκην ὑμνεῖν, τὸ δὲ μοιχεύειν καὶ φονεύειν καὶ τὰ συγγενῆ τούτοις ἀθέμιτα πλημμελήματα καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπαγορεύειν, πάντα τε πράττειν ἀκολούθως τοῖς νόμοις.

3.33.2 | πρὸς ἂ τὸν Τραϊανὸν δόγμα τοιόνδε τεθεικέναι, τὸ Χριστιανῶν φῦλον μὴ ἔκζητεῖσθαι μὲν, ἐμπεσὸν δὲ κολάζεσθαι· οὗ γενομένου ποσῶς μὲν τοῦ διωγμοῦ σιβεσθῆναι τὴν ἀπειλὴν σφοδρότατα ἔγκειμένου, οὐ χείρονάς γε μὴν τοῖς κακουργεῖν περὶ ἡμᾶς ἔθέλουσι λείπεσθαι προφάσεις, ἔσθ' ὅπῃ μὲν τῶν δήμων, ἔσθ' ὅπῃ δὲ καὶ τῶν κατὰ χώρας ἀρχόντων τὰς καθ' ἡμῶν συσκευαζομένων ἐπιβουλὰς, ὡς καὶ ἄνευ προφανῶν διωγμῶν μερικοὺς κατ' ἐπαρχίαν ἔξαπτεσθαι, πλείους τε τῶν πιστῶν διαφόροις ἐναγωνίζεσθαι

deemed worthy to hear the same teachings of divine wisdom. At that time, the beginning of godless deception took hold of the community, through the trickery of false teachers, who, since none of the apostles were left, tried to openly oppose the true message with their false knowledge.

3.33.1 | Indeed, in many places, at that time, a persecution arose against us, so much so that Pliny the Younger, a very notable governor, was moved by the number of martyrs. He reported to the emperor about the large number of those being killed for their faith, and at the same time mentioned that they were found doing nothing unlawful or against the laws, except that they were being stirred up at dawn to praise Christ as a god. But he also noted that they were forbidden to commit adultery, murder, or any other crimes related to these, and they did everything according to the laws.

3.33.2 | To this, Trajan had set down a rule that the Christians should not be sought out, but if they were caught, they should be punished. Even though the threat of persecution was very strong, those who wanted to do evil against us were not lacking in excuses. In some places among the people, and in other areas among the local leaders, plots against us were being prepared, so that even without obvious persecutions, some were being attacked in their provinces, and many of the faithful were struggling in various trials for their

μαρτυρίοις.

3.33.3 | εῦληπται δὴμίν ἡ ἱστορία ἔξῆς  
ἀνωτέρω δεδηλώκαμεν τοῦ Τερτυλλιανοῦ  
'Ρωμαϊκῆς ἀπολογίας, ἣς ἡ ἐρμηνεία  
τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον "καίτοι ηὐρήκαμεν  
καὶ τὴν εἰς "ἡμᾶς ἐπιζήτησιν κεκωλυμένην.  
Πλίνιος γάρ Σε"κοῦνδος ἡγούμενος  
ἐπαρχίου, κατακρίνας Χριστια"νούς τινας  
καὶ τῆς ἀξίας ἐκβαλῶν, ταραχθεὶς τῷ  
"πλήθει ἡγνόει τί αὐτῷ λοιπὸν εἴη  
πρακτέον. Τραϊ"ανῷ οὖν τῷ βασιλεῖ  
ἀνεκοινώσατο λέγων ἔξω τοῦ "μὴ  
βούλεσθαι αὐτοὺς εἰδωλολατρεῖν οὐδὲν  
ἀνόσιον ἐν αὐτοῖς ηὐρηκέναι. ἐμήνυε δὲ  
καὶ τοῦτο, ἀνίστα"σθαι ἔωθεν τοὺς  
Χριστιανοὺς καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν "θεοῦ δίκην  
ὑμνεῖν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τὴν ἐπιστήμην αὐ"τῶν  
διαφυλάσσειν κωλύεσθαι φονεύειν,  
μοιχεύειν, "πλεονεκτεῖν, ἀποστερεῖν καὶ τὰ  
τούτοις ὅμοια. πρὸς "ταῦτα ἀντέγραψε  
Τραϊανὸς τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν φῦ"λον μὴ  
ἐκζητεῖσθαι μὲν, ἐμπεσὸν δὲ κολάζεσθαι."  
καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

## Section 34

3.34.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 25] Τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ 'Ρώμης  
ἐπισκόπων ἔτει τρίτῳ τῆς τοῦ  
προειρημένου βασιλέως ἀρχῆς Κλήμης  
Εύαρέστῳ παραδοὺς τὴν λειτουργίαν  
ἀναλύει τὸν βίον, τὰ πάντα προστὰς ἔτη  
ἐννέα τῆς τοῦ θείου λόγου διδασκαλίας.

## Section 35

3.35.1 | [Nic. H. E. III. 2] Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ  
Συμεῶνος τὸν δηλωθέντα τελειωθέντος  
τρόπον, τῆς ἐν Ἰεροσολύμοις ἐπισκοπῆς

faith.

3.33.3 | Our history includes what we have previously shown from Tertullian's 'Apology,' which has this meaning: 'Indeed, we have found that the search for us has been stopped. For Pliny the Younger, the governor, after condemning some Christians and removing them from their position, was troubled by the number and did not know what to do next. Therefore, he reported to the emperor Trajan, saying that he found nothing unlawful among them, nor did he want them to worship idols. He also mentioned that the Christians were rising at dawn to praise Christ as a god, and that they were forbidden to commit murder, adultery, greed, theft, and similar things. In response to this, Trajan wrote that the Christians should not be sought out, but if they were caught, they should be punished.' And this is what was said.

3.34.1 | In the third year of the reign of the aforementioned king, Clement handed over the ministry to Euarestus, and he ended his life, having served for a total of nine years in the teaching of the divine word.

3.35.1 | But also, in the way that Simon was shown to have completed his work, a certain Jew named Justus took over the

τὸν θρόνον Ἰουδαιῶς τις ὄνομα Ιοῦστος,  
μυρίων ὅσων ἐκ περιτομῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν  
τηνικαῦτα πεπιστευκότων εἶς καὶ αὐτὸς  
ἄν, διαδέχεται.

throne of the bishopric in Jerusalem, being one of the many who at that time had believed from the circumcision to Christ.

## Section 36

3.36.1 | [Nic. II. E. III, 29] Διέπρεπέ γε μὴν κατὰ τούτους ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁμιλητὴς Πολύκαρπος, τῆς κατὰ Σμύρναν ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τῶν αὐτοπτῶν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τοῦ κυρίου τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἔγκεχειρισμένος.

3.36.1 | Indeed, among these, Polycarp was a companion of the apostles in Asia, having been appointed as the bishop of the church in Smyrna by those who were eyewitnesses and servants of the Lord.

3.36.2 | καθ' ὃν ἐγνωρίζετο Παπίας τῆς ἐν Ἱεραπόλει παροικίας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίσκοπος, ὃ τε παρὰ πλείστοις εἰσέτι νῦν διαβόητος Ἰγνάτιος, τῆς κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν Πέτρου διαδοχῆς δεύτερος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν κεκιληρωμένος.

3.36.2 | During this time, Papias was known as the bishop of the community in Hierapolis, and Ignatius, who is still well-known by many today, was appointed as the second bishop in the succession of Peter in Antioch.

3.36.3 | λόγος δ' ἔχει τοῦτον ἀπὸ Συρίας ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἀναπεμφθέντα θηρίων γενέσθαι βορὰν τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν μαρτυρίας ἔνεκεν.

3.36.3 | There is a story that this man was sent from Syria to the city of the Romans to become food for wild beasts because of his witness to Christ.

3.36.4 | οὗτος δὴ οὖν τὴν δι' Ἀσίας ἀνακοινίδην μετ' ἐπιμελεστάτης φρουρῶν φυλακῆς ποιούμενος τὰς κατὰ πόλιν αἵς ἐπεδήμει παροικίας ταῖς διὰ λόγων ὁμιλίαις τε καὶ προτροπαῖς ἐπιρρωνύμης, ἐν πρώτοις μάλιστα προφυλάττεσθαι τὰς αἱρέσεις ἄρτι τότε πρῶτον ἀναφυείσας καὶ ἐπιπολαζούσας παρήνει, προύτρεπέ τε ἀπρὶξ ἔχεσθαι τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως, ἥν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας καὶ ἔγγράφως ἥδη μαρτυρόμενος

3.36.4 | This man, therefore, was taking great care to gather the believers throughout Asia, encouraging them with words and advice. He especially urged them to protect themselves from the heresies that had just begun to arise and were spreading. He also encouraged them to hold firmly to the teachings of the apostles, which he believed needed to be clearly written down for safety and certainty.

διατυποῦσθαι ἀναγκαῖον ἡγεῖτο.

3.36.5 | οὕτω δῆτα ἐν Σμύρνῃ γενόμενος, ἐνθα ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἦν, μίαν μὲν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἔφεσον ἐπιστολὴν ἐκκλησίᾳ γράφει, ποιμένος αὐτῆς μημονεύων Ὄνησίμου, ἐτέραν δὲ τῇ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ τῇ πρὸς Μαιάνδρῳ, ἐνθα πάλιν ἐπισκόπου Δάμα μνήμην πεποίηται, καὶ τῇ ἐν Τράλλεσι δὲ ἄλλην, ἥς ἄρχοντα τότ' ὅντα Πολύβιον ἴστορεῖ.

3.36.6 | πρὸς ταύταις καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίᾳ γράφει, ἥ καὶ παράκλησιν προτείνει, ὡς μὴ παραιτησάμενοι τοῦ μαρτυρίου τῆς ποθουμένης αὐτὸν ἀποστερήσαιεν ἐλπίδος· ἔξ ὧν καὶ βραχύτατα εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τῶν είρημένων παραθέσθαι ἄξιον.

3.36.7 | γράφει δὴ οὖν κατὰ λέξιν “ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῶ διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, νυκτὸς καὶ ημέρας, ἐνδεδεμένος δέκα λεοπάρδοις, ὃ ἔστι στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα, οὐ καὶ εὐεργετούμενοι χείρονες γίνονται. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι, ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδικαίωμαι.

3.36.8 | ὄναί” μην τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἔμοὶ ἐτοίμων, ἢ καὶ εὔχομαι “σύντομά μοι εὑρεθῆναι, ἢ καὶ κολακεύσω συντόμως “με καταφαγεῖν, οὐχ ὕσπερ τινῶν δειλαινόμενα ούχ “ἥψαντο· κἄν αὐτὰ δὲ ἄκοντα μὴ θέλῃ, ἐγὼ προσ’ βιάσομαι.

3.36.5 | While in Smyrna, where Polycarp was, he wrote a letter to the church in Ephesus, mentioning its leader, Onesimus. He also wrote another letter to the church in Magnesia by the Meander, where he remembered the bishop, Damas. Additionally, he wrote another letter to the church in Tralles, which tells about its leader, Polybius, who was in charge at that time.

3.36.6 | To these, he also wrote to the church of the Romans, offering encouragement not to give up their hope of the desired martyrdom. From this, it is also worth briefly mentioning the points he made.

3.36.7 | Therefore, he writes exactly: 'From Syria to Rome, I fight with wild beasts both on land and at sea, day and night, bound with ten leopards, which is a military unit, and those who are helped become worse. In their wrongdoings, I learn even more, but I am not justified by this.'

3.36.8 | I wish for the wild beasts that are ready for me, and I pray that they may be found quickly, so that I may be devoured by them without delay, not like some who are afraid and do not touch them. And even if they do not want to, I will force them.

3.36.9 | συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε. τί μοι συμφέ“ρει ἐγὼ γινώσκω. νῦν ἄρχομαι μαθητὴς εἰναὶ. μη “δέν με ζηλώσαι τῶν ὀρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων, ἵνα Ἰησοῦ “Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω· πῦρ καὶ σταυρός, Θηρίων τε συ “στάσεις, σκορπισμὸι ὁστέων, συγκοπαὶ μελῶν, ἀλε “σμοὶόλου τοῦ σώματος, κολάσεις τοῦ διαβόλου εἰς ἐμὲ “έρχέσθωσαν, μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.”

3.36.10 | καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς δηλωθείσης πόλεως ταῖς καταλεχθείσαις ἐκκλησίαις διετυπώσατο. ἥδη δ’ ἐπέκεινα τῆς Σμύρνης γενόμενος ἀπὸ Τρωάδος τοῖς τε ἐν Φιλαδελφείᾳ αὐθίς διὰ γραφῆς ὅμιλεῖ καὶ τῇ Σμυρναίων ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἴδιως τε τῷ ταύτης προηγουμένῳ Πολυκάρπῳ, ὃν οἶα δὴ ἀποστολικὸν ἄνδρα εὗ μάλα γνωρίζων, τὴν κατ’ Ἀντιόχειαν αὐτῷ ποίμνην ὡσὰν γνήσιος καὶ ἀγαθὸς ποιμὴν παρατίθεται, τὴν περὶ αὐτῆς φροντίδα διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἀξιῶν.

3.36.11 | ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Σμυρναίοις γράφων οὐκ οἶδ’ ὑπόθεν ḥητοῖς συγκέχρηται, τοιαῦτά τινα περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διεξιών “ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν οἴδα καὶ πιστεύω ὅντα. καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἐλήλυθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς, λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἰδετε, ὅτι οὐκ εἴμι δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον· καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἤψαντο καὶ ἐπίστευσαν.”

3.36.12 | οἶδε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ μαρτύριον καὶ ὁ Είρηναιος, καὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν αὐτοῦ

3.36.9 | Have mercy on me. I know what is good for me. Now I begin to be a disciple. Do not let me be jealous of the visible and invisible things, but let me reach only for Jesus Christ. Let fire and the cross, the wild beasts, the breaking of bones, the tearing of limbs, the crushing of my whole body, and the punishments of the devil come upon me, as long as I reach only for Jesus Christ.

3.36.10 | And he wrote these things to the churches that were named from the declared city. Now, having come from Troy to Smyrna, he speaks again through a letter to those in Philadelphia and to the church of the Smyrnaeans, especially to their leader Polycarp, whom I know to be a truly apostolic man. He is presented as a genuine and good shepherd for the flock in Antioch, and I consider him worthy of great care for this matter.

3.36.11 | But he, writing to the Smyrnaeans, I do not know from where he has used these words, going through certain things about Christ: 'But I know and believe that he is in the flesh after the resurrection. And when he came to those around Peter, he said to them, "Take hold of me and see, for I am not a disembodied spirit." And immediately they touched him and believed.'

3.36.12 | "And Irenaeus knows his testimony, and he mentions his letters,

μνημονεύει λέγων οὕτως “ώς εἶπέ τις τῶν ἡμετέρων διὰ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν μαρτυρίαν κατα“κριθεὶς πρὸς θηρία, ὅτι σῖτός εἴμι θεοῦ, καὶ δι’ ὄδόντων θηρίων ἀλήθομαι, ἵνα καθαρὸς ἄρτος εὐ“ρεθῶ.”

saying this: 'As one of our people, being judged before the beasts for his witness to God, said, "I am the bread of God, and through the teeth of the beasts I am being ground, so that I may be found pure bread.''''

3.36.13 | καὶ ὁ Πολύκαρπος δὲ τούτων αὐτῶν μέμνηται ἐν τῇ φερομένῃ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους ἐπιστολῇ, φάσκων αὐτοῖς ρήμασι “παρακαλῶ “πάντας ὑμᾶς πειθαρχεῖν καὶ ἀσκεῖν πᾶσαν ὑπομονῆν, ἵνειδετε κατ’ ὄφθαλμοὺς οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς “μακαρίοις Ἰγνατίῳ καὶ Ἠρώφῳ καὶ Ζωσίμῳ, ἀλλὰ “καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ Παύλῳ “καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις, πεπεισμένους ὅτι οὗτοι “πάντες οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον, ἀλλ’ ἐν πίστει καὶ “δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ ὅτι εἰς τὸν ὄφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς το “πον εἰσὶ παρὰ κυρίῳ, ὃς καὶ συνέπαθον. οὐ γὰ “τὸν νῦν ἡγάπησαν αἰῶνα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἄπο “θανόντα καὶ δι’ ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναστάντα.”

3.36.13 | And Polycarp also remembers these things in his letter to the Philippians, saying to them: 'I urge all of you to obey and to endure every trial, which you see not only in the blessed Ignatius and Rufus and Zosimus, but also in others among you, and in Paul himself and the other apostles, being convinced that they all did not run in vain, but in faith and righteousness, and that what is due to them is with the Lord, with whom they also suffered. They did not love the present age, but the one who died for us and was raised by God for us.'

3.36.14 | καὶ ἐξῆς ἐπιφέρει “έγραψατέ μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ Ἰγνα “τιος, ἵνα ἔάν τις ἀπέρχηται εἰς Συρίαν, καὶ τὰ παρ “ὑμῶν ἀποκομίσῃ γράμματα. ὅπερ ποιήσω, ἐὰν “καιρὸν εὕθετον, εἴτε ἐγὼ, εἴτε ὃν πέμπω πρεσβεύ“σοντα καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν.

3.36.14 | And further, he adds, 'You and Ignatius write to me, so that if anyone goes to Syria, he may bring letters from you. I will do this if the time is right, whether I go myself or send someone as a messenger about you.'

3.36.15 | τὰς ἐπιστολὰς Ἰγνατίο(??) “τὰς πεμφθείσας ἡμῖν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλας ὅσας ει(??) “χομεν παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐπέμψαμεν ὑμῖν καθὼς ἐνετεί“λασθε, αἴτινες ὑποτεταγμέναι εἰσὶ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ “ταύτῃ, ἐξ ὧν μεγάλα ὡφεληθῆναι δυνήσεσθε. πε“ριέχουσι γὰρ πίστιν καὶ ὑπομονὴν καὶ

3.36.15 | The letters of Ignatius, which were sent to us by him and any others we have, we have sent to you as you instructed, which are subject to this letter, from which you will be greatly benefited. For they contain faith and patience and all the building up that belongs to our Lord.

πᾶσαν οίκο “δομὴν τὴν εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἀνήκουσασν.” καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰγνάτιον τοιαῦτα. διαδέχεται δὲ μετ’ αὐτὸν τὴν Ἀντιοχείας ἐπισκοπὴν Ἡρως.

And these are the things concerning Ignatius. After him, the bishop of Antioch is Hero.

## Section 37

3.37.1 | [Nic H. E. III, 21.] Τῶν δὲ κατὰ τούτους διαλαμψάντων καὶ Κοδρᾶτος ἦν, ὃν ἄμα ταῖς Φιλίππου θυγατράσι προφητικῷ χαρίσματι λόγος ἔχει διαπρέψαι. καὶ ἄλλοι δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις πλείους εγνωρίζοντο κατὰ τούσδε, τὴν πρώτην τάξιν τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπέχοντες διαδοχῆς: οἱ καὶ, ἀτε τηλικῶνδε ὅντες διαπρεπεῖς μαθηταὶ, τοὺς κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προκαταβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων θεμελίους ἐπωκοδόμουν, αὔξοντες εἰς πλέον τὸ κήρυγμα καὶ τὰ σωτήρια σπέρματα τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας ἀνὰ πᾶσαν εἰς πλάτος ἐπισπείροντες τὴν οἰκουμένην.

3.37.1 | Among those who shone in these matters was Codratus, who at the same time had the prophetic gift to speak to the daughters of Philip. And others were also known among these, holding the first rank in the succession of the apostles. They, being such distinguished disciples, built upon the foundations laid by the apostles in every place of the churches, increasing the preaching and the saving seeds of the kingdom of heaven, spreading them widely throughout the world.

3.37.2 | καὶ γὰρ δὴ πλεῖστοι τῶν τότε μαθητῶν σφιδροτέρῳ φιλισοφίᾳς ἔρωτι πρὸς τοῦ θείου λόγου τὴν ψυχὴν πληττόμενοι τὴν σωτήριον πρότερον ἀπεπλήρουν παρακέλευσιν, ἐνδεέστι νέμοντες τὰς οὐσίας, ἐπειτα δὲ ἀποδημίας στελλόμενοι ἔργον ἐπετέλουν εὐαγγελιστῶν, τοῖς ἔτι πάμπαν ἀνηκόοις τοῦ τῆς πίστεως λόγου κηρύττειν τὸν Χριστὸν φιλοτιμούμενοι καὶ τὴν τῶν θείων εὐαγγελίων παραδιδόναι γραφήν.

3.37.2 | For many of the disciples at that time, being struck by a strong love of wisdom, were first filled with the saving word before they went out, holding on to the essentials. Then, being sent on journeys, they completed the work of evangelists, striving to preach Christ to those who were still completely unacquainted with the word of faith and to deliver the writings of the divine gospels.

3.37.3 | οὐτοὶ δὲ θεμελίους τῆς πίστεως ἐπὶ ξένοις τισὶ τόποις αὐτὸ μόνον καταβαλλόμενοι, ποιμένας τε καθιστάντες ἐτέρους, τούτοις τε αὐτοῖς ἐγχιρίζοντες τὴν

3.37.3 | These people laid the foundations of faith in certain foreign places, establishing other leaders as shepherds. They also entrusted to these leaders the

τῶν ἀρτίως είσαχθέντων γεωργίαν, ἐτέρας αύτοὶ πάλιν χώρας τε καὶ ἔθνη μετήσαν σὺν τῇ ἐκ θεοῦ χάριτι καὶ συνεργίᾳ, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος εἰσέτι τότε δι' αὐτῶν πλεῖσται παράδοξοι δυνάμεις ἐνήργουν, ὡστε ἀπὸ πρώτης ἀκροάσεως ἀθρόως αὕτανδρα πλήθη προθύμως τὴν εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸν εύσέβειαν ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς καταδέχεσθαι.

farming of those who had just been brought in. They themselves moved to other lands and nations with the grace and cooperation from God, since many wonderful powers were still being worked through them by the divine spirit. As a result, from the very first hearing, many eager crowds accepted the faith in the Creator of all into their souls.

3.37.4 | ἀδυνάτου δ' ὄντος ἡμῖν ἄπαντας ἐξ ὄντος ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι, ὅσοι ποτὲ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην τῶν ἀποστόλων διαδοχὴν ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησίαις γεγόνασι ποιμένες ἢ καὶ εὐαγγελισταὶ, τούτων εἰκότως ἐξ ὄντος γραφῆ μόνων τὴν μνήμην κατατεθείμεθα, ὡν ἔτι καὶ νῦν εἰς ἡμᾶς δι' ὑπομνημάτων τῆς ἀποστολικῆς διδασκαλίας ἢ παράδοσις φέρεται·

3.37.4 | Since it is impossible for us to name all of them, those who once became leaders or evangelists in the churches throughout the world during the first succession of the apostles, we only remember a few of their names in writing. Even now, the tradition of the apostolic teaching is passed down to us through their records.

## Section 38

3.38.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 18] ὥσπερ οὖν ἀμέλει τοῦ Ἰγνατίου ἐν αἷς κατελέξαμεν ἐπιστολαῖς, καὶ τοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐν τῇ ἀνωμολογημένῃ παρὰ πᾶσιν, ἦν ἐκ προσώπου τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τῇ Κορινθίων διετυπώσατο, ἐν ᾧ τῆς πρὸς Ἐβραίους πολλὰ νοήματα παραθεὶς, ἥδη δὲ καὶ αὐτολεξεὶ βρήτοις τισὶ(??) ἐξ αὐτῆς χρησάμενος, σαφέστατα παρίστησιν ὅτι μη νέον ὑπάρχει τὸ σύγγραμμα.

3.38.1 | Just as we have the letters of Ignatius that we have chosen, and the letter of Clement that is recognized by all, which he wrote on behalf of the church of the Romans to the Corinthians, in which he presents many ideas to the Hebrews, and also uses certain phrases directly from it, he clearly shows that the writing is not new.

3.38.2 | ὅθεν δὴ καὶ εἰκότως ἔδοξεν αὐτὸς τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐγκαταλεχθῆναι γράμμασι τοῦ ἀποστόλου. Ἐβραίοις γάρ διὰ τῆς πατρίου γλώττης ἐγγράφως ὡμιληκότος τοῦ Παύλου οἱ μὲν τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν Λουκᾶν, οἱ δὲ τὸν Κλήμεντα τοῦτο(??) αὐτὸν

3.38.2 | Therefore, it seemed reasonable to others to include the writings of the apostle. For Paul, when he spoke to the Hebrews in their native language, some say that the evangelist Luke translated this, while others say that Clement did.

έρμηνεύσαι λέγουσι τὴν γραφήν.

3.38.3 | Ὁ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀν εἴη ἀληθὲς, τῷ τὸν δόμοιον τῆς φράσεως χαρακτῆρα τὴν τε τοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἐβραίους ἀποσώζειν, καὶ τῷ μὴ πόρρω τὰ ἐκατέροις τοῖς συγγράμμασι νοήματα καθεστάναι.

3.38.4 | ίστέον δ' ὡς καὶ δευτέρα τις εἶναι λέγεται τοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολή. οὐ μὴν ἶθ' δόμοίως τῇ προτέρᾳ καὶ ταύτην γνώριμον ἐπιστάμεθα, δτι μηδὲ τοὺς ἀρχαίους αύτῇ κεχρημένους ἴσμεν.

3.38.5 | Ἡδη δὲ καὶ ἔτερα πολυεπῆ καὶ μακρὰ συγγράμματα ὡς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔχθες καὶ πρώην τινὲς προήγαγον, Πέτρου δὴ καὶ Ἀπίωνος διαλόγους περιέχοντα, ὃν ούδ' ὅλως μνήμη τις παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς φέρεται. ούδε γάρ καθαρὸν τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὄρθοδοξίας ἀποσώζει τὸν χαρακτῆρα. ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Κλήμεντος δόμολογομένη γραφὴ πρόδηλος. εἴρηται δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἑγνατίου καὶ Πολυκάρπου.

## Section 39

3.39.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 20] Τοῦ δὲ Παπία συγγράμματα πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν φέρεται, ἂ καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται Λογίων κυριακῶν ἔξηγήσεις. τούτων καὶ Είρήναιος ὡς μόνων αὐτῷ γραφέντων μνημονεύει ὅδε πως λέγων "ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Παπίας ὁ Ἰωάννου μὲν "ἀκουστής, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἐταῖρος γεγονὼς, ἀρχαῖος "ἀνὴρ, ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν "ἐαυτοῦ βίβλων. ἔστι γάρ αὐτῷ πέντε βιβλία

3.38.3 | This would be more true, as it preserves the same style of expression in both the letter of Clement and the letter to the Hebrews, and because the ideas in each of the writings are not far apart.

3.38.4 | It should be known that there is also a second letter of Clement. However, just like the first one, we do not know this one well either, as we do not know that the ancients used it.

3.38.5 | Already, some have brought forward other long and detailed writings, like those of Peter and Apion, which we have no memory of among the ancients. For they do not preserve the character of apostolic truth. Therefore, the writing of Clement is recognized clearly. It has also been said about those of Ignatius and Polycarp.

3.39.1 | There are said to be five writings of Papias, which are titled 'Explanations of the Lord's Sayings.' Irenaeus mentions these as being written only by him, saying this: 'These are the writings of Papias, who was a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp, an ancient man, who bears witness in the fourth of his own books. For he has five books arranged.'

συν“τεταγμένα.” καὶ ὁ μὲν Είρήναιος ταῦτα.

3.39.2 | αὐτός γε μὴν ὁ Παπίας κατὰ τὸ προοίμιον τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων ἀκροατὴν μὲν καὶ αὐτόπτην οὐδαμῶς ἐστὸν γενέσθαι τῶν Ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμφαίνει, παρειληφέναι δὲ τὰ τῆς πίστεως παρὰ τῶν ἑκείνοις γνωρίμων διδάσκει δι' ὃν φησι λέξεων·

3.39.3 | “οὐκ ὄκνήσω δέ σοι “καὶ ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καλῶς ἔμαθον “καὶ καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσα συντάξαι ταῖς ἐρμηνείαις, “διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν. οὐ γὰρ τοῖς “τὰ πολλὰ λέγουσιν ἔχαιρον ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ, ἀλλὰ “τοῖς τάληθῃ διδάσκουσιν, οὐδὲ τοῖς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας “ἐντολὰς μνημονεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὰς παρὰ τοῦ “κυρίου τῇ πίστει δεδομένας καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς παραγινο“μένας τῆς ἀληθείας.

3.39.4 | εἰ δέ που καὶ “κώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους· τί’ ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν ἢ τί Φίλιππος ἢ τί Θωμᾶς ἢ Ιάκωβος ἢ τί Ἰωάννης “ἢ Ματθαῖος ἢ τις ἔτερος τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν, “ἄ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης οἱ τοῦ “κυρίου μαθηταὶ λέγουσιν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων “τοσοῦτόν με ὡφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον ὅσον τὰ “ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης.”

3.39.5 | ἔνθα καὶ ἐπιστῆσαι ἄξιον δις καταριθμοῦντι αὐτῷ τὸ Ἰωάννου ὄνομα, ὃν τὸν μὲν πρότερον Πέτρῳ καὶ Ἰακώβῳ καὶ Ματθαίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις

3.39.2 | Indeed, Papias in the introduction of his writings does not show that he was a hearer or an eyewitness of the holy apostles at all. He teaches that he received the teachings of the faith from those who were close to them, through which he says the words.

3.39.3 | I will not hesitate to tell you what I learned well from the elders and what I remembered well to arrange with the explanations, being assured of their truth. For I did not rejoice in those who say many things like most people, but in those who teach the truth, nor do I remember the commands of others, but those given by the Lord that are based on the faith and have come from the truth.

3.39.4 | But if someone should come to the elders, they would question the words of the elders: what Peter said, or what Philip, or what Thomas, or James, or what John, or Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples, and what Aristion and the elder John say, who are the Lord's disciples. For I did not think that the things from the books would help me as much as the living voice and presence.

3.39.5 | Here it is also worth noting that when he counts the name of John twice, he includes the first John with Peter, James, Matthew, and the other apostles, clearly

συγκαταλέγει, σαφῶς δηλῶν τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν, τὸν δ' ἔτερον Ἰωάννην διαστείλας τὸν λόγον ἐν ἑτέροις παρὰ τὸν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀριθμὸν κατατάσσει, προτάξας αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀριστίωνα, σαφῶς τε αὐτὸν πρεσβύτερον ὄνομάζει·

indicating the evangelist. But he distinguishes the other John by placing him among others, apart from the number of the apostles, having placed Aristion before him, clearly calling him an elder.

3.39.6 | ὡς καὶ διὰ τούτων ἀποδείκνυσθαι τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀληθῆ τῶν δύο κατὰ τὴν Ἀίαν δημωνυμίᾳ κεχρῆσθαι εἰρηκότων, δύο τε ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γενέσθαι μνήματα καὶ ἐκάτερον Ἰωάννου ἔτι νῦν λέγεσθαι. οἵς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν· εἴκος γὰρ τὸν δεύτερον, εἰ μή τις ἐθέλοι τὸν πρῶτον, τὴν ἐπ' ὄνόματος φερομένην Ἰωάννου ἀποκάλυψιν ἐωρακέναι.

3.39.6 | Thus, through these things, the true history is shown to have been spoken about two with the same name in Asia. Two memorials were made in Ephesus, and each is still called John. It is necessary to pay attention to these, for it is likely that the second one, unless someone wants to consider the first, has seen the revelation of John that is named.

3.39.7 | καὶ ὁ νῦν δὲ ἡμῖν δηλούμενος Παπίας τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀποστόλων λόγους παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῖς παρηκολουθηκότων δημολογεῖ παρειληφέναι, Ἀριστίωνος δὲ καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἰωάννου αὐτήκοον ἐαυτόν φησι γενέσθαι. ὄνομαστὶ γοῦν πολλάκις αὐτῶν μνημονεύσας ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ συγγράμμασι τίθησιν αὐτῶν καὶ παραδόσεις.

3.39.7 | And now, Papias, who is being shown to us, admits that he received the words of the apostles from those who followed them. But he says he is an eyewitness of Aristion and the elder John. Indeed, he often mentions them by name in his writings, placing their traditions there.

3.39.8 | καὶ ταῦτα δ' ἡμῖν οὐκ είς τὸ ἄχρηστον είρήσθω. ἄξιον δὲ ταῖς ἀποδοθείσαις τοῦ Παπία φωναῖς προσάψαι λέξεις ἑτέρας αὐτοῦ, δι' ὃν παράδοξά τινα ἱστορεῖ καὶ ἄλλα ὡσὰν ἐκ παραδόσεως είς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα.

3.39.8 | And let these things not be said in vain for us. It is worth adding other words of Papias to the statements he has given, through which he tells some strange stories and other things that have come to him from tradition.

3.39.9 | τὸ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Ἱεράπολιν Φίλιππον τὸν ἀπόστολον ἄμα ταῖς θυγατράσι διατρῆψαι διὰ τῶν πρόσθεν δεδήλωται, ὡς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁ

3.39.9 | Now, it has been stated that Philip the apostle spent time in Hierapolis with his daughters. Papias, having become one of them, recounts that he received a

Παπίας γενόμενος διήγησιν παρειληφέναι θαυμασίαν ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Φιλίππου θυγατέρων μνημονεύει τὰ νῦν σημειωτέον. νεκροῦ γὰρ ἀνάστασιν κατ’ αὐτὸν γεγονοῦνταν ἱστορεῖ, καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἔτερον παράδοξον περὶ Ἰοῦστον τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Βαρσαββᾶν γεγονός, ὡς δηλητήριον φάρμακον ἐμπιόντος καὶ μηδὲν ἀηδὲς διὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου χάριν ὑπομείναντος.

wonderful story from the daughters of Philip, which should now be noted. For he tells of a resurrection of a dead person that happened according to him, and again he tells another strange story about a man named Justus, who was called Barsabbas, saying that he drank a deadly poison and did not suffer anything unpleasant because of the grace of the Lord.

3.39.10 | τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἰοῦστον μετὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀνάληψιν τοὺς Ἱεροὺς ἀποστόλους μετὰ Ματθία στῆσαι τε καὶ ἐπεύξασθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ προδότου Ἰούδα ἐπὶ τὸν κλῆρον τῆς ἀναπληρώσεως τοῦ αὐτῶν ἀριθμοῦ ἡ τῶν Πραξέων ὥδε πως ἱστορεῖ γραφή “καὶ ἔστησαν δύο, Ἰωσὴφ τὸν καλούμενον Βαρσαββᾶν, δὲς ἐπεκλήθη Ἰοῦστος, καὶ Ματθίαν” καὶ προσευχάμε “νοι εἶπαν.”

3.39.10 | After the ascension of the Savior, the holy apostles set up and prayed for someone to take the place of the traitor Judas, to fill the number they had. The book of Acts tells this story like this: 'And they set up two, Joseph called Barsabbas, who was also called Justus, and Matthias; and after praying, they said.'

3.39.11 | καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὡσὰν ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀγράφου εἰς αὐτὸν ἤκοντα παρατέθειται, ξένας τέ τινας παραβολὰς τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ, καί τινα ἄλλα μυθικώτερα.

3.39.11 | And other things also, as if they came from unwritten tradition, are presented to him, including some foreign parables of the Savior and his teachings, as well as some other more mythical stories.

3.39.12 | ἐν οἷς καὶ χιλιάδα τινά φησιν ἔτῶν ἔσεσθαι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, σωματικῶς τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας ἐπὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γῆς ὑποστησομένης. ἂ καὶ ἡγοῦμαι τὰς ἀποστολικὰς παρεκδεξάμενον διηγήσεις ὑπολαβεῖν, τὰ ἐν ὑποδείγμασι πρὸς αὐτῶν μυστικῶς εἴρημένα μὴ συνεωρακότα.

3.39.12 | In which he also says that there will be a thousand years after the resurrection of the dead, when the kingdom of Christ will be established on this earth. I think that the apostolic accounts received this idea, having not seen the things that were said about them in a hidden way.

3.39.13 | σφόδρα γάρ τοι σμικρὸς ὡν τὸν νοῦν, ὡσὰν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων

3.39.13 | For indeed, being very small in mind, as can be shown from his own words,

τεκμηράμενον είπειν, φαίνεται· πλὴν καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν πλείστοις ὅσοις τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τῆς ὁμοίας αὐτῷ δόξης παραίτιος γέγονε, τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τάνδρὸς προβεβλημένοις, ὥσπερ οὖν Εἰρηναίω, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος τὰ ὅμοια φρονῶν ἀναπέφηνεν.

he seems to say this; but also among those after him, many of those in the church who are similar to him in glory have become the cause of this, highlighting the ancientness of the man, just like Irenaeus, and if anyone else has expressed similar thoughts.

3.39.14 | καὶ ἄλλας δὲ τῇ ἐαυτοῦ γραφῇ παραδίδωσιν Ἀριστίωνος τοῦ πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένου τῶν τοῦ κυρίου λόγων διηγήσεις καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἰωάννου παραδόσεις, ἐφ' ἃς τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς ἀναπέμψαντες ἀναγκαίως νῦν προσθήσομεν ταῖς προεκτεθείσαις αὐτοῦ φωναῖς παράδοσιν, ἡ περὶ Μάρκου τοῦ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον γεγραφότος ἐκτέθεῖται διὰ τούτων

3.39.14 | And he also hands down other accounts from Aristion, who was mentioned before, about the words of the Lord, and the teachings of the elder John. For which reason, we must now add to the previously stated voices of his tradition, or about Mark, who wrote the gospel, is explained through these.

3.39.15 | “καὶ τοῦτο ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγε “Μάρκος μὲν ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος, ὅσα ἔμνη “μόνευσεν ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει, τὰ ὑπὸ “τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ λεχθέντα ἡ πραχθέντα. οὕτε γάρ “ῆκουσε τοῦ κυρίου οὕτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ, “ὑστερὸν δὲ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ, ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποίησεν” εἶτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν “κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λόγων, ὥστε οὐδὲν ἤμαρτε “Μάρκος, οὕτως ἔνια γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν.” ἐνὸς γάρ ἐποιήσατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὕντος ἤκουσε “ παραλιπεῖν, ἡ ψεύσασθαί τι ἐν αὐτοῖς.” ταῦτα οὖν ιστόρηται τῷ Παπίᾳ περὶ τοῦ Μάρκου.

3.39.15 | And this is what the elder said: 'Mark became the interpreter of Peter, and he wrote down accurately all that he remembered, but not in order, the things said or done by Christ. For he neither heard the Lord nor followed him, but later, as I said, Peter, who was concerned with the needs, gave the teachings, but not as if he were composing a systematic account of the Lord's sayings, so that Mark did not err in writing anything as he remembered. For he made it a point not to leave out anything he heard or to falsely include anything in them.' These things are reported to Papias about Mark.

3.39.16 | περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ματθαίου ταῦτ' εἴρηται “Ματθαῖος μὲν “Ἐβραίδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο, ἡρμή “νεῦσε δ' αὐτὰ

3.39.16 | And concerning Matthew, it has been said: 'Matthew wrote the sayings in the Hebrew language, and he interpreted

ώς ἦν δυνατὸς ἔκαστος.”

3.39.17 | κέχρηται δ' αύτὸς μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρου ὄμοιώς. ἐκτέθειται δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἴστορίαν περὶ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἀμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου, ἥν τὸ κατ Ἐβραίους εὐαγγέλιον περιέχει. καὶ ταῦτα δ' ἡμῖν ἀναγκαίως πρὸς τοῖς ἐκτεθεῖσιν ἐπιτετηρήσθω.

them as each one was able.'

3.39.17 | He also makes use of testimonies from the earlier letter of John and from Peter in the same way. He also presents another story about a woman who was accused of many sins before the Lord, which is included in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. And these things must necessarily be preserved for those who have been presented.

## Book Four (ΛΟΓΟΣ Δ.)

### Section 1

4.1.1 | Ἀμφι δὲ τὸ δωδέκατον ἔτος τῆς Τραϊανού βασιλείας ὁ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἡμῖν τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παροικίας δηλωθεὶς ἐπίσκοπος τὴν ζωὴν μεταλάττει, τέταρτος δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν τῶν αὐτόθι λειτουργίαν κληροῦται Πρῆμος. ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἀλέξανμικρῷ δρος ἐπὶ Ψώμης, ὅγδοον ἔτος ἀποπλρώσαντος πέμπτην ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου κατάγων διαδοχὴν, τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἀπολαμβάνει.

4.1.1 | Around the twelfth year of the reign of Trajan, a bishop, who had been revealed to us shortly before in Alexandria, changes his life. Primus, the fourth from the apostles, inherits the ministry there. In this time, Alexander, after serving in Rome for eight years, takes over the bishopric, being the fifth in succession from Peter and Paul.

### Section 2

4.2.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 22] Καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν διδασκαλίας τε καὶ ἐκκλησίας ὀσημέραι ἀνθοῦντα ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἔχωρει προκοπῆς, τὰ δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίων συμφορᾶς κακοῖς ἐπαλλήλοις ἥκμαζεν. ἥδη γοῦν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ὀκτωκαιδέκατον ἐλαύνοντος αὖθις Ἰουδαίων κίνησις ἐπαναστᾶσα πάμπολυ πλῆθος αὐτῶν διέφθειρεν.

4.2.1 | And the teachings of our Savior and the church are flourishing more and more every day. But the troubles of the Jews were growing worse with bad events happening one after another. Indeed, while the emperor was in his eighteenth year, a great movement of the Jews rose up again, destroying a very large number of them.

4.2.2 | ἐν τε γὰρ Ἀλεξανδρεᾳ καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ Αἴγυπτῳ καὶ προσέτι κατὰ Κυρήνην ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πνεύματος δεινοῦ τινος καὶ στασιώδους ἀναρριπισθέντες ὥρμηντο πρὸς τοὺς συνοίκους Ἑλληνας στασιάζειν, αὐξήσαντές τε εἰς μέγα τὴν στάσιν τῷ ἐπιόντι ἐνιαυτῷ πόλεμον οὐ σμικρὸν συνῆψαν, ἡγουμένου τηνικαῦτα Λούπου τῆς ἀπάσης Αἴγυπτου. γύπτου.

4.2.3 | καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συμβολῇ ἐπικρατῆσαι αὐτοὺς συνέβη τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἱ καὶ καταφυγόντες εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἰουδαίους ἐζώγρησάν τε καὶ ἀπέκτειναν. τῆς δὲ παρὰ τούτων συμμαχίας ἀποτυχόντες οἱ κατὰ Κυρήνην, τὴν χώραν τῆς Αἴγυπτου λεηλατοῦντες καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ νομοὺς φθείροντες διετέλουν, ἡγουμένου αὐτῶν Λουκούα· ἐφ' οὓς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἔπειψε Μάρκιον Τούρβωνα σὺν δυνάμει πεζῇ τε καὶ ναυτικῇ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἵππικῇ.

4.2.4 | ὁ δὲ πολλαῖς μάχαις οὐκ ὄλιγῷ τε χρόνῳ τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαπονήσας πόλεμον πολλὰς μυριάδας Ἰουδαίων, οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀπὸ Κυρήνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Αἴγυπτου συναιρομένων Λουκούα τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν ἀναιρεῖ.

4.2.5 | ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ὑποπτεύσας καὶ τοὺς ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ Ἰουδαίους ἐπιθήσεσθαι τοῖς αὐτόθι Λουσίῳ Κυήτῳ προσέταξεν ἐκκαθῆραι τῆς ἐπαρχίας αὐτοὺς, ὃς καὶ παραταξάμενος πάμπολυ πλῆθος τῶν αὐτόθι φονεύει, ἐφ' ᾧ κατορθώματι Ἰουδαίας ἡγεμών ὑπὸ τοῦ

4.2.2 | For in Alexandria and the rest of Egypt, and also in Cyrene, they were stirred up as if by some terrible and rebellious spirit, urging the Greek neighbors to rise up. As they grew in number, they caused a large uprising, and in the following year, they engaged in a significant war, led at that time by Loupos, the governor of all Egypt.

4.2.3 | And indeed, in the first encounter, the Greeks managed to overpower them, capturing and killing the Jews in the city who had fled to Alexandria. But those in Cyrene, failing to form an alliance with them, continued to plunder the land of Egypt and destroy the laws there, led by Loukas. Against them, the emperor sent Markios Turbon with a force of infantry, navy, and cavalry.

4.2.4 | But after many battles and a long time of fighting against them, he killed many thousands of Jews, not only those from Cyrene but also those from Egypt, gathering them together with Loukas, their king.

4.2.5 | But the emperor, suspecting that the Jews in Mesopotamia would join those there, ordered Lucius Kyaitos to cleanse the province of them. He gathered a very large force and killed many of them, for which he was appointed governor of Judea by the emperor. These events were also recorded

αύτοκράτορος ἀνεδείχθη. ταῦτα καὶ  
Ἐλλήνων οἱ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους  
γραφῆ παραδόντες αὐτοῖς ἱστόρησαν  
ῥήμασι.

### Section 3

4.3.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 21] Τραϊανοῦ δὲ ἐφ' ὅλοις ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι τὴν ἀρχὴν μησὸν ἔξ  
δέουσι κρατήσαντος Αἰλίος Ἀδριανὸς  
διαδέχεται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. τούτῳ Κοδρᾶτος  
λόγον προσφωνήσας ἀναδίδωσιν,  
ἀπολογίαν συντάξας ὑπὲρ τῆς καθ' ἡμὰς  
Θεοσεβείας, ὅτι δὴ πονηροί τινες ἄνδρες  
τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐνοχλεῖν ἐπειρῶντο. εἰσέτι  
δὲ φέρεται παρὰ πλείστοις τῶν ἀδελφῶν,  
ἀτὰρ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν τὸ σύγγραμμα, ἐξ οὗ  
κατιδεῖν ἔστι λαμπρὰ τεκμήρια τῆς τε τοῦ  
ἄνδρὸς διανοίας καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς  
όρθοτομίας.

4.3.2 | δ' αὐτὸς τὴν καθ' ἐαυτὸν  
ἀρχαιότητα παραφαίνει δι' ὃν στορεῖ  
ταῦτα ἰδίαις φωναῖς "τοῦ δὲ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν  
τὰ ἔργα ἀεὶ παρῆν, ἀληθῆ γάρ ἦν, οἱ  
θεραπευθέντες, οἱ ἀναστάντες ἐκ νεκρῶν,  
οἱ οὐκ ὥφθησαν μόνον τοῦ σωτῆρος, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ ἀνιστάμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀεὶ παρόντες, οὐδὲ  
ἐπιδημοῦντος μόνον τοῦ σωτῆρος, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ ἀπαλλαγέντος ἦσαν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἴκανὸν,  
ῶστε καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους χρόνους τινὲς  
αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο."

4.3.3 | τοιοῦτος μὲν οὖν οὗτος. καὶ  
Ἀριστείδης δὲ πιστὸς ἀνὴρ τῆς καθ' ἡμὰς  
ὑρμώμενος εύσεβείας τῷ Κοδράτῳ  
παραπλησίως ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἀπολογίαν  
ἐπιφωνήσας Ἀδριανῷ καταλέλοιπε.  
σώζεται δέ γε εἰς δεῦρο πλείστοις καὶ

by the Greeks who wrote about those times.

4.3.1 | After twenty years of Trajan's rule, the leadership passed to Aelius Hadrianus, who held power for six years. He addressed Codratus, giving a speech in defense of our piety, saying that some wicked men were trying to trouble our people. It is also reported by many of the brothers, and by us as well, that the writing exists, from which one can see clear evidence of the man's thoughts and the correct teaching of the apostles.

4.3.2 | He himself shows the ancient nature of these things through his own words, saying, 'The works of our savior were always present, for those who were healed and those who rose from the dead were not only seen while being healed and rising, but they were always present, not just when the savior was with them, but even after he had left for a long time, so that some of them even reached our times.'

4.3.3 | Such was this man. And Aristides, a faithful man, also made a similar defense for Codratus regarding our faith, which he left behind for Hadrian. Moreover, his writing is preserved to this day among many.

ὴ τούτου γράφη.

## Section 4

4.4.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 25] "Ἐτει δὲ τρίτῳ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡγεμονίας Ἀλέξανδρος Ῥωμαίων ἐπίσκοπος τελευτῇ, δέκατον τῆς οἰκονομίας ἀποπλήσας ἔτος. Ξυστὸς δέ τούτῳ διάδοχος. καὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων δὲ παροικίας ἀμφὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Πρῖμον μεταλλάξαντα δωδεκάτῳ τῆς προστασίας ἔτει διαδέχεται Ἰοῦστος.

4.4.1 | In the third year of the same rule, Alexander, the bishop of the Romans, died, having completed ten years of service. Xystus was his successor. At the same time, Primus, who changed the Alexandrians, succeeded Ioustus after twelve years of leadership.

## Section 5

4.5.1 | Τῶν γε μὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπισκόπων τοὺς χρόνους γραφῆ σωζομένους οὐδαμῶς ηύρον· κομιδῇ γὰρ ούν βραχυβίους αὐτοὺς λόγος κατέχει γενέσθαι.

4.5.1 | Indeed, I have found no records of the years of the bishops in Jerusalem that are preserved. For there is a brief account that holds them to have existed.

4.5.2 | τοσοῦτον δ' ἔξ ἑγγράφων παρείληφα, ὡς μέχρι τῆς κατὰ Ἀδριανὸν Ἰουδαίων πολιορκίας πεντεκαιδεκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτόθι γεγόνασιν ἐπισκόπων διαδοχαὶ, οὓς πάντας Ἐβραίους φασὶν ὄντας ἀνέκαθεν τὴν γνῶσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ γνησίως καταδέξασθαι, ὥστ' ἥδη πρὸς τῶν τὰ τοιάδε ἐπικρίνειν δυνατῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐπισκόπων λειτουργίας ἀξίους δοκιμασθῆναι· συνεστάναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τότε τὴν πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν ἔξ Ἐβραίων πιστῶν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ εἰς τὴν τότε διαρκεσάντων πολιορκίαν, καθ' ἣν Ἰουδαῖοι Ῥωμαίων αῦθις ἀποστάντες οὐ μικροῖς πολέμοις ἥλωσαν.

4.5.2 | I have gathered so much from the writings that there were fifteen bishops there until the siege of the Jews under Hadrian. It is said that all of them were Hebrews who genuinely received the knowledge of Christ from the beginning, so that they were already worthy to be judged by those capable of such things and to be tested for the service of the bishops. For at that time, the entire church was made up of faithful Hebrews, from the apostles and during the siege that lasted then, in which the Jews, having revolted against the Romans, were captured in significant wars.

4.5.3 | διαλελοιπότων δ' ούν τηνικαῦτα

4.5.3 | Now, since the bishops from the

τῶν ἐκ περιτομῆς ἐπισκόπων τοὺς ἀπὸ πρώτου νῦν αναγκαῖον ἀν εἴη καταλέξαι. πρῶτος τοιγαροῦν Ἰάκωβος ὁ τοῦ κυρίου λεγόμενος ἀδελφὸς ἦν, μεθ' ὃν δεύτερος Συμεὼν, τρίτος Ἰοῦστος, Ζακχαῖος τέταρτος, πέμπτος Τωβίας, ἕκτος Βενιαμὶν, Ἰωάννης ἔβδομος, ὅγδοος Ματθίας, ἔνατος Φίλιππος, δέκατος Σενέκας, ἐνδέκατος Ἰοῦστος, Λευὶς δωδέκατος, Ἐφρῆς τρισκαιδέκατος, τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατος Ἰωσὴφ, ἐπὶ πᾶσι πεντεκαιδέκατος Ἰούδας.

circumcision were being left out, it is necessary to list those from the beginning until now. Therefore, the first was James, called the brother of the Lord, after whom was the second, Simon; the third was Ioustus, the fourth was Zacchaeus, the fifth was Tobias, the sixth was Benjamin, the seventh was John, the eighth was Matthias, the ninth was Philip, the tenth was Senecas, the eleventh was Ioustus, the twelfth was Levi, the thirteenth was Ephraim, the fourteenth was Joseph, and finally, the fifteenth was Judas.

4.5.4 | τοσοῦτοι καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων πόλεως ἐπίσκοποι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων εἰς τὸν δηλούμενον διαγενόμενοι χρόνον, οἱ πάντες ἐκ περιτομῆς.

4.5.4 | There were this many bishops of the city of Jerusalem from the apostles until the time mentioned, all of them from the circumcision.

4.5.5 | ἡδη δὲ δωδέκατον ἔχούσης ἔτος τῆς ἡγεμονίας Ἀδριανοῦ, Ξυστὸν δεκαέτη χρόνον ἀποπλήσαντα ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς ἔβδομος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων διαδέχεται Τελεσφόρος, ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ μεταξὺ καὶ μηνῶν διαγενομένου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων παροικίας τὴν προστασίαν Εύμενης ἔκτῳ κλήρῳ διαδέχεται, τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἔτεσιν ἑνδεκα διαρκέσαντος.

4.5.5 | Now, in the twelfth year of the rule of Hadrian, when the fifteenth year of the reign of the Romans had been completed, the seventh from the apostles, Telosforus, succeeded. During that year, and after several months, Eumenes succeeded to the leadership of the Alexandrians, having lasted eleven years before him.

## Section 6

4.6.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 24] Καὶ δῆτα τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀποστασίας αὖθις εἰς μέγα καὶ πολὺ προελθούσης ᾿Ροῦφος ἐπάρχων τῆς Ἰουδαίας, στρατιωτικῆς αὐτῷ συμμαχίας ὑπὸ βασιλέως πεμφθείσης, ταῖς ἀπονοίαις αὐτῶν ἀφειδῶς χρώμενος ἐπεξήει, μυριάδας ἀθρόως ἀνδρῶν ὄμοιον καὶ παίδων

4.6.1 | And indeed, when the Jewish rebellion had again grown large and significant, Rufus, the governor of Judea, having received military support sent by the king, ruthlessly used their resources and advanced, destroying countless men, women, and children together, and

καὶ γυναικῶν διαφθείρων, πολέμου τε  
νόμῳ τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν  
έξανδραποδιζόμενος.

4.6.2 | ἐστρατήγει δὲ Ἰουδαίων τηνικαῦτα  
Βαρχωχέβας ὄνομα, (άστερα δῆλοῖ τοῦτο),  
τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ληστρικὸς καὶ φονικός τις  
ἀνὴρ, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ προσηγορίᾳ, οἷα ἐπ'  
ἀνδραπόδων, ὡς δὴ ἐξ ούρανοῦ φωστὴρ  
αὐτοῖς κατεληλυθώς, κακουμένοις τε  
ἐπιλάμψαι τερατεύομενος.

4.6.3 | ἀκμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἔτους  
όκτωκαιδεκάτου τῆς ἡγεμονίας Ἀδριανοῦ  
κατὰ Βίθηρα πόλιν, ἥτις ἦν ἔχυρωτάτη,  
τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οὐ σφόδρα πόρρω  
διεστῶσα, τῆς τε ἔξωθεν πολιορκίας  
χρονίου γενομένης, λιμῷ τε καὶ δίψῃ τῶν  
νεωτεροποιῶν εἰς ἐσχατὸν ὀλέθρου  
περιελαθέντων, καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἀπονοίας  
αὐτοῖς αἴτιου τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκτίσαντος δίκην,  
τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος ἐξ ἑκείνου καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ  
Ἱεροσόλυμα γῆς πάμπαν ἐπιβαίνειν  
εἴργεται, νόμου δόγματι καὶ διατάξεσιν  
Ἀδριανοῦ, ὡς ἀν μηδ' ἐξ ἀπόπτου θεωροῖεν  
τὸ πατρῷον ἔδαφος, ἐγκελευσαμένου.  
Ἀρίστων ὁ Πελλαῖος ἴστορεῖ.

4.6.4 | οὕτω δὴ τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἐρημίαν τοῦ  
Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους καὶ παντελῇ φθορὰν τῶν  
πάλαι οἰκητόρων ἐλθούσης, ἐξ ἀλλοφύλου  
τε γένους συνοικισθείσης, ἡ μετέπειτα  
συστᾶσα Ῥωμαϊκὴ πόλις τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν  
ἀμείψασα εἰς τὴν τού κρατοῦντος Αἰλίου  
Ἀδριανοῦ τιμὴν Αἰλία προσαγορεύεται. καὶ  
δὴ τῆς αὐτόθι ἐκκλησίας ἐξ ἔθνῶν  
συγκροτηθείσης πρῶτος μετὰ τοὺς ἐκ  
περιτομῆς ἐπισκόπους τὴν τῶν ἔκεῖσε

enslaving their lands by the law of war.

4.6.2 | At that time, the leader of the Jews  
was named Bar Kochba (this name means  
'star'). He was a man who was a bandit and  
a killer, but in his title, like that of a  
conqueror, he seemed to them as if a light  
from heaven had come down, trying to  
shine upon those who were suffering.

4.6.3 | When the war had reached its peak  
in the eighteenth year of Hadrian's rule, at  
the city of Bithynia, which was very strong  
and not far from Jerusalem, the siege from  
outside had lasted a long time. The newer  
people were brought to the brink of  
destruction by hunger and thirst, and  
because of the punishment for their  
rebellion, the entire nation was prevented  
from entering that place and the land  
around Jerusalem, by the law and orders of  
Hadrian, so that they could not even see  
their ancestral land from a distance. This is  
recorded by Ariston of Pella.

4.6.4 | Thus, when the city was left desolate  
by the Jewish nation and completely  
destroyed by those who had lived there  
long ago, and after people from another  
race had settled there, the later Roman city  
changed its name to Aelia in honor of the  
ruling Hadrian. And indeed, the church that  
was established there from among the  
nations first entrusted the ministry to  
Mark, after the bishops from the

λειτουργίαν ἔγχειρίζεται Μάρκος.

circumcision.

## Section 7

4.7.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 2 — 4] "Ηδη δὲ λαμπροτάτων δίκην φωστήρων τῶν ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀποστιλβουσῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ἀκμαζούσης τε εἰς ἄπαν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος τῆς εἰς τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν πίστεως, ὁ μισόκαλος δαίμων οἴα τῆς ἀληθείας ἔχθρὸς καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίας ἀεὶ τυγχάνων πολεμιώτατος, πάσας στρέφων κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας μηχανᾶς, πάλαι μὲν τοῖς ἔξωθεν διωγμοῖς κατ' αὐτῆς ὠπλίζετο .

4.7.1 | Now, like the brightest lights shining among the churches throughout the world, as faith in our Savior and Lord Jesus Christ was growing among all people, the hateful demon, always an enemy of the truth and of the salvation of humanity, was very hostile, turning all his efforts against the church. In the past, he had armed himself with persecutions from outside against her.

4.7.2 | τότε γε μὴν τούτων ἀποκεκλεισμένος, πονηροῖς καὶ ἀνδράσιν ὥσπερ τισὶν ὄλεθροις ψυχῶν ὄργανοις διακόνοις τε ἀπωλείας χρώμενος, ἐτέραις κατεστρατήγει μεθόδοις, πάντα μόρον ἐπινοῶν, ὡς ἂν ὑποδύντες γόντες καὶ ἀπατηλοὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ δόγματος ἡμῖν προσηγορίαν ὅμοιū μὲν τῶν πιστῶν τοὺς πρὸς αὐτῶν προσηγορίαν εἰς βυθὸν ἀπωλείας ἄγοιειν, ὅμοιū δὲ τοὺς τῆς πίστεως ἀγνῶτας δι' ὃν αὐτοὶ δρῶντες ἐπιχειροῦν ἀποτρέποιντο τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν σωτήριον λόγον παρόδου.

4.7.2 | Then indeed, being shut off from these things, he used wicked men as instruments of destruction for souls, employing other strategies, thinking of every way possible, so that deceitful sorcerers could lead the faithful into the depths of ruin. At the same time, they tried to turn the innocent of faith away from the path leading to salvation.

4.7.3 | ἀπὸ γοῦν τοῦ Μενάνδρου, ὃν διάδοχον τοῦ Σίμωνος ἥδη πρότερον παραδεδώκαμεν, ἀμφίστομος ὥσπερ καὶ δικέφαλος ὄφιώδης τις προελθοῦσα δύναμις δυεῖν αἰρέσεων διαφόρων ἀρχηγοὺς κατεστήσατο, Σατορνῖνόν τε Ἀντιοχέα τὸ γένος καὶ Βασιλείδην Ἀλεξανδρέα, ὃν ὁ μὲν κατὰ Συρίαν, ὁ δὲ κατ' Αἴγυπτον συνεστήσαντο θεομισῶν

4.7.3 | From Menander, whom we have already mentioned as a successor of Simon, a power came forth like a two-headed serpent, setting up leaders of different heresies: Saturninus from Antioch and Basilides from Alexandria. One taught in Syria, while the other taught in Egypt, spreading their teachings of god-hating heresies.

αἰρέσεων διδασκαλεῖα.

4.7.4 | τὰ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστα τὸν Σατορνῖνον τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Μενάνδρῳ ψευδολογῆσαι ὁ Είρηναιος δηλοῖ, προσχήματι δὲ ἀπόρρητοτέρων τὸν Βασιλείδην εἰς τὸ ἄπειρον τεῖναι τὰς ἐπινοίας, δυσσεβοῦς αἰρέσεως ἔαυτῷ τερατώδεις ἀναπλάσαντα μυθοποιίας.

4.7.5 | πλείστων οὖν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀνδρῶν κατ' ἑκεῖνο καιρουστῆς ἀληθείας ὑπεραγωνιζομένων, λογικώτερόν της ἀποστολικῆς καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς δόξης ὑπερμαχούντων, ἥδη τινὲς καὶ διὰ συγγραμμάτων τοῖς μετέπειτα προφυλακτικάς αὐτῶν δὴ τούτων τῶν δηλωθεισῶν αἰρέσεων παρεῖχον ἐφόδους.

4.7.6 | ὡν εἰς ἡμᾶς κατῆλθεν ἐν τοῖς τότε γνωριμωτάτου συγγραφές Ἀγρίππα Κάστορος ἱκανώτατος κατὰ Βασιλείδου ἔλεγχος, τὴν δεινότητα τῆς τάνδρὸς ἀποκαλύπτων γοητείας.

4.7.7 | ἐκφαίνων δ' οὓν αύτοῦ τὰ ἀπόρρητα φησιν αὐτὸν εἰς μὲν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τέσσαρα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι συντάξαι βιβλία, προφήτας δὲ ἔαυτῷ ὄνομάσαι Βαρκαββᾶν καὶ Βαρκώφ καὶ ἄλλους ἀνυπάρκτους τινὰς ἔαυτῷ συστησάμενον, βαρβάρους τε αὐτοῖς εἰς κατάπληξιν τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα τεθηπότων ἐπιφημίσαι προσηγορίας, διδάσκειν τε ἀδιαφορεῖ είδωλοθύτων ἀπογευομένους καὶ ἔξομνυμένους ἀπαραφυλάκτως τὴν πίστιν κατὰ τοὺς τῶν διωγμῶν καιροὺς, Πυθαγορικῶς τε τοῖς προσιοῦσιν αὐτῷ πενταέτη σιωπὴν

4.7.4 | Indeed, Irenaeus shows that most of what Saturninus taught was the same as Menander's false teachings, but he claims that Basilides stretched his ideas into the infinite, creating monstrous myths for his own godless heresy.

4.7.5 | During that time, many church leaders were fiercely defending the truth, arguing more logically for the apostolic and church teachings. Some even provided writings to protect later generations from these clearly stated heresies.

4.7.6 | Among these, the most well-known writings that came to us at that time were by Agrippa Castor, a strong criticism against Basilides, revealing the man's terrible magic.

4.7.7 | He reveals his hidden secrets, claiming that he wrote four books of the Gospel, and named himself prophets like Barabbas and Barcof, along with other made-up figures. He used strange names to shock those who believed such things, and he taught that it was fine for idol worshippers to keep their faith without fear during times of persecution. He also advised those who approached him to remain silent for five years, like the Pythagoreans.

παρακελεύεσθαι.

4.7.8 | καὶ ἔτερα δὲ τούτοις παραπλήσια ἀμφὶ τοῦ Βασιλείδου καταλέξας ὁ εἰρημένος οὐκ ἀγεννῶς τῆς δηλωθείσης αἱρέσεως εἰς προύπτον ἐφώρασε τὴν πλάνην.

4.7.9 | γράφει δὲ καὶ Είρήναιος συγχρονίσαι τούτοις Καρποκράτην, ἔτέρας αἱρέσεως τῆς τῶν γνωστικῶν ἐπικληθείσης πατέρα, οἵ καὶ τοῦ Σίμωνος οὐχ ἀκεῖνος κρύβδην, ἀλλ' ἥδη καὶ εἰς φανερὸν τὰς μαγείας παραδιδόναι ήξίουν, ὡς ἐπὶ μεγάλοις δὴ μονονούχῃ σεμνυνόμενοι τοῖς κατὰ περιεργίαν πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπιτελουμένοις φίλτροις ὄνειροπομποῖς τε καὶ παρέδροις τισὶ δαίμοσι καὶ ἄλλαις δόμοιστρόποις τισὶν ἀγωγαῖς· τούτοις τε ἀκολούθως πάντα δρᾶν χρῆναι διδάσκειν τὰ αἰσχρουργότατα τοὺς μέλλοντας εἰς τὸ τέλειον τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς μυσταγωγίας ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον μυσταροποιίας ἐλεύσεσθαι, ὡς μὴ ἀλλως ἐκφευξομένους τοὺς κοσμικοὺς, ὡς ἀν ἀκεῖνοι φαῖεν, ἄρχοντας) μὴ οὐχὶ πᾶσι τὰ δι' ἀρρητοποιίας ἀπονείμαντας χρέα.

4.7.10 | τούτοις δῆτα συνέβαινε διακόνοις χρώμενον τὸν ἐπιχαιρεσίκακον δαίμονα τοὺς μὲν πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀπατωμένους οἴκτρῶς οὕτως εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι, τοῖς δ' ἀπίστοις ἔθνεσι πολλὴν παρέχειν κατὰ τοῦ Θείου λόγου δυσφημίας περιουσίαν, τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν φήμης εἰς τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους Χριστιανῶν διαβολὴν καταχεομένης.

4.7.11 | ταύτη δ' οὖν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον

4.7.8 | And he also wrote other similar things about Basilides, not poorly exposing the error of the clearly stated heresy.

4.7.9 | And Irenaeus also writes about Carpocrates, who was another father of a heresy called the Gnostics. They did not hide their magic like Simon did, but instead openly shared it. They claimed to be great and honored, using strange rituals and charms to attract spirits and other similar practices. They taught that all should do the most shameful things to prepare for their secret teachings, or rather for their disgusting practices, so that worldly people could not escape, as those leaders said, while they handed out the debts of secret rituals to everyone.

4.7.10 | Indeed, the wicked demon who brings joy to others used these people as servants, leading those who were deceived by them to be pitifully enslaved to destruction. To the unbelieving nations, they provided much slander against the divine word, causing their reputation to pour out as a disgrace upon all Christians.

4.7.11 | Thus, it mostly happened that a

συνέβαινε τὴν περὶ ἡμῶν παρὰ τοῖς τότε  
ἀπίστοις ὑπόνοιαν δυσσεβῆ καὶ  
ἀτοπωτάτην διαδίδοσθαι, ὡς δὴ ἀθεμίτοις  
πρὸς μητέρας καὶ ἀδελφὰς μίξεσιν ἀνοσίαις  
τε τροφαῖς χρωμένων.

very wicked and strange suspicion spread among the unbelievers at that time about us, claiming that we engaged in unlawful relations with mothers and sisters and used impious foods.

4.7.12 | οὐκ εἰς μακρόν γε μὴν αὐτῷ ταῦτα προυχώρει, τῆς ἀληθείας αύτῆς ἐαυτὴν συνιστώσης, ἐπὶ μέγα τε φῶς κατὰ τὸν προιόντα χρόνον διαλαμπούσης.

4.7.12 | Indeed, these things did not last long for him, as the truth itself was presenting itself, shining brightly during the coming time.

4.7.13 | ἔσβεστο μὲν γὰρ αὐτίκα πρὸς αὐτῆς ἐνεργείας ἀπελεγχόμενα τὰ τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἐπιτεχνήματα, ἄλλων ἐπ' ἄλλαις αἱρέσεων καινοτομουμένων, ὑπορρεουσῶν ἀεὶ τῶν προτέρων καὶ εἰς πολυτρόπους καὶ πολυμόρφους ἰδέας ἄλλοτε ἄλλως φθειρομένων· προήει δ' εἰς αὕξην καὶ μέγεθος ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχουσα ἡ τῆς καθόλου καὶ μόνης ἀληθοῦς ἐκκλησίας λαμπρότης, τό τε σεμνὸν καὶ εἴλικρινές καὶ ἐλευθέριον τό τε σῶφρον καὶ καθαρὸν τῆς ἐνθέου πολιτείας τε καὶ φιλοσοφίας εἰς ἅπαν γένος Ἐλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων ἀποστίλβουσα.

4.7.13 | For indeed, immediately, as her power was being revealed, the schemes of the enemies were being put to shame. Other new beliefs were constantly emerging, while the earlier ones were being destroyed in many different and varied ways. But the brightness of the one true church continued to grow and increase, always maintaining the same strength and nature. It shone with seriousness, sincerity, and freedom, as well as with moderation and purity, influencing all kinds of Greeks and non-Greeks.

4.7.14 | συναπέσβῃ γοῦν τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ἡ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ δόγματος διαβολὴ, ἔμενε δὲ μόνη ἄρα κρατοῦσ' καὶ ἀνομολογουμένη τὰ μάλιστα διαπρέπειν ἐπὶ σεμνότητι καὶ σωφροσύνῃ θείοις τε καὶ φιλόσοφοι δόγμασιν ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς διδασκαλία, ὡς μηδένα τῶν εἰς νῦν αἰσχρὰν ἐπιφέρειν τολμᾶν κατὰ τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν δυσφημίαν, μηδέ τινα τοιαύτην διαβολὴν, οἵαις πάλαι πρότερον φίλον ἦν χρῆσθαι τοῖς καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπισυνισταμένοις.

4.7.14 | Indeed, over time, the slander against the entire doctrine faded away. Only our teaching remained strong and unchallenged, especially excelling in seriousness and moderation, as it aligned with divine and philosophical teachings. It made it so that no one dared to bring shame upon our faith or to spread such slander, which had once been common against those who were associated with us.

4.7.15 | ὅμως δ' οὖν κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους αὗθις παρῆγεν εἰς μέσον ἡ ἀλήθει πλείους ἐσυτῆς ὑπερμάχους, οὐ δι' ἀγράφων αὐτὸ μόνον ἐλέγχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἔγγραφων ἀποδείξεων κατὰ τῶν ἀθέων αἰρέσεων στρατευομένους.

4.7.15 | However, the truth again brought forth many defenders for itself, not only by exposing them through unwritten arguments but also by using written proofs against the atheistic beliefs that were attacking.

## Section 8

4.8.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 5] 'Ἐν τούτοις ἐγνωρίζετο Ἡγήσιππος, οὗ πλείσταις ᾥδη πρότερον κεχρήμεθα φωναῖς, ὡσὰν ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ παραδόσεώς τινα τῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους παρατιθέμενοι.

4.8.1 | Among these, Hegesippus was recognized, whose words we have often used before, as he presented some of the teachings about the apostles from his own tradition.

4.8.2 | ἐν πέντε δὲ οὖν συγγράμμασιν οὗτος τὴν ἀπλανὴν παράδοσιν του ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος ἀπλουστάτη συντάξει γραφῆς ὑπομνηματισάμενος, καθ' ὃν ἐγνωρίζετο σημαίνει χρόνον, περὶ τῶν ἀρχῆθεν ἴδρυσάντων τὰ εἴδωλα οὕτω πως γράφων "οἵς καινοτάφια καὶ ναοὺς ἐποίησαν ὡς μέχρι νῦν, ὃν ἔστι καὶ Ἀντίνοος, δοῦλος Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος, οὓς καὶ ἄγων ἄγεται Αντινόος εἰος, ἐφ' ἡμῶν γενόμενος. καὶ γὰρ καὶ πόλιν ἔκτισεν ἐπώνυμον Ἀντινόου καὶ προφήτας."

4.8.2 | In five writings, this man recorded the unchanging tradition of the apostolic preaching in the simplest way, noting the time when the idols were first established. He wrote about those who made new tombs and temples, even to this day, including Antinous, the servant of Emperor Hadrian, for whom a contest is held in his honor. He also founded a city named after Antinous and prophets.

4.8.3 | κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ Ἰουστῖνος, γνήσιος τῆς ἀληθοῦς φιλοσοφίας ἑραστῆς, ἔτι τε τοῖς παρ' Ἑλλησιν ἀσκούμενος ἐνδιέτριβε λόγοις. σημαίνει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τουτονὶ τὸν χρόνον, ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀντωνῖνον ἀπολογίᾳ ὡδε γράφων "οὐκ ἄτοπον δὲ ἐπιμνησθῆναι ἐν τούτοις ἡγούμεθα καὶ Ἀντινόου τοῦ νῦν γενομένου, ὃν καὶ ἄπαντες ὡς θεὸν διὰ φόβου σέβειν ὡρμηντο, ἐπὶ "στάμενοι τίς τε ἦν καὶ πόθεν ὑπῆρχεν."

4.8.3 | Alongside him, Justin, a true lover of genuine philosophy, also spent time discussing ideas with the Greeks. He also mentions this time in his apology to Antoninus, writing, 'It is not out of place to mention here Antinous, who has recently come to be, whom everyone was urged to worship as a god out of fear, knowing who he was and where he came from.'

4.8.4 | ὁ δ' αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦ τότε κατὰ Ιουδαίων πολέμου μνημονεύων ταῦτα παρατίθεται "καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ νῦν γενούμενῳ Ιουδαικῷ πολέμῳ Βαρχωχέβας, ὁ τῆς Ιουδαίων ἀποστάσεως ἀρχηγέτης, Χριστιανοὺς μόνους εἰς τιμωρίας δεινὰς, εἴ μὴ ἀρνοῦντο Ἰησοῦν τὸν χριστὸν καὶ βλασφημοῖεν, ἐκέλευεν ἄγεσθαι."

4.8.5 | ἐν ταύτῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐπὶ τὴν θεοσέβειαν μεταβολὴν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι μὴ ἀλόγως, μετὰ κρίσεως δ' αὐτῷ γεγόνει δηλῶν ταῦτα γράφει "καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔγὼ τοῖς Πλάτωνος χαίρων διδάγμασι, ὁ διαβαλλομένους ἀκούων Χριστιανοὺς, ὅρῶν δὲ καὶ "ἀφόβους πρὸς θάνατον καὶ πάντα τὰ νομιζόμενα φοβερά, ἐνενόουν ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἐν κακίᾳ καὶ φιληδονίᾳ ὑπάρχειν αὐτούς. τίς γὰρ φιλήδονος ἢ ἀκρατῆς καὶ ἀνθρωπείων σαρκῶν βορὰν ἡγούμενος "ἀγαθὸν δύναιτ' ἀν θάνατον ἀσπάζεσθαι, ὅπως τῶν "ἐαυτοῦ στερηθείῃ ἐπιθυμιῶν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ παντὸς ζῆν ἀεὶ τὴν ἐνθάδε βιοτὴν καὶ λανθάνειν τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἐπειρᾶτο, οὐχ ὅτι ἐαυτὸν κατήγγελλε φῶνευ "θησόμενον;"

4.8.6 | ἔτι δ' ὁ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ, δεξάμενον τὸν Ἀδριανὸν παρὰ Σερεννίου Γρανιανοῦ, λαμπροτάτου ἡγουμένου, γράμματα ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν, περιέχοντα ὡς οὐ δίκαιον εἶη ἐπὶ μηδενὶ ἐγκλήματι, βοαῖς δῆμου χαριζομένους, ἀκρίτως κτείνειν αὐτοὺς, ἀντιγράψαι Μινουκίω Φουνδανῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ τῆς Ἀσίας, προστάττοντα μηδένα κτείνειν ἀνευ ἐγκλήματος καὶ εὐλόγου κατηγορίας.

4.8.4 | He also recalls the war against the Jews at that time, stating, 'For in the recent Jewish war, Bar Kochba, the leader of the Jewish uprising, commanded that Christians alone be brought to severe punishments if they did not deny Jesus the Christ and blaspheme.'

4.8.5 | In the same way, he also talks about his change from Greek philosophy to piety, saying that it was not unreasonable, and he writes this with judgment: 'For I myself, while enjoying the teachings of Plato, heard Christians being slandered, and seeing them fearless toward death and all things considered terrible, I thought it impossible for them to exist in evil and pleasure. For who, being a lover of pleasure or uncontrolled, would consider it good to embrace death, so that he might be deprived of his own desires? But he did not try to live always in this life and hide from the rulers, not because he was accusing himself of being a murderer?'

4.8.6 | Furthermore, he also tells that he received from Serennius Graniatus, a very distinguished governor, letters on behalf of Christians, stating that it would not be just to kill them without any crime, pleasing the voices of the people. He wrote to Minicius Fundanus, the governor of Asia, ordering that no one be killed without a crime and a reasonable accusation.

4.8.7 | καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς δὲ ἀντίγραφον παρατέθειται, τὴν Ὄρωμαϊκὴν φωνὴν, ὡς εἶχε, διαφυλάξας προλέγει δ' αὐτῆς ταῦτα "καὶ ἔξ ἐπὶ" στολῆς δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτου "Καίσαρος Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν ἔχοντες ἀπαὶ" τεῦν ὑμᾶς, καθὰ ἡξιώσαμεν κελεῦσαι τὰς κρίσεις "γίνεσθαι, τοῦτο ούχ ὡς ὑπὸ Ἀδριανοῦ κελευσθὲν" μᾶλλον ἡξιώσαμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπίστασθαι δι"καίαν ἀξιοῦν τὴν προσφώνησιν. ὑπετάξαμεν δὲ καὶ "τῆς ἐπιστολῆς Ἀδριανοῦ τὸ ἀντίγραφον, ἵνα καὶ "τοῦτο ἀληθεύειν ἡμᾶς γνωρίζητε. καὶ ἔστι τόδε."

4.8.8 | τούτοις ὁ μὲν δηλωθεὶς ἀνὴρ αὐτὴν παρατέθειται τὴν Ὄρωμαϊκὴν ἀντιγραφὴν, ἡμεῖς δ' εἰς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν κατὰ δύναμιν αὐτὴν μετειλήφαμεν, ἔχουσαν ὥδε:

## Section 9

4.9.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 27] "Μινουκίω Φουνδανῷ. ἐπιστολὴν ἐδεξάμην γραφεῖσάν μοι ἀπὸ Σερεννίου "Γρανιανοῦ, λαμπροτάτου ἀνδρὸς, ὄντινα σὺ διεδέξω. "οὐ δοκεῖ μοι οὖν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀζήτητον καταλιπεῖν, "ἴνα μήτε οἱ ἄνθρωποι ταράττωνται καὶ τοῖς συκοφάνταις χορηγίᾳ κακουργίας παρασχεθῆ.

4.9.2 | εἰ οὖν "σαφῶς εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἀξίωσιν οἱ ἐπαρχιῶται δύ" νανται διυσχυρίζεσθαι κατὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ὡς "καὶ πρὸ βήματος ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἐπὶ τοῦτο μόνον "τραπῶσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀξιώσεσιν οὐδὲ μόναις βοαῖς. "πολλῷ γάρ μᾶλλον προσῆκεν, εἴ τις κατηγορεῖν βού" λοιτο,

4.8.7 | And a copy of the letter is presented, keeping the Roman language as it was. It begins with these words: 'And from the letter of the greatest and most distinguished Caesar Hadrian, your father, we demand that you, as we have deemed right, carry out the judgments. This was not commanded by Hadrian, but we also consider it just to require this address. We have also submitted a copy of Hadrian's letter, so that you may know this is true. And here it is.'

4.8.8 | With these words, the man mentioned presents the Roman copy, but we have translated it into Greek as best as we could, and it goes like this:

4.9.1 | To Minucius Fundanus. I received a letter written to me from Serennius Granianus, a very distinguished man, whom you have appointed. Therefore, I do not think it right to leave the matter unexamined, so that neither the people are disturbed nor the informers are given support for their wrongdoing.

4.9.2 | If therefore the governors can clearly argue against the Christians regarding this matter, they will only turn to this for a response before the court, but they will not rely on claims or mere shouts. For it is much more fitting, if someone

τοῦτό σε διαγινώσκειν.

4.9.3 | εἴ τις οὖν κατηγορεῖ καὶ δείκνυσί τι παρὰ τοὺς νόμους πράττοντας, οὕτως ὅριζε κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἀμαρτήματος· ως μὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα εἴ τις συκοφαντίας χάριν τοῦτο προτείνοι 5 διαλάμβανε ὑπὲρ τῆς δεινότητος, καὶ "φρόντιζε ὅπως ἀνέκδικήσειας." καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀδριανοῦ ἀντιγραφῆς τοιαῦτα.

wants to accuse, to let you know this.

4.9.3 | "If someone accuses and shows something against the laws, then define it according to the seriousness of the offense. By Heracles, if someone brings this up for the sake of slander, take care to defend yourself against the danger, and think about how you might seek justice." And these are the things from the copy of Hadrian.

## Section 10

4.10.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 25] Τούτου δὲ τὸ χρεῶν μετὰ πρῶτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἐκτίσαντος Ἀντωνῖνος ὁ κληθεὶς Εὔσεβὴς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν διαδέχεται. τούτου δὲ ἐν ἔτει πρώτῳ Τελεσφόρου τὸν βίον ἐνδεκάτῳ τῆς λειτουργίας ἐνιαυτῷ μεταλλάξαντος Ὑγίνος τὸν κλῆρον τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς παραλαμβάνει. Ιστορεῖ γε μὴν ὁ Εἰρηναῖος τὸν Τελεσφόρον μαρτυρίω τὴν τελευτὴν διαπρέψαι, δηλῶν ἐν ταύτῳ, κατὰ τὸν δηλούμενον Ῥωμαίων ἐπίσκοπον Ὑγίνον Οὐαλεντῖνον ἴδιας αἰρέσεως εἰσηγητὴν, καὶ Κέρδωνα τῆς κατὰ Μαρκίωνα πλάνης ἀρχηγὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἄμφω γνωρίζεσθαι. γράφει δὲ οὕτως:

4.10.1 | After this, Antoninus, who was called the Pious, took over the Roman leadership after the first and twentieth year. In the first year of Telesphorus, after changing his life in the eleventh year of service, Hyginus received the position of bishop of the Romans. Irenaeus indeed records that Telesphorus died as a martyr, indicating that at the same time, Hyginus, the Roman bishop, was a teacher of the Valentinian heresy, and both he and Cerdon were known as leaders of the Marcionite error in Rome. He writes this way:

## Section 11

4.11.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 4]. "Οὐαλεντῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἥλθεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ Ὑγίνου, ἥκμασε δὲ ἐπὶ Πίου, καὶ παρέμεινεν ἕως Ἀνικήτου. Κέρδων δὲ ὁ πρὸ Μαρκίωνος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Ὑγίνου, δῆς ἦν ἐνατος ἐπίσκοπος, εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἔξομολογούμενος

4.11.1 | "Valentinus came to Rome during Hyginus's time, and he thrived under Pius, staying until Anicetus. Cerdon, who came before Marcion, was also during Hyginus's time. He was the ninth bishop, and after coming to the church and confessing, he

οὕτω διετέλεσε, ποτὲ μὲν λαθροδί' δασκαλῶν, ποτὲ δὲ πάλιν ἔξομολογούμενος, ποτὲ δὲ ἐλεγχόμενος ἐφ' οἷς ἐδίδασκε κακῶς, καὶ ἀφιστάμενος τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν συνοδίας." ταῦτα δέ φησιν ἐν τρίτῳ τῶν πρὸς τὰς αἰρέσεις.

spent his time this way: sometimes he taught secretly, sometimes he confessed again, and sometimes he was rebuked for the things he taught wrongly, and he separated himself from the fellowship of the brothers." These things he says in the third of his writings against the heresies.

4.11.2 | ἐν γε μὴν τῷ πρώτῳ αὐθις περὶ τοῦ Κέρδωνος ταῦτα διέξεισι "Κέρδων δέ τις ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σίμωνα τὰς ἀφορμὰς λαβὼν, καὶ ἐπιδημήσας εἰς τὴν Ὀώμην ἐπὶ "Ὑγίνου ἔνατον κλῆρον τῆς ἐπισκοπικῆς διαδοχῆς" ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχοντος, ἐδίδαξε τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ 'νόμου καὶ προφητῶν κεκηρυγμένον θεὸν μὴ εἶναι "πατέρα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. τὸν μὲν "γάρ γνωρίζεσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἀγνῶτα εἶναι, καὶ τὸν μὲν "δίκαιον, τὸν δὲ ἀγαθὸν ὑπάρχειν. διαδεξάμενος δὲ "αὐτὸν Μαρκίων ὁ Ποντικὸς ηὔξησε τὸ διασκαλεῖον, "ἀπηρυθριασμένως βλασφημῶν."

4.11.2 | In the first part, he again discusses Cerdon: 'Cerdon, taking his ideas from those around Simon, came to Rome during Hyginus's time, who was the ninth in the line of bishops from the apostles. He taught that the God proclaimed by the Law and the Prophets is not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. For one is known, while the other is unknown, and one is just, while the other is good. Marcion from Pontus took over from him and increased the teaching, blaspheming without restraint.'

4.11.3 | ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Είρηναῖος τὸν ἄπειρον βυθὸν τῆς Οὐαλεντίνου πολυπλανοῦς ὅλης εύτονώτατα διαπλώσας, ἐρπετοῦ δίκην φωλεύοντος ἀπόκρυφον οὖσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ λεληθῖαν ἀπογυμνοῦ τὴν κακίαν.

4.11.3 | But Irenaeus, having easily navigated the endless depth of Valentinus's many misleading teachings, uncovers the evil that is hidden and secret, like a creeping creature that makes its nest.

4.11.4 | πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ἄλλον τινὰ, Μάρκος αὐτῷ ὄνομα, κατ' αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι λέγει μαγικῆς κυβείας ἐμπειρότατον. γράφει δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀτελέστους αὐτῶν τελετὰς μυστηρίων τε μυσταγωγίας ἐκφαίνων αὐτοῖς δὴ τούτοις τοῖς γράμμασιν

4.11.4 | Besides these, he also mentions another man named Mark, saying that he was very experienced in magical arts. He writes about their incomplete rituals and the disgusting mysteries, revealing them clearly in these writings.

4.11.5 | "οἱ μὲν γάρ αὐτῶν νυμφῶνα

4.11.5 | For they prepare a bridal chamber

κατασκευάζουσι καὶ "μυσταγωγίαν  
έπιτελοῦσι μετ' ἐπιρρήσεών τινων τοῖς  
τελουμένοις, καὶ πνευματικὸν γάμον  
φάσκουσιν "εἶναι τὸ ὑπ' αὐτῶν γινόμενον,  
κατὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα τῶν ἄνω συζυγιῶν. οἱ  
δὲ ἄγουσιν ἐφ' ὅδωρ, καὶ "βαπτίζοντες  
οὕτως ἐπιλέγουσιν· εἰς ὄνομα ἀγνώστου  
πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων, εἰς ἀλήθειαν μητέρα τῶν  
πάντων, 'εἰς τὸν κατελθόντα εἰς τὸν  
Ἰησοῦν. ἄλλοι δὲ Εβραῖοικαὶ ὄνόματα  
ἐπιλέγουσι πρὸς τὸ μᾶλλον καταπλῆξαι  
"τοὺς τελουμένους."

4.11.6 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ τέταρτον τῆς  
ἐπισκοπῆς ἔτος Ὅγινου τελευτήσαντος  
Πίος ἐπὶ Ὠρῷμης ἐγχειρίζεται τὴν  
λειτουργίαν. κατά γε μὴν τὴν  
Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Μάρκος ἀναδείκνυται  
ποιμὴν, Εὔμενοῦς ἔτη τὰ πάντα δέκα πρὸς  
τρισὶν ἐκπλήσαντος, τοῦ τε Μάρκου ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
δέκα ἔτη τῆς λειτουργίας ἀναπαυσαμένου  
Κελαδίων τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίας τὴν  
λειτουργίαν παραλαμβάνει.

4.11.7 | καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων δὲ πόλιν  
πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐνιαυτῷ  
Πίου μεταλλάξαντος Ἀνίκητος τῶν ἐκεῖσε  
προΐσταται. καθ' ὃν Ἡγήσιππος ἴστορει  
ἐκατὸν ἐπιδημῆσαι τῇ Ῥώμῃ, παραμεῖναί  
τε αὐτόθι μέχρι τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς Ἐλευθέρου.

4.11.8 | μάλιστα δὲ ἥκμαζεν ἐπὶ τῶνδε  
Ἰουστῖνος, ἐν φιλοσόφου σχήματι  
πρεσβεύων τὸν θεῖον λόγον, καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ  
τῆς πίστεως ἐναγωνιζόμενος  
συγγράμμασιν. ὃς δὴ καὶ γράψας κατὰ  
Μαρκίωνος σύγγραμμα μνημονεύει ὡς καθ'  
ὅν συνέταττε καιρὸν γνωριζομένου τῷ βίῳ

and perform mysteries with certain  
invocations for those being initiated,  
claiming that what happens among them is  
a spiritual marriage, similar to the unions  
above. Others lead them over water, and  
while baptizing, they say: 'In the name of  
the unknown Father of all, in the truth, the  
Mother of all, into the one who descended  
into Jesus.' Still, others choose Hebrew  
names to confuse those being initiated even  
more.

4.11.6 | But after the fourth year of the  
episcopate, when Hyginus passed away,  
Pius took over the ministry in Rome. In  
Alexandria, Mark is shown to be a  
shepherd, having completed ten years  
under Eumenes, and after Mark rested  
from his ministry for ten years, he takes  
over the ministry of the church in  
Alexandria.

4.11.7 | And in the city of the Romans, in  
the fifteenth year of Pius's episcopate,  
Anicetus takes over there. During this time,  
Hegesippus writes that he visited Rome  
and stayed there until the episcopate of  
Eleutherus.

4.11.8 | Especially during this time, Justin  
flourished, advocating the divine word in  
the form of a philosopher and fighting for  
the faith with his writings. He even wrote a  
work against Marcion, mentioning how he  
arranged the time known in the life of the  
man. He says this:

τάνδρός. φησὶ δὲ οὕτως

4.11.9 | "Μαρκίωνα δέ τινα Ποντικὸν, ὃς καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἔστι 'διδάσκων τοὺς πειθομένους ἄλλον τινὰ εἶναι νομίζειν μείζονα τοῦ δημιουργοῦ θεὸν, ὃς καὶ κατὰ πᾶν "γένος ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων συλλήψεως 'πολλοὺς πέπεικε βλάσφημα λέγειν, καὶ ἀρνεῖσθαι "τὸν ποιητὴν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς πατέρα εἶναι τοῦ "Χριστοῦ, ἄλλον δέ τινα ὡς ὅντα μείζονα παρὰ τοῦ "τὸν ὁμολογεῖν πεποιηκέναι. καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀπὸ τού "των ὡρημένοι, ὡς ἔφαμεν, Χριστιανοὶ καλοῦνται, δὸν τρόπον καὶ οὐ κοινῶν ὅντων δογμάτων τοῖς φιλο "σόφοις τὸ ἐπικαλούμενον ὄνομα τῆς φιλοσοφίας κοινόν ἔστι."

4.11.10 | τούτοις ἐπιφέρει λέγων "ἔστι "δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ σύνταγμα κατὰ πασῶν τῶν γεγενημέ "νων αἰρέσεων, ᾧ εἰ βούλεσθε ἐντυχεῖν, δώσομεν."

4.11.11 | ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς οὗτος Ἰουστῖνος, καὶ πρὸς "Ἐλληνας ἱκανώτατα πονήσας, καὶ λόγους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας πίστεως ἀπολογίαν ἔχοντας βασιλεῖ Ἀντωνίνῳ τῷ δὴ ἐπικληθέντι Εὔσεβεῖ καὶ τῇ Ἐρωμαίων συγκλήτῳ βουλῇ προσφωνεῖ. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρωμῆς τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιεῖτο. ἐμφαίνει δὲ ἐαυτὸν, ὅστις καὶ πόθεν ἦν, διὰ τῆς ἀπολογίας ἐν τούτοις:

## Section 12

4.12.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 26-32] "Αύτοκράτορι Τίτῳ Ἀϊλίῳ Ἀδριανῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ Εὔσεβεῖ

4.11.9 | Marcion, a man from Pontus, who still teaches today, believes that there is another god greater than the creator god. He has convinced many people, through the gathering of demons, to say blasphemous things and to deny that the creator is the father of all, including Christ, claiming instead that there is another being greater than him. And all those who have been led by him, as we said, are called Christians, in the same way that the name of philosophy is common among philosophers, even though their beliefs are not.

4.11.10 | To these, he adds by saying, 'We also have a collection of all the existing sects, which we will give you if you want to encounter it.'

4.11.11 | This same Justin, after working hard with the Greeks, addresses King Antoninus, who is called Pious, and the Roman Senate with words defending our faith. For he also held discussions in Rome. He shows who he is and where he comes from through this defense.

4.12.1 | To the Emperor Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pious Caesar, and to

Καίσαρι Σεβα“στῷ, καὶ Οὐηρισσίμῳ υἱῷ  
φιλοσόφῳ, καὶ Λουκίῳ ‘φιλοσόφῳ,  
Καίσαρος φύσει υἱῷ καὶ Εὔσεβοῦ  
εἰσποι“ητῷ, ἐραστῇ παιδείας, ἵερᾳ τε  
συγκλήτῳ καὶ παντὶ “δῆμῳ Ρωμαίων, ὑπὲρ  
τῶν ἐκ παντὸς γένους ἀνθρώπων“πων ἀδίκως  
μισουμένων καὶ ἐπηρεαζομένων, Ἰουστῖνος  
Πρίσκου τοῦ Βακχείου, τῶν ἀπὸ Φλασιάς  
“Νέας πόλεως τῆς Συρίας Παλαιστίνης, εἰς  
αὐτῶν ὅν, τὴν προσφώνησιν καὶ ἔντευξιν  
ποιήσομαι.” ἔντευχθεὶς δὲ καὶ ὑφ' ἐτέρων  
ὅτι αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Ασίας ἀδελφῶν,  
παντοίαις ὕβρεσι πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων  
δῆμων καταπονουμένων, τοιαύτης ἡξίωσε  
τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Ασίας διατάξεως·

his son the philosopher Verissimus, and to the philosopher Lucius, son by nature of Caesar and adopted son of Pious, who loves education, and to the holy Senate and to all the Roman people, Justin, son of Priscus the Bacchae, from the city of Flavia Nea in Syria Palestine, being one of them, will make this address and request. And after being received by the same king and by others in Asia, he deemed it right to arrange for the common good of Asia, while being overwhelmed by various insults from the local people.

## Section 13

4.13.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 28] “Αύτοκράτωρ  
Καῖσαρ “Μάρκος Αύρηλος Άντωνῖνος  
Σεβαστὸς, Άρμενιος, “ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος,  
δημαρχικῆς ἔχουσίας τὸ πέμπτον καὶ  
δέκατον, ὑπατος τὸ τρίτον, τῷ κοινῷ τῆς  
Ασίας χαίρειν.

4.13.1 | Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pious, Armenian, highest priest, holding the fifth and tenth powers of the magistracy, consul for the third time, greets the common people of Asia.

4.13.2 | ἔγὼ μὲν οἶδα ὅτι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς  
ἐπιμελές ἔστι μὴ λανθάνειν τοὺς τοιούτους.  
πολὺ γὰρ “μᾶλλον ἔκεινοι κολάσαιεν ἀν  
τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους “αὐτοὺς προσκυνεῖν  
ἢ ὑμεῖς.

4.13.2 | I know that it is also important to the gods not to overlook such people. For they would much rather punish those who do not want to worship them than you.

4.13.3 | οὓς είς ταραχὴν ἐμβάλλετε,  
βεβαιοῦντες τὴν γνώμην αὐτῶν ἥνπερ  
“ἔχουσιν, ὡς ἀθέων κατηγοροῦντες. εἴη δ'  
ἄν ἔκεινοις ‘ αἰρετὸν τὸ δοκεῖν  
κατηγορουμένοις τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν  
ὑπὲρ τοῦ οίκείου θεοῦ. ὅθεν καὶ νικῶσι,  
“προϊέμενοι τὰς ἐαυτῶν ψυχὰς, ἥπερ  
πειθόμενοι οἵς “ἀξιοῦτε πράττειν αὐτούς.

4.13.3 | Those whom you throw into confusion, by securing their opinion as they have it, as if accusing them of being without gods. It would be better for them to be thought to die rather than live for their own god. Therefore, they win, 'offering their own souls, as if obeying what you deem worthy for them to do.'

4.13.4 | περὶ δὲ τῶν σεισμῶν “τῶν γεγονότων καὶ γινομένων οὐκ ἄτοπον ὑμᾶς “ὑπομνῆσαι, ἀθυμοῦντας μὲν ὅταν περ ὁσι, παρα“βάλλοντας δὲ τὰ ὑμέτερα προς τὰ ἔκείνων.

4.13.5 | οἱ μὲν “οὖν εὐπαρρησιαστότεροι γίνονται πρὸς τὸν θεὸν, “ὑμεῖς δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον, καθ’ ὃν ἀγνοεῖν “δοκεῖτε, τῶν τε θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀμελεῖτε καὶ “τῆς θρησκείας τῆς περὶ τὸν ἀθάνατον, ὃν δὴ τοὺς “Χριστιανοὺς θρησκεύοντας ἐλαύνετε καὶ διώκετε “ἔως θανάτου.

4.13.6 | ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων ἥδη καὶ “πολλοὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἡγεμόνων καὶ τῷ “θειοτάτῳ ἡμῶν ἔγραψαν πατρὶ, οἵς καὶ ἀντέγραψε “μηδὲν ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς τοιούτοις, εἰ μηδὲν φαίνοντο “περὶ τὴν τῶκ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ἐγχειροῦντες. καὶ “ἔμοὶ δὲ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων πολλοὶ ἐσήμαναν, οἵς “δὴ καὶ ἀντέγραψα, κατακολουθῶν τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς “γνώμῃ

4.13.7 | εἴ δέ τις ἐπιμένοι τινὰ τῶν τοιούτων εἰς “πράγματα φέρων ὡς δὴ τοιοῦτον, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καταφερ“ρόμενος ἀπολελύσθω τοῦ ἐγκλήματος, καὶ ἐὰν φαὶ“νηται τοιοῦτος ὃν, ὁ δὲ καταφέρων ἐνοχος ἔσται “δίκης. προετέθη ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῆς Ἀσίας.”

4.13.8 | τούτοις οὕτω χωρήσασιν ἐπιμαρτυρῶν Μελίτων τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος, κατ’ αὐτὸ

4.13.4 | About the earthquakes that have happened and are happening, it is not strange to remind you, when you are feeling down, to compare your own troubles with those of others.

4.13.5 | Some become more bold toward the god, but you, at all times, as long as you seem to be unaware, neglect both the gods and the others, and the religion concerning the immortal, which you drive and persecute the Christians until death.

4.13.6 | About such matters, many of the leaders in the provinces have already written to our most divine father, to whom he also replied not to trouble those like this, unless they seemed to be attempting anything against the Roman leadership. And many have also signaled to me about such things, to whom I indeed replied, following the opinion of the father.

4.13.7 | But if anyone insists on bringing such matters as if they were indeed such, that person who is being accused should be freed from the charge, and if he seems to be such, the accuser will be guilty of punishment. This was proposed in Ephesus at the assembly of Asia.

4.13.8 | These things will be confirmed by Meliton, the bishop of the church in Sardis, who is known for his time. It is clear from

γνωριζόμενος τοῦ χρόνου, δῆλος ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων αὐτῷ ἐν ᾧ πεποίηται πρὸς αὐτοκράτορα Οὐῆρον ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς δόγματος ἀπολογίᾳ.

## Section 14

4.14.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 30] Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν δηλουμένων, Ἀνικήτου τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκιλησίας ἡγουμένου, Πολύκαρπον ἔτι περιόντα τῷ βίῳ γενέσθαι τε ἐπὶ Ῥώμης καὶ εἰς ὁμιλίαν τῷ Ἀνικήτῳ ἐλθεῖν διὰ τις ζήτημα περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ πάσχα ἡμέρας, Εἰρηναῖος ἴστορεῖ.

4.14.2 | καὶ ἄλλην δὲ ὡς αὐτὸς περὶ τοῦ Πολυκάρπου παραδίδωσι διήγησιν, ἣν ἀναγκαῖον τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ δηλουμένοις ἐπισυνάψαι οὕτως ἔχουσαν· [Ἄπὸ τοῦ τρίτου τῶν πρὸς τὰς αἰρέσεις Εἰρηναίου.]

4.14.3 | “Καὶ Πολύκαρπος δὲ οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων μαθητευθεὶς, καὶ συναναστραφεὶς πολλοῖς τὸν Χριστὸν ἐωρακόσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ασίαν ἐν τῇ Ἑσπερίᾳ Σμύρνῃ ἐκιλησίᾳ ἐπὶ σκοπος, δὸν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐωράκαμεν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ.

4.14.4 | ἐπιπολὺ γὰρ παρέμεινε, καὶ πάνυ γηραλέος, ἐνδόξως καὶ ἐπιφανέστατα μαρτυρήσας, ἐξῆλθε τοῦ βίου, ταῦτα διδάξας ἀεὶ, ἀ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔμαθεν, ἀ καὶ ἡ ἐκιλησία παραδίδωσιν, “καὶ μόνα ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ.

what has been said to him, in which he has made a defense to the emperor Marcus regarding our doctrine.

4.14.1 | Regarding the things that are being made clear, while Anicetus was leading the Roman church, Polycarp was still alive and came to Rome to meet with Anicetus about a question concerning the days of Passover, as Irenaeus tells.

4.14.2 | And he also gives another account about Polycarp, which it is necessary to add to those things being made clear, as follows: [From the third of Irenaeus's writings against the heresies.]

4.14.3 | And Polycarp was not only taught by the apostles and associated with many who had seen Christ, but he was also appointed by the apostles as a bishop in the church at Smyrna in Asia, whom we also saw in our early years.

4.14.4 | For he remained a long time, and very old, having witnessed gloriously and most famously, he left this life, always teaching these things, which he learned from the apostles, and which the church hands down, and they are the only true things.

4.14.5 | μαρτυροῦσι τούτοις αἱ “κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκκλησίαι πᾶσαι, καὶ οἱ μέχρι νῦν “διαδεδεγμένοι τὸν Πολύκαρπον, πολλῷ ἔξιοπιστότερον καὶ βεβαιότερον ἀληθείας μάρτυρα ὅντα Οὐα“λεντίνου καὶ Μαρκίωνος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κακογνω“μόνων, δὲς καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀνικήτου ἐπιδημήσας τῇ Ῥώμῃ πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν προειρημένων αἰρετικῶν ἐπέστρεψεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, μίαν καὶ μόνην “ταύτην ἀλήθειαν κηρύξας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων παρειληφέναι, τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παραδεδομένην.”

4.14.5 | For all the churches in Asia bear witness to these things, and those who have received Polycarp until now, being much more trustworthy and certain as a witness of the truth than Valentinus and Marcion and the other bad thinkers, who, while he was in Rome during the time of Anicetus, turned many from the aforementioned heretics back to the church of God, proclaiming this one and only truth received from the apostles, which is handed down by the church.

4.14.6 | καὶ είσὶν οἱ ἀκηκοότες αὐτοῦ ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ του “κυρίου μαθητὴς ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ πορευθεὶς λούσασθαι, “καὶ ἴδων ἔσω Κήρινθον ἔξήλατο τοῦ βαλανείου μη λουσάμενος, ἀλλ’ ἐπειπὼν, φύγωμεν, μὴ καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον συμπέσῃ, ἔνδον ὅντος Κηρίνθου τοῦ τῆς “ἀληθείας ἔχθροῦ.

4.14.6 | And there are those who have heard that John, the disciple of the Lord, went to Ephesus to bathe, and seeing within the bathhouse Cerinthus, he left without bathing, saying, 'Let us flee, so that the bathhouse does not fall in, with Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, inside.'

4.14.7 | καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Πολύκαρπος “Μαρκίωνί ποτε εἰς ὅψιν αὐτῷ ἐλθόντι καὶ φήσαντι “ ἐπιγινώσκεις ἡμᾶς’ ἀπεκρίθη ἐπιγινώσκω “πρωτότοκον τοῦ σατανᾶ.’ τοσαύτην οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ “οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτῶν ἔσχον εὐλάβειαν πρὸς τὸ μηδὲ ‘ μέχρι λόγου κοινωνεῖν τινὶ τῶν παραχαρασσόντων “τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὡς καὶ Παῦλος ἔφησεν ‘αἰρετικὸν ἄν“θρωπον μετὰ μίαν καὶ δευτέραν νουθεσίαν παραί“τοῦ, εἶδὼς ὅτι ἔξεστραπται ὁ τοιοῦτος, καὶ ἀμαρτά“νει ὧν αὐτοκατάκριτος.’

4.14.7 | And Polycarp himself, when Marcion once came to see him and said, 'Do you recognize us?' answered, 'I recognize the firstborn of Satan.' Such was the reverence that the apostles and their disciples had to not even share a word with anyone who was corrupting the truth, as Paul said, 'Reject a divisive person after one or two warnings, knowing that such a person is warped and is sinning, being self-condemned.'

4.14.8 | ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴ “Πολυκάρπου πρὸς Φιλιππησίους γεγραμμένη ἱκανω“τάτη, ἐξ ἣς καὶ τὸν χαρακτῆρα τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ “καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς

4.14.8 | There is also a letter of Polycarp to the Philippians, which is quite sufficient, from which those who wish and care for their own salvation can learn both the

ἀληθείας οἱ βουλόμενοι καὶ φροντίζοντες τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας δύνανται μαθεῖν·

character of his faith and the preaching of the truth.

4.14.9 | ταῦτα ὁ Εἰρήναιος. ὁ γέ τοι Πολύκαρπος ἐν τῇ δηλωθείσῃ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους αὐτοῦ γραφῇ φερομένῃ εἰς δεῦρο κέχρηταί τισι μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς.

4.14.9 | These are the words of Irenaeus. Polycarp, in his letter to the Philippians, makes use of certain testimonies from the earlier letter of Peter.

4.14.10 | Ἀντωνῖνον μὲν δὴ τὸν Εύσεβῆ κληθέντα, είκοστὸν καὶ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς ἀρχῆς διανύσαντα, Μάρκος Αύρηλος Οὐῆρος, ὁ καὶ Ἀντωνῖνος, υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, σὺν καὶ Λουκίῳ ἀδελφῷ διαδέχεται.

4.14.10 | Antoninus, called the Pious, having completed the twentieth and second year of his reign, is succeeded by Marcus Aurelius Verus, who is also Antoninus, along with his brother Lucius.

## Section 15

4.15.1 | [Nic. II. E. III, 34-35] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Πολύκαρπος μεγίστων τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀναθορυβησάντων διωγμῶν μαρτυρίῳ τελειοῦται ἀναγκαιότατον δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ τέλος ἐγγράφως ἔτι φερόμενον ἡγοῦμαι δεῖν μνήμῃ τῆς ἱστορίας καταθέσθαι.

4.15.1 | In this time, Polycarp is perfected in martyrdom as great persecutions arise in Asia. I think it is necessary to record his important end, which is still mentioned in writing, as a reminder of history.

4.15.2 | ἔστι δὲ ἡ γραφὴ ἐκ προσώπου ἣς αὐτὸς ἐκκλησίας ἡγεῖτο ταῖς κατὰ Πόντον παροικίαις τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀποσημαίνουσα διὰ τούτων

4.15.2 | The writing is from the community of which he was the leader, signaling about him to the congregations in Pontus through these things.

4.15.3 | “ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Σμύρναν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ ἐν Φιλομηλίῳ “καὶ πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῆς ἀγίας καθο “λικῆς ἐκκλησίας παροικίαις ἔλεος, εἰρήνη καὶ ἄγάκ “θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πλν ‘θυνθείη. ἐγράψαμεν ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὰ κατὰ του

4.15.3 | The church of God that is in Smyrna to the church of God that is in Philomelium, and to all the congregations in every place of the holy universal church: may there be mercy, peace, and love from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ. We have written to you, brothers, about those who have been martyred and the blessed Polycarp,

“μαρτυρήσαντας καὶ τὸν μακάριον Πολύκαρπον, ὅστι ὁσπερ ἐπισφραγίσας διὰ τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτοῦ κα τέπαυσε τὸν διωγμόν.”

4.15.4 | τούτοις ἔξῆς πρὸ τῆς ἀμο τοῦ Πολυκάρπου διηγήσεως τὰ κατὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἄνι στοροῦσι μάρτυρας, οἵας ἐνστάσεις πρὸς τὰς ἀλγηδο νας ἐνεδείχαντο, διαγράφοντες. καταπλῆξαι γάρ φαο τοὺς ἐν κύκλῳ περιεστῶτας καὶ θεωμένους τοτὲ μὲ μάστιξι μέχρι καὶ τῶν ἐνδοτάτω φλεβῶν καὶ ἀρτηριῶν καταξαινομένους, ὡς ἥδη καὶ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς ἀπόρρητα τοῦ σώματος σπλάγχνα τε αὐτῶν καὶ μέλη κατοπτεύεσθαι, τοτὲ δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ θαλάττης κήρυκας καὶ τινας ὄξεῖς ὀβελίσκους ὑποστρωνυμένους, καὶ διὰ παντὸς εἴδους κολάσεων καὶ βασάνων προϊόντας, καὶ τέλος θηροὶν εἰς βορὰν παραδιδομένους.

4.15.5 | μάλιστα δὲ ιστοροῦσιν διαπρέψαι τὸν γενναιότατον Γερμανι κὸν, ὑπορρωνύντα σὺν θείᾳ χάριτι τὴν ἔμφυτο περὶ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ σώματος δειλίαν. βουλομένο γέ τοι τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου πείθειν αὐτὸν, προβαλλομε νου τε τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ ἀντιβολοῦντος κομιδῇ νέο ὄντα καὶ ἀκμαῖον οἴκτον ἐσαυτοῦ λαβεῖν, μὴ μελλῃ σαι, προθύμως δὲ ἐπισπάσασθαι εἰς ἐσαυτὸν τὸ θη ρίον, μονονουχὶ βιασάμενον καὶ παροξύναντα, ὡς τάχιον τοῦ ἀδίκου καὶ ἀνόμου βίου αὐτῶν ἀπαλλα γείη.

4.15.6 | τούτου δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ διαπρεπεῖ θανάτῳ τὸ πό πλῆθος ἀποθαυμάσαν τῆς ἀνδρείας τὸν θεοφιλῆ μάρτυρα καὶ τὴν καθόλου τοῦ γένους τῶν Χριστιανο ἀρετὴν,

who, just as if sealing with his martyrdom, put an end to the persecution.

4.15.4 | Next, before the account of Polycarp, we will tell about the other martyrs, describing the kinds of sufferings they showed in the face of pain. For they were struck down by those surrounding them and were seen being tortured with whips, even to the innermost veins and arteries being cut, so that even the hidden parts of their bodies, their organs and limbs, were being examined. At times, those from the sea were heralds, and some were laid low with sharp stakes, and they were subjected to all kinds of punishments and tortures, and finally handed over to wild beasts in the north.

4.15.5 | Most of all, they tell about the very brave Germanicus, who, with divine grace, overcame the natural fear of death. He wanted to persuade the governor, presenting his youth and strength, and wishing to take pity on himself, not to delay, but to eagerly draw upon himself the punishment, having been forced and stirred up, so that he might quickly be freed from their unjust and lawless life.

4.15.6 | At his famous death, the crowd was amazed at the bravery of the God-loving martyr and the overall virtue of the Christian race, and they began to shout

άθροιστος ἐπιβοῶν ἄρξασθαι “αἴρε τοὺς  
ἀθέους ζητείσθω Πολύκαρπος.”

4.15.7 | καὶ δὴ πλείστης ἐπὶ ταῖς βοαις  
γενομένης ταραχῆς Φρύγα τινὰ τὸ γένος,  
Κδίντον τούνομα, νεωστὶ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίας  
ἐπιστάντα, ἴδόντα τοὺς θήρας καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τούτοις ἀπειλὰς καταπῆξαι τὴν ψυχὴν  
μαλακισθέντα, καὶ τέλος τῆς σωτηρίας  
ἐνσθῦναι.

4.15.8 | ἔδήλου δὲ τοῦτον ὁ τῆς  
προειρημένης γραφῆς λόγος  
προπετέστερον, ἀλλ’ οὐ κατ’ εὐλάβειαν  
ἐπιπηδῆσαι τῷ δικαστηρίῳ σὺν ἑτέροις,  
ἀλόντα δ’ οὗν ὅμως καταφανὲς ὑπόδειγμα  
τοῖς πᾶσι παρασχεῖν, ὅτι μὴ δέοι τοῖς  
τοιούτοις ῥιψοκινδύνως καὶ ἀνευλαβῶς  
ἐπιτολμᾶν. ἀλλὰ ταύτῃ μὲν εἶχε πέρας τὰ  
κατὰ τούτους.

4.15.9 | τόν γε μὴν θαυμασιώτατον  
Πολύκαρπον τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τούτων  
ἀκούσαντα ἀτάραχον διαμεῖναι, εὔσταθὲς  
τὸ ἥθος καὶ ἀκίνητον φυλάξαντα,  
βούλεσθαί τε αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν  
περιμένειν πεισθέντα γε μὴν ἀντιβολοῦσι  
τοῖς ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν, καὶ ὡς ἂν ὑπεξέλθοι  
παρακαλοῦσι, προελθεῖν εἰς οὐ πόρρω  
διεστῶτα τῆς πόλεως ἀγρὸν, διατρίβειν τε  
σὺν ὄλιγοις ἐνταῦθα, νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ’  
ἡμέραν οὕτε ἔτερον πράττοντα ἢ ταῖς πρὸς  
τὸν κύριον διακαρτεροῦντα εύχαῖς, δι’ ὃν  
δεῖσθαι καὶ ἱκετεύειν, εἱρήνην  
ἔξαιτούμενον ταῖς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν  
οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησίαις· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ εἶναι  
ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αὐτῷ σύνηθες.

together, 'Let the atheists be searched for,  
Polycarp!'

4.15.7 | And indeed, when there was a great  
disturbance because of these shouts, a  
certain man from Phrygia, named Quintus,  
who had recently come from Phrygia,  
seeing the wild beasts and the threats  
against them, was frightened and lost his  
courage, and in the end, he lost his chance  
for salvation.

4.15.8 | But the account of the previously  
mentioned writing made it clear that he did  
not boldly approach the court with others  
out of reverence, but he was caught and  
thus provided a clear example to all, that  
one should not recklessly and without  
respect dare to act like them. But this was  
the end of the matters concerning them.

4.15.9 | Indeed, the most wonderful  
Polycarp, when he first heard these things,  
remained calm, keeping a steady character  
and being unmoved. He wanted to stay in  
the city; however, those around him  
persuaded him to leave, and they urged  
him to go out to a field not far from the city.  
There, he stayed with a few people, both at  
night and during the day, doing nothing  
else but continuing in prayers to the Lord,  
asking for what he needed and pleading for  
peace for all the churches throughout the  
world; for this was also his usual practice.

4.15.10 | καὶ δὴ εὐχόμενον ἐν ὁπτασίᾳ τριῶν πρότερον ἡμερῶν τῆς συλλήψεως νύκτωρ ἰδεῖν τὸ ὑπὸ κεφαλῆς αὔτῷ στρῶμα ἀθρόως οὕτως ὑπὸ πυρὸς φλεχθὲν δεδαπανῆσθαι, ἔξυπνον δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενόμενον εὐθὺς ὑφερμηνεῦσαι τοῖς παροῦσι τὸ φανὲν, μονονουχὶ τὸ μέλλον προθεσπίσαντα, σαφῶς τε ἀνειπόντα τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὅτι δέοι αὐτὸν διὰ Χριστὸν πυρὶ τὴν ζωὴν μεταλλάξαι.

4.15.11 | ἐπικειμένων δὴ οὖν σὺν πάσῃ σπουδῇ τῶν ἀναζητούντων αὐτὸν αὗθις πρὸς τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν διαθέσεως καὶ στοργῆς ἐκβεβιασμένον μεταβῆναι φασιν ἐφ' ἔτερον ἀγρὸν, ἔνθα μετ'οὐ πλεῖστον τοὺς συνελαύνοντας ἐπελθεῖν, δύο δὲ τῶν αὐτόθι συλλαβεῖν παίδων, ὃν θάτερον αἰκισαμένους ἐπι- στῆναι δι'αύτοῦ τῇ τοῦ Πολυκάρπου καταγωγῇ.

4.15.12 | ὥψε δὲ τῆς ὥρας ἐπελθόντας αὐτὸν μὲν εὐρεῖν ἐν ὑπερώῳ κατακείμενον, ὅθεν δυνατὸν ὅν αὐτῷ ἐφ' ἐτέραν μεταστῆναι οόκιαν μὴ βεβουλῆσθαι, εἴπόντα "τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ γινέσθω."

4.15.13 | Καὶ δὴ μαθὼν πα- ρόντας, ὡς δόλογος φησὶ, καταβὰς αὐτοῖς διελέξατο, εὖ μάλα φαιδρῷ καὶ πραοτάτῳ προσώπῳ, ὡς καὶ θαῦμα δοκεῖν ὄρᾶν τοὺς πάλαι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγνῶτας, ἐναποβλέποντας τῷ τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτοῦ παλαιῷ καὶ τῷ σεμνῷ καὶ εύσταθεῖ τοῦ προσώπου, καὶ εἰ το- σαύτη γένοιτο σπουδῇ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοιοῦτον συλληφθῆ- ναι πρεσβύτην.

4.15.10 | And indeed, while praying three days before his arrest, he saw in a vision at night that his bed was completely burned up by fire. When he woke up from this, he immediately explained the vision to those present, clearly stating that he needed to change his life through fire for the sake of Christ.

4.15.11 | Therefore, with great eagerness, those searching for him said that he had been forced to move to another field, away from the care and affection of the brothers. There, many who were following him came upon him, and two of the local boys were captured, one of whom was tortured to reveal Polycarp's whereabouts.

4.15.12 | But when they came later in the hour, they found him lying in an upper room, where he could have easily moved to another house if he had wanted to, saying, 'Let the will of God be done.'

4.15.13 | And indeed, when he learned that they were present, he came down and spoke to them, with a very bright and gentle face, so that it seemed a wonder to see someone who had been unknown to them for so long. They looked at his old age and the seriousness and steadiness of his face, and they wondered how such a great effort could be made to capture such an elder.

4.15.14 | ὁ δ' οὐ μελλήσας εύθέως τράπεζαν αὐτοῖς παρατεθῆναι προστάττει, εἴτα τροφῆς ἀφθόνου μεταλαβεῖν ἀξιοῦ, μίαν τε ὥραν, ὡς ἂν προσεύξοιτο ἀδεῶς, παρ' αὐτῶν αἰτεπῖαι. ἐπιτρεψάν- των δὲ ἀναστὰς ηὔχετο, ἔμπλεως τῆς χάριτος ὡν τοῦ κυρίου, ὡς ἐκπληττεσθαι τοὺς παρόντας εύχομένου αὐτοῦ ἀκροωμένους, πολλούς τε αὐτῶν μετανοεῖν ἦδη ἐπὶ τῷ τοιοῦτον ἀναιρεῖσθαι μέλλειν σεμνὸν καὶ θεοπρεπῆ πρεσβύτην,

4.15.15 | ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡ περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφὴ κατὰ λέξιν ὡδέ πως τὰ ἔξης τῆς ιστορίας ἔχει "ἐπεὶ δέ ποτε κατέπαυσε τὴν προσευχὴν, μνημονεύ- "σας ἀπάντων καὶ τῶν πώποτε συμβεβληκότων αὐτῷ "μικρῶν τε καὶ μεγόλων, ἐνδόξων τε καὶ ἀδόξων, "καὶ πάσης τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς "έκκλησίας, τῆς ὥρας ἐλθούσης τοῦ ἔξιέναι, ὅνως "καθίσαντες αὐτὸν ἥγαγον εἰν πόλιν, ὅντος "σαββάτου μεγάλου, καὶ ὑπήντα αὐτῷ ὁ εἰρήναρ- "χος Ἡρώδης καὶ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ Νικήτης, οἱ καὶ "μεταθέντες αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ὅχημα ἐπειθον παρακαθεζό"μενοι καὶ λέγοντες· τί γάρ κακόν ἔστιν είπειν, κύριε 'Καῖσαρ, καὶ θῦσαι καὶ διασώζεσθαι;

4.15.16 | ὁ δὲ τὰ "μὲν πρῶτα οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο, ἐπιμενόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔφη, οὐ μέλλω πράττειν ὃ συμβουλεύετέ μοι. οἱ "δὲ ἀποτυχόντες τοῦ πεῖσαι αὐτὸν δεινὰ ῥήματα ἔλεγον, καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς καθήρουν, ὡς κατιόντα ἀπὸ "τοῦ ὄχήματος ἀποσύραι τὸ ἀντικνήμιον. ἀλλὰ γάρ "μὴ ἐπιστραφεὶς, οἷα μηδὲν πεπονθὼς, προθύμως "μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐπορεύετο,

4.15.14 | But he, not delaying, immediately ordered a table to be set for them, and then he asked to share in abundant food, so that he could pray freely for one hour with them. After they allowed it, he stood up and prayed, being filled with the grace of the Lord, so that those present were amazed as they listened to his prayer. Many of them began to repent because such a serious and godly elder was about to be taken away.

4.15.15 | About this, the writing concerning him has the following in the history: 'When he finally stopped praying, remembering all those who had ever been with him, both small and great, both famous and unknown, and all of the universal church throughout the world, when the time came for him to depart, they sat him down and led him into the city, it being a great Sabbath. And the peacekeeper Herod and his father Niketas met him, and they, having placed him in the vehicle, urged him to sit down, saying, 'What harm is it to say, "Lord Caesar," and to sacrifice and be saved?'

4.15.16 | But he did not answer at first, and when they insisted, he said, 'I will not do what you advise me.' They, failing to convince him, spoke terrible words, and with urgency they tried to pull him down from the vehicle. But he, not turning back, as if he had suffered nothing, boldly and eagerly went on, being led to the stadium.

άγόμενος είς τὸ στάδιον. “

4.15.17 | Θορύβου δὲ τηλικούτου ὅντος ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ, ὡς μηδὲ πολλοῖς ἀκουσθῆναι, τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ εἰσιόντι “είς τὸ στάδιον φωνὴ ἔξ οὐρανοῦ γέγονεν ἵσχυε, Πο“λύκαρπε, καὶ ἀνδρίζου.’ καὶ τὸν μὲν εἴπόντα οὐδεὶς “εἶδεν, τὴν δὲ φωνὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων πολλοὶ ἤκουσαν.

4.15.18 | προσαχθέντος οὖν αὐτοῦ θόρυβος ἦν μέ“γας, ἀκουσάντων ὅτι Πολύκαρπος συνείληπται. λοι“πὸν οὖν προσελθόντα ἀνηρώτα ὁ ἀνθύπατος εἰ αὐτὸς εἴη Πολύκαρπος. καὶ ὅμολογήσαντος ἐπειθεν ἀρνεῖσθαι λέγων ‘αἰδέσθητί σου τὴν ἡλικίαν’ καὶ ἔτερα τούτοις ἀκόλουθα, ἢ σύνηθες αὐτοῖς λέγειν ἐστίν ‘ὅμοσον τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην, μετανόησον εἴ“πον· ‘αἴρε τοὺς ἀθέους.’

4.15.19 | ὁ δὲ Πολύκαρπος ἐμβριθεῖ τῷ προσώπῳ εἰς πάντα τὸν ὄχλον τὸν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ἐμβλέψας, ἐπισείσας αὐτοῖς τὴν χεῖρα, στενάξας τε καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν ‘αἴρε τοὺς ἀθέους.’

4.15.20 | ἐγκειμένου δὲ τοῦ ἡγουμένου καὶ λέγοντος ‘ὅμοσον, καὶ ἀπολύσω σε, λοιδόρησον τὸν Χριστόν,’ ἔφη ὁ Πολύκαρπος· ‘όγδοήκοντα καὶ ἔξ ἔτη δουλεύω αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐδέν με ἡδίκησε· καὶ πῶς δύναμαι βλασφημῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα μου, τὸν σώσαντά με;

4.15.17 | While there was such a commotion in the stadium that not many could hear, as Polycarp was entering the stadium, a voice came from heaven, saying, 'Polycarp, be strong.' No one saw the speaker, but many of our people heard the voice.

4.15.18 | Then, when he was brought forward, there was a great noise, as people heard that Polycarp had been captured. So, when he approached, the governor asked if he was Polycarp. And when he admitted it, the governor urged him to deny it, saying, 'Have respect for your age,' and other things that are usual for them to say, 'Swear by the fortune of Caesar, change your mind,' saying, 'Away with the atheists.'

4.15.19 | But Polycarp, looking sternly at all the crowd in the stadium, raised his hand to them, sighed, and looking up to heaven, said, 'Away with the atheists.'

4.15.20 | While the governor was lying down and saying, 'Swear, and I will release you, curse Christ,' Polycarp said, 'I have served him for eighty-six years, and he has done me no wrong; how can I blaspheme my King who saved me?'

4.15.21 | ἐπιμένοντος δὲ πάλιν αύτοῦ καὶ λέγοντος “ὅμοσον τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην; ὁ Πολύκαρπος ‘εἰ κε “νοδοξεῖς’ φησὶν, “ἴνα όμόσω τὴν Καίσαρος τύχη “ώς λέγεις, προσποιούμενος ἀγνοεῖν ὅστις εἰμὶ, μεν παρρησίας ἄκουε· Χριστιανός είμι. εἰ δὲ θέλεις το “τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ μαθεῖν λόγον, δὸς ἡμέραν καὶ ἄκουσον.’

4.15.22 | ἔφη ὁ ἀνθύπατος πεῖσον τὸν δῆμον “Πολύκαρπος ἔφη ‘σὲ μὲν καὶ λόγου ἡξίωσα· δε(??) “δάγμεθα γὰρ ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἔξουσίαις ὑπὸ θεοῦ τετα ‘γμέναις τιμὴν κατὰ τὸ προσῆκον τὴν μὴ βλάπτο(??) “σαν ἡμᾶς ἀπονέμειν, ἔκείνους δὲ οὐκ ἀξίους ἥγοῦμα “τοῦ ἀπολογεῖσθαι αύτοῖς.’

4.15.23 | ὁ δὲ ἀνθύπατος ἔς ““θηρία ἔχω· τούτοις σε παραβαλῶ, ἔὰν μὴ μετανοή·σης.’ ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ‘κάλει, ἀμετάθετος γὰρ ἡμῖν ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων ἐπὶ τὰ χείρω μετάνοια, καλὸν δὲ “μετατίθεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν χαλεπῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δίκαια.’

4.15.24 | ὁ δὲ πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ‘πυρί σε ποιήσω δαμασθ(??) “ναλ, ἔὰν τῶν θηρίων καταφρονῆς, ἔὰν μὴ μετανο(??) “σης.’ Πολύκαρπος εἶπε ‘πῦρ ἀπειλεῖς πρὸς ὥρα “καιόμενον καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγον σβεννύμενον’ ἀγνοεῖς γα “τὸ τῆς μελλούσης κρίσεως καὶ αἰώνιου κολάσεως τοῦ “ἀσεβέσι τηρούμενον πῦρ. ἀλλὰ τί βραδύνεις; φέρ “ἄβούλει.’

4.15.25 | ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἔτερα πλείω λέγων θάρ σους καὶ χαρᾶς ἐνεπίμπλατο, καὶ τὸ

4.15.21 | But when he kept insisting and saying, 'Swear by the fortune of Caesar,' Polycarp said, 'If you think I should swear by the fortune of Caesar, pretending not to know who I am, listen with boldness: I am a Christian. And if you want to learn about Christianity, give me a day and listen.'

4.15.22 | The governor said, 'Convince the crowd.' Polycarp replied, 'I have deemed you worthy of a word. For we are taught by God to honor the authorities and powers that have been established, and it is right that they do not harm us. But I do not consider them worthy to defend myself before them.'

4.15.23 | But the governor said, 'I have wild animals; I will throw you to them if you do not repent.' Polycarp replied, 'Call them, for it is impossible for us to change from better to worse. It is good to change from the difficult to the right.'

4.15.24 | But the governor said to him again, 'I will throw you into the fire if you despise the wild animals, unless you repent.' Polycarp replied, 'You threaten me with a fire that burns for a time and then goes out. You do not know about the fire of the coming judgment and eternal punishment that is kept for the wicked. But why are you hesitating? Bring what you want.'

4.15.25 | As he said these things and more, he was filled with courage and joy, and his

πρόσωπον αυ τοῦ χάριτος ἐπληροῦτο,  
ώστε μὴ μόνον μὴ συμπε “σεῖν ταραχθέντα  
ὑπὸ τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν “ἄλλὰ  
τούναντίαν τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἐκστῆναι,  
πέμψα “τε τὸν κήρυκα καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῷ  
σταδίῳ κηρῦξαι τρὶ Πολύκαρπος  
ἀμολόγησεν ἑαυτὸν Χριστιανὸν εἶναι “

face was filled with grace, so that not only  
was he not disturbed by what was said to  
him, but on the contrary, the governor was  
amazed. He sent the herald to proclaim in  
the middle of the stadium that Polycarp  
had confessed that he was a Christian.

4.15.26 | τούτου λεχθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ  
κήρυκος πᾶν τὸ πλῆ “θος τῶν ἔθνῶν τε καὶ  
Ἰουδαίων τῶν τὴν Σμύρνα “κατοικούντων  
ἀκατασχέτῳ θυμῷ καὶ μεγάλῃ φωνῇ “έβόα  
οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας διδάσκαλος, ὁ  
πατητὸν τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ὁ τῶν ἡμετέρων  
θεῶν καθαιρέτης, ὁ πολλοὺς διδάσκων μὴ  
θύειν μηδὲ προσκυνεῖν.

4.15.26 | When this was proclaimed by the  
herald, the whole crowd of both Greeks and  
Jews living in Smyrna shouted with  
uncontrollable anger and loud voices, 'This  
is the teacher of Asia, the father of the  
Christians, the destroyer of our gods, who  
teaches many not to sacrifice or worship.'

4.15.27 | ταῦτα λέγοντες ἐπεβόων καὶ  
ήρωτων τὸν “ἀσιάρχην Φίλιππον, ἵνα  
ἐπαφῇ τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ λέοντα. ὁ δὲ ἔφη  
μὴ εἶναι ἔξον αὐτῷ, ἐπειδὴ πεπληρωμένος  
κυνηγέσια. τότε ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς  
δομοθυμα “δὸν ἐπιβοῆσαι, ὡστε ζῶντα τὸν  
Πολύκαρπον κατακαῆσαι.

4.15.27 | As they shouted these things, they  
asked the Asian leader Philip to throw  
Polycarp to the lions. But he said it was not  
allowed, since the games were already full.  
Then they all agreed to shout together to  
burn Polycarp alive.

4.15.28 | ἔδει γάρ τὸ τῆς φανερωθείσης  
αὐτῷ “ἐπὶ τοῦ προσκεφαλαίου ὄπτασίας  
πληρωθῆναι, ὅτε “ἰδὼν αὐτὸν καιόμενον  
προσευχόμενος εἶπεν ἐπιστρα “φεὶς τοῖς  
μετ’ αὐτοῦ πιστοῖς προφητικῶς ‘δεῖ με  
“ζῶντα κατακαῆναι.’

4.15.28 | For it was necessary for the vision  
that had been revealed to him while on the  
pillow to be fulfilled. When he saw himself  
being burned, he prayed and said, turning  
to those with him, 'It is necessary for me to  
be burned alive.'

4.15.29 | ταῦτα οὖν μετὰ τοσούτου  
“τάχους ἐγένετο, θᾶττον ἡ ἐλέγετο, τῶν  
ὅχλων πα “ραχρῆμα συναγόντων ἐκ τῶν  
ἔργαστηρίων καὶ ἐκ “τῶν βαλανείων ξύλα  
καὶ φρύγανα, μάλιστα Ἰου “δαίων  
προθύμως, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, εἰς ταῦτα

4.15.29 | So, after a very short time, quicker  
than it was said, the crowd quickly  
gathered wood and sticks from the  
workshops and the baths, especially the  
Jews, who were eager to help, as was their

ύπουργούντων.

4.15.30 | ἀλλὰ ὅτε ἡ πυρὰ ἡτοιμάσθη,  
ἀποθέμενος ἐαυτῷ πάντα τὰ ἴματα καὶ  
λύσας τὴν ζώνην ἔπειράτο καὶ ὑπολύειν  
ἐαυτὸν, μὴ πρότερον τοῦτο “ποιῶν, διὰ τὸ  
ἀεὶ ἔκαστον τῶν πιστῶν σπουδάζειν “ὅστις  
τάχιον τοῦ χρωτὸς αὐτοῦ ἐφάψηται· ἐν  
παντὶ “γὰρ ἀγαθῆς ἔνεκεν πολιτείας καὶ  
πρὸ τῆς πολιᾶς “έκεκόσμητο.

4.15.31 | εύθέως οὖν αὐτῷ περιετίθετο τὰ  
“πρὸς τὴν πυρὰν ἡρμοσμένα ὅργανα,  
μελλόντων δὲ “αὐτῶν καὶ προστηλοῦν  
αὐτὸν εἶπεν ‘Ἄφετέ με οὕτως· “οὐ γάρ  
διδοὺς ὑπομεῖναι τὸ πῦρ δώσει καὶ χωρὶς  
τῆς “ὑμετέρας ἐκ τῶν ἥλων ἀσφαλείας  
ἀσκύλτως ἐπιμεῖ“ναι τῇ πυρᾷ.’ οἱ δὲ οὐ  
καθήλωσαν, προσέδησαν δὲ “αὐτόν.

4.15.32 | ὁ δὲ ὄπισω τὰς χεῖρας ποιήσας,  
καὶ “προσδεθεὶς ὥσπερ κριός ἐπίσημος  
ἀναφερόμενος “ἐκ μεγάλου ποιμνίου  
ὸλοκαύτωμα δεκτὸν θεῷ παντοκράτορι,  
εἶπεν

4.15.33 | ‘ὁ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ εὐλογητοῦ παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πατὴρ, δι’ οὗ  
τὴν “περὶ σὲ ἐπίγνωσιν εἰλήφαμεν, ὁ θεὸς  
ἀγγέλων καὶ “δυνάμεων καὶ πάσης τῆς  
κτίσεως παντός τε τοῦ γε νους τῶν  
δικαίων, οἵ ζῶσιν ἐνώπιόν σου, εὐλογῶ “ὅτι  
ἡξιώσας με τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας ταύτης, το  
“λαβεῖν μέρος ἐν ἀριθμῷ τῶν μαρτύρων, ἐν  
τῷ ποτη ᾗ ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰς ἀνάστασιν  
ζωῆς αἰώνιου ψυ “χῆς τε καὶ σώματος, ἐν  
ἀφθαρσίᾳ πνεύματος ἀγίον “

custom.

4.15.30 | But when the pyre was prepared,  
he took off all his clothes and loosened his  
belt. He tried to take off his shoes, not  
doing this first because each of the faithful  
was always eager to touch his skin. For he  
was adorned in every way for the sake of a  
good life and before the city.

4.15.31 | Immediately, they placed on him  
the instruments arranged for the pyre. As  
they were about to fasten him, he said, "Let  
me go like this; for the one who allows me  
to endure the fire will give me safety  
without your nails holding me to the pyre."  
But they did not release him; instead, they  
tied him down.

4.15.32 | But he, having placed his hands  
behind him and being bound like a marked  
ram offered up as a whole burnt offering to  
the all-powerful god from a large flock,  
said,

4.15.33 | Father of your beloved and  
blessed child Jesus Christ, through whom  
we have received the knowledge about you,  
God of angels and powers and of all  
creation, and of all the minds of the  
righteous who live in your presence, I bless  
you that you have deemed me worthy of  
this day and hour, to take part in the  
number of the martyrs, in the cup of Christ,  
for the resurrection of eternal life of both  
soul and body, in the incorruption of the

holy spirit.

4.15.34 | ἐν οἷς προσδεχθείην ἐνώπιόν σου σήμερον “θυσίᾳ πίονι καὶ προσδεκτῇ, καθὼς “προφανερώσας καὶ πληρώσας ὁ ἀψευδής καὶ ἀληθὶ “νὸς θεός.

4.15.35 | διὰ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ πάντων σὲ αἴνο “σὲ εὐλογῶ, σὲ δοξάζω, διὰ τοῦ αἰώνιου ἀρχιερέο ‘Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου παιδὸς, δι “σοὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ δόξα, καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰ “τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.’

4.15.36 | ἀναπέμψαντα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀμὴν καὶ πληρώσαντος τὴν προσευχὴ “οἱ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀνθρώποι ἔξηψαν τὸ πῦρ, μεγάλης “έκλαμψάσης φλογὸς θαῦμα εἶδομεν οὓς ἴδεῖν ἐδόθη “οἱ καὶ ἐτηρήθησαν εἰς τὸ ἀναγγεῖλαι τοῖς λοιποῖς γενόμενα.

4.15.37 | τὸ γὰρ πῦρ καμάρας εἶδος ποιῆσαη “ώσπερ ὡσπερ ὄθόνης πλοίου ὑπὸ πνεύματος πληρουμένης “κύκλῳ περιετείχισε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ μάρτυρος, καὶ ἦν “εἰς μέσον οὐχ ὡς σάρξ καιομένη, ἀλλ’ ὡς χρυσο “καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν καμίνῳ πυρούμενος. καὶ γὰρ εὐα “δίας τοιαύτης ἀντελαβόμεθα, ὡς λιβανωτοῦ πνέοη “τοῖς ἥ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν τιμίων ἀρωμάτων.

4.15.38 | πε ‘ρας γοῦν ιδόντες οἱ ἄνομοι μὴ δυνάμενον τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς δαπανηθῆναι ἐκέλευσαν προσελ “θόντα αὐτῷ κομφέκτορα παραβῦσαι τὸ ξίφος.

4.15.34 | In which I may be accepted before you today as a rich and pleasing sacrifice, just as the true and faithful God has made clear and fulfilled.

4.15.35 | For this reason, I praise you and bless you for all things, through the eternal high priest Jesus Christ, your beloved child. To you, with him, in the holy spirit, be glory, now and for the ages to come. Amen.

4.15.36 | And after he sent up the amen and fulfilled the prayer, the people of fire set the fire ablaze. We saw a great wonder of a shining flame, which was given to those who were to see it, and they were kept safe to announce what happened to the others.

4.15.37 | For the fire took the form of a chamber, just as a ship's sail is filled by the wind. It surrounded the body of the martyr in a circle, and it was in the middle, not as flesh burning, but like gold and silver being refined in a furnace. And we also perceived a sweet smell, like the fragrance of incense or some other precious perfume.

4.15.38 | Then, seeing this, the lawless ones, unable to destroy the body by the fire, ordered a soldier to approach and pierce it with a sword.

4.15.39 | “καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντος ἔξηλθε πλῆθος αἵματος, ὥστε ‘κατασβέσαι τὸ πῦρ, καὶ θαυμάσαι πάντα τὸν ὄχλον, “εἱ τοσαύτῃ τις διαφορὰ μεταξὺ τῶν τε ἀπίστων καὶ “τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν, ὡν εῖς καὶ οὗτος γέγονεν ὁ θαυμα“σιώτατος ἐν τοῖς καθ’ ἡμᾶς χρόνοις διδάσκαλος ἀπὸ“στολικὸς καὶ προφητικὸς, γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς “ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. πᾶν γὰρ ῥῆμα, ὃ “ἀφῆκεν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐτελειώθη καὶ “τελειωθήσεται.

4.15.40 | ὁ δὲ ἀντίζηλος καὶ βάσκανος καὶ “πονηρὸς, ὁ ἀντικείμενος τῷ γένει τῶν δικαίων, ἵδων “τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς μαρτυρίας καὶ τὴν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς “ἀνεπίληπτον αὐτοῦ πολιτείαν, ἐστεφανωμένον τε τὸν ‘τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον καὶ βραβεῖον ἀναντίρρη“τον ἀπενηγμένον, ἐπετήδευσεν ὡς μηδὲ τὸ σω“μάτιον αὐτοῦ ὑφ’ ἡμῶν ληφθείη, καίπερ πολλῶν ἐπιθυμούντων τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, καὶ κοινωνῆσαι τῷ ἀγίῳ αὐτοῦ σαρκίᾳ.

4.15.41 | ὑπέβαλον γοῦν τινες Νι“κήτην, τὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου πατέρα, ἀδελφὸν Ἀλκης, “ἐντυχεῖν τῷ ἡγεμόνι, ὥστε μὴ δοῦναι αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα, μὴ, φησὶν, ἀφέντες τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, τοῦ“τον ἄρξωνται σέβειν. καὶ ταῦτα εἴπον ὑποβαλόντων καὶ ἐνισχυσάντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οἱ καὶ ἐτήρησαν μελλόντων ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι οὔτε τὸν Χριστόν ποτε καταλιπεῖν “δυνησόμεθα, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τῶν σωζομένων σωτηρίας παθόντα, οὔτε ἔτερόν τινα σέβειν.

4.15.39 | And when this was done, a great amount of blood came out, enough to put out the fire, and all the crowd marveled, asking how such a difference could exist between the unbelievers and the chosen ones. Among these was the most wonderful teacher in our times, an apostolic and prophetic bishop of the universal church in Smyrna. For every word that came from his mouth was fulfilled and will be fulfilled.

4.15.40 | But the opponent, who was envious, wicked, and opposed to the race of the righteous, seeing the greatness of his martyrdom and his unblemished life from the beginning, with the crown of incorruption and the unmatched prize placed upon him, took care that even his body would not be taken by us, although many desired to do this and to share in his holy flesh.

4.15.41 | Some suggested to Nicetas, the father of Herod, brother of Alcaeus, to approach the governor so that he would not give up the body, saying that if they left the crucified one, they would start to worship him. And this was said by the Jews who were urging and strengthening this, who also kept watch to take him from the fire, not knowing that we could never abandon Christ, who suffered for the salvation of the whole world, nor worship anyone else.

4.15.42 | τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ ὄντα υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ προσκυνοῦμεν, τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας ὡς μαθητὰς καὶ μιμητὰς τοῦ κυρίου ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως, ἐνεκα εύνοίας ἀνυπερβλήτου τῆς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον βασιλέα καὶ διδάσκαλον· ὧν γένοιτο καὶ ἡμᾶς συγκοινωνούς τε καὶ “συμμαθητὰς γενέσθαι.

4.15.43 | ίδων οὖν ὁ ἐκατοντάρχης τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων γενομένην φιλονεικίαν, θεὶς αὐτὸν ἐν μέσῳ, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, ἔκαυσεν. οὕτως τε “ἡμεῖς ὑστερον ἀνελόμενοι τὰ τιμιώτερα λίθων πο“λυτελῶν καὶ δοκιμώτερα ὑπὲρ χρυσίον ὄστα αὐτοῦ “ἀπεθέμεθα ὅπου καὶ ἀκόλουθον ἦν.

4.15.44 | ἐνθα ὡς “δυνατὸν ἡμῖν συναγομένοις ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καὶ χαρδ “παρέξει ὁ κύριος ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ “ἡμέραν γενέθλιον, εἴς τε τὴν τῶν προηθληκότων “μνήμην καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἀσκησίν τε καὶ ἐτοιμα“σίαν.

4.15.45 | τοιαῦτα τὰ κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Πολύκαρπον, σὺν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φιλαδελφείας δωδέκατον ἐν “Σμύρνῃ μαρτυρήσαντα, ὃς μόνος ὑπὸ πάντων μᾶλλον μνημονεύεται, ὡς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἑθνῶν ἐν παντὶ “τόπῳ λαλεῖσθαι.”

4.15.46 | τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν θαυμάσιον καὶ ἀποστολικὸν Πολύκαρπον τοιούτου κατηξίωτο τέλους, τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σμυρναίων ἐκκλησίᾳ(??) ἀδελφῶν τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐν ᾧ δεδηλώκαμεν αὐτῶν ἐπιστολῇ κατατεθειμένων. ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ δὲ

4.15.42 | For we worship this one as the Son of God, and we honor the martyrs as students and imitators of the Lord, because of the unmatched favor toward their own king and teacher. May it be that we also become partners and fellow students with them.

4.15.43 | Seeing the argument that arose among the Jews, the centurion placed him in the middle, as was their custom, and burned him. Thus, later we took away the more precious stones and the more valuable bones than gold, and we laid them down where there was also a follower.

4.15.44 | There, as we gather together in joy and happiness, the Lord will grant us to celebrate the birthday of his martyr, both in memory of those who have already competed and for the training and preparation of those who will come.

4.15.45 | Such are the things about the blessed Polycarp, along with the twelfth martyr from Philadelphia, who is remembered more than all the others, as he is spoken of by the nations in every place.

4.15.46 | Indeed, such was the end that the wonderful and apostolic Polycarp deserved, of the history of the brothers from the church of Smyrna, which we have made clear in their letter that has been preserved. In that same writing, other

περὶ αὐτοῦ(??) γραφῇ καὶ ἄλλα μαρτύρια συνῆπτο κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν Σμύρναν πεπραγμένα ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν περίοδον του χρόνου τῆς τοῦ Πολυκάρπου μαρτυρίας, μεθ' ὧν καὶ Μητρόδωρος τῆς κατὰ Μαρκίωνα πλάνης πρεσβύτερος δὴ εἶναι δοκῶν πυρὶ παραδοθεὶς ἀνήρηται.

testimonies were also included about what happened in Smyrna during the same time period of Polycarp's martyrdom, among which is also mentioned that Metrodorus, an elder from the community against Marcion, was believed to have been put to death by fire.

4.15.47 | τῶν γε μὴν τότε περιβόητος μάρτυς εἰς τις ἐγνωρίζετο Πιόνιος, οὗ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ὅμολογίας, τὴν τε τοῦ λόγου παρρησίαν, καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀπολογίας, διδασκαλικάς τε δημηγορίας, καὶ ἔτι τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ὑποπεπτωκότας τῷ κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν πειρασμῷ δεξιώσεις, παραμυθίας τε ἃς ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρκτῆς τοῖς παρ' αὐτὸν είσαφικνουμένοις ἀδελφοῖς παρετίθετο, ἃς τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπέμεινε βασάνους τε καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ ταύταις ἀλγηδόνας καθηλώσεις τε, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς πυρᾶς καρτερίαν, τὴν τε ἐφ' ἅπασι τοῖς παραδόξοις αὐτοῦ τελευτὴν πληρέστατα τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφῆς περιεχούσης, τοὺς οὓς φίλον ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀναπέμψομεν, τοῖς τῶν ἀρχαίων συναχθεῖσιν ἡμῖν μαρτυρίοις ἐντεταγμένην.

4.15.47 | At that time, a certain well-known martyr named Pionius was recognized, whose detailed confessions, boldness in speech, and defenses for the faith before the people and the leaders were noted. He gave teachings and speeches, and also offered encouragement to those who had fallen during the persecution. He provided comfort to the brothers who came to him in prison, and he endured tortures and pains, showing patience in the fire. His death was described in full detail in the writings about him, which we will send to those whom we consider friends, along with the testimonies of the ancient martyrs gathered with us.

4.15.48 | ἐξῆς δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἐν Περγάμῳ πόλει τῆς Ἀσίας ὑπομνήματα μεμαρτυρηκότων φέρεται, Κάρπου καὶ Παπύλου καὶ γυναικὸς Ἀγαθονίκης, μετὰ πλείστας καὶ διαπρεπεῖς ὅμολογίας ἐπιδόξως τετελειωμένων.

4.15.48 | Next, there are also records of other martyrs in the city of Pergamum in Asia, including Carpus, Papylus, and a woman named Agathonica, who all completed their testimonies with many and notable confessions.

## Section 16

4.16.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 32] Κατὰ τούτους δὲ καὶ ὁ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἡμῖν δηλωθεὶς Ἰουστῖνος, δεύτερον ὑπὲρ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς

4.16.1 | According to these, the previously mentioned Justin, having written a second book about our beliefs and presented it to

δογμάτων βιβλίον ἀναδούς τοῖς  
δεδηλωμένοις ἄρχουσι, θεῖω  
κατακοσμεῖται μαρτυρίῳ, φιλοσόφου  
Κρίσκεντος (τὸς φερώνυμον δὲ οὐτος τῇ  
Κυνικῇ προσηγορίᾳ βίον τε καὶ τρόπον  
έζήλου) τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτῷ  
καταρτύσαντος, ἐπείπερ πλεονάκις ἐν  
διαλόγοις ἐπ' ἀκροατῶν εὔθύνας αὐτὸν τὰ  
νικητήρια τελευτῶν ὑπὲρ ής ἐπρέσβευεν  
ἀληθείας διὰ τοῦ μαρτυρίου τοῦ κατ'  
αὐτὸν ἀνεδήσατο.

4.16.2 | τοῦτο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ταῖς ἀληθείαις  
φιλοσοφώτατος ἐν τῇ δεδηλωμένῃ  
ἀπολογίᾳ σαφῶς οὕτως, ὡσπερ οὖν καὶ  
ἔμελλεν ὅσον οὕτω περὶ αὐτὸν  
συμβήσεσθαι, προλαβὼν ἀποσημαίνει  
τούτοις τοῖς ὅρμασι

4.16.3 | 'κάγῳ οὖν προσδοκῶ ὑπό τινος  
τῶν ὀνομασμένων ἐπιβουλευθῆναι, καν  
ξύλῳ ἐντιναγῆναι, ἢ καν ὑπὸ "Κρίσκεντος  
τοῦ ἀφιλοσόφου ἢ καὶ φιλοκόμπου. οὐ γάρ  
φιλόσοφον εἴπεν ἄξιον τὸν ἄνδρα, ὃς γε  
περὶ ὃν μὴ ἐπίσταται δημοσίᾳ  
καταμαρτυρεῖ, ὡς ἀθέων καὶ ἀσεβῶν  
Χριστιανῶν ὄντων, πρὸς χάριν καὶ ἡδονὴν  
τῶν πολλῶν πεπλανημένως τοῦτο  
πράττων.

4.16.4 | εἴτε γάρ μὴ ἐντυχῶν τοῖς τοῦ  
Χριστοῦ διδάγμασι 'κατατρέχει ημῶν,  
παμπόνηρός ἐστι καὶ ἴδιωτῶν πολὺ χείρων,  
οἱ φυλάττονται πολλάκις περὶ ὃν οὐκ ἐπὶ  
στανται διαλέγεσθαι καὶ ψευδομαρτυρεῖν,  
καὶ εἰ ἐν τυχών μὴ συνῆκε τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς  
μεγαλεῖον, ἢ συνεῖς "πρὸς τὸ μὴ  
ὑποπτευθῆναι τοιοῦτος ταῦτα ποιεῖ, πολὺ  
"μᾶλλον ἀγεννῆς καὶ παμπόνηρος,

the declared leaders, is adorned with a divine testimony. He was supported by the philosopher Crescens, who was known for his Cynic lifestyle and manner of living. Crescens, having plotted against him, often challenged him in dialogues before the audience, and Justin, through his testimony, revealed the truth for which he was an advocate.

4.16.2 | This very thing, the most philosophical one regarding the truths, clearly states in his well-known apology that, just as it was about to happen concerning him, he anticipates and points out with these very words.

4.16.3 | And I therefore expect to be plotted against by one of those named, whether by some wooden instrument or by Crescens, the unphilosophical and deceitful one. For it is not worthy to call a man a philosopher who publicly testifies about things he does not understand, claiming that Christians are godless and impious, doing this for the pleasure and favor of the many, while being misguided.

4.16.4 | For if he does not encounter the teachings of Christ, he is very wicked and much worse than common people, who often guard against discussing things they do not understand and bear false witness. And if he happens to not grasp the greatness in them, or if he understands and does these things to avoid suspicion, he is much more base and very wicked, being

ίδιωτικῆς καὶ ἀλό “γου δόξης καὶ φόβου  
έλάττων ὡν

4.16.5 | καὶ γὰρ προ θέντα με καὶ  
έρωτήσαντα αὐτὸν ἔρωτήσεις τινὰς  
“τοιαύτας μαθεῖν καὶ ἐλέγχαι, ὅτι ἀληθῶς  
μηδὲν ἐπί“σταται, εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς βούλομαι.  
καὶ ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, “εἰ μὴ ἀνηνέχθησαν  
ὑμῖν αἱ κοινωνίαι τῶν λόγων, ἔτοιμος καὶ  
ἐφ’ ὑμῶν κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἔρωτήσεων πάλιν·  
βασιλικὸν δ’ ἀν καὶ τοῦτο ἔργον εἴη.

4.16.6 | εἰ δὲ καὶ “έγνώσθησαν ὑμῖν αἱ  
έρωτήσεις μου καὶ αἱ ἔκεινου “ἀποκρίσεις,  
φανερὸν ὑμῖν ἔστιν ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν  
ἡμετέρων ἐπίσταται· ἢ εἰ ἐπίσταται, διὰ  
τοὺς ἀκούον“οντας δὲ οὐ τολμᾶ λέγειν, ὡς  
πρότερον ἔφην, οὐ “φιλόσοφος, ἀλλὰ  
φιλόδοξος ἀνὴρ δείκνυται, ὃς γε “μηδὲ τὸ  
Σωκρατικὸν ἀξέραστον ὃν τιμᾶ.” ταῦτα  
μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἰουστῖνος.

4.16.7 | ὅτι δὲ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόρρησιν  
πρὸς τοῦ Κρίσκεντος συσκευασθεὶς  
ἔτελειώθη, Τατιανὸς ἀνὴρ τὸν πρῶτον  
αὐτοῦ βίον σοφιστεύσας ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήνων  
μαθήμασι, καὶ δόξαν οὐ σμικρὰν ἐν αὐτοῖς  
ἀπενηγμένος, πλεῖστά τε συγγράμμασιν  
αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν μνημεῖα, ἐν τῷ πρὸς  
“Ἑλληνας ἴστορεῖ λέγων ὕδε πως “καὶ ὁ  
Θαυμασιώτατος Ἰουστῖνος ὅρ“θῶς  
έξεφώνησεν ἐοικέναι τοὺς προειρημένους  
λησταῖς.”

4.16.8 | εἶτ' ἐπειπὼν τινα περὶ τῶν  
φιλοσόφων ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα “Κρίσκης γοῦν,  
ὅ ἐννεοττεύσας τῇ “μεγάλῃ πόλει,

lesser in private and foolish glory and fear.

4.16.5 | And indeed, after I had placed  
questions before him and asked him  
certain questions to learn and to challenge  
him, I want you to know that he truly  
understands nothing. And that I speak the  
truth, if the gatherings of words have not  
been presented to you, I am ready to share  
the questions with you again; this would  
indeed be a royal task.

4.16.6 | "But if my questions and his  
answers have been known to you, it is clear  
to you that he understands nothing of our  
matters; or if he does understand, he does  
not dare to speak because of those who are  
listening. As I said before, he is not a  
philosopher, but a man who seeks glory,  
who does not even honor the Socratic  
worth of knowledge." Thus speaks Justin.

4.16.7 | That according to his own  
prophecy, he was prepared and completed  
in the presence of Criskentos, Tatian, a man  
who first engaged in sophistry in the  
teachings of the Greeks, and having gained  
no small reputation among them, left  
behind many writings as a memorial. In his  
account to the Greeks, he says something  
like this: 'And the most wonderful Justin  
rightly declared that those mentioned  
before are like robbers.'

4.16.8 | Then, after saying something about  
the philosophers, he adds this: 'Indeed,  
Criskis, who spoke in the great city,

παιδεραστίᾳ μὲν πάντας ὑπερήνεγκε,  
‘φιλαργυρίᾳ δὲ πάνυ προσεχῆς ἦν.

4.16.9 | Θανάτου δὲ “ὸ καταφρονεῖν συμβουλεύων οὕτως αὐτὸς ἐδεδίει “τὸν θάνατον ώς καὶ Ἰουστῖνον καθάπερ μεγάλῳ “κακῷ τῷ θανάτῳ περιβαλεῖν πραγματεύσασθαι, διότι κηρύττων τὴν ἀλήθειαν λίχνους τοὺς φιλοσόφους “καὶ ἀπατεῶνας ἔξηλεγχεν.” καὶ τὸ μὲν κατὰ Ἰουστῖνον μαρτύριον τοιαύτην εἴληχε τὴν αἰτίαν.

## Section 17

4.17.1 | [Nic. H. E. III, 33] ‘Ο δ’ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ πρὸ τοῦ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀγῶνος ἐτέρων πρὸ αὐτοῦ μαρτυρησάντων ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει ἀπολογίᾳ, χρησίμως τῇ ὑποθέσει καὶ ταῦτα ἴστορῶν.

4.17.2 | γράφει δὲ ὡδε “γυνή τις συνεβίου ἄνδρὶ ἀκολασταίνοντι, ἀκολασταίνουσα καὶ αὐτὴ πρότερον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ “τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδάγματα ἔγνω, ἐσωφρονίσθη, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ὅμοιώς σωφρονεῖν πείθειν ἐπειρᾶτο, τὰ δι’δάγματα ἀναφέρουσα, τὴν τε μέλλουσαν τοῖς οὐ σω“φρόνως καὶ μετὰ λόγου ὄρθοῦ βιοῦσιν ἔσεσθαι ἐν “αἰώνιῷ πυρὶ κόλασιν ἀπαγγέλλουσα.

4.17.3 | ὁ δὲ ταῖς “αύταῖς ἀσελγείαις ἐπιμένων ἀλλοτρίαν διὰ τῶν πράξεων ἐποιεῖτο τὴν γαμετήν. ἀσεβὲς γάρ ἡγουμένη “τὸ λοιπὸν ἡ γυνὴ συγκατακλίνεσθαι ἄνδρὶ παρὰ “τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον καὶ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον πόρους

surpassed everyone in pederasty, but was very devoted to greed.'

4.16.9 | "Regarding death, he who advises to despise it was himself afraid of death, just as Justin was, as if he were dealing with a great evil of death, because by proclaiming the truth, he exposed the philosophers as deceivers." And the testimony about Justin has taken on such a reason.

4.17.1 | But the same man, before the contest against him, mentions in his earlier defense those who testified before him, usefully relating to the argument and telling these things.

4.17.2 | It writes like this: 'A certain woman, living with a man who was living immorally, was also living immorally herself before. But when she learned the teachings of Christ, she became sensible and tried to persuade her husband to be sensible as well, bringing up the teachings and announcing that those who live without sense and without proper reason will face punishment in eternal fire.'

4.17.3 | But he, continuing in the same immoral actions, made his wife a stranger through his deeds. For the woman, considering it wrong, wanted to separate from the man, since he was going against the natural law and the right way of

“ἡδονῆς ἐκ παντὸς πειρωμένῳ ποιεῖσθαι τῆς συζυγίας χωρισθῆναι ἐβουλήθη.

4.17.4 | καὶ ἐπεὶ ἔξεδυσω “πεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῆς, ἵτι προσμένειν συμβουλευόν “των, ὡς εἰς ἐλπίδα μεταβολῆς ἥξοντός ποτε τοῦ “ἀνδρὸς, βιαζομένη ἐαυτὴν ἐπέμενεν.

4.17.5 | ἐπειδὴ δὲ “ὸ ταύτης ἀνὴρ εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πορευθεὶς χα “λεπώτερα πράττειν ἀπηγγέλθη, ὅπως μὴ κοινωνὸς “τῶν ἀδικημάτων καὶ ἀσεβημάτων γένηται, μένουσα “ἐν τῇ συζυγίᾳ, καὶ ὅμοδίαιτος καὶ ὄμόκοιτος γινο “μένη, τὸ λεγόμενον παρ’ ἡμῖν ῥεπούδιον δοῦσα “έχωρίσθη.

4.17.6 | ὁ δὲ καλὸς κάγαθὸς ταύτης ἀνὴρ, δέον “αὐτὸν χαίρειν, ὅτι ἂ πάλαι μετὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν καὶ “τῶν μισθοφόρων εὐχερῶς ἐπραττε, μέθαις χαίρουσα “καὶ κακίᾳ πάσῃ, τούτων μὲν τῶν πράξεων πέπαυτο, “καὶ αὐτὸν τὰ αὐτὰ παύσασθαι πράττοντα ἐβούλετο, μὴ βουλομένου ἀπαλλαγείσης κατηγορίαν πεποίηται, “λέγων λέγων αὐτὴν Χριστιανὴν εἶναι.

4.17.7 | καὶ ἡ μὲν βιβλί “διόν διόν σοι τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἀναδέδωκε, πρότερον συγ “χωρισθῆναι αὐτῇ διοικήσασθαι τὰ ἐαυτῆς ἀξιοῦσα, ὁ ἐπειτα ἀπολογήσασθαι περὶ τοῦ κατηγορήματος μετὰ ‘τὴν τᾶν πραγμάτων αὐτῆς διοίκησιν. καὶ συνεχώ “ρησας τοῦτο.

enjoying marriage, trying to take pleasure from everything.

4.17.4 | And since she was being urged by her own people to wait, hoping that her husband would change someday, she forced herself to stay.

4.17.5 | But when her husband went to Alexandria and was reported to be acting even more wickedly, she did not want to share in his wrongdoings and evil actions. Remaining in the marriage, she became both a partner and a companion, but she was separated, giving what we call a 'divorce'.

4.17.6 | But this good and noble man, wanting to be happy, stopped doing the things he used to do easily with his servants and hired workers. He was enjoying himself and indulging in all kinds of bad behavior. He wanted to stop these actions and for him to stop doing the same things, but he did not want to be freed from the accusation, saying that she was a Christian.

4.17.7 | And she gave the book to the emperor, asking first to be allowed to manage her own affairs, and then to defend herself against the accusation after handling her own matters. And he agreed to this.

4.17.8 | ὁ δὲ ταύτης ποτὲ ἀνὴρ, πρὸς ἐκεῖ“νην μὲν μὴ δυνάμενος τὰ νῦν ἔτι λέγειν, πρὸς Πτολεμαῖόν τινα, ὃν Οὐρβίκιος ἐκολάσατο, διδάσκαλον “ἐκείνης τῶν Χριστιανῶν μαθημάτων γενόμενον, ἐτράπετο διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ τρόπου.

4.17.9 | ἐκατόνταρχον “εἰς δεσμὰ ἐμβαλόντα τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, φίλον αὐτῷ “ὑπάρχοντα, ἐπεισε λαβέσθαι τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ ἀνερωτῆσαι εἰ, αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον, Χριστιανός ἐστι. “καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον φιλαλήθη, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀπατηλὸν “οὐδὲ ψευδολόγον τὴν γνώμην ὅντα, ὅμολογήσαντα ἐαυτὸν εἶναι Χριστιανὸν, ἐν δεσμοῖς γενέσθαι ὁ “ἐκατόνταρχος πεποίηκε, καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐν “τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ ἐκολάσατο.

4.17.10 | τελευταῖον δὲ ὅτε “ἐπὶ Οὐρβίκιον ἦχθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὅμοίως αὐτὸ τοῦτο ‘μόνον ἔξητάσθη, εἰ εἴη Χριστιανός, καὶ πάλιν τὰ “καλὰ ἐαυτῷ συνεπιστάμενος διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χρι“στοῦ διδαχὴν, τὸ διδασκαλεῖον τῆς θείας ἀρετῆς ὡμολόγησεν.

4.17.11 | ὁ γὰρ ἀρνούμενος ὅτιοῦν ἢ κα“τεγνωκὼς τοῦ πράγματος ἔξαρνος γίνεται, ἢ ἐαυτὸν “ἀνάξιον ἐπιστάμενος καὶ ἀλλότριον τοῦ πράγματος “τὴν ὅμολογίαν φεύγει. ὃν οὐδὲν πρόσεστι τῷ ἀληθινῷ Χριστιανῷ.

4.17.12 | καὶ τοῦ Οὐρβίκιον κελεύσαντος αὐτὸν ἀπαχθῆναι, Λούκιός τις, καὶ αὐτὸς ὃν ὁ Χριστιανὸς, ὅρῶν τὴν ἀλόγως οὕτω γενομένην κρίσιν, πρὸς τὸν Οὐρβίκιον ἔφη

4.17.8 | But this man's husband, unable to speak to her anymore, turned to a certain Ptolemy, whom Urbicius had appointed as a teacher of her Christian students, and he changed in this way.

4.17.9 | The centurion, having put Ptolemy in chains, who was a friend of his, persuaded him to take hold of Ptolemy and ask if he was a Christian, just this alone. And Ptolemy, being friendly but not deceitful or false in his opinion, admitted that he was a Christian. The centurion made him a prisoner and kept him in prison for a long time.

4.17.10 | But when the man was brought before Urbicius, he was examined again about just this one thing, whether he was a Christian. And again, knowing the good things for himself from the teaching of Christ, he confessed the school of divine virtue.

4.17.11 | For the one who denies anything, either becomes completely unworthy of the matter or, knowing himself to be unworthy and foreign to the matter, avoids the confession. None of this applies to the true Christian.

4.17.12 | And when Urbicius ordered him to be taken away, a certain Lucius, who was also a Christian, seeing the unreasonable judgment that had happened, said to

‘τίς ή αίτια τοῦ μήτε μοιχόν, μήτε πόρνον, μήτε ἀνδροφόνον, μήτε λωποδύτην, μήτε ἄρπαγα, μήτε ἀπλῶς ἀδίκημά τι πράξαντα ἐλεγχόμενον, ὃνόματος δὲ Χριστιανοῦ “πρωσωνυμίαν ὅμολογοῦντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον” ἔκολάσω; οὐ πρέποντα Εύσεβει αὐτοκράτορι οὐδὲ φιλοσόφῳ Καίσαρος παιδὶ, οὐδὲ Ἱερῷ συγκλήτῳ κρίνεις, ὡς Οὐρβίκιε.’

Urbicius, 'What is the reason for punishing this man, who is neither an adulterer, nor a prostitute, nor a murderer, nor a thief, nor someone who has committed any unjust act, but simply confesses the name of Christian? It is not fitting for a pious ruler, nor for a philosophical son of Caesar, nor for a sacred assembly to judge this, O Urbicius.'

4.17.13 | καὶ ὃς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἀποκρινάμενος καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λούκιον ἔφη 'δοκεῖς μοι καὶ σὺ εἶναι τοιοῦτος.' καὶ τοῦ Λουκίου φήσαντος 'μάλιστα' πάλιν καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπαχθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν. ὃ δὲ χάριν εἰδέναι ὡμολόγει· πονηρῶν γάρ δεσποτῶν τῶν τοιούτων ἀπηλλάχθαι ἐπεῖπε, καὶ παρὰ ἀγαθὸν πατέρα καὶ βασιλέα τὸν θεὸν πορεύεσθαι. καὶ ἄλλος δὲ τρίτος ἐπελθὼν κολασθῆναι προσετιμήθη." τούτοις ὁ Ἰουστῖνος εἰκότως καὶ ἀκολούθως ἀς προεμνημονεύσαμεν αὐτοῦ φωνὰς ἐπάγει λέγων "κάγὼ ούν προσδοκῶ ὑπό τινος τῶν ὀνομασμένων ἐπιβουλευθῆναι" καὶ τὰ λοιπά.

4.17.13 | And he, not answering anything else, said to Lucius, 'You seem to be such a person too.' And when Lucius said, 'Absolutely,' he ordered him to be taken away again. But he, wanting to know the reason, confessed; for he said he had escaped from such wicked rulers and was going to a good father and king, God. And another third person came forward and was added to be punished. To these, Justin rightly and fittingly brought up the voices we mentioned before, saying, 'And I too expect to be attacked by one of those named,' and the rest.

## Section 18

4.18.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 6] Πλεῖστα δὲ οὐτος καταλέλοιπεν ἡμῖν πεπαιδευμένης διανοίας καὶ περὶ τὰ θεῖα ἐσπουδακύιας ὑπομνήματα, πάσης ὥφελείας ἔμπλεα, ἐφ' ἂ τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς ἀναπέμψομεν, τὰ εἰς ἡμετέραν γνῶσιν ἐλθόντα χρησίμως παρασημηνάμενοι.

4.18.1 | This one has left us many writings of a trained mind and has studied the divine matters, full of all kinds of benefit. For these, we will send off those who love learning, marking those that have come to our knowledge usefully.

4.18.2 | ὁ μέν τις ἔστιν αὐτῷ λόγος πρὸς Ἀντωνῖνον τὸν Εύσεβῆ προσαγορευθέντα καὶ τοὺς τούτου παῖδας τὴν τε 'Ρωμαίων

4.18.2 | What is the speech to Antoninus the Pious, addressed to him and his children, and the Roman Senate, speaking

σύγκλητον προσφωνητικὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς δογμάτων, ὃ δὲ δευτέραν περιέχων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας πίστεως ἀπολογίαν, ἣν πεποίηται πρὸς τὸν τοῦ δεδηλωμένου αὐτοκράτορος διάδοχόν τε καὶ ὁμώνυμον Ἀντωνῖνον Οὐγῆρον, οὗ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος διέξιμεν.

in favor of our beliefs? And what is the second speech, a defense of our faith, which he has made to the successor and namesake of the declared emperor, Antoninus Verus, about which we have discussed the matters of the present time?

4.18.3 | καὶ ἄλλος ὃ πρὸς Ἑλληνας, ἐν ᾧ μακρὸν περὶ πλείστων παρ' ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήνων φιλοσόφοις ζητουμένων κατατείνας λόγον περὶ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων διαλαμβάνει φύσεως· ἀ οὐδὲν ἀν ἐπείγοι τὰ νῦν παρατίθεσθαι.

4.18.3 | And another speech is to the Greeks, in which he discusses at length many things sought by us and the Greek philosophers, concerning the nature of the demons. These, I would not rush to present now.

4.18.4 | καὶ αὖθις ἔτερον πρὸς Ἑλληνας εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλήλυθεν αὐτοῦ σύγγραμμα, ὃ καὶ ἐπέγραψεν ἔλεγχον. καὶ παρὰ τούτους ἄλλο περὶ θεοῦ μοναρχίας, ἣν οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν γραφῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν συνίστησι βιβλίων.

4.18.4 | And again, another work has come to us from him to the Greeks, which he also titled a refutation. And besides this, there is another about the monarchy of God, which he supports not only from our writings but also from Greek books.

4.18.5 | ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπιγεγραμμένον ψάλτης, καὶ ἄλλο σχολικὸν περὶ ψυχῆς, ἐν ᾧ διαφόρους πεύσεις προτείνας περὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν προβλήματος, τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι φιλοσόφων παρατίθεται τὰς δόξας, αἵς καὶ ἀντιλέξειν ὑπισχνεῖται, τήν τε αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἐν ἔτερῳ παραθήσεσθαι συγγράμματι.

4.18.5 | On these, it is titled 'The Psalmist,' and there is another scholarly work about the soul, in which various questions are raised about the problem at hand. The views of the Greek philosophers are presented, and he promises to argue against them, while also planning to present his own view in another work.

4.18.6 | καὶ διάλογον δὲ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους συνέταξεν, ὃν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως πρὸς Τρύφωνα τῶν τότε Ἐβραίων ἐπισημότατον πεποίηται, ἐν ᾧ τίνα τρόπον ἡ θεία χάρις αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πίστεως παρώρμησε λόγον δηλοῖ, ὅποιαν τε πρότερον περὶ τὰ φιλόσοφα μαθήματα

4.18.6 | And he also composed a dialogue with the Jews, which is considered very significant, taking place in the city of Ephesus with Trypho, one of the prominent Jews at that time. In it, he shows how divine grace urged him to speak about faith, what effort he had previously made regarding

σπουδὴν εἰσενήνεκται καὶ ὅσην ἐποιήσατο τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκθυμοτάτην ζήτησιν.

4.18.7 | Ιστορεῖ δὲ ἐν ταύτῳ περὶ Ἰουδαίων, ώς κατὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας ἐπιβουλὴν συσκευασμένων, αὐτὰ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Τρύφωνα ἀποτεινόμενος: “οὐ μόνον δὲ οὐ “μετενοήσατε ἐφ’ οἵς ἐπράξατε κακῶς, ἀλλὰ ἄνδρας “ἐκλεκτοὺς ἐκλεξάμενοι τότε ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἔξεπέμ”ψατε εἰς ἄπασαν τὴν γῆν λέγοντες αἱρεσιν ἄθεον “Χριστιανῶν πεφάνθαι, καταλέγοντές τε ταῦτα, ἀπερ καθ’ ἡμῶν οἱ ἀγνοοῦντες ἡμᾶς πάντες λέγουσιν, “ῷστε οὐ μόνον ἐσαυτοῖς ἀδικίας αἴτιοι ὑπάρχετε, ἀλλὰ “καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄπασιν ἀπλῶς ἀνθρώποις.”

4.18.8 | δὲ καὶ ὡς ὅτι μέχρι καὶ αὐτοῦ χαρίσματα προφητικὰ διέλαμπεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. μέμνηται δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰωάννου ἀποκαλύψεως, σαφῶς τοῦ ἀποστόλου αὐτὴν εἶναι λέγων. καὶ ḥρητῶν δέ τινων προφητικῶν μνημονεύει, διελέγχων τὸν Τρύφωνα, ὡσὰν περικοψάντων αὐτὰ Ἰουδαίων ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς. πλεῖστα δὲ καὶ ἔτερα παρὰ πολλοῖς φέρεται ἀδελφοῖς τῶν αὐτοῦ πόνων.

4.18.9 | οὐτωσὶ δὲ σπουδῆς εἶναι ἄξιοι καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐδόκουν οἱ τάνδρος λόγοι ως τὸν Εἰρηναῖον ἀπομνημονεύειν αὐτοῦ φωνὰς, τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ πρὸς τὰς αἱρέσεις αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα ἐπιλέγοντα “καὶ καλῶς ὁ Ἰουστῖνος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μαρκίωνα συντάγματί φησιν ὅτι αὐτῷ τῷ κυρίῳ οὐκ ἀν ἐπείσθη ἄλλον θεὸν καταγγέλλοντι παρὰ τὸν δημιουργόν,” τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως διὰ τούτων

philosophical teachings, and how intense his search for the truth was.

4.18.7 | He tells the same story about the Jews, saying that they plotted against the teaching of Christ, addressing these things to Trypho: 'Not only did you not repent for the wrongs you committed, but you also chose select men and sent them from Jerusalem to all the earth, claiming that the Christians are an atheistic sect. By saying this, you are causing injustice not only to yourselves but also to all other people.'

4.18.8 | And he also mentions that even up to that time, prophetic gifts were shining in the church. He recalls the Revelation of John, clearly stating that it is by the apostle. He also refers to certain prophetic statements, arguing against Trypho, as if the Jews had cut them out from the scripture. Moreover, many other things are reported by many brothers who share in the same struggles.

4.18.9 | Thus, they are worthy of great attention, and the ancient ones thought that the words of the man should be remembered, as Irenaeus recalls his statements. In the fourth book, while discussing the heresies, he specifically mentions, 'And Justin rightly says in his work against Marcion that I would not be persuaded by another god proclaiming besides the Creator.' And in the fifth of the

“καὶ καλῶς ὁ Ἰουστῖνος ἔφη ὅτι πρὸ μὲν  
τῆς τοῦ κυρίου παρουσίας οὐδέποτε  
έτολμησεν ὡς σα“τανᾶς βλασφημῆσαι τὸν  
θεόν, ἀτε μηδέπω “αύτοῦ τὴν κατάκρισιν.”

4.18.10 | καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἀναγκαίως εἰρήσθω,  
εἰς προτροπὴν τού μετὰ σπουδῆς τοὺς  
φιλομαθεῖς καὶ τοὺς τούτου περιέπειν  
λόγους. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τόνδε τοιαῦτα ἡν.

same argument, he says, 'And Justin rightly stated that before the presence of the Lord, Satan never dared to blaspheme God, since he had not yet received his condemnation.'

4.18.10 | And these things must be said, as an encouragement for those who love to learn and for those who are concerned with these words. And these matters are of this kind.

## Section 19

4.19.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 19] "Ηδη δὲ εἰς ὅγδοον  
ἔλαυνούσης ἔτος τῆς δηλουμένης  
ἡγεμονίας τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τὴν  
ἐπισκοπὴν Ἀνίκητον ἔνδεκα τοῖς πᾶσιν  
ἔτεσι διελθόντα Σωτὴρ διαδέχεται. ἀλλὰ  
καὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων παροικίας  
Κελαδίωνος τέτταρσιν ἐπὶ δέκα ἔτεσι  
προστάντος τὴν διαδοχὴν Ἅγριππινος  
διαλαμβάνει.

4.19.1 | Now, in the eighth year of the well-known leadership of the Roman church, after eleven years, Soter takes over the episcopate. But also, after ten years of the Alexandrian community, Agrippinus takes over the leadership.

## Section 20

4.20.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 19] Τηνικαῦτα καὶ ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τῆς Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησίας Θεόφιλος ἔκτος  
ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγνωρίζετο, τετάρτου  
μὲν τῶν ἑκεῖσε μετὰ Ἡρωνα καταστάντος  
Κορνηλίου, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν πέμπτῳ βαθμῷ  
τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν Ἔρωτος διαδεξαμένου.

4.20.1 | At that time, Theophilus was recognized as the sixth bishop of the church in Antioch, after the apostles. He took over after Cornelius, who became bishop in the fourth year after Heron, and then Erastus took over in the fifth position.

## Section 21

4.21.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 19] "Ηκμαζον δὲ ἐν  
τούτοις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἡγήσιππός τε,  
ஓν ἵσμεν ἐκ τῶν προτέρων, καὶ Διονύσιος  
Κορινθίων ἐπίσκοπος, Πινυτός τε ἄλλος

4.21.1 | During this time, Hegesippus was flourishing in the church, whom we know from earlier sources, along with Dionysius, the bishop of Corinth, and Pinytus, another

τῶν ἐπὶ Κρήτης ἐπίσκοπος, Φίλιππός τε ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ Ἀπολινάριος καὶ Μελίτων,  
Μουσανός τε καὶ Μόδεστος, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν  
Εἰρηναῖος, ὃν καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς τῆς ἀποστολικῆς  
παραδόσεως ἡ τῆς ὑγιοῦς πίστεως  
ἔγγραφος κατῆλθεν ὁρθοδοξίᾳ.

bishop from Crete, and Philip, and Apollinaris, and Melito, and Musanus, and Modestus. And above all, Irenaeus, from whom the written teachings of the healthy faith of the apostolic tradition came down to us.

## Section 22

4.22.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 7] Ὁ μὲν οὖν  
Ἡγήσιππος ἐν πέντε τοῖς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔλθουσιν  
ὑπομνήμασι τῆς ἴδιας γνώμης πληρεστάτην  
μνήμην καταλέλοιπεν, ἐν οἷς δηλοῖ ὡς  
πλείστοις ἐπισκόποις συμμίξειν,  
ἀποδημίαν στειλάμενος μέχρι Ῥώμης, καὶ  
ὡς ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν παρὰ πάντων παρείληφε  
διδασκαλίαν. ἀκοῦσαι γέ τοι πάρεστι μετά  
τινα περὶ τῆς Κλήμεντος πρὸς Κορινθίους  
ἐπιστολῆς αὐτῷ είρημένα ἐπιλέγοντος  
ταῦτα

4.22.1 | Hegesippus, in five writings that have come to us, left the most complete memory of his own opinion, in which he shows that he met with most bishops, sending messages all the way to Rome, and that he received the same teaching from everyone. Indeed, it is possible to hear some things mentioned about the letter of Clement to the Corinthians.

4.22.2 | “καὶ ἐπέμενεν ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡ  
Κορινθίων ἐν τῷ ὄρθῳ λόγῳ μέχρι Πρίμου  
ἐπισκοπεύοντος ἐν Κορίνθῳ· οἵς συνέμιξα  
πλέων εἰς Ῥώμην, καὶ συνδιέτριψα τοῖς  
Κορινθίοις ἡμέρας ἱκανάς, ἐν αἷς  
συναντήθησαν τῷ ὄρθῳ λόγῳ.

4.22.2 | And the church of the Corinthians remained in the 'true word' until Primus was bishop in Corinth. I joined them more than once in Rome, and I spent enough days with the Corinthians, during which we shared in the true word.

4.22.3 | γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ “διαδοχὴν  
ἐποιησάμην μέχρις Ἀνικήτου, οὗ διάκονος  
“ἥν Ἐλεύθερος. καὶ παρὰ Ἀνικήτου  
διαδέχεται Σωτὴρ, μεθ’ ὧν Ελεύθερος. ἐν  
ἐκάστῃ δὲ διαδοχῇ καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει  
οὕτως ἔχει ὡς ὁ νόμος κηρύσσει καὶ οἱ  
προφῆται καὶ ὁ κύριος.”

4.22.3 | Having been in Rome, I made a succession up to Anicetus, of whom Eleutherus was a deacon. And from Anicetus, Soter takes over, with whom is Eleutherus. In each succession and in each city, it is the same as the law proclaims, and the prophets and the Lord.

4.22.4 | ὁ δ' αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν  
αἰρέσεων τὰς ἀρχὰς ὑποτίθεται διὰ

4.22.4 | He also lays out the beginnings of the heresies that came after him. And after

τούτων “καὶ μετὰ τὸ μαρτυρῆσαι Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ὡς καὶ ὁ κύριος ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ, πάλιν ὁ ἐκ θείου αὐτοῦ Συμεὼν ὁ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ καθίσταται ἐπίσκοπος, ὃν προέθεντο πάντες ὅντα ἀνεψιὸν τοῦ κυρίου δεύτερον. διὰ τοῦτο ἐκάλουν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρθένον· οὕπω γάρ ἔφθαρτο ἀκοαῖς ματαίαις.

4.22.5 | ἄρχεται δ' ὁ Θέβουθις διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὑπὸ “φθείρειν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπτὰ αἰρέσεων ὧν (καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἐν τῷ λαῷ), ἀφ' ὧν Σίμων, ὅθεν οἱ Σιμωνιαὶ “νοὶ, καὶ Κλεόβιος, ὅθεν Κλεοβιηνοὶ, καὶ Δοσίθεος, “ὅθεν Δοσιθεανοὶ, καὶ Γορθαῖος, ὅθεν Γοραθηνοὶ, καὶ Μασβώθεος, ὅθεν Μασβάθεοι· ἀπὸ τούτων “Μενανδριανισταὶ καὶ μαρκιωνισταὶ καὶ Καρποκρατιανοὶ καὶ Οὐαλεντινιανοὶ καὶ Βασιλειδιανοὶ καὶ ἕκαστος ἰδίως καὶ ἐτέρως ἰδίαν δόξαν παρεισηγάγοσαν.

4.22.6 | ἀπὸ τούτων ψευδόχριστοι, ψευδοπροφῆται, ψευδαπόστολοι, οἵτινες ἐμέρισαν τὴν ἔνωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας φθοριμαίοις λόγοις κατὰ ‘τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ’.

4.22.7 | ἔτι δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ τὰς πάλαι γεγενημένας παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις αἰρέσεις ἴστορεῖ λέγων “ἥσαν δὲ γνῶμαι διάφοροι ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ ἐν υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ τῶν κατὰ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὗται· Ἐσσαῖοι, Γαλιλαῖοι, Ημεροβαπτισταὶ, Μασβώθειο, Σαμαρεῖται, Σαδδου“καίοι,

the martyrdom of James the Just, just as the Lord spoke the same word, Simon, the son of Cleopas, is appointed bishop by divine authority, whom everyone placed as a second cousin of the Lord. For this reason, they called the church a virgin; for it had not yet been corrupted by vain teachings.

4.22.5 | Then Thebuthis begins to corrupt because he was not made a bishop, being one of the seven heresies (and he was also among the people), from which came Simon, from whom the Simonians come, and Cleobius, from whom the Cleobians come, and Dositheus, from whom the Dositheans come, and Gorthaeus, from whom the Gorathians come, and Masbotheus, from whom the Masbotheans come. From these came the Menandrians, the Marcionites, the Carpocratians, the Valentinians, the Basilidians, and each one individually and differently brought in their own teachings.

4.22.6 | From these came false Christs, false prophets, and false apostles, who divided the unity of the church with corrupt words against God and against Christ himself.

4.22.7 | Furthermore, he also tells about the ancient heresies among the Jews, saying, 'There were different opinions among the circumcised in the sons of Israel concerning the tribe of Judah and Christ. These were the Essenes, Galileans, Day-Baptists, Masbotheans, Samaritans, Sadducees, and

Φαρισαῖοι."

Pharisees.'

4.22.8 | καὶ ἔτερα δὲ πλεῖστα γράφει, ὃν ἐκ μέρους ἥδη πρότερον ἐμνημονεύσαμεν, οίκείως τοῖς καιροῖς τὰς ἴστορίας παραθέμενοι. ἐκ τε τοῦ καθ' Ἐβραίους εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ καὶ ἴδιως ἐκ τῆς Ἐβραϊδος διαλέκτου τινὰ τίθησιν, ἐμφαίνων ἐξ Ἐβραίων ἐσατὸν πεπιστευκέναι, καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ὡσὰν ἐξ Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἀγράφου παραδόσεως μνημονεύει.

4.22.8 | And he writes many other things, which we have already mentioned in part, presenting the histories in a way that fits the times. He includes parts from the Gospel according to the Hebrews and from the Syriac, and especially from a certain Hebrew dialect, showing that he believes himself to be from the Hebrews, and he also mentions other things as if from Jewish unwritten tradition.

4.22.9 | οὐ μόνος δὲ οὗτος, ἄλλὰ καὶ Εἰρήναιος καὶ ὁ πᾶς τῶν ἀρχαίων χορὸς πανάρετον σοφίαν τὰς Σολομῶνος παροιμίας ἑκάλουν. καὶ περὶ τῶν λεγομένων δὲ ἀποκρύφων διαλαμβάνων ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ χρόνων πρός τινων αἱρετικῶν ἀναπεπλάσθαι τινὰ τούτων ἴστορεῖ. ἄλλὰ γὰρ ἐφ' ἔτερον ἥδη μεταβατέον.

4.22.9 | This one is not alone, but also Irenaeus and the whole group of ancient writers called the Proverbs of Solomon a wonderful wisdom. And while discussing the so-called hidden things, he tells about some heretical ideas that were being spread in his own time. But indeed, it is necessary to move on to another topic.

## Section 23

4.23.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 8] Καὶ πρῶτον γε περὶ Διονυσίου φατέον ὅτι τε τῆς ἐν Κορίνθῳ παροικίας τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐγκεχείριστο θρόνον, καὶ ὡς τῆς ἐνθέου φιλοπονίας οὐ μόνοις τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' ἥδη καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς ἀφθόνως ἔκοινώνει, χρησιμώτατον ἄπασιν ἐσατὸν καθιστάς ἐν αἷς ὑπετυποῦτο καθολικαῖς πρὸς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιστολαῖς.

4.23.1 | And first, it should be said about Dionysius that he was the bishop of the community in Corinth, and that he did not only work hard for those under him, but also generously shared with those from other places, making himself very useful to all by writing letters that were addressed to the churches.

4.23.2 | ὃν ἔστιν ἡ μὲν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὁρθοδοξίας κατηχητικὴ, εἰρήνης τε καὶ ἐνώσεως ὑποθετικὴ, ἡ δὲ

4.23.2 | One letter is to the Spartans, teaching correct beliefs and suggesting peace and unity. The other letter is to the

πρὸς Ἀθηναίους διεγερτικὴ πίστεως καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πολιτείας, ἡς ὀλιγωρήσαντας ἐλέγχει, ὡσὰν μικροῦ δεῖν ἀποστάντας τοῦ λόγου, ἐξ οὗπερ τὸν προεστῶτα αὐτῶν Πούπλιον μαρτυρῆσαι κατὰ τοὺς τότε συνέβη διωγμούς.

Athenians, stirring up faith and the way of life according to the Gospel, which he criticizes for being neglected, as if they should not stray from the teachings. From this, their leader, Publius, is said to have witnessed during the persecutions that happened at that time.

4.23.3 | Κοδράτου δὲ μετὰ τὸν μαρτυρήσαντα Πούπλιον καταστάντος αὐτῶν ἐπισκόπου μέμνηται, ἐπιμαρτυρῶν ὡς διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ σπουδῆς ἐπισυναχθέντων καὶ τῆς πίστεως ἀναζωπύρησιν εἰληχότων. δῆλοι δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ὡς καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρεοπαγίτης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου προτραπεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν πίστιν κατὰ τὰ ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι δεδηλωμένα πρῶτος τῆς Ἀθήνησι παροικίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἔγκεχείριστο.

4.23.3 | After Publius, who was a martyr, Codratus is mentioned as their bishop, testifying that through his efforts, many were gathered and the faith was reignited. It is also shown that Dionysius the Areopagite, encouraged by the apostle Paul as stated in the Acts, was the first to be made bishop of the community in Athens.

4.23.4 | ἄλλη δ' ἐπιστολή τις αὐτοῦ πρὸς Νικομηδέας φέρεται, ἐν ᾧ τὴν Μαρκίωνος αἵρεσιν πολεμῶν τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας παρίσταται κανόνι.

4.23.4 | Another letter of his is said to be to the people of Nicomedia, in which he fights against the heresy of Marcion, standing by the rule of truth.

4.23.5 | καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ δὲ τῇ παροικούσῃ Γόρτυναν ἄμα ταῖς λοιπαῖς κατὰ Κρήτην παροικίαις ἐπιστείλας Φίλιππον ἐπίσκοπον αὐτῶν ἀποδέχεται, ἅτε δὴ ἐπὶ πλείσταις μαρτυρουμένης ἀνδραγαθίαις τῆς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐκκλησίας, τὴν τε τῶν αἱρετικῶν διαστροφὴν ὑπομιμήσκει φυλάττεσθαι.

4.23.5 | And to the church in Gortyna, along with the other communities in Crete, he sends a letter accepting Philip as their bishop, since he is known for many acts of bravery in the church under him. He also reminds them to be careful of the distortions of the heretics.

4.23.6 | καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ δὲ τῇ παροικούσῃ Ἀμαστρινῇ ἄμα ταῖς κατὰ Πόντον ἐπιστείλας Βακχυλίδου μὲν καὶ Ἐλπίστου ὡσὰν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ γράψαι προτρεψάντων μέμνηται, γραφῶν τε θείων ἔξηγήσεις

4.23.6 | And to the church in Amastris, along with the communities in Pontus, he sends a letter, remembering that Bacchylides and Elpistus urged him to write. He offers explanations of divine

παρατέθειται, ἐπίσκοπον αύτῶν ὄνοματι Πάλμαν ὑποσημαίνων· πολλὰ δὲ περὶ γάμου καὶ ἀγνείας τοῖς αὐτοῖς παραινεῖ, καὶ τοὺς ἐξ οἴας δ' οὗν ἀποπτώσεως, εἴτε πλημμελείας, εἴτε μὴν αἱρετικῆς πλάνης ἐπιστρέφοντας δεξιοῦσθαι προστάττει.

4.23.7 | ταύταις ἄλλῃ ἔγκατείλεκται πρὸς Κυωσσίους ἐπιστολὴ, ἐν ᾧ Πινυτὸν τῆς παροικίας ἐπίσκοπον παρακαλεῖ μὴ βαρὺ φορτίον ἐπάναγκες τὸ περὶ ἀγνείας τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπιτιθέναι, τῆς δὲ τῶν πολλῶν καταστοχάξεσθαι ἀσθενείας.

4.23.8 | πρὸς ἦν ὁ Πινυτὸς ἀντιγράφων θαυμάζει μὲν καὶ ἀποδέχεται τὸν Διονύσιον, ἀντιπαρακαλεῖ δὲ στερροτέρας ἥδη ποτὲ μεταδιδόναι τροφῆς, τελειοτέροις γράμμασιν εἰσαῦθις τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῷ λαὸν ὑποθρέψαντα, ὡς μὴ διὰ τέλους τοῖς γαλακτώδεσιν ἐνδιατρίβοντες λόγοις τῇ νηπιώδει ἀγωγῇ λάθοιεν καταγηράσαντες. δι' ἣς ἐπιστολῆς καὶ ἡ τοῦ Πινυτοῦ περὶ τὴν πίστιν ὄρθοδοξία τε καὶ φροντὶς τῆς τῶν ὑπηκόων ὡφελείας, τό τε λόγιον καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰ θεῖα σύνεσις ὡς δι' ἀκριβεστάτης ἀναδείκνυται εἰκόνος.

4.23.9 | ἔτι τοῦ Διονυσίου καὶ πρὸς Ἠρμαίους ἐπιστολὴ φέρεται, ἐπισκόπῳ τῷ τότε Σωτῆρι προσφωνοῦσα, ἐξ ἣς οὐδὲν οἷον τὸ καὶ παραθέσθαι λέξεις, δι' ὃν τὸ μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς διωγμοῦ φυλα χθὲν Ἠρμαίων ἔθος ἀποδεχόμενος ταῦτα γράφει

4.23.10 | “ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ὑμῖν ἔθος ἔστι τοῦτο, πάντας μὲ(??) “ἀδελφοὺς ποικίλως εὔεργετεῖν, ἐκκλησίαις τε πολ λαῖς ταῖς

writings and points out their bishop named Palman. He also advises them a lot about marriage and purity, and he instructs them to accept those who turn back from any wrongdoing, whether it be a fault or a heretical error.

4.23.7 | Another letter is sent to the Cyzicenes, in which he encourages Pinytus, the bishop of the community, not to place a heavy burden on the brothers regarding purity, but rather to consider the weakness of many.

4.23.8 | To which Pinytus, while writing back, admires and accepts Dionysius, and he encourages him to share stronger food. He also advises that the people under him should not be misled by childish teachings that focus too much on milk. Through this letter, Pinytus shows both the correct faith and concern for the benefit of those under him, as well as the message and understanding of divine matters, as if revealing them through a very clear example.

4.23.9 | Also, a letter of Dionysius to the Romans is reported, addressing the bishop then, Soter. From this letter, there is nothing to add in terms of words, since it accepts the Roman custom that has been kept until our time of persecution.

4.23.10 | For from the beginning, this has been your custom, to help all the brothers in various ways, sending supplies to the

κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἐφόδια πέμπειν, ὡδὸν μὲν τὴν τῶν δεομένων πενίαν ἀναψύχοντας, ἐν μετάλλαις δὲ ἀδελφοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἐπιχορηγοῦντας δι "ῶν πέμπετε ἀρχῆθεν ἐφοδίων, πατροπαράδοτον ἔθος" "Ρωμαίων Ρωμαῖοι διαφυλάττοντες, δὲ οὐ μόνον διατετήρηκεν ὁ μακάριος ὑμῶν ἐπίσκοπος Σωτῆρ", ἀλλα "καὶ ἐπηύξηκεν, ἐπιχορηγῶν μὲν τὴν διαπεμπομένην "δαψίλειαν τὴν εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους, λόγοις δὲ μακαρίοις "τοὺς ἀνιόντας ἀδελφοὺς ὡς τέκνα πατὴρ φιλόστορ "γος παρακαλῶν."

many churches in every city. Thus, you refresh the poverty of those in need, while also providing for other brothers who are in need of support through the supplies you send. This is a tradition passed down from your ancestors, which the Romans keep safe. Not only has your blessed bishop Soter maintained this, but he has also increased it, generously providing for the needs of the saints and encouraging the coming brothers like a loving father.

4.23.11 | ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ ταύτῃ καὶ τῆς Κλήμεντος πρὸς Κορινθίους μέμνηται ἐπιστολῆς, δηλῶν ἀνέκαθεν ἐξ ἀρχαίου ἔθους ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι. λέγει γοῦν "τὴν "σήμερον οὖν κυριακὴν ἀγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάγομεν, "ἐν ᾧ ἀνέγνωμεν ὑμῶν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ᾧ ἔξομεν "ἀεὶ ποτε ἀναγινώσκοντες νουθετεῖσθαι, ὡς καὶ τὴν "προτέραν ἡμῖν διὰ Κλήμεντος γραφεῖσαν."

4.23.11 | In this same letter, there is also a mention of Clement's letter to the Corinthians, showing that from ancient times it has been the custom of the church to read it. It says, 'Today, therefore, we celebrate this holy day, on which we have read your letter, which we will always read to be reminded, just as we did with the earlier one written to us by Clement.'

4.23.12 | ἔτι δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἴδιων ἐπιστολῶν ὡς ḥαδιουργηθεισῶν ταῦτά φησιν "ἐπιστολὰς γάρ ἀδελφῶν ἀξιωσάντων με γράψαι ἔγραψα. καὶ ταύτας οἱ τοῦ διαβόλου ἀπόστολοι ζιζανίων γεγέμικαν, ἢ μὲν ἔξαιροῦντες, ἢ δὲ προστιθέντες, οἵ τοι οὐαὶ κεῖται. οὐ θαυμαστὸν ἄρα εἴ καὶ τῶν κυριακῶν ḥαδιουργῆσαι 'τινες ἐπιβέβληνται γραφῶν, δόπτε καὶ ταῖς οὐ τοι 'αύταις ἐπιβεβουλεύκασι."

4.23.12 | Furthermore, he also speaks about his own letters, saying this: 'I have written letters because the brothers deemed me worthy to write. And these have been filled with weeds by the false apostles, taking some away and adding others. Woe to them! It is not surprising if some have also tampered with the letters of the Lord, whenever they have plotted against those that are not like these.'

4.23.13 | καὶ ἄλλη δέ τις παρὰ ταύτας ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Διονυσίου φέρεται, Χρυσοφόρα πιστοτάτη ἀδελφῆ

4.23.13 | And another letter from Dionysius is also mentioned, sent to his most faithful sister, Chrysophora, in which he writes about

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

## Section 24

4.24.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 9] Τοῦ δὲ Θεοφίλου, ὃν τῆς Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπον δεδηλώαμεν, τρία τὰ πρὸς Αὐτόλυκον στοιχειώδη φέρεται συγγράμματα, καὶ ἄλλο πρὸς τὴν αἴρεσιν Ἐρμογένους τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον, ἐν ᾧ ἐκ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου κέχρηται μαρτυρίαις, καὶ ἔτερα δέ τινα κατηχητικὰ αὐτοῦ βιβλία. τῶν γε μὴν αἰρετικῶν οὐδὲν χεῖρον καὶ τότε, ζιζανίων δίκην, λυμαίνομένων τὸν εἰλικρινῆ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς διδασκαλίας σπόρον, οἱ πανταχόσε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ποιμένες ὡσπερ τινὰς θῆρας ἀγρίους τῶν Χριστοῦ προβάτων ἀποσιβοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἀνεῖργον, τοτὲ μὲν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς νουθεσίαις καὶ παραινέσεσι, τοτὲ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς γυμνότερον ἀποδύμενοι, ἀγράφοις τε εἰς πρόσωπον ζητήσεσι καὶ ἀνατροπαῖς, ἥδη δὲ καὶ δι' ἐγγράφων ὑπομνημάτων τὰς δόξας αὐτῶν ἀκριβεστάτοις ἐλέγχοις διευθύνοντες. ὅ γέ τοι Θεόφιλος σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις κατὰ τούτων στρατευσάμενος δῆλός ἐστιν ἀπό τινος οὐκ ἀγεννῶς αὐτῷ κατὰ Μαρκίωνος πεπονημένου λόγου, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς μεθ' ᾧ ἄλλων είρήκαμεν είσετι νῦν διασέσωσται. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἔβδομος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τῆς Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησίας διαδέχεται Μαξιμῖνος.

## Section 25

4.25.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 9] Φίλιππός γε μὴν, ὃν ἐκ τῶν Διονυσίου φωνῶν τῆς ἐν Γορτύνῃ

what is suitable and also shares spiritual nourishment with her. And that is all from Dionysius.

4.24.1 | Of Theophilus, whom we have declared to be the bishop of the church of Antioch, three basic writings are said to be addressed to Autolycus, and another one has the title against the heresy of Hermogenes, in which he uses testimonies from the revelation of John. There are also some other catechetical books of his. As for the heretics, nothing was worse even then, like weeds, corrupting the pure seed of apostolic teaching. The shepherds of the churches everywhere, like wild beasts, kept away from the sheep of Christ, sometimes warning and advising the brothers, and at other times stripping themselves bare, seeking to confront them with unwritten challenges and overturning arguments, and now also correcting their beliefs with written records and very precise refutations. Theophilus, along with others, clearly shows that he was not of low birth, having prepared a work against Marcion, which, along with the others we have mentioned, is still preserved. Thus, the seventh bishop of the church of Antioch is Maximinus.

4.25.1 | Philip, whom we recognized as the bishop from the voices of Dionysius in the

παροικίας ἐπίσκοπον ἔγνωμεν, πάνυ γε σπουδαιότατον πεποίηται καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ Μαρκίωνος λόγον, Είρηναῖος δὲ ὡσαύτως καὶ Μόδεστος, ὃς καὶ διαφερόντως παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰς ἔκδηλον τοῖς πᾶσι κατεφώρασε πλάνην, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πλείους, ὧν παρὰ πλείστοις τῶν ἀδελφῶν είσέτι νῦν οἱ πόνοι διαφυλάττονται.

community of Gortyn, has made very important contributions himself against Marcion. Irenaeus and Modestus also did the same, with Modestus particularly highlighting the man's error more clearly than the others. There are many others as well, whose efforts are still preserved among most of the brothers today.

## Section 26

4.26.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 10] Ἐπὶ τῶνδε καὶ Μελίτων τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσι παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος, Ἀπολινάριός τε τῆς ἐν Ἱεραπόλει διαπρεπῶς ἥκμαζον, οὖς καὶ τῷ δηλωθέντι κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ λόγους ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἴδιως ἐκάτερος ἀπολογίας προσεφώνησαν.

4.26.1 | During this time, Meliton, the bishop of the community in Sardis, and Apollinarius, who was flourishing in Hierapolis, each spoke in defense of the faith with their own apologies, especially during the time of the Roman emperors.

4.26.2 | τούτων είς ἡμετέραν γνῶσιν ἀφίκται τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα: Μελίτωνος τὰ περὶ τοῦ πάσχα δύο, καὶ τὰ περὶ πολιτείας καὶ προφητῶν, καὶ ὁ περὶ ἐκκλησίας; καὶ ὁ περὶ κυριακῆς λόγος, ἔτι δὲ ὁ περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ὁ περὶ πλάσεως, καὶ ὁ περὶ ὑπακοῆς πίστεως [καὶ ὁ περὶ] αἰσθητηρίων, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὁ περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἡ νοὸς, καὶ ὁ περὶ λουτροῦ, καὶ ὁ περὶ ἀληθείας, καὶ περὶ κτίσεως καὶ γενέσεως Χριστοῦ, καὶ λόγος αὐτοῦ περὶ προφητείας, καὶ ὁ περὶ φιλοξενίας, καὶ ἡ κλείς, καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ διαβόλου, καὶ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου, καὶ ὁ περὶ ἐνσωμάτου θεοῦ, ἐπὶ πᾶσι καὶ τὸ πρὸς Ἀντωνῖνον βιβλίδιον.

4.26.2 | Among these, we have come to know the following works: two writings by Meliton about Passover, and those about the state and the prophets, and the one about the church; also, the writing about the Lord's Day, the one about the nature of man, the one about creation, and the one about obedience to the faith, as well as the one about the senses. In addition, there is the writing about the soul and body or mind, the one about baptism, the one about truth, and the one about the creation and generation of Christ. There is also his writing about prophecy, the one about hospitality, and the key, along with those about the devil, the revelation of John, and the one about the incarnate God, and finally, the little book addressed to Antoninus.

4.26.3 | έν μὲν οὖν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πάσχα τὸν χρόνον, καθ' ὃν συνέταττεν, ἀρχόμενος σημαίνει ἐν τούτοις "ἐπὶ Σερουιλίου Παύλου ἀνθυ" πάτου τῆς Ἀσίας, ὡς Σάγαρις καιρῷ ἐμαρτύρησεν, "ἔγένετο ζήτησις πολλὴ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ περὶ τοῦ πάσχα, "ἔμπεσόντος κατὰ καιρὸν ἐν ἔκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις, καὶ "ἔγραφη ταῦτα."

4.26.4 | τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου μέμνηται Κλήμης ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν ἴδιῳ περὶ τοῦ πάσχα λόγῳ, ὃν ὡς ἐξ αἰτίας τῆς τοῦ Μελίτωνος γραφῆς φησὶν ἐαυτὸν συντάξαι.

4.26.5 | ἐν δὲ τῷ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα βιβλίῳ τοιαῦτά τινα καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ γεγονέναι ἴστορε "τὸ γάρ οὐδεπώποτε γενόμενον, νῦν διώκεται τὸ τῶν θεοσεβῶν γένος, καινοῖς ἐλαυνόμενον δόγμασι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν. οἱ γάρ ἀναιδεῖς συκοφάνται καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἔρασταὶ, τὴν ἐκ τῶν διαταγμάτων ἔχοντες ἀφορμὴν, φανερῶς ληστεύουσι, νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν διαρπάζοντες τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας."

4.26.6 | καὶ μεθ' ἔτερά φησι "καὶ εἴ μὲν σου κελεύσαντος ταῦτα πράττεται, ἔστω καλῶς γινόμενον. δίκαιος γάρ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἀν ἀδίκως βουλεύσαιτο πώποτε. καὶ ἡμεῖς ἡδέως φέρομεν τοῦ τοιούτου θανάτου τὸ γέρας. ταύτην δέ σοι μόνην προσφέρομεν δέησιν, ἵνα αὐτὸς πρότερον ἐπιγνοὺς τοὺς τῆς τοιαύτης φιλονεικίας ἔργάτας δικαίως κρίνειας, εἴ ἄξιοι θανάτου καὶ τιμωρίας ἥ σωτηρίας καὶ ἡσυχίας είσιν. εἴ δὲ καὶ παρὰ σοῦ μὴ εἴη ἡ βουλὴ αὕτη καὶ τὸ καινὸν

4.26.3 | In the writings about Passover, he begins by indicating the time when he was writing, saying, 'During the time of the proconsul of Asia, Serapion, when Sagaris was martyred, there was much discussion in Laodicea about Passover, which happened during those days, and this was written down.'

4.26.4 | Clement of Alexandria mentions this writing in his own work about Passover, which he says he composed as a result of Meliton's writings.

4.26.5 | In the book addressed to the emperor, it tells about certain things that have happened to us: 'For what has never happened before is now happening, the people who worship God are being persecuted, driven by new teachings throughout Asia. The shameless are slanderers and lovers of what is not theirs, using the laws as an excuse, openly robbing, both by night and by day, those who do no wrong.'

4.26.6 | And in another part, it says: 'And if these things are done at your command, let it be done well. For a just king would never decide unjustly. And we gladly bear the honor of such a death. But we bring you only this request, that you yourself, knowing the workers of such strife, judge justly whether they are worthy of death and punishment or of salvation and peace. But if this decision and this new decree should not come from you, which is not

τοῦτο διάταγμα, ὃ μηδὲ κατὰ βαρβάρων πρέπει πολεμίων, πολὺ μᾶλλον δεόμεθά σου μὴ περιυδεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐν τοιαύτῃ δημώδει λεηλασίᾳ.”

4.26.7 | τούτοις αὗθις ἐπιφέρει λέγων ἡ γὰρ καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλοσοφία πρότερον μὲν ἐν βαρβάροις ἥκμασεν, ἐπανθήσασα δὲ τοῖς σοὶς ἔθνεσι κατὰ τὴν Αὐγούστου τοῦ σοῦ προγόνου μεγάλην ἀρχὴν, ἐγενήθη μάλιστα τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ αἴσιον ἀγαθόν. ἔκτοτε γὰρ εἰς μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν τὸ Ῥωμαίων ηὔξηθι κράτος, οὗ σὺ διάδοχος εύκταῖος γέγονάς τε καὶ ἔσῃ μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς, φυλάσσων τῆς βασιλείας τὴν σύντροφον καὶ συναρξαμένην Αὐγούστῳ φιλοσοφίαν, ἢν καὶ οἱ πρόγονοί σου πρὸς ταῖς ἄλλαις θρησκείαις ἐτίμησαν.

4.26.8 | καὶ τοῦτο μέγιστον τεκμήριον τοῦ πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγον συνακμάσαι τῇ καλῶς ἀρξαμένῃ βασιλείᾳ, ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν φαῦλον ἀπὸ τῆς Αὐγούστου ἀρχῆς ἀπαντῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον ἀπαντα λαμπρὰ καὶ ἔνδοξα κατὰ τὰς “πάντων εὐχάς.

4.26.9 | μόνοι πάντων ἀναπεισθέντες ὑπὸ “τινῶν βασκάνων ἀνθρώπων τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν διαβολῇ “καταστῆσαι λόγον ἡθέλησαν Νέρων καὶ Δομετιανὸς, “ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὸ τῆς συκοφαντίας ἀλόγῳ συνηθείᾳ “περὶ τοὺς τοιούτους ρύσηναι συμβέβηκε ψεῦδος.”

4.26.10 | ἀλλὰ τὴν ἔκείνων ἄγνοιαν οἱ σοὶ εύσεβεῖς πατέρες “ἐπηνωρθώσαντο, πολλάκις πολλοῖς ἐπιπλήξαντες

fitting even against barbarian enemies, we ask you even more not to overlook us in such a common plunder.'

4.26.7 | To these, it adds again, saying: 'For the philosophy concerning us flourished first among the barbarians, but after blooming among your nations during the great reign of your ancestor Augustus, it became a most fortunate good for your kingdom. For since then, the power of the Romans has grown great and glorious, of which you have become a desirable successor and will be, along with your child, preserving the unity of the kingdom and the philosophy that began with Augustus, which your ancestors honored alongside other religions.'

4.26.8 | And this is the greatest proof that our speech has flourished for good with the well-begun kingdom, since nothing base has come from the reign of Augustus, but on the contrary, everything is bright and glorious according to the prayers of all.

4.26.9 | Only a few people, influenced by certain envious men, wanted to slander our speech, like Nero and Domitian, from whom the falsehood of slanderous habit has happened to flow against such people.

4.26.10 | But your pious fathers corrected their ignorance, often striking back in writing against many who dared to

“έγγράφως, ὅσοι περὶ τούτων νεωτερίσαι  
έτολμησαν. “ἐν οἷς δὲ μὲν πάππος σου  
Ἄδριανὸς πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ “ἄλλοις, καὶ  
Φουνδανῷ δὲ τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ, ἡγουμένῳ “δὲ  
τῆς Ἀσίας, γράφων φαίνεται, δὲ πατήρ  
σου, “καὶ σοῦ τὰ σύμπαντα διοικοῦντος  
αὐτῷ, ταῖς πόλεσι “περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν  
νεωτερίζειν περὶ ἡμῶν ἔγραψεν, “ἐν οἷς καὶ  
πρὸς Λαρισαίους καὶ πρὸς Θεσσα. “λονικεῖς  
καὶ Ἀθηναίους καὶ πρὸς πάντας Ἑλληνας.”

4.26.11 | σὲ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον περὶ τούτων τὴν  
αὐτὴν ἔκείνοις “ἔχοντα γνώμην, καὶ πολὺ<sup>γε</sup> φιλανθρωπότεραν καὶ  
“φιλοσοφωτέραν, πεπείσμεθα πάντα<sup>πράσσειν</sup> ὅσα “σου δεόμεθα.”

4.26.12 | ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ δηλωθέντι  
“τέθειται λόγω. ἐν δὲ ταῖς γραφείσαις αὐτῷ  
“κλογαῖς δὲ αὐτὸς κατὰ τὸ προοίμιον αὐτὸ<sup>άρχόμενος</sup> “τῶν ὁμολογουμένων τῆς  
παλαιᾶς διαθήκης γραφῶν “ποιεῖται  
κατάλογον, ὃν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἐνταῦθα  
καταλέξαι. ”

4.26.13 | γράφει δὲ οὕτως “Μελίτων  
‘Ονησίμῳ τῷ “ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν ἐπειδὴ  
πολλάκις ἤξιώσας σπουδῇ “τῇ πρὸς τὸν  
λόγον χρώμενος γενέσθαι ἐκλογάς σοι “ἔκ  
τε τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν περὶ τοῦ  
σωτῆρος καὶ πάσης τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν, ἔτι  
δὲ καὶ μαθεῖν “τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν βιβλίων  
έβουλήθης ἀκρίβειαν, “πόσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν  
καὶ διποῖα τὴν τάξιν εἶν, ἐσπούδασα “τὸ  
τοιοῦτο πρᾶξαι, ἐπιστάμενός σου τὸ  
σπουδαῖον περὶ τὴν πίστιν καὶ φιλομαθὲς  
περὶ τὸν λόγον, “ὅτι τε μάλιστα πάντων  
πόθῳ τῷ πρὸς θεὸν ταῦτα προκρίνεις, περὶ

innovate about these things. Among them,  
your grandfather Hadrian seems to have  
written to many, including Fundanus, the  
governor of Asia, and your father, while  
you were managing everything, wrote to  
the cities not to innovate anything about us,  
including to the people of Larissa,  
Thessalonica, Athens, and all the Greeks.

4.26.11 | And we are convinced that you  
hold the same opinion about these things  
as they do, and it is much more kind and  
wise, that we should do everything that we  
ask of you.

4.26.12 | But these things are set forth in  
the stated speech. In the writings he has  
composed, he begins with the same things  
according to the introduction, making a list  
of the agreed-upon writings of the old  
covenant, which it is also necessary to list  
here.

4.26.13 | He writes this: 'Greetings to my  
brother Onisimus. Since you have often  
deemed it important to make selections for  
the discourse from the law and the  
prophets about the Savior and all our faith,  
and you also wished to learn the accuracy  
of the ancient books, how many there are  
and what their order is, I have worked hard  
to do this, knowing your eagerness about  
faith and your love of learning, especially  
since you choose these things with great  
desire toward God, striving for eternal  
salvation.'

τῆς αίωνίου σωτηρίας ἀγωνιξόμενος.

4.26.14 | ἀνελθὼν οὖν εἰς τὴν ἀνατολὴν, καὶ ἔως τοῦ τόπου γενόμενος ἐνθα  
έκηρύχθη καὶ ἐπράχθη, καὶ ἀκριβῶς μαθὼν τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία, ὑποτάξας ἐπεμψά σοι· ὃν ἐστὶ τὰ ὑνόματα· Μωυσέως πέντε, Γένεσις, Ἐξοδος, Ἀριθμοὶ, Λευιτικὸν, Δευτερονόμιον. Ἰησοῦς Ναυῆ, Κριταὶ,  
Ῥούθ· Βασιλειῶν τέσσαρα, Παραλειπομένων "δύο. Ψαλμῶν Δαβὶδ,  
Σολομῶνος Παροιμίαι, ἥ καὶ Σοφία,  
Ἐκκλησιαστὴς, Αισμάτων, Ἰώβ.  
Προφητῶν, Ἡσαΐου, Ὑερεμίου· τῶν δώδεκα  
ἐν μονοβίβλῳ· Δανιὴν, Ἱεζεκιὴλ, Ἔσδρας. ἐξ  
ῶν καὶ τὰς ἐκλογὰς ἐποιησάμην, εἰς ἔξ  
βιβλία διελών." καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ Μελίτωνος  
τοσαῦτα.

## Section 27

4.27.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 11] Τοῦ δὲ  
Ἀπολιναρίου πολλῶν παρὰ πολλοῖς  
σωζομένων τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα ἐστὶ τάδε·  
λόγος ὁ πρὸς τὸν είρημένον βασιλέα, καὶ  
πρὸς Ἐλληνας συγγράμματα πέντε, καὶ  
περὶ ἀληθείας πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον, καὶ  
πρὸς Ἰουδαίους πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον, καὶ  
ὰ μετὰ ταῦτα συνέγραψε κατὰ τῆς τῶν  
Φρυγῶν αἱρέσεως μετ' οὐ πολὺν  
καινοτομηθείσης χρόνον, τότε γε μὴν  
ῶσπερ ἐκφύειν ἀρχομένης,, ἔτι τοῦ  
Μοντανοῦ ἄμα ταῖς αὐτοῦ  
ψευδοπροφήτισιν ἀρχὰς τῆς παρεκτροπῆς  
ποιουμένου.

## Section 28

4.28.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 11] Καὶ Μουσανοῦ δὲ,

4.26.14 | "Therefore, having gone up to the east, and having reached the place where it was proclaimed and done, and having learned exactly the books of the old covenant, I have arranged and sent you the following names: the five of Moses: Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Leviticus, Deuteronomy. Joshua, Judges, Ruth; four of Kings, two of Chronicles. Psalms of David, Proverbs of Solomon, which is also Wisdom, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Job. Of the prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah; the twelve in one book; Daniel, Ezekiel, Ezra. From these, I made the selections, choosing six books." And these are the things of Melito.

4.27.1 | Of Apollinaris, many writings are preserved by many, and these have come to us: a speech to the mentioned king, and five writings to the Greeks, and two about truth, and two to the Jews, and what he wrote after that against the heresy of the Phrygians, which had not long been innovated, then indeed as if beginning to break forth, along with Montanus and his false prophetesses, making the beginnings of the deviation.

4.28.1 | And of Musanus, whom we have

ὅν ἐν τοῖς φθάσασι κατελέξαμεν, φέρεται τις ἐπιστρεπτικώτατος λόγος πρός τινας αὐτῷ γραφεὶς ἀδελφοὺς, ἀποκλίναντας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν λεγομένων Ἐγκρατητῶν αἵρεσιν, ἅρτι τότε φύειν ἀρχομένην, ξένην τε καὶ φθοριμαίαν ψευδοδοξίαν εἰσάγουσαν τῷ βίῳ, ἡς παρεκτροπῆς ἀρχηγὸν καταστῆναι Τατιανὸν λόγος ἔχει·

chosen among those who have come before, there is a very persuasive letter written to some brothers of his, who were turning toward the heresy of the so-called Encratites, which was just beginning to emerge at that time, introducing a strange and corrupt false teaching into life, of which the leader of the deviation is said to be Tatian.

## Section 29

4.29.1 | οὐ μικρῷ πρόσθεν τὰς περὶ τοῦ θαυμασίου Ἰουστίνου παρατεθείμεθα λέξεις, μαθητὴν αὐτὸν ἱστοροῦντες τοῦ μάρτυρος. δηλοῦ δὲ Είρήναιος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν πρὸς τὰς αἱρέσεις, ὅμοι τά τε περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν αἱρέσεως οὕτω γράφων

4.29.1 | Not long ago, we have presented the words about the marvelous Justin, telling about the disciple of the martyr. Irenaeus shows in the first of his writings against the heresies, both what is about him and about the heresy concerning him, writing in this way.

4.29.2 | “ἀπὸ Σατορνίνου καὶ Μαρκίωνος οἱ καλούμενοι Εγκρατεῖς ἀγαμίαν ἐκήρυξαν, ἀθετοῦντες τὴν ἀρχαίαν πλάσιν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἡρέμα κατηγοροῦντες τοῦ ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ εἰς γένεσιν ἀνθρώπων πεποιηκότος· καὶ τῶν λεγομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐμψύχων ἀποχὴν εἰσηγήσαντο, ἀχαριστοῦντες τῷ πάντα πεποιηκότι θεῷ· ἀντιλέγουσί τε τῇ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου σωτηρίᾳ

4.29.2 | From Saturninus and Marcion, those called Encratites proclaimed celibacy, rejecting the ancient creation of God, and quietly accusing the one who made male and female for the generation of humans. They also introduced a refusal of the so-called living beings, being ungrateful to the God who made everything, and they oppose the salvation of the first created man.

4.29.3 | καὶ τοῦτο νῦν ἔξηρέθη παρ' αὐτοῖς, Τατιανοῦ τινος πρώτως ταύτην εἰσενέγκαντος τὴν βλασφημίαν, ὃς Ἰουστίνου ἀκροατὴς γεγονὼς, ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν συνῆν ἐκείνῳ, οὐδὲν ἔξέφηνε τοιοῦτον, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου μαρτυρίαν ἀποστὰς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οἴήματι διδασκάλου ἐπαρθεὶς καὶ τυφωθεὶς ὡς διαφέρων τῶν λοιπῶν, ἴδιον χαρακτῆρα διδασκαλείου

4.29.3 | And this has now been discovered among them, that a certain Tatian first introduced this blasphemy. He was a listener of Justin, and as long as he was with him, he did not express anything like this. But after the martyrdom of Justin, he separated from the church, lifted up by the idea of a teacher and blinded as if he were different from the others. He established a

συνεστήσατο, αἱῶνάς τινας ἀοράτους  
δόμοίως τοῖς ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου  
μυθολογήσας, τὸν γάμον τε φθορὰν καὶ  
πορνείαν παραπλησίως Μαρκίωνι καὶ  
Σατορνίνῳ ἀναγορεύσας, τῇ δὲ τοῦ Ἀδάμ  
σωτηρίᾳ παρ' ἐαυτοῦ τὴν αἴτιολογίαν  
ποιησάμενος.

unique character of teaching, creating some invisible ages similar to those mythologized by Valentinus, declaring both marriage to be destruction and fornication similarly to Marcion and Saturninus, while making his own explanation for the salvation of Adam.

4.29.4 | ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Εἰρήναιος τότε·  
σμικρῷ δὲ ὕστερον Σεουηρός τις τοῦνομα  
κρατύνας τὴν προδεδηλωμένην αἵρεσιν  
αἴτιος τοῖς ἔξ αὐτῆς ὡρμημένοις τῆς ἀπ'  
αὐτοῦ παρηγμένης Σεουηριανῶν  
προσηγορίας γέγονε.

4.29.4 | These things were said by Irenaeus at that time. But later, a certain Seuerus, holding that name, became the cause of the previously mentioned sect for those who were driven by it, and he became known by the name of the Seuerians that came from him.

4.29.5 | χρῶνται μὲν ούν οὐτοι νόμῳ καὶ  
προφήταις καὶ εὐαγγελίοις, ίδιως  
ἐρμηνεύοντες τῶν Ἱερῶν τὰ νοήματα  
γραφῶν· βλασφημοῦντες δὲ Παῦλον τὸν  
ἀπόστολον ἀθετοῦσιν αὐτοῦ τὰς  
ἐπιστολὰς, μηδὲ τὰς Πράξεις τῶν  
ἀποστόλων καταδεχόμενοι.

4.29.5 | These people use the law, the prophets, and the gospels, interpreting the meanings of the sacred writings in their own way. But they blaspheme Paul the apostle, rejecting his letters and not even accepting the Acts of the Apostles.

4.29.6 | ὁ μέντοι γε πρότερος αὐτῶν  
ἀρχηγὸς ὁ Τατιανὸς συνάφειάν τινα καὶ  
συναγωγὴν ούκ οἶδ' ὅπως τῶν εὐαγγελίων  
συνθεὶς τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων τοῦτο  
προσωνόμασεν, ὃ καὶ παρά τισιν είσετι νῦν  
φέρεται. τοῦ δὲ ἀποστόλου φασὶ τολμῆσαι  
τινας αὐτὸν μεταφράσαι φωνὰς, ὡς  
ἐπιδιορθούμενον αὐτῶν τὴν τῆς φράσεως  
σύνταξιν.

4.29.6 | However, the earlier leader among them, Tatian, put together some kind of collection and named it 'the Diatessaron' from the gospels, which is still carried by some even now. They say that some have dared to translate the words of the apostle, as if correcting the arrangement of his expression.

4.29.7 | καταλέλοιπε δὲ οὗτος πολὺ τι  
πλῆθος συγγραμάτων, ὃν μάλιστα παρὰ  
πολλοῖς μνημονεύεται διαβόητος αὐτοῦ  
λόγος ὁ πρὸς Ἑλληνας, ἐν ᾧ τῶν ἀνέκαθεν

4.29.7 | This person has left behind a great number of writings, among which his famous work to the Greeks is especially remembered by many. In it, he mentions

χρόνων μνημονεύσας τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησιν εύδοκίμων ἀπάντων προγενέστερον Μωυσέα τε καὶ τοὺς Ἐβραίους προφήτας ἀπέφηνεν, ὃς δὴ καὶ δοκεῖ τῶν συγγραμμάτων ἀπάντων αὐτοῦ κάλλιστός τε καὶ ὡφελιμώτατος ὑπάρχειν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τούσδε τοιαῦτα ἦν.

from ancient times all the most respected figures among the Greeks, declaring that Moses and the Hebrew prophets came before them. This work is thought to be the most beautiful and most useful of all his writings. And these things were like this.

## Section 30

4.30.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 11] Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς βασιλείας πληθουσῶν τῶν αἱρέσεων ἐπὶ τῆς μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν Βαρδησάνης, ἱκανώτατός τις ἀνὴρ, ἔν τε τῇ Σύρων φωνῇ διαλεκτικώτατος, πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ Μαρκίωνα καὶ τινας ἐτέρους διαφόρων προϊσταμένους δογμάτων διαλόγους συστησάμενος, τῇ οἰκείᾳ παρέδωκε γλώττῃ τε καὶ γραφῇ, μετὰ καὶ πλείστων ἐτέρων αὐτοῦ συγγραμμάτων· οὓς οἱ γνώριμοι (πλεῖστοι δὲ ἡσαν αὐτῷ δυνατῶς τῷ λόγῳ παρισταμένω) ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τῆς Σύρων μεταβεβλήκασι φωνῆς

4.30.1 | During the same reign, as many heresies were growing, Bardesanes, a very capable man, was very skilled in the Syriac language. He engaged in dialogues with those who followed Marcion and some other different leaders of doctrines, presenting them in his own language and writing, along with many other works of his. Those who were knowledgeable (and many were strongly influenced by his words) translated them into Greek from the Syriac language.

4.30.2 | ἐν οἷς ἔστι καὶ ὁ πρὸς Ἀντωνῖνον ἱκανώτατος αὐτοῦ περὶ εἰμαρμένης διάλογος, ὅσα τε ἄλλα φασὶν αὐτὸν προφάσει τοῦ τότε διωγμοῦ συγγράψαι.

4.30.2 | Among these is also his very important dialogue with Antoninus about fate, as well as many other things they say he wrote because of the persecution at that time.

4.30.3 | ἦν δ' ἄρα οὗτος πρότερον τῆς κατὰ Οὐαλεντῖνον σχολῆς, καταγοὺς δὲ ταύτης, πλεῖστά τε τῆς κατὰ τοῦτον μυθοποιίας ἀπελέγχας, ἐδόκει μέν πως αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν ὥρθοτέραν γνώμην μετατεθεῖσθαι, οὐ μὴν παντελῶς γε ἀπερρύψατο τὸν τῆς παλαιᾶς αἱρέσεως ὥπον. ἐν τούτῳ γε μὴν καὶ ὁ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος Σωτὴρ τελευτᾷ.

4.30.3 | This man was previously part of the school of Valentinus, and after understanding it, he rejected most of the myths related to him. He seemed to shift toward a more correct opinion for himself, but he did not completely rid himself of the stain of the old heresy. In this time, the bishop of the Roman church, Soter, also died.

## Book Five (ΛΟΓΟΣ Ε.)

### Introduction

5.praef.1 | [Προοίμιον.] Ὁ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἀρχαίων ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος Σωτὴρ ἐπὶ ὅγδοον ἔτος ἡγησάμενος τελευτᾶ τὸν βίον. τοῦτον δωδέκατος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων Ἐλεύθερος διαδέχεται· ἔτος δ' ἦν ἑπτακαὶ δέκατον αὐτοκράτορος Ἀντωνίνου Οὐήρου, ἐν ᾧ κατά τινα μέρη τῆς γῆς σφιοδρότερον ἀναρριπισθέντος τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν διωγμοῦ ἐξ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν κατὰ πόλεις δήμων μυριάδας μαρτύρων ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην διαπρέψαι, στοχασμῷ λαβεῖν ἔνεστιν ἀπὸ τῶν καθ' ἐν ἔθνος συμβεβηκότων, ἀ καὶ γραφῇ τοῖς μετέπειτα παραδοθῆναι, ἀλήστου μνήμης ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπάξια ὄντα, συμβέβηκε.

5.praef.1 | [Introduction.] The bishop of the Roman church, Soter, died after leading for eight years. He was the twelfth to succeed from the apostles, and it was the seventeenth year of the emperor Antoninus Verus. During this time, in some parts of the world, the persecution against us became much stronger, leading to countless martyrs throughout the inhabited world. It is possible to take note of these events from each nation, which were later passed down in writing as truly worthy of lasting memory.

5.praef.2 | τῆς μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων ἐντελεστάτης ὑφηγήσεως τὸ πᾶν σύγγραμμα τῇ τῶν μαρτύρων ἡμῖν κατατέτακται συναγωγῇ, οὐχ ἱστορικὴν αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδασκαλικὴν περιέχον διήγησιν. ὅπόσα γέ τοι τῆς παρούσης ἔχοιτο πραγματείας, ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀναλεξάμενος παραθήσομαι.

5.praef.2 | Therefore, the complete work on these matters is arranged in a collection of our martyrs, containing not only a historical account but also a teaching narrative. Whatever is included in the current discussion, I will summarize these things now.

5.praef.3 | ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν ἱστορικὰς ποιούμενοι διηγήσεις πάντως ἀν παρέδωκαν τῇ γραφῇ πολέμων νίκας, καὶ τρόπαια κατ' ἔχθρῶν, στρατηγῶν τε ἀριστείας, καὶ ὀπλιτῶν ἀνδραγαθίας, αἷματι καὶ μυρίοις φόνοις παιδῶν καὶ πατρίδος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἔνεκεν περιουσίας μιανθέντων.

5.praef.3 | Others, therefore, would have handed down historical accounts of victories in wars, and trophies against enemies, as well as the bravery of generals and soldiers, stained with blood and countless murders for the sake of their children, homeland, and other possessions.

5.praef.4 | ὁ δέ γε περὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμάς πολιτεύματος διηγηματικὸς ἡμῖν λόγος τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν εἰρήνης είρηνικωτάτους πολέμους, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τούτοις ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας μᾶλλον ἢ πατρίδος, καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ εύσεβείας ἢ τῶν φιλτάτων ἀνδρισμένους αἰώνιαις ἀναγράψεται στήλαις, τῶν εύσεβείας ἀθλητῶν τὰς ἐνστάσεις, καὶ τὰς πολυτλήτους ἀνδρείας, τρόπαιά τε τὰ κατὰ δαιμόνων, καὶ νίκας τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀοράτων ἀντιπάλων, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις στεφάνους εἰς αἰώνιον μνήμην ἀνακηρύττων.

## Section 1

5.1.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 16-17] Γαλλία μὲν ούν ἡ χώρα ἦν, καθ' ἣν τὸ τῶν δηλουμένων συνεκροτεῖτο στάδιον, ἣς μητροπόλεις ἐπίσημοι καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας τῶν αὐτόθι διαφέρουσαι βεβόηνται Λούγοδουνος καὶ Βίεννα, δ' ὅν ἀμφοτέρων τὴν ἀπασαν χώραν πολλῷ τῷ ῥεύματι περιφρέων ὁ Ροδανὸς ποταμὸς διέξειστι.

5.1.2 | τὴν ούν περὶ τῶν μαρτύρων γραφὴν αἱ τῆδε διαφανέσταται ἔκιλησίαι ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν διαπέμπονται, τὰ παρ' αὐταῖς πραχθέντα τοῦτον ἀνιστοροῦσαι τὸν τρόπον.

5.1.3 | παραθήσομαι δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν φωνάς “οἱ ἐν Βιέννῃ καὶ Λουγδούνῳ τῆς Γαλῆλίας “λίας παροικοῦντες δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ τοῖς Ἀσίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως ἡμῖν πίστιν καὶ ἐλπίδα ἔχουσιν ἀδελφοῖς εἰρήνην ‘καὶ χάρις καὶ δόξα ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ

5.praef.4 | But the account about our way of life speaks of the most peaceful wars for the sake of the soul's peace, and those fought more for truth than for the homeland, and more for piety than for the dearest friends. These will be recorded on eternal pillars, the struggles of the athletes of piety, and the many brave deeds, the trophies against demons, and the victories against unseen opponents, and for all these, crowns will be declared for everlasting remembrance.

5.1.1 | France, therefore, was the land where the stadium of the declared was gathered, whose notable cities, standing out among the others there, are Lugdunum and Vienna. Through both of these, the Rhone River flows through the entire region with a great current.

5.1.2 | Therefore, the writing about the martyrs is clearly sent by the churches here in Asia and Phrygia, recounting what happened among them in this way.

5.1.3 | I will set forth their voices: 'Those living in Vienna and Lugdunum of Gaul, servants of Christ, send peace and grace and glory from God the Father and Christ Jesus our Lord to the brothers in Asia and Phrygia, who have the same faith and hope of redemption.'

τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.”

5.1.4 | εἶτα τούτοις ἔξῆς ἔτερα

προοιμιασάμενοι τὴν τοῦ λόγου καταρχὴν ποιοῦνται ἐν τούτοις “τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγεθος τῆς ἐνθάδε θλίψεως καὶ τὴν τοσαύτην τῶν ἔθνῶν εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους ὄργὴν, καὶ ὅσα ὑπέμειναν οἱ μακάριοι μάρτυρες, ἐπ’ ἀκριβὲς οὕθ’ ἡμεῖς εἰπεῖν ἱκανοὶ οὔτε μὴν γραφῇ περιληφθῆναι δυνατόν.

5.1.5 | παντὶ γὰρ σθένει “ἐνέσκηψεν ὁ ἀντικείμενος, προοιμιαζόμενος ἥδη τὴν “ἀδεῶς μέλλουσαν ἔσεσθαι παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ διὰ “πάντων διῆλθεν, ἐθίζων τοὺς ἔαυτοῦ καὶ προγυ” μνάζων κατὰ τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ, ὥστε μὴ μόνον “οίκιων καὶ βαλανείων καὶ ἀγορᾶς εἴργεσθαι, ἀλλὰ “καὶ τὸ καθόλου φαίνεσθαι ἡμῶν τινὰ αὐτοῖς ἀπειρῆσθαι “ἐν ὁποίῳ δήποτε τόπῳ.

5.1.6 | ἀντεστρατήγει “δὲ ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενεῖς ἐρρύετο, “ἀντιπαρέτασσε δὲ στύλους ἐδραίους, δυναμένους “διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς πᾶσαν τὴν ὀρμὴν τοῦ πονηροῦ “εἰς ἔαυτοὺς ἐλκύσαι, οἱ καὶ ὄμόσε ύχώρουν “αὐτῷ, πᾶν εἴδος ὄνειδισμοῦ καὶ κολάσεως ἀνεχόμενοι, “οἱ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὄλιγα ἡγούμενοι ἔσπευδον πρὸς “Χριστὸν, ὅντως ἐπιδεικνύμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα “τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν  
“ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς.

5.1.7 | καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ “ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου πανδημεὶ σωρηδὸν ἐπιφερόμενα γενναίως “ὑπέμενον, ἐπιβοήσεις καὶ πληγὰς καὶ συρμοὺς “καὶ διαρπαγὰς καὶ λίθων βολὰς

5.1.4 | Then, after these, they begin another introduction, saying in these words: 'The great size of the suffering here and the anger of the nations against the saints, and all that the blessed martyrs endured, we are not able to say accurately, nor can it be contained in writing.'

5.1.5 | For with all strength, the opponent attacked, already preparing for his fearless coming, and he passed through all, training his own and preparing them against the servants of God, so that not only were they kept away from houses and baths and the marketplace, but also it seemed that any of us were to be completely cut off from any place at all.

5.1.6 | But the grace of God opposed, and it rescued the weak, while it set up strong pillars, able to pull in all the force of the evil one through patience. They also advanced toward him, enduring every kind of insult and punishment, considering the many as few, and they hurried to Christ, truly showing that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that will be revealed to us.

5.1.7 | And first, they bravely endured all the attacks coming from the crowd, including shouts, blows, and rushes, as well as robberies, throws of stones, and

καὶ συγκλείσεις “καὶ πάνθ’ ὅσα ἡγριωμένω πλήθει ὡς πρὸς “έχθροὺς καὶ πολεμίους φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι.

5.1.8 | καὶ δὴ “ἀναχθέντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ὑπό τε τοῦ χιλιάρχου “καὶ τῶν προεστηκότων τῆς πόλεως ἔξουσιῶν, ἐπὶ “παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους ἀνακριθέντες καὶ ὅμοιογήσαντες, “συνεκλείσθησαν εἰς τὴν εἰρκτὴν ἔως τού ἡγεμόνος “τῆς παρουσίας

5.1.9 | μετέπειτα δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα “ἄχθεντων αὐτῶν, κάκείνου πάσῃ τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς “ώμοτητι χρωμένου, Ούέττοις Ἐπάγαθος, εἰς ἐκ τῶν “ἀδελφῶν, πλήρωμα ἀγάπης τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ “πρὸς τὸν πλησίον κεχωρηκὼς — οὐ καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἡκρίβωτο ἡ πολιτεία, ὡς καίπερ ὄντα νέον συνεξισοῦσθαι τῇ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ζαχαρίου μαρτυρίᾳ· “πεπόρευτο γοῦν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐντολαῖς καὶ δικαιῶ μασι τοῦ κυρίου ἄμεμπτος, πάσῃ τῇ πρὸς τὸν πλη “σίον λειτουργίᾳ ἀοκνος, ζῆλον θεοῦ πολὺν ἔχων, “καὶ ζέων τῷ πνεύματι — τοιοῦτος δή τις ὁν τὴν ‘οὔτως καθ’ ἡμῶν ἀλόγως γινομένην κρίσιν οὐκ ἐβά “στασεν, ἀλλ’ ὑπερηγανάκτησε, καὶ ἡξίου καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκουσθῆναι ἀπολογούμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ὅτι μηδὲν ἄθεον μηδὲ ἀσεβές ἔστιν ἐν ἡμῖν.

5.1.10 | τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸ βῆμα καταβοησάντων αὐτοῦ, (καὶ γὰρ ἣν ἐπίσημος), καὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος μὴ ἀνασχομένου τῆς οὔτως ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ δικαίας προταθείσης ἀξιώσεως, ἀλλὰ μόνον τοῦτο πυθομένου, εἴ καὶ αὐτὸς εἴη Χριστιανὸς, τοῦ δὲ λαμπροτάτη φωνῇ ὅμοιογήσαντος, ἀνελήφθη καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸν κλῆρον τῶν

imprisonments, and everything else that a wild mob loves to do against enemies and foes.

5.1.8 | And indeed, after being brought to the marketplace by the commander and the authorities of the city, they were questioned before the whole crowd and confessed, and they were locked up in prison until the arrival of the governor.

5.1.9 | Later, when they were brought before the governor, he used all his authority against us. A certain Epagathus, one of the brothers, who was full of love for God and for his neighbor—he was so well known in the community that even though he was young, he was compared to the testimony of the elder Zacharias. He walked blamelessly in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord, diligent in serving his neighbor, having much zeal for God, and being fervent in spirit. Being such a person, he did not remain silent about the unreasonable judgment against us, but he was very bold and thought it right to defend himself on behalf of the brothers, saying that there is nothing godless or impious among us.

5.1.10 | And those around the platform shouted for him (for he was indeed notable), and the governor did not hold back from the just claim made against him, but only asked if he himself was a Christian. When he boldly confessed in a very bright voice, he was also taken up into the group of martyrs, having acted as an advocate for

μαρτύρων, παράκλητος Χριστιανῶν χρηματίσας, ἔχων δὲ τὸν παράκλητον ἐν ἑαυτῷ, τὸ πνεῦμα πλέον τοῦ Ζαχαρίου, ὃ διὰ τοῦ πληρώματος τῆς ἀγάπης ἐνεδείξατο, εύδοκήσας ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀπολογίας καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θεῖναι ψυχήν. ἦν γάρ καὶ ἔστι γνήσιος Χριστοῦ μαθητὴς, ἀκολουθῶν τῷ ἀρνίῳ ὅπου ἀν ὑπάγῃ.

5.1.11 | ἐντεῦθεν δὴ διεκρίνοντο οἱ λοιποὶ, καὶ φανεροὶ καὶ ἔτοιμοι ἐγίνοντο πρωτομάρτυρες, οἵ καὶ μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας ἀνεπλήρουν τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς μαρτυρίας, ἐφαίνοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀνέτοιμοι καὶ ἀγύμναστοι καὶ ἔτι ἀσθενεῖς, ἀγῶνος μεγάλου τόνον ἐνεγκεῖν μὴ δυνάμενοι, ὃν καὶ ἔξετρωσαν ὡς δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν, οἵ καὶ μεγάλην λύπην καὶ πένθος ἀμέτρητον ἐνεποίησαν ἡμῖν, καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν “λοιπῶν τῶν μὴ συνειλημένων ἐνέκοψαν, οἵ καὶ “πάντα τὰ δεινὰ πάσχοντες ὅμως συμπαρῆσαν τοῖς “μάρτυσι καὶ οὐκ ἀπελείποντο αὐτῶν.

5.1.12 | τότε δὴ “οἱ πάντες μεγάλως ἐπτοήθημεν, διὰ τὸ ἄδηλον τῆς “ὁμολογίας, οὐ τὰς ἐπιφερομένας κολάσεις φοβούμενοι, ἀλλὰ τὸ τέλος ἀφορῶντες, καὶ τὸ ἀποπεσεῖν τινὰ ‘δεδιότες.

5.1.13 | συνελαμβάνοντο μέντοι καθ’ ἐκάστην “ἡμέραν οἱ ἄξιοι, τὸν ἐκείνων ἀναπληροῦντες ἀριθμὸν, ὥστε συλλεγῆναι ἐκ τῶν δύο ἐκκλησιῶν πάντας τοὺς σπουδαίους, καὶ δι’ ὃν μάλιστα συνειστή“κει τὰ ἐνθάδε.

the Christians. He had the advocate within himself, the spirit more abundant than Zacharias, which showed through the fullness of love, willing to speak on behalf of the brothers and to give his own life. For he was and is a true disciple of Christ, following the Lamb wherever he goes.

5.1.11 | Then the rest were distinguished, and they became clear and ready to be first martyrs, who with all eagerness filled the confession of their witness. The unprepared, unarmed, and still weak ones were unable to bear the great struggle, and they were reduced to about ten in number, causing us great sorrow and immeasurable grief. They also discouraged the eagerness of the others who were not captured, who, despite suffering all kinds of terrible things, still stood by the martyrs and did not abandon them.

5.1.12 | Then indeed we all were greatly frightened, not because of the punishments that were being brought upon us, but because of the uncertainty of the confession, looking to the end and fearing that someone might fall away.

5.1.13 | However, each day the worthy ones were gathered, filling up their number, so that all the serious ones from the two churches could be collected, and through them, the things here were especially established.

5.1.14 | συνελαμβάνοντο δὲ καὶ ἔθνικοί “τινες οίκέται τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἐπεὶ δημοσίᾳ ἐκέλευσεν “ὸ ἡγεμὼν ἀναζητεῖσθαι πάντας ἡμᾶς” οὐ καὶ κατ’ ἐνέ“δραν τοῦ σατανᾶ, φοβηθέντες τὰς βασάνους ἃς τοὺς “ἀγίους ἔβλεπον πάσχοντας, τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτο “παρορμώντων αύτοὺς κατεψεύσαντο ἡμῶν Θυέστεια “δεῖπνα καὶ Οίδιποδείους μίξεις καὶ ὅσα μήτε λαλεῖν μήτε νοεῖν θέμις ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ πιστεύειν, εἴ τι τοι“οὗτο πώποτε παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἐγένετο.

5.1.15 | τούτων δὲ “φημισθέντων πάντες ἀπεθηριώθησαν εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὥστε “καὶ εἴ τινες τὸ πρότερον δι’ οίκειότητα ἐμετρίαζον, “τότε μεγάλως ἔχαλέπαινον καὶ διεπρίοντο καθ’ ἡμῶν. “ἐπληροῦτο δὲ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν είρημένον, ὅτι ἐλεύσεται καιρὸς ἐν ᾧ πᾶς ὁ ἀποκτείνας ὑμᾶς “δόξει λατρείαν προσφέρειν τῷ θεῷ.

5.1.16 | ἐνταῦθα “λοιπὸν ὑπεράνω πάσης ἔξιγγήσεως ὑπέμενον “σεῖς οἱ ἄγιοι μάρτυρες, φιλοτιμουμένου τοῦ σατανᾶ “καὶ δι’ ἐκείνων ὢηθῆναι τι τῶν βλασφήμων.

5.1.17 | “ὑπερβεβλημένως δὲ ἐνέσκηψεν ἡ ὄργὴ πᾶσα καὶ “ὄχλου καὶ ἡγεμόνος καὶ στρατιωτῶν εἰς Σάγκτον “τὸν διάκονον ἀπὸ Βιέννης, καὶ εἰς Μάτουρον, νεο“φώτιστον μὲν, ἀλλὰ γενναῖον ἀγωνιστὴν, καὶ εἰς “Ἄτταλον Περγαμηνὸν τῷ γένει, στῦλον καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἀεὶ γεγονότα, καὶ εἰς Βλανδῖναν, δι ἵς ἐπέδειξεν ὁ Χριστὸς ὅτι τὰ παρὰ

5.1.14 | Some of our own servants were also gathered, since the governor publicly ordered that all of us be sought. They, fearing the tortures that they saw the saints suffering, were urged on by the soldiers and lied about our Thyestean feasts and Oedipus mixtures, and all the things that it is not lawful for us to speak or even think about, nor to believe that such things ever happened among people.

5.1.15 | When these things were reported, everyone turned against us, so that even if some had previously measured their closeness, then they greatly slandered us and cut us down. And it was being fulfilled what was said by our Lord, that a time will come when everyone who kills you will think they are offering worship to God.

5.1.16 | At this point, above all explanation, you, the holy martyrs, were enduring, while Satan was trying hard and through them said some blasphemous things.

5.1.17 | Then all the anger came down heavily on the deacon from Vienna, named Sagon, and on Maturon, a newly baptized but brave fighter, and on Attalus from Pergamum, a pillar of those who had always been here, and on Blandina, through whom Christ showed that what seems cheap, shameful, and easily despised among people is greatly honored by God

άνθρωποις εύτελῆ καὶ ἀειδῆ καὶ  
εὔκαταφρόνητα φαινόμενα μεγάλης  
καταξιοῦται παρὰ θεῷ δόξης, διὰ τὴν πρὸς  
“αὐτὸν ἀγάπην, τὴν ἐν δυνάμει  
δεικνυμένην, καὶ μὴ “ἐν εἴδει καυχωμένην.

because of the love for him, shown in power and not in appearance.

5.1.18 | ήμῶν γὰρ πάντων δεδιότων, καὶ τῆς σαρκίνης δεσποίνης αὐτῆς, ἥτις ἦν καὶ αὐτὴ τῶν μαρτύρων μία ἀγωνίστρια,  
ἀγωνιώσης “μὴ ούδε τὴν ὁμολογίαν  
δυνήσεται παρρησιάσασθαι διὰ τὸ ἀσθενὲς  
τοῦ σώματος, ἡ Βλανδīνα τοσαύτης  
“έπληρώθη δυνάμεως ὥστε ἐκλυθῆναι καὶ  
παρεθῆ “ναι τοὺς κατὰ διαδοχὰς παντὶ  
τρόπῳ βασανίζοντας “αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ἐωθινῆς  
ἔως ἐσπέρας, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας ὅτι  
νενίκηνται, μηδὲν ἔχοντες μηκέτι ὅ  
‘ποιήσουσιν αὐτῆς, καὶ θαυμάζειν ἐπὶ τῷ  
παραμένειν ἔμπνουν αὐτὴν, παντὸς τοῦ  
σώματος διερρωγότος καὶ ἤνεῳγμένου, καὶ  
μαρτυρεῖν ὅτι ἐν εἴδος στρεβλώσεως  
ἰκανὸν ἦν πρὸς τὸ ἔξαγαγεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν,  
οὐχ ὅτι γε τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα.

5.1.18 | For all of us were afraid, and of that fleshly mistress herself, who was also one of the martyrs, struggling so that she could not even confess boldly because of the weakness of her body. Blandina was filled with such strength that she was able to be freed and to endure all kinds of tortures against her from morning until evening, while those torturing her admitted that they were defeated, having nothing left to do to her. They marveled at how she remained alive, while her whole body was broken and opened, and they testified that even one kind of torture was enough to take her soul, not that such and so many things were needed.

5.1.19 | ἄλλ’ ἡ μακαρία ὡς γενναῖος  
ἀθλητὴς ἀνενέαζεν ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ, καὶ ἦν  
αὐτῆς ἀνάληψις καὶ ἀνάπαυσις καὶ  
ἀναληγσία τῶν συμβαινόντων τὸ λέγειν ὅτι  
Χριστιανή είμι καὶ παρ’ ἡμῖν οὐδὲν φαῦλον  
γίνεται.

5.1.19 | But the blessed one, like a brave athlete, kept on in her confession, and for her, there was both a taking up and a rest and a lack of feeling about what was happening, saying that I am a Christian and nothing evil happens to me.

5.1.20 | ὁ δὲ Σάγκτος καὶ αὐτὸς  
ὑπερβεβλημένως καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντα  
ἄνθρωπον πάσας τὰς ἔξ ἀνθρώπων αἰκίας  
γενναίως ὑπομένων, τῶν ἀνόμων  
έλπιζόντων διὰ τὴν ἐπιμονὴν καὶ τὸ  
μέγεθος τῶν βασάνων ἀκούσεσθαι τι παρ'  
αὐτοῦ τῶν μὴ δεόντων, τοσαύτῃ  
ὑποστάσει ἀντιπαρετάξατο αὐτοῖς ὥστε

5.1.20 | But Sagon, greatly overwhelmed and enduring all the tortures from people bravely, while the lawless hoped to hear something from him because of his persistence and the severity of the torments, stood against them with such strength that he did not even say his own name, nor his nation, nor the city from

μηδὲ τὸ ἴδιον κατειπεῖν “ὄνομα, μήτε ἔθνους, μήτε πόλεως ὅθεν ἦν, μήτε εἰ “δοῦλος ἢ ἐλεύθερος εἴη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἐπε “ρωτώμενα ἀπεκρίνατο τῇ ‘Ρωμαϊκῇ φωνῇ ‘Χριστιανός είμι.’ τοῦτο καὶ ἄντι ὄνοματος καὶ ἄντι πόλεως καὶ ἄντι γένους καὶ ἄντι παντὸς ἐπαλλήλως “ώμοιόγει, ἀλλην δὲ φωνὴν οὐκ ἥκουσαν αὐτοῦ τὰ “ἔθνη.

5.1.21 | ὅθεν δὴ καὶ φιλονεικία μεγάλη τοῦ “τε ἡγεμόνος καὶ τῶν βασανιστῶν ἐγένετο πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡστε ὅπότε μηκέτι μηδὲν εἶχον ὃ ποιήσουσιν “αὐτῷ, τὸ τελευταῖον χαλκᾶς λεπίδας διαπύρους “προσεκόλλων τοῖς τρυφερωτάτοις μέλεσι τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ.

5.1.22 | καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔκαίετο, αὐτὸς δὲ παρέμενεν ἀνεπίκαμπτος καὶ ἀνένδοτος, στερρός πρὸς “τὴν ὀμολογίαν, ὑπὸ τῆς οὐρανίου πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἔξιόντος ἐκ τῆς νηδύος τοῦ Χριστοῦ δροσιζόμενος καὶ ἐνδυναμούμενος.

5.1.23 | τὸ δὲ “σωμάτιον μάρτυς ἦν τῶν συμβεβηκότων, ὅλον τραῦμα “καὶ μώλωψ καὶ συνεσπασμένον καὶ ἀποβεβληκός τὴν “ἀνθρώπειον ἔξωθεν μορφὴν, ἐν ᾧ πάσχων Χριστὸς “μεγάλας ἐπετέλει δόξας, καταργῶν τὸν ἀντικείμενον, καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν ὑποτύπωσιν ὑποδεικνύων ὅτι μηδὲν φοβερὸν ὅπου πατρὸς ἀγάπη, μηδὲ “ἀλγεινὸν ὅπου Χριστοῦ δόξα.

5.1.24 | τῶν γὰρ ἀνόμων “μεθ’ ἡμέρας πάλιν στρεβλούντων τὸν μάρτυρα, καὶ “νομιζόντων ὅτι οίδούντων καὶ

which he was, nor whether he was a slave or free, but in response to all the questions, he answered in the Roman language, 'I am a Christian.' This he confessed instead of a name, instead of a city, instead of a race, and instead of everything else, and the nations did not hear any other voice from him.

5.1.21 | From this, there was indeed a great dispute between the leader and the torturers against him, so that when they no longer had anything left to do to him, they finally attached red-hot bronze plates to the most tender parts of his body.

5.1.22 | And while these things were burning him, he remained unbending and unyielding, steadfast in his confession, refreshed and strengthened by the heavenly source of the water of life that flows from the womb of Christ.

5.1.23 | But the body was a witness to what happened, all bruised and battered, and having lost its human appearance. In this suffering, Christ accomplished great glories, defeating the enemy, and showing to others that there is nothing to fear where there is the love of the Father, nor anything painful where there is the glory of Christ.

5.1.24 | For the lawless, after a day of twisting the martyr, thought that if they brought the same tortures to the bodies

φλεγμαινόντων τῶν “σωμάτων εἰ τὰ αύτὰ προσενέγκοιεν κολαστήρια, πε”ριέσοιντο αύτοῦ, ὅπότε οὐδὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν

“ἀφὴν ἡνείχετο, ἡ ὅτι ἐναποθανὼν ταῖς βασάνοις “φόβον ἐμποιήσει τοῖς λοιποῖς, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν περὶ “αὐτὸν τοιοῦτο συνέβη, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσαν δόξαν “ἀνθρώπων ἀνέκυψε καὶ ἀνωρθώθη τὸ σωμάτιον ἐν “ταῖς μετέπειτα βασάνοις, καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν ἀπέλαβε “τὴν προτέραν καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τῶν μελῶν, ὥστε μὴ “κόλασιν, ἀλλ’ ἵασιν διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Χριστοῦ “τὴν δευτέραν στρέβλωσιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι.

that were groaning and burning, they would surround him. But he did not even bear the touch from their hands, nor did he cause fear to others by dying from the tortures. Not only did nothing like that happen to him, but beyond all human glory, his body rose up and was restored in the later tortures, and it regained its former appearance and the use of its limbs, so that it was not punishment, but healing through the grace of Christ that caused the second twisting to happen to him.

5.1.25 | καὶ “Βιβλιάδα δέ τινα, μίαν τῶν ἡρημένων, ἥδη δοκῶν “ὸ διάβολος καταπεπωκέναι, θελήσας δὲ καὶ διὰ “βλασφημίας κατακρῖναι, ἥγεν ἐπὶ κόλασιν, ἀναγκά “ζων εἴπειν τὰ ἄθεα περὶ ἡμῶν, ὡς εὕθραυστον ἥδη “καὶ ἄνανδρον.

5.1.25 | And there was a certain woman, one of those who had denied, whom the devil was already trying to swallow. Wanting to condemn her for blasphemy, he led her to punishment, forcing her to speak the godless things about us, as if she were already weak and cowardly.

5.1.26 | ἡ δὲ ἐν τῇ στρεβλώσει ἀνένηψε, “καὶ ὡσὰν εἴπειν ἐκ βαθέος ὕπνου ἀνεγρηγόρησεν, “ὑπομνησθεῖσα διὰ τῆς προσκαίρου τιμωρίας τὴν αἱ “ώνιον ἐν γεέννῃ κόλασιν, καὶ ἔξ ἐναντίας ἀντεῖπε “τοῖς βλασφήμοις φήσασα ‘πῶς ἀν παιδία φάγοιεν οἱ “τοιοῦτοι, οἵς μηδὲ ἀλόγων ζώων αἷμα φαγεῖν ἔχόν,’ “καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Χριστιανὴν ἐσυτήν ὠμολόγηι, καὶ ἐν “τῷ κλήρῳ τῶν μαρτύρων προσετέθη.

5.1.26 | But she, in the twisting, woke up, as if she had been roused from a deep sleep. Remembering through the sudden punishment the eternal torment in hell, she boldly replied to the blasphemers, saying, 'How could such people eat children, when it is not even allowed for irrational animals to drink blood?' And from that moment, she confessed herself as a Christian and joined the company of the martyrs.

5.1.27 | καταργη “θέντων δὲ τῶν τυραννικῶν κολαστηρίων ὑπὸ τοῦ “Χριστοῦ διὰ τῆς τῶν μακαρίων ὑπομονῆς, ἐτέρας μη “χανὰς ὃ διάβολος ἐπενόει, τὰς κατὰ τὴν εἰρκτὴν ἐν τῷ “σκότει καὶ τῷ χαλεπωτάτῳ χωρίῳ συγκλείσεις, καὶ “τὰς

5.1.27 | When the tyrannical prisons were destroyed by Christ through the patience of the blessed, the devil thought of other traps. He planned to close people in the darkness of the prison and the most terrible place, and to bind their feet in

έν τῷ ξύλῳ διατάσεις τῶν ποδῶν, ἐπὶ πέμπτον “διατεινομένων τρύπημα, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς αἰκίας, ὅσας “εἰώθασιν όργιζόμενοι ὑπουργοὶ, καὶ ταῦτα διαβόλου “πλήρεις, διατιθέναι τοὺς ἐγκλειομένους, ὡστε ἀπὸ “πνιγῆναι τοὺς πλείστους ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ, ὅσους γε ὁ “κύριος οὕτως ἔξελθεῖν ἥθελησεν, ἐπιδεικνύων τὴν “αὐτοῦ δόξαν.

5.1.28 | οἱ μὲν γὰρ βασανισθέντες πικρῶς, “ὡστε δοκεῖν μηδὲ τῆς θεραπείας πάσης τυχόντας “ἔτι ζήσαι δύνασθαι, παρέμενον ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ ἔρημοι “μὲν τῆς παρὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμελείας, ἀναρρωννύ“μενοι δὲ ὑπὸ κυρίου καὶ ἐνδυναμούμενοι καὶ σώ“ματι καὶ ψυχῇ, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς παρορμῶντες καὶ “παραφυθούμενοι. οἱ δὲ νεαροὶ καὶ ἄρτι συνειλημ“μένοι, ὃν μὴ προκατήκιστο τὰ σώματα, τὸ βάρος “οὐκ ἔφερον τῆς συγκλείσεως, ἀλλ’ ἐνδον ἐναπέθνησκον.

5.1.29 | ὁ δὲ μακάριος Ποθεινὸς, ὁ τὴν διακονίαν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐν Λουγδούνῳ πεπιστευμένος, “ὑπὲρ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη τῆς ἡλικίας γεγονὼς, καὶ “πάνυ ἀσθενής τῷ σώματι, μόλις μὲν ἐμπνέων διὰ τὴν προκειμένην σωματικὴν ἀσθένειαν, ὑπὸ δὲ προθυμίας πνεύματος ἀναρρωννύμενος διὰ τὴν ἐγκειμένην τῆς μαρτυρίας ἐπιθυμίαν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ “βῆμα ἐσύρετο, τοῦ μὲν σώματος καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρως καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου λελυμένου, τηρουμένης δὲ τῆς “ψυχῆς ἐν αὐτῷ, ἵνα δι’ αὐτῆς Χριστὸς θριαμβεύσῃ.

5.1.30 | ὃς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα κομισθεὶς, παραπεμπόντων αὐτὸν τῶν πολιτικῶν ἔξουσιῶν καὶ “παντὸς τοῦ

wood, stretching them with a fifth hole, along with other tortures that angry officials usually use. All these were filled with the devil, arranging for the imprisoned ones to drown, so that most of them would perish in the prison, as many as the Lord wished to let go, showing his glory.

5.1.28 | Those who were tortured bitterly seemed not to be able to survive any kind of healing, remaining in the prison deserted by human care, but being strengthened by the Lord, both in body and soul, encouraging and comforting the others. But the young ones, who had just been captured and whose bodies had not yet been broken, could not bear the weight of the confinement and were dying inside.

5.1.29 | But the blessed Pothinus, who was entrusted with the ministry of the bishopric in Lyons, was over ninety years old and very weak in body. He could barely breathe because of his physical weakness, but he was strengthened by the eagerness of his spirit due to his desire for martyrdom. He himself was being dragged to the platform, his body weakened by old age and illness, but his soul was being kept strong within him, so that through it Christ might triumph.

5.1.30 | When he was brought by the soldiers to the platform, while the civil authorities and all the crowd were sending

πλήθους, ἐπιβοήσεις παντοίας ποιουμένων, ώς αύτοῦ ὅντος τοῦ κυρίου, ἀπεδίδου τὴν καλὴν μαρτυρίαν.

5.1.31 | ἀνεταζόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος τίς εἴη Χριστιανῶν ὁ θεὸς, ἔφη 'έὰν ἦς ἄξιος, γνώσῃ.' ἐντεῦθεν δὴ ἀφειδῶς ἐσύρετο, καὶ "ποικίλας ἔπασχε πληγὰς, τῶν μὲν σύνεγγυς χερὶς καὶ ποσὶν ἐνυβριζόντων παντοίως, μηδὲ τὴν ἡλικίαν αἰδουμένων αύτοῦ, τῶν δὲ μακράν, ὃ μετὰ χεῖρας ἔκαστος εἶχεν, εἰς αὐτὸν ἀκοντιζόντων, πάντων δὲ ἡγουμένων μεγάλως πλημμελεῖν καὶ ἀσεβεῖν, εἴ τις ἀπολειφθείη τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀσελγείας· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐστῶντο οὕτως ἐκδικήσειν. καὶ μόγις ἐμπνέων ἐρρίφη εἰς τὴν εἰρκτὴν, καὶ μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας ἀπέψυξεν.

5.1.32 | ἐνταῦθα δὴ μεγάλη τις οίκονομία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἔλεος ἀμέτρητον "ἀνεφαίνετο Ἰησοῦ, σπανίως μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀδελφότητι γεγονός, μὴ ἀπολειπόμενον δὲ τῆς τέχνης τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

5.1.33 | οἱ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην σύλληψιν ἔξαρνοι "γενόμενοι συνεκλείοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ μετεῖχον τῶν "δεινῶν" οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ ὡς ὄφελός τι αὐτοῖς ἦν τῆς ἔξαρνησις ἐγίνετο· ἀλλ' οἵ μὲν ὀμοιογοῦντες "ὅ καὶ ἡσαν, συνεκλείοντο ώς Χριστιανοὶ, μηδεμιᾶς "ἄλλης αὐτοῖς αἰτίας ἐπιφερομένης, οὗτοι δὲ λοιπὸν ώς ἀνδροφόνοι καὶ μιαροὶ κατείχοντο, διπλότερον "παρὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς κολαζόμενοι.

him off with all kinds of shouts, as if he were the Lord himself, he gave a good testimony.

5.1.31 | When he was questioned by the governor about who the God of the Christians was, he said, 'If you are worthy, you will know.' From there, he was dragged without mercy and suffered various wounds. Some were nearby, insulting him with their hands and feet, not even ashamed of his age. Others were far away, throwing things at him with their hands. All of them thought it was very wrong and disrespectful if anyone stopped their abuse of him, for they believed that their gods would take revenge in this way. And barely able to breathe, he was thrown into prison, and after two days, he died.

5.1.32 | Then a great plan of God took place, and endless mercy was shown through Jesus, who had rarely been among the brotherhood but did not leave the work of Christ.

5.1.33 | For those who had denied during the first arrest, they were shut in together and shared in the terrible things. For even at that time, their denial did not help them. But those who confessed what they were, were locked up as Christians, with no other charges brought against them. The others, however, were held as murderers and unclean, punished twice as much as the rest.

5.1.34 | έκείνους μὲν “γὰρ ἐπεκούφιζεν ἡ χαρὰ τῆς μαρτυρίας, καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων, καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν “ἀγάπη, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πατρικὸν, τούτους δὲ τὸ “συνειδὸς μεγάλως ἐτιμωρεῖτο, ὥστε καὶ παρὰ τοῖς “λοιποῖς ἀπασι κατὰ τὰς παρόδους διαδήλους τὰς “ὅψεις αὐτῶν εἶναι.

5.1.35 | οἵ μὲν γὰρ ἱλαροὶ προήεσαν, “δόξης καὶ χάριτος πολλῆς ταῖς ὅψεσιν αὐτῶν συγκε“κραμένης, ὥστε καὶ τὰ δεσμὰ κόσμον εὐπρεπῆ πε“ρικεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς, ὡς νύμφῃ κεκοσμημένῃ ἐν “σωτοῖς χρυσοῖς πεποικιλμένοις, τὴν εὐώδιαν ὄδω“δότες ἄμα τὴν Χριστοῦ, ὥστε ἐνίους δόξαι καὶ μύρῳ “κοσμικῷ κεχρῆσθαι αὐτούς: οἱ δὲ κατηφεῖς καὶ τα“πεινοὶ καὶ δυσειδεῖς καὶ πάσης ἀσχημοσύνης ἀνά“πλεοι, προσέτι δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔθνῶν ὄνειδιζόμε“νοι ὡς ἀγεννεῖς καὶ ἄνανδροι, ἀνδροφόνων μὲν ἐγ“κλήματα ἔχοντες, ἀπολωλεκότες δὲ τὴν πάντιμον “καὶ ἔνδοξον καὶ ζωοποιὸν προσηγορίαν. ταῦτα δὲ “οἱ λοιποὶ θεωροῦντες ἐστηρίχθησαν, καὶ οἱ συλλαμ“βανόμενοι ἀδιστάκτως ὡμολόγουν, μηδὲ ἔννοιαν “ἔχοντες διαβολικοῦ λογισμοῦ.”

5.1.36 | τούτοις μεταξύ τινα ἐπειπόντες αὐθις ἐπιφέρουσι· “μετὰ ταῦτα “λοιπὸν εἰς πᾶν εἴδος διηρεῖτο τὰ μαρτύρια τῆς ἔξο“δου αὐτῶν. ἐκ διαφόρων γὰρ χρωμάτων καὶ παν“τοίων ἀνθῶν ἔνα πλέξαντες στέφανον προσήνεγκαν “τῷ πατρί. ἔχρην γοῦν τοὺς γενναίους ἀθλητὰς, “ποικίλον ὑπομείναντας ἀγῶνα καὶ μεγάλως νική“σαντας, ἀπολαβεῖν τὸν μέγαν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέ“φανον.

5.1.34 | For those, the joy of martyrdom, the hope of the promised things, the love for Christ, and the spirit of the Father lifted them up. But for these others, their conscience greatly punished them, so that even among the rest, their faces were known as they passed by.

5.1.35 | For those, they went forth cheerful, with much glory and grace mixed in their faces, so that even their chains seemed to be a beautiful decoration for them, like a bride adorned with golden garments. They gave off the sweet smell of Christ, so that some were even anointed with worldly perfume. But those others were downcast, humble, and full of shame, overflowing with every kind of ugliness. Moreover, they were mocked by the nations as base and cowardly, having charges of murder against them, but losing the most honorable and life-giving name. The rest, seeing this, were strengthened, and those being arrested openly confessed, having no thought of a devilish idea.

5.1.36 | Among these, some spoke again, saying: 'After this, the remaining testimonies of their exile were divided into every kind. For they brought a crown made of different colors and all kinds of flowers to the Father. Indeed, it was fitting for the brave athletes, having endured a varied struggle and greatly victorious, to receive the great crown of immortality.'

5.1.37 | ὁ μὲν οὖν Μάτουρος καὶ ὁ Σάγκτος καὶ “ἡ Βλανδῖνα καὶ Ἀτταλος ἥγοντο ἐπὶ τὰ Θηρία εἰς τὸ “δημόσιον καὶ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἔθνῶν τῆς “πίας θέαμα, ἐπίτηδες τῆς τῶν Θηριομαχιῶν ἡμέρας “διὰ τοὺς ἡμετέρους διδομένης.

5.1.38 | καὶ ὁ μὲν “ρος καὶ ὁ Σάγκτος αὐθις διήσαν ἐν τῷ “διὰ πάσης κολάσεως, ὡς μηδὲν ὅλως “τες, μᾶλλον δὲ ὡς διὰ πλειόνων ἥδη κλήρων ἐκβε“βιακότες τὸν ἀντίπαλον, καὶ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου “τοῦ τὸν ἄγωνα ἔχοντες, ὑπέφερον πάλιν τὰς “δους τῶν μαστίγων τὰς ἐκεῖσε εἰθισμένας, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Θηρίων ἐλικηθμούς, καὶ πάνθ’ ὅσα μαινό“μενος ὁ δῆμος ἄλλοι ἀλλαχόθεν ἐπεβόων καὶ ἐπεκελεύοντο, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὴν σιδηρᾶν καθέδραν, ἐφ’ “ῆς τηγανιζόμενα τὰ σώματα κνίσης αὐτοὺς ἐνεφόρει. “

5.1.39 | οἱ δ’ οὐδὲ οὔτως ἔληγον, ἀλλ’ ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον “ἔξεμαίνοντο, βουλόμενοι νικῆσαι τὴν ἐκείνων ὑπὸ“μονήν. καὶ οὐδὲ ὡς παρὰ Σάγκτου ἔτερόν τι ἥκου“σαν παρ’ ἦν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς εἴθιστο λέγειντῆς “φωνήν.

5.1.40 | οὗτοι μὲν οὖν, δι’ ἄγῶνος μεγάλου ἐπὶ“πολὺ παραμενούσης αὐτῶν τῆς ψυχῆς, τοῦσχατον ‘έτυθησαν διὰ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης, ἀντὶ πάσης τῆς “ἐν τοῖς μονομαχίοις ποικιλίας αὐτοὶ θέαμα “νοι τῷ κόσμῳ.

5.1.41 | ἡ δὲ Βλανδῖνα ἐπὶ ξύλου “σθεῖσα

5.1.37 | Therefore, Maturus and Sanctus, along with Blandina and Attalus, were led to the wild beasts for the public spectacle and for the common view of the nations, purposely on the day set for the beast fights, given for our people.

5.1.38 | And Matus and Sanctus again went through every kind of punishment, as if they were nothing at all, but rather as if they had already defeated the opponent through many lots. And about the crown that held the contest, they again endured the blows of the whips that were accustomed there, and from the wild beasts, they were dragged along, while the mad crowd from different places shouted and urged them on. And over all, the iron chair, on which their bodies were being fried, brought them pain.

5.1.39 | But they did not give up even so; rather, they became even more fierce, wanting to conquer their opponents' endurance. And neither did Sanctus hear anything different from what he was used to saying from the beginning.

5.1.40 | These men, therefore, through a great contest, with their souls remaining strong, were finally sacrificed on that day, instead of being a spectacle of all the variety in the fights.

5.1.41 | But Blandina, tied to a post, was set

προύκειτο βορὰ τῶν είσβαλλομένων “ἢ καὶ διὰ τοῦ βλέπεσθαι σταυροῦ σχήματι διὰ τῆς εύτόνου προσευχῆς πολλὴν προθυμίαν “τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις ἐνεποίει, βλεπόντων αὐτῶν ἐ “τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν ὄφθαλμοῖς διὰ τῆς τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐσταυρωμένον, ἔνα πείση τοὺς “πιστεύοντας εἰς αὐτὸν, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς Χριστοῦ “δόξης παθών τὴν κοινωνίαν ἀεὶ ἔχει μετὰ τοῦ ζῶν “τος θεοῦ.

5.1.42 | καὶ μηδενὸς ἀψαμένου τότε τῶν Θηρίων “αὐτῆς, καθαιρεθεῖσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου ἀνελήφθη πάλιν εἰς τὴν εἰρκτὴν, εἰς ἄλλον ἀγῶνα τηρουμένη, “ἔνα διὰ πλειόνων γυμνασμάτων νικήσασα τῷ μὲν ‘σκοιλιῷ ὅφει ἀπαραίτητον ποιήσῃ τὴν καταδίκην, “προτρέψηται δὲ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἡ μικρὰ καὶ ἀσθενῆς “καὶ εὐκαταφρόνητος, μέγαν καὶ “ἀθλητὴν Χριστὸν ἐνδεδυμένη, διὰ πολλῶν κλήρων ἐκβιάσασα τὸν ἀντικείμενον, καὶ δι’ ἀγῶνος τὸν τῆς “ἀφθαρσίας στεψαμένη στέφανον.

5.1.43 | ὁ δὲ Ἀτταλος ‘καὶ αὐτὸς μεγάλως ἔξαιτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὀνομαστός) ἔτοιμος είσηλθεν ἀγωνιστὴς διὰ τὸ “εύσυνείδητον, ἐπειδὴ γνησίως ἐν τῷ Χριστιανῷ συν“τάξει γεγυμνασμένος ἦν, καὶ ἀεὶ μάρτυς ἐγεγόνει “παρ’ ἡμῖν ἀληθείας.

5.1.44 | καὶ περιαχθεὶς κύκλῳ τού “ἀμφιθεάτρου, πίνακος αὐτὸν προάγοντος ἐν ᾧ ἐγέγραπτο ‘οὗτός ἐστιν Ἀτταλος ὁ ‘νός’, καὶ τοῦ δήμου σφόδρα σφριγῶντος ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, ‘ μαθὼν ὃ ἡγεμών ὅτι Ρωμαῖός ἐστιν, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀναληφθῆναι μετὰ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ “εἰρκτῇ ὅντων,

before the wild beasts, and by being seen in the shape of the cross, through her heartfelt prayers, inspired great eagerness in those who were fighting, as they looked at her and at the one who was crucified for them, hoping to convince the believers in him that everyone who suffers for the glory of Christ always has fellowship with the living God.

5.1.42 | And when none of the wild beasts touched her, she was taken down from the post and brought back to the prison, kept for another contest. After winning through many struggles, she made the crooked path unavoidable for her judges, and the small and weak one encouraged her brothers, clothed in the great athlete Christ, forcing the opponent through many trials, and crowned with the wreath of incorruption for her struggle.

5.1.43 | But Attalus, greatly urged by the crowd (for he was well-known), boldly entered as a contestant because of his good conscience, since he was truly trained in the Christian community, and he always became a witness of the truth among us.

5.1.44 | And being led around in a circle of the amphitheater, a sign was shown before him on which it was written, 'This is Attalus the Christian,' and with the crowd greatly cheering for him, the governor learned that he was a Roman and ordered him to be taken up along with the others who were in

περὶ ὃν ἐπέστειλε τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ περιέμενε τὴν ἀπόφασιν τὴν ἀπ' ἑκείνου.

prison, about whom he sent a report to Caesar, and he waited for the decision from him.

5.1.45 | ὁ δὲ διὰ μέσου καιρὸς οὐκ ἀργὸς αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ ἄκαρπος ἐγίνετο, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς αὐτῶν τὸ ἀμέτρητον ἔλεος ἀνεφαίνετο Χριστοῦ. διὰ γὰρ τῶν ζώντων ἐζωοποιοῦντο τὰ νεκρὰ, καὶ μάρτυρες τοῖς μὴ μάρτυσιν ἔχαριζοντο, καὶ ἐνεγίνετο πολλὴ χαρὰ τῇ παρθένῳ μητρὶ, οὓς ὡς νεκροὺς ἔξετρωσε, τούτους ζῶντας τὰς ἀπολαμβανούσῃ.

5.1.45 | But during this time, he was not lazy or unfruitful for them, but through their patience, the immeasurable mercy of Christ was revealed. For through the living, the dead were made alive, and gifts were given to those who were not witnesses, and there was much joy for the virgin mother, who, as if raising the dead, received them back alive.

5.1.46 | δι' ἑκείνων γὰρ οἱ πλείους τῶν ἡρημένων ἀνεμητροῦντο καὶ ἀνεκυίσκοντο καὶ “ἀνεζωπυροῦντο καὶ ἐμάνθανον ὁμολογεῖν, καὶ ζῶν“τες ἥδη καὶ τετονωμένοι προσήσαν τῷ βῆματι, ἐγ“γλυκαίνοντος τοῦ τὸν μὲν θάνατον τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ “μὴ βουλομένου, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν μετάνοιαν χρηστευομένου “θεοῦ, ἵνα καὶ πάλιν ἐπερωτηθῶσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος.

5.1.46 | For because of those, most of the ones who had denied were being examined and were being questioned and were being revived, and they learned to confess, and now living and strengthened, they approached the platform, sweetening the death of the sinner who did not want it, but seeking the repentance of God, so that they might be questioned again by the governor.

5.1.47 | ἐπιστείλαντος γὰρ τού Καίσαρος τοὺς μὲν “ἀποτυμπανισθῆναι, εἰ δέ τινες ἀρνοῦντο, τούτους “ἀπολυθῆναι, τῆς ἐνθάδε πανηγύρεως (ἔστι δὲ αὕτη “πολυάνθρωπος ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἔθνῶν συνερχομένων “εἰς αὐτήν) ἀρχομένης συνεστάναι ἀνῆγεν ἐπὶ τὸ “βῆμα θεατρίζων τοὺς μακαρίους καὶ ἐμπομπεύων “τοῖς ὅχλοις. διὸ καὶ πάλιν ἀνήταζε, καὶ ὅσοι μὲν “έδόκουν πολιτείαν Ῥωμαίων ἐσχηκέναι, τούτων ἀπέ“τεμνε τὰς κεφαλὰς, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἔπεμπεν εἰς “θηρία.

5.1.47 | For when Caesar sent a letter, those who were to be condemned to death were to be executed, but if any denied, they were to be released. This gathering here (which is very large with people coming from all nations) began to assemble, and he brought forth the blessed ones to the platform, putting on a show for the crowd. Therefore, he again raised them up, and those who seemed to have the Roman citizenship, he cut off their heads, while the others he sent to the wild beasts.

5.1.48 | ἐδοξάζετο δὲ μεγάλως ὁ Χριστὸς

5.1.48 | But Christ was greatly praised by

έπὶ τοῖς “πρότερον ἀρνησαμένοις, τότε παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἔθνῶν “ὑπόνοιαν ὅμολογοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ ἴδιᾳ οὗτοι ἀνητά“ζοντο, ὡς δῆθεν ἀπολυθησόμενοι, καὶ ὅμολογοῦντες “προσετίθεντο τῷ τῶν μαρτύρων κλήρῳ. ἔμειναν δὲ ἔξω οἱ μηδὲ ἔχνος πώποτε πίστεως, μηδὲ αἴσθησιν “ένδυματος νυμφικοῦ, μηδὲ ἔννοιαν φόβου θεοῦ “σχόντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀναστροφῆς αὐτῶν βλασφημοῦντες τὴν ὁδὸν, ιουτέστιν οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας.

those who had denied before, now confessing against the suspicion of the nations. For these were indeed being raised up, as if they would be released, and confessing, they were added to the lot of the martyrs. But those who had never shown any sign of faith, nor any sense of the wedding garment, nor any thought of the fear of God, remained outside, and through their behavior, they blasphemed the way, just like the sons of destruction.

5.1.49 | οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσετέθησαν, ὃν καὶ ἀνεταομένων Ἀλέξανδρός τις, Φρυγός “μὲν τὸ γένος, ιατρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐπιοτήμην, πολλοῖς “αἴτεσιν ἐν ταῖς Γαλλίαις διατρίψας, καὶ γνωστὸς “σχεδὸν πᾶσι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀγάπην καὶ “παρρησίαν τοῦ λόγου (ἥν γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἄμοιρος ἀπὸ στολικοῦ χαρίσματος), παρεστὼς τῷ βῆματι, καὶ “νεύματι προτρέπων αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν ὅμολογίαν, “φανερὸς ἦν τοῖς περιεστηκόσι τὸ βῆμα ὥσπερ ὡδίνῶν.

5.1.49 | But all the others joined the church, among whom was a certain Alexander, a Phrygian by birth, who was a doctor by profession. He had spent many years in Gaul and was known by almost everyone for his love for God and his boldness in speaking (for he was not without apostolic gifts). Standing at the platform, he was urging them with a gesture toward the confession, and the platform was clear to those who were gathered, just like a stage for performers.

5.1.50 | ἀγανακτήσαντες δὲ οἱ ὄχλοι ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς ‘πρότερον ἀρνημένους αὐθίς ὅμολογεῖν κατεβόησαν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὡς ἐκείνου τοῦτο ποιοῦντος. καὶ ἐπιστήσαντος τοῦ ἡγεμόνος καὶ ἀνετάσαντος αὐτὸν ὅστις εἶη, τού δὲ φήσαντος ὅτι Χριστιανός, ἐν ὄργῃ ὑγειόμενος κατέκρινεν αὐτὸν πρὸς θηρία, καὶ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ εἰσῆλθε μετὰ καὶ τοῦ Ἀττάλου. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸν Ἀτταλὸν τῷ ὄχλῳ χαριζόμενος ὁ ἡγεμών ἐξέδωκε πάλιν πρὸς θηρία.

5.1.50 | But the crowds became angry when those who had denied before cried out again to confess, calling for Alexander to do this. And when the governor had called him and asked who he was, and he said that he was a Christian, the governor, becoming angry, condemned him to the wild beasts. And the next day, he went in with Attalus. For the governor also, showing favor to the crowd, handed over Attalus again to the wild beasts.

5.1.51 | οἱ· καὶ διὰ πάντων διελθόντες “ἐν

5.1.51 | And after passing through all the

τῷ ἀμφιθέάτρῳ τῶν πρὸς κόλασιν  
έξηυρημένων ὄργάνων, καὶ μέγιστον  
ὑπομείναντες ἀγῶνα, τοῦσχατον ἐτύθησαν  
καὶ αὐτοὶ, τοῦ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου μήτε  
στενάξαντος μήτε γρύξαντός τι ὅλως, ἀλλὰ  
κατὰ καρδίαν ὄμιλοῦντος τῷ θεῷ.

instruments of punishment in the amphitheater, and enduring the greatest struggle, they themselves were offered up last. Neither Alexander nor any of them cried out or made any noise at all, but they spoke with God from their hearts.

5.1.52 | ὁ δὲ Ἄτταλος, ὅπότε ἐπὶ τῆς  
σιδηρᾶς ἐπετέθη καθέδρας καὶ  
περιεκαίετο, ἡνίκα ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος  
κνῖσα ἀνεφέρετο, ἔφη πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῇ  
‘Ρωμαί· κῇ φωνῇ · “ἔστιν ἀνθρώπους  
έσθίειν, ὃ ποιεῖτε ὑμεῖς· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔτε  
ἀνθρώπους ἔσθίομεν οὕθ’ ἔτερόν τι  
πονηρὸν πράττομεν.” ἐπερωτώμενος δὲ τί  
ὄνομα ἔχει ὁ θεός, ἀπεκρίθη ‘ὁ θεός ὄνομα  
οὐκ ἔχει ὡς ἄνθρωπος.

5.1.52 | But Attalus, when he was placed on the iron chair and was being burned, as the smell from his body rose up, said to the crowd in the Roman language, 'It is men that you eat, which you do; but we neither eat men nor do anything evil.' And when he was asked what name God has, he answered, 'God does not have a name like a man.'

5.1.53 | ἐπὶ πάσι δὲ τούτοις τῇ ἐσχάτῃ  
λοιπὸν ἡμέρᾳ τῶν μονομαχίων ἡ Βλανδīνα  
πάλιν εἰσεκομίζετο μετὰ καὶ Ποντικοῦ  
παιδαρίου ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα ἐτῶν, οἱ καὶ  
καθ’ ἡμέραν εἰσήγοντο πρὸς τὸ βλέπειν τὴν  
τῶν λοιπῶν κόλασιν, καὶ ἡναγκάζοντο  
όμινύναι κατὰ τῶν εἰδώλων αὐτῶν. καὶ διὰ  
τὸ ἐμμένειν εὐσταθῶς καὶ ἔξουθενεῖν  
αὐτοὺς ἡγριώθη πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸ πλῆθος,  
ὡς μήτε τὴν ἡλικίαν τοῦ παιδὸς οἴκτεῖραι  
μήτε τὸ γύναιον αἰδεσθῆναι.

5.1.53 | On all these things, on the last remaining day of the contests, Blandina was brought in again with a young boy from Pontus, about fifteen years old. They were brought in every day to see the punishments of the others, and they were forced to swear against their gods. And because they remained steadfast and despised them, the crowd became angry with them, as if they would not pity the boy's age or feel shame for the woman.

5.1.54 | πρὸς πάντα δὲ τὰ δεινὰ  
παρέβαλλον αὐτοὺς, καὶ διὰ πάσης ἐν  
κύκλῳ διῆγον κολάσεως, ἐπαλλήλως  
ἀναγκάζοντες ὄμόσαι, “ἀλλὰ μὴ δυνάμενοι  
τοῦτο πρᾶξαι· ὃ μὲν γὰρ Ποντικὸς ὑπὸ τῆς  
ἀδελφῆς παρωρμημένος, ὡς καὶ τὰ “ἔθνη  
βλέπειν ὅτι ἔκείνη ἦν προτρεπομένη καὶ  
στηρίζουσα αὐτὸν, πᾶσαν κόλασιν

5.1.54 | They placed all kinds of terrible things before them, and they went through a circle of punishments, repeatedly forcing them to swear. But they were not able to do this. For the boy from Pontus, urged on by his sister, saw that she was encouraging and supporting him. After bravely enduring all the punishments, he gave up his spirit.

γενναίως ὑπομείνας “άπέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα.

5.1.55 | ή δὲ μακαρία Βλανδῖνα “πάντων ἐσχάτη, καθάπερ μήτηρ εὐγενῆς παρορμή”σασα τὰ τέκνα καὶ νικηφόρους προπέμψασα πρὸς “τὸν βασιλέα, ἀναμετρουμένη καὶ αὐτὴ πάντα τὰ “τῶν παίδων ἀγωνίσματα, ἔσπευδε πρὸς αὐτοὺς χαί”ρουσα καὶ ἀγαλλιωμένη ἐπὶ τῇ ἔξοδῳ, ὡς εἰς νυμ“φικὸν δεῖπνον κεκλημένη, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς θηρία “βεβλημένη.

5.1.56 | καὶ μετὰ τὰς μάστιγας, μετὰ τὰ “θηρία, μετὰ τὸ τήγανον, τοῦσχατον είς γυργαθὸν “βληθεῖσα ταύρῳ παρεβλήθη, καὶ ίκανῶς ἀναβλῃ”θεῖσα πρὸς τοῦ ζώου, μηδὲ αἴσθησιν ἔτι τῶν συμ“βαινόντων ἔχουσα διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐποχὴν τῶν “πεπιστευμένων καὶ ὀμιλίαν πρὸς Χριστὸν, ἐτύθη “καὶ αὐτὴ, καὶ αὐτῶν ὁμολογούντων τῶν ἔθνῶν ὅτι “μηδεπώποτε παρ’ αὐτοῖς γυνὴ τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα “ἔπαθεν.

5.1.57 | ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ οὕτως κόρον ἐλάμβανεν αὐτῶν “ἢ μανία καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγίους ὡμότης. ὑπὸ γάρ “ἀγρίου θηρὸς ἄγρια καὶ βάρβαρα φῦλα ταραχθέντα “δυσπαύστως εἶχε, καὶ ἄλλην ίδιαν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς “σώμασιν ἐλάμβανεν ἡ ὕβρις αὐτῶν.

5.1.58 | τὸ γάρ “νενικῆσθαι αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐδυσώπει, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν “ἀνθρώπινον ἐπιλογισμὸν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἔξεκαιεν “αὐτῶν τὴν ὄργὴν καθάπερ θηρίου, καὶ τοῦ ἡγεμό”νος καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸ δόμοιον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἄδικον ἐπὶ“δεικνυμένων μῖσος, ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ ὁ ἄνο“μος ἀνομησάτω

5.1.55 | But the blessed Blandina, last of all, like a noble mother encouraging her children and sending them off as victors to the king, measuring herself against all the struggles of the children, hurried to them, rejoicing and exulting at their exit, as if she were invited to a wedding feast, but not thrown to wild beasts.

5.1.56 | And after the whips, after the wild beasts, after the frying pan, finally thrown into the bull, she was seen to be enough, and having been thrown toward the animal, she had no more awareness of what was happening because of her hope and the support of those who believed and her closeness to Christ. She was sacrificed too, and those who confessed among the nations said that no woman had ever suffered such things and so many.

5.1.57 | But neither did madness nor the rage against the saints take hold of them in this way. For they were troubled by wild and barbaric beasts, and they had difficulty bearing it, and their pride took a different control over their bodies.

5.1.58 | For their being defeated did not smell bad to them, because they did not have human reasoning. Rather, their anger burned like that of a wild beast, and the hatred shown to us by the leader and the crowd was unjust, so that the scripture might be fulfilled: 'Let the lawless continue

έτι, καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαιωθήτω ἔτι.’”

to act lawlessly, and let the righteous be righteous still.'

5.1.59 | καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐναποπνιγέντας ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ παρέβαλλον “κυσὸν, ἐπιμελῶς παραφυλάσσοντες νύκτωρ “καὶ μεθ’ ήμέραν, μὴ κηδευθῆ τις ὑφ’ ἡμῶν, καὶ “τότε δὴ προθέντες τά τε τῶν θηρίων τά τε τοῦ “πυρὸς λείψανα, τῇ μὲν ἐσπαραγμένα, πῇ δὲ ἡν— “θρακευμένα, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς σὺν τοῖς “ἀποτμήμασιν αὐτῶν ὡσαύτως ἀτάφους παρεφύλαττον “μετὰ στρατιωτικῆς ἐπιμελείας ἡμέραις συχναῖς.

5.1.59 | For they threw those who were suffocated in the prison to the dogs, carefully watching by night and by day, so that no one would be buried by us. And then, indeed, they set out the remains of both the beasts and the fire: some were torn apart, others were burned, and they also kept the heads of the rest along with their body parts, unburied, with military care for many days.

5.1.60 | καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνεβριμῶντο καὶ ἔβρυχον τοὺς ὄδόντας “ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς, ζητοῦντές τινα περισσοτέραν ἐκδίκησιν “παρ’ αὐτῶν λαβεῖν, οἱ δὲ ἐνεγέλων καὶ ἐπετώθαζον, “μεγαλύνοντες ἅμα τὰ εἴδωλα αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔκείνοις “προσάπτοντες τὴν τούτων τιμωρίαν, οἱ δὲ ἐπιεικέστεροι “καὶ κατὰ ποσὸν συμπαθεῖν δοκοῦντες ὠνείδιζον “πολὺ λέγοντες ποῦ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν, καὶ τί αὐτοὺς “τοὺς ὄντας η θρησκεία, ἥν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐαυτῶν “εἴλοντο ψυχῆς;

5.1.60 | And some were growling and gnashing their teeth at them, seeking to take some greater revenge from them. Others were mocking and scoffing, at the same time glorifying their idols, and attaching to them the punishment of those. But the more reasonable ones, thinking they were showing some sympathy, were greatly reproaching them, saying, 'Where is their god, and what has their religion done for them, which they chose even before their own lives?'

5.1.61 | καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπ’ ἔκείνων τοιαύτην “εἶχε τὴν ποικιλίαν, τὰ δὲ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἐν μεγάλῳ “καθειστήκει πένθει, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὰ σώματα “κρύψαι τῇ γῇ. οὕτε γὰρ νὺξ συνεβάλλετο ἡμῖν πρὸς “τοῦτο οὕτε ἀργύρια ἔπειθεν οὕτε λιτανεία ἐδυσώπει, “παντὶ δὲ τρόπῳ παρετήρουν, ὡς μέγα τι κερδανουντες, “εἰ μὴ τύχοιεν ταφῆς.”

5.1.61 | And the things from them had such variety, but those concerning us were greatly filled with grief, because the bodies could not be hidden in the ground. For neither night came upon us for this, nor did money persuade us, nor did prayer smell sweet. In every way, they watched over us, as if they were gaining something great, unless they happened to get a burial.

5.1.62 | τούτοις ἐξῆς “μεθ’ ἔτερά φασι “τὰ οὖν σώματα τῶν μαρτύρων  
“παραδειγματισθέντα καὶ αἴθαλωθέντα ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
“ἡμέρας ἐξ, μετέπειτα καέντα καὶ  
αἴθαλωθέντα ὑπὸ “τῶν ἀνόμων  
κατεσαρώθη εἰς τὸν Ἱοδανὸν ποταμὸν  
“πλησίον παραρρέοντα, ὅπως μηδὲ  
λείψανον αὐτῶν “φαίνηται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔτι.

5.1.63 | καὶ ταῦτ’ ἔπραττον “ώς δυνάμενοι  
νικῆσαι τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἀφελέσθαι αὐτῶν  
“τῶν τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν, ἵνα, ὡς ἔλεγον  
ἐκεῖνοι, “μηδὲ ἐλπίδα σχῶσιν ἀναστάσεως,  
ἔφ' ἦ πεποιθότες “ζένην τινὰ καὶ καινὴν  
ἡμῖν εἰσάγουσι θρησκείαν, “καὶ  
καταφρονοῦσι τῶν δεινῶν, ἔτοιμοι καὶ  
“χαρᾶς ἥκοντες ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον· νῦν  
ἴδωμεν εἰ ἀναστήσονται, “καὶ εἰ δύναται  
βοηθῆσαι αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν, καὶ  
έξελέσθαι ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν.”

## Section 2

5.2.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 18] Τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ  
κατὰ τὸν δεδηλωμένον αὐτοκράτορα ταῖς  
Χριστοῦ συμβέβηκεν ἐκκλησίαις, ἀφ' ὧν  
καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐπαρχίαις  
ἐνηργημένα είκοτι λογισμῷ στοχάζεσθαι  
πάρεστιν. ἄξιον τούτοις ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς  
ἐπισυνάψαι γραφῆς λέξεις ἐτέρας, δι' ὧν  
καὶ τὸ ἐπιεικὲς καὶ φιλάνθρωπον τῶν  
δεδηλωμένων μαρτύρων ἀναγέγραπται  
τούτοις αὐτοῖς τοῖσρήμασιν

5.2.2 | “οἱ καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ζηλωταὶ καὶ  
μιμηταὶ Χριστοῦ ἐγένοντο, ὃς ἐν μορφῇ  
θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ  
εἶναι Ἰσα θεῷ, ὡστε ἐν τοιαύτῃ δόξῃ  
ὑπάρχοντες, καὶ οὐχ ἅπαξ οὐδὲ δὶς, ἀλλὰ

5.1.62 | After these things, they say that the bodies of the martyrs, having been set as an example and burned for six days, were then burned again and thrown by the wicked into the Rhone River, flowing nearby, so that not even a trace of them would appear on the ground anymore.

5.1.63 | And they did these things as if they could defeat god and take away from them the rebirth, so that, as those said, they would have no hope of resurrection. They were bringing in a strange and new religion to us, and they looked down on the terrible things, ready and coming with joy to death. Now let us see if they will rise again, and if their god can help them and save them from our hands.

5.2.1 | Such things also happened to the churches of Christ under the declared emperor, from which it is possible to think about what was done in the other provinces. It is worth adding to these the words of another writing, through which the kindness and humanity of the declared martyrs is recorded in these statements.

5.2.2 | Those who became such zealous imitators of Christ, who, being in the form of god, did not consider being equal to god something to be grasped, so that, existing in such glory, they did not once or twice, but

πολλάκις μαρτυρήσαντες, καὶ ἐκ θηρίων  
αὐθις ἀναληφθέντες, καὶ τὰ καυτήρια καὶ  
τοὺς μώλωπας καὶ τὰ τραύματα ἔχοντες  
περικείμενα, οὕτε αὐτοὶ μάρτυρες εἰσαντοὺς  
ἀνεκήρυττον οὕτε μὴν ἡμῖν τούτῳ τῷ  
όνόματι προσαγορεύειν αὐτοὺς, ἀλλ' εἴ  
ποτέ τις ἡμῶν δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἢ διὰ λόγου  
μάρτυρας αὐτοὺς προσεῖπεν, ἐπέπλησσον  
πικρῶς.

many times bear witness, and were taken up again from beasts, and having the burnings, bruises, and wounds surrounding them, neither did they themselves declare themselves as martyrs nor did they allow us to call them by that name. But if anyone among us ever called them martyrs in a letter or in speech, they would be greatly displeased.

5.2.3 | ήδέως γὰρ παρεχώρουν τὴν τῆς  
μαρτυρίας προσηγορίαν τῷ Χριστῷ, τῷ  
πιστῷ καὶ ἀληθινῷ μάρτυρι καὶ  
πρωτότοκῷ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ἀρχηγῷ τῆς  
ζωῆς τού θεοῦ, καὶ ἐπεμψινήσγοντο τῶν  
ἔξεληλυθότων ἥδη μαρτύρων καὶ ἔλεγον  
ἐκεῖνοι ἥδη μάρτυρες, οὓς ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ  
Χριστὸς ἡξίωσεν ἀναληφθῆναι,  
ἐπισφραγισάμενος αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς ἔξόδου  
τὴν μαρτυρίαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὁμόλογοι μέτριοι  
καὶ ταπεινοί. καὶ “μετὰ δακρύων  
παρεκάλουν τοὺς ἀδελφούς, δεόμενοι “ἴνα  
ἐκτενεῖς εὐχαὶ γίνωνται πρὸς τὸ  
τελειωθῆναι “αὐτούς.

5.2.3 | For they gladly gave the title of martyr to Christ, the faithful and true witness, the firstborn of the dead, and the leader of the life of god. And they remembered those who had already passed as martyrs and said that those were already martyrs, whom Christ had deemed worthy to be taken up in their confession, confirming their witness through their departure. But we are humble and moderate confessors. And with tears, they urged the brothers, asking that earnest prayers be made for them to be perfected.

5.2.4 | καὶ τὴν μὲν δύναμιν τῆς μαρτυρίας  
ἔργω “ἐπεδείκνυντο, πολλὴν παρρησίαν  
ἄγοντες πρὸς πάντα “τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ τὴν  
εὐγένειαν διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ “ἀφοβίας  
καὶ ἀτρομίας φανερὰν ἐποίουν, τὴν δὲ πρὸς  
“τοὺς ἀδελφούς τῶν μαρτύρων  
προσηγορίαν παρητοῦντο, “έμπεπλησμένοι  
φόβου θεού.”

5.2.4 | And they showed the power of martyrdom through their actions, having great boldness before all the nations, and they made their nobility clear through patience, fearlessness, and courage. But they refused the title of martyr among the brothers, being filled with fear of god.

5.2.5 | καὶ αὐθις “μετὰ βραχέα φασίν  
“έταπείνουν ἐαυτοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν “κραταιὰν  
χεῖρα, ὑφ' ἣς ἱκανῶς νῦν είσιν ὑψωμένοι.  
“τότε δὲ πάσι μὲν ἀπελογοῦντο,  
κατηγόρουν δὲ οὐδενὸς, “ἔλυον μὲν

5.2.5 | And again, after a short time, they said they humbled themselves under the mighty hand, by which they are now sufficiently lifted up. Then they defended everyone, but they did not accuse anyone;

ἄπαντας, ἐδέσμευον δὲ οὐδένα, καὶ “ὑπὲρ τῶν τὰ δεινὰ διατιθέντων ηὔχοντο, καθάπερ “Στέφανος ὁ τέλειος μάρτυς κύριε, μὴ στήσῃς αὐτοῖς “τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ταύτην.: εἰ δ’ ὑπὲρ ίῶν λιθαζόντων “ἐδέετο, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν;

they released all, but they bound no one. And they prayed for those who were suffering terrible things, just as Stephen, the perfect martyr, said, 'Lord, do not hold this sin against them.' If he prayed for those who were stoning him, how much more for the brothers?

5.2.6 | καὶ “αῦθίς φασι μεθ' ἔτερα οὗτος γὰρ καὶ μέγιστος αύτοῖς “πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ πόλεμος ἐγένειο, διὰ τὸ γνήσιον “τῆς ἀγάπης, ἵνα ἀποτνιχθεὶς ὁ θὴρ, οὓς πρότερον “ῷετο καταπεπωκέναι, ζῶντας ἔξεμέσῃ. οὐ γὰρ ἔλαβον “καύχημα κατὰ τῶν πεπτωκότων, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς “ἔπλεόναζον αύτοὶ, τοῦτο τοῖς ἐνδεεστέροις ἐπήρκουν, “μητρικὰ σπλάγχνα ἔχοντες, καὶ πολλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν “έκχέοντες δάκρυα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.

5.2.6 | And again, they say that with another battle, for this was the greatest for them, because of the true love, the beast was choked, whom it had previously thought to have swallowed, and it released the living. For they did not take pride in the fallen, but in what they themselves had in abundance, they helped those who were in need, having motherly compassion, and pouring out many tears for them before the father.

5.2.7 | ζωὴν ἡτήσαντο, “καὶ ἔδωκεν αύτοῖς, ἦν καὶ συνεμερίσαντο “τοῖς πλησίον. κατὰ πάντων νικηφόροι πρὸς θεὸν “ἀπελθόντες, εἰρήνην ἀγαπήσαντες ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰρήνην “ἀεὶ παρεγγυήσαντες, μετ' ειρηνῆς ἔχώρησαν πρὸς “θεὸν, μὴ καταλιπόντες πόνον τῇ μητρὶ, μηδὲ στάσιν “καὶ πόλεμον τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ἀλλὰ χαρὰν καὶ εἰρήνην “καὶ ὅμονοιαν καὶ ἀγάπην.”

5.2.7 | They asked for life, and he gave it to them, even if they shared it with those nearby. Victorious over all, they went to god, always loving peace and always promising peace. They went to god in peace, not leaving pain to the mother, nor conflict and war to the brothers, but joy and peace and harmony and love.

5.2.8 | ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν μακαρίων ἐκείνων πρὸς τοὺς παραπεπτωκότας τῶν ἀδελφῶν στοργῆς ὥφελίμως προσκείσθω, τῆς ἀπανθρώπου καὶ ἀνηλεοῦς ἔνεκα διαθέσεως τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀφειδῶς τοῖς Χριστοῦ μέλεσι προσενηγμένων.

5.2.8 | Let these things also be beneficially applied to the love of those blessed ones towards the fallen brothers, because of the human and merciful disposition of those who, after this, were generously offered to the members of Christ.

## Section 3

5.3.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 18] 'Η δ' αύτὴ τῶν προειρημένων μαρτύρων γραφὴ καὶ ἄλλην τινὰ μνήμης ἀξίαν ἱστορίαν περιέχει, ἥν καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀν γένοιτο φθόνος μὴ οὐχὶ τῶν ἐντευξομένων εἰς γνῶσιν προσθεῖναι. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως.

5.3.2 | Ἀλκιβιάδου γάρ τινος ἐξ αὐτῶν, πάνυ αὐχμηρὸν βιοῦντος βίον, καὶ μηδενὸς ὅλως τὸ πρότερον μεταλαμβάνοντος, ἀλλ' ἡ ἄρτῳ μόνῳ καὶ ὑδατὶ χρωμένου, πειρωμένου τε καὶ ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ οὔτω διάγειν, Ἀττάλῳ μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον ἀγῶνα, ὃν ἐν τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ ἦνυσεν, ἀπεκαλύφθη, ὅτι μὴ καλῶς ποιοίη Ἀλκιβιάδης, μὴ χρώμενος τοῖς κτίσμασι τού θεοῦ, καὶ ἄλλοις τύπον σκανδάλου ὑπολειπόμενος.

5.3.3 | πεισθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης πάντων ἀνέδην μετελάμβανε, καὶ ηγάπατοι τῷ θεῷ. οὐ γάρ ἀνεπίσκεπτοι χάριτος θεοῦ ἡσαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον ἦν σύμβουλον αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ δὲ ἔχετω.

5.3.4 | τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Μοντανὸν καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ Θεόδοτον περὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἄρτι τότε πρῶτον τὴν περὶ τοῦ προφητεύειν ὑπόληψιν παρὰ πολλοῖς ἐκφερομένων (πλεπῖσται γὰρ οὖν καὶ ἄλλαι παραδοξοποιίαι τοῦ θείου χαρίσματος είσετι τότε κατὰ διαφόρους ἐκκλησίας ἐκτελούμεναι πίστιν παρὰ πολλοῖς τοῦ κάκείνους προφητεύειν παρεῖχον), καὶ δὴ διαφωνίας ὑπαρχούσης

5.3.1 | The writing of the aforementioned martyrs also contains another history worthy of remembrance, which no one would envy adding to the knowledge of those who are seeking. It goes like this.

5.3.2 | For one of them, Alcibiades, who lived a very harsh life and took nothing from anyone before, except for bread and water, trying to live like this in confinement, after the first contest he won in the theater, it was revealed that Alcibiades was not doing well, not using the gifts of God, and leaving behind other signs of scandal.

5.3.3 | Then Alcibiades, convinced, received everything abundantly and gave thanks to God. For they were not without the grace of God, but the Holy Spirit was their guide. And let this be said.

5.3.4 | At that time, around Montanus, Alcibiades, and Theodotus in Phrygia, many were starting to speak about the idea of prophesying (for there were also many other strange claims about the divine gift still being made in various churches, providing faith for many that they too could prophesy). And since there was disagreement about what had been declared, the brothers in Gaul submitted

περὶ τῶν δεδηλωμένων, αὗθις οἱ κατὰ τὴν Γαλλίαν ἀδελφοὶ τὴν ἴδιαν κρίσιν καὶ περὶ τούτων εὐλαβῆ καὶ ὄρθοδοξοτάτην ὑποτάτουσιν, ἐκθέμενοι καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς τελειωθέντων μαρτύρων διαφόρους ἐπιστολὰς, ἃς ἐν δεσμοῖς ἔτι ὑπάρχοντες τοῖς ἐπ' Ἀσίας καὶ Φρυγίας ἀδελφοῖς διεχάραξαν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἐλευθέρῳ τῷ τότε Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπῳ, τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης ἔνεκεν πρεσβεύοντες.

## Section 4

5.4.1 | [Nic. H.E. IV, 13-15] Οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ μάρτυρες καὶ τὸν Είρηναιον, πρεσβύτερον ἥδη τότ' ὄντα τῆς ἐν Λουγδούνῳ παροικίας, τῷ δηλωθέντι κατὰ Ῥώμην ἐπισκόπῳ συνίστων, πλεῖστα τῷ ἀνδρὶ μαρτυροῦντες, ὡς αἱ τοῦτον ἔχουσαι τὸν τρόπον δηλοῦσι φωναί

5.4.2 | “χαίρειν ἐν θεῷ σε ἐν πᾶσιν εὔχόμεθα καὶ ἀεὶ, πάτερ “Ἐλεύθερε. ταῦτά σοι τὰ γράμματα προετρεψάμεθα “τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν καὶ κοινωνὸν Είρηναῖον διακομίσαι, καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν ἔχειν σε αὐτὸν ἐν παραθέ“σεῖ, ζηλωτὴν ὄντα τῆς διαθήκης Χριστοῦ. εἰ γὰρ “ἥδειμεν, τόπον τινὶ δικαιοσύνῃ περιποιεῖσθαι, ὡς “πρεσβύτερον ἐκκλησίας, ὅπερ ἔστιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἐν “πρώτοις ἀν παρεθέμεθα.”

5.4.3 | τί δεῖ καταλέγειν τὸν ἐν τῇ δηλωθείσῃ γραφῇ τῶν μαρτύρων κατάλογον, ἵδια μὲν τῶν ἀποτμήσει κεφαλῆς τετελειωμένων, ἵδια δὲ τῶν θηρσὶν εἰς βορὰν παραβεβλημένων, καὶ αὗθις τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρητῆς κεκοιμημένων,

their own judgment, which was very respectful and orthodox regarding these matters. They also presented various letters from the martyrs who had been completed among them, which they had written to the brothers in Asia and Phrygia while still in chains, and also to Eleutherus, who was then the bishop of the Romans, advocating for the peace of the churches.

5.4.1 | The same martyrs also supported Irenaeus, who was already an elder of the community in Lyons, by testifying greatly to the bishop who had been appointed in Rome, showing that those who held this way were expressing their voices.

5.4.2 | We pray that you rejoice in God in all things, Father Eleutherus. We have urged you in these letters to send our brother and companion Irenaeus, and we encourage you to keep him in your care, as he is a zealous servant of the covenant of Christ. For if we had known that he could secure some place of justice as an elder of the church, we would have placed him first.

5.4.3 | What is the need to list the names of the martyrs in the declared writing, both those who have been completed by beheading and those who have been thrown to the wild beasts in the north, and again those who have died in prison, as

τόν τε ἀριθμὸν τῶν είσέτι τότε περιόντων δόμολογητῶν; ὅτῳ γάρ φίλον, καὶ ταῦτα ῥάδιον πληρέστατα διαγνῶναι μετὰ χεῖρας ἀναλαβόντι τὸ σύγγραμμα, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ τῇ τῶν μαρτυρίων ουναγωγὴ πρὸς ἡμῶν, ὡς γοῦν ἔφην, κατείλεκται. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐπ' Ἀντωνίου τοιαῦτα.

## Section 5

5.5.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 12] Τούτου δὴ ἀδελφὸν Μάρκον Αύρήλιον Καίσαρα λόγος ἔχει Γερμανοῖς καὶ Σαρμάταις ἀντιπαρατατόμενον μάχῃ δίψει πιεζομένης αὐτοῦ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ γενέοθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Μελιτηνῆς οὕτω καλουμένης λεγεῶνος στρατιώτας διὰ πίστεως ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς δεῦρο συνεστώσης ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους παρατάξει γόνῳ θέντας ἐπὶ γῆν κατὰ τὸ οἴκεῖον ἡμῖν τῶν εὐχῶν ἔθος ἐπὶ τὰς πρὸς θεὸν ἱκεσίας τραπέσθαι.

5.5.2 | παραδόξου δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις τούτοιούτου δὴ θεάματος φανέντος ἄλλο τι λόγος ἔχει παραδοξότερον ἐπικαταλαβεῖν αὐτίκα: σκηπτὸν μὲν εἰς φυγὴν καὶ ἀπώλειαν συνελαύνοντα τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅμβρον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν τὸ θεῖον παρακεκληκότων στρατιὰν, πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ δίψους μέλλουσαν ὅσον οὕπω διαφθείρεσθαι ἀνακτώμενον.

5.5.3 | ἡ δὲ ἱστορία φέρεται μὲν καὶ παρὰ πόρρω τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου συγγραφεῦσιν, οἵς μέλον γέγονε τῆς κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους γραφῆς, δεδήλωται δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἡμετέρων. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἔξωθεν ἱστορικοῖς, ἄτε τῆς πίστεως ἀνοικείοις,

well as the number of confessors still present at that time? For whoever is interested can easily find all this by taking up the writing, which is also connected to the gathering of the martyrs, as I have said. But these things happened during the time of Antoninus.

5.5.1 | Now, a brother of this man, Marcus Aurelius, is said to have been engaged in battle against the Germans and the Sarmatians, while his army was pressed by thirst and found itself in difficulty. The soldiers of the legion called Melitene, who had gathered there because of their faith, knelt on the ground in the line against the enemies, turning to God in prayer according to our custom of supplication.

5.5.2 | When such a strange sight appeared to the enemies, there was something even more surprising that happened immediately: the enemies, fleeing in panic and destruction, were struck by a rain that fell upon the army of those calling on the divine, refreshing them from their thirst before they could be completely destroyed.

5.5.3 | The story is told both by those far from our writing and by those who have written about the events described in the writings. It has also been made clear to our people. But for those outside, who are strangers to the faith, the strange events

τέθειται μὲν τὸ παράδοξον, οὐ μὴν καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἡμετέρων εὐχαῖς τοῦτο ὠμολογήθη γεγονέναι· τοῖς δέ γε ἡμετέροις, ἄτε ἀληθείας φίλοις, ἀπλῷ καὶ ἀκακοήθει τρόπῳ τὸ πραχθὲν παραδέδοται.

5.5.4 | τούτων δ' ἀν εἴη καὶ Ἀπολινάριος, ἐξ ἑκείνου φήσας τὴν δι' εὔχῆς τὸ παράδοξον πεποιηκῦαν λεγεῶνα οἰκείαν τῷ γεγονότι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως εἱληφέναι προσηγορίαν, κεραυνοβόλον τῇ Ρωμαίων ἐπικληθεῖσαν φωνῇ.

5.5.5 | μάρτυς δὲ τούτων γένοιτ' ἀν αἱρόχρεως ὁ Τερτυλλιανὸς, τῇ Ρωμαϊκῇ συγκλήτῳ προσφωνήσας ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἀπολογίαν, ἥς καὶ πρόσθεν ἐμνημονεύσαμεν, τήν τε ἱστορίαν βεβαιῶν σὺν ἀποδείξει μείζονι καὶ ἐναργεστέρᾳ.

5.5.6 | γράφει δ' οὗν καὶ αὐτὸς λέγων Μάρκου τοῦ συνετωτάτου βασιλέως ἐπιστολὰς εἰσέτι νῦν φέρεσθαι, ἐν αἷς αὐτὸς μαρτυρεῖ ἐν Γερμανίᾳ ὕδατος ἀπορίᾳ μέλλοντα αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν διαφθείρεσθαι ταῖς τῶν Χριστιανῶν εὐχαῖς σεσῶσθαι. τοῦτον δέ φησι καὶ θάνατον ἀπειλῆσαι τοῖς κατηγορεῦν ἡμῶν ἐπιχειροῦσιν.

5.5.7 | οἵς ὁ δηλωθεὶς ἀνὴρ καὶ ταῦτα προσεπιλέγει· ποταποὶ οὖν οἱ νόμοι οὗτοι, οἵς καθ' ἡμῶν μόνον "ἐπονται ἀσεβεῖς, ἄδικοι, ὡμοί; οὓς οὕτε Ούεσπα"σιανὸς ἐφύλαξε, καίτοι γε Ἰουδαίους νικήσας, οὓς "Τραϊανὸς ἐκ μέρους ἔξουθένησε, κωλύων ἐπιζητεῖσθαι Χριστιανοὺς, οὓς οὕτε Ἀδριανὸς, καίτοι γε πάντα τὰ περίεργα

are presented, yet it is acknowledged that this happened through the prayers of our people. For our own, who are friends of the truth, the account is passed down simply and honestly.

5.5.4 | Among these is Apolinarius, who says that the legion, which had created the strange event through prayer, received a name from the king, being called 'thunderbolt' in the language of the Romans.

5.5.5 | A worthy witness of these things would be Tertullian, who spoke in the Roman assembly in defense of the faith, which we mentioned before, and he confirms the history with greater and clearer evidence.

5.5.6 | He also writes that letters from the most wise king Marcus are still being brought, in which he himself testifies that in Germany, the army was about to be destroyed by a lack of water, but it was saved through the prayers of the Christians. He also says that he threatened death to those who were trying to accuse us.

5.5.7 | To whom the man who was shown adds these things: what kind of laws are these, which only 'the wicked, unjust, and cruel' follow? Neither did the Roman governor protect them, even though he defeated the Jews, nor did Trajan, who partly overthrew them, prevent the search for Christians, nor did Hadrian, despite all

πολυπραγμονῶν, οὕτε ὁ Εύσεβὸς  
έπικληθεὶς ἐπεκύρωσεν.’ ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν  
ὅπῃ τις ἔθέλῃ τιθέσθω, μετίωμεν δὲ ἡμεῖς  
ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἔξης ἀκολουθίαν.

his busy meddling, nor did the pious one  
who was called upon approve them. But let  
these things be placed wherever someone  
wishes; let us move on to the following  
discussion.

5.5.8 | Ποθεινοῦ δὴ ἐφ' ὅλοις τῆς ζωῆς  
ἔτεσιν ἐνενήκοντα σὺν τοῖς ἐπὶ Γαλλίας  
μαρτυρήσασι τελειωθέντος, Εἰρηναῖος τῆς  
κατὰ Λούγδουνον ἦς ὁ Ποθεινὸς ἡγεῖτο  
παροικίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διαδέχεται.  
Πολυκάρπου δὲ τοῦτον ἀκουστὴν γενέσθαι  
κατὰ τὴν νέαν ἐμανθάνομεν ἡλικίαν.

5.5.8 | After the martyrdom of Potinus,  
which happened in the year ninety of his  
life, along with those who were martyred in  
Gaul, Irenaeus takes over the bishopric of  
the community in Lugdunum, which  
Potinus led. We have learned that he  
became a student of Polycarp at a young  
age.

5.5.9 | οὗτος τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης τὴν διαδοχὴν  
ἐπισκόπων ἐν τρίτῃ συντάξει τῶν πρὸς τὰς  
αἱρέσεις παραθέμενος, εἰς Ἐλεύθερον, οὗ  
τὰ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἡμῖν ἔξετάζεται,  
ώσαν δὴ κατ' αὐτὸν σπουδαζομένης αὐτῷ  
τῆς γραφῆς, τὸν κατάλογον ἵστησι,  
γράφων ὥδε·

5.5.9 | This one, while presenting the  
succession of bishops in Rome in the third  
order regarding the heresies, goes to  
Eleutherus, where the matters concerning  
our times are examined. As he diligently  
studies the writings, he establishes the list,  
writing as follows:

## Section 6

5.6.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 15] “Θεμελιώσαντες  
οῦν καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες οἵ μακάριοι  
ἀπόστολοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Λίνω τὴν τῆς  
ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίαν ἐνεχείρισαν.  
τούτου τοῦ Λίνου Παῦλος ἐν ταῖς πρὸς  
Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολαῖς μέμνηται, διαδέχεται  
δὲ αὐτὸν Ανέγκλητος.

5.6.1 | Therefore, the blessed apostles laid  
the foundation and built the church,  
handing over the office of bishop to Linus.  
Paul mentions this Linus in his letters to  
Timothy, and Anacletus succeeds him.

5.6.2 | μετὰ τοῦτον δὲ τρίτῳ τόπῳ ἀπὸ  
“τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν κληροῦται  
Κλήμης, ὃ “καὶ ἐωρακώς τοὺς μακαρίους  
ἀποστόλους, καὶ συμβεβληκώς αὐτοῖς, καὶ  
ἔτι ἔναυλον τὸ κήρυγμα τῶν “ἀποστόλων

5.6.2 | After him, in the third place, Clement  
inherits the bishopric from the apostles,  
who has seen the blessed apostles and has  
been with them. He also has the preaching  
of the apostles and the tradition before his

καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν πρὸ ὄφθαλμῶν ἔχων, οὐ μόνος· ἔτι γὰρ πολλοὶ ὑπελείποντο τότε ὑπὸ τῶν “ἀποστόλων δεδιδαγμένοι.

5.6.3 | ἐπὶ τούτου οὖν τοῦ “Κλήμεντος στάσεως οὐκ ὀλίγης τοῖς ἐν Κορίνθῳ “γενομένης ἀδελφοῖς, ἐπέστειλεν ἡ ἐν ᾿Ρώμῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ “ἰκανωτάτην γραφὴν τοῖς Κορινθίοις, εἰς εἰρήνην “συμβιβάζουσα αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἀνανεοῦσα τὴν πίστιν “αὐτῶν καὶ ἦν νεωστὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων παρά“δοσιν εἴλήφει.“

5.6.4 | καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησὶ “τὸν δὲ “Κλήμεντα τοῦτον διαδέχεται Εὐάρεστος, καὶ τὸν “Εὐάρεστον Ἀλέξανδρος. εὗθ' οὕτως ἔκτος ἀπὸ τῶν “ἀποστόλων καθίσταται Ξύστος, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Τε“λεσφόρος, ὃς καὶ ἐνδόξως ἐμαρτύρησεν ἔπειτα Υγῖ“νος, εἶτα Πίος, μεθ' ὅν Ἀνίκητος. διαδεξαμένου “τὸν Ἀνίκητον Σωτῆρος νῦν δωδεκάτῳ τόπῳ τὸν τῆς “ἐπισκοπῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατέχει κλῆρον Ἐλεύ“θερος.

5.6.5 | τῇ αὐτῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ διδαχῇ ἢ τε “ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παράδοσις καὶ “τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας κήρυγμα κατήντηκεν εἰς ἡμᾶς.”

## Section 7

5.7.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 13] Ταῦτα ὁ Εἰρήναιος, ἀκουλούθως ταῖς προδιεξοδευθείσαις ἡμῖν ὑπογράψας ἱστορίαις ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψε πέντε οὖσι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐλέγχου καὶ ἀνατροπῆς τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως, ἐν δευτέρῳ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως, ὅτι δὴ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ὑποδείγματα τῆς θείας καὶ

eyes, not alone; for many others were still left at that time, taught by the apostles.

5.6.3 | During the time of this Clement, a serious division arose among the brothers in Corinth. The church in Rome sent a very important letter to the Corinthians, bringing them peace and renewing their faith, which they had recently received from the apostles.

5.6.4 | And after a short time, this Clement is succeeded by Evaristus, and Evaristus by Alexander. Then, in the sixth place from the apostles, Xystus is appointed, and after him, Telephorus, who also witnessed gloriously. After him came Hyginus, then Pius, and after him, Anicetus. After Anicetus, Soter now holds the twelfth place in the bishopric, receiving the office from the apostles.

5.6.5 | In the same order and with the same teaching, both the tradition from the apostles in the church and the preaching of the truth have reached us.

5.7.1 | Irenaeus wrote these things, following the histories that were previously laid out for us, in which he recorded five as the number of proof and overturning of the false knowledge. In the second of the same argument, he shows that indeed there were also examples of divine and marvelous

παραδόξου δυνάμεως ἐν ἐκκλησίαις τισὶν ὑπολέλειπτο, διὰ τούτων ἐπισημαίνεται λέγων

5.7.2 | “τοσοῦτον δὲ ἀποδέουσι “τοῦ νεκρὸν ἔγείραι, καθὼς ὁ κύριος ἤγειρε καὶ “ἀπόστολοι διὰ προσευχῆς, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀδελφότητι “πολλάκις, διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον τῆς κατὰ τόπον ἐκκλησίας πάσης αἰτησαμένης μετὰ νηστείας καὶ λιτανείας πολλῆς, ἐπέστρεψε τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ τετελευτηκότος, καὶ ἔχαρισθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ταῖς εὐχαῖς τῶν ἀγίων.”

5.7.3 | καὶ αὗθίς φησι μεθ' ἔτερα εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸν κύριον “φαντασιωδῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα πεποιηκέναι φήσουσιν, “ἐπὶ τὰ προφητικὰ ἀνάγοντες αὐτοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ“δείξομεν πάντα οὕτως περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ προειρῆσθαι “καὶ γεγονέναι βεβαίως, καὶ αὐτὸν μόνον εἶναι τὸν “υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. Διὸ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔκείνου ὄνόματι οἵ “ἀληθῶς αὐτοῦ μαθηταὶ, παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντες τὴν “χάριν, ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἐπ' εὔεργεσίᾳ τῇ τῶν λοιπῶν “ἄνθρωπων, καθὼς εἴς ἔκαστος τὴν δωρεὰν εἴληφε παρ' αὐτοῦ.

5.7.4 | οἵ μὲν γὰρ δαίμονας ἐλαύνουσι βεβαίως καὶ ἀληθῶς, ὡστε πολλάκις καὶ πιστεύειν ἑκείνους αὐτοὺς τὸνς καθαρισθέντας ἀπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν πνευμάτων καὶ εἶναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οἵ δὲ καὶ πρόγνωσιν ἔχουσι τῶν μελλόντων καὶ ὀπτασίας καὶ ὥστεις προφητικάς, ἄλλοι δὲ τὸν κάμνοντας διὰ τῆς τῶν χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως ἴῶνται καὶ ὑγιεῖς ἀποκαθιστᾶσιν. Ἡδη δὲ, καθὼς ἔφαμεν, καὶ νεκροὶ ἡγέρθησαν, καὶ παρέμειναν σὺν ἡμῖν

power left in certain churches. Through these, he emphasizes, saying...

5.7.2 | They are so afraid to raise the dead, just as the lord raised them and the apostles through prayer. And in the brotherhood, often, because of the need of each local church asking with much fasting and prayer, the spirit of the deceased returned, and the man was granted life through the prayers of the saints.

5.7.3 | And again he says, if they claim that the lord did such things only in imagination, we will show that all these things about him were truly foretold and have happened, and that he alone is the son of god. Therefore, in his name, his true disciples, having received grace from him, perform acts of kindness for the benefit of other people, just as each one has received a gift from him.

5.7.4 | Some indeed drive out demons truly and certainly, so that often even those who have been cleansed from evil spirits believe and are in the church. Others have knowledge of future events and prophetic visions and sayings. And others are healed and restored to health by the laying on of hands. Already, as we said, the dead have been raised and have remained with us for many years.

έτεσιν ίκανοῖς.

5.7.5 | καὶ τί γάρ; οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμὸν είπεῖν τῶν χαρισμάτων, ὃν κατὰ παντὸς του κόσμου ἡ ἐκκλησία παρὰ θεοῦ λαβοῦσα ἐν τῷ ὄνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἐπ' εὔεργεσίᾳ τῇ τῶν ἔθνῶν ἐπιτελεῖ, μήτε ἔξαπατῶσά τινας μήτε ἔχαργυριζομένη· ὡς γὰρ “δωρεὰν εἶληφε παρὰ θεοῦ, δωρεὰν καὶ διακονεῖ.

5.7.6 | καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ δὲ τόπῳ ὁ αὐτὸς γράφει καθὼς καὶ “πολλῶν ἀκούομεν ἀδελφῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ “τικὰ χαρίσματα ἔχόντων, καὶ παντοδαπαῖς λαλούν” τῶν διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος γλώσσαις, καὶ τὰ κρύφια “τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς φανερὸν ἀγόντων ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ τὰ μυστήρια τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκδιηγουμένων. ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τοῦ διαφορὰς χαρισμάτων μέχρι καὶ τῶν δηλουμένων χρόνων παρὰ τοῖς ἀξίοις διαμεῖναι.

## Section 8

5.8.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 14] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀρχόμενοι πραγματείας ὑπόσχεσιν πεποιήμεθα παραθήσεσθαι κατὰ καιρὸν εἰπόντες τὰς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πρεσβυτέρων τε καὶ συγγραφέων φωνὰς, ἐν αἷς τὰς περὶ τῶν ἐνδιαθήκων γραφῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς κατελθούσας παραδόσεις γραφῆ παραδεδώκασι, τούτων δὲ καὶ ὁ Εἱρήναιος ἦν, φέρε καὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ παραθώμεθα λέξεις.

5.8.2 | καὶ πρώτας γε τὰς περὶ τῶν Ἱερῶν

5.7.5 | And what is there? There is no way to count the gifts, which the church receives from god in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, every day performing acts of kindness for the benefit of the nations, neither deceiving anyone nor being bought. For as she has received freely from god, so she serves freely.

5.7.6 | And in another place, he writes that we hear many brothers in the church having different gifts, and speaking in various languages through the spirit, and revealing the hidden things of people, as well as explaining the mysteries of god. These things and the differences of gifts continue to be shared among those who are worthy.

5.8.1 | Since we have promised to begin a discussion, we will present at the right time the voices of the ancient church elders and writers, in which they have handed down the writings about the agreements that have come down to them. Among these was Irenaeus, so let us also consider his words.

5.8.2 | And first, concerning the holy

εύαγγελίων, οὕτως ἔχούσας ὁ μὲν δὴ  
Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἐβραίοις τῇ ἴδιᾳ αὐτῶν  
διαλέκτῳ καὶ γραφὴν ἔξήνεγκεν  
εὐαγγελίου, τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν  
‘Ρώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων  
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

gospels, Matthew indeed presented his gospel in Hebrew in their own dialect, while Peter and Paul were preaching in Rome and laying the foundation of the church.

5.8.3 | μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον Μάρκος  
ὸ μαθητὴς καὶ ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου καὶ  
αὐτὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα  
έγγραφως ἡμὶν παραδέ“δωκε, καὶ Λουκᾶς  
δὲ, ὁ ἀκόλουθος Παύλου, τὸ ὑπ’ ἐκείνου  
κηρυσσόμενον εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βίβλῳ  
κατέθετο.

5.8.3 | After their departure, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, also handed down to us in writing what was preached by Peter. And Luke, the companion of Paul, recorded in a book the gospel that was preached by him.

5.8.4 | ἔπειτα Ἰωάννης, ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ  
κυρίου, ὁ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος αὐτοῦ  
ἀναπεσὼν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔξεδωκε τὸ  
εὐαγγέλιον, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας  
δια“τρίβων.”

5.8.4 | Then John, the disciple of the Lord, who also leaned on his chest, also gave out the gospel while staying in Ephesus of Asia.

5.8.5 | ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τρίτῳ τῆς  
εἰρημένης ὑποθέσεως τῷ προδηλωθέντι  
εἴρηται. ἐν δὲ τῷ πέμπτῳ περὶ τῆς Ἰωάννου  
ἀποκαλύψεως καὶ τῆς ψήφου τῆς τοῦ  
ἀντιχρίστου προσηγορίας οὕτω  
διαλαμβάνει· “τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἔχόντων,  
καὶ ἐν πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ ἀρχαίοις  
ἀντιγράφοις τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τούτου κειμένου,  
καὶ μαρτυρούντων αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν  
κατ’ ὄψιν τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ τοῦ λόγου  
διδάσκοντος ἡμᾶς ὅτι ὁ ἀριθμὸς τοῦ  
ὄνόματος τοῦ θηρίου κατὰ τὴν τῶν  
Ἐλλήνων ψῆφον διὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ  
γραμμάτων ἐμφαίνεται.”

5.8.5 | These things are said in the third part of the mentioned subject. In the fifth part, concerning the revelation of John and the number of the name of the Antichrist, it is stated this way: 'With these things being so, and in all the important and ancient manuscripts of this number being present, and those who saw John and taught us the word testifying that the number of the name of the beast appears according to the counting of the Greeks through the letters in it.'

5.8.6 | καὶ ὑποκαταβὰς περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
φάσκει “ἡμεῖς οὖν οὐκ ἀποκινδυνεύομεν

5.8.6 | And going down about the same thing, he says, 'Therefore, we do not take

περὶ τοῦ ὄνόματος τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου ἀποφαινόμενοι βεβαιωτικῶς. εἰ γὰρ ἔδει ἀναφανδὸν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ κηρύττεσθαι τοῦνομα αὐτοῦ, δι' ἐκείνου ἀν ἐρρέθη τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἐωρακότος· κότος· οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἐωράθη, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεάς, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς."

risks about the name of the Antichrist, stating it confidently. For if it were necessary to openly proclaim his name in this present time, it would have been said then, when the revelation was seen; for it was not seen a long time ago, but almost in our generation, towards the end of the reign of Domitian.'

5.8.7 | ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως ἴστόρηται τῷ δεδηλωμένῳ. μέμνηται δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰωάννου πρώτης ἐπιστολῆς, μαρτύρια ἐξ αὐτῆς πλεῖστα εἰσφέρων, ὅμοίως δὲ καὶ τῆς Πέτρου προτέρας. οὐ μόνον δὲ οἶδεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποδέχεται τὴν τοῦ Ποιμένος γραφὴν λέγων καλῶς οὖν εἴπεν ἡγραφὴ ἡ λέγουσα, πρῶτον πάντων πίστευσον ὅτι εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ τ'. πάντα κτίσας καὶ τὰ ἔξης.

5.8.7 | These things are also told about the revelation as it has been made clear. He also remembers the first letter of John, bringing many testimonies from it, just as from the earlier letter of Peter. Not only does he know, but he also accepts the writing of the Shepherd, saying well that the writing says, 'First of all, believe that there is one God, who created everything and what follows.'

5.8.8 | καὶ ἥπτοις τοῖς δέ τισιν ἐκ τῆς Σολομῶνος Σοφίας κέχρηται, μονονουχὶ φάσκων ὄρασις 'δε θεοῦ περιποιητική ἀφθαρσίας, ἀφθαρσία δὲ ἐγγὺς εἶναι ποιεῖ θεοῦ. καὶ ἀπομνημονευμάτων δὲ ἀποστολικοῦ τινὸς πρεσβυτέρου, οὗ τοῦνομα σιωπῇ παραδέδωκε, μνημονεύει, ὃ ἔξηγήσεις τε αὐτοῦ θείων γραφῶν παρατέθειται.

5.8.8 | And some things are used from the Wisdom of Solomon, not only saying: 'The vision of God is a preserving one of immortality, and immortality makes one close to God.' He also remembers the writings of some apostolic elder, whose name he has handed down in silence, and he mentions that his explanations of divine writings are presented.

5.8.9 | ἔτι καὶ Ἰουστίνου τού μάρτυρος καὶ Ἰγνατίου μνήμην πεποίηται, μαρτυρίαις αὐθις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τούτοις γραφέντων κεχρημένος. ἐπήγγελται δὲ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν Μαρκίωνος συγγραμμάτων ἀντιλέξειν αὐτῷ ἐν ἴδιῳ σπουδάσματι.

5.8.9 | He has also made a remembrance of Justin the martyr and Ignatius, using testimonies again from the writings of these men. He has promised to refute him from the writings of Marcion in his own study.

5.8.10 | καὶ περὶ τῆς κατὰ τοὺς

5.8.10 | And about the translation of the

έβδομήκοντα ἐρμηνείας τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν ἄκουε οἴα κατὰ λέξιν γράφει ὁ Θεὸς οὗν ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτὸς κύριος ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς, δοὺς τὸ τῆς παρθένου σημεῖον ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἔνιοι φασι τῶν νῦν τολμῶντων μεθερμηνεύειν τὴν γραφὴν 'ἴδον ἡ νεᾶνις ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν', ὡς Θεοδοτίων ἡρμήνευσεν ὁ Ἐφέσιος, καὶ Ἀκύλας ὁ Ποντικός, ἀμφότεροι Ἰουδαῖοι προσήλυτοι, οἵς κατακολουθήσαντες οἱ Ἑβιωναῖοι ἔξι Ιωσήφ αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι φάσκουσι."

5.8.11 | τούτοις ἐπιφέρει μετὰ βραχέα λέγων πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ Ῥωμαίους κρατῦναι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν, ἔτι τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν Ἀσίαν κατεχόντων, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου, φιλοτιμούμενος τὴν "ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατεσκευασμένην βιβλιοθήκην ἐν Αἴλε" ξανδρείᾳ κοσμῆσαι τοῖς πάντων ἀνθρώπων συγγράμμασιν, δσα γε σπουδαῖα ὑπῆρχεν, ἥτησατο παρὰ τῶν Ιεροσολυμιτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον σχεῖν αὐτῶν μεταβεβλημένας τὰς γραφάς.

5.8.12 | οἱ δὲ ὑπήκουον γὰρ ἔτι τοῖς Μακεδόσι τότε) τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐμπειροτάτους τῶν γραφῶν καὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν διαλέκτων, ἐβδομήκοντα πρεσβυτέρους ἐπεμψαν Πτολεμαίῳ, ποιήσοντας τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἡβούλετο

5.8.13 | ὁ δὲ ἴδει πεῖραν αὐτῶν λαβεῖν θελή"σας, εὐλαβηθείς τε μή τι ἄρα συνθέμενοι τὴν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς διὰ τῆς ἐρμηνείας ἀλή"θειαν, χωρίσας αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐκέλευσε πάντας τὴν αὐτὴν ἐρμηνείαν γράφειν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πάντων

divine writings by the seventy, listen to what is written: 'Therefore, man became God, and the Lord saved us, giving the sign of the virgin.' But not as some of those today who dare to translate the writing say: 'Behold, the young woman will conceive and bear a son,' as Theodotion the Ephesian translated, and Aquila the Pontic, both of whom were Jewish proselytes. The Ebionites, following them, claim that he was born from Joseph.

5.8.11 | These things he adds briefly, saying that before the Romans held power, while the Macedonians were still holding Asia, Ptolemy son of Lagus, wanting to adorn the library he had built in Alexandria with the writings of all men, as many important works as there were, requested from the people of Jerusalem to translate their scriptures into the Greek language.

5.8.12 | And they were still subject to the Macedonians at that time. They sent seventy elders, the most experienced in the scriptures and both dialects, to Ptolemy, to do what he wanted.

5.8.13 | But he, wanting to take a test of their ability, and being careful not to mix up the truth in the scriptures through the translation, ordered them to be separated from each other and to write the same translation, and he did this for all the

τῶν βιβλίων ἐποίησε.

5.8.14 | συνελθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ παρὰ τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ, καὶ “συναντιβαλλόντων ἐκάστου τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ἐρμηνείαν, “ὅ μὲν θεός ἐδιξάσθη, αἱ δὲ γραφαὶ ὅντως “ἐγνώσθησαν, τῶν πάντων τὰ αὐτὰ ταῖς αὐταῖς λέξεσι καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀναγορευσάντων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους, ὥστε καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἔθνη “γνώναι ὅτι κατ' ἐπίπνοιαν τοῦ θεοῦ είσιν ἡρμηνευμέναι αἱ γραφαί.

5.8.15 | καὶ οὐδέν γε θαυμαστὸν τοῦτο ἐνηργηκέναι τὸν θεὸν, ὃς γε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ Ναβουχοδονόσορ αἰχμαλωσίᾳ τοῦ λαοῦ, διαφθαρεισῶν σῶν τῶν γραφῶν, καὶ μετὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀνελθόντων εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν, ἐπειτα ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἐνέπνευσεν “Ἐσδρα τῷ ἱερεῖ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Λευὶ, τοὺς “τῶν προγεγονότων προφητῶν πάντας ἀνατάξασθαι λόγους, καὶ ἀποκαταστῆσαι τῷ λαῷ τὴν διὰ Μωυσέως νομοθεσίαν.” τοσαῦτα ὁ Είρήναιος.

## Section 9

5.9.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 19] Ἐννέα δὲ καὶ δέκα ἔτεσι τῇ βασιλείᾳ διαρκέσαντος Ἀντωνίνου, Κόμοδος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραλαμβάνει, οὗ κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐκκλησιῶν Ἰουλιανὸς ἐγχειρίζεται τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν, ἐπὶ δυοκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν Ἀγριππίνου τὴν λειτουργίαν ἀναπλήσαντος.

books.

5.8.14 | When they all gathered together at Ptolemy's and compared each one's translation, God was honored, and the scriptures were truly recognized, as all of them used the same words and names from beginning to end, so that even the present nations would know that the scriptures were translated by the inspiration of God.

5.8.15 | "And this is not surprising that God has done this, who also during the captivity of the people under Nebuchadnezzar, when the scriptures were being destroyed, after seventy years of the Jews returning to their land, inspired Ezra the priest from the tribe of Levi in the times of Artaxerxes, the king of the Persians, to gather together all the words of the earlier prophets and to restore the law given through Moses to the people." So says Irenaeus.

5.9.1 | After nine years of Antoninus's reign, Commodus takes over the leadership, during which, in the first year of the churches in Alexandria, Julian is given the bishopric, after Agrippinus had served for twelve years.

## Section 10

5.10.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 32] Ἡγεῖτο δὲ τηνικαῦτα τῆς τῶν πιστῶν αὐτόθι διατριβῆς τῶν ἀπὸ παιδείας ἀνὴρ ἐπιδοξότατος, ὄνομα αὐτῷ Πάνταινος, ἐξ ἀρχαίου ἔθους διδασκαλείου τῶν Ἱερῶν λόγων παρ' αὐτοῖς συνεστῶτος, ὃ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς παρατείνεται, καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐν λόγῳ καὶ τῇ περὶ τὰ θεῖα σπουδῇ δυνατῶν συγκροτεῖσθαι παρειλήφαμεν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μάλιστα κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ διαλάμψαι λόγος ἔχει τὸν δεδηλωμένον, οἷα καὶ ἀπὸ φιλοσόφου ἀγωγῆς τῶν καλουμένων Στωϊκῶν ὀρμώμενον.

5.10.1 | At that time, a very famous man named Pantainos was leading the gathering of believers there. He was established in the ancient tradition of teaching the sacred words among them, which is also passed down to us. We have learned that he was able to gather those who were strong in the study of the divine. In particular, during that time, there was a notable teaching that was revealed, which was also influenced by the philosophy of the so-called Stoics.

5.10.2 | τοσαύτην δ' οὖν φασιν αὐτὸν ἐκθυμοτάτῃ διαθέσει προθυμίαν περὶ τὸν Θεῖον λόγον ἐνδείξασθαι ώς καὶ κήρυκα τοῦ κατὰ Χριστὸν εὐαγγελίου τοῖς ἐπ' ἀνατολῆς ἔθνεσι ἀναδειχθῆναι, μέχρι καὶ τῆς Ἰνδῶν στελάμενον γῆς. ἦσαν γὰρ, ἦσαν εἰσέτι τότε πλείους εὐαγγελισταὶ τοῦ λόγου, ἐνθεον ζῆλον ἀποστολικοῦ μιμήματος συνεισφέρειν ἐπ' αὐξήσει καὶ οίκοδομῇ τοῦ θείου λόγου προμηθούμενοι

5.10.2 | They say that he showed such great eagerness in his passionate spirit for the divine word that he was even raised up as a preacher of the gospel of Christ to the nations in the east, even to the land of the Indians. For at that time, there were many evangelists of the word, inspired by a zeal like that of the apostles, contributing to the growth and building up of the divine word.

5.10.3 | ὃν εἰς γενόμενος καὶ ὁ Πάνταινος καὶ εἰς Ἰνδοὺς ἐλθεῖν λέγεται, ἐνθα λόγος εὐρεῖν αὐτὸν προφθάσαν τὴν αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον παρά τισιν αὐτόθι τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπεγνωκόσιν, οὓς Βαρθολομαῖον τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔνα κηρῦξαι, αὐτοῖς τε Ἑβραίων γράμμασι τὴν τοῦ Ματθαίου καταλεῖψαι γραφὴν, ἥν καὶ σώζεσθαι εἰς τὸν δηλούμενον χρόνον.

5.10.3 | Among them, Pantainos is said to have gone to the Indians, where he found that the gospel according to Matthew had already reached those who recognized Christ. To them, he sent one of the apostles, Bartholomew, to preach. He also left them a written account of Matthew in Hebrew, which is still preserved to this day.

5.10.4 | ὁ γε μὴν Πάνταινος ἐπὶ πολλοῖς κατορθώμασι τοῦ κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τελευτῶν ἡγεῖται διδασκαλείου, ζώσῃ φωνῇ καὶ διὰ συγγραμμάτων τοὺς τῶν θείων δογμάτων θησαυροὺς ὑπομνηματιζόμενος.

## Section 11

5.11.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 33.] Κατὰ τοῦτον ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς συνασκούμενος ἐπ'

Ἀλεξανδρείας ἔγνωρίζετο Κλήμης,  
διμώνυμος τῷ πάλαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων  
ἐκκλησίας ἡγησαμένῳ φοιτητῇ τῶν  
ἀποστόλων.

5.11.2 | ὃς δὴ καὶ ὄνομαστὶ ἐν αἷς  
συνέταξεν Ὑποτυπώσεσιν ὡσὰν  
διδασκάλου τοῦ Πανταίνου μέμνηται,  
τοῦτόν τε αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν Στρωμάτεων ἐν  
πρώτῳ συγγράμματι αἰνίττεσθαί μοι δοκεῖ,  
ὅτε τοὺς ἔμφανεστέρους ἡς κατείληφεν  
ἀποστολικῆς διαδοχῆς ἐπισημαίνομενος  
ταῦτά φησιν

5.11.3 | “ἢδη δὲ οὐ γραφὴ εἴς ἐπίδειξιν  
τετεχνασμένη ἥδε ἡ πραγματεία, ἀλλά μοι  
ὑπομνήματα εἰς γῆρας θησαυρίζεται, λήθης  
φάρμακον, εἴδωλον ἀτεχνῶς καὶ  
σκιαγραφία τῶν ἐναργῶν καὶ ἐμψύχων  
ἔκείνων ὡν “κατηξιώθην ἐπακοῦσαι λόγων  
τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν “ρίων καὶ τῷ ὅντι  
ἀξιολόγων.

5.11.4 | τούτων ὁ μὲν τῆς Ἐλλάδος, ὁ  
Ίωνικὸς, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης Ἐλλάδος, τῆς  
Κοίλης ἀτερος αὐτῶν Συρίας ἦν, ὁ “δὲ ἀπ'  
Αἴγυπτου, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀνὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν,

5.10.4 | Indeed, Pantainos is considered to have achieved many successes in teaching in Alexandria, using a living voice and through writings, he was recording the treasures of the divine teachings.

5.11.1 | At this time, Clement, who shared the name of the earlier leader of the Roman church, was recognized in Alexandria while studying the divine scriptures.

5.11.2 | He indeed also mentions in his writings the Hypotypes, as a student of Pantainos. It seems to me that he is also hinted at in the first book of the Stromata, when he points out the more prominent figures of the apostolic succession, saying these things.

5.11.3 | This work is not a written display made for show, but rather a collection of reminders for old age, a remedy against forgetfulness, a simple outline and shadow of those clear and living things of which I was deemed worthy to hear the words of truly worthy men.

5.11.4 | Of these, one was from Greece, the Ionian, and another from the great Greece, which was the Coele of Syria. The one from Egypt, and others from the east, one of the

ταύτης ὁ μέν τις τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Ἐβραῖος ἀνέκαθεν. ὑστάτῳ δὲ περιτυχών δυνάμει δὲ ἄρα πρῶτος ἦν) ἀνεπαυσάμην, ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ θηράσας λεληθότα

Assyrians, and the other a Hebrew from Palestine. Finally, having encountered power, I was the first to rest, having hunted in Egypt, unnoticed.

5.11.5 | ἀλλ' οὗ μὲν τὴν ἀληθῆ τῆς μακαρίας σώζοντες διδασκαλίας παράδοσιν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Ἰακώβου, Ἰωάννου τε καὶ Παύλου τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεξάμενος ὅλιγοι δὲ οἱ πατράσιν ὅμοιοι), ἥκον δὴ σὺν θεῷ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς, τὰ προγονικὰ ἔκεινα καὶ ἀποστολικὰ καταθησόμενοι σπέρματα.”

5.11.5 | But we indeed preserve the true teachings of blessedness, handed down directly from Peter and James, and John and Paul, the holy apostles, as a child receiving from a father, and few are like their ancestors. Thus, with God's help, we have come to us, to plant those ancestral and apostolic seeds.

## Section 12

5.12.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 19] Ἐπὶ τούτων τῆς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος ὁ παρὰ πολλοῖς εἰσέτι νῦν βεβοημένος Νάρκισσος ἐγνωρίζετο, πεντεκαιδεκάτην ἄγων διαδοχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ Ἀδριανὸν πολιορκίας, ἐξ οὐ δὴ πρῶτον τὴν αὐτόθι ἐκκλησίαν ἐξ ἔθνῶν συστήναι μετὰ τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς, καθηγήσασθαι τε αὐτῶν πρῶτον ἐξ ἔθνῶν ἐπίσκοπον Μάρκον ἐδηλώσαμεν.

5.12.1 | Upon these matters, the bishop of the church in Jerusalem, Narcissus, who is still honored by many even now, was recognized, holding the fifteenth succession from the siege of the Jews under Hadrian. For it was not first that the church there was established with the Gentiles along with those from the circumcision; we declared that Mark was the first bishop from the Gentiles.

5.12.2 | μεθ' ὃν ἐπισκοπεῦσαι Κασσιανὸν αῖ τῶν αὐτόθι διαδοχαὶ περιέχοῦσι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Πούπλιον, εἶτα Μάξιμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἰουλιανὸν, ἔπειτα Γάϊον, μεθ' ὃ Σύμμαχον, καὶ Γάϊον ἔτερον, καὶ πάλιν ἄλλον Ἰουλιανὸν, Καπίτωνά τε πρὸς τούτοις καὶ Ούάλεντα καὶ Δολιχιανὸν, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸν Νάρκισσον, τριακοστὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐξῆς διαδοχὴ γεγενημένον.

5.12.2 | With him, Cassian was a bishop, and the successions there include him, and after him, Publius, then Maximus, and among these, Julian, then Gaius, with whom was Symmachus, and another Gaius, and again another Julian, along with Capito, and Valens, and Dolichian, and above all, Narcissus, who was the thirtieth from the apostles in the following succession.

## Section 13

5.13.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 29] Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ρόδων, γένος τῶν Ἀσίας, μαθητευθεὶς ἐπὶ Ρώμης, ὡς αὐτὸς ἴστορεῖ, Τατιανῷ, δὸν ἐκ τῶν πρόσθεν ἔγνωμεν, διάφορα συντάξας βιβλία, μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν Μαρκίωνος παρατέτακται αἱρεσιν· ἦν καὶ εἰς διαφόρους γνώμας κατ' αὐτὸν διαστᾶσαν ἴστορεῖ, τοὺς τὴν διάστασιν ἐμπεποιηκότας ἀναγράφων, ἐπ' ἀκριβέστερας παρ' ἐκάστῳ τούτων ἐπινενοημένας διελέγχων ψευδολογίας.

5.13.2 | ἄκουε δ' οὗν καὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα γράφοντος διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παρ' ἐσυτοῖς ἀσύμφωνοι γεγόνασιν, ἀσυστάτου γνώμης ἀντιποιούμενοι. "ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς τούτων ἀγέλης Ἀπελλῆς μὲν, ὁ τῇ ποιῶντι λιτείᾳ σεμνυνόμενος καὶ τῷ γήρᾳ, μίαν ἀρχὴν τὰς δὲ προφητείας ἐξ ἀντικειμένου λέγει πνεύματος, πειθόμενος ἀποφθέγμασι παρθένου δαιμονώσης, δόνομα Φιλουμένης.

5.13.3 | ἔτεροι δὲ, καθὼς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ναύτης Μαρκίων, δύο ἀρχὰς εἰσηγοῦνται· "ἄφ' ὧν εἰσὶ Ποτίτος τε καὶ Βασιλικός.

5.13.4 | καὶ οὗτοι 'μὲν κατακολουθήσαντες τῷ Ποντικῷ λύκῳ, καὶ μὴ εὑρίσκοντες τὴν διαίρεσιν τῶν πραγμάτων, ὡς οὐδὲ. ἔκεινος, ἐπὶ τὴν εὐχέρειαν ἐτράποντο, καὶ δύο ἀρχὰς ἀπεφήναντο ψιλῶς καὶ ἀναποδείκτως. ἄλλοι δὲ πάλιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἔξοκείλαντες οὐ μόνον δύο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρεῖς ὑποτίθενται φύσεις, ὧν "έστιν ἀρχηγὸς καὶ προστάτης Σύνερως,

5.13.1 | In this time, also Rhodon, a man from Asia, who studied in Rome, as he himself tells, was known to Tatian, whom we recognized from earlier. He composed various books, including those against the heresy of Marcion. He also tells how different opinions arose against him, writing against those who had created divisions, and he carefully examined the falsehoods that each of them had thought up.

5.13.2 | Listen then, as he writes these things, and for this reason they have become disagreeing among themselves, opposing each other with confused opinions. 'For from their group, Apelles, who is honored by the city and by age, speaks of one principle, but he says the prophecies come from an opposing spirit, being persuaded by the sayings of a possessed virgin, named Philumene.'

5.13.3 | But others, just like the sailor Marcion himself, introduce two principles: 'from which come Potitus and Basilicus.'

5.13.4 | And these: having followed the Pontic wolf, and not finding the division of things, just like him, they turned to ease, and declared two principles simply and without proof. But others, again, having drifted from them to the worse, propose not only two, but also three natures, of which the chief and leader is Syneros, as those who present his teaching say.

καθώς οὗτός τούς “διδασκαλεῖον αὐτοῦ  
προβαλλόμενοι λέγουσι.”

5.13.5 | γράφει δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὡς καὶ εἰς λόγους ἐληλύθοι τῷ Ἀπελλῇ, φάσκων οὕτως “ὅταν γέρων Ἀπελλῆς συμμίξας ἡμῖν πολλὰ μὲν κακῶς λέγων ἡλέγχθη, ὅθεν “καὶ ἔφασκε μὴ δεῖν ὅλως ἔξετάζειν τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ’ ἔκαστον, ὡς πεπίστευκε, διαιμένειν. σωθήσεσθαι “γάρ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον ἡλπικότας ἀπεφαί“νετο, μόνον ἔὰν ἐν ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς εὐρίσκωνται. τὸ “δὲ πάντων ἀσαφέστατον ἐδογματίζετο αὐτῷ πρᾶγμα, “καθὼς προειρήκαμεν, τὸ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἔλεγε μὲν “γάρ μίαν ἀρχὴν καθὼς καὶ ὁ ἡμέτερος λόγος.”

5.13.6 | εἶτα προθεὶς αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν δόξαν ἐπιφέρει φάσκων “λέγοντος δέ μου πρὸς αὐτὸν ‘πόθεν ἡ ἀπόδειξις αὕτη σοι, ἢ πῶς δύνασαι λέγειν μίαν ἀρχὴν, ‘φράσον ἡμῖν’ ἔφη τὰς μὲν προφητείας ἐσαντὰς ἐλέγχειν, διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ὅλως ἀληθὲς εἰρηκέναι· ἀσύμφωνος γάρ τοι τὸν ὑπάρχουσι καὶ ψευδεῖς καὶ ἐσαυταῖς ἀντικείμεναι. τὸ δὲ πῶς ἐστι μία ἀρχὴ μὴ γινώσκειν “ἔλεγεν, οὕτω δὲ κινεῖσθαι μόνον.

5.13.7 | εἶτ’ ἐπομοσα“μένου μου τάληθες εἴπειν, ὥμηνεν ἀληθεύων λέγειν, μὴ ἐπίστασθαι πῶς εἷς ἐστιν ἀγέννητος θεός, “τοῦτο δὲ πιστεύειν. ἐγὼ δὲ γελάσας κατέγνων αὐτοῦ, “διότι διδάσκαλος εἶναι λέγων οὐκ ἔδει τὸ διδασκό“μενον ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ κρατύνειν.”

5.13.8 | ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ συγγράμματι

5.13.5 | But the same one writes as if he had come to words with Apelles, saying this: 'For the old man Apelles, mixing with us, was often rebuked for speaking badly, from which he said that one should not examine the word at all, but each person should remain as he believes. For those hoping in the crucified one would be saved, only if they are found in good deeds. But the most unclear doctrine was the matter concerning god, as we have said before. For he said there is one principle, just like our teaching.'

5.13.6 | Then, having set forth all his opinion, he adds, saying, 'When I asked him where this proof is for you, or how you can say there is one principle, he replied to us: The prophecies themselves are to be examined, because they have said nothing true at all; for there are both false and contradictory ones. But he said that he does not know how there is one principle, and only this is how it moves.'

5.13.7 | Then, after I had sworn to tell the truth, he swore that he was speaking truthfully, saying that he did not know how the one unbegotten god is, but he believes this. But I laughed and recognized him, because he, claiming to be a teacher, did not know how to hold on to what he was teaching.

5.13.8 | In the same writing, he addresses

Καλλιστίωνι προσφωνῶν ὁ αὐτὸς  
μεμαθητεῦσθαι ἐπὶ Ῥώμης Τατιανῷ  
ἐαυτὸν ὄμολογεῖ. φησὶ δὲ καὶ ἐσπουδάσθαι  
τῷ Τατιανῷ προβλημάτων βιβλίον, δι’ ὃν  
τὸ ἀσαφὲς καὶ ἐπικεκρυμμένον τῶν θείων  
γραφῶν παραστήσειν ὑποσχομένου τοῦ  
Τατιανοῦ αὐτὸς ὁ Ῥόδων ἐν ἴδιῳ  
συγγράμματι τὰς τῶν ἔκείνου  
προβλημάτων ἐπιλύσεις ἐκθήσεσθαι  
ἐπαγγέλλεται. φέρεται δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς  
τὴν ἔξαήμερον ὑπόμνημα.

Callistion, admitting that he has been a student of Tatian in Rome. He also says that he studied a book of problems from Tatian, through which he promises to explain the unclear and hidden parts of the divine writings. The one from Rhodes claims that he will present the solutions to those problems in his own writing. It is also reported that he has a commentary on the six days.

5.13.9 | ὁ γέ τοι Ἀπελλῆς οὗτος μυρία κατὰ  
τοῦ Μωυσέως ἡσέβησε νόμου, διὰ  
πλειόνων συγγραμμάτων τοὺς θείους  
βλασφημήσας λόγους, εἰς ἔλεγχόν τε, ὡς γε  
δὴ ἐδόκει, καὶ ἀνατροπὴν αὐτῶν οὐ μικρὰν  
πεποιημένος σπουδήν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ  
τούτων.

5.13.9 | This Apelles has greatly disrespected the law of Moses, having blasphemed the divine words in many writings, as it seemed to him, for both correction and a significant overturning of them. So much for these matters.

## Section 14

5.14.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 20] Μισόκαλός γε μὴν  
ἔς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ φιλοπόνηρος ὃν ὁ τῆς  
ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ πολέμιος, μηδένα τε  
μηδαμῶς τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
ἀπολιπὼν ἐπιβουλῆς τρόπον, αἰρέσεις  
ξένας αὐθις ἐπιφύεσθαι κατὰ τῆς  
ἐκκλησίας ἐνήργει, ὃν οἱ μὲν ιοβόλων δίκην  
ἐρπετῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ Φρυγίας εῖρπον,  
τὸν μὲν παράκλητον Μοντανὸν, τὰς δὲ ἐξ  
αὐτοῦ γυναῖκας, Πρίσκιλλαν καὶ  
Μαξίμιλλαν, ὡσὰν τοῦ Μοντανοῦ  
προφήτιδας γεγονύιας αύχοντες.

5.14.1 | Indeed, this Misokalos, being very much a lover of strife and a fierce enemy of the church of God, did not leave any way to plot against people untried. He actively caused foreign heresies to arise against the church, some of which crept in like poisonous creatures in Asia and Phrygia. He was the one who supported the comforter Montanus, along with his women, Priscilla and Maximilla, who claimed to be prophets of Montanus.

## Section 15

5.15.1 | οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἥκμαζον, ὃν ἤγεῖτο  
Φλωρῖνος, πρεσβυτερίου τῆς ἐκκλησίας

5.15.1 | Those in Rome were flourishing, led by Florinus, who had fallen from the

ἀποπεσών, Βλάστος τε σὺν τούτῳ παραπλησίῳ πτώματι κατεσχημένος. οὐ καὶ πλείους τῆς ἐκκλησίας περιέλκοντες ἐπὶ τὸ σφῶν ὑπῆγον βούλημα, θάτερος ἴδιως περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν νεωτερίζειν πειρώμενος.

## Section 16

5.16.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 23] Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὴν λεγομένην κατὰ Φρύγας αἴρεσιν ὅπλον ἰσχυρὸν καὶ ἀκαταγώνιστον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἱεραπόλεως τὸν Ἀπολινάριον, οὗ καὶ πρόσθεν μνήμην ὁ λόγος πεποίητο, ἄλλους τε σὺν αὐτῷ πλείους τῶν τηνικάδε λογίων ἀνδρῶν ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπέρμαχος ἀνίστη δύναμις, ἔξ ὧν καὶ ἡμῖν ἱστορίας πλείστη τις ὑπόθεσις καταλέλειπται.

5.16.2 | ἀρχόμενος γοῦν τῆς κατ' αὐτῶν γραφῆς τῶν είρημένων δή τις πρῶτον ἐπισημαίνεται, ὡς καὶ ἀγράφοις τοῖς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπεξέλθοι ἐλέγχοις. προοιμιάζεται γοῦν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον

5.16.3 | “ἐκ πλείστου ὅσου “καὶ ἵκανωτάτου χρόνου, ἀγαπητὲ Ἅουρίκιε Μάρκελλε, ἐπιταχθεὶς ὑπὸ σοῦ συγγράψαι τινὰ λόγον “εἰς τὴν τῶν κατὰ Μιλτιάδην λεγομένων αἴρεσιν, “ἔφεκτικώτερόν πως μέχρι νῦν διεκείμην, ούκ ἀπὸ “ρίᾳ τοῦ δύνασθαι ἐλέγχειν μὲν τὸ ψεῦδος, μαρτυρεῖν δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, δεδιώς δὲ καὶ ἔξευλαβούμενος “μή πῃ δόξω τισὶν ἐπισυγγράφειν ἡ ἐπιδιατάσσεσθαι “τῷ τῆς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καινῆς διαθήκης λόγῳ, ὡς “μήτε προσθεῖναι μήτ’ ἀφελεῖν δυνατὸν τῷ κατὰ τὸ “εὐαγγέλιον αὐτὸν πολιτεύεσθαι προηρημένω.

presbytery of the church, and Blastus, who was also caught in a similar downfall. They were drawing many from the church to their side, each trying to promote new ideas about the truth.

5.16.1 | Therefore, against the so-called heresy in Phrygia, a strong and unchallengeable weapon was Apollinaris in Hierapolis, of whom the previous mention has been made. Along with him, many other men of similar learning rose up as champions of the truth, from whom a significant account of history has been left to us.

5.16.2 | Starting indeed with the writing about them, someone is first pointed out, as he also would be examined by the unwritten accusations against them. Thus, this method is introduced.

5.16.3 | From the greatest and most sufficient time, dear Aurelius Mark, having been urged by you to write some words about the so-called heresy concerning Miltiades, I have somehow been more hesitant until now, not because I cannot refute the falsehood, but because I fear and am cautious that I might seem to add or take away from the new covenant of the gospel, which cannot be altered in any way.

5.16.4 | προσ“φάτως δὲ γενόμενος ἐν Ἀγκύρᾳ τῆς Γαλατίας, καὶ “καταλαβὼν τὴν κατὰ Πόντον ἐκκλησίαν ὑπὸ τῆς “νέας ταύτης, οὐχ, ὡς αὐτοί φασι, προφητείας, πολὺ “δὲ μᾶλλον, ὡς δειχθήσεται, ψευδοπροφητείας δια“τεθρυλημένην, καθ' ὅσον δυνατὸν, τοῦ κυρίου πα“ρασχόντος, περὶ αὐτῶν τε τούτων καὶ τῶν προτει“νομένων ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἔκασά τε διελέχθημεν ἡμέραις “πλείοσιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὡς τὴν μὲν ἐκκλησίαν “ἀγαλλιασθῆναι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐπιρρωσθῆ“ναι, τοὺς δ' ἐξ ἐναντίας πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἀποκρουσθῆ“ναι, καὶ τοὺς ἀντιθέους λυπηθῆναι.

5.16.5 | ἀξιούντων “οὖν τῶν κατὰ τόπον πρεσβυτέρων, ὅπως τῶν λε“χθέντων κατὰ τῶν ἀντιδιατιθεμένων τῷ τῆς ἀλη“θείας λόγῳ ὑπόμνημά τι καταλίπωμεν, παρόντος καὶ “τοῦ συμπρεσβυτέρου ἡμῶν Ζωτικοῦ τοῦ Ὁτρηνοῦ, “τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπράξαμεν, ἐπηγγειλάμεθα δὲ, ἐν“θάδε γράψαντες τοῦ κυρίου διδόντος διὰ σπουδῆς “πέμψειν αὐτοῖς.”

5.16.6 | ταῦτα καὶ ἔξῆς τούτοις ἔτερα κατ' ἀρχὰς εἰπών τοῦ λόγου, τὸν αἴτιον τῆς δηλουμένης αἱρέσεως προϊών τοῦτον ἀνιστορεῖ τὸν τρόπον “ἡ τοίνυν ἔνστασις αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ πρόσφατος τοῦ ἀπο“σχίσματος αἱρεσις πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν αἵτια “ἔσχε τοιαύτην.

5.16.7 | κώμη τις εἶναι λέγεται ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν Μυσίᾳ, καλουμένη Ἀρδαβαῦ τοῦνομα· “ἐνθα φασί τινα τῶν νεοπίστων

5.16.4 | Recently, while I was in Ancyra of Galatia, and having come upon the church in Pontus under this new one, not as they say, a prophecy, but much more, as will be shown, a false prophecy that has been spread, as far as possible, with the Lord providing, we discussed these matters and those proposed by them over several days in the church, so that the church might rejoice and be strengthened in the truth, while those on the other side might be rejected, and the opposers might be saddened.

5.16.5 | Since the local elders were asking that we leave some record of what was said against those who oppose the word of truth, and with our fellow elder Zotikos from Otryn present, we did not accomplish this, but we promised that, having written here, we would send it to them with the Lord's help and urgency.

5.16.6 | These things and others that I will say next, I will explain the cause of the heresy being made clear. Therefore, their opposition and the recent heresy of the schism had this as the reason against the church.

5.16.7 | There is a village in Phrygia, called Ardabaus. There, they say, one of the new believers, named Montanus, under the

πρώτως, Μοντανὸν “τοῦνομα, κατὰ Γρᾶτον Ἀσίας ἀνθύπατον, ἐν ἀπιθυμίᾳ “ψυχῆς ἀμέτρῳ φιλοπρωτείας δόντα πάροδον εἰς “ἐαυτὸν τῷ ἀντικειμένῳ πνευματοφορηθῆναι τε καὶ “αἴφνιδίως ἐν κατοχῇ τινι καὶ παρεκστάσει γενόμενον “ἐνθουσιῶν ἄρξασθαί τε λαλεῖν καὶ ξενοφωνεῖν, “παρὰ τὸ κατὰ παράδοσιν καὶ κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἄνωθεν “τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔθος δῆθεν προφητεύοντα.

5.16.8 | τῶν δὲ “κατ’ ἑκεῖνο καιροῦ ἐν τῇ τῶν νόθων ἐκφωνημάτων “ἀκροάσει γενομένων οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ ἐνεργουμένῳ καὶ “δαιμονῶντι καὶ ἐν πλάνῃς πνεύματι ὑπάρχοντι καὶ “τοὺς ὄχλους ταράττοντι ἀχθόμενοι ἐπετίμων καὶ λαλεῖν “ἐκώλυον, μεμνημένοι τῆς τοῦ κυρίου διαστολῆς “τε καὶ ἀπειλῆς πρὸς τὸ φυλάττεσθαι τὴν τῶν “ψευδοπροφητῶν ἐγρηγορότως παρουσίαν· οἱ δὲ ὡς “ἀγίῳ πνεύματι καὶ προφητικῷ χαρίσματι ἐπαιρόμενοι “καὶ οὐχ ἥκις χαννούμενοι, καὶ τῆς “τοῦ κυρίου ἐπιλανθανόμενοι, τὸ βλαψίφρον καὶ ὑποκοριστικὸν “καὶ λαοπλάνον πνεῦμα προυκαλοῦντο, “θελγόμενοι καὶ πλανώμενοι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸ μηκέτι “κωλύεσθαι σιωπᾶν.

5.16.9 | τέχνῃ δέ τινι, μᾶλλον “δὲ τοιαύτῃ μεθόδῳ κακοτεχνίας ὁ διάβολος τὴν κατὰ “τῶν παρηκόων ἀπώλειαν μηχανησάμενος, καὶ παρ’ “ἀξίαν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τιμώμενος, ὑπεξήγειρέ τε καὶ προσεξέκαυσεν “αὐτῶν τὴν ἀποκεκοιμημένην ἀπὸ τῆς κατ’ “ἀλήθειαν πίστεως διάνοιαν, ὡς καὶ ἐτέρας τινὰς δύο “γυναῖκας ἐπεγεῖραι καὶ τοῦ νόθου πνεύματος πληρῶσαι, “ὡς καὶ λαλεῖν ἐκφρόνως καὶ ἀκαίρως καὶ “ἄλλοτριοτρόπως, δύοις τῷ

governor of Asia, Gratian, was filled with an unmeasured desire for leadership. He suddenly became inspired and began to speak and prophesy in a state of possession, going against the tradition and succession of the church.

5.16.8 | At that time, when the false teachings were being heard, some were acting as if they were possessed by demons and were leading people astray. They were trying to silence the crowds, remembering the Lord's warning and threat to be alert against the presence of false prophets. But others, thinking they had the Holy Spirit and the gift of prophecy, were not afraid and forgot the Lord. They called forth a harmful and deceitful spirit, being charmed and led astray by it, so that they could no longer be stopped from speaking.

5.16.9 | By some craft, or rather by such a method of evil, the devil devised the destruction of those who were listening. He stirred them up and set fire to their minds, which had fallen asleep from the true faith. He also awakened two other women and filled them with the false spirit, so that they spoke wildly and inappropriately, just like the one mentioned before. Some were happy and amazed by this spirit, and because of the greatness of the promises,

προειρημένω, καὶ τοὺς “μὲν χαίροντας καὶ χαυνουμένους ἐπ’ αὐτῷ μακαρί“ζοντος τοῦ πνεύματος, καὶ διὰ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν “ἐπαγγελμάτων ἐκφυσιοῦντος, ἔσθ’ ὅπῃ δὲ καὶ κα“τακρίνοντος στοχαστικῶς καὶ ἀξιοπίστως αὐτοὺς “ἀντικρυς, ἵνα καὶ ἐλεγκτικὸν εἶναι δοκῇ, (όλιγοι δ’ “ῆσαν οὗτοι τῶν Φρυγῶν ἔξηπατημένοι), τὴν δὲ κα“θόλου καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκκλησίαν “βλασφημεῖν διδάσκοντος τοῦ ἀπηθαδισμένου πνεύματος, ὅτι μήτε τιμὴν μήτε πάροδον εἰς αὐτὴν τὸ “ψευδοπροφητικὸν ἐλάμβανε πνεῦμα.

they were puffed up. But there were a few of these deceived Phrygians who were able to see clearly and judge them fairly, so that it might seem like they were correcting them. Meanwhile, the evil spirit taught that the whole church under heaven was blaspheming, claiming that it received neither honor nor any part of the false prophetic spirit.

5.16.10 | τῶν γὰρ “κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πιστῶν πολλάκις καὶ πολλαχῆ τῆς “Ἀσίας εἰς τοῦτο συνελθόντων, καὶ τοὺς προσφάτους “λόγους ἔξετασάντων καὶ βεβήλους ἀποφηνάντων καὶ “ἀποδοκιμασάντων τὴν αἵρεσιν, οὕτω δὴ τῆς τε ἐκ“κλησίας ἔξεώσθησαν καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας εἴρχθη“σαν.”

5.16.10 | For many times and in many places, the believers in Asia came together to examine the recent teachings. They judged and rejected the false teachings, and so they were driven out of the church and removed from the fellowship.

5.16.11 | ταῦτα ἐν πρώτοις ιστορήσας, καὶ δι’ ὅλου τοῦ συγγράμματος τὸν ἔλεγχον τῆς κατ’ αὐτοὺς πλάνης ἐπαγγαγών, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς τῶν προδεδηλωμένων ταῦτά φησιν

5.16.11 | After first recounting these things and bringing forth the proof against their deception throughout the whole writing, in the second part about the end of those previously mentioned, he says this:

5.16.12 | “ἐπειδὴ τοί“νυν καὶ προφητοφόντας ἡμᾶς ἀπεκάλουν, ὅτι μὴ “τοὺς ἀμετροφώνους αὐτῶν προφήτας ἐδεξάμεθα, “(τούτους γὰρ εἶναι φασιν, οὕσπερ ἐπηγγείλατο τῷ “λαῷ πέμψειν ὁ κύριος), ἀποκρινάσθωσαν ἡμῖν πρὸς “θεοῦ, ἔστι τις, ὃ βέλτιστοι, τούτων τῶν ἀπὸ Μον“τανοῦ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν λαλεῖν ἀρξαμένων, ὅστις “ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἐδιώχθη ἢ ὑπὸ παρανόμων ἀπεκτάν“θη; ούδείς.

5.16.12 | Since now they called us false prophets, saying that we did not accept their mute prophets (for they claim these are the ones whom the Lord promised to send to the people), let them answer us before God: is there anyone, oh best ones, among those who began to speak from Montanus and the women, who was persecuted by Jews or was killed by lawless people? No one. Nor was any of them

ούδέ γέ τις αύτῶν κρατηθεὶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
“όνόματος ἀνεσταυρώθη. οὐ γὰρ οὗν. ούδε  
μὴν “ούδὲ ἐν συναγωγαῖς Ἰουδαίων τῶν  
γυναικῶν τις “έμαστιγώθη ποτὲ ἡ  
έλιθοβολήθη. ούδαμόσε ούδα“μῶς.

5.16.13 | ἄλλω δὲ θανάτῳ τελευτῆσαι  
λέγονται Μον“τανός τε καὶ Μαξίμιλλα.  
τούτους γὰρ ὑπὸ πνεύμα“τος βλαψίφρονος  
ἐκατέρους ὑποκινήσαντος λόγος  
“ἀναρτῆσαι ἐαυτοὺς, οὐχ ὅμοι, κατὰ δὲ τὸν  
τῆς ἐκά“στου τελευτῆς καιρὸν φρήμῃ πολλῇ,  
καὶ οὕτω δὲ τε“λευτῆσαι καὶ τὸν βίον  
καταστρέψαι Ἰούδα προδότου “δίκην.

5.16.14 | καθάπερ καὶ τὸν θαυμαστὸν  
ἔκεινον τὸν “πρῶτον τῆς κατ’ αὐτοὺς  
λεγομένης προφητείας οἷον “ἐπίτροπόν  
τινα Θεόδοτον πολὺς αἱρεῖ λόγος, ὡς  
αἱ“ρόμενόν ποτε καὶ ἀναλαμβανόμενον εἰς  
οὐρανοὺς “παρεκστῆναι τε καὶ  
καταπιστεῦσαι ἐαυτὸν τῷ τῆς “ἀπάτης  
πνεύματι, καὶ δισκευθέντα κακῶς  
τελευτῆ“σαι.

5.16.15 | φασὶ γοῦν τοῦτο οὕτως  
γεγονέναι, ἀλλὰ “μὴ ἄνευ τοῦ ἴδειν ἡμᾶς  
ἐπίστασθαί τι τῶν τοιού“των νομίζομεν, ὡ  
μακάριε. ἵσως μὲν γὰρ οὕτως, “ἵσως δὲ οὐχ  
οὕτως τετελευτήκασι Μοντανός τε καὶ  
“Θεόδοτος καὶ ἡ προειρημένη γυνή.”

5.16.16 | αὖθις δ’ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ φησι λόγῳ  
τοὺς τότε Ἱεροὺς ἐπισκόπους πεπειρᾶσθαι  
μὲν τὸ ἐν τῇ Μαξιμίλῃ πνεῦμα διελέγχαι,  
κεκωλύσθαι δὲ πρὸς ἐτέρων,

captured for the name and crucified.  
Indeed, not even among the Jewish  
synagogues was any woman ever whipped  
or stoned. Nowhere at all.

5.16.13 | Montanus and Maximilla are said  
to have died a different kind of death. For  
each of them was moved by a harmful spirit  
to raise themselves up, not together, but  
according to the time of each one's end,  
there was much talk, and thus they ended  
their lives in a way like that of the traitor  
Judas.

5.16.14 | Just as there is much talk about  
that remarkable first one of the so-called  
prophecy against them, Theodotus, who  
was taken up into the heavens, and he was  
led astray and believed in the spirit of  
deception, and he ended badly.

5.16.15 | They say that this happened in  
this way, but we think that it is not without  
seeing us to know something of such  
things, oh blessed one. For perhaps  
Montanus and Theodotus and the woman  
mentioned before ended in this way, or  
perhaps not.

5.16.16 | Again, in the same speech, he says  
that the holy bishops at that time tried to  
challenge the spirit in Maximilla, but they  
were prevented from doing so by others,

συνεργούντων δηλαδή τῷ πνεύματι.

who were working together with the spirit.

5.16.17 | γράφει δὲ οὕτως “καὶ μὴ λεγέτω ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ τῷ κατὰ Ἀστέριον Οὐρβανὸν “τὸ διὰ Μαξιμίλλης πνεῦμα ‘διώκομαι ὡς λύκος ἐκ ‘προβάτων’ οὐκ εἰμὶ λύκος· ἥπημά είμι καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ ‘δύναμις’, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι δύναμιν ἐναργῶς “δειχάτω καὶ ἐλεγχάτω, καὶ ἔξομολογεῖσθαι διὰ τοῦ “πνεύματος καταναγκασάτω τοὺς τότε παρόντας εἰς “τὸ δοκιμάσαι καὶ διαλεχθῆναι τῷ πνεύματι λαλοῦντι, “ἄνδρας δοκίμους καὶ ἐπισκόπους, Ζωτικὸν ἀπὸ Κομάνης κώμης καὶ Ιουλιανὸν ἀπὸ Ἀπαμείας, ὃν οἱ “περὶ Θεμίσωνα τὰ στόματα φιμώσαντες οὐκ εἴασαν “τὸ ψευδὲς καὶ λαοπλάνον πνεῦμα ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐλεγχθῆναι.”

5.16.17 | He writes this way: "And let it not be said in the same speech about Urbanus Asterius that I am chased by the spirit through Maximilla like a wolf from sheep; I am not a wolf; I am a word and a spirit and a power. But let the power in the spirit be clearly shown and examined, and let it force those present at that time to confess through the spirit, to test and speak with the spirit that is speaking, worthy men and bishops, Zoticus from the village of Comana and Julian from Apameia, whose mouths, those around Themison, silenced and did not allow the false and deceiving spirit to be examined by them."

5.16.18 | ἐν ταύτῳ δὲ πάλιν ἔτερα μεταξὺ πρὸς ἔλεγχον τῶν τῆς Μαξιμίλλης ψευδοπροφητειῶν εἰπών, ὅμοῦ τόν τε χρόνον καθ’ ὃν ταῦτ’ ἔγραψε σημαίνει καὶ τῶν προρρήσεων αὐτῆς μέμνηται, δι’ ὃν πολέμους ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀκαταστασίας προεμαντεύσατο, ὃν καὶ τὴν ψευδολογίαν εύθύνει ὡδε λέγων

5.16.18 | In the same place, again speaking about the false prophecies of Maximilla for the purpose of examination, he indicates the time when he wrote these things and remembers her predictions, through which he foretold wars and disturbances. He also corrects her falsehood by saying this:

5.16.19 | “καὶ “πῶς οὐ καταφανὲς ἥδη γέγονε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψεῦδος; “πλείω γάρ ἡ τρισκαίδεκα ἔτη είς ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐξ οὗ τετελεύτηκεν ἡ γυνὴ, καὶ οὕτε μερικὸς “οὕτε καθολικὸς κόσμῳ γέγονε πόλεμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ “Χριστιανοῖς μᾶλλον είρήνη διάμονος ἐξ ἐλέου θεοῦ”. καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου συγγράμματος

5.16.19 | "And how has this lie not already become clear? For more than thirteen years have passed since that day when the woman died, and there has been neither a partial nor a universal war in the world, but rather peace for Christians through the mercy of God." And this is also from the second writing.

5.16.20 | καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου δὲ σμικρὰς

5.16.20 | And from the third writing, I will

παραθήσομαι λέξεις, δι' ᾧν πρὸς τοὺς αὐχοῦντας, ὡς ἄρα πλείους καὶ αὐτῶν μεμαρτυρηκότες εἴεν, ταῦτά φησιν "ὅταν τοίνυν ἐν "πᾶσι τοῖς είρημένοις ἐλεγχθέντες ἀπορήσωσιν, ἐπὶ "τοὺς μάρτυρας πειρῶνται καταφεύγειν, λέγοντες "πολλοὺς ἔχειν μάρτυρας, καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι τεκμήριον "πιστὸν τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς λεγομένου "προφητικοῦ πνεύματος. τὸ δ' ἔστιν ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικε, "παντὸς μᾶλλον οὐκ ἀληθές.

5.16.21 | καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων "αἰρέσεών τινες πλείστους ὅσους ἔχουσι μάρτυρας, "καὶ οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δήπου συγκαταθησόμεθα, ούδε "ἀλήθειαν ἔχειν αὐτοὺς ὅμοιογήσομεν. καὶ πρῶτοί "γε οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Μαρκίωνος αἰρέσεως Μαρκιωνισταὶ "καλούμενοι πλείστους ὅσους ἔχειν Χριστοῦ μάρτυρας λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τόν γε Χριστὸν αὐτὸν κατ' ἀλήθειαν οὐχ ὅμοιογοῦσι." καὶ μετὰ βραχέα τούτοις ἐπιφέρει λέγων

5.16.22 | "ὅθεν τοι καὶ ἐπειδὰν οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ "τῆς κατ' ἀλήθειαν πίστεως μαρτύριον κιηθέντες "ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τύχωσι μετά τινων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς "τῶν Φρυγῶν αἰρέσεως λεγομένων μαρτύρων, δια"φέρονταί τε πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ κοινωήσαντες αὐτοῖς τελειοῦνται, διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι συγκαταθέ"συαι τῷ διὰ Μοντανοῦ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν πνεύματι. καὶ δότι τοῦτο ἀληθὲς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων "χρόνων ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ τῇ πρὸς Μαιάνδρῳ τυγχάνει "γεγενημένον ἐν τοῖς περὶ Γάϊον καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον "ἀπὸ Εύμενείας μαρτυρήσασι πρόδηλον."

present a few brief statements, through which he says to those boasting, as if they themselves had many witnesses: 'When then, having been examined in all these things, they are at a loss, they try to flee to the witnesses, saying that they have many witnesses, and this is a reliable proof of the power of the prophetic spirit that is said to be among them.' But it seems that this is, in fact, not true at all.

5.16.21 | "For among the other sects, some have many witnesses, and we will not agree that they have the truth because of this. And indeed, the followers of Marcion, called Marcionites, claim to have many witnesses of Christ, but they do not truly acknowledge Christ himself." And after a short time, he adds, saying...

5.16.22 | Therefore, when those called to testify about the truth of the faith are found to have some of the so-called witnesses from the sect of the Phrygians, they are different from them and do not share in their beliefs, because they do not want to agree with the spirit through Montanus and the women. And that this is true is shown by what happened in our times in Apamea by the Maeander River, where it was made clear in the matters concerning Gaius and Alexander from Eumenes.

## Section 17

5.17.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 24] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ συγγράμματι καὶ Μιλτιάδου συγγραφέως μέμνηται, ὡς λόγον τινὰ καὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῆς προειρημένης αἱρέσεως γεγραφότος, παραθήμενος γοῦν αὐτῶν λέξεις τινὰς ἐπιφέρει λέγων "ταῦτα εὺρὼν ἔν τινι συγγράμματι αὐτῶν ἐνισταμένων τῷ Μιλτιάδου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φού συγγράμματι, ἐν ᾧ ἀποδείκνυσι περὶ τοῦ μὴ "δεῖς προφήτην ἐν ἔκστάσει λαλεῖν, ἐπετεμόμην."

5.17.1 | In this writing, there is also a mention of Miltiades as an author, who has written something against the previously mentioned sect. Therefore, he adds some of their words, saying, 'Having found these in a certain writing of theirs opposing the writing of Miltiades the brother, in which he shows that one should not let a prophet speak in a trance, I was moved.'

5.17.2 | ὑποκαταβὰς δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν καινὴν διαθήκην προπεφητευκότας καταλέγει, ἐν οἷς καταριθμεῖ Ἀμμίαν τινὰ καὶ Κοδρᾶτον, λέγων οὕτως "ἀλλ' ὅ γε ψευδοπροφήτης ἐν παρεκστάσει, ᾧ ἔπειται "ἀδεια καὶ ἀφοβία, ἀρχόμενος μὲν ἔξ έκουσίου ἀμά"θίας, καταστρέψων δὲ εἰς ἀκούσιον μανίαν ψυχῆς, "ώς προείρηται.

5.17.2 | Then, he goes on to mention those who have prophesied according to the new covenant, among whom he lists a certain Ammian and Codratus, saying this: 'But the false prophet in a trance, who is followed by freedom and fearlessness, starting from voluntary ignorance, then turning into an involuntary madness of the soul, as has been said before.'

5.17.3 | τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον οὔτε τινὰ "τῶν κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν, οὔτε τῶν κατὰ τὴν καινὴν "πνευματοφορηθέντα προφήτην δεῖξαι δυνήσονται, "οὔτε Ἀγαβον, οὔτε Ἰούδαν, οὔτε Σίλαν, οὔτε τὰς "Φιλίππου θυγατέρας, οὔτε τὴν ἐν Φιλαδελφείᾳ Ἀμμίαν, οὔτε Κοδρᾶτον, οὔτε γε δή τινας ἄλλους μη "δὲν αὐτοῖς προσήκοντας καυχήσονται."

5.17.3 | In this way, they will not be able to show any prophet who was inspired according to the old covenant or the new, neither Agabus, nor Judas, nor Silas, nor the daughters of Philip, nor the Ammonia in Philadelphia, nor Codratus, nor indeed any others who do not belong to them.

5.17.4 | καὶ αὖθις δὲ μετὰ βραχέα ταῦτά φησιν "εἴ γάρ μετὰ "Κοδρᾶτον καὶ τὴν ἐν Φιλαδελφείᾳ Ἀμμίαν, ὡς φασιν, αἱ περὶ Μοντανὸν διεδεξαντο γυναικες τὸ προφητικὸν χάρισμα, τοὺς ἀπὸ Μοντανοῦ

5.17.4 | And again, shortly after this, he says, 'For if, along with Codratus and the Ammonia in Philadelphia, as they say, the women around Montanus showed the prophetic gift, let those who received it

καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τίνες παρ' αὐτοῖς διεδέξαντο δειξάτωσαν· “δεῖν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ προφητικὸν χάρισμα ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἑκκλησίᾳ μέχρι τῆς τελείας παρουσίας ὁ ἀπόστολος “ἀξιοῦ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀν ἔχοιεν δεῖξαι “τὸν ἥδη που τοῦτο ἔτος ἀπὸ τῆς Μαξιμίλλης “τῆς.”

from Montanus and the women show it. For the apostle insists that the prophetic gift should be in the whole church until the final coming; but they would not be able to show that this has already been the case since Maximilla.'

5.17.5 | οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα. ὅ γέ τοι πρὸς δεδηλωμένος Μιλτιάδης καὶ ἄλλας ἡμῖν τῆς ἴδιας περὶ τὰ θεῖα λόγια σπουδῆς μνήμας καταλέλοιπεν, ἐν τε οἷς πρὸς Ἑλληνας συνέταξε λόγοις καὶ τοῖς πρὸς Ἰουδαίους, ἐκατέρᾳ ἴδιως ὑποθέσει ἐν δυσὶν ὑπαντήσας συγγράμμασιν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κοσμικοὺς ἀρχοντας ὑπὲρ ἣς μετήι φιλοσοφίας πεποίηται ἀπολογίαν.

5.17.5 | This is indeed so much. For Miltiades has left us a record of his own studies about divine matters, both in the writings he composed for the Greeks and those for the Jews, addressing each group separately in two different works. He also made a defense before the worldly rulers about the philosophy he followed.

## Section 18

5.18.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 25] τῆς δὲ κατὰ Φρύγας καλουμένης αἱρέσεως καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος, ἀκινησιαστικὸς συγγραφεὺς, ἀκμαζούσης εἰσέτι τότε κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἔλεγχον ἐνστησάμενος ἵδιον κατ' αὐτῶν πεποίηται σύγγραμμα, τὰς μὲν φερομένας ἀντῶν προφητείας ψευδεῖς οὕσας κατὰ λέξιν εὐθύνων, τὸν δὲ βίον τῶν τῆς αἱρέσεως ἀρχηγῶν ὀποῖός τις γέγονε διελέγχων. αὐτοῖς δὲ ἢμασι περὶ τοῦ Μοντανοῦ ταῦτα λέγοντος ἀκουε

5.18.1 | Of the heresy called the Phrygian and Apollonios, an ecclesiastical writer, while it was still flourishing in Phrygia, set up a specific work against them. He showed that their claimed prophecies were false in wording and examined the lives of the leaders of the heresy. Listen to what he says about Montanus.

5.18.2 | “ἄλλὰ τίς οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ “πρόσφατος διδάσκαλος τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ διδασκαλία δείκνυσιν. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ διδάξας λύσεις “γάμων, ὁ νηστείας νομοθετήσας, ὁ Πέπουζαν καὶ Τύμιον Ίερουσαλὴμ ὄνομάσας πόλεις δέ εἰσιν αὖται μικραὶ τῆς Φρυγίας), τοὺς πανταχόθεν ἔκεī ‘συναγαγεῖν ἐθέλων, ὁ

5.18.2 | But who is this 'recent teacher' whose works and teachings show? This is the one who taught about the dissolutions of marriages, who established the laws of fasting, who named the cities Pepouzan and Tymion in Jerusalem (these are small towns in Phrygia), wanting to gather people from everywhere there. He is the

πρακτῆρας χρημάτων ‘στήσας, ὁ ἐπ’  
όνόματι προσφορῶν τὴν δωροληψίαν  
“ἐπιτεχνώμενος, ὁ σαλάρια χορηγῶν τοῖς  
κηρύττου”σιν αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον, ἵνα διὰ τῆς  
γαστριμαργίας ἡ διδασκαλία τοῦ λόγου  
κρατύνηται.”

one who set up a practice for money, who  
cleverly arranged the receiving of gifts in  
the name of offerings, and who provides  
salaries to those preaching his message, so  
that through greed, the teaching of the  
message may prevail.

5.18.3 | καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ Μοντανοῦ·  
καὶ περὶ τῶν προφητίδων δὲ αὐτοῦ  
ὑποκαταβὰς οὕτω γράφει “δείκνυμεν οὖν  
“αὐτὰς πρώτας τὰς προφήτιδας ταύτας,  
ἀφ’ οὐ τοῦ “πνεύματος ἐπληρώθησαν, τοὺς  
ἄνδρας καταλιπού“σας, πῶς οὖν  
ἔψεύδοντο Πρίσκον. παρθένον  
“καλοῦντες; εἴτ’ ἐπιφέρει λέγων

5.18.3 | And this is what he says about  
Montanus; and about his prophets, he  
writes this: 'We show these first prophets,  
from whom the spirit was filled, leaving the  
men behind. How then did they deceive  
Priscilla, calling her a virgin?'

5.18.4 | “δοκεῖ σοι “γραφὴ κωλύειν  
προφήτην λαμβάνειν δῶρα καὶ χρή“ματα;  
ὅταν οὖν ἴδω τὴν προφῆτιν εἰληφυῖαν  
“χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ πολυτελεῖς  
έσθῆτας, πῶς “αὐτὴν μὴ παραιτήσωμαι;”

5.18.4 | Do you think that scripture  
prevents a prophet from receiving gifts and  
money? When I see the prophetess covered  
in gold and silver and expensive clothing,  
how can I not refuse her?

5.18.5 | αὗθις δὲ ὑποκαταβὰς περὶ τίνος  
τῶν κατ’ αὐτοὺς ὀμολογητῶν ταῦτά φησιν  
“ἔτι δὲ καὶ Θεμίσων, ὁ τὴν ἀξιόπιστον  
πλεονεξίαν ἡμερισμένος, ὁ μὴ βαστάσας  
τῆς ὀμολογίας τὸ “σημεῖον, ἀλλὰ πλήθει  
χρημάτων ἀποθέμενος “δεσμὰ, δέον ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τούτῳ ταπεινοφρονεῖν, ὡς μάρτυς  
“καυχώμενος ἐτόλμησε, μιμούμενος τὸν  
ἀπόστολον, “καθολικήν τινα συνταξάμενος  
ἐπιστολὴν κατηχεῖν “μὲν τοὺς ἄμεινον  
αὐτοῦ πεπιστευκότας, “ζεσθαι δὲ τοῖς τῆς  
κενοφωνίας λόγοις, βλασφημῆσαι δὲ εἰς  
τὸν κύριον καὶ τοὺς ἀπόστολους καὶ τὴν  
ἀγίαν ἐκκλησίαν.

5.18.5 | Again, speaking about some of  
those who agree with him, he says this:  
'And also Themistocles, who was dressed in  
untrustworthy greed, who did not hold the  
sign of the confession, but putting aside the  
bonds of money, it is necessary to be  
humble about this. As a witness boasting,  
he dared to imitate the apostle, composing  
a certain letter to teach those who trusted  
him more, to warm up to the empty words,  
and to blaspheme against the lord and the  
apostles and the holy church.'

5.18.6 | καὶ περὶ ἑτέρων δὲ αὗθις τῶν κατ’

5.18.6 | "And again, about others who are

αύτοὺς τετιμημένων ὡς δὴ μαρτύρων οὕτω γράφει ἵνα δὲ μὴ περὶ πλειόνων λέγωμεν, ἡ προφῆτις ἡμῖν είπάτω τὰ κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν λέγοντα ἐαυτὸν μάρτυρα, ὃ συνεστιᾶται, ὃ προσκυνοῦσι καὶ αὐτῷ πολλοὶ, οὗ τὰς ληστείας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τολμήματα, ἐφ' οἷς κεκόλασται, οὐχ ἡμὰς δεῖ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ ὁ ὀπισθόδομος ἔχει.

honored by him as martyrs, he writes this: 'So that we do not speak of more, let the prophetess tell us about Alexander, who calls himself a martyr, to whom many gather and worship. We do not need to speak of his robberies and other bold acts, for which he has been punished, but the one who follows behind has.'

5.18.7 | τίς οὖν τίνι χαρίζεται τὰ ἀμαρτήματα; πότερον ὁ προφήτης τὰς ληστείας τῷ μάρτυρι, ἢ ὁ μάρτυς τῷ προφήτῃ τὰς πλεονεξίας; είρηκότος γάρ τοῦ κυρίου 'μὴ κτήσθε χρυσὸν μήτε ἄργυρον μήτε δύο χιτῶνας οὗτοι πᾶν τούναν "τίον πεπλημμελήκασι περὶ τὰς τούτων τῶν ἀπηγο" ρευμένων κτήσεις. δείξομεν γάρ τοὺς λεγομένους "παρ' αὐτοῖς προφήτας καὶ μάρτυρας μὴ μόνον "πλουσίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πτωχῶν καὶ ὄρφανῶν καὶ "χηρῶν κερματίζομένους.

5.18.7 | Who then gives gifts for sins? Does the prophet give robberies to the martyr, or does the martyr give greed to the prophet? For the lord has said, 'Do not acquire gold or silver or two tunics.' These all have sinned regarding the possessions of those who have been declared. For we will show that the so-called prophets and martyrs are not only from the rich, but also from the poor, orphans, and widows, being scattered.

5.18.8 | καὶ εἴ πεποίθησιν ἔχου "σιν, στήτωσαν ἐν τούτῳ, καὶ διορισάσθωσαν "τούτοις, ἵνα ἔὰν ἐλεγχθῶσι, κάν τοῦ λοιποῦ παύ "σωνται πλημμελοῦντες· δεῖ γάρ τοὺς καρποὺς δο "κιμάζεσθαι τοῦ προφήτου, ἀπὸ γάρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ "ξύλον γινώσκεται.

5.18.8 | And if they have confidence, let them stand in this, and let them be appointed to these, so that if they are rebuked, they may stop sinning from now on. For the fruits must be tested by the prophet, for from the fruit, the tree is known.

5.18.9 | ἕνα δὲ τοῖς βουλομένοις τὰ "κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον ἥ γνώριμα, κέκριται ὑπὸ Αίμιλίου "Φροντίνου ἀνθυπάτου ἐν Ἐφέσω, οὐ διὰ τὸ ὄνομα, 'ἄλλὰ δι' ἀς ἐτόλμησε ληστείας, ὃν ἥδη παραβάτης εἶτα ἐπιψευσάμενος τῷ ὄνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἀπολέ "λυταὶ, πλανήσας τοὺς ἐκεῖ πιστούς· καὶ ἡ ἴδια πα'ροικία αὐτὸν, δθεν ἦν, οὐκ ἐδέξατο, διὰ τὸ "αὐτὸν ληστήν. καὶ

5.18.9 | But for those who want to know about Alexander, it has been judged by Aemilius Frontinus, the governor in Ephesus, not because of the name, but because of the robberies he dared to commit, being already a transgressor. Then, having falsely claimed the name of the lord, he was released, having led the faithful there astray. And his own community, from

οἱ θέλοντες μαθεῖν τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἔχουσι τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας δημόσιον ἀρχεῖον.

where he was, did not accept him because he was a robber. And those who want to learn about him have the public records of Asia.

5.18.10 | ὃν “ὸ προφήτης συνόντα πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἀγνοεῖ, “ἐλέγχοντες ἡμεῖς δι’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔξελέγχομεν τοῦ προφήτου. τὸ ὅμοιον ἐπὶ πολλῶν δυ“νάμεθα ἀποδεῖξαι, καὶ εἰ θαρροῦσιν, ὑπομεινάτω“σαν τὸν ἔλεγχον.”

5.18.10 | Whom the prophet has known for many years, we will rebuke through him and examine the character of the prophet. We can show the same for many, and if they are confident, let them endure the rebuke.

5.18.11 | πάλιν τε αὖ ἐν ἐτέρῳ τοῦ συγγράμματος περὶ ὧν αὐχοῦσι προφητῶν ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα “ἔὰν ἀρνῶνται δῶρα τοὺς προφήτας αὐτῶν εἰληφέναι, τοῦτο διμολογησάτωσαν, ὅτι ἔὰν “ἔλεγχθῶσιν εἰληφότες, οὐκ εἰσὶ προφῆται, καὶ μυρίας ἀποδεῖξεις τούτων παραστήσομεν. ἀναγκαῖον “δέ ἐστι πάντας καρποὺς δοκιμάζεσθαι προφήτης, εἴπε μοι, βάπτεται; προφήτης στιβίζε“ται; προφήτης φιλοκοσμεῖ; προφήτης τάβλαις “κύβοις παίζει; προφήτης δανείζει; ταῦτα διμολογη“σάτωσαν πότερον ἔξεστιν ἢ μὴ ἔγω δὲ ὅτι γέγονε “παρ’ αὐτοῖς δείξω.”

5.18.11 | Again, in another part of the writing about what they boast of the prophets, it says this: if they deny that their prophets have received gifts, let them admit that if they are rebuked after receiving, they are not prophets, and we will present countless proofs of this. It is necessary for all fruits to be tested by the prophet. Tell me, does a prophet get baptized? Does a prophet dress in fine clothes? Does a prophet play with dice? Does a prophet lend money? Let them admit whether this is allowed or not, and I will show what has happened among them.

5.18.12 | ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς οὗτος κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸν σύγγραμμα ἰστορεῖ ὡς ἄρα τεσσαρακοστὸν ἑτύγχανεν ἔτος ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ συγγράμματος αὐτοῦ γραφὴν, ἔξ οὖν τῷ προσποιήτῳ αὐτοῦ προφητείᾳ ὁ Μοντανὸς ἐπικεχείρηκε.

5.18.12 | This same person in the same writing tells how in the fortieth year, when he was writing, Montanus took up his false prophecy.

5.18.13 | καὶ πάλιν φησὶν ὡς ἄρα Ζωτικὸς, οὗ καὶ ὁ πρότερος συγγραφεὺς ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἐν Πεπούζοις προφητεύειν δὴ προσποιουμένης τῆς Μαξιμίλλης

5.18.13 | And again, he says that Zotikos, whom the earlier writer mentioned, tried to challenge the spirit working in Maximilla, who was pretending to

έπιστας διελέγξαι τὸ ἐνεργοῦν ἐν αὐτῇ πνεῦμα πεπείραται, ἐκωλύθη γε μὴν πρὸς τῶν τὰ ἔκεινης φρονούντων. καὶ Θρασέα δέ τινος τῶν τότε μαρτύρων μνημονεύει.

prophesy in Pepouza, but he was prevented by those who thought like her. He also mentions Thraseas, one of the martyrs from that time.

5.18.14 | ἔτι δὲ ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως τὸν σωτῆρά φησι προστεταχέναι τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀποστόλοις, ἐπὶ δώδεκα ἔτεσι μὴ χωρισθῆναι τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ. κέχρηται δὲ καὶ μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου ἀποκαλύψεως, καὶ νεκρὸν δὲ δυνάμει θείᾳ πρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ ἐγηγέρθαι ἴστορεῖ. καὶ ἄλλα τινά φησι, δι’ ᾧν ἱκανῶς τῆς προειρημένης αἰρέσεως πληρέστατα διηγήθυνε τὴν πλάνην. ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος.

5.18.14 | He also says that according to tradition, the Savior commanded his apostles not to leave Jerusalem for twelve years. He also uses testimonies from the Revelation of John, and he tells that a dead man was raised by the divine power of John in Ephesus. He mentions other things as well, through which he clearly directed the error of the previously mentioned heresy. These things are also said by Apollonius.

## Section 19

5.19.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 27] Τῶν δὲ Ἀπολιναρίου κατὰ τῆς δηλωθείσης αἰρέσεως μνήμην πεποίηται Σαραπίων, ὃν ἐπὶ τῶν δηλουμένων χρόνων μετὰ Μαξιμίνον ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Ἀντιοχέων ἐκιλησίας γενέσθαι κατέχει λόγος. μέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἴδιᾳ ἐπιστολῇ τῇ πρὸς Καρικὸν καὶ Πόντιον, ἐν ᾧ διευθύνων καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτὴν αἵρεσιν ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα

5.19.1 | Serapion has made a record of the heresy of Apollinaris. He is said to have become the bishop of the church in Antioch during the time of Maximian. He mentions this in a private letter to Caricus and Pontius, in which he himself addresses the same heresy.

5.19.2 | “ὅπως δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἰδητε, ὅτι τῆς ψευδοῦς ταύτης τάξεως τῆς ἐπικαλουμένης νέας προφητείας “ἐβδέλυκται ἡ ἐνέργεια παρὰ πάσῃ τῇ ἐν κόσμῳ ἀδελφότητι, πέπομφα ὑμῖν καὶ Κλαυδίου Ἀπολιναρίου τοῦ μακαριωτάτου γενομένου ἐν Ἱεραπόλει τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπισκόπου γράμματα.”

5.19.2 | Now, so that you may see this, that the activity of this false group, called the new prophecy, has been rejected by all the brotherhood in the world, I have sent you letters from Claudius Apollinaris, who became the most blessed bishop in Hierapolis of Asia.

5.19.3 | ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ τοῦ Σαραπίωνος ἐπιστολῇ καὶ ὑποσημειώσεις φέρονται διαφόρων ἐπισκόπων, ὃν ὁ μέν τις ᾧδε πως ὑποσεσημείωται "Αύρήλιος Κυρήνιος μάρτυς ἔρρωσθαι ὑμᾶς εὕχομαι", ὁ δέ τις τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον "Αἴλιος Πούπλιος Ίούλιος ἀπὸ Δεβελτοῦ κολωνίας τῆς Θράκης ἐπίσκοπος· ζῇ ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὅτι Σωτᾶς ὁ μακάριος ὁ ἐν Ἀγχιάλῳ ἡθέλησε τὸν δαίμονα τὸν Πρισκίλλης ἐκβαλεῖν, καὶ οἱ ὑποκριταὶ οὐκ ἀφῆκαν.

5.19.4 | καὶ ἄλλων δὲ πλειόνων τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπισκόπων συμψήφων τούτοις ἐν τοῖς δηλωθεῖσι γράμμασιν αὐτόγραφοι φέρονται σημειώσεις. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τούτους ἦν τοιαῦτα.

## Section 20

5.20.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 30] Ἔξ ἐναντίας δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ Ψώμης τὸν ὑγιῆ τῆς ἐκκλησίας θεσμὸν παραχαραττόντων, Είρήναιος διαφόρους ἐπιστολὰς συντάττει, τὴν μὲν ἐπιγράψας πρὸς Βλάστον περὶ σχίσματος, τὴν δὲ πρὸς Φλωρῖνον περὶ μοναρχίας ἢ περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι τὸν θεὸν ποιητὴν κακῶν. ταύτης γάρ τοι τῆς γνώμης οὗτος ἐδόκει προασπίζειν· δι' ὃν αὐθις ὑποσυρόμενον τῇ κατὰ Οὐαλεντīνον πλάνη καὶ τὸ περὶ ὄγδοάδος συντάττεται τῷ Είρηναιῷ σπούδασμα, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐπισημαίνεται τὴν πρώτην τῶν ἀποστόλων κατειληφέναι ἐαυτὸν διαδοχήν.

5.20.2 | ἐνθα πρὸς τῷ τοῦ συγγράμματος τέλει χαριεστάτην αὐτοῦ σημείωσιν

5.19.3 | In this letter of Serapion, there are also notes from various bishops. One of them is noted like this: "Aurelius Cyrenius, the martyr, I wish you to be strong." Another one says: "Aelius Publius Julius, bishop from the colony of Develtus in Thrace: God who is in the heavens lives, because the blessed Sotas in Anchialus wanted to cast out the demon of Priscilla, but those hypocrites did not let him."

5.19.4 | And there are also notes from many other bishops, who are mentioned in these letters as well. And the things about them were like this.

5.20.1 | On the other hand, those in Rome were corrupting the healthy structure of the church. Irenaeus wrote various letters, one addressed to Blastus about a schism, and another to Florinus about monarchy or about God not being the creator of evil. For he seemed to defend this opinion. Because of this, he also wrote a work against the teaching of Valentinus and the one about the eighth, in which he also points out that the first of the apostles had taken on succession for himself.

5.20.2 | There, we found the most graceful note at the end of the writing, and we must

εύρόντες ἀναγκαίως καὶ ταύτην τῇδε  
καταλέξομεν τῇ γραφῇ, τοῦτον ἔχουσαν  
τὸν τρόπον “ὸρκίζω σε τὸν  
μεταγραψόμενον τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο κατὰ  
τού κυρίου “ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ κατὰ  
τῆς ἐνδόξου παρου“σίας αὐτοῦ, ἵς ἔρχεται  
κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς, “ἴνα ἀντιβάλῃς  
δι μετεγράψω, καὶ κατορθώσῃς αὐτὸ “πρὸς  
τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦτο, ὅθεν μετεγράψω,  
ἐπιμε“λῶς· καὶ τὸν ὄρκον τοῦτον ὁμοίως  
μεταγράψεις καὶ “θήσεις ἐν τῷ  
ἀντιγράφῳ.”

5.20.3 | καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ὡφελίμως ὑπ’ ἔκείνου  
λελέχθω, πρὸς ἡμῶν τε ἰστορείσθω, ὡς ἀν  
ἔχοιμεν ἄριστον σπουδαιοτάτης ἐπιμελείας  
τοὺς ἀρχαίους ἔκείνους καὶ ὅντως ἱεροὺς  
ἄνδρας ὑπόδειγμα.

5.20.4 | ἐν ᾧ γε μὴν προειρήκαμεν πρὸς τὸν  
Φλωρῖνον ὃ Εἰρηναῖος ἐπιστολῇ αὐθις τῆς  
ἄμα Πολυκάρπῳ συνουσίας αὐτοῦ  
μνημονεύει λέγων “ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα,  
“Φλωρῖνε, ἵνα πεφεισμένως εἴπω, οὐκ ἔστιν  
ὑγιοῦς “γνώμης· ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα  
ἀσύμφωνά ἔστι τῇ ἐκ“κλησίᾳ, εἰς τὴν  
μεγίστην ἀσέβειαν περιβάλλοντα “τοὺς  
πειθομένους αὐτοῖς· ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα  
οὐδὲ “οἱ ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας αἰρετικοὶ  
έτολμησαν ἀποφή“νασθαί ποτε· ταῦτα τὰ  
δόγματα οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν πρεσβύτεροι οἱ καὶ  
τοῖς ἀποστόλοις συμφοιτήσαντες οὐ  
“παρέδωκάν σοι.

5.20.5 | εἶδον γάρ σε παῖς ἔτι ὧν ἐν τῇ  
“κάτω Ἀσίᾳ παρὰ Πολυκάρπῳ, λαμπρῶς  
πράσσοντα “ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ, καὶ  
πειρώμενον εύδοκιμεῖν “παρ’ αὐτῷ. μᾶλλον  
γάρ τὰ τότε διαμνημονεύω τῶν “ἔναγχος

record it here in this text. It has this form:  
"I urge you, the one copying this book, by  
our Lord Jesus Christ and by his glorious  
coming, when he will come to judge the  
living and the dead, to pay attention to  
what I have copied and to make it correct  
according to this copy from which I have  
copied it, carefully. And you should also  
copy this oath and place it in the copy."

5.20.3 | And let these things be said  
profitably by him, so that it may be  
recorded for us, so that we may have the  
best example of great care from those  
ancient and truly holy men.

5.20.4 | In which indeed, Irenaeus mentions  
in a letter to Florinus, again recalling his  
meeting with Polycarp, saying, "These  
teachings, Florinus, to speak frankly, are  
not healthy opinions. These teachings are  
not in agreement with the church, leading  
those who follow them into great impiety.  
These teachings were never even dared to  
be spoken by the heretics outside the  
church. These teachings were not handed  
down to you by our elders, who lived with  
the apostles."

5.20.5 | For I saw you as a child still in Asia  
Minor, with Polycarp, doing well in the  
royal court, and trying to gain favor with  
him. Indeed, I remember more the things

γινομένων.

5.20.6 | αὶ γὰρ ἐκ παίδων μαθήσεις  
“συναύξουσαι τῇ ψυχῇ ἐνοῦνται αὐτῇ,  
ώστε με δύ“νασθαι εἰπεῖν καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν  
ῷ καθεζόμενος διε“λέγετο ὁ μακάριος  
Πολύκαρπος, καὶ τὰς προόδους “αὐτοῦ καὶ  
τὰς εἰσόδους, καὶ τὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦ βίου,  
“καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἰδέαν, καὶ τὰς  
διαλέξεις ἃς “ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ  
τὴν μετὰ Ἰωάννου “συναναστροφὴν ὡς  
ἀπήγγελλε καὶ τὴν μετὰ “λοιπῶν τῶν  
ἐωρακότων τὸν κύριον, καὶ ὡς  
ἀπεμνη“μόνευε τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν, καὶ  
περὶ τοῦ κυρίου “τίνα ἦν ἢ παρ’ ἐκείνων  
ἀκηκόει, καὶ περὶ τῶν “δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ,  
καὶ περὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας, ὡς “παρὰ τῶν  
αὐτοπτῶν τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ λόγου παρειληφώς  
ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἀπήγγελλε πάντα σύμφωνα  
“ταῖς γραφαῖς.

5.20.7 | ταῦτα καὶ τότε διὰ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ  
“θεοῦ τὸ ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ γεγονὸς σπουδαίως  
ἡκουον, ‘μνηματιζόμενος αὐτὰ οὐκ ἐν  
χάρτῃ, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ “καρδίᾳ, καὶ ἀεὶ διὰ  
τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ γνησίως “αὐτὰ  
ἀναμαρυκῶμαι· καὶ δύναμαι  
διαμαρτύρασθαι “ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι  
εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἀκηκόει “έκεινος ὁ μακάριος  
καὶ ἀποστολικὸς πρεσβύτερος, “ἀνακράξας  
ἄν καὶ ἐμφράξας τὰ ὄτα αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ  
“σύνηθες αὐτῷ εἰπών ‘ὦ καλὲ θεὲ, εἰς  
οἶους με καὶ“ροὺς τετήρηκας, ἵνα τούτων  
ἀνέχωμαι πεφεύγει “καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐνῷ  
καθεζόμενος ἥ ἐστώς τῶν “ούτων ἀκηκόει  
λόγων.

5.20.8 | καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ ὡν  
ἐπέστειλεν ἥτοι ταῖς γειτνιώσαις

that happened around that time.

5.20.6 | For the teachings from childhood  
unite with the soul, so that I can even say  
the place where the blessed Polycarp was  
sitting and speaking, and his comings and  
goings, and the character of his life, and the  
appearance of his body, and the  
conversations he had with the crowd, and  
his companionship with John as he  
reported, and with the others who had seen  
the Lord, and how he remembered their  
words, and about the Lord what he heard  
from them, and about his powers, and  
about the teaching, as Polycarp reported  
everything in agreement with the  
scriptures, having received it from those  
who witnessed the life of the Word.

5.20.7 | These things I heard seriously at  
that time because of the mercy of God,  
remembering them not on paper, but in my  
heart, and always by the grace of God, I  
genuinely recall them; and I can testify  
before God that if that blessed and  
apostolic elder heard anything like this, he  
would have cried out and stopped his ears,  
and saying his usual words, "O good God,  
you have kept me for such times," he would  
have escaped and remembered the place  
where he was sitting or standing when he  
heard those words.

5.20.8 | And from his letters, which he sent  
either to the nearby churches,

έκικλησίαις ἐπιστηρίζων αύτάς, ἡ τῶν  
ἀδελφῶν τισὶ νουθετῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ  
προτρεπόμενος, δύναται φανερωθῆναι.”  
ταῦτα ὁ Εἰρήναιος.

## Section 21

5.21.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 26] Κατὰ δὲ τὸν  
αὐτὸν τῆς Κομόδου βασιλείας χρόνον  
μεταβέβλητο μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ πρᾶον τὰ καθ'  
ἡμᾶς, εἱρήνης σὺν θείᾳ χάριτι τὰς καθ' ὅλης  
τῆς οἰκουμένης διαλαβούσης ἐκκλησίας,  
ὅτε καὶ ὁ σωτήριος λόγος ἐκ παντὸς γένους  
ἀνθρώπων πᾶσαν ὑπῆγετο ψυχὴν ἐπὶ τὴν  
εὔσεβὴ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ θρησκείαν,  
ῶστε ἥδη καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Ψώμης εὗ μάλα  
πλούτῳ καὶ γένει διαφανῶν πλείους ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τὴν σφῶν ὀμόσε χωρεῖν πανοικί τε καὶ  
παγγενῆ σωτηρίαν.

5.21.2 | οὐκ ἦν δὲ ἄρα τοῦτο τῷ μισοκάλῳ  
δαίμονι βασκάνῳ ὅντι τὴν φύσιν οἰστόν·  
ἀπεδύετο δ' οὖν αὐθις, ποικίλας τὰς καθ'  
ἡμῶν μηχανὰς ἐπιτεχνώμενος, ἐπὶ γοῦν τῆς  
Ψωμαίων πόλεως Ἀπολλώνιον, ἄνδρα τῶν  
τότε πιστῶν ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ  
βεβοημένον, ἐπὶ δικαστήριον ἄγει, ἵνα γέ  
τιν' τῶν εἰς ταῦτα ἐπιτηδείων αὐτῷ  
διακόνων ἐπὶ κατηγορίᾳ τάνδρὸς ἐγείρας.

5.21.3 | ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δείλαιος παρὰ καιρὸν  
τὴν δίκην εἰσελθὼν, ὅτι μὴ ζῆν ἔξδον ἦν  
κατὰ βασιλικὸν ὅρον τοὺς τῶν τοιῶνδε  
μηνυτὰς, αὐτίκα κατάγνυται τὰ σκέλη,  
Περεννίου δικαστοῦ τοιαύτην κατ' αὐτοῦ  
ψῆφον ἀπενέγκαντος.

5.21.4 | ὁ δέ γε θεοφιλέστατος μάρτυς,

strengthening them, or to some of the  
brothers, advising and encouraging them, it  
can be made clear. These things are said by  
Irenaeus.

5.21.1 | During the same time of the reign  
of Commodus, things changed for us, with  
peace and divine grace spreading  
throughout the whole world. The saving  
message was bringing every soul from all  
kinds of people to the pious worship of  
God, so that now many from Rome, both  
wealthy and of noble birth, were coming  
together for their complete and universal  
salvation.

5.21.2 | This was not, therefore, the nature  
of the hateful demon, who was envious. He  
was again devising various schemes against  
us. For example, he brought Apollonius, a  
man among the faithful at that time known  
for his education and philosophy, before  
the court, hoping to raise some accusation  
against him through those who were  
skilled in such matters.

5.21.3 | But the poor man, entering the trial  
at the wrong time, since it was not allowed  
to live according to the royal decree for  
those who reported such things, was  
immediately crushed by the verdict given  
against him by the judge Perennis.

5.21.4 | But the most beloved witness, after

πολλὰ λιπαρῶς ἱκετεύσαντος τού δικαστοῦ καὶ λόγον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς αἴτησαντος, λογιωτάτην ὑπὲρ ἣς ἐμαρτύρει πίστεως ἐπὶ πάντων παρασχών ἀπολογίαν κεφαλικῇ κολάσει ὡσὰν ἀπὸ δόγματος συγκλήτου τελειοῦται, μηδ' ἄλλως ἀφεῖσθαι τοὺς ἅπαξ εἰς δικαστήριον παριόντας καὶ μηδαμῶς τῆς προθέσεως μεταβαλλομένους ἀρχαίου παρ' αὐτοῖς νόμου κεκρατηκότος.

pleading many times with the judge and asking him to speak before the council, provided a very learned defense for the faith he was testifying about. He was sentenced to a death penalty, as if by a decree of the council, and it was not allowed to release those who had once appeared in court and who did not change at all from the ancient law that had been established among them.

5.21.5 | τούτου μὲν οὖν τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ δικαστοῦ φωνὰς καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, ἃς πρὸς πεῦσιν πεποίητο τοῦ Περεννίου, πᾶσάν τε τὴν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπολογίαν ὅτῳ διαγνῶναι φίλον, ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων μαρτυρίων συναχθείσης ἡμῖν ἀναγραφῆς εἴσεται.

5.21.5 | Therefore, all the statements and responses of the judge, which were made in response to the questioning of Perennus, and the entire defense before the council, will be known to whoever wishes to understand, from the record we have collected of the ancient testimonies.

## Section 22

5.22.1 | [Nic. II. E. IV, 19] Δεκάτῳ γε μὴν τῆς Κομόδου βασιλείας ἔτει δέκα πρὸς τρισὶν ἔτεσι τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν λελειτουργηκότα Ἐλεύθερον διαδέχεται Βίκτωρ· ἐν ᾧ καὶ Ιουλιανοῦ δέκατον ἔτος ἀναπλήσαντος τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παροικιῶν τὴν ἐγχειρίζεται Δημήτριος· καθ' οὓς καὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησίας ὅγδοος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ πρόσθεν ἥδη δεδηλωμένος ἔτι τότε Σαραπίων ἐπίσκοπος ἐγνωρίζετο· Καισαρείας δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνῃ καθηγεῖτο Θεόφιλος. καὶ Νάρκισσος δὲ ὄμοιώς, οὗ καὶ πρόσθεν ὁ λόγος μνήμην ἐποιήσατο, τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας ἔτι τότε τὴν λειτουργίαν εἶχεν. Κορίνθου δὲ τῆς καθ' Ἑλλάδα κατὰ τοὺς αύτοὺς χρόνους ἐπίσκοπος ἦν Βάκχυλος, καὶ τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παροικίας Πολυκράτης, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ, ὡς γε είκος, ἐπὶ τούτοις μυρίοι κατὰ

5.22.1 | In the tenth year of the reign of Commodus, Victor took over the episcopate after serving for ten years. During this time, Demetrius was appointed to replace Julian in the Alexandrian community. Also, the eighth bishop of the church of Antioch, previously known as Serapion, was recognized at that time. Theophilus was the leader of the church in Caesarea of Palestine. Similarly, Narcissus, who was mentioned earlier, was still serving in the church in Jerusalem. Bacchylus was the bishop of Corinth in Greece during the same period, and Polycrates was in charge of the community in Ephesus. Many others, as expected, were also serving during this time. Among these, the written record of the faith came down to us as orthodoxy, and we have rightly named these

τούσδε διέπρεπον. ὃν γε μὴν ἔγγραφος ἡ τῆς πίστεως εἰς ἡμὰς κατῆλθεν ὄρθιοδοξίᾳ, τούτους εἰκότως ὄνομαστὶ κατελέξαμεν.

## Section 23

5.23.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 36] Ζητήσεως δῆτα κατὰ τούσδε οὐ σμικρὰς ἀνακινηθείσης, ὅτι δὴ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης αἱ παροικίαι ὡσὰν ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀρχαιοτέρας σελήνης τὴν τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτην ὥοντο δεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ πάσχα σωτηρίου ἐορτῆς παραφυλάττειν, ἐν ἣ θύειν τὸ πρόβατον Ἰουδαίοις προηγόρευτο, ὡς δέον ἐκ παντὸς κατὰ ταύτην, ὅποιᾳ δ' ἀν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐβδομάδος περιτυγχάνοι, τὰς τῶν ἀσιτιῶν ἐπιλύσεις ποιεῖσθαι, οὐκ ἔθους ὅντος τοῦτον ἐπιτελεῖν τὸν τρόπον ταῖς ἀνὰ τὴν λοιπὴν ἄπασαν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησίαις, ἐ § ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως τὸ καὶ εἰς δεῦρο κρατῆσαν ἔθος φυλαττούσαις, ὡς μηδ' ἐτέρᾳ προσήκειν παρὰ τὴν τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἡμέρᾳ τὰς νηστείας ἐπιλύεσθαι.

5.23.2 | σύνοδοι δὴ καὶ συγκροτήσεις ἐπισκόπων ἐπὶ ταύτὸν ἔγινοντο, πάντες τε μιᾶς γνώμῃ δι' ἐπιστολῶν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν δόγμα τοῖς πανταχόσε διετυποῦντο, ὡς ἀν μηδ' ἐν ἄλλῃ ποτὲ τῆς κυριακῆς ἡμέρᾳ τὸ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως ἐπιτελοῦτο τοῦ κυρίου μυστήριον, καὶ ὅπως ἐν ταύτῃ μόνῃ τῶν κατὰ τὸ πάσχα νηστειῶν φυλαττοίμεθα τὰς ἐπιλύσεις.

5.23.3 | φέρεται δ' εἰσέτι νῦν τῶν κατὰ Παλαιστίνην τηνικάδε συγκεκρημένων γραφὴ, ὃν προυτέτακτο Θεόφιλος τῆς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος καὶ

individuals.

5.23.1 | Indeed, there was no small debate about this, as all the communities of Asia believed that they should observe the fourteenth day of the month according to an older tradition during the feast of salvation at Passover. On this day, the Jews were to sacrifice the lamb, and it was necessary to resolve the fasts according to whatever day of the week it fell on. This way of doing things was not the custom of the churches throughout the rest of the world, which followed the apostolic tradition that still held firm. It was not fitting to break the fasts on the day of our Savior's resurrection.

5.23.2 | Indeed, councils and gatherings of bishops were held to address this issue. All were of one mind and communicated through letters to establish church doctrine everywhere, so that on no other Sunday would the mystery of the Lord's resurrection from the dead be celebrated. They agreed that we should only resolve the fasts during this time of Passover.

5.23.3 | There is still a written record from the communities in Palestine, which was arranged by Theophilus, the bishop of the community in Caesarea, and Narcissus of

Νάρκισσος τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις· καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης δὲ ὄμοιώς ἄλλη περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζητήματος, ἐπίσκοπον Βίκτορα δηλοῦσα· τῶν τε κατὰ Πόντον ἐπισκόπων, ὡς Πάλμας ὡς ἀρχαιότατος προυτέτακτο, καὶ τῶν κατὰ Γαλλίαν δὲ παροικιῶν, ἃς Εἰρήναιος ἐπεσκόπει·

Jerusalem. Similarly, there is another document from Rome about the same issue, showing Bishop Victor. Among the bishops in Pontus, Palmas was noted as the oldest, and there were also communities in Gaul, which were overseen by Irenaeus.

5.23.4 | ἔτι τε τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ὀσροηνὴν καὶ τὰς ἑκεῖσε πόλεις· καὶ ἴδιας Βακχύλου τῆς Κορινθίων ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπου, καὶ πλείστων ὅσων ἄλλων, οἵ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν δόξαν τε καὶ κρίσιν ἔχενηνεγμένοι τὴν αὐτὴν τέθεινται ψῆφον. καὶ τούτων μὲν ἦν ὅρος εἰς, ὃ δεδηλωμένος·

5.23.4 | Also from the communities in Osroene and the cities there, especially from Bacchylus, the bishop of the Corinthians, and many others who have expressed the same opinion and judgment, they all agreed on the same vote. There was one rule among them, which was clearly stated.

## Section 24

5.24.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 37] τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπισκόπων, τὸ πάλαι πρότερον αὐτοῖς παραδοθὲν διαφυλάττειν ἔθος χρῆναι δισχυριζομένων, ἡγεῖτο Πολυκράτης, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἣ πρὸς Βίκτορα καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν διετυπώσατο γραφῇ τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλθοῦσαν παράδοσιν ἐκτέθειται διὰ τούτων

5.24.1 | Among the bishops in Asia, it was necessary to defend the tradition that had been handed down to them long ago. Polycrates led this effort, and he himself wrote to Victor and the Roman church about this tradition that had come to him.

5.24.2 | “ἡμεῖς οὖν ἀρρᾳδιούργητον ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν, “μήτε προστιθέντες μήτε ἀφαιρούμενοι. καὶ γὰρ “κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν μεγάλα στοιχεῖα κεκοίμηται, ἄτινα “ἀναστήσεται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου, “ἐν ἣ ἔρχεται μετὰ δόξης ἐξ οὐρανῶν, καὶ ἀναστήσει “πάντας τοὺς ἀγίους, Φίλιππον τὸν τῶν δώδεκα ἀπό“στόλων, ὃς κεκοίμηται Ἱεραπόλει, καὶ δύο θυγα“τέρες αὐτοῦ γεγηρακυῖαι

5.24.2 | Therefore, we celebrate the day without adding or taking away anything. For in Asia, great signs have been revealed, which will be raised on the day of the Lord's coming, when he comes with glory from heaven and will raise all the saints, including Philip, one of the twelve apostles, who rests in Hierapolis, and his two daughters, who are aged and unmarried, and his other daughter, who lived in the

παρθένοι, καὶ ἡ ἐτέρα “αύτοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐν  
ἀγίῳ πνεύματι πολιτευσαμένη, “ἢ ἐν  
Ἐφέσῳ ἀναπαύεται·

Holy Spirit and rests in Ephesus.

5.24.3 | ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ “έπὶ τὸ στῆθος  
τοῦ κυρίου ἀναπεσὼν, δις ἐγενήθη “ἱερεὺς  
τὸ πέταλον πεφορηκώς, καὶ μάρτυς καὶ  
διδά“σκαλος· οὗτος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κεκοίμηται·

5.24.3 | Also, John, who leaned on the  
Lord's chest and became a priest wearing  
the special robe, and a witness and teacher;  
he rests in Ephesus.

5.24.4 | ἔτι δὲ καὶ “Πολύκαρπος ὁ ἐν  
Σμύρνῃ καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς, “καὶ  
Θρασέας ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς ἀπὸ ὃς ἐν  
Σμύρνῃ κεκοίμηται.

5.24.4 | Also, Polycarp, who was in Smyrna  
and was a bishop and a martyr, and  
Thraseas, a bishop and martyr, who rests in  
Smyrna.

5.24.5 | τί δὲ δεῖ λέγειν Σά“γαριν ἐπίσκοπον  
καὶ μάρτυρα, ὃς ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ κε“κοίμηται,  
ἔτι δὲ καὶ Παπύριον τὸν μακάριον, καὶ  
“Μελίτωνα τὸν εύνοοῦχον, τὸν ἐν ἀγίῳ  
πνεύματι “πάντα πολιτευσάμενον, ὃς  
κεῖται ἐν Σάρδεσι περι“μένων τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν  
οὐρανῶν ἐπισκοπὴν, ἐν ᾧ ἐκ “νεκρῶν  
ἀναστήσεται.

5.24.5 | What more can be said about  
Sagarinus, a bishop and martyr, who rests  
in Laodicea, and also about Papyrus the  
blessed, and Melito the eunuch, who lived  
fully in the Holy Spirit, and who lies in  
Sardis, waiting for the resurrection from  
the dead?

5.24.6 | οὗτοι πάντες ἐτήρησαν “ἡμέραν  
τῆς τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης τοῦ πάσχα κατὰ  
τὸ “εὐαγγέλιον, μηδὲν παρεκβαίνοντες,  
ἄλλὰ κατὰ τὸν “κανόνα τῆς πίστεως  
ἀκολουθοῦντες· ἔτι δὲ κάγὼ ὁ “μικρότερος  
πάντων ὑμῶν Πολυκράτης, κατὰ  
παρά“δόσιν τῶν συγγενῶν μου, οἵς καὶ  
παρηκολούθησά “τισιν αὐτῶν. ἐπτὰ μὲν  
ἥσαν συγγενεῖς μου ἐπίσκοποι· ποι, ἐγὼ δὲ  
ὅγδοος· καὶ πάντοτε τὴν ἡμέραν “οἴ  
συγγενεῖς μου, ὅτε ὁ λαός ἤρνυε τὴν ζύμην.  
“

5.24.6 | All these kept the day of the  
fourteenth of Passover according to the  
Gospel, not deviating at all, but following  
the rule of faith. And I, the least of all of  
you, Polycrates, according to the tradition  
of my relatives, whom I also followed, had  
seven bishops in my family, and I am the  
eighth. And always on that day, my  
relatives, when the people rejected the  
leaven.

5.24.7 | ἐγὼ οὖν, ἀδελφοὶ, ἔξήκοντα πέντε ἔτη ἔχων ἐν “κυρίῳ, καὶ συμβεβληκώς τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀδελφοῖς, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀγίαν γραφὴν διεληλυθώς, οὐ “πτύρομαι ἐπὶ τοῖς καταπλησσομένοις. οἱ γὰρ ἐμοῦ μείζονες εἰρήκασι πειθαρχεῖν δεῖ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ “ἀνθρώποις”

5.24.7 | I, therefore, brothers, having been in the Lord for fifty-five years, and having joined with the brothers from around the world, and having studied all the holy scriptures, do not fear those who are astonished. For those greater than me have said that one must obey God rather than men.

5.24.8 | τούτοις ἐπιφέρει περὶ πάντων γράφων τῶν συμπαρόντων αὐτῷ καὶ ὅμιδοξούντων ἐπισκόπων ταῦτα λέγων “ἔδυνάμην δὲ τῶν ἐπισκόπων “τῶν συμπαρόντων μνημονεῦσαι, οὓς ὑμεῖς ἡξιώσατε “μετακληθῆναι ὑέ ἐμοῦ, καὶ μετεκαλεσάμην· ὃν τὰ “ἀνόματα ἔὰν γράφω, πολλὰ πλήθη εἰσίν. οἱ δὲ “ἴδόντες τὸν μικρὸν μου ἄνθρωπον συνηδόκησαν “τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, εἰδότες ὅτι εἰκῇ πολιάς οὐκ ἥνεγκα, “ἄλλὰ ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ πάντοτε πεπολίτευμαι.”

5.24.8 | To these, he adds about all the writings of the bishops who are with him and share the same belief, saying, 'I could mention the bishops present, whom you have deemed worthy to be called my sons, and I have called them. If I were to write their names, there would be many crowds. But those who saw my small stature agreed with the letter, knowing that I did not bear falsehood, but I always live in the Lord Jesus.'

5.24.9 | ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ μὲν τῆς Ῥωμαίων προεστῶς Βίκτωρ ἀθρόως τῆς Ἀσίας πάσης ἄμα ταῖς ὁμόροις ἐκκλησίαις τὰς παροικίας ἀποτέμνειν, ὡσὰν ἐτεροδοξούσας, τῆς κοινῆς ἐνώσεως πειρᾶται, καὶ στηλιτεύει γε διὰ γραμμάτων, ἀκοινωνήτους πάντας ἄρδην τοὺς ἐκεῖσε ἀνακηρύττων ἀδελφούς.

5.24.9 | On this, the leader of the Romans, Victor, is trying to cut off all the communities of Asia together with the neighboring churches, as if they were heretical, attempting to break the common unity. And he harshly criticizes through letters, declaring all the brothers there to be completely out of communion.

5.24.10 | ἀλλ' οὐ πᾶσι γε τοῖς ἐπισκόποις ταύτ' ἡρέσκετο. ἀντιπαρακελεύονται δῆτα αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν πλησίον ἐνώσεως τε καὶ ἀγάπης φρονεῖν. φέρονται δὲ καὶ αἱ τούτων φωναὶ, πληκτικώτερον καθαπτομένων τοῦ Βίκτορος.

5.24.10 | But not all the bishops agreed with him. They urged him to think about peace and the unity and love towards those nearby. And their voices are also heard, striking harder against Victor.

5.24.11 | ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Είρηναῖος ἐκ προσώπου ὃν ἡγεῖτο κατὰ τὴν Γαλλίαν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιστείλας παρίσταται μὲν τῷ δεῖν ἐν μόνῃ τῇ τῆς κυριακῆς ἡμέρᾳ τὸ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἀναστάσεως ἐπιτελεῖσθαι μυστήριον, τῷ γε μὴν Βίκτορι προσηκόντως, ὡς μὴ ἀποκόπτοι ὅλας ἐκκλησίας θεοῦ, ἀρχαίου ἔθους παράδοσιν ἐπιτηρούσας, πλεῖστα ἔτερα παραινεῖ, καὶ αὐτοῖς ῥήμασι τάδε ἐπιλέγων

5.24.12 | “ούδε γάρ μόνον “περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐστὶν ἡ ἀμφισβήτησις, ἀλλὰ καὶ “περὶ τοῦ εἴδους αὐτοῦ τῆς νηστείας. οἱ μὲν γάρ “οἴονται μίαν ἡμέραν δεῖν αὐτοὺς νηστεύειν, οἱ δὲ “δύο, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείονας· οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ὥρας “ἡμερινάς τε καὶ νυκτερινάς συμμετροῦσι τὴν ἡμέραν “αὐτῶν.

5.24.13 | καὶ τοιαύτη μὲν ποικιλία τῶν ἐπιτηρούντων οὐ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν γεγονυῖα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ “πρότερον ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν, τῶν παρὰ τὸ ἀκριβές, “ὡς εἴκος, κρατούντων τὴν καθ' ἀπλότητα καὶ ἴδια “τισμὸν συνήθειαν εἰς τὸ μετέπειτα πεποιηκότων. “καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλαττον πάντες οὗτοι εἰρήνευσάν τε “είρηνεύομεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἡ διαφωνία τῆς “νηστείας τὴν ὄμονοιαν τῆς πίστεως συνίστησι.”

5.24.14 | τούτοις καὶ ἱστορίαν προστίθησιν, ἦν οίκειώς παραθήσομαι, τοῦτον ἔχουσαν τὸν τρόπον ἐν οἷς “καὶ οἱ πρὸ Σωτῆρος πρεσβύτεροι οἱ προστάντες “ἐκκλησίας ἡς σὺ νῦν ἀφηγῇ, Ἀνίκητον λέγομεν “Πίον, Ὑγῖνόν τε καὶ Τελεσφόρον καὶ Ευστόν,

5.24.11 | Among these, Irenaeus, representing the brothers he led in Gaul, stands up to say that on the Lord's Day alone the mystery of the Lord's resurrection should be celebrated. He also reminds Victor not to cut off all the churches of God, keeping watch over the ancient tradition, and he encourages them with many other words, saying these things to them.

5.24.12 | For there is not only a dispute about the day, but also about the kind of fasting itself. Some believe they should fast for one day, others for two, and some for more. There are those who measure their day as forty hours, both day and night.

5.24.13 | And such a variety of those who keep watch has not just happened now among us, but has existed much earlier among those before us, who, as is likely, held to simplicity and individual customs in what they later created. And no less, all these have made peace and we are at peace with each other, and the disagreement about fasting brings together the unity of faith.

5.24.14 | To these he adds a history, which I will relate appropriately, having this manner in which the elders before the Savior, whom you now recount, are called Anicetus, Pius, Hyginus, and Telesphorus, themselves kept the tradition and did not

“αύτοὶ ἔτήρησαν οὕτε τοῖς μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐπέτρεπον, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλαττον αύτοὶ μὴ τηροῦντες εἰρήνευον “τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικῶν, ἐν αἷς ἔτηρεῖτο, ἐρχομένοις ‘πρὸς αὐτούς’ καίτοι μᾶλλον ἐναντίον ἦν τὸ τηρεῖν “τοῖς μὴ τηροῦσι.

5.24.15 | καὶ οὐδέποτε διὰ τὸ “τοῦτο ἀπεβλήθησάν τινες, ἀλλ’ αύτοὶ μὴ τηροῦντες “οἱ πρὸ σοῦ πρεσβύτεροι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν “τηροῦσιν ἔπειμπον εὐχαριστίαν.

5.24.16 | καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Πολυκάρπου ἐπιδημήσαντος τῇ Ψώμῃ ἐπὶ “κῆτου, καὶ περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν μικρὰ σχόντες πρὸς “ἄλλήλους εὐθὺς εἰρήνευσαν, περὶ τούτου τοῦ κεφαλαίου μὴ φιλεριστήσαντες εἰς ἑαυτούς. οὕτε γὰρ ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὸν Πολύκαρπον πεῖσαι ἐδύνατο μὴ τη̄ “ρεῖν, ἃτε μετὰ Ἰωάννου τούτου μαθητοῦ τοῦ κυρίου “ἡμῶν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων, οἵς “ἀεὶ τετηρηκότα, οὕτε μὴν ὁ Πολύκαρπος τὸν Ἀνίκητον ἔπεισε τηρεῖν, λέγοντα τὴν συνήθειαν τῶν “πρὸ ούτου πρεσβυτέρων ὄφείλειν κατέχειν.

5.24.17 | καὶ τούτων οὕτως ἔχόντων ἔκοινώνησαν ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεχώρησεν ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ κατ’ ἐντροπὴν δηλονότι, καὶ μετ’ εἰρήνης ἀπ’ ἄλλήλων ἀπηλάγησαν, πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰρήνην ἔχόντων καὶ τῶν τηρούντων καὶ “τῶν μὴ τηρούντων.”

5.24.18 | καὶ ὁ μὲν Εἰρηναῖος φερώνυμός τις ὁν τῇ προσηγορίᾳ, αὐτῷ τε τῷ τρόπῳ

allow those after them to change it. And no less, they, not keeping it themselves, made peace with those from the communities where they were kept, who came to them; and indeed, it was even more contrary to keep the tradition for those who did not keep it.

5.24.15 | And never because of this were some rejected, but those elders before you, not keeping it themselves, sent thanks to those who did keep it.

5.24.16 | And when the blessed Polycarp came to Rome during the time of the beast, and having discussed some small matters with each other, they immediately made peace, not being contentious about this main issue among themselves. For neither could Anicetus persuade Polycarp not to keep it, since he was with John, the disciple of our Lord, and the other apostles, whom he always followed. Nor did Polycarp convince Anicetus to keep it, saying that he ought to hold on to the custom of the elders before him.

5.24.17 | And with these things being so, they shared with each other, and in the church, Anicetus gave thanks to Polycarp in a way that was clear, and they parted from each other in peace, with all the church having peace, both those who kept the tradition and those who did not.

5.24.18 | And Irenaeus, being well-known by name and a peacemaker in his way,

είρηνοποιὸς, τοιαῦτα ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν  
έκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης παρεκάλει τε καὶ  
ἐπρέσβευεν. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὐ μόνον τῷ  
Βίκτορι, καὶ διαφόροις δὲ πλείστοις  
ἄρχουσιν ἔκκλησιῶν τὰ κατάλληλα δι'  
ἐπιστολῶν περὶ τοῦ κεκινημένου  
ζητήματος ώμίλει.

## Section 25

5.25.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 36] Οὐ γε μὴν ἐπὶ  
Παλαιστίνης, οὓς ἀρτίως διεληλύθαμεν, ὃ  
τε Νάρκισσος καὶ Θεόφιλος, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς  
Κάσσιος τῆς κατὰ Τύρου ἔκκλησίας  
ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ Κλάρος τῆς ἐν Πτολεμαΐδι,  
οἵ τε μετὰ τούτων συνεληλυθότες περὶ τῆς  
κατελθούσης εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκ διαδοχῆς τῶν  
ἀποστόλων περὶ τοῦ πάσχα παραδόσεως  
πλεῖστα διειληφότες, κατὰ τὸ τέλος τῆς  
γραφῆς αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν ἐπιλέγουσι ταῦτα  
“τῆς δ' ἐπιστολῆς ἡμῶν πειράθητε κατὰ  
πᾶσαν “ἔκκλησίαν ἀντίγραφα  
διαπέμψασθαι, ὅπως μὴ ἔνοχοι “ῷμεν τοῖς  
ῥᾳδίως πλανῶσιν ἐαυτῶν τὰς ψυχάς.  
δη“λοῦμεν δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν  
Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἄγοντες, ἥπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς. παρ'  
ἡμῶν γάρ τὰ “γράμματα κομίζεται αὐτοῖς  
καὶ ἡμῖν παρ' αὐτῶν, “ώστε συμφώνως καὶ  
ὅμοι ἄγειν ἡμᾶς τὴν ἀγίαν “ἡμέραν.”

## Section 26

5.26.1 | Ἄλλὰ γάρ πρὸς τοῖς ἀποδοθεῖσιν  
Είρηναίου συγγράμμασι καὶ ταῖς  
ἐπιστολαῖς φέρεται τις αὐτοῦ  
ἀναγκαιότατος, λόγος συντομώτατος καὶ  
τὰ μάλιστα ἀναγκαιότατος, περὶ ἐπιστήμης  
ἐπιγεγραμμένος· καὶ ἄλλος δὲ ἀνατέθεικεν  
ἀδελφῷ, Μαρκιανῷ τούτοις, εἰς ἐπίδειξην  
τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος· καὶ βιβλίον  
τι διαλέξεων διαφόρων, ἐν ᾧ τῆς πρὸς

encouraged and advocated for the peace of  
the churches. He not only communicated  
with Victor but also spoke about the  
relevant matters through letters with many  
other church leaders regarding the ongoing  
issue.

5.25.1 | Those in Palestine, whom we have  
just mentioned, including Narcissus and  
Theophilus, along with Cassius, the bishop  
of the church in Tyre, and Claurus of  
Ptolemais, and those who gathered with  
them, having discussed much about the  
tradition of Passover handed down from  
the apostles, at the end of their writing,  
they say this: 'Try to send copies of our  
letter to every church, so that we may not  
be guilty of leading our souls astray. We  
declare to you that on the same day, in  
Alexandria, they celebrate, just as we do.  
For letters are sent to them from us and  
received from them by us, so that we may  
together and in agreement keep the holy  
day.'

5.26.1 | But indeed, in addition to the  
writings and letters of Irenaeus, there is a  
very necessary and very brief statement  
about knowledge, addressed to him. There  
is also another one he has sent to a brother  
named Marcian, as a demonstration of the  
apostolic preaching. And there is a certain  
book of various discussions, in which he  
mentions the letter to the Hebrews and the

Ἐβραίους ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τῆς λεγομένης Σοφίας Σολομῶνος μνημονεύει, ὅταν τινα ἔξ αὐτῶν παραθέμενος, καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰς ἡμετέραν ἐλθόντα γνῶσιν τῶν Είρηναίου τοσαῦτα. Κομόδου δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ δέκα καὶ τρισὶν ἔτεσι καταλύσαντος αὐτοκράτωρ Σεβῆρος οὐδὲ δύος μησὶν ἔξ μετὰ τὴν Κομόδου τελευτὴν Περτίνακος διαγενομένου κρατεῖ.

## Section 27

5.27.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 35] Πλεῖστα μὲν οὖν παρὰ πολλοῖς είσέτι νῦν τῶν τότε σώζεται παλαιῶν καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐναρέτου σπουδῆς ὑπομνήματα· ὃν γε μὴν αὐτοὶ διέγνωμεν, εἴη ἀν τὰ Ἡρακλείτου εἰς τὸν ἀπόστολον, καὶ τὰ Μαξίμου περὶ τοῦ πολυθρυλήτου παρὰ τοῖς αἱρεσιώταις ζητήματος, τοῦ πόθεν ἡ κακία, καὶ περὶ τοῦ γενητὴν ὑπάρχειν τὴν ὅλην· τά τε Κανδίδου εἰς τὴν ἐξαήμερον, καὶ Ἀπίωνος εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν· ὅμοίως Σέξτου περὶ ἀναστάσεως, καὶ ἄλλη τις ὑπόθεσις Ἀραβιανοῦ, καὶ μυρίων ἄλλων, ὃν διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἔχειν ἀφορμὴν οὐχ οἶόν τε οὕτε τοὺς χρόνους παραδοῦναι γραφῇ οὕθ' ιστορίας μνήμην ὑποσημήνασθαι. καὶ ἄλλων δὲ πλείστων, ὃν οὐδὲ τὰς προσηγορίας καταλέγειν ἡμῖν δυνατὸν, ἥλθον εἰς ἡμᾶς λόγοι ὁρθοδόξων μὲν καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, ὃς γε δὴ ἡ ἐκάστου παραδείκνυσι τῆς θείας γραφῆς ἐρμηνεία, ἀδήλων δὲ ὅμως ἡμῖν, ὅτι μὴ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπάγεται τῶν συγγραψαμένων.

## Section 28

5.28.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 21] Τούτων ἐν τινος σπουδάσματι μετὰ τῆς Ἀρτέμωνος

so-called Wisdom of Solomon, providing some specific quotes from them. And these are the things that have come to our knowledge about Irenaeus. After the reign of Commodus, which lasted for thirteen years, the emperor Severus ruled, and even after the death of Commodus, Pertinax held power for only six months.

5.27.1 | Indeed, many reminders of the great efforts of ancient and church leaders are still preserved by many today. Among those we have recognized are the writings of Heraclitus to the apostle, and those of Maximus about the much-discussed issue among the heretics, concerning the source of evil and whether matter exists. There are also the works of Candido on the six days of creation, and of Apion on the same topic; similarly, Sextus on resurrection, and another work by an Arab, along with countless others, of which we cannot even name all the titles because there is no basis to do so, nor can we provide a historical account of them. And from many others, we have received words that are orthodox and ecclesiastical, as each one shows the interpretation of divine scripture, yet it remains unclear to us why they do not provide the titles of the writings.

5.28.1 | In one of these studies, there is a story related to the heresy of Artemis,

αἰρέσεως πεπονημένῳ, ἦν αὗθις ὁ ἐκ  
Σαμοσάτων Παῦλος ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς  
ἀνανεώσασθαι πεπείραται, φέρεται τις  
διήγησις, ταῖς ἔξεταζομέναις ἡμῖν  
προσήκουσα ἱστορίαις.

which Paul from Samothrace has tried to renew among us. This story is presented to those of us who are examining these historical matters.

5.28.2 | τὴν γάρ τοι δεληλωμένην αἴρεσιν,  
ψυλὸν ἄνθρωπον γενέσθαι τὸν σωτῆρα  
φάσκουσαν, οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ  
νεωτερισθεῖσαν διευθύνων, ἐπειδὴ  
σεμνύνειν αὐτὴν ὡσὰν ἀρχαίαν οἱ ταύτης  
ἡθελον εἰσηγηταὶ, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα εἰς  
ἔλεγχον αὐτῶν τῆς βλασφήμου  
ψευδηγορίας παραθεὶς ὁ λόγος ταῦτα κατὰ  
λέξιν ἱστορεῖ

5.28.2 | For this heresy, which claims that the savior was just a regular man, has recently been promoted. Since those who wanted to present it as ancient were trying to make it seem respectable, the argument has provided many other points to refute their blasphemous falsehood, and it recounts these things in detail.

5.28.3 | “φασὶ γὰρ τοὺς μὲν προτέρους  
ἄπαντας καὶ αὐτοὺς “τοὺς ἀποστόλους  
παρειληφέναι τε καὶ δεδιδαχέναι “ταῦτα, ἃ  
νῦν οὗτοι λέγουσι, καὶ τετηρῆσθαι τὴν  
“ἀλήθειαν τοῦ κηρύγματος μέχρι τῶν  
χρόνων τῶν “Βίκτορος, ὃς ἦν  
τρισκαιδέκατος ἀπὸ Πέτρου ἐν “Ρώμῃ  
ἐπίσκοπος, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ διαδόχου αὐτοῦ  
Ζε“φυρίνου παρακεχαράχθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

5.28.3 | For they say that all the earlier ones, including the apostles, received and were taught these things, which these people now say, and that the truth of the preaching was preserved until the time of Victor, who was the thirty-third bishop in Rome from Peter. And from his successor, Zephyrinus, the truth was confirmed.

5.28.4 | ἦν δ' ἂν τυχὸν πιθανὸν τὸ  
λεγόμενον, εἴ μὴ πρῶτον μὲν “άντεπιπτον  
αὐτοῖς αἱ θεῖαι γραφαί. καὶ ἀδελφῶν “δέ  
τινων ἔστι γράμματα πρεσβύτερα τῶν  
Βίκτορος “χρόνων, ἃ ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη  
ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας “καὶ πρὸς τὰς τότε  
αἰρέσεις ἔγραψαν, λέγω δὲ Ιου“στίνου καὶ  
Μιλτιάδου καὶ Τατιανοῦ καὶ Κλήμεντος  
“καὶ ἐτέρων πλειόνων, ἐν οἷς ἄπασι  
θεολογεῖται ὁ “Χριστός.

5.28.4 | But it would be likely that what is said is true, if first the divine scriptures did not strongly oppose them. And there are writings from some of the brothers that are older than the time of Victor, which they wrote to the nations about the truth and against the heresies of that time. I mean Justin, Miltiades, Tatian, Clement, and many others, in all of which Christ is discussed.

5.28.5 | τὰ γὰρ Είρηναίου τε καὶ Μελίτωνος

5.28.5 | For who is unaware of the books of

“καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τίς ἀγνοεῖ βιβλία, θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον καταγγέλλοντα τὸν Χριστόν; ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι ‘καὶ φῶται ἀδελφῶν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφεῖσαι ‘τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὑμνοῦσι θεολογοῦντες.

Irenaeus, Melito, and the others, which proclaim Christ as both God and man? And all the psalms and hymns written by the brothers from the beginning by the faithful sing the word of God, praising Christ.

5.28.6 | πῶς οὖν ἐκ τοσούτων ἔτῶν καταγγελλομένου τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ φρονήματος ἐνδέχεται “τοὺς μέχρι Βίκτορος οὕτως, ὡς οὗτοι λέγουσι, κεκηρυχέναι; πῶς δὲ οὐκ αἰδοῦνται ταῦτα Βίκτορος ‘καταψεύδεσθαι, ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες ὅτι Βίκτωρ Θεός ‘δοτον τὸν σκυτέα, τὸν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ πατέρα ταύτης ‘τῆς ἀρνησιθέου ἀποστασίας, ἀπεκήρυξε τῆς κοινωνίας, πρῶτον εἰπόντα ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν Χριστόν; ‘εἴ γάρ Βίκτωρ κατ’ αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἐφρόνει ὡς ἡ ‘τούτων διδάσκει βλασφημία, πῶς ἀνάπτεβαλλε Θεός ‘δοτον τὴν αἱρέσεως ταύτης εὐρετήν;’ καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὸν Βίκτορα τοιαῦτα.

5.28.6 | How then, after so many years of the church's teaching being proclaimed, could those up to Victor have been declared as these people say? And how do they not feel shame in saying that Victor lied, knowing well that Victor declared Theodosius the leatherworker, the founder and father of this denying heresy, to be just a plain man, Christ? For if Victor thought like them, as their teaching claims blasphemy, how could he have rejected Theodosius, the founder of this heresy?

5.28.7 | τούτου δὲ ἕτεσι δέκα προστάντος τῆς λειτουργίας διάδοχος καθίσταται Ζεφυρῖνος, ἀμφὶ τὸ ἔνατον τῆς Σεβήρου βασιλείας ἔτος. προστίθησι δὲ ὁ τὸ προειρημένον συντάξας περὶ τοῦ κατάρχαντος τῆς δηλωθείσης αἱρέσεως βιβλίον καὶ ἄλλην κατὰ Ζεφυρῖνον γενομένην πρᾶξιν, ὥδε πως αὐτοῖς βήμασι γράφων

5.28.7 | After ten years of the ministry, Zephyrinus becomes the successor, around the ninth year of the reign of Severus. He adds a book about the one who started the mentioned heresy and another action that happened against Zephyrinus, writing in this way to them.

5.28.8 | “ὑπομνήσω γοῦν ‘πολλοὺς τῶν ἀδελφῶν πρᾶγμα ἔφη ἡμῶν γενόμενον, ‘ὅ νομίζω ὅτι εἴ ἐν Σοδόμοις ἐγεγόνει, τυχὸν ἀν ‘κάκείνους ἐνουθέτησε. Νατάλιος δὲ τις ὁμολογεῖ ‘τὴς, οὐ πάλαι, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῶν

5.28.8 | I will remind you of something that happened to many of the brothers, which I think would have corrected even those in Sodom. There was a certain Natalios, a confessor, not long ago, but during our

ήμετέρων γενόμενος “καιρῶν.

5.28.9 | οὗτος ἡπατήθη ποτὲ ὑπὸ Ἀσκληπιοδότου “καὶ ἐτέρου Θεοδότου τινὸς τραπεζίτου. ἵσαν δὲ “οὗτοι ἄμφω Θεοδότου τοῦ σκυτέως μαθηταὶ, τοῦ “πρώτου ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ φρονήσει, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀφρο“σύνη, ἀφορισθέντος τῆς κοινωνίας ὑπὸ Βίκτορος, “ώς ἔφην, τοῦ τότε ἐπισκόπου.

5.28.10 | ἀνεπείσθη δὲ ὁ “Νατάλιος ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ σαλαρίῳ ἐπίσκοπος οὐκ “ρωθῆναι ταύτης τῆς αἰρέσεως, ὥστε λαμβάνειν παρ’ “αὐτῶν μηνιαῖα δηνάρια ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα.

5.28.11 | γε“νόμενος οὖν σὺν αὐτοῖς δι’ ὀραμάτων πολλάκις ἐνου“θετεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου. ὃ γὰρ εὔσπλαγχνος θεός “καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐβούλετο ἔξω “έκικλησίας γενόμενον ἀπολέσθαι μάρτυρα τῶν ἴδιων “παθῶν.

5.28.12 | ἐπεὶ δὲ ἥραψε μότερον τοῖς ὀράμασι “προσεῖχε, δελεαζόμενος τῇ τε παρ’ αὐτοῖς πρωτο“καθεδρίᾳ καὶ τῇ πλείστους ἀπολλυούσῃ αἰσχροκερ“δείᾳ, τελευταῖον ὑπὸ ἀγίων ἀγγέλων ἐμαστιγώθη, “δι’ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς οὐ σμικρῶς αἰκισθεὶς, ὥστε “ἔωθεν ἀναστῆναι, καὶ ἐνδυσάμενον σάκκον καὶ σπο“δὸν καταπασάμενον μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς καὶ δα“κρύων προσπεσεῖν Ζεφυρίνῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, κυλιό“μενον ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐν κλήρῳ, “ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λαϊκῶν, συγχέαι τε τοῖς δάκρυσι τὴν “εὔσπλαγχνον ἔκκλησίαν τοῦ ἐλεήμονος Χριστοῦ· “πολλῇ τε τῇ δεήσει

times.

5.28.9 | This man was once deceived by Asclepiodotus and another Theodotus, a table-maker. Both of them were disciples of Theodotus the leatherworker, the first one with this belief, rather foolishly, after being cut off from communion by Victor, as I said, who was the bishop at that time.

5.28.10 | But Natalios was persuaded by them to be appointed as a salaried bishop of this heresy, so that he would receive from them one hundred fifty denarii each month.

5.28.11 | Therefore, being with them, he was often warned by the Lord through visions. For the merciful God and our Lord Jesus Christ did not want him, having become outside the church, to be lost as a witness of his own sufferings.

5.28.12 | But when he paid less attention to the visions, being tempted by the high position among them and by the most shameful greed that was destroying many, finally he was whipped by holy angels, being treated not lightly throughout the whole night, so that at dawn he got up, and, putting on sackcloth and covering himself with ashes, with great urgency and tears, he fell down before Zephyrinus the bishop, rolling under the feet not only of those in the clergy but also of the laypeople, mixing his tears with the merciful church of the charitable Christ; and using much prayer,

χρησάμενον, δείξαντά τε τοὺς “μώλωπας  
ῶν εἰλήφει πληγῶν μόλις κοινωνηθῆναι.”

he showed the bruises from the wounds he had received, barely able to share in the communion.

5.28.13 | τούτοις ἐπισυνάψωμεν καὶ ἄλλας περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ συγγραφέως φωνὰς, τοῦτον ἔχούσας τὸν τρόπον· “γραφὰς μὲν θείας ἀφόβως ὥρεραδιουργήκασι, “πίστεώς τε ἀρχαίας κανόνα ἡθετήκασι, Χριστὸν δὲ “ἡγνοήκασιν, οὐ τί αἱ θεῖαι λέγουσι γραφαὶ ζητοῦντες, ἀλλ’ ὅποιον σχῆμα συλλογισμοῦ εἰς τὴν τῆς “ἀθεότητος σύστασιν εὐρεθῆ, φιλοπόνως ἀσκοῦντες· “κἄν αὐτοῖς προτείνῃ τις ὅτι τὸν γραφὴς θεϊκῆς, ἔχε “τάζουσι, πότερον συνημμένον ἢ διεζευγμένον δύνα “ται ποιῆσαι σχῆμα συλλογισμοῦ.

5.28.13 | Let us also add other voices from the same author about these matters, having this kind of tone: 'They have boldly twisted the divine writings, and they have set aside the ancient rule of faith, but they have ignored Christ. It is not what the divine writings say that they seek, but the kind of reasoning that can be found in the structure of unbelief, working hard at it; and if someone presents to them a clear divine writing, they examine whether it can create a form of reasoning when connected or separated.'

5.28.14 | καταλιπόντες “δὲ τὰς ἀγίας τοῦ θεοῦ γραφὰς γεωμετρίαν ἐπιτη “δεύουσιν, ὡσὰν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὄντες καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς “λαλοῦντες, καὶ τὸν ἄνωθεν ἐρχόμενον ἀγνοοῦντες. “Εὐκλείδης γοῦν παρά τισιν αὐτῶν φιλοπόνως γεω “μετρεῖται, Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ καὶ Θεόφραστος θαυμά “ζονται, Γαληνὸς γὰρ ἵσως ὑπό τινων καὶ προσκυ “νεῖται.

5.28.14 | But leaving behind the holy writings of God, they are concerned with geometry, as if they are from the earth and speaking from the earth, and they are ignorant of what comes from above. Indeed, Euclid is studied by some of them with great effort, while Aristotle and Theophrastus are admired, for Galen is perhaps even worshiped by some.

5.28.15 | οἱ δὲ ταῖς τῶν ἀπίστων τέχναις εἰς τὴν “τῆς αἰρέσεως αὐτῶν γνώμην ἀποχρώμενοι, καὶ τῇ “τῶν ἀθέων πανουργίᾳ τὴν ἀπλῆν τῶν θείων γρα “φῶν πίστιν καπηλεύοντες, ὅτι μηδὲ ἔγγὺς πίστεως “ὑπάρχουσι, τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν; διὰ τοῦτο ταῖς θείαις “γραφαῖς ἀφόβως ἐπέβαλον τὰς χεῖρας, λέγοντες αὐ “τὰς διωρθωκέναι.

5.28.15 | But they, using the arts of the unbelievers to support their own heresy, and taking advantage of the cleverness of the atheists, have corrupted the simple faith of the divine writings, since they do not even come close to having faith; what more is there to say? For this reason, they boldly laid hands on the divine writings, claiming to have corrected them.

5.28.16 | καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο μὴ καταψευδόμενος αὐτῶν λέγω ὁ βούλομενος δύναται μαθεῖν. “εἰ γάρ τις θελήσει συγκομίσας αὐτῶν ἐκάστου τὰ “ἀντίγραφα ἔξετάζειν πρὸς ἄλληλα, κατὰ πολὺ ἀν “εὔροι διαφωνοῦντα. ἀσύμφωνα γοῦν ἔσται τὰ Ασκληπιάδου τοῖς Θεοδότου.

5.28.17 | πολλῶν δὲ ἔστιν εύπορῆσαι, διὰ τὸ φιλοτίμως ἐγγεγράφθαι τοὺς μαθητὰς “αὐτῶν τὰ ὑφ' ἐκάστου αὐτῶν, ὡς αὐτοὶ καλοῦσι, ‘κατωρθωμένα, τουτ' ἔστιν ἡφανισμένα. πάλιν δὲ τούτοις τὰ Ἐρμοφύλου οὐ συνάδει. τὰ γάρ Απολλωνίδου οὐδὲ αὐτὰ ἐαυτοῖς ἔστι σύμφωνα. ἔνεστι συγκρῖναι τὰ πρότερον ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατασκευασθέντα “τοῖς ὕστερον πάλιν ἐπιδιαστραφεῖσι, καὶ εὐρεῖν “πολὺ ἀπάδοντα.

5.28.18 | ὅσης δὲ τόλμης ἔστι τοῦτο τὸ “ἀμάρτημα, εἴκός μηδὲ ἔκείνους ἀγνοεῖν. ἢ γάρ πιστεύουσιν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι λελέχθαι τὰς θείας γραφὰς, καὶ εἰσιν ἀπιστοι, ἢ ἐαυτοὺς ἡγοῦνται σοφωτέρους τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος ὑπάρχειν, καὶ τί ἔτερον ‘ἢ δαιμονῶσιν. οὐδὲ γάρ ἀρνήσασθαι δύνανται ἐαυτῶν εἶναι τὸ τόλμημα, δόποταν καὶ τῇ αὐτῶν χειρὶ “ἢ γεγραμμένα, καὶ παρῶν κατηχήθησαν, μὴ παρέλαβον τὰς γραφὰς, καὶ δεῖξαι ἀντίγραφα, “ὅθεν αὐτὰ μετεγράψαντο, μὴ ἔχωσιν.

5.28.19 | ἔνιοι δὲ “αὐτῶν οὐδὲ

5.28.16 | And that I do not lie about this, anyone who wants can learn. For if someone wishes to examine the copies of each of them together, they would find them greatly disagreeing. Indeed, the writings of Asclepiades will be inconsistent with those of Theodotus.

5.28.17 | But there are many ways to prove this, because their students have been written about with great care, as they themselves call them, 'corrected,' which means they have been hidden. Again, the writings of Hermophilus do not agree with these. For the works of Apollonides are not even consistent with themselves. It is possible to compare the earlier works made by them with the later ones that have been revised, and to find them greatly differing.

5.28.18 | How bold this mistake is, it is likely they do not even realize it. For either they believe that the divine writings have been spoken by the holy spirit, and they are unchangeable, or they think of themselves as wiser than the holy spirit, and what else could that be but madness? For they cannot deny that they are the ones being bold, whenever the writings are in their own hand, and they did not receive the scriptures from those who taught them, and they cannot show copies from where they copied them.

5.28.19 | Some of them did not even think it

παραχαράσσειν ἡξίωσαν αύτὰς, ἀλλ’ “ἀπλῶς ἀρνησάμενοι τὸν τε νόμον καὶ τὸν προφήτας, ἀνόμου καὶ ἀθέου διδασκαλίας προφάσσει χάριτος εἰς ἔσχατον ἀπωλείας ὅλεθρον κατωλίσθησαν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τοῦτον ἴστορήσθω τὸν τρόπον.

worth it to alter them, but simply denied both the law and the prophets, and under the pretense of grace, they fell into lawless and godless teachings, leading to their ultimate destruction. And let this be recorded in this way.

## Book Six (ΛΟΓΟΣ ζ.)

### Section 1

6.1.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 2] Ὡς δὲ καὶ Σεβῆρος διωγμὸν κατὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐκίνει, λαμπρὰ μὲν τῶν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀθλητῶν κατὰ πάντα τόπον ἀπετελεῖτο μαρτύρια, μάλιστα δ' ἐπλήθυεν ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας, τῶν ἀπ' Αἴγυπτου καὶ Θηβαΐδος ἀπάσης ἀριστίνδην αὐτόθι ὥσπερ ἐπὶ μέγιστον ἀθλητῶν θεοῦ παραπεμπομένων στάδιον, διὰ καρτερικωτάτης τε ποικίλων βασάνων καὶ θανάτου τρόπων ὑπομονῆς τὸν παρὰ θεῷ στεφάνους ἀναδουμένων. ἐν οἷς καὶ Λεωνίδης ὁ λεγόμενος Ὁριγένους πατὴρ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθεὶς νέον κομιδῇ καταλείπει τὸν παῖδα, ὃς δὴ ὀποίας ἔξι ἐκείνου περὶ τὸν θεῖον λόγον προαιρέσεως ἦν, οὐκ ἄκαιρον διὰ βραχέων διελθεῖν, τῷ μάλιστα πολὺν εἶναι παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ βεβοημένον λόγον.

6.1.1 | When Severus stirred up persecution against the churches, many glorious testimonies of the champions of piety were completed everywhere, especially in Alexandria, where the best of those from Egypt and Thebes were gathered as if sent to the greatest stadium of the athletes of God. Through the most enduring variety of tortures and ways of death, they were gaining crowns from God. Among them was Leonidas, known as the father of Origen, who, having had his head cut off, left behind a young son. This son, in the way he chose to follow the divine word, is not unworthy to be briefly mentioned, especially since he is well-known among many.

### Section 2

6.2.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 3] Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἄν τις εἴποι, τὸν βίον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐν σχολῇ παραδοῦναι διὰ γραφῆς πειρώμενος, δέοιτο δ' ἄν καὶ ἴδιας ὑποθέσεως ἡ περὶ αὐτοῦ σύνταξις. ὅμως δ' ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐπιτεμνόμενοι τὰ πλεῖστα διὰ βραχέων ὡς οἶόν τε ὀλίγα ἄττα τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν διελευσόμεθα, ἐκ τινῶν ἐπιστολῶν

6.2.1 | Therefore, someone might say a lot about the life of the man if they tried to present it in writing, but it would also require a personal approach to organize it. However, for now, we will briefly touch on a few things about him, drawing from certain letters and histories that have

καὶ ἱστορίας τῶν καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς τῷ βίῳ  
πεφυλαγμένων αὐτοῦ γνωρίμων τὰ  
δηλούμενα φέροντες.

preserved details of his life for us.

6.2.2 | Ὡριγένους καὶ τὰ ἔξ αὐτῶν ὡς εἴπειν  
σπαργάνων ἀξιομνημόνευτά μοι εἶναι  
δοκεῖ. δέκατον μὲν γάρ ἐπεῖχε Σεβῆρος τῆς  
βασιλείας ἔτος, ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ  
τῆς λοιπῆς Αἴγυπτου Λαῖτος, τῶν δὲ αὐτόθι  
παροικῶν τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν νεωστὶ τότε  
μετὰ Ἰουλιανὸν Δημήτριος ὑπειλήφει.

6.2.2 | It seems to me that the early life of Origen and the events related to him are worth mentioning. For in the tenth year of Severus's reign, Laetus was in charge of Alexandria and the rest of Egypt, and at that time, Demetrius had recently taken over the oversight of the local communities after Julian.

6.2.3 | εἰς μέγα δὴ οὖν τῆς τοῦ διωγμοῦ  
πυρκαϊᾶς ἀφθείσης, καὶ μυρίων ὅσων τοῖς  
κατὰ τὸ μαρτύριον ἀναδουμένων  
στεφάνοις, ἔρως τοσοῦτος μαρτυρίου τὴν  
Ὀριγένους ἔτι κομιδῇ παιδὸς ὑπάρχοντος  
κατεῖχε ψυχὴν, ὡς ὅμοσε τοῖς κινδύνοις  
χωρεῖν, προπηδᾶν τε καὶ ὀρμᾶν ἐπὶ τὸν  
ἀγῶνα προθύμως ἔχειν.

6.2.3 | Therefore, as the fire of persecution was kindled and countless crowns were being awarded to those who were martyred, such a strong love for martyrdom held the soul of Origen, who was still a child, so that he was eager to face dangers, to leap forward, and to rush into the contest with great readiness.

6.2.4 | ἦδη γέ τοι μικρὸν ὅσον αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ  
τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου ἀπαλλαγῆς οὐ πόρρω  
καθίστατο, μὴ οὐχὶ τῆς θείας καὶ οὐρανίου  
προνοίας εἰς τὴν πλείστων ὠφέλειαν διὰ  
τῆς αὐτοῦ μητρὸς ἐμποδὼν αὐτῷ τῆς  
προθυμίας ἐνστάσης.

6.2.4 | Indeed, he was already very close to leaving this life, and it was not far from the divine and heavenly care that was a great benefit to many, which stood in the way of his eagerness through his mother.

6.2.5 | αὕτη γοῦν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα λόγοις  
ἰκετεύουσα τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν μητρικῆς  
διαθέσεως φειδὼ λαβεῖν παρεκάλει,  
σφιδρότερον δ' ἐπιτείναντα θεασαμένη,  
ὅτε γνοὺς ἀλόντα τὸν πατέρα δεσμωτηρίω  
φυλάττεσθαι, ὅλος ἐγίνετο τῆς περὶ τὸ  
μαρτύριον ὄρμῆς, τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ  
ἀποκρυψαμένη ἐσθῆτα οἴκοι μένειν

6.2.5 | She, indeed, first pleaded with words to receive mercy from her motherly nature, but when she saw him becoming more intense, knowing that his father had been captured and was being held in prison, she became fully consumed by the urge for martyrdom, forcing him to stay home, hiding all of his eagerness.

άνάγκην ἐπῆγεν.

6.2.6 | ὃ δὲ, ὡς ούδεν ἄλλο πράττειν αύτῷ παρῆν, τῆς προθυμίας ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐπιτεινομένης, οὐχ οἴός τε ὅν ἡρεμεῖν, διαπέμπεται τῷ πατρὶ προτρεπτικωτάτην περὶ μαρτυρίου συντάξας ἐπιστολὴν, ἐν ᾧ κατὰ λέξιν αύτῷ παραινεῖ “ἔπεχε, μὴ δι’ ἡμᾶς ἄλλο τι φρονήσῃς”. τοῦτο πρῶτον τῆς Ὁριγένους παιδικῆς ἀγχιοίας καὶ περὶ τὴν θεοσέβειαν γνησιωτάτης διαθέσεως ἀνάγραπτον ἔστω τεκμήριον.

6.2.7 | καὶ γὰρ ἥδη καὶ τῶν τῆς πίστεως λόγων οὐ σμικρὰς ἀφορμὰς καταβέβλητο, ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ἔξετι παιδὸς ἐνησκημένος. οὐ μετρίως γοῦν καὶ περὶ ταῦτα πεπόνητο, τοῦ πατρὸς αύτῷ πρὸς τῇ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων παιδείᾳ καὶ τούτων οὐ κατὰ πάρεργον τὴν φροντίδα πεποιημένου.

6.2.8 | ἐξ ἄπαντος γοῦν αὐτὸν, πρὸ τῆς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μαθημάτων μελέτης, ἐνīγε τοῖς Ἱεροῖς ἐνασκεῖσθαι παιδεύμασιν, ἐκμαθήσεις καὶ ἀπαγγελίας ἡμέρας ἐκάστης αὐτὸν εἰσπραττόμενος.

6.2.9 | οὐκ ἀπροαιρέτως δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο τῷ παιδὶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄγαν προθυμότατα περὶ ταῦτα πονοῦντι, ὡς μηδ' ἔξαρκεῖν αύτῷ τὰς ἀπλᾶς καὶ προχείρους τῶν Ἱερῶν λόγων ἐντεύξεις, ζητεῖν δέ τι πλέον καὶ βαθυτέρας ἥδη ἐξ ἔκείνου πολυπραγμονεῖν θεωρίας, ὡστε καὶ πράγματα παρέχειν τῷ πατρὶ τί ἄρα ἔθέλοι δηλοῦν τὸ τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς ἀναπυνθανόμενος βούλημα.

6.2.6 | But he, since there was nothing else for him to do, with his eagerness growing beyond his age, could not remain calm. He sent a very encouraging letter to his father about martyrdom, in which he advised him in these words: 'Take care, do not think of anything else for our sake.' This should be a clear proof of Origen's youthful boldness and his genuine attitude toward piety.

6.2.7 | For he had already laid down significant foundations of faith, having been trained in the divine writings since he was a child. He had indeed worked hard on these matters, not without care for his father's teachings in the liberal arts, and he had not done this as a side task.

6.2.8 | From all of this, he was led to engage in sacred studies before he studied the Greek subjects, learning and reciting every day.

6.2.9 | These things did not happen to the boy by chance, but he worked very eagerly on them, so that the simple and straightforward readings of the sacred texts were not enough for him. He sought something more and deeper, already being busy with theories, so that he could provide his father with what he wanted to show about the purpose of the inspired writing.

6.2.10 | ἐκεῖνος δὲ τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν εἰς πρόσωποι ἐπέπληττεν αὐτῷ, μηδὲν ὑπὲρ ἡλικίαν μηδὲ τῆς πρὸ φανούς διανοίας περαιτέρω τι ζητεῖν παραινῶν, ίδιως δὲ παρ' ἐαυτῷ τὰ μεγάλα γεγηθώς τὴν μεγίστη ὡμολόγει τῷ πάντων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιῷ θεῷ χάριν, ὅτι δὴ αὐτὸν τοιούτου πατέρα γενέσθαι παιδὸς ἤξιοσεν.

6.2.11 | ἐπιστάντα δὲ ἦδη πολλάκις καθεύδοντι τῷ παιδὶ γυμνῶσαι μὲν αὐτοῦ τὰ στέρνα φασὶν, ὥσπερ δὲ θεῖο πνεύματος ἔνδον ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀφιερωμένου, φιλήσαί τ' σεβασμίως καὶ τῆς εύτεκνίας μακάριον ἐαυτὸν ἡγήσασθαι. ταῦτα καὶ ἔτερα τούτοις συγγενῆ περὶ παῖδ' ὄντα τὸν Ὄριγένην γενέσθαι μνημονεύουσιν.

6.2.12 | ὡς δὲ ἦδη αὐτῷ ὁ πατὴρ μαρτυρίω τετελείωτο, ἔρημος ἄμα μητρὶ καὶ βραχυτέροις ἀδελφοῖς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἔξ, ἐπτακαιδέκατον οὐ πλῆρες ἵτος ἄγων, καταλείπεται.

6.2.13 | τῆς γε μὴν τοῦ πατρὸς περιουσίας τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ταμιείοις ἀναληφθείσῃς, ἐν σπάνει τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον χρεῶν σὺν τοῖς προσήκουσι καταστὰς, οἰκονομίας τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ καταξιοῦται, καὶ τυγχάνει δεξιώσεως ὅμοῦ καὶ ἀναπαύσεως παρά τινι πλουσιωτάτῃ μὲν τὸν βίον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα περιφανεστάτῃ γυναικὶ, διαβόητόν γε μὴν ἄνδρα περιεπούσῃ τῶν τότε ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας αἱρεσιωτῶν· τὸ γένος ἦν οὗτος Ἀντιοχεὺς, θετὸν δὲ αὐτὸν υἱὸν εἶχε τε σὺν ἐαυτῇ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα περιεπεν ἡ δεδηλωμένη.

6.2.10 | He seemed to fill him with confidence, advising him not to seek anything beyond his age or understanding. He was especially happy about this himself, giving the greatest thanks to the God who is the source of all good things, that he had been worthy to have such a father.

6.2.11 | They say that when he often found the boy sleeping, he would uncover his chest, as if a divine spirit was present within him. He would kiss him respectfully and consider himself blessed to have such a son. These and other similar things are remembered about Origen when he was a child.

6.2.12 | When his father was already completed in his witness, he was left alone with his mother and six younger brothers, not quite reaching seventeen in number.

6.2.13 | After the wealth of his father was taken by the royal treasury, he found himself in need of the essentials of life. He was placed in a situation where he was provided for by God's grace and received both support and rest from a very wealthy woman, who was well-known and prominent. This woman was from Antioch and had adopted him as her son, and she took special care of him.

6.2.14 | ἀλλὰ τούτω γε ἐπάναγκες ὁ Ὄριγένης συνών τῆς ἔξ ἐκείνου περὶ τὴν πίστιν ὄρθιοδοξίας ἐναργῆ παρείχετο δείγματα, ὅτι δὴ μυρίου πλήθους διὰ τὸ δοκοῦν ἱκανὸν ἐν λόγῳ τοῦ Παύλου τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῷ ἀνδρὶ) συναγομένου παρ' αὐτῷ οὐ μόνον αἱρετικῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμετέρων, οὐδεπώποτε προυτράπη κατὰ τὴν εὔχὴν αὐτῷ συστῆναι, φυλάττων ἔξετι παιδὸς κανόνα ἑκκλησίας, βδελυττόμενός τε, ὡς αὐτῷ ῥήματι φησί που αὐτὸς, τὰς τῶν αἱρέσεων διδασκαλίας.

6.2.15 | προαχθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήνων μαθήμασιν, ἐκθυμότερόν τε καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν τῇ περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀσκήσει ὅλον ἐπιδοὺς ἐσυτὸν, ὡς καὶ παρασκευὴν ἐπὶ τὰ γραμματικὰ οὐ μετρίαν ἔχειν, μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς τελειώσεως τούτοις ἐπιδεδωκώς ἐσυτὸν, ηύπόρει τῶν ἀνγκαίων, ὡς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, δαψιλῶς.

6.2.14 | But in this situation, Origen was compelled to provide clear evidence of his faith in orthodoxy. Many people gathered around him, not only from heretical groups but also from our own, and he never encouraged anyone to go against his prayer. He kept the rules of the church as a child, and he was disgusted by the teachings of heresies, as he himself said.

6.2.15 | After being advanced by his father in the studies of the Greeks, he became more passionate and, after his father's death, devoted himself entirely to the study of words. He aimed to have a good preparation in grammar. Not long after his father's completion, he dedicated himself to these studies and was well-supplied with the necessities, as was fitting for someone of that age.

### Section 3

6.3.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 4 5] Σχολάζοντι δὲ τῇ διατριβῇ, ὡς που καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγγράφως ιστορεῖ, μηδενός τε ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τῷ κατηχεῖν ἀνακειμένου, πάντων δὲ ἀπεληλαμένων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπειλῆς τοῦ διωγμοῦ, προσήσεαν αὐτῷ τινὲς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνῶν ἀκουσόμενοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ.

6.3.2 | ὃν πρῶτον ἐπισημαίνεται γεγονέναι Πλούταρχον, ὃς μετὰ τὸ βιῶναι καλῶς καὶ μαρτυρίῳ θείῳ κατεκοσμήθη· δεύτερον Ἡρακλᾶν τοῦ Πλουτάρχου ἀδελφὸν, ὃς δὴ

6.3.1 | While he was busy with his studies, as he himself writes, no one was in Alexandria to teach. All had been driven away by the threat of persecution. Some people from the nations came to him to hear the word of God.

6.3.2 | First, it is noted that Plutarch became famous, who, after living well and having a divine witness, was honored. Second, Heracles, the brother of Plutarch,

καὶ αὐτὸς παρ' αὐτῷ πλείστην βίου φιλοσόφου καὶ ἀσκήσεως ἀπόδειξιν παρασχὼν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων μετὰ Δημήτριον τρίον ἐπισκοπῆς ἀξιοῦται.

who also provided a great example of a philosopher's life and practice, is considered worthy of the position of bishop among the Alexandrians along with Demetrius.

6.3.3 | ἔτος δ' ἦγεν ὁκτωκαιδέκατον, καθ' ὃ τοῦ τῆς κατηχήσεως προέστη διδασκαλείου. ἐν ᾧ καὶ προκόπτει ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ Ἀκύλαν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἡγούμενον διωγμῶν, ὅτε καὶ μάλιστα διαβόητον ἐκτήσατο παρὰ πάσι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως ὀρμωμένοις ὄνομα, δι' ἣν ἐνεδείκνυτο πρὸς ἀπαντας τοὺς ἀγίους ἀγνῶτάς τε καὶ γνωρίμους μάρτυρας δεξίωσίν τε καὶ προθυμίαν.

6.3.3 | In the eighteenth year, during which he was in charge of the teaching of catechism, he also advanced against the persecutions in Alexandria. At that time, he gained a very famous reputation among all those who were driven by faith, for which he showed great respect and eagerness towards all the holy martyrs, both unknown and well-known.

6.3.4 | οὐ μόνον γὰρ ἐν δεσμοῖς τυγχάνουσιν, οὐδὲ μέχρις ὑστάτης ἀποφάσεως ἀνακρινομένοις συνῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ ταύτην τὴν ἀπαγομένοις τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τοῖς ἀγίοις μάρτυσι πολλῇ τῇ παρρησίᾳ χρώμενος καὶ ὅμόσε τοῖς κινδύνοις χωρῶν ὥστε ἥδη αὐτὸν προσιόντα θαρσαλέως καὶ τοὺς μάρτυρας μετὰ πολλῆς παρρησίας φιλήματι προσαγορεύοντα πολλάκις ἐπιμανεῖς ὃ ἐν κύκλῳ τῶν ἔθνῶν δῆμος σμικροῦ δεῖν κατέλευσεν, εἰ μὴ τῆς θείας δεξιᾶς βοηθοῦ καθάπαξ τυγχάνων παραδόξως διεδίδρασκεν.

6.3.4 | For they were not only in chains and being questioned until the final decision, but even after that, those condemned to death used great boldness in front of the holy martyrs, and they shared in the dangers. So much so that when he approached boldly, he often greeted the martyrs with great confidence. The crowd of nations insisted that he should be afraid, unless he was always receiving help from the divine right hand, which he surprisingly demonstrated.

6.3.5 | ἡ δ' αὐτὴ θεία καὶ οὐράνιος χάρις ἄλλοτε πάλιν καὶ πάλιν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἔστιν δσάκις εἴπειν, τῆς ἄγαν περὶ τὸν Χριστοῦ λόγον προθυμίας τε καὶ παρρησίας ἔνεκεν τηνικαῦτα ἐπιβουλευόμενον αὐτὸν διεφύλαττε. τοσοῦτος δ' ἦν ἄρα τῶν ἀπίστων ὃ πρὸς αὐτὸν πόλεμος, ὡς καὶ

6.3.5 | The same divine and heavenly grace, again and again, and it cannot be said how often, protected him at that time when he was being plotted against for his great eagerness and boldness regarding the word of Christ. The war against him from the unbelievers was so great that they even set

συστροφάς ποιησαμένους, στρατιώτας αύτῷ περὶ τὸν οἶκον, ἔνθα κατέμενεν, ἐπιστῆσαι, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν τὰ τῆς Ἱεράς πίστεως κατηχουμένων παρ' αὐτῷ.

up soldiers around the house where he was staying, because of the large number of those being taught in the holy faith by him.

6.3.6 | οὕτω δὲ δοσμέραι ὁ κατ' αὐτοῦ διωγμὸς ἔξεκάτετο ὡς μηκέτι χωρεῖν αὐτὸν τὴν πᾶσαν πόλιν, οἴκους μὲν ἔξ οἴκων ἀμείβοντα, πανταχόθεν δὲ ἐλαυνόμενον, τῆς πληθύος ἔνεκεν τῶν δι' αὐτοῦ τῇ θείᾳ προσιόντων διδασκαλίᾳ ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ κατὰ πρᾶξιν ἔργα αύτῷ γνησιωτάτης φιλοσοφίας κατορθώματα εὗ μάλα θαυμαστὰ περιεῖχεν.

6.3.6 | Thus, the persecution against him grew so much each day that he could no longer stay in the whole city, moving from house to house and being driven from everywhere, because of the many people who were coming to him for divine teaching. For his actions also contained truly wonderful achievements of the most genuine philosophy.

6.3.7 | οἶον γοῦν τὸν λόγον, τοιόνδε φασὶ τὸν τρόπον· καὶ οἶον τὸν τρόπον, τοιόνδε τὸν λόγον ἐπεδείκνυτο. διὸ δὴ μάλιστα συναιρομένης αύτῷ δυνάμεως θείας μυρίους ἐνῆγεν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ ζῆλον.

6.3.7 | They say that the way of speaking was like this; and the way of speaking showed this kind of manner. Therefore, as divine power was especially gathered around him, he brought many people to his zeal.

6.3.8 | ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔώρα φοιτητὰς ἥδη πλείους προσιόντας, αύτῷ μόνῳ τῆς τοῦ κατηχεῖν διατριβῆς ὑπὸ Δημητρίου τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προεστῶτος ἐπιτετραμμένης, ἀσύμφωνον ἡγησάμενος τὴν τῶν γραμματικῶν λόγων διδασκαλίαν τῇ πρὸς τὰ θεῖα παιδεύματα ἀσκήσει, μὴ μελλήσας ἀπορρήγνυσιν ἄτε ἀνωφελῆ καὶ τοῖς Ἱεροῖς μαθήμασιν ἐναντίαν τὴν τῶν γραμματικῶν λόγων διατριβήν.

6.3.8 | When he saw that many students were already coming to him, and since he was the only one teaching under Demetrius, who was in charge of the church, he thought it was not right to teach grammar instead of focusing on divine matters. He decided not to waste time on what he saw as useless and opposed to the holy teachings.

6.3.9 | εἶτα λογισμῷ καθήκοντι, ὡς ἀν μὴ γένοιτο τῆς παρ' ἐτέρων ἐπικουρίας ἐνδεής, ὅσαπερ ἦν αύτῷ πρότερον λόγων ἀρχαίων συγγράμματα φιλοκάλως ἐσπουδασμένα μεταδοὺς, τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ

6.3.9 | Then, with careful thought, he made sure he would not be lacking help from others. He shared beautifully written works of ancient texts that he had studied before. For those who were being taught by him,

ταῦτα ἔωνημένου φερομένοις αύτῷ  
τέτταρσιν ὄβιοις τῆς ἡμέρας ἥρκεῖτο,  
πλείστοις τε ἔτεσι τοῦτον φιλοσοφῶν  
διετέλει τὸν τρόπον, πάσας ὑλας  
νεωτερικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐαυτοῦ  
περιαιρούμενος, καὶ διὰ πάσης μὲν ἡμέρας  
οὐ σμικροὺς ἀσκήσεως καμάτους ἀνατλῶν,  
καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς δὲ τὸν πλείονα χρόνον ταῖς  
τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἐαυτὸν ἀνατιθεὶς  
μελέταις, βίω τε ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα  
ἐγκαρτερῶν φιλοσοφωτάτω, τοτὲ μὲν τοῖς  
ἐν ἀσιτίαις γυμνασίοις ἐνασκούμενος, τοτὲ  
δὲ μεμετρημένοις τοῖς κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον  
καιροῖς, οὗ μεταλαμβάνειν ούδ' ὅλως ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
στρωμνῆς, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦδαφος διὰ σπουδῆς  
ἔποιεῖτο.

four obols a day was enough. For many years, he continued this way of teaching, avoiding all modern desires. Each day, he endured great efforts in his studies, and most of the night he dedicated to the study of divine writings. He lived as a true philosopher, sometimes practicing in schools where there was no food, and at other times measuring his sleep. He did not even rest on a bed, but instead, he would lie on the ground out of dedication.

6.3.10 | πάντων δὲ μάλιστα τὰς  
εὐαγγελικὰς τοῦ σωτῆρος φωνὰς  
φυλακτέας εἶναι ὥστε δεῖν, τάς τε περὶ τοῦ  
μὴ δύο χιτῶνας μηδ' ὑποδήμασι χρῆσθαι  
παραινούσας, μηδὲ μὴν ταῖς περὶ τοῦ  
μέλλοντος χρόνου φροντίσι  
κατατρίβεσθαι.

6.3.10 | Above all, he believed it was necessary to keep the teachings of the Savior safe, especially those that advised against wearing two tunics or shoes. He also thought it was important not to be worried about the future.

6.3.11 | ἀλλὰ καὶ μείζονι τῆς ἡλικίας  
προθυμίᾳ χρώμενος, ἐν ψύχει καὶ  
γυμνότητι διακαρτερῶν, εἰς ἄκρον τε  
ὑπερβαλλούσης] ἀκτημοσύνης ἐλαύνων,  
τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ μάλιστα  
κατέπλησσε, μυρίους μὲν ὄσους λυπῶν  
εύχομένους αύτῷ κοινωνεῖν τῶν  
ὑπαρχόντων, δι' οὓς ἐώρων αὐτὸν  
εἰσφέροντα περὶ τὴν θείαν διδασκαλίαν  
καμάτους, οὐ μὴν αὐτός γε ἐνδιδοὺς ταῖς  
καρτερίαις.

6.3.11 | But even more, using greater eagerness than his age, he endured cold and nakedness. He pushed himself to the extreme of poverty, which amazed those around him. Many were saddened, wishing to share their possessions with him, seeing him laboring for the divine teaching. Yet, he himself did not give in to their kindness.

6.3.12 | λέγεται γοῦν καὶ πλειόνων ἔτῶν  
γῆν πεπατηκέναι, μηδενὶ μηδαμῶς

6.3.12 | It is said that for many years he walked the earth, using no shoes at all. He

κεχρημένος ὑποδήματι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἶνου χρήσεως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παρὰ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τροφὴν πλείστοις ἔτεσιν ἀπεσχημένος, ὥστε ἥδη εἰς κίνδυνον ἀνατροπῆς καὶ διαφθορᾶς τοῦ θώρακος περιπεσεῖν.

6.3.13 | τοιαῦτα δὴ φιλοσόφου βίου τοῖς θεωμένοις παρέχων ὑποδείγματα εἰκότως ἐπὶ τὸν ὅμοιον αὐτῷ ζῆλον πλείους παρώρμα τῶν φοιτηῶν, ὥστε ἥδη καὶ τῶν ἀπίστων ἔθνῶν, τῶν τε ἀπὸ παιδείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐ τοὺς τυχόντας ὑπάγεσθαι τῇ δὲ αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίᾳ· οἵς καὶ αὐτοῖς γνησίως ἐν βάθει ψυχῆς τὴν εἰς τὸν θεῖον λόγον πίστιν δι' αὐτοῦ παραδεχομένοις διαπρέπειν συνέβαινε κατὰ τὸν τότε τοῦ διωγμοῦ καιρὸν, ὡς καί τινας αὐτὸν ἀλόντας μαρτυρίω τελειωθῆναι.

## Section 4

6.4.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 6-7] Πρῶτος μὲν οὖν τούτων ὁ μικρῷ πρόσθεν δηλωθεὶς Πλούταρχος ἦν· οὗ τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀπαγομένου σμικροῦ δεῖν αὐθις ὁ περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος συμπαρὼν αὐτῷ εἰς ὑστάτην τοῦ βίου τελευτὴν ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ πολιτῶν ἀνήρητο, ὡς αἴτιος αὐτῷ πεφηνώς τοῦ θανάτου· θεοῦ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐτήρει καὶ τότε βουλή.

6.4.2 | μετὰ δὲ Πλούταρχον δεύτερος τῶν Ὄριγένους φοιτηῶν μάρτυς ἀναδείκνυται Σερῆνος, διὰ πυρὸς τὴν δοκιμὴν ἥσ παρειλήφει πίστεως παρεσχημένος.

6.4.3 | τῆς αὐτῆς διατριβῆς τρίτος

also avoided drinking wine and many other things beyond what was necessary for food, so much so that he was already in danger of collapsing and harming his body.

6.3.13 | He provided examples of such a philosophical life to those who observed him, naturally inspiring many students to follow his example. This even reached some of the unbelieving nations, who, through his teaching, did not just happen to learn about education and philosophy. For these people, he genuinely helped them deeply believe in the divine word. This happened during the time of persecution, leading to some being caught and finishing their lives as martyrs.

6.4.1 | The first of these was Plutarch, who was mentioned a little earlier. When he was about to die, those who were with him at the end of his life were taken by his fellow citizens, as if he were responsible for his own death. But at that time, a god protected him and his will.

6.4.2 | After Plutarch, the second student of Origen who is shown to be a martyr is Serenus, who was tested by fire, having been given the proof of his faith.

6.4.3 | The third martyr of the same group

καθίσταται μάρτυς Ἡρακλείδης, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τέταρτος Ἡρων, ὃ μὲν πρότερος ἔτι κατηχούμενος, ὃ δὲ νεοφώτιστος, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθέντες. ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις τῆς αὐτῆς σχολῆς πέμπτος ἀθλητὴς τῆς εὔσεβείας ἀνακηρύττεται ἔτερος τοῦ πρώτου Σερῆνος, ὃν μετὰ πλείστην βασάνων ὑπομονὴν κεφαλῆς ἀποτομῇ κολασθῆναι λόγος ἔχει. καὶ γυναικῶν δὲ Ἡραῖς ἔτι κατηχουμένη τὸ βάπτισμα, ὡς φησί που αὐτὸς, τὸ διὰ πυρὸς λαβοῦσα τὸν βίον ἔξελήλυθεν.

## Section 5

6.5.1 | [Nic. H. E. V. 7] Ἔβδομος δὲ ἐν τούτοις ἀριθμείσθω Βασιλείδης, τὴν περιβόητον Ποταμίαν ἀπαγαγὼν, περὶ ἣς πολὺς ὁ λόγος εἰσέτι νῦν παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἄδεται, μυρία μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀγνείας τε καὶ παρθενίας, ἐν ᾧ διέπρεψε, πρὸς ἑραστὰς ἀγωνισαμένης καὶ γὰρ οὖν αὐτῇ ἀκμαῖον πρὸς τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τὸ τοῦ σώματος ὥραῖον ἐπήνθει), μυρία δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως ἀνατλησάσης, καὶ τέλος μετὰ δεινὰς καὶ φρικτὰς εἰπεῖν βασάνους ἄμα τῇ μητρὶ Μαρκέλῃ διὰ πυρὸς τελειωθείσης.

6.5.2 | φασί γέ τοι τὸν δικαστὴν (Ἀκύλας ἦν τούτῳ ὄνομα), χαλεπὰς ἐπιθέντα αὐτῇ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος αἰκίας, τέλος ἐφ' ὕβρει τοῦ σώματος μονομάχοις αὐτὴν ἀπειλῆσαι παραδοῦναι· τὴν δὲ βραχύ τι εἰς ἐαυτὴν ἐπισκεψαμένην, ἐρωτηθεῖσαν ὃ κρίνειε, τοιαύτην δοῦναι ἀπόκρισιν, δι' ἣς ἐδόκει νενομισμένον τι αὐτοῖς ἀσεβὲς ἀποφθέγξασθαι

is Heracleides, and the fourth is Heron. The former was still being taught, while the latter was a new convert; both had their heads cut off. In addition to these, a fifth athlete of piety is declared from the same school, another besides the first Serenus, who, after enduring many tortures, is said to have had his head cut off. Also, among the women, there was Hieraa, who was still being taught; as he himself says somewhere, she, having gone through fire, left this life.

6.5.1 | The seventh in this list is Basileides, who brought away the famous Potamiana, about whom a great deal is still sung among the locals. Many songs celebrate her purity and virginity, in which she excelled, having fought against lovers; for she was also flourishing in her soul and beautiful in body. Many songs also celebrate her faith in Christ, and finally, after terrible and frightening tortures, she was perfected by fire along with her mother Markella.

6.5.2 | They say that the judge (his name was Akylas), after putting her through harsh tortures all over her body, finally threatened to hand her over to the body's abusers. But when she briefly looked at herself, and was asked what she judged, she gave such an answer that it seemed she had spoken something considered impious to them.

6.5.3 | ἄμα δὲ λόγω τὸν τῆς ἀποφάσεως  
ὅρον καταδεξαμένην ὁ Βασιλείδης, εἰς τις  
ῶν τῶν ἐν στρατείαις ἀναφερομένων,  
ἀπάγει παραλαβών τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. ὡς δὲ  
τὸ πλῆθος ἐνοχλεῖν αὐτῇ καὶ ἀκολάστοις  
ἐνυβρίζειν ῥήμασιν ἐπειρᾶτο, ὃ μὲν  
ἀνεῖργεν ἀποσοβῶν τοὺς ἐνυβρίζοντας,  
πλεῖστον ἔλεον καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν εἰς  
αὐτὴν ἐνδεικνύμενος, ἡ δὲ τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν  
συμπαθείας ἀποδεξαμένη τὸν ἄνδρα  
Θαρρεῖν παρακελεύεται· ἔξαιτήσεσθαι γὰρ  
αὐτὸν ἀπελθοῦσαν παρὰ τοῦ ἐαυτῆς  
κυρίου, καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν τῶν εἰς αὐτὴν  
πεπραγμένων τὴν ἀμοιβὴν ἀποτίσειν  
αὐτῷ.

6.5.3 | At the same time, when Basileides had accepted the terms of the judgment, one of those in the army took her away to death. As the crowd tried to bother her and insult her with reckless words, he kept pushing away those who were insulting her, showing her much compassion and kindness. She, having accepted the man's sympathy, urged him to be brave; for she would ask him, after she had left, to go to her lord, and not to delay in paying him back for what he had done for her.

6.5.4 | ταῦτα δὲ είποῦσαν γενναίως τὴν  
ἔξιδον ὑποστῆναι, πίττης ἐμπύρου κατὰ  
διάφορα μέρη τοῦ σώματος ἀπ' ἄκρων  
ποδῶν καὶ μέχρι κορυφῆς ἡρέμα καὶ κατὰ  
μικρὸν περιχυθείσης αὐτῇ

6.5.4 | After saying these things bravely, she began to face her exit. The burning pitch was poured over different parts of her body, from the tips of her feet all the way to the top of her head, gently and little by little.

6.5.5 | καὶ ὡς μὲν τῆς ἀοιδίμου κόρης  
τοιοῦτος κατηγώνιστο ἀθλος. οὐ μακρὸν δὲ  
χρόνον διαλιπὼν ὁ Βασιλείδης, ὅρκον διά  
τινα αἵτιαν πρὸς τῶν συστρατιωτῶν  
αἴτηθεις, μὴ ἔξειναι αὐτῷ τὸ παράπαν  
όμινύναι διεβεβαιοῦτο· Χριστιανὸν γὰρ  
ὑπάρχειν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐμφανῶς ὅμοιογενν.  
παίζειν μὲν οὖν ἐνομίζετο τέως τὰ πρῶτα,  
ὡς δὲ ἐπιμόνως ἀπισχυρίζετο, ἄγεται ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τὸν δικαστὴν, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἔνστασιν  
ὅμοιογήσας δεσμοῖς παραδίδοται.

6.5.5 | And so, this was the kind of contest that the singing girl faced. Not long after, Basileides, having been asked for an oath for some reason by the fellow soldiers, firmly declared that he would not swear at all; for he was a Christian, and he openly admitted this. At first, he thought it was a joke, but as he kept being pressured, he was brought before the judge, where, having confessed his objection, he was handed over in chains.

6.5.6 | τῶν δὲ κατὰ θεὸν ἀδελφῶν ὡς  
αὐτὸν ἀφικνουμένων, καὶ τὴν αἵτιαν τῆς  
ἀθρόας καὶ παραδόξου ταύτης ὄρμῆς  
πυνθανομένων, λέγεται εἰπεῖν ὡς ἄρα

6.5.6 | As the brothers in faith were arriving, and learning the reason for this sudden and strange gathering, it is said that Potamiena, three days after the martyrdom,

Ποταμίαινα τρισὶν ὕστερον ἡμέραις τοῦ μαρτυρίου νύκτωρ ἐπιστᾶσα στέφανον αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ περιθεῖσα εἶη, φαίη τε παρακεκληκέναι χάριν αὐτοῦ τὸν κύριον, καὶ τῆς ἀξιώσεως τετυχηκέναι, οὐκ εἰς μακρόν τε αὐτὸν παραλήψεσθαι. ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῆς ἐν κυρίῳ σφραγῖδος μεταδόντων αὐτῷ, τῇ μετέπειτα ἡμέρᾳ τῷ τοῦ κυρίου διαπρέψας μαρτυρίῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνεται.

6.5.7 | καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πλείους τῶν κατ’ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀθρόως τῷ Χριστοῦ λόγῳ προσελθεῖν κατὰ τοὺς δεδηλωμένους ἴστοροῦνται, ὡς δὴ καθ’ ὑπνους τῆς Ποταμιάίνης ἐπιφανείσης καὶ προσκεκλημένης αὐτούς. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ᾖδε ἔχετω.

## Section 6

6.6.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 33] Πάνταινον δὲ Κλήμης διαδεξάμενος τῆς κατ’ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κατηχήσεως εἰς ἑκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ καθηγεῖτο, ὡς καὶ τὸν Ὁριγένην τῶν φοιτηῶν γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ. τὴν γέ τοι τῶν Στρωμάτεων αὐτοῦ πραγματείαν ὁ Κλήμης ὑπομνηματιζόμενος, κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον σύγγραμμα χρονικὴν ἐκθέμενος γραφὴν, εἰς τὴν Κομόδου τελευτὴν περιγράφει τοὺς χρόνους, ὡς εἶναι σαφὲς ὅτι κατὰ Σεβῆρον αὐτῷ πεπόνηται τὰ σπουδάσματα, οὗ τοὺς χρόνους ὁ παρὼν ἴστορεῖ λόγος.

## Section 7

6.7.1 | [Nic. H. E IV, 35] Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἰούδας συγγραφέων ἔτερος, εἰς τὰς παρὰ

came at night and placed a crown on his head. She is said to have prayed to the Lord for him and to have achieved his worthiness, which would not be taken from him for a long time. After this, the brothers shared with him the seal of the Lord, and the next day, he was beheaded for his witness to the Lord.

6.5.7 | And many others from Alexandria are reported to have come together to the word of Christ, as they say, after Potamiena appeared to them in dreams and called them. But let these things be as they are.

6.6.1 | Clement took over the teaching in Alexandria at that time, and he became the teacher of Origen among the students. He was making notes on his work called the Stromata, and in the first book, he set down a chronological account, describing the times up to the death of Commodus. It is clear that during the reign of Severus, he completed his studies, as the present account tells.

6.7.1 | At this time, another writer named Judas, who discussed the weeks in Daniel,

τῷ Δανιὴλ ἐβδομάδας ἔγγράφως  
διαλεχθεὶς, ἐπὶ τὸ δέκατον τῆς Σεβήρου  
βασιλείας ὕστησι τὴν χρονογραφίαν, ὃς καὶ  
τὴν θρυλούμενην τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου  
παρουσίαν ἥδη τότε πλησιάζειν ὡετο·  
οὕτω σφοδρῶς ἡ τοῦ τότε καθ' ἡμῶν  
διωγμοῦ κίνησις τὰς τῶν πολλῶν  
ἀνατεταράχει διανοίας.

set up a chronicle for the tenth year of the reign of Severus. He believed that the famous coming of the Antichrist was already near. Thus, the strong movement of the persecution against us stirred the thoughts of many.

## Section 8

6.8.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 8] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῆς κατηχήσεως ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τοῦργον ἐπιτελοῦντι τῷ Ὄριγένει πρᾶγμά τι διαπέπρακται, φρενὸς μὲν ἀτελοῦς καὶ νεανικῆς, πίστεως δὲ ὅμοῦ καὶ σωφροσύνης μέγιστον δεῖγμα περιέχον.

6.8.1 | At this time, while Origen was completing his work in teaching in Alexandria, something was done that showed both youthful enthusiasm and a great example of faith and self-control.

6.8.2 | τὸ γὰρ “εἰσὶν εύνοῦχοι οἵτινες εύνούχισαν ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τὴν βασι‘ λείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀπλούστερον καὶ νεανικώτερον ἐκλαβὼν ὅμοῦ μὲν σωτήριον φωνὴν ἀποπληροῦν οἰόμενος, ὅμοῦ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ νέον τὴν ἡλικίαν ὅντα μὴ ἀνδράσι μόνον, καὶ γυναιξὶ δὲ τὰ θεῖα προσομιλεῖν, ὡς ἀν πᾶσαν τὴν παρὰ τοῖς ἀπίστοις αἰσχρᾶς διαβολῆς ὑπόνοιαν ἀποκλείσειε, τὴν σωτήριον φωνὴν ἔργοις ἐπιτελέσαι ὡρμήθη, τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν γνωρίμων διαλαθεῖν φροντίσας.

6.8.2 | For there are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. Taking a simpler and more youthful view, they think they are fulfilling the call to salvation. They believe that, being young, they should not only speak of divine matters with men but also with women, so that they can shut out any shameful suspicions from the unbelievers. They are driven to fulfill the call to salvation through their actions, trying to keep many of their acquaintances unaware.

6.8.3 | οὐκ ἦν δὲ ἄρα δυνατὸν αὐτῷ καίπερ βουλομένῳ τοσοῦτον ἔργον ἐπικρύψασθαι. γνοὺς δῆτα ὕστερον ὁ Δημήτριος, ἀτε τῆς αὐτόθι παροικίας προεστώς, εὗ μάλα μὲν αὐτὸν ἀποθαυμάζει τοῦ τολμήματος, τὴν δέ γε προθυμίαν καὶ τὸ γνήσιον αὐτοῦ τῆς πίστεως ἀποδεξάμενος θαρρεῖν αὐτίκα

6.8.3 | It was not possible for him, even though he wanted to, to keep such a deed hidden. Later, Demetrius, as the leader of the local community, was greatly amazed by his boldness. Accepting his eagerness and the sincerity of his faith, he immediately encouraged him to be brave

παρακελεύεται, καὶ νῦν μᾶλλον ἔχεσθαι αὐτὸν τοῦ τῆς κατηχήσεως ἔργου παρορμᾶ.

6.8.4 | ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οὗτος τοιοῦτός τις ἦν. οὐ μακροῖς δὲ χρόνοις ὕστερον ὁ αὐτὸς δρῶν εὖ πράττοντα, μέγαν τε καὶ λαμπρὸν καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ὄντα βεβοημένον, ἀνθρώπινόν τι πεπονθὼς τοῖς ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπισκόποις καταγράφειν ὡς ἀτοπωτάτου τοῦ πραχθέντος αὐτῷ ἐπειρᾶτο, ὅτε γε τῶν κατὰ Παλαιστίνην οἱ μάλιστα δόκιμοι καὶ διαπρέποντες Καισαρείας τε καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοποι πρεσβείων τὸν Ὁριγένην καὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω τιμῆς ἄξιον εἶναι δοκιμάσαντες χεῖρας εἰς πρεσβυτέριον αὐτῷ τεθείκασι.

6.8.5 | τηνικαῦτα δ' οὖν εἰς μέγα δόξης προελθόντος αύτοῦ, ὄνομά τε παρὰ τοῖς πανταχῇ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ κλέος ἀρετῆς καὶ σοφίας οὐ σμικρὸν κτησαμένου, μηδεμιᾶς ἄλλης εύπορῶν ὁ Δημήτριος κατηγορίας, τῆς πάλαι ἐν παιδὶ γεγονούίας αὐτῷ πράξεως δεινὴν ποιεῖται διαβολὴν, συμπεριλαβεῖν τολμήσας ταῖς κατηγορίαις τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ πρεσβυτέριον αὐτὸν προάξαντας.

6.8.6 | ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μικρὸν ἐπράχθη ὕστερον. τότε γε μὴν ὁ Ὁριγένης ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τὸ τῆς θείας διδασκαλίας ἔργον εἰς πάντας ἀφυλάκτως τοὺς προσιόντας νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπετέλει, τοῖς θείοις ἀόκνως μαθήμασι καὶ τοῖς ὡς αὐτὸν φοιτῶσι τὴν πᾶσαν ἀνατιθεὶς σχολήν

and now urged him even more to continue with the work of teaching.

6.8.4 | But at that time, he was like this. Not long after, seeing him doing well and being great and famous among everyone, he suffered something human. He tried to write down what had happened to him as the strangest thing, especially when the most respected and distinguished bishops from Palestine, both from Caesarea and Jerusalem, sent representatives to declare that Origen was worthy of the highest honor and had appointed him to the presbytery.

6.8.5 | At that time, as he gained great glory, he became well-known among all people and acquired a reputation for virtue and wisdom. Demetrius, having no other accusations to make against him, created a serious slander about a deed that had happened to him in his youth. He dared to include in his accusations those who had promoted him to the presbytery.

6.8.6 | These things were accomplished a little later. At that time, Origen in Alexandria carried out the work of divine teaching without fail for all who came, both at night and during the day. He tirelessly dedicated himself to the divine lessons and offered his full attention to those who studied with him.

6.8.7 | ἐπὶ δέκα δὲ καὶ ὀκτὼ ἔτεσι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπικρατήσαντα Σεβῆρον Ἀντωνῖνος ὁ παῖς διαδέχεται. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν ἀνδρισαμένων καὶ μετὰ τοὺς ἐν ὅμοιογίαις ἀγῶνας διὰ προνοίας θεοῦ πεφυλαγμένων εἰς τις ὡν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὃν ἀρτίως ἐπίσκοπον τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας ἐδηλώσαμεν, οἴα ταῖς ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ διαπρέψας ὅμοιογίαις, τῆς δηλωθείσης ἐπισκοπῆς ἀξιοῦται, ἔτι Ναρκίσσου, ὃς ἦν αὐτοῦ πρότερος, περιόντος τῷ βίῳ.

6.8.7 | After ten years and eight years, the rule passed to Severus Antoninus, the son. During this time, among those who had shown courage during the persecution and who were protected by God's providence after the struggles of their confession, there was one named Alexander, whom we have just declared to be the bishop of the church in Jerusalem. He was worthy of the declared bishopric, having excelled in his confessions for Christ, and also of Narcissus, who had been his predecessor, still living at that time.

## Section 9

6.9.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 9] Πόλλα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα παράδοξα οἶ τῆς παροικίας πολῖται ὡσὰν ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἀδελφῶν τοῦ Ναρκίσσου μνημονεύουσιν, ἐν οἷς καὶ τοιόνδε τι θαῦμα δι' αὐτοῦ γεγονὸς ἴστοροῦσι.

6.9.1 | Many other strange things, indeed, the citizens of the community remember as handed down from the tradition of the brothers of Narcissus. Among these, they recount a certain miracle that happened through him.

6.9.2 | κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην ποτὲ τοῦ πάσχα διανυκτέρευσιν τοῦλαιόν φασι τοῖς διακόνοις ἐπιλιπεῖν. ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος δεινῆς ἀθυμίας διαλαβούσης τὸν Νάρκισσον τοῖς τὰ φῶτα παρασκευάζουσιν ἐπιτάξαι ὕδωρ ἀνιμήσαντας ὡς αὐτὸν κομιεῖσθαι.

6.9.2 | During one great night of Passover, they say that the deacons were left behind. At that time, when the whole crowd was overcome with terrible sadness, Narcissus ordered those preparing the lights to bring water, so that he could be carried.

6.9.3 | τούτου δὲ ἄμα λόγω πραχθέντος ἐπευξάμενον τῷ ὕδατι ἐγχέαι κατὰ τῶν λύχνων πίστει τῇ εἰς τὸν κύριον γνησίᾳ παρακελεύσασθαι ποιησάντων δὲ καὶ τοῦτο παρὰ πάντα λόγον δυνάμει παραδόξω καὶ θείᾳ μεταβαλεῖν ἐξ ὕδατος εἰς ἔλαιον ποιότητα τὴν φύσιν, παρά τε πλείστοις τῶν αὐτόθι ἀδελφῶν ἐπὶ

6.9.3 | When this was done, he prayed over the water and poured it on the lamps, urging faith in the true Lord. After they did this, the water changed in a wonderful and divine way from its nature into the quality of oil. Many of the brothers present at that time kept a small sample of that miracle for us.

μήκιστον ἔξ έκείνου καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς βραχύ τι δεῖγμα τοῦ τότε θαύματος φυλαχθῆναι.

6.9.4 | ἄλλα τε πλεῖστα περὶ τοῦ βίου τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μνήμης ἄξια καταλέγουσιν, ἐν οἷς καὶ τοιόνδε τι. τὸ εὔτονον αὐτοῦ καὶ στερρὸν τοῦ βίου φαῦλοί τινες ἀνθρωπίσκοι μὴ οἴοι τε φέρειν, δέει τοῦ μὴ δίκην ὑποσχεῖν ἀλόντας, διὰ τὸ μυρία κακὰ ἐαυτοῖς συνειδέναι, συσκευὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ προλαβόντες συρράπτουσι, καί τινα δεινὴν καταχέουσιν αὐτοῦ διαβολήν.

6.9.5 | εἶτα πιστούμενοι τοὺς ἀκροωμένους ὅρκοις ἐβεβαίουν τὰς κατηγορίας, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἦ μὴν ἀπόλοιτο πυρὶ ὕμνυεν, ὁ δὲ ἥ μὴν σκαιᾶ νόσῳ δαπανηθείη τὸ σῶμα, ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἥ μὴν τὰς ὀράσεις πηρωθείη. ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ οὕτως αὐτοῖς, καίπερ ὄμνύουσι, τῶν πιστῶν τις προσέχε τὸν νοῦν, διὰ τὴν εἰς πάντας λάμπουσαν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς σωφροσύνην τε καὶ πανάρετον ἀγωγὴν τοῦ Ναρκίσσου.

6.9.6 | αὐτός γε μὴν τὴν τῶν είρημένων μηδαμῶς ὑπομένων μοχθηρίαν, καὶ ἄλλως ἐκ μακροῦ τὸν φιλόσοφον ἀσπαζόμενος βίον, διαδρὰς πᾶν τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πλῆθος, ἐν ἐρημίαις καὶ ἀφανέσιν ἀγροῖς λανθάνων, πλείστοις ἔτεσι διέτριβεν.

6.9.7 | ἄλλ’ οὐ καὶ ὁ τῆς δίκης μέγας ὄφθαλμὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἡρέμει, μετήπει δὲ ὡς τάχιστα τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς αἵς καθ' ἐαυτῶν ἐπιορκοῦντες κατεδήσαντο ἀραῖς. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρῶτος, ἐκ μηδεμιᾶς προφάσεως ἀπλῶς οὕτω σμικροῦ διαπεσόντος ἐφ’ ἣς

6.9.4 | Many other things worthy of memory about this man's life are also told, including this one. Some wicked little men could not bear his calm and strong way of life, so they felt the need to accuse him without cause, because they were aware of many evils in themselves. They quickly made up stories against him and spread a terrible slander about him.

6.9.5 | Then, believing those who listened, they confirmed the accusations with oaths. One swore that he would perish by fire, another that his body would be wasted by a terrible disease, and a third that he would be struck blind. But even so, despite their oaths, none of the faithful paid attention to them, because of the shining wisdom and excellent character of Narcissus that stood out to everyone.

6.9.6 | He, not at all enduring the wickedness of those mentioned, and embracing the life of a philosopher from a distance, passed through all the crowds of the church, hiding in lonely and unknown places in the countryside, and spent many years there.

6.9.7 | But the great eye of justice did not rest on what had happened. It quickly turned against the wicked, who had sworn false oaths against themselves. The first one, without any excuse, was burned by a spark from the very house where he had

κατέμενεν οίκιας σπινθῆρος, νύκτωρ  
ύφαφθείσης ἀπάσης, παγγενῆ  
καταφλέγεται. ὁ δὲ ἀθρόως τὸ σῶμα ἔξ  
ἄκρων ποδῶν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν, ἡς αὐτὸς  
προσετίμησεν ἐαυτῷ, νόσου πίμπλαται.

been living. During the night, everything was consumed, and he was completely destroyed. The second one, his body filled with disease from head to toe, suffered from the illness he had chosen for himself.

6.9.8 | ὁ δὲ τρίτος τὰς τῶν προτέρων συνιδὼν ἐκβάσεις, καὶ τοῦ πάντων ἐφόρου θεοῦ τρέσας τὴν ἀδιάδραστον δίκην, ὡμολόγει μὲν τοῖς πᾶσι τὰ κοινὴ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐσκαιωρημένα, τοσαύταις δὲ κατετρύχετο μεταμελόμενος οἴμωγαῖς, δακρύων τε ἐς τοσοῦτον οὐκ ἀπέλιπεν, ἔως ἄμφω διεφθάρη τὰς ὄψεις, καὶ οἵδε μὲν τῆς ψευδολογίας τοιαύτας ἐπέσχον τιμωρίας.

6.9.8 | The third one, seeing the outcomes of the first two, trembled at the unavoidable punishment from the god who watches over all. He confessed to everyone the wrongs they had done together, and he was overwhelmed with regret, crying out in despair. He cried so much that he could not stop until both of his eyes were destroyed. These men faced such punishments for their lies.

## Section 10

6.10.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 10] Τοῦ δὲ Ναρκίσσου ἀνακεχωρηκότος, καὶ μηδαμῶς ὅπῃ ὧν τυγχάνοι γινωσκομένου, δόξαν τοῖς τῶν διμόρων ἐκκλησιῶν προεστῶσιν ἐφ' ἐτέρου μετίασιν ἐπισκόπου χειροτονίαν. Διος τούτῳ ὄνομα ἦν· δὸν οὐ πολὺν προστάντα χρόνον Γερμανίων διαδέχεται καὶ τοῦτον Γόρδιος, καθ' ὃν ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀναβιώσεως ἀναφανεῖς ποθεν ὁ Νάρκισσος αὖθις ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπὶ τὴν προστασίαν παρακλεῖται, μειζόνως ἔτι μᾶλλον τῶν πάντων ἀγασθέντων αὐτὸν, τῆς τε ἀναχωρήσεως ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας, καὶ ἐφ' ἄπασι δι' ἣν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κατηξίωτο ἐκδίκησιν.

6.10.1 | After Narcissus had withdrawn and was not known to be anywhere, the leaders of the local churches met to discuss the ordination of a bishop. His name was Dios. After a short time, he succeeded the Germans, and Gordius took him in. Just as Narcissus seemed to rise again from the dead, he was once more called back by his brothers to take charge. They were even more impressed by him than before, because of his retreat and his philosophy, and for all the reasons for which he was deemed worthy of vengeance from the god.

## Section 11

6.11.1 | Καὶ δὴ μηκέθ' οἷου τε ὄντος λειτουργεῖν διὰ λιπαρὸν γῆρας, τὸν

6.11.1 | And indeed, since he was no longer able to serve due to his old age, the

είρημένον Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπίσκοπον ἐτέρας  
ὑπάρχοντα παροικίας, οἰκονομίᾳ θεοῦ ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τὴν ἅμα τῷ Ναρκίσσῳ λειτουργίαν ἐκάλει,  
κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν νύκτωρ αὐτῷ δι'  
δράματος φανεῖσαν.

mentioned Alexander, who was the bishop of another community, was called by the will of God to serve at the same time as Narcissus. This was revealed to him at night through a vision.

6.11.2 | ταύτῃ δ' οὖν ὡς κατά τι  
θεοπρόπιον ἐκ τῆς Καππαδοκῶν γῆς, ἐνθα  
τὸ πρῶτον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἤξιώτο, τὴν  
πορείαν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα εύχης καὶ τῶν  
τόπων ἱστορίας ἔνεκεν πεποιημένον  
φιλοφρονέστατα οἱ τῇδε ὑπολαβόντες  
οὐκέτ' οἴκαδε παλινοστεῖν αὐτῷ  
ἐπιτρέπουσι, καθ' ἐτέραν ἀποκάλυψιν καὶ  
αὐτοῖς νύκτωρ ὄφθεῖσαν, μίαν τε φωνὴν  
σαφεστάτην τοῖς μάλιστα αὐτῶν  
σπουδαίοις χρήσασαν· ἐδήλου γάρ  
προελθόντας ἔξω πυλῶν τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ  
πρωωρισμένον αὐτοῖς ἐπίσκοπον  
ὑποδέξασθαι. τοῦτο δὲ πράξαντες μετὰ  
κοινῆς τῶν ἐπισκόπων, οἱ τὰς πέριξ διεῖπον  
ἐκκλησίας, γνώμης ἐπάναγκες αὐτὸν  
παραμένειν βιάζονται.

6.11.2 | So, as if by some divine prophecy from the land of Cappadocia, where he was first deemed worthy of the bishopric, they made a journey to Jerusalem for prayer and to visit the places of history. Those who took this upon themselves no longer allowed him to return home. According to another revelation shown to them at night, a very clear voice spoke to them, urging them to welcome the bishop appointed for them by God as they came out of the gates. After doing this, along with the other bishops who divided the surrounding churches, they insisted that he stay with them.

6.11.3 | μνημονεύει γέ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ  
Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν ἴδιαις ἐπιστολαῖς ταῖς πρὸς  
Ἀντινοείτας εἰσέτι νῦν παρ' ἡμῖν  
σωζομέναις τῆς Ναρκίσσου σὺν αὐτῷ  
προεδρίας, ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν ἐπὶ τέλει  
γράφων τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς  
Νάρκισσος, ὃ πρὸ ἐμοῦ διέπων τὸν τόπον  
τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τὸν ἐνθάδε, καὶ νῦν  
συνεξεταζόμενός μοι διὰ τῶν εὔχῶν,  
ἐκατὸν δεκαεξῆ τη ἡνυκώς, παρακαλῶν  
ὑμᾶς ὄμοιώς ἐμοὶ ὄμοφρονῆσαι

6.11.3 | Indeed, Alexander himself also remembers in his own letters to the people of Antinoë, which are still preserved with us, that at the end of the letter he greets you, saying: "Narcissus, who governed this place of the bishopric before me, and now, being examined with me through prayers, has lived for one hundred sixteen years, I ask you to think the same as I do."

6.11.4 | καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως εἶχε. τῆς δὲ  
κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν ἐκκλησίας Σαραπίωνος  
ἀναπαυσαμένου τὴν ἐπισκοπήν διαδέχεται

6.11.4 | And this is how it was. After Sarapion had rested from the bishopric of the church in Antioch, Asclepiades took

Άσκληπιάδης, ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν  
διμολογίαις διαπρέψας καὶ αὐτός.

6.11.5 | μέμνηται καὶ τῆς τούτου  
καταστάσεως Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀντιοχεῦσι  
γράφων ὡδε “Ἀλέξανδρος, δοῦλος καὶ  
δέσμιος “Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῇ μακαρίᾳ  
έκκλησίᾳ Ἀντιοχέων ἐν “κυρίῳ χαίρειν.  
έλαφρά μοι καὶ κοῦφα τὰ δεσμὰ ὡς “κύριος  
έποιήσει κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς εἰρκτῆς,  
πυθο“μένω μοι τῆς ἀγίας ὑμῶν τῶν  
Ἀντιοχέων ἔκκλησίας “κατὰ τὴν θείαν  
πρόνοιαν Ἀσκληπιάδην τὸν  
ἐπιτη“δειότατον κατ’ ἄξιαν τὴν πίστιν τῆς  
ἐπισκοπῆς ἐγκε“χειρισμένον.”

6.11.6 | ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν σημαίνει  
διὰ Κλήμεντος ἀπεσταλκέναι, πρὸς τῷ  
τέλει τοῦτον γράφων τὸν τρόπον “ταῦτα  
δὲ ὑμῖν, κύριοι μου ἀδελφοί, τὰ γράμματα  
ἀπέστειλα διὰ Κλήμεντος τοῦ “μακαρίου  
πρεσβυτέρου, ἀνδρὸς ἐναρέτου καὶ  
δοκίμου, ὃν ἵστε καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ  
ἐπιγνώσεσθε, ὃς καὶ ἐν “θάδε παρὼν κατὰ  
τὴν πρόνοιαν καὶ ἐπισκοπὴν τοῦ  
“δεσπότου ἐπεστήριξε τε καὶ ηὔξησε τὴν  
τοῦ κυρίου “έκκλησίαν.”

## Section 12

6.12.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 3] Τοῦ δὲ Σαραπίωνος  
τῆς περὶ λόγους ἀσκήσεως καὶ ἄλλα μὲν  
εἰκὸς σωζεσθαι παρ’ ἑτέροις ὑπομνήματα,  
εἰς ἡμᾶς δὲ μόνα κατήλθε τὰ πρὸς  
Δομινῖνον, ἐκπεπτωκότα τινὰ παρὰ τὸν τοῦ  
διωγμοῦ καιρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν  
πίστεως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν  
έκκλησιαστικοὺς καὶ τὰ πρὸς Πόντιον καὶ  
Καρικόν, ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς ἄνδρας, καὶ

over, having also distinguished himself in  
the confessions during the persecution.

6.11.5 | Alexander also remembers this  
situation, writing to the people of Antioch  
like this: "Alexander, servant and prisoner  
of Jesus Christ, greets the blessed church of  
the Antiochians in the Lord. The Lord has  
made my chains light and easy during this  
time of imprisonment, as I have learned  
about your holy church of Antioch through  
divine providence, that Asclepiades, the  
most suitable one, has been appointed  
according to the worthiness of the faith of  
the bishopric."

6.11.6 | This letter indicates that it was sent  
through Clement, as it concludes with these  
words: "I have sent you, my dear brothers,  
this letter through Clement, the blessed  
elder, a man of great virtue and proven  
character, whom you know and will  
recognize. He, being present here by the  
providence and oversight of the Lord, has  
supported and increased the church of the  
Lord."

6.12.1 | As for Sarapion, it is likely that  
other writings about his teachings are  
preserved by others, but only the matters  
concerning Dominus have come down to  
us. Some have fallen away from the faith in  
Christ during the time of persecution and  
have turned to the Jewish church, as well as  
to the church leaders in Pontus and  
Caricus, along with other letters to

ἄλλαι πρὸς ἑτέρους ἐπιστολαί·

6.12.2 | ἔτερός τε συντεταγμένος αύτῷ λόγος περὶ τοῦ λεγομένου κατὰ Πέτρον εὐαγγελίου, ὃν πεποίηται ἀπελέγχων τὰ ψευδῶς ἐν αὐτῷ είρημένα, διά τινας ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ῥωσσὸν παροικίᾳ προφάσει τῆς είρημένης γραφῆς εἰς ἑτεροδόξους διδασκαλίας ἀποκείλαντας. ἀφ' ἣς εὕλογον βραχείας παραθέσθαι λέξεις, δι' ὧν ἦν εἶχε περὶ τοῦ βιβλίου γνώμην προτίθησιν οὕτω γράφων

different people.

6.12.3 | “ἡμεῖς γὰρ, ἀδελφοὶ, καὶ “Πέτρον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποστόλους ἀποδεχόμεθα “ώς Χριστὸν, τὰ δὲ ὄνόματι αὐτῶν ψευδεπίγραφα ώς “ἔμπειροι παραιτούμεθα, γινώσκοντες ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα “οὐ παρελάβομεν.

6.12.2 | Another writing has been arranged about the so-called Gospel according to Peter, which he has composed to refute the false statements made in it. This is in response to some who, under the pretense of the mentioned text, have turned to different teachings in the community in Russia. From this, it is reasonable to briefly present some words, through which he expresses his opinion about the book in this way.

6.12.4 | ἐγὼ γὰρ γενόμενος παρ' ὑμῖν ‘ὑπενόουν τοὺς πάντας ὄρθῃ πίστει προσφέρεσθαι, καὶ μὴ διελθῶν τὸ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν προφερόμενον ὃνό “ματι Πέτρου εὐαγγέλιον εἴπον ὅτι, εἰ τοῦτο ἔστι “μόνον τὸ δοκοῦν ὑμῖν παρέχειν μικροψυχίαν, ἀναγινωσκέσθω. νῦν δὲ μαθῶν ὅτι αἰρέσει τινὶ ὁ νοῦς “αὐτῶν ἐνεφώλευεν ἐκ τῶν λεχθέντων μοι, σπουδάσω πάλιν γενέσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὥστε, ἀδελφοὶ, “προσδοκᾶτέ με ἐν τάχει.

6.12.4 | For I, having come among you, suggested that everyone should approach with true faith, and not having gone through what is presented under the name of the Gospel of Peter, I said that if this is only meant to provide you with a lack of courage, let it be read. But now, having learned that some have been led astray by what was said to me, I will make an effort to come back to you, so that, brothers, you may expect me soon.

6.12.5 | ὑμεῖς δὲ, ἀδελφοὶ, κατα“λαβόμενοι δοποίας ἦν αἰρέσεως ὁ Μαρκιανὸς, ὡς καὶ “ἐσαυτῷ ἡναντιοῦτο μὴ νοῶν ἢ ἐλάλει μαθήσεσθε ἐξ “ῶν ὑμῖν ἐγράφη.

6.12.5 | But you, brothers, understanding what kind of teachings Marcian had, will learn from what was written to you, as he opposed himself by not understanding

what he was saying.

6.12.6 | έδυνήθημεν γάρ παρ' ἄλλων "τῶν ἀσκησάντων αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, τουτέστι "παρὰ τῶν διαδόχων τῶν. καταρξαμένων αύτοῦ, οὓς "Δοκητὰς καλοῦμεν τὰ γάρ φρονήματα τὰ πλείονα "έκείνων ἔστι τῆς διδασκαλίας), χρησάμενοι παρ' "αύτῶν, διελθεῖν, καὶ εὑρεῖν τὰ μὲν πλείονα τοῦ "όρθοῦ λόγου τοῦ σωτῆρος, τινὰ δὲ προσδιεσταλμένα, ἃ "καὶ ὑπετάξαμεν ὑμῖν." καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ Σαραπίωνος.

6.12.6 | For we were able to receive this Gospel from others who practiced it, that is, from the successors of those who began it, whom we call Docetists. For most of their teachings are from those, using their ideas, to go through and find the greater part of the true teaching of the Savior, while some are separated, which we have also submitted to you. And these are the teachings of Sarapion.

## Section 13

6.13.1 | [Nic. H. E. IV, 33] Τοῦ δὲ Κλήμεντος Στρωματεῖς οἱ πάντες ὅκτω παρ' ἡμῖν σώζονται, οὓς καὶ τοιαύτης ἤξιώσε προγραφῆς "Τίτου Φλαυίου "Κλήμεντος τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀληθῆ φιλοσοφίαν γνωστικῶν ὑπομνημάτων στρωματεῖς.

6.13.1 | Of Clement, all eight of the Stromata are preserved with us, which he also deemed worthy of being written down as the commentaries of Titus Flavius Clement on the true philosophy of the Gnostics.

6.13.2 | ἴσαριθμοί τε τούτοις είσιν οἱ ἐπιγεγραμμένοι 'Ὑποτυπώσεων αύτοῦ λόγοι, ἐν οἷς ὄνομαστὶ ὡς διδασκάλου τοῦ Πανταίνου μνημονεύει, ἐκδοχάς τε αύτοῦ γράφων καὶ παραδόσεις ἐκτιθέμενος.

6.13.2 | These are equal in number to the writings titled 'Hypotyposes' of his, in which he mentions by name the teacher Pantainus, presenting both his writings and traditions.

6.13.3 | ἔστι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς 'Ἐλληνας λόγος ὁ προτρεπτικός, τρεῖς τε οἱ τοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένου Παιδαγωγοῦ, καὶ "τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος" οὕτως ἐπιγραφεὶς ἔτερος αύτοῦ λόγος· τό τε περὶ τοῦ πάσχα σύγγραμμα, καὶ διαλέξεις περὶ νηστείας, καὶ περὶ καταλαλίας, καὶ ὁ προτρεπτικός εἰς ὑπομονὴν ἡ πρὸς τοὺς νεωστὶ βεβαπτισμένους, καὶ ὁ ἐπιγραμμένος

6.13.3 | There is also a persuasive speech to the Greeks, three of which are titled 'The Pedagogue,' and another speech titled 'Who is the Rich Man that is Saved?' There is also a writing about Passover, discussions about fasting, and about slander, as well as the persuasive speech for patience or for those recently baptized, and the ecclesiastical canon addressed to those who follow

κανών ἐκκλησιαστικὸς, ἢ πρὸς τοὺς  
Ἰουδαῖοντας, ὃν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ  
δεδηλωμένῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀνατέθεικεν.

6.13.4 | ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς Στρωματεῦσιν οὐ  
μόνον τῆς θείας κατάστρωσιν πεποίηται  
γραφῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν παρ’ Ἑλλήσιν, εἴ τι  
ἄρα ὠφέλιμον ἐδόκει καὶ αὐτοῖς είρησθαι,  
μνημονεύει, τῶν τε παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς  
δογμάτων, τὰ Ἑλλήνων δόμοῦ καὶ τὰ  
βαρβάρων ἀναπτύσσων.

6.13.5 | καὶ ἔτι τὰς τῶν αἱρεσιαρχῶν  
ψευδοδοξίας εὑθύνων ἱστορίαν τε πολλὴν  
έξαπλοι, ὑπόθεσιν ἡμῖν πολυμαθοῦς  
παρέχων παιδείας. τούτοις ἄπασι  
καταμίγγυσι καὶ τὰ φιλοσόφων δόγματα,  
ὅθεν εἰκότως κατάλληλον τῇ ὑποθέσει καὶ  
τὴν προγραφὴν τῶν Στρωματέων  
πεποίηται.

6.13.6 | κέχρηται δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ  
τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων γραφῶν μαρτυρίαις,  
τῆς τε λεγομένης Σολομῶνος σοφίας, καὶ  
τῆς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Σιρᾶχ, καὶ τῆς πρὸς  
Ἐβραίους ἐπιστολῆς, τῆς τε Βαρνάβα καὶ  
Κλήμεντος καὶ Ἰούδα

6.13.7 | μνημονεύει τε τοῦ πρὸς Ἑλληνας  
Τατιανοῦ λόγου, καὶ Κασσιανοῦ ὡς καὶ  
αὐτοῦ χρονογραφίαν πεποιημένου· ἔτι μὴν  
Φίλωνος καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου, Ἰωσήπου τε  
καὶ Δημητρίου καὶ Εύπολέμου, Ἰουδαίων  
συγγραφέων, ὡσὰν τούτων ἀπάντων  
ἐγγράφως πρεσβύτερον τῆς παρ’ Ἑλλησιν  
ἀρχαιογονίας Μωυσέα τε καὶ τὸ Ἰουδαίων  
γένος ἀποδειξάντων.

Jewish customs, which he presented to Alexander, the appointed bishop.

6.13.4 | In the Stromata, he has not only created a writing about divine teachings, but also mentions those from the Greeks, if he thought there was anything useful to say to them. He discusses the teachings of many, revealing both the beliefs of the Greeks and those of the barbarians.

6.13.5 | And he also provides a lot of history about the false beliefs of the heretics, offering us a foundation of great learning. He mixes in the teachings of philosophers, which is why it is fitting for the purpose and the outline of the Stromata.

6.13.6 | He also uses testimonies from the writings of those who argue against him, including what is called the wisdom of Solomon, the book of Jesus Sirach, the letter to the Hebrews, as well as those of Barnabas, Clement, and Jude.

6.13.7 | He also mentions the work of Tatian directed to the Greeks, and that of Cassian, who made a chronicle. Furthermore, he includes writings from Philo, Aristobulus, Josephus, Demetrius, and Eusebius, Jewish authors, all of whom provide written evidence that is older than the ancient origins of Moses and the Jewish people among the Greeks.

6.13.8 | καὶ ἄλλης δὲ πλείστης χρηστομαθείας ἔμπλεοι οἱ δηλούμενοι τυγχάνουσι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς λόγοι, ὃν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ δηλοῖ ὡς ἔγγιστα τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων γενομένου διαδοχῆς. ὑπισχνεῖται δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν ὑπομνηματιεῖσθαι.

6.13.9 | καὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ δὲ αὐτοῦ τῷ περὶ τοῦ πάσχα ἐκβιασθῆναι ὁμολογεῖ πρὸς τῶν ἐταίρων, ἃς ἔτυχε παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων πρεσβυτέρων ἀκηκοώς παραδόσεις, γραφῇ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα παραδοῦναι. μέμνηται δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Μελίτωνος καὶ Εἰρηναίου καὶ τινων ἐτέρων, ὃν καὶ τὰς διηγήσεις τέθειται.

## Section 14

6.14.1 | Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ὑποτυπώσεσι, ξυνελόντα είπειν, πάσης τῆς ἐνδιαθήκου γραφῆς ἐπιτετμημένας πεποίηται διηγήσεις, μηδὲ τὰς ἀντιλεγομένας παρελθών, τὴν Ἰούδα λέγω καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς καθολικὰς ἐπιστολὰς, τὴν τε Βαρνάβα καὶ τὴν Πέτρου λεγομένην ἀποκάλυψιν.

6.14.2 | καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἐβραίους δὲ ἐπιστολὴν Παύλου μὲν εἶναι φησι, γεγράφθαι δὲ Ἐβραίοις Ἐβραικῇ φωνῇ, Λουκᾶν δὲ φιλοτίμως αὐτὴν μεθερμηνεύσαντα ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ὅθεν τὸν αὐτὸν χρῶτα εὑρίσκεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν ταύτης τε τῆς ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τῶν Πραξέων·

6.13.8 | And the words of the man are full of much good teaching, which shows in the first part that he is very close to the succession of the apostles. He also promises in them to provide commentary on Genesis.

6.13.9 | And in his writing about Passover, he admits that he was forced to agree with his companions about the traditions he heard from the ancient elders, which he intends to pass down in writing afterward. He also remembers Melito, Irenaeus, and some others, whose accounts he includes.

6.14.1 | And in the Hypotypes, to sum up, he has made accounts that are cut from all the writings in the collection, not passing over the ones that are disputed, I mean the letter of Jude and the other Catholic letters, as well as the so-called Revelation of Barnabas and Peter.

6.14.2 | And he says that the letter to the Hebrews is by Paul, written in Hebrew language for the Hebrews, but that Luke kindly translated it and published it for the Greeks, so that the same style can be found in both this letter and the Acts.

6.14.3 | μὴ προγεγράφθαι δὲ τὸ "Παῦλος ἀπόστολος", εἰκότως· Ἐβραίοις γάρ, φησὶν, ἐπιστέλλων, πρόληψιν εἰληφόσι κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑποπτεύουσιν αὐτὸν, συνετῶς πάνυ οὐκ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἀπέτρεψεν αὐτοὺς τὸ ὄνομα θείς

6.14.4 | εἴτα ὑποβὰς ἐπιλέγει 'ἢδη δὲ ὡς ὁ μακάριος ἔλεγε πρεσβύτερος, ἐπεὶ ὁ 'κύριος ἀπόστολος ὃν τοῦ παντοκράτορος ἀπεστάλη 'πρὸς Ἐβραίους, διὰ μετριότητα ὁ Παῦλος, ὡσὰν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἀπεσταλμένος, οὐκ ἐγγράφει ἐαυτὸν Ἐβραίων ἀπόστολον, διά τε τὴν πρὸς τὸν κύριον τιμὴν, διά τε τὸ ἐκ περιουσίας καὶ τοῖς Ἐβραίοις ἐπιστέλλειν, ἔθνῶν κήρυκα ὄντα καὶ ἀπόστολον.'

6.14.5 | αὖθις δ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὁ Κλήμης βιβλίοις περὶ τῆς τάξεως τῶν εὐαγγελίων παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων τέθειται, τοῦτον ἔχουσαν τὸν τρόπον· προγεγράφθαι [ἔλεγεν] τόν εὐαγγελίων τὰ περιέχοντα τὰς γενεαλογίας,

6.14.6 | τὸ δὲ κατὰ Μάρκον ταύτην ἐσχηκέναι τὴν οἰκονομίαν. τοῦ Πέτρου δημοσίᾳ ἐν Ψώμῃ κηρύξαντος τὸν λόγον, καὶ πνεύματι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἔξειπόντος, τοὺς παρόντας πολλοὺς ὄντας παρακαλέσαι τὸν Μάρκον, ὡσὰν ἀκολουθήσαντα αὐτῷ πόρρωθεν καὶ μεμνημένον τῶν λεχθέντων, ἀναγράψαι τὰ εἰρημένα· ποιήσαντα δὲ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον μεταδούναι τοῖς δεομένοις αὐτοῦ.

6.14.7 | ὅπερ ἐπιγνόντα τὸν Πέτρον προτρεπτικῶς μήτε κωλῦσαι μήτε

6.14.3 | And it is not written 'Paul the apostle' for a good reason; for, he says, when writing to the Hebrews, they have a preconceived idea about him and suspect him, so he wisely did not start by putting that name.

6.14.4 | Then, he adds, 'As the blessed elder said, since the Lord, being the apostle of the Almighty, was sent to the Hebrews, Paul, being sent to the nations, does not write himself as an apostle of the Hebrews, both for the honor toward the Lord and because he is writing to the Hebrews, being a preacher and apostle of the nations.'

6.14.5 | Again, in the same books, Clement presents the tradition of the ancient elders about the order of the Gospels, having this method: it is said that the Gospels contain the genealogies.

6.14.6 | But according to Mark, this is how the arrangement is made: when Peter publicly preached the word in Rome, and the Gospel was spoken by the Spirit, many who were present urged Mark, who had followed him from a distance and remembered what was said, to write down the things mentioned; and after making the Gospel, to pass it on to those who were asking for it.

6.14.7 | Knowing this, Peter neither stopped nor urged him, but John, seeing

προτρέψασθαι, τὸν μέντοι Ἰωάννην  
ἔσχατον συνιδόντα ὅτι τὰ σωματικὰ ἐν  
τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις δεδήλωται, προτραπέντα  
ὑπὸ τῶν γνωρίμων, πνεύματι  
θεοφορηθέντα, πνευματικὸν ποιῆσαι  
εὐαγγέλιον. τοσαῦτα ὁ Κλήμης.

6.14.8 | πάλιν δ' ὁ δηλωθεὶς Ἀλέξανδρος  
τοῦ Κλήμεντος, ἄμα δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πανταίνου  
ἐν τινὶ πρὸς Ὁριγένην ἐπιστολῇ  
μνημονεύει, ὡς δὴ γνωρίμων αὐτῷ  
γενομένων τῶν ἀνδρῶν. γράφει δὲ οὕτως  
“τοῦτο γάρ καὶ θέλημα θεοῦ, ὡς οἴδας,  
γέγονεν, ἔνα ἡ ἀπὸ προγόνων ἡμῖν “φιλία  
μένη ἄσυλος, μᾶλλον δὲ θερμοτέρα ἡ καὶ  
βεβαιοτέρα.

6.14.9 | πατέρας γάρ ἴσμεν τοὺς μακαρίους  
ἐκείνους τοὺς προοδεύσαντας, πρὸς οὓς  
μετ' ὄλιγον “έσόμεθα, Πάνταινον τὸν  
μακάριον ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ κύριον, καὶ τὸν  
ἱερὸν Κλήμεντα κύριόν μου γενόν“ μενον καὶ  
ώφελήσαντά με, καὶ εἴ τις ἔτερος ‘δί’ ὕν σε  
ἔγνωρισα τὸν κατὰ πάντα ἄριστον καὶ  
κύριόν μου καὶ ἀδελφόν.”

6.14.10 | καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τοιαῦτα. ὁ μέντοι  
Ἀδαμάντιος, καὶ τοῦτο γάρ ἦν τῷ Ὁριγένει  
ὄνομα, Ζεφυρίνου κατὰ τούσδε τοὺς  
χρόνους τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας  
ἡγουμένου ἐπιδημῆσαι τῇ Ῥώμῃ, καὶ αὐτός  
που γράφει λέγων “εὐχάμενος τὴν  
ἀρχαιοτάτην Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν ἰδεῖν”,  
ἔνθα οὐ πολὺ διατρίψας ἐπάνεισιν εἰς τὴν  
Ἀλεξάνδρειαν.

6.14.11 | καὶ δὴ τὰ συνήθη τῆς κατηχήσεως  
ἐνταῦθα μετὰ πάσης ἐπλήρου σπουδῆς,

last that the physical things are shown in  
the Gospels, was encouraged by those who  
knew him, and being inspired by the Spirit,  
made a spiritual Gospel. Thus spoke  
Clement.

6.14.8 | Again, the mentioned Alexander of  
Clement also refers to a letter to Origen,  
mentioning that he had become known  
among those men. He writes this way: 'For  
this is also the will of God, as you know,  
that there is one friendship from our  
ancestors, which should be safe, and even  
more, it should be warmer and more  
certain.'

6.14.9 | For we know the blessed fathers  
who advanced, to whom soon we will  
become, 'Pantaenus the blessed, truly my  
lord, and the holy Clement who has become  
my lord and helped me, and if there is any  
other, through whom I have known you,  
the best and my lord and brother in every  
way.'

6.14.10 | And these things are such.  
However, Adamantius, for this was the  
name of Origen, was leading the Roman  
church during these times, and he himself  
writes somewhere saying, 'Having prayed  
to see the oldest church of the Romans,'  
where, not staying long, he returns to  
Alexandria.

6.14.11 | And indeed, the usual things of the  
teaching were here with all full effort, with

Δημητρίου τῶν τῆδε ἐπισκόπου ἔτι τότε παρορμῶντος αὐτὸν καὶ μονονουχὶ ἀντιβολοῦντος ἀόκνως τὴν εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὠφέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι.

## Section 15

6.15.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 11] Ὁ δ' ὡς ἐαυτὸν ἐώρα μὴ ἐπαρκοῦντα τῇ τῶν θείων βαθυτέρᾳ σχολῇ, τῇ τε ἔξετάσει καὶ ἐρμηνείᾳ τῶν Ἱερῶν γραμμάτων, καὶ προσέτι τῇ τῶν προσιόντων κατηχήσει, μηδ' ἀναπνεῦσαι συγχωρούντων αὐτῷ, ἐτέρων ἐφ' ἐτέροις ἐξ ἔω καὶ μέχρις ἐσπέρας ἐπὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτῷ διδασκαλεῖον φοιτώντων, διανείμας τὰ πλήθη, τὸν Ἡρακλᾶν τῶν γνωρίμων προκρίνας, ἐν τε τοῖς θείοις σπουδαῖον καὶ ἄλλως ὅντα λογιώτατον ἄνδρα καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἄμιορον, κοινωνὸν καθίστη τῆς κατηχήσεως, τῷ μὲν τὴν πρώτην τῶν ἄρτι στοιχειουμενῶν εἰσαγωγὴν ἐπιτρέψας, αὐτῷ δὲ τὴν τῶν ἐξει φυλάξας ἀκρόασιν.

## Section 16

6.16.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 11] Τοσαύτη δὲ είσήγετο τῷ Ὄριγένει τῶν θείων λόγων ἀπηκριβωμένη ἔξετασις ὡς καὶ τὴν Ἐβραΐδα γλῶτταν ἐκμαθεῖν, τάς τε παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις φερομένας πρωτοτύπους αὐτοῖς Ἐβραίων στοιχείοις γραφὰς κτῆμα ἴδιον ποιήσασθαι, ἀνιχνεῦσαί τε τὰς τῶν ἐτέρων παρὰ τοὺς ἐβδομήκοντα τὰς Ἱερὰς γραφὰς ἡρμηνευκότων ἐκδόσεις, καί τινας ἐτέρας παρὰ τὰς καθημαξευμένας ἐρμηνείας ἐναλλαττούσας, τὴν Ἀκύλου καὶ Συμμάχου καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος, ἐφευρεῖν, ἃς οὐκ οἶδ' ὀπόθεν ἔκ τινων μυχῶν τὸν πάλαι λανθανούσας χρόνον είς φῶς ἀνιχνεύσας

Demetrius, the bishop here, still urging him and tirelessly opposing him to do good for the brothers.

6.15.1 | And as he saw himself not being sufficient for the deeper study of the divine things, for the examination and interpretation of the sacred writings, and also for the teaching of those coming to him, with no one allowing him to take a breath, others from dawn until evening coming to his school, he distributed the crowds, choosing Heracles from the known ones, a man both very serious in the divine matters and also very learned in other ways, not lacking in philosophy, making him a partner in the teaching, allowing him to take the first introduction of those just beginning, while keeping for himself the listening of those already advanced.

6.16.1 | Such a careful examination of the divine words was introduced to Origen that he learned the Hebrew language, and he made it his own to have the original texts of the scriptures brought by the Jews, discovering the versions of the sacred writings translated by the Seventy, and also some other translations that were different from the established ones, like those of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, which he found, not knowing from where, having brought to light what had long been hidden in some corners.

προήγαγεν.

6.16.2 | ἐφ' ὃν διὰ τὴν ἀδηλότητα, τίνος ἄρειν οὐκ εἰδώς, αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπεσημήνατο, ὡς ἄρα τὴν μὲν εὑροι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀκτίοις Νικοπόλει, τὴν δὲ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τοιῷδε τόπῳ.

6.16.3 | ἐν γε μὴν τοῖς ἔξαπλοῖς τῶν ψαλμῶν μετὰ τὰς ἐπισήμους τέσσαρας ἑκδόσεις οὐ μόνον πέμπτην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕκτην καὶ ἑβδόμην παραθεὶς ἐρμηνείαν, ἐπὶ μιᾶς αὐθικῆς σεσημείωται ὡς ἐν Ἱεριχῷ ηύρημένης ἐν πίθῳ, κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ἀντωνίου τοῦ νιοῦ Σεβήρου.

6.16.4 | ταύτας δὲ ἀπάσας ἐπὶ ταύτὸν συναγαγὼν, διελών τε πρὸς κῶλον, καὶ ἀντιπαραθεὶς ἀλλήλαις μετὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἐβραίων σημειώσεως, τὰ τῶν λεγομένων ἡμῖν ἔξαπλῶν ἀντίγραφα καταλέλοιπεν, ἴδιως τὴν Ἀκύλου καὶ Συμμάχου καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος ἔκδοσιν ἅμα τῇ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἐν τοῖς τετραπλοῖς ἐπικατασκευάσας.

## Section 17

6.17.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 12] Τῶν γε μὴν ἐρμηνευτῶν αὐτῶν δὴ τούτων ἰστέον Ἐβιωναῖον τὸν Σύμμαχον γεγονέναι. αἱρεσις δέ ἐστιν ἡ τῶν Ἐβιωναίων οὕτω καλουμένη τῶν τὸν Χριστὸν ἐξ Ἰωσὴφ καὶ Μαρίας γεγονέναι φασκόντων, ψιλόν τε ἀνθρωπὸν ὑπειληφότων αὐτὸν, καὶ τὸν νόμον χρῆναι Ἰουδαϊκώτερον φυλάττειν ἀπισχυριζομένων, ὡς που καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρόσθεν ἱστορίας ἔγνωμεν. καὶ

6.16.2 | Because of the uncertainty about which one it was, he only pointed out this: that one might find it in Nicopolis near Actium, and the other in a different place like this.

6.16.3 | In the simple versions of the Psalms, after the well-known four editions, he provided not only a fifth but also a sixth and a seventh translation, marking one again as found in Jericho in a jar, during the time of Antoninus, the son of Severus.

6.16.4 | Gathering all these together in one place, he compared them side by side, and also set them against the Hebrew notes. He left behind copies of the so-called simple versions, especially the editions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, along with that of the Seventy, arranged in the fourfold way.

6.17.1 | Of these interpreters, it should be known that Symmachus was an Ebionite. The Ebionites are a sect that claims Christ was born from Joseph and Mary, viewing him as just a regular man, and they insist on following the Jewish law more strictly, as we have learned from earlier history. Also, the notes of Symmachus are still carried today, which seem to support the Gospel of Matthew and uphold the declared

ύπομνήματα δὲ τοῦ Συμμάχου είσέτι νῦν φέρεται ἐν οἷς δοκεῖ πρὸς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἀποτεινόμενος εὐαγγέλιον τὴν δεδηλωμένην αἵρεσιν κρατύνειν. ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ὁριγένης μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων εἰς τὰς γραφὰς ἐρμηνεῶν τοῦ Συμμάχου σημαίνει παρὰ Ἰουλιανῆς τινος εἰληφέναι, ἢν καί φησι παρ' αὐτοῦ Συμμάχου τὰς βίβλους διαδέξασθαι.

## Section 18

6.18.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 12] Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἀμβρόσιος, τὰ τῆς Οὐαλεντίνου φρονῶν αἱρέσεως, πρὸς τῆς ὑπὸ Ὁριγένους πρεσβευομένης ἀληθείας ἐλεγχθεὶς, καὶ ὡσὰν ὑπὸ φωτὸς καταυγασθεὶς τὴν διάνοιαν, τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ὄρθοδοξίας προστίθεται λόγῳ·

6.18.2 | καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πλείους τῶν ἀπὸ παιδείας, τῆς περὶ τὸν Ὁριγένην φήμης πανταχόσε βοωμένης, ἤεσαν ὡς αὐτὸν, πεῖραν τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς λόγοις ἰκανότητος τάνδρὸς ληψόμενοι· μυρίοι δὲ τῶν αἱρετικῶν, φιλοσόφων τε τῶν μάλιστα ἐπιφανῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι διὰ σπουδῆς αὐτῷ προσεῖχον, μονονουχὶ πρὸς τοῖς θείοις καὶ τὰ τῆς ἔξωθεν φιλοσοφίας πρὸς αὐτοῦ παιδευόμενοι.

6.18.3 | εἰσῆγέ τε γὰρ ὄσους εύφυῶς ἔχοντας ἐώρα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ φιλόσοφα μαθήματα, γεωμετρίαν καὶ ἀριθμητικὴν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα προπαιδέματα παραδιδοὺς, εἴς τε τὰς αἱρέσεις τὰς παρὰ τοῦς φιλοσόφους προάγων, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τούτοις συγγράμματα διηγούμενος, ὑπομνηματιζόμενοί τε καὶ θεωρῶν εἰς

sect. These things are noted by Origen, who also mentions that the interpretations of Symmachus were taken from a certain Julian, who he says received the books from Symmachus.

6.18.1 | In this, Ambrose, who held the views of the Valentinian sect, was convinced by the truth advocated by Origen, and as if illuminated by light, he added his thoughts to the teaching of the church's orthodoxy.

6.18.2 | And many others from education, who were everywhere shouting the fame of Origen, thought they would take a measure of the man's ability in the sacred writings. Countless heretics and many of the most famous philosophers were closely attached to him out of eagerness, not only regarding the divine matters but also being educated in his philosophy.

6.18.3 | For he introduced as many as he saw to be naturally gifted and taught them philosophical subjects, passing on geometry, arithmetic, and other preliminary studies. He led them into the sects of the philosophers and explained the writings of these philosophers, while they were taking notes and observing each

ἔκαστα, ὥστε μέγαν καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς  
Ἐλλησι φιλόσοφον τὸν ἄνδρα  
κηρύττεσθαι.

6.18.4 | πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἴδιωτικωτέρων  
ἐνῆγεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔγκυκλια γράμματα, οὐ  
μικρὸν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι φάσκων ἐξ ἑκείνων  
ἐπιτηδειότητα εἰς τὴν τῶν θείων γραφῶν  
θεωρίαν τε καὶ παρασκευήν. ὅθεν μάλιστα  
καὶ ἐαυτῷ ἀναγκαίαν ἡγήσατο τὴν περὶ τὰ  
κοσμικὰ καὶ φιλόσοφα μαθήματα ἀσκησιν.

detail, so that the man was proclaimed a great philosopher even among the Greeks.

## Section 19

6.19.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 12-13] Μάρτυρες δὲ  
καὶ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ κατορθώσεως  
αὐτῶν Ἐλλήνων οἱ κατ' αὐτὸν ἡκμακότες  
φιλόσοφοι, ὃν ἐν συγγράμμασι πολλὴν  
μνήμην ηὔρομεν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, τοτὲ μὲν  
αὐτῷ προσφωνούντων τοὺς ἐαυτῶν  
λόγους, τοτὲ δὲ ὡς διδασκάλῳ εἰς ἐπίκρισιν  
τοὺς ἰδίους ἀναφερόντων πόνους.

6.19.1 | The witnesses of his achievements in these matters were the Greek philosophers who flourished under him. In their writings, we find much mention of the man, sometimes addressing him with their own words, and at other times referring their own efforts to him as their teacher for judgment.

6.19.2 | τί δεῖ ταῦτα λέγειν, ὅτε καὶ ὁ καθ'  
ἡμᾶς ἐν Σικελίᾳ καταστὰς Πορφύριος,  
συγγράμματα καθ' ἡμῶν ἐνστησάμενος,  
καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τὰς θείας γραφὰς διαβάλλειν  
πεπειραμένος, τῶν τε εἰς αὐτὰς  
ἔξηγησαμένων μνημονεύσας, μηδὲν  
μηδαμῶς φαῦλον ἔγκλημα τοῖς δόγμασιν  
ἐπιβαλεῖν δυνηθεὶς, ἀπορίᾳ λόγων ἐπὶ τὸ  
λοιδορεῖν τρέπεται καὶ τοὺς ἔξηγητὰς  
ἐνδιαβάλλειν, ὃν μάλιστα τὸν Ὁριγένην·

6.19.2 | What need is there to say these things, when even Porphyry, who established himself in Sicily, tried to present our writings and to interpret the divine scriptures through them? Remembering those who explained them, he was unable to place any blame on the teachings, and out of a lack of arguments, he turned to insults and attacked the interpreters, especially Origen.

6.19.3 | ὃν κατὰ τὴν νέαν ἡλικίαν  
ἐγνωκέναι φήσας διαβάλλειν μὲν πειρᾶται,  
συνιστῶν δὲ ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα ἐλάνθανε, τὰ

6.19.3 | While claiming to know him from his youth, he tries to slander him, but in doing so, he fails to present the man

μὲν ἐπαληθεύων, ἐν οἷς οὐδ' ἔτέρως αύτῷ λέγειν ἦν δυνατὸν, τὰ δὲ καὶ ψευδόμενος, ἐν οἷς λήσεσθαι ἐνόμιζε, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ὡς Χριστιανοῦ κατηγορῶν, τοτὲ δὲ τὴν περὶ τὰ φιλόσοφα μαθήματα ἐπίδοσιν αὐτοῦ διαγράφων.

accurately. He confirms some things, which he could not deny, while he lies about others, thinking he could escape notice. At times, he accuses him as a Christian, and at other times, he writes about his contributions to philosophical studies.

6.19.4 | ἄκουε δ' οὗν ἃ φησι κατὰ λέξιν "τῆς δὴ "μοχθηρίας τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν γραφῶν οὐκ ἀπόστασιν, "λύσιν δέ τινες εὑρεῖν προθυμηθέντες, ἐπ' ἔξιγγή' σεις ἐτράποντο ἀσυγκλώστους καὶ ἀναρμόστους τοῖς "γεγραμμένοις, οὐκ ἀπολογίαν μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῶν "όθνείων, παραδοχὴν δὲ καὶ ἔπαινον τοῖς οἰκείοις 'φερούσας. αἰνίγματα γὰρ τὰ φανερῶς παρὰ Μωυσῆν 'λεγόμενα εἶναι κομπάσαντες, καὶ ἐπιθειάσαντες ὡς θεσπίσματα πλήρῃ κρυφίων μυστηρίων, διά τε τοῦ "τύφου τὸ κριτικὸν τῆς Ψυχῆς καταγοητεύσαντες, ἐπάγουσιν ἔξιγγήσεις."

6.19.4 | Listen then to what he says word for word: 'There is no departure from the wickedness of the Jewish writings, but some, eager to find a solution, turned to interpretations that are inconsistent and unfit with what is written. They do not offer a defense for the foreign ideas, but rather bring acceptance and praise to their own. For the things clearly said by Moses are treated as riddles, and they add them as oracles full of hidden mysteries, leading to interpretations that confuse the critical part of the soul.'

6.19.5 | εἴτα μεθ' ἔτερά φησιν ὃ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ἀτοπίας ἐξ ἀνδρὸς, ὃ κάγω κομιδῆ "νέος ὃν ἔτι ἐντετύχηκα, σφόδρα εύδοκιμήσαντος καὶ ἔτι δι' ὃν καταλέλοιπε συγγραμμάτων εύδοκιμοῦν "τος, παρειλήφθω Ὄριγένους, οὗ κλέος παρὰ τοῖς διδασκάλοις τούτων τῶν λόγων μέγα διαδέδοται.

6.19.5 | Then he says in another part that the manner of the absurdity comes from a man, whom I also happened to meet when I was still young, who was very well regarded and still has a good reputation because of the writings he left behind. I should mention Origen, whose fame is widely spread among the teachers of these words.

6.19.6 | ἀκροατὴς γὰρ οὗτ' ὃς Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ πλείστην ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμάς χρόνοις ἐπίδοσιν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ ἐσχη "κότος γεγονὼς, εἰς μὲν τὴν τῶν λόγων ἐμπειρίαν "πολλὴν παρὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου τὴν ὥφελειαν ἐκτήσατο, εἰς δὲ τὴν ὄρθην τοῦ βίου προαίρεσιν τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐκείνῳ

6.19.6 | For the listener, who has become very skilled in philosophy through the teachings of Ammonius during our time, gained much benefit from the teacher in the understanding of words, but chose a path opposite to his in the right way of life.

πορείαν ἐποιήσατο.

6.19.7 | Άμμωνις “μὲν γὰρ Χριστιανὸς ἐν Χριστιανοῖς ἀνατραφεὶς τοῖς “γονεῦσιν, ὅτε τοῦ φρονεῖν καὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἥψατο, “εὐθὺς πρὸς τὴν κατὰ νόμους πολιτείαν μετεβάλετο, “Οριγένης δὲ Ἐλλήν ἐν Ἑλλησι παιδευθεὶς λόγοις “πρὸς τὸ βάρβαρον ἔξωκειλε τόλμημα· ὃ δὴ φέρων “αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἔξιν ἐκαπήλευσε, “κατὰ μὲν τὸν βίον Χριστιανῶς ζῶν καὶ παρανόμως, “κατὰ δὲ τὰς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ θείου “δόξας ἐλληνίζων καὶ τὰ Ἐλλήνων τοῖς ὄθνειοις ὑπὸ“βαλλόμενος μύθοις.

6.19.7 | Ammonius was raised as a Christian among Christians by his parents, and when he began to think and study philosophy, he quickly turned to a way of life according to the laws. But Origen, educated in Greek among the Greeks, boldly ventured towards the foreign. He brought himself and his understanding of words to this challenge, living as a Christian in life but unlawfully, while in matters of belief and divine glory, he adopted Greek ways and mixed the myths of the Greeks with foreign ideas.

6.19.8 | συνῆν τε γὰρ ἀεὶ τῷ Πλά“τωνι, τοῖς τε Νουμηνίου καὶ Κρονίου, Ἀπολλοφά“νους τε καὶ Λογγίνου καὶ Μοδεράτου Νικομάχου τε “καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις ἔλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν “ώμιλει συγγράμμασιν· ἔχρητο δὲ καὶ Χαιρήμονος “τοῦ Στωϊκοῦ, Κορνούτου τε ταῖς βίβλοις, παρ’ ὃν “τὸν μεταληπτικὸν τῶν παρ’ Ἐλλησι μυστηρίων γνοὺς “τρόπον ταῖς Ἰουδαιικαῖς προσῆψε γραφαῖς.”

6.19.8 | For he always associated with Plato, and with the writings of Numenius and Cronius, as well as Apollophanes, Longinus, Modestus, Nicomachus, and the wise men among the Pythagoreans. He also used the works of Chaeremon the Stoic and Cornutus, from whom he learned the way to connect the teachings of the Greek mysteries with Jewish writings.

6.19.9 | ταῦτα τῷ Πορφυρίῳ κατὰ τὸ τρίτον σύγγραμμα τῶν γραφέντων αὐτῷ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν εἴρηται, ἐπαληθεύσαντι μὲν περὶ τῆς τάνδρὸς ἀσκήσεως καὶ πολυμαθείας, ψευσαμένῳ δὲ σαφῶς (τί γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλεν ὁ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν;) ἐν οἷς αὐτὸν μὲν ἔξ Ἐλλήνων φησὶν μετατεθεῖσθαι, τὸν δ’ Ἅμμωνιον ἐκ βίου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν θεοσέβειαν ἐπὶ τὸν ἔθνικὸν τρόπον ἐκπεσεῖν.

6.19.9 | These things are said in the third writing of Porphyry, which he wrote about Christians. He confirmed the man's practice and wide knowledge, but clearly lied (for what would he not expect from one who writes about Christians?). In it, he claims that Ammonius was moved from the Greeks, while he says that Ammonius fell from a life of piety to a pagan way of living.

6.19.10 | τῷ τε γὰρ Ὄριγένει τὰ τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν διδασκαλίας ἐκ προγόνων ἐσώζετο, ὡς καὶ τὰ τῆς πρόσθεν ἱστορίας ἐδήλου, τῷ τε Ἀμμωνίῳ τὰ τῆς ἐνθέου φιλοσοφίας ἀκέραια καὶ ἀδιάπτωτα καὶ μέχρις ἐσχάτης τοῦ βίου διέμενε τελευτῆς, ὃς που καὶ οἱ τάνδρος είσέτι νῦν μαρτυροῦσι πόνοι, δι’ ᾧ κατέλιπε συγγραμμάτων παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις εύδοκιμοῦντος· ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ὁ ἐπιγεγραμμένος περὶ τῆς Μωυσέως καὶ Ἰησοῦ συμφωνίας, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι παρὰ τὸ φιλοκάλοις ηὔρηνται.

6.19.11 | ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰς παράστασιν κείσθω τῆς τε τοῦ ψευδηγόρου συκοφαντίας καὶ τῆς Ὄριγένους καὶ περὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων μαθήματα πολυπειρίας, περὶ ἣς πρός τινας μεμψαμένους αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν περὶ ἔκεīνα σπουδὴν ἀπολογούμενος ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τινι ταῦτα γράφει

6.19.12 | “έπει δὲ ἀνακειμένω μοι τῷ λόγῳ, τῆς φήμης διατρεχούσης περὶ τῆς ἔξεως ἡμῶν, προσήγεσαν δὲ μὲν αἱρετικοὶ, δὲ δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μαθημάτων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, ἔδοξεν ἔξετάσαι τά τε τῶν αἱρετικῶν δόγματα καὶ τὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων περὶ ἀληθείας λέγειν ἐπαγγελόμενα.

6.19.13 | τοῦτο δὲ πεποιήκαμεν μιμησάμενοί τε τὸν πρὸ ἡμῶν πολλοὺς ὡφελήσαντα Πάνταινον, ούκ ὀλίγην ἐν ἔκεīνοις ἐσχηκότα παρασκευὴν, καὶ τὸν νῦν ἐν τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καθεζόμενον Ἀλεξανδρέων Ἡρακλᾶν, ὃντινα ηὔρον παρὰ τῷ διδασκάλῳ τῶν φιλοσόφων

6.19.10 | For Origen preserved the teachings about Christ from his ancestors, as he also made clear in his earlier history. Ammonius, on the other hand, maintained the pure and unchanging philosophy of the divine until the end of his life, as some still testify today about his struggles, through which he left behind writings that were well-received by most. Just as the one titled about the agreement of Moses and Jesus, and all others found among the lovers of beauty.

6.19.11 | Let these things serve as a presentation of both the slander of the false teacher and the experience of Origen regarding the teachings of the Greeks. About this, he writes these things in a certain letter, defending himself against some who complained about his effort concerning those matters.

6.19.12 | When I was resting and the talk about our beliefs was going around, both heretics and those from the Greek teachings, especially in philosophy, approached me. It seemed right to examine both the doctrines of the heretics and what the philosophers promised to say about the truth.

6.19.13 | We have done this by imitating many who helped before us, especially Pantainos, who had a significant influence among them. Also, we have looked to Heracles, who is now sitting in the elder position in Alexandria, whom we found with the teacher of the philosophical

μαθημάτων, ἥδη πέντε ἔτεσιν αύτῷ προσκαρτερήσαντα, πρὶν ἡ ἐμὲ ἄρξασθαι ἀκούειν ἐκείνων τῶν λόγων.

6.19.14 | διὸ καὶ πρότερον κοινῇ ἐσθῆτι χρώμενος, ἀποδυσάμενος καὶ φιλόσοφον ἀναλαβὼν σχῆμα, μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο τηρεῖ, 'βιβλία τε Ἑλλήνων κατὰ δύναμιν οὐ παύεται φιλολογῶν.' καὶ ταῦτα μὲν αύτῷ περὶ τῆς Ἑληνικῆς ἀσκήσεως ἀπολογουμένῳ εἴρηται.

6.19.15 | κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας αύτῷ τὰς διατριβὰς πιοιουμένῳ ἐπιστάς τις τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ἀνεδίδου γράμματα, Δημητρίῳ τε τῷ τῆς παροικίας ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ τότε τῆς Αἴγυπτου ἐπάρχῳ παρὰ τοῦ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἡγουμένου, ὃς ἀν μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀπάσης τὸν Ὄριγένην πέμψοιεν κοινωνήσοντα λόγων αύτῷ. τοιγαροῦν προπεμφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν. οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν δὲ τὰ τῆς ἀφίξεως εἰς πέρας ἀγαγὼν αὗθις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπανήγειται.

6.19.16 | χρόνου δὲ μεταξὺ διαγενομένου, οὐ σμικροῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀναρριπισθέντος πολέμου, ὑπεξελθὼν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ μηδὲ τὰς κατ' Αἴγυπτον διατριβὰς ἀσφαλεῖς ἐαυτῷ ἡγούμενος, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνης, ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιεῖτο, ἐνθα καὶ διαλέγεσθαι τὰς τε θείας ἐρμηνεύειν γραφὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἱ τῆδε ἐπίσκοποι, καίτοι τῆς τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου χειροτονίας οὐδέπω τετυχηκότα αύτὸν ἡξίουν.

teachings, already having devoted five years to him before I began to hear those words.

6.19.14 | Therefore, even before this, while using common clothing, he took off that and adopted the appearance of a philosopher, and he has kept it until now, saying, 'The books of the Greeks do not stop being studied according to their ability.' And these things have been said by him while defending the Greek practice.

6.19.15 | At that time, while he was studying in Alexandria, someone from the military brought him letters, both to Demetrius, the bishop of the community, and to the governor of Egypt at that time, from the leader of Arabia, asking that they send Origen with all possible urgency to share words with him. Therefore, after being sent by them, he arrived in Arabia. Not long after reaching there, he returned again to Alexandria.

6.19.16 | After some time had passed, and a considerable war had broken out in the city, he left Alexandria, thinking that he could not be safe in Egypt either. He went to Palestine and studied in Caesarea, where he also interpreted the divine scriptures for the bishops of the local church. However, they did not consider him worthy of being ordained as a presbyter yet.

6.19.17 | ὁ καὶ αὐτὸ γένοιτ' ἀν ἔκδηλον ἀφ' ὃν περὶ τούτου Δημητρίῳ γράφοντες Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοπος καὶ Θεόκτιστος ὁ Καισαρείας ὡδέ πως ἀπολογοῦνται "προσέθηκε δὲ "τοῖς γράμμασιν ὅτι τοῦτο οὐδέποτε ἤκουσθη οὐδὲ 'νῦν γεγένηται, τὸ παρόντων ἐπισκόπων λαικοὺς "ὸμιλεῖν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως προφανῶς οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγων."

6.19.18 | ὅπου γοῦν εὐρίσκονται οἱ ἐπιτήδειοι πρὸς τὸ ὥφελεῖν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς, καὶ παρακαλοῦνται τῷ λαῷ προσομιλεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγίων ἐπισκόπων, ὡσπερ ἐν Λαράνδοις Εὔελπις ὑπὸ Νέωνος, καὶ ἐν Ἰκονίῳ "Παυλῖνος ὑπὸ Κέλσου, καὶ ἐν Συννάδοις Θεόδωρος ὑπὸ Ἄττικοῦ τῶν μακαρίων ἀδελφῶν. εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ "ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις τοῦτο γίνεσθαι, ἡμᾶς δὲ μὴ εἰδέναλ." τοῦτον καὶ ἔτι νέος ὧν ὁ δηλούμενος ἀνὴρ οὐ πρὸς μόνων τῶν συνήθων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ ξένης ἐπισκόπων ἐτιμᾶτο τὸν τρόπον.

6.19.19 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ αὖθις τοῦ Δημητρίου διὰ γραμμάτων αὐτὸν ἀνακαλέσαντος, δι' ἀνδρῶν τε διακόνων τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπισπεύσαντος ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἀφικόμενος τὰς συνήθεις ἀπετέλει σπουδάς.

## Section 20

6.20.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 15] "Ἡκμαζον δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο πλείους λόγιοι καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ ἄνδρες, ὃν καὶ ἐπιστολὰς ἃς πρὸς ἄλλήλους διεχάραττον ἔτι νῦν σωζομένας εὐρεῖν εὕπορον, αἱ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς

6.19.17 | This would also be clear from what Alexander, the bishop of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus of Caesarea wrote to Demetrios. They defended themselves in this way: 'They added to the letters that this has never been heard of, nor has it happened now, that laypeople speak with the present bishops. I do not know how he can be saying this so clearly and falsely.'

6.19.18 | Wherever there are those who are eager to help the brothers, they are encouraged by the holy bishops to speak with the people, just as in Laranda, Euelpis under Neonus, and in Iconium, Paulinus under Celsus, and in Synada, Theodorus under Atticus of the blessed brothers. It is likely that this happens in other places too, but we do not know of it. Even when he was still young, this man was respected not only by the usual bishops but also by those from foreign lands.

6.19.19 | But again, when Demetrios called him back through letters and urged him through the deacons of the church to return to Alexandria, he arrived and completed his usual studies.

6.20.1 | Many learned and church leaders were flourishing at that time, and we can easily find letters that they wrote to each other, which are still preserved. These letters were also kept in the library at Aelia,

έφυλάχθησαν ἐν τῇ κατὰ Αἰλίαν  
βιβλιοθήκῃ, πρὸς τοῦ τηνικάδε τὴν αὐτόθι  
διέποντος ἐκκλησίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου  
ἐπισκευασθείσῃ, ἀφ' ἣς καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς ὑλας  
τῆς μετὰ χεῖρας ὑποθέσεως ἐπὶ ταύτῳ  
συναγαγεῖν δεδυνήμεθα.

6.20.2 | τούτων Βήρυλλος σὺν ἐπιστολαῖς  
καὶ συγγράμμασι διαφόρους φιλοκαλίας  
καταλέλοιπεν. ἐπίσκοπος δ' οὗτος ἦν τῶν  
κατὰ Βόστραν Ἀράβων· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ  
Ἴππολυτος, ἐτέρας που καὶ αὐτὸς  
προεστώς ἐκκλησίας.

6.20.3 | ἥλθε δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ Γαίου  
λογιωτάτου ἀνδρὸς διάλογος, ἐπὶ Ψώμης  
κατὰ Ζεφυρίνον πρὸς Πρόκλον τῆς κατὰ  
Φρύγας αἰρέσεως ὑπερμαχοῦντα  
κεκινημένος, ἐν ᾧ τῶν δι' ἐναντίας τὴν περὶ  
τὸ συντάττειν καινὰς γραφὰς προπέτειάν  
τε καὶ τόλμαν ἐπιστομίζων τῶν τοῦ Ἱεροῦ  
ἀποστόλου δεκατριῶν μόνων ἐπιστολῶν  
μνημονεύει, τὴν πρὸς Εβραίους μὴ  
συναριθμήσας ταῖς λοιπαῖς, ἐπεὶ καὶ εἰς  
δεῦρο παρὰ Ψωμαίων τισὶν οὐ νομίζεται  
τοῦ ἀποστόλου τυγχάνειν.

## Section 21

6.21.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 26] Άλλὰ γὰρ  
Ἀντωνῖνον ἔτη βασιλεύσαντα ἐπτὰ καὶ  
μήνας ἔξ Μακρίνος διαδέχεται. τούτου δ'  
ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν διαγενομένου αὐθις ἔτερος  
Ἀντωνῖνος τὴν Ψωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν  
παραλαμβάνει, οὐ κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος ὁ  
Ψωμαίων ἐπίσκοπος Ζεφυρίνος  
μεταλλάττει τὸν βίον, ὅλοις ὀκτωκαίδεκα  
διακατασχὼν ἔτεσι τὴν λειτουργίαν.

related to the church that Alexander was overseeing there, from which we have been able to gather the materials for our own work.

6.20.2 | Among them, Beryllus left behind various writings and letters of beauty. This man was the bishop of the Arabs at Bostra. Likewise, Hippolytus was also in charge of another church somewhere.

6.20.3 | A dialogue also came to us from Gaius, a very learned man, about Rome, concerning Zephyrinus and Proclus, who was defending the heresy among the Phrygians. In this dialogue, he mentions the new writings that oppose each other, speaking boldly about the thirteen letters of the holy apostle, not counting the one to the Hebrews, since it is not considered to belong to the apostle by some Romans.

6.21.1 | But indeed, after Antoninus ruled for seven years and six months, Macrinus took over. After this man had been in power for a year, another Antoninus took over the leadership of the Romans. In the first year of his rule, the Roman bishop Zephyrinus changed his life, serving for a total of eighteen years.

6.21.2 | μεθ' ὃν Κάλλιστος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν  
έγχειρίζεται, ὃς ἐπιβιώσας ἔτεσιν πέντε  
Ούρβανῷ τὴν λειτουργίαν καταλείπει.  
αὐτοκράτωρ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τούτοις  
διαδέχεται τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν, ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τέτταρις μόνοις ἔτεσιν Ἀντωνίνου  
διαγενομένου. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς  
Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησίας Ἀσκληπιάδην  
Θιλητὸς διαδέχεται.

6.21.2 | After him, Callistus takes over the bishopric, who, after living for five years, leaves the service to Urbanus. Emperor Alexander then takes over the leadership of the Romans, after four years of Antoninus' rule. During this time, Asclepiades Thiletus also takes over the church of Antioch.

6.21.3 | τοῦ δὲ αὐτοκράτορος μήτηρ,  
Μαμμαία τοῦνομα, γυνὴ θεοσεβεστάτη εἰ  
καὶ τις ἄλλη γεγονοῦα καὶ εὐλαβῆς τὸν  
τρόπον, τῆς Ὁριγένους πανταχόσε  
βωμένης φήμης, ὡς καὶ μέχρι τῶν αὐτῆς  
ἐλθεῖν ἀκοῶν, περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖται τῆς τοῦ  
ἀνδρὸς θέας ἀξιωθῆναι, καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ<sup>2</sup>  
πάντων θαυμαζομένης περὶ τὰ θεῖα  
συνέσεως αὐτοῦ πεῖραν λαβεῖν.

6.21.3 | The mother of the emperor, named Mammia, was a very religious woman, even if she was not the only one, and she was respectful in her ways. Because of the widespread fame of Origen, she greatly values the chance to hear him speak, and she wishes to experience his understanding of divine matters, which everyone admires.

6.21.4 | ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας δῆτα διατρίβουσα  
μετὰ στρατιωτικῆς δορυφορίας αὐτὸν  
ἀνακαλεῖται. παρ' ἣ χρόνον διατρίψας,  
πλεῖστά τε ὅσα εἰς τὴν τοῦ κυρίου δόξαν  
καὶ τῆς τοῦ θείου διδασκαλείου ἀρετῆς  
ἐπιδειξάμενος, ἐπὶ τὰς συνήθεις ἔσπευδε  
διατριβάς.

6.21.4 | While staying in Antioch, she calls him back with military support. After spending some time there and showing many things for the glory of the Lord and the excellence of divine teaching, he hurried back to his usual activities.

## Section 22

6.22.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 15] Τότε δῆτα καὶ  
Ιππόλυτος λυτὸς συντάττων μετὰ  
πλείστων ἄλλων ὑπομνημάτων καὶ τὸ περὶ<sup>3</sup>  
τοῦ πάσχα πεποίηται σύγγραμμα, ἐν ᾧ τῶν  
χρόνων ἀναγραφὴν ἐκθέμενος, καὶ τινα  
κανόνα ἐκκαιδεκατηρίδος περὶ τοῦ πάσχα  
προθείς, ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος Ἀλεξάνδρου  
αὐτοκράτορος τοὺς χρόνους περιγράφει.

6.22.1 | Then Hippolytus, along with many other writings, composed a work about Passover. In it, he recorded the years and included a rule for the 14-year cycle concerning Passover, starting with the first year of Emperor Alexander. Among his other writings that have come down to us are these: on the six days of creation, on

τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν αύτοῦ συγγραμμάτων τὰ εἰς  
ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα ἔστι τάδε· εἰς τὴν ἑξαήμερον,  
εἰς τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἑξαήμερον, πρὸς Μαρκίωνα,  
εἰς τὸ ἄσμα, εἰς μέρη τοῦ Ἰεζεκιὴλ, περὶ τοῦ  
πάσχα, πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς αἱρέσεις· πλεῖστά  
τε ἄλλα καὶ παρὰ πολλοῖς εὔροις ἀν  
σωζόμενα.

## Section 23

6.23.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 18] Ἐξ ἑκείνου δὲ καὶ  
Ὀριγένει τῶν εἰς τὰς θείας γραφὰς  
ὑπομνημάτων ἐγίνετο ἀρχὴ, Ἀμβροσίου εἰς  
τὰ μάλιστα παρορμῶντος αὐτὸν μυρίαις  
δσαισοῦν προτροπαῖς, οὐ ταῖς διὰ λόγων  
καὶ παρακλήσεσιν αύτὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
ἀφθονωτάταις τῶν ἐπιτηδείων χορηγίαις.

6.23.2 | ταχυγράφοι γάρ αύτῷ πλείους ἦ  
ἐπτὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν παρῆσαν ὑπαγορεύοντι,  
γορεύοντι, χρόνοις τεταγμένοις ἀλλήλους  
ἀμείβοντες· βιβλιογράφοι τε οὐχ ἥττους,  
ἄμα καὶ κόραις ἐπὶ τὸ καλλιγραφεῖν  
ἥσκημέναις· ὃν ἀπάντων τὴν δέουσαν τῶν  
ἐπιτηδείων ἄφθονον περιουσίαν ὁ  
Ἀμβρόσιος παρεστήσατο, ναὶ μὴν καὶ ἐν τῇ  
περὶ τὰ θεῖα λόγια ἀσκήσει τε καὶ σπουδῇ  
προθυμίᾳν ἄφατον αύτῷ συνεισέφερεν, ἢ  
καὶ μάλιστα αύτὸν προύτρεπεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν  
ὑπομνημάτων σύνταξιν.

6.23.3 | τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἔχόντων  
Οὐρβανὸν ἐπισκοπεύσαντα τῆς ἐκκλησίας  
ἔτεσιν ὡκτὼ διαδέχεται Ποντιανὸς, τῆς δ'  
Ἀντιοχέων μετὰ Φιλητὸν Ζεβῖνος.

6.23.4 | καθ' οὓς Ὁριγένης ἐπειγούσης

what follows the six days, against Marcion,  
on the hymn, on parts of Ezekiel, about  
Passover, and against all the heresies; and  
many other things that could be found  
preserved by many.

6.23.1 | From that time, Origen began to  
write commentaries on the holy scriptures,  
urged on especially by Ambrose with  
countless encouragements, not only  
through words and appeals to him, but also  
with very generous gifts of support.

6.23.2 | For him, more than seven  
shorthand writers were present, taking  
down his words and exchanging them in  
set times. There were also no fewer scribes,  
along with girls trained in beautiful writing.  
Ambrose provided all of them with the  
necessary abundant resources, and indeed,  
he also greatly contributed to his effort and  
eagerness in studying the divine words,  
which especially encouraged him to  
compile the commentaries.

6.23.3 | With these things in place, Urban  
served as bishop of the church for eight  
years, and Pontianus succeeded him, while  
Zebinus was in charge of the church of  
Antioch with Philito.

6.23.4 | During this time, Origen, because of

χρείας ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἔνεκα πραγμάτων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στειλάμενος τὴν διὰ Παλαιστίνης πρεσβυτερίου χειροθεσίαν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ πρὸς τῶν τῇδε ἐπισκόπων ἀναλαμβάνει. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ κεκινημένα, τὰ τε ἐπὶ τοῖς κινηθεῖσι δεδογμένα τοῖς τῶν ἐκκλησῶν προεστῶσιν, ὅσα τε ἄλλα ἀκμάζων περὶ τὸν θεῖον εἰσενήνεκται λόγον, ἴδιας δεόμενα συντάξεως, μετρίως ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἥς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεποιήμεθα ἀπολογίας ἀνεγράψαμεν.

## Section 24

6.24.1 | [ Nic. H. E. V, 15] Ταῦτα δὲ ἔκείνοις δέοι ἀν προσεπιθεῖναι δηλοῦντας ὡς ἐν μὲν τῷ ἔκτῳ τῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην ἔξηγητικῶν σημαίνει τὰ πρότερα πέντε ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας ἔτ' ὅντα αὐτὸν συντάξαι, τῆς δ' εἰς τὸ πᾶν εὐαγγέλιον αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο πραγματείας μόνοι δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν εἰς ἡμὰς περιῆλθον τόμοι.

6.24.2 | κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔνατον τῶν εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν δώδεκα δέ ἔστι τὰ πάντα) οὐ μόνον τοὺς πρὸ τοῦ ἐνάτου δηλοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ὑπεμνηματίσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς πρώτους πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ψαλμοὺς, ἔτι τε τὰ εἰς τοὺς θρήνους, ὃν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐληλύθασι τόμοι πέντε, ἐν οἷς μέμνηται καὶ τῶν περὶ ἀναστάσεως· δύο δ' ἔστι καὶ ταῦτα.

6.24.3 | οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ περὶ ἀρχῶν πρὸ τῆς ἀπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας μεταναστάσεως γράφει, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιγεγραμμένους Στρωματεῖς, ὅντας τὸν ἀριθμὸν δέκα, ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου

the urgent need for church matters, was sent to Greece to take up the ordination of elders through Palestine in Caesarea, under the bishops there. Therefore, we have written moderately in the second defense we made for him about the things that were stirred up concerning him, the things decided by those in charge of the churches, and all other matters that were flourishing regarding the divine word, needing their own arrangement.

6.24.1 | These things should be added to show that in the sixth of the commentaries on John, he indicates that he composed the previous five while still in Alexandria, and that this work on the whole gospel consists of only twenty-two volumes that have come down to us.

6.24.2 | In the ninth of the commentaries on Genesis, there are twelve volumes in total. It not only mentions those before the ninth, to be noted in Alexandria, but also the first twenty-five psalms, and even the ones about laments, of which five volumes have come down to us, in which he also mentions the ones about resurrection; and these are two.

6.24.3 | Moreover, he writes about the principles before the move from Alexandria, and the works called 'Stromata,' which number ten, are arranged in the same city according to the kingdom

συντάττει βασιλείαν, ὡς καὶ τοῦτο  
δόλογραφοι δηλοῦσιν αὐτοῦ πρὸ τῶν τόμων  
ἐπισημειώσεις.

of Alexander, as this is also shown by his own handwritten notes before the volumes.

## Section 25

6.25.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 16] Τὸν μέντοι γε πρῶτον ἔξηγούμενος ψαλμὸν ἔκθεσιν πεποίηται τοῦ τῶν Ἱερῶν γραφῶν τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης καταλόγου, ὥδε πως γράφων κατὰ λέξιν "οὐκ ἀγνοητέον δ' εἶναι τὰς διαθήκους βίβλους, ὡς Ἐβραῖοι παραδιδόσιν, δύο "καὶ εἴκοσι, δοσος ἀριθμὸς τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς στοιχείων ἐστίν."

6.25.1 | However, in explaining the first psalm, he has made a summary of the sacred writings of the Old Testament, writing something like this: 'It should not be unknown that the books of the "covenants," as the Hebrews pass down, are twenty-two, which is the same number as the letters they have.'

6.25.2 | εἶτα μετά τινα ἐπιφέρει λέγων "εἰσὶ δὲ "αἱ εἴκοσι δύο βίβλοι καθ' Ἐβραίους αἵδε· ἡ ἡμῖν Γένεσις ἐπιγεγραμμένη, παρ' Ἐβραίοις δὲ ἀπὸ "τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς βίβλου Βρησὸδ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν, ἐν ""Ἐξοδος,  
Οὐελεσμὼθ, ὅπερ ἐστὶ, ταῦτα τὰ  
Λευιτικὸν, Οὐïκρὰ, καὶ ἑκάλεσεν· Ἀριθμοὶ,  
Ἀμμεὶς"σφεκωδείμ· Δευτερονόμιον,  
Ἐλεαδδεβαρεὶμ, οὗτοι "οἱ λόγοι· Ἰησοῦς  
υἱὸς Ναοῦ, Ἰωσοῦς βὲν "Κριταὶ, Ροῦθ, παρ'  
αὐτοῖς ἐν ἑνὶ, Σαφατείμ Βασὶ· λειῶν πρώτη,  
δευτέρα, παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν, Σαμουὴλ, "ὸ  
Θεόκλητος· Βασιλεῶν τρίτη, τετάρτη, ἐν  
ἐνὶ "Οὐαμὲλχ Δαβὶδ, ὅπερ ἐστὶ βασιλεία  
Δαβὶδ· Παρα"λειπομένων πρώτη, δευτέρα,  
ἐν ἑνὶ Δαβρηϊαμεὶν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ λόγοι  
ἡμερῶν· "Ἐσδρας πρῶτος, δεύτερος, "ἐν ἑνὶ  
"Ἐζρᾶ, ὃ ἐστι βοηθός· βίβλος Ψαλμῶν,  
"θελλείμ· Σολομῶνος παροιμίαι, Μελώθ·  
Ἐκκλη"σιαστῆς, Κωέλθ· Αἰσμα Αἰσμάτων,  
Σὶρ Ἀσσιρίμ· "Ἡσαΐας, Ἰεσοΐα· Ἱερεμίας σὺν  
Θρήνοις καὶ τῇ ἐπὶ"στολῇ ἐν ἑνὶ, Ἱερεμίᾳ·  
Δανιὴλ, Δανιήλ· "Ιεζεκιὴλ· Ἰώβ, Ἰώβ·  
Ἐσθὴρ, Ἐσθήρ. ἔξω δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ τὰ  
Μακκαβαϊκὰ, ἄπερ ἐπιγέγραπται Σαρ"βὴθ

6.25.2 | Then after a little, he adds, saying, 'There are these twenty-two books according to the Hebrews: our Genesis is titled, while among the Hebrews it is from the beginning of the book, "Breshith," which is Exodus, "Vayikra," which is Leviticus, and it is called: Numbers, "Bamidbar"; Deuteronomy, "Devarim," these are the words: Joshua son of Nun, Judges, Ruth, among them one, First Samuel, the called of God; Third Kings, Fourth Kings, among them one, 'Wamelech David,' which is the kingdom of David; First Chronicles, Second Chronicles, among them one, 'Dibre Hayamim,' which is the words of the days; First Ezra, Second Ezra, among one, 'Ezra,' which is helper; the book of Psalms, 'Tehillim'; Proverbs of Solomon, 'Mishlei'; Ecclesiastes, 'Kohelet'; Song of Songs, 'Shir Hashirim'; Isaiah, 'Yeshayahu'; Jeremiah with Lamentations and the letter among one, 'Yirmiyahu'; Daniel, 'Daniel'; Ezekiel, 'Yezeikel'; Job, 'Iyov'; Esther, 'Esther.' Outside of these are the Maccabees, which are titled 'Sarbit

Σαβαναιέλ.”

Shabanael.'

6.25.3 | ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ προειρημένῳ τίθησι συγγράμματι· ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον, τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν φυλάττων κανόνα, μόνα τέσσαρα εἰδέναι εὐαγγέλια μαρτύρεται, ὡδέ πως γράφων

6.25.3 | These things, then, he places in the previously mentioned writing; but in the first of those according to Matthew, keeping the church's rule, it is testified that there are only four gospels, writing something like this:

6.25.4 | “ώς ἐν παραδόσει μαθών περὶ “τῶν τεσσάρων εὐαγγελίων, ἀ καὶ μόνα ἀναντίρρητά “ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ,” ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν γέγραπται τὸ κατὰ τὸν ποτε ‘νην, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπόστολον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Ματ“θαῖον, ἐκδεδωκότα αὐτὸν τοῖς ἀπὸ Ιουδαϊσμοῦ πι“στεύσασι, γράμμασιν Ἐβραϊκοῖς συντεταγμένον”

6.25.4 | As I have learned from tradition about the four gospels, which are the only ones that are firmly established in the church of God under heaven, it is said that first was written the one according to the former priest, and later the apostle of Jesus Christ, Matthew, giving it to those who believed from Judaism, composed in Hebrew letters.

6.25.5 | δεύτερον δὲ τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον, ως Πέτρος “σατο αὐτῷ, ποιήσαντα, ὃν καὶ υἱὸν ἐν τῇ “ἐπιστολῇ διὰ τούτων ὡμολόγησε φάσκων ἀσπάζεται “ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτὴ καὶ Μάρκος ὁ υἱός “μου’.

6.25.5 | Second is the one according to Mark, as Peter taught him, which he also confessed in the letter, saying, 'The chosen one in Babylon greets you, and Mark, my son, embraces you.'

6.25.6 | καὶ τρίτον τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν, τὸ ὑπὸ Παῦλον ‘ἐπαινούμενον εὐαγγέλιον, τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν πε‘ποιηκότα· ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην.”

6.25.6 | And third is the one according to Luke, the gospel praised by Paul, made for those from the nations; finally, the one according to John.

6.25.7 | καὶ ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ δὲ τῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην ἔχηγητικῶν ὁ αὐτὸς ταῦτα περὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων φησίν· “ὁ δὲ ἱκανωθεὶς διάκονος γεγενῆσθαι “διαθήκης, οὐ γράμματος, ἀλλὰ πνεύματος, “Παῦλος, ὁ πεπληρωκὼς τὸ

6.25.7 | And in the fifth of those explaining the one according to John, he says the same things about the letters of the apostles: 'The one made sufficient to be a servant of the covenant, not of the letter, but of the spirit, Paul, who filled the gospel from

εύαγγέλιον ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ κύκλῳ  
μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ, οὐδὲ πάσαις  
“ἔγραψεν αἷς ἐδίδαξεν ἑκκλησίαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
αἷς ἔγραψεν, οὐλίγους στίχους ἐπέστειλε.

Jerusalem and around to Illyricum, did not write to all the churches he taught, but also to those he wrote to, he sent a few lines.'

6.25.8 | Πέτρος δὲ, “ῷοίκοδομεῖται ἡ  
Χριστοῦ ἑκκλησία, οὐ κατισχύσουσι, μίαν  
ἐπιστολὴν ὁμολογουμένην “καταλέοιπεν,  
ἔστω δὲ καὶ δευτέραν· ἀμφιβάλλεται “γάρ.

6.25.8 | But Peter, 'to whom the church of Christ is built, will not be overcome, has left one acknowledged letter, and let there be a second; for it is debated.'

6.25.9 | τί δεῖ περὶ τοῦ ἀναπεσόντος ἐπὶ τὸ  
“λέγειν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, Ἰωάννου, ὃς εὐάγγέλιον  
ἐν κατα’λέοιπεν, ὁμολογῶν δύνασθαι  
τοσαῦτα ποιήσειν ἂν “οὐδὲ ὁ κόσμος  
χωρῆσαι ἐδύνατο; ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ τὴν  
“Αποκάλυψιν, κελευσθεὶς σιωπῆσαι καὶ μὴ  
γράψαι “τὰς τῶν ἐπτὰ βροντῶν φωνάς.

6.25.9 | What should be said about the one who fell asleep regarding the words of Jesus, John, who left one gospel, confessing that he could do so many things that even the world could not contain? He also wrote the Revelation, being commanded to be silent and not to write the voices of the seven thunders.

6.25.10 | καταλέοιπε καὶ “ἐπιστολὴν πάνυ  
οὐλίγων στίχων, ἔστω δὲ καὶ δευτέραν καὶ  
τρίτην· ἐπεὶ οὐ πάντες φασὶ γνησίους εἶναι  
“ταύτας· πλὴν οὐκ εἰσὶ στίχων ἀμφότεραι’

6.25.10 | He has also left a letter of very few lines; let there be a second and a third, since not everyone says these are genuine; however, both do not have lines.

6.25.11 | ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις περὶ τῆς πρὸς  
Ἐβραίους ἐπιστολῆς ἐν ταῖς εἰς αὐτὴν  
δομιλίαις ταῦτα διαλαμβάνει “ὅτι ὁ  
χαρακτὴρ τῆς λέξεως τῆς πρὸς Ἐβραίους  
ἐπὶ “γεγραμμένης ἐπιστολῆς οὐκ ἔχει τὸ ἐν  
λόγῳ ἴδιω “τικὸν τοῦ ἀποστόλου,  
ὁμολογήσαντος ἐαυτὸν ἴδιώτην ‘εῖναι τό  
λόγῳ, τουτέστι τῇ φράσει, ἀλλὰ ἔστιν ἡ  
“ἐπιστολὴ συνθέσει τῆς λέξεως  
Ἐλληνικωτέρα, πᾶς ὁ “ἐπιστάμενος κρίνειν  
φράσεων διαφορὰς ὁμολογήσαι “ἄν.

6.25.11 | Furthermore, regarding the letter to the Hebrews, it is mentioned in the discussions about it that the style of the letter addressed to the Hebrews does not have the personal touch of the apostle, who admitted that he is a private person in speech, that is, in expression. But the letter is composed in a more Greek style; anyone who knows how to judge differences in expressions would agree.

6.25.12 | πάλιν τε αὕτη τὰ νοήματα τῆς ἐπιστολῆς “θαυμάσιά ἔστι, καὶ οὐ δεύτερα τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ὄμοιογουμένων γραμμάτων, καὶ τοῦτο ἀν συμφήσαι “εἶναι ἀληθὲς πᾶς ὁ προσέχων τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῇ ἀπὸ “στολικῆ.”

6.25.13 | τούτοις μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιφέρει λέγων ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποφαινόμενος εἴποιμ’ ἀντὶ τὰ μὲν νοήματα τούτου ἀποστόλου ἔστιν, ἡ δὲ φράσις καὶ ἡ σύνθεσις ἀπομνημονεύσαντός τινος τὰ ἀποστολικὰ, “ἀσπερεὶ σχολιογραφήσαντός τινος τὰ εἰρημένα ὑπὸ “τοῦ διδασκάλου. εἴ τις οὖν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἔχει τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς Παύλου, αὕτη εύδοκιμείτω καὶ “ἐπὶ τούτῳ οὐ γάρ εἰκῇ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες ὡς Παύλου αὐτὴν παραδεδώκασι.

6.25.14 | τίς δὲ ὁ γράψας “ἐπιστολὴν, τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς θεὸς οἶδεν, ἡ δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς φθάσασα ἱστορία ὑπό τινων μὲν λεγόντων ὅτι Κλήμης ὁ γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος Ρωμαίων ἔγραψε τὴν ἐπίσκοπον, ὑπό τινων δὲ ὅτι Λουκᾶς ὁ γράψας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὰς πράξεις.” ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὥδε ἔχετω.

## Section 26

6.26.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 18] “Ἐτος δ’ ἦν τοῦτο δέκατον τῆς δηλουμένης ἡγεμονίας, καθ’ ὃ τὴν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας μετανάστασιν ἐπὶ τὴν Καισάρειαν ὁ Ὁριγένης ποιησάμενος, Ἡρακλῆς τὸ τῆς κατηχήσεως τῶν αὐτόθι διδασκαλεῖον καταλείπει. ούκ εἰς μακρὸν δὲ καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος τελευτᾷ, ἐφ’ ὅλοις ἔτεσι τρισὶ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα τῇ

6.25.12 | Again, it is said that the meanings of the letter are amazing and not second to the acknowledged writings of the apostles. Anyone who pays attention to the reading of the apostolic texts would agree that this is true.

6.25.13 | With these things, he adds other points, saying that I would declare that the meanings are indeed those of the apostle, but the style and composition are from someone who has remembered the apostolic teachings, as if someone has commented on what was said by the teacher. Therefore, if any church has the letter as that of Paul, let it be accepted, for the ancient men did not pass it down as Paul's for no reason.

6.25.14 | Who wrote the letter? Only God knows the truth. The history that has reached us says that some claim that Clement, the bishop of the Romans, wrote the letter, while others say that Luke, who wrote the Gospel and the Acts, did. But let these things stand as they are.

6.26.1 | This was the tenth year of the mentioned leadership, during which Origen moved from Alexandria to Caesarea, leaving behind Heracles as the teacher of the catechism there. Not long after, Demetrius, the bishop of the Alexandrian church, passed away after serving for forty-three years in the ministry. Heracles succeeded him. At this time, Firmilian, the

λειτουργίᾳ διαρκέσας· διαδέχεται δ' αύτὸν  
ὁ Ἑρακλᾶς, διέπρεπε δὲ ἐν τούτῳ  
Φιρμιλλιανὸς, Καισαρείας τῆς  
Καππαδοκῶν ἐπίσκοπος,

bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, was also prominent.

## Section 27

6.27.1 | τοσαύτην εἰσάγων περὶ τὸν  
Ὀριγένην σπουδὴν ὡς τοτὲ μὲν αὐτὸν ἀμφὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν κλίματα είς τὴν τῶν  
ἐκκλησιῶν ὠφέλειαν ἐκκαλεῖσθαι, τοτὲ δὲ  
ὡς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν στέλλεσθαι, καὶ  
τινας αὐτῷ συνδιατρίβειν χρόνους, τῆς εἰς  
τὰ θεῖα βελτιώσεως ἔνεκα. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ  
ὁ τῆς Ιεροσολύμων προεστὼς Ἀλέξανδρος,  
Θεόκτιστός τε ὁ κατὰ Καισάρειαν, τὸν  
πάντα χρόνον ὡς ἔπος εἴπειν  
προσανέχοντες αὐτῷ οἶα διδασκάλω μόνω,  
τὰ τῆς τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἐρμηνείας καὶ τὰ  
λοιπὰ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ λόγου πράττειν  
συνεχώρουν.

6.27.1 | Bringing such great attention to Origen, sometimes he was called to the churches for their benefit, and at other times he was sent to Judea, spending some time with certain people for the sake of improving his understanding of divine matters. However, Alexander, who was in charge of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus, who was in Caesarea, always supported him as if he were their only teacher, allowing him to interpret the sacred writings and carry out other church matters.

## Section 28

6.28.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 20] Τόν γε μὴν  
Ῥωμαίων αύτοκράτορα Ἀλέξανδρον τρισὶν  
ἐπὶ δέκα ἔτεσι τὴν ἀρχὴν διανύσαντα  
Μαξιμῖνος Καῖσαρ διαδέχεται, ὃς δὴ κατὰ<sup>2</sup>  
κότον τὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου οἶκον, ἐκ  
πλειόνων πιστῶν συνεστῶτα, διωγμὸν  
ἔγείρας, τοὺς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἄρχοντας  
μόνους ὡς αἴτίους τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον  
διδασκαλίας ἀναιρεῖσθαι προστάττει. τότε  
καὶ Ὁριγένης τὸν περὶ μαρτυρίου  
συντάττει, Ἀμβροσίῳ καὶ Πρωτοκήτῳ  
πρεσβυτέρῳ τῆς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ παροικίας  
ἀναθεὶς τὸ σύγγραμμα, ὅτι δὴ ἄμφω  
περίστασις οὐχ ἡ τυχοῦσα ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ  
κατειλήφει, ἐν ᾧ καὶ διαπρέψαι κατέχει  
λόγος ἐν ὁμολογίᾳ τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὐ  
πλείονος ἥ τριετοῦς χρόνου τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ

6.28.1 | After Alexander, the Roman emperor, had ruled for ten years, Maximinus Caesar succeeded him. Out of anger towards Alexander's household, he stirred up persecution against the church leaders, ordering that only they be punished as the cause of the teachings against the Gospel. At that time, Origen wrote about martyrdom, dedicating the work to Ambrose and Protocletus, the elder of the community in Caesarea, explaining that both of them were not caught in the circumstances of the persecution, in which they were able to hold firm in their confession for no less than three years during Maximinus's reign. This time of persecution is noted in both the second and

διαγενομένου. σεσημείωται δὲ τουτονὶ τοῦ διωγμοῦ τὸν καιρὸν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ εἴκοστῷ τῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην ἔξηγητικῶν καὶ ἐν διαφόροις ἐπιστολαῖς Ὁριγένης.

## Section 29

6.29.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 26] Γορδιανοῦ δὲ μετὰ Μαξιμίνον τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν διαδεξαμένου, τῆς κατὰ Ῥώμην ἐκκλησίας Ποντιανὸν ἔτεσιν ἔξ ἐπισκοπεύσαντα διαδέχεται Ἀντέρως, καὶ τοῦτον Φαβιανὸς ἐπὶ μῆνα τῇ λειτουργίᾳ διακονησάμενον.

6.29.2 | ἔξ ἀγροῦ φασι τὸν Φαβθανὸν μετὰ τὴν Ἀντέρωτος τελευτὴν ἄμ' ἐτέροις συνελθόντα ἐπιχωριάζειν τῇ Ρώμῃ, ἐνθα παραδοξότατα πρὸς τῆς Θείας καὶ οὐρανίου χάριτος ἐπὶ τὸν κλῆρον παρεληλυθέναι.

6.29.3 | τῶν γὰρ ἀδελφῶν ἀπάντων χειροτονίας ἔνεκεν τῆς τοῦ μέλλοντος διαδέξασθαι τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας συγκεκροτημένων, πλείστων τε ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ ὑπαρχόντων, ὁ Φαβιανὸς παρὼν οὐδενὸς μὲν ἀνθρώπων εἰς διάνοιαν ἦει, ὅμως δ' οὗν ἀθρώως ἐκ μετεώρου περιστερὰν καταπτᾶσαν ἐπικαθεσθῆναι τῇ αὐτοῦ κεφαλῇ μνημονεύουσι, μίμημα ἐνδεικνυμένην τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν σωτῆρα τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος ἐν εἶδει περιστερᾶς καθόδου.

6.29.4 | ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν πάντα λαὸν ὥσπερ ὑφ' ἐνὸς πνεύματος θείου κινηθέντα ὀμόσε

twentieth of Origen's commentaries on John and in various letters.

6.29.1 | After Maximinus, Gordian took over the leadership of the Romans. He was succeeded by Anterus, who served as bishop of the church in Rome for six years. Fabiano assisted him in the ministry for one month.

6.29.2 | After the death of Anterus, they say that Fabiano, along with others, gathered together in Rome, where he was remarkably filled with divine and heavenly grace for the ministry.

6.29.3 | Because of the ordination of all the brothers, in order to succeed to the bishopric of the church, many well-known and respected men were present, and most were suspected of being candidates. Fabiano, however, did not think of any human being, but they say that a dove suddenly descended from above and rested on his head, showing a sign like that of the Holy Spirit coming down upon the Savior in the form of a dove.

6.29.4 | Then the whole people, as if moved by one divine spirit, with great eagerness

προθυμίᾳ πάσῃ καὶ μιᾷ ψυχῇ ἄξιον  
έπιβοῆσαι, καὶ ἀμελήτως ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον  
τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λαβόντας αὐτὸν ἐπιθεῖναι.  
τότε δὴ καὶ τοῦ κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπισκόπου  
Ζεβίνου τὸν βίον μεταλλάξαντος Βαβύλας  
τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεται, ἐν τε Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ  
μετὰ Δημήτριον Ἡρακλᾶ τὴν λειτουργίαν  
παρειληφότος τῆς τῶν αὐτόθι κατηχήσεως  
τὴν διατριβὴν διαδέχεται Διονύσιος, εἷς καὶ  
οὗτος τῶν Ὁριγένους γενόμενος φοιτητῶν.

## Section 30

6.30.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 20] Τῷ δὲ Ὁριγένει ἐπὶ  
τῆς Καισαρείας τὰ συνήθη πράττοντι  
πολλοὶ προσήσαν οὐ μόνον τῶν  
ἐπιχωρίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς  
μυρίοι φοιτηταὶ τὰς πατρίδας ἀπολιπόντες,  
ῶν ἐπισήμους μάλιστα ἔγνωμεν Θεόδωρον,  
ὅς ἦν αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ καθ' ἡμάς ἐπισκόπων  
διαβόητος Γρηγόριος, τόν τε τούτου  
ἀδελφὸν Ἀθηνόδωρον, οὓς ἀμφὶ τὰ  
Ἐλλήνων καὶ Ῥωμαίων μαθήματα δεινῶς  
ἐπτομένους, φιλοσοφίας αὐτοῖς ἐνθεὶς  
ἔρωτα, τῆς προτέρας σπουδῆς τὴν θείαν  
ἀσκησιν ἀντικαταλάξασθαι προυτρέψατο.  
πέντε δὲ ὅλοις ἔτεσιν αὐτῷ συγγενόμενοι  
τοσαύτην ἀπηνέγκαντο περὶ τὰ θεῖα  
βελτίωσιν ὡς ἔτι νέους ἄμφω ἐπισκοπῆς  
τῶν κατὰ Πόντον ἐκκλησιῶν ἀξιωθῆναι.

## Section 31

6.31.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 21] Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ  
Ἀφρικανος ὁ τῶν ἐπιγεγραμμένων Κεστῶν  
συγγραφεὺς ἔγνωρίζετο. ἐπιστολὴ τούτου  
Ὁριγένει γραφεῖσα φέρεται, ἀποροῦντος  
ώσαν νόθου καὶ πεπλασμένης οὕσης τῆς ἐν  
τῷ Δανιὴλ κατὰ Σουσάνναν ἴστορίας· πρὸς  
ἥν Ὁριγένης ἀντιγράφει πληρέστατα.

and one heart, shouted that he was worthy  
to be placed on the throne of the bishopric.  
At that time, Babylas, who had changed the  
life of the bishop Zevinus from Antioch,  
took over the leadership. In Alexandria,  
Dionysius succeeded Demetrius, who had  
been in charge of the ministry there, and he  
was also one of Origen's students.

6.30.1 | Many people came to Origen in  
Caesarea, not only from the local area but  
also from many foreign lands, leaving their  
homelands behind. Among them, we  
especially know Theodoros, who was the  
well-known bishop Gregory of our time,  
and his brother Athenodoros. They were  
both greatly troubled by the studies of the  
Greeks and Romans, but Origen inspired  
them with a love for philosophy, urging  
them to exchange their previous studies for  
the divine practice. After five years, they  
both gained such improvement in divine  
matters that they were deemed worthy to  
become bishops of the churches in Pontus.

6.31.1 | At this time, the African writer of  
the works called Kestos became known. A  
letter from him to Origen is said to exist,  
expressing confusion about the story in  
Daniel regarding Susanna, which seems to  
be false and made up. To this, Origen  
replied very thoroughly.

6.31.2 | τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ καὶ ἄλλα τὸν ἀριθμὸν πέντε χρονογραφιῶν ἤλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς πεπονημένα σπουδάσματα, ἐν οἷς φησιν ἔσωτὸν πορείαν στείλασθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, διὰ πολλὴν τοῦ Ἡρακλᾶ φήμην, ὃν ἐπὶ λόγοις φιλοσόφοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήνων μαθήμασιν εῦ μάλα διαπρέψαντα τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν τῆς αὐτόθι ἐκκλησίας ἔγχειρισθῆναι ἐδηλώσαμεν.

6.31.3 | καὶ ἑτέρα δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ φέρεται ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἀριστείδην, q περὶ τῆς νομιζομένης διαφωνίας τῶν παρὰ Ματθαίῳ τε καὶ Λουκᾷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενεαλογιῶν, ἐν ᾧ σαφέστατα τὴν τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν συμφωνίαν παρίστησιν ἐξ ἱστορίας εἰς αὐτὸν κατελθούσης, ἥν κατὰ καιρὸν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς μετὰ χεῖρας ὑποθέσεως προλαβὼν ἔξεθέμην.

## Section 32

6.32.1 | [ Nic. H. E. V, 19] Καὶ Ὁριγένει δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τὰ εἰς τὸν Ἡσαίαν, ἐν ταύτῳ δὲ καὶ τὰ εἰς τὸν Ἰεζεκιὴλ συνετάττετο· ὃν εἰς μὲν τὸ τρίτον μέρος τοῦ Ἡσαΐου, μέχρι τῆς ὁράσεως τῶν τετραπόδων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἑρήμω, τριάκοντα εἰς ἡμᾶς περιῆλθον τόμοι, εἰς δὲ τὸν Ἰεζεκιὴλ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν, οὓς καὶ μόνους εἰς τὸν πάντα πεποίηται προφήτην.

6.32.2 | γενόμενος δὲ τηνικάδε ἐν Ἀθήναις περαίνει μὲν τὰ εἰς τὸν Ἰεζεκιὴλ, τῶν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἄσμα τῶν ἀσμάτων ἄρχεται, καὶ πρόεισί γε αὐτόθι μέχρι πέμπτου συγγράμματος. ἐπανελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Καισάρειαν καὶ

6.31.2 | From the same African writer, five more chronographies came to us, carefully prepared studies. In these, he says that he set out on a journey to Alexandria because of the great reputation of Heracles, who was said to have excelled in philosophical discussions and other Greek studies, and we declared that he should be entrusted with the leadership of the church there.

6.31.3 | Another letter from the same African writer is said to be addressed to Aristides, about the supposed disagreement between the genealogies of Christ in Matthew and Luke. In it, he clearly shows the agreement of the evangelists, based on the history that came down to him, which I previously discussed in the first part of my work.

6.32.1 | At this time, Origen was also working on Isaiah, and at the same time, he was writing about Ezekiel. For the third part of Isaiah, he produced thirty volumes, up to the vision of the four living creatures in the desert, and for Ezekiel, he made twenty-five volumes, which he considered to be the only complete work on the prophet.

6.32.2 | Having reached this point in Athens, he finished his work on Ezekiel and began on the Song of Songs, and he continued there until the fifth book. After returning to Caesarea, he completed this

ταῦτα είς πέρας δέκα ὄντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν  
ἄγει.

6.32.3 | τί δεῖ τῶν λόγων τάνδρὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ  
παρόντος τὸν ἀκριβῆ κατάλογον ποιεῖσθαι,  
ἰδίας δεόμενον σχολῆς; ὃν καὶ  
ἀνεγράψαμεν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ Παμφύλου βίου  
τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἱεροῦ μάρτυρος ἀναγραφῆς,  
ἐν ἡ τὴν περὶ τὰ θεῖα σπουδὴν τοῦ  
Παμφύλου ὅπόση τις γεγόνει παριστῶντες,  
τῆς συναχθείσης αὐτῷ τῶν τε Ὁριγένους  
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑκκλησιαστικῶν  
συγραφέων βιβλιοθήκης τοὺς πίνακας  
παρεθέμην, ἔξ ὕν δτω φίλον πάρεστιν  
ἐντελέστατα τῶν Ὁριγένους πόνων τὰ είς  
ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα διαγνῶναι. νυνὶ δὲ  
πορευτέον ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς ἴστορίας  
ἀκολουθίαν.

## Section 33

6.33.1 | [Nic. H. E. V 22] Βήρυυλλος ὁ μικρῷ  
πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένος Βοστρῶν τῆς  
Ἀραβίας ἐπίσκοπος, τὸν ἑκκλησιαστικὸν  
παρεκτρέπων κανόνα, ξένα τινὰ τῆς  
πίστεως παρεισφέρειν ἐπειρᾶτο, τὸν  
σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν λέγειν τολμῶν μὴ  
προυφεστάναι κατ' ἰδίαν ούσίας  
περιγραφὴν πρὸ τῆς είς ἀνθρώπους  
ἐπιδημίας, μηδὲ μὴν θεότητα ἰδίαν ἔχειν,  
ἀλλ' ἐμπολιτευομένην αὐτῷ μόνην τὴν  
πατρικήν.

6.33.2 | ἐπὶ τούτῳ πλείστων ἐπισκόπων  
ζητήσεις καὶ διαλόγους πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα  
πεποιημένων, μεθ' ἐτέρων παρακληθεὶς  
Ὁριγένης κάτεισι μὲν είς δύμιλίαν τὰ πρῶτα  
τῷ ἄνδρὶ, τίνα νοῦν ἔχοι ἀποπειρώμενος,  
ώς δ' ἔγνω ὅ τι καὶ λέγοι, εύθύνας μὴ

work, bringing the total number to ten  
volumes.

6.32.3 | What need is there to make an exact list of the words of this man at the present time, especially since we have our own studies? We have also written this down in the account of the life of Pamphilus, our holy martyr, where we present the efforts of Pamphilus regarding divine matters. I provided the list of books from the library that he gathered, which included works by Origen and other church writers, so that anyone interested can fully understand the works of Origen that have come to us. Now, we should proceed with the history.

6.33.1 | Berillus, who was previously known as the bishop of Bostra in Arabia, attempted to distort the church's established rules by introducing some foreign beliefs. He boldly claimed that our Savior and Lord did not have a personal description of his own essence before his coming to humanity, nor did he possess his own divinity, but only had the divine nature of the Father.

6.33.2 | At this point, many bishops engaged in discussions and debates with the man. After being invited by others, Origen came to speak with him at first, trying to understand his mindset. Once he realized what he was saying, he found that

όρθιοδοξοῦντα, λογισμῷ τε πείσας καὶ ἀποδεῖξει ἀναλαβών αὐτὸν, τῇ περὶ τοῦ δόγματος ἐφίστησιν ἀληθείᾳ, ἐπὶ τε τὴν προτέραν ὑγῆ δόξαν ἀποκαθίστησι.

6.33.3 | καὶ φέρεται γε εἰσέτι νῦν ἔγγραφα τοῦ τε Βηρύλλου καὶ τῆς δι' αὐτὸν γενομένης συνόδου, ὁμοῦ τὰς Ὁριγένους πρὸς αὐτὸν ζητήσεις καὶ τὰς λεχθείσας ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ παροικίας διαλέξεις, ἔκαστά τε τῶν τότε πεπραγμένων περιέχοντα.

6.33.4 | καὶ ἄλλα μὲν οὖν μυρία Ὁριγένους πέρι μνήμῃ παραδιδόασι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, ἃ καὶ παρήσειν μοι δοκῶ, οὐ τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἔχόμενα πραγματείας· ὅσα δὲ ἀναγκαῖα τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν διαγνῶναι ἦν, ταῦτα καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεπονημένης ἡμῖν τε καὶ τῷ καθ' ἡμὰς ἱερῷ μάρτυρι Παμφίλῳ ἀπολογίας πάρεστιν ἀναλέξασθαι, ἦν τῶν φιλαιτίων ἔνεκα συμπονήσαντες ἄλλήλοις διὰ σπουδῆς πεποιήμεθα.

## Section 34

6.34.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 25] "Ἐτεσι δὲ ὄλοις ἔξ Γορδιανοῦ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ἀνύσαντος Φίλιππος ἄμα παιδὶ Φιλίππῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεται. τοῦτον κατέχει λόγος Χριστιανὸν ὄντα ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ὑστάτης τοῦ πάσχα παννυχίδος τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας εύχῶν τῷ πλήθει μετασχεῖν ἔθελῆσαι, οὐ πρότερον δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ τηνικάδε προεστῶτος ἐπιτραπῆναι εἰσβαλεῖν ἢ ἔξομοιογήσασθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐν παραπτώμασιν ἔξεταζομένοις μετανοίας τε χώραν ἵσχουσιν ἐαυτὸν καταλέξαι· ἄλλως

it was not orthodox. By reasoning and proof, he took him up and presented the truth about the doctrine, restoring him to the previously healthy belief.

6.33.3 | And indeed, even now, there are still writings of both Berillus and the council that was formed because of him, along with Origen's inquiries to him and the discussions that took place in his community, each containing details of what happened at that time.

6.33.4 | And indeed, many writings about Origen are handed down to us by the elders, which I think will also be presented to me, not concerning the current matters. But whatever was necessary to know about him, these things can be found in the defense made for him, both for us and for the holy martyr Pamphilus, which we created together out of concern for our friends.

6.34.1 | In the sixth year of Gordian, after Philip had taken over the leadership of the Romans, he, along with his son Philip, begins his reign. A Christian man is held by a decree, wishing to participate in the prayers of the church on the night of the last Passover, but he was not allowed to enter or confess until he was permitted by the one in charge at that time. Those who were being examined for their sins were allowed to confess and repent; otherwise, he would not have been able to approach

γὰρ μὴ ἂν ποτε πρὸς αὐτοῦ, μὴ οὐχὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντα, διὰ πολλὰς τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν αἴτιας παραδεχθῆναι. καὶ πειθαρχῆσαι γε προθύμως λέγεται, τὸ γνήσιον καὶ εὐλαβὲς τῆς περὶ τὸν θεῖον φόβον διαθέσεως ἔργοις ἐπιδειγμένον.

him, unless he had done this, due to many accusations against him. It is said that he willingly obeyed, showing genuine and respectful fear of God through his actions.

## Section 35

6.35.1 | [ Nic. H. E. V, 26] Τρίτον δὲ τούτῳ ἔτος ἦν, καθ’ ὃ μεταλλάξαντος Ἡρακλᾶ τὸν βίον ἐπὶ δεκαέξῃ ἔτεσι τῆς προστασίας τῶν κατ’ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐκκλησιῶν τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν Διονύσιος ὑπολαμβάνει.

6.35.1 | In the third year of this, when Heracles changed his life, Dionysius took over the leadership of the churches in Alexandria after sixteen years of protection.

## Section 36

6.36.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 19] Τότε δῆτα, οἵα καὶ είκὸς ἦν, πληθυούσης τῆς πίστεως, πεπαρρησιασμένου τε τοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς παρὰ πᾶσι λόγου, ὑπὲρ τὰ ἔξήκοντά φασιν ἔτη τὸν Ὦριγένην γενόμενον, ἀτε δὴ μεγίστην ἥδη συλλεξάμενον ἐκ τῆς μακρᾶς παρασκευῆς ἔξιν, τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ λεγομένας αὐτῷ διαλέξεις ταχυγράφοις μεταλαβεῖν ἐπιτρέψαι, οὐ πρότερόν ποτε τοῦτο γενέσθαι συγκεχωρηκότα.

6.36.1 | At that time, as was fitting, with the faith growing and the one among us speaking boldly, they say that Origen was born more than sixty years ago, having already gathered a great deal from long preparation. They allowed him to take notes of the discussions held in public, which had never been permitted before.

6.36.2 | ἐν τούτῳ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἐπιγεγραμμένον καθ’ ἡμῶν Κέλσου τοῦ Ἐπικουρείου ἀληθῆ λόγον ὄκτὼ τὸν ἀριθμὸν συγγράμματα συντάττει, καὶ τοὺς εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον εἴκοσι πέντε τόμους, τούς τε εἰς τοὺς δώδεκα προφήτας, ἀφ’ ᾧ μόνους ηὔρομεν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι.

6.36.2 | In this, he also writes eight true books against the one named Celsus the Epicurean, and twenty-five volumes on the Gospel of Matthew, as well as those on the twelve prophets, of which we have found only twenty-five.

6.36.3 | φέρεται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν

6.36.3 | There is also a letter from him to

βασιλέα Φίλιππον ἐπιστολὴ, καὶ ἄλλη πρὸς τὴν τούτου γαμετὴν Σεβήραν, διάφοροί τε ἄλλαι πρὸς διαφόρους, ὡν ὅπόσας σποράδην παρὰ διαφόροις σωθείσας συναγαγεῖν δεδυνήμεθα, ἐν ἴδιαις τόμων περιγραφαῖς, ὡς ἀν μηκέτι διαρρίπτοιντο, κατελέξαμεν, τὸν ἑκατὸν ἀριθμὸν ὑπερβαινούσας.

King Philip, and another to his wife Severa, along with various other letters to different people. We have been able to gather those that were saved here and there from various sources, and we have collected them in separate volumes, so that they would no longer be scattered, exceeding a hundred in number.

6.36.4 | γράφει δὲ καὶ Φαβιανῷ τῷ κατὰ Ρώμην ἐπισκόπῳ, ἐτέροις τε πλείστοις ἄρχουσιν ἐκκλησιῶν, περὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ὄρθιοδοξίας. ἔχεις καὶ τούτων τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐν ἕκτῳ τῆς γραφείσης ἡμῖν περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπολογίας.

6.36.4 | He also writes to Fabian, the bishop in Rome, and to many other leaders of churches, about the orthodoxy concerning him. You also have the proofs of these in the sixth part of the writing we have about the defense of the man.

## Section 37

6.37.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 23] Ἀλλοι δ' αὖ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας κατὰ τὸν δηλούμενον ἐπιφύονται χρόνον δόγματος ἄλλοτρίου τῆς ἀληθείας εἰσηγηταὶ, οἱ ἔλεγον τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ψυχὴν τέως μὲν κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα καιρὸν ἄμα τῇ τελευτῇ συναποθνήσκειν τοῖς σώμασι καὶ συνδιαφθείρεσθαι αὐθις δέ ποτε κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀναστάσεως καιρὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀναβιώσεσθαι. καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε συγκροτηθείσης οὐ σμικρᾶς συνόδου, πάλιν Ὄμριγένης παρακληθεὶς καὶ ἐνταῦθα, κινήσας τε λόγους ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ περὶ τοῦ ζητουμένου οὕτως ἡνέχθη ὡς μετατεθῆναι τὰς τῶν πρότερον ἐσφαλμένων διανοίας.

6.37.1 | Others again, in Arabia, appear at the time mentioned as teachers of a foreign doctrine of the truth. They said that the human soul dies together with the body at the present time and is destroyed, but at the time of the resurrection, it will come back to life with them. And indeed, when a large council was gathered then, Origen was called again and there he stirred up discussions about the common topic, so that the ideas of those who had erred before were shifted.

## Section 38

6.38.1 | [ Nic. H. E. V, 24] Τότε δὲ καὶ ἄλλη διαστροφὴ κατάρχεται, ἡ τῶν Ἐλκεσαϊτῶν λεγομένη αἵρεσις, ἥ καὶ ἄμα τῷ ἄρξασθαι

6.38.1 | Then another distortion comes down, the heresy called the Helkesaites, which also died out when it began. Origen

άπέσβη. μνημονεύει δ' αύτῆς ὄμιλῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ εἰς τὸν ὄγδοηκοστὸν δεύτερον ψαλμὸν ὁ Ὄριγένης, ὡδέ πως λέγων "έλή" λυθέ τις ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος μέγα φρονῶν ἐπὶ τῷ "δύνασθαι πρεσβεύειν γνώμης ἀθέου καὶ ἀσεβεστά" της, καλουμένης Ἐλκεσαῖτῶν, νεωστὶ "ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ἔκεινη ἡ γνώμη οἵᾳ λέγει κακὰ, "παραθήσομαι ὑμῖν) ὥνα μὴ συναρπάζησθε. ἀθετεῖ "τινα ἀπὸ πάσης γραφῆς, κέχρηται ὥητοῖς πάλιν "ἀπὸ πάσης παλαιᾶς τε καὶ εὐαγγελικῆς, τὸν ἀπὸ "στολὸν τέλεον ἀθετεῖ. φησὶ δὲ ὅτι τὸ "ἀδιάφορὸν ἔστι, καὶ ὃ μὲν νοήσας τῷ στόματι ἐν ἀνάγκαις ἀρνήσεται, τῇ δὲ καρδίᾳ οὐχί. καὶ βίβλον τινὰ φέρουσιν, ἦν λέγουσιν ἔξ ούρανοῦ καταπεπτωκέναι, καὶ τὸν ἀκηκοότα ἔκεινης καὶ πιστεύοντα ἄφεσιν λήψεσθαι τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, ἄλλην ἄφεσιν "παρ' ἦν Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ἀφῆκε." καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τούτων τάδε ἔστιν.

## Section 39

6.39.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 27-32] Άλλὰ γὰρ Φίλιππον ἔτεσιν ἐπτὰ βασιλεύσαντα διαδέχεται Δέκιος, ὃς δὴ τοῦ πρὸς Φίλιππον ἔχθους ἔνεκα κατὰ τὸν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐγείρει, ἐν ᾧ Φαβιανοῦ ἐπὶ Ρώμης μαρτυρίῳ τελειωθέντος Κορνήλιος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διαδέχεται.

6.39.2 | ἐπὶ δὲ Παλαιστίνης Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος, αὐθις διὰ Χριστὸν ἐν τῇ Καισαρείᾳ ἡγεμονικοῖς παραστὰς δικαστηρίοις, καὶ ἐπὶ δευτέρᾳ διαπρέψας ὄμολογίᾳ, δεσμωτηρίου πειρᾶται, λιπαρῷ γήρει καὶ σεμνῇ πολιᾳ κατεστεμένος.

mentions it while discussing the common topic in the 82nd Psalm, saying something like this: 'Someone has come with great thoughts about the ability to advocate for the atheistic and most impious opinion, called Helkesaites, recently in the churches.' That opinion says bad things: 'I will set before you, so that you are not carried away. They reject someone from all scripture, using sayings again from all old and evangelical texts, completely rejecting the apostle.' He says that the 'indifference is such that the one who understands with the mouth will deny in necessity, but not with the heart.' And they bring a certain book, which they say has fallen from heaven, and the one who hears it and believes will receive forgiveness of sins, a different forgiveness than that which Christ Jesus gave.

6.39.1 | But Decius follows Philip, who reigned for seven years, because of the enmity against Philip he stirs up against the churches. In this time, Cornelius takes over the bishopric after Fabian's martyrdom in Rome.

6.39.2 | In Palestine, Alexander, the bishop of the church in Jerusalem, again stands before the governor's court in Caesarea for Christ. After successfully confessing his faith a second time, he is put in prison, dressed in a rich and solemn robe.

6.39.3 | τούτου δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς  
ἡγεμονικοῖς δικαστηρίοις λαμπρὰν καὶ  
περιφανῆ μαρτυρίαν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρκτῆς  
κοιμηθέντος, Μαζαβάνης διάδοχος τῆς ἐν  
Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπισκοπῆς ἀναδείκυται.

6.39.4 | τῷ δ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παραπλησίως ἐν  
Ἀντιοχείᾳ τοῦ Βαβύλα μετὰ τὴν ὄμολογίαν  
ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ μεταλλάξαντος Φάβιος τῆς  
αὐτόθι προΐσταται ἔκκλησίας.

6.39.5 | τὰ μὲν οὖν Ὁριγένει κατὰ τὸν  
διωγμὸν συμβάντα οἶα καὶ ὅσα, καὶ ὅποιας  
ἔτυχε τελευτῆς, τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος  
έφαμίλλως τῷ ἀνδρὶ πανστρατιᾷ  
παραταξαμένου, πάσῃ τε μηχανῇ καὶ  
δυνάμει κατ' αὐτοῦ στρατηγίσαντος, παρὰ  
πάντας τε τοὺς τηνικάδε πολεμηθέντας  
διαφερόντως ἐπισκήψαντος αὐτῷ, οἵα τε  
καὶ ὅσα διὰ τὸν Χριστοῦ λόγον ὁ ἀνὴρ  
ὑπέμεινε δεσμὰ καὶ βασάνους τὰς κατὰ τοῦ  
σώματος, τὰς τε ὑπὸ σιδηρῷ κλοιῷ καὶ  
μυχοῖς εἰρκτῆς τιμωρίας, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
πλείσταις ἡμέραις τοὺς πόδας ὑπὸ<sup>2</sup>  
τέσσαρα τοῦ κολαστηρίου ξύλου  
παραταθεὶς διαστήματα κατασπώμενος  
πυρός τε ἀπειλὰς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα πρὸς τῶν  
έχθρῶν ἐπενεχθέντα καρτερῶς ἤνεγκεν,  
οἷον τε τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἔτυχε τέλους,  
μηδαμῶς αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν παντὶ σθένει τοῦ  
δικαστοῦ φιλονείκως ἐνστάντος, ὅποιας τε  
μετὰ ταύτα καταλείπει φωνὰς, καὶ αὐτὰς  
πλήρεις τοῖς ἀναλήψεως δεομένοις  
ώφελείας, πλεῖσται ὅσαι τάνδρος  
ἐπιστολαὶ τάληθὲς ὄμοι καὶ ἀκριβὲς  
περιέχουσι.

6.39.3 | After his bright and famous  
martyrdom in the governor's court,  
Mazabanes is chosen as the successor to  
the bishopric in Jerusalem.

6.39.4 | Similarly, in Antioch, after his  
confession in prison, Fabios takes charge of  
the church there, following Alexander.

6.39.5 | Now, concerning Origen, during the  
persecution, he faced many things and met  
a certain end, as the wicked demon  
attacked him with all its forces. It used  
every trick and power against him, and he  
was treated differently by all who fought  
against him. The man endured chains and  
tortures for the sake of Christ, including  
those from iron shackles and the  
punishments of prison. For many days, he  
was stretched out on the wooden frame of  
the prison, threatened with fire and other  
things brought by his enemies. He bore all  
these things patiently. As for the end he  
met, he was not at all released by the judge,  
who stood against him with great strength.  
After this, he left behind voices full of  
requests for help, and many letters of the  
man contain true and accurate accounts.

## Section 40

6.40.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 28] Τά γέ τοι κατὰ Διονύσιον ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Γερμανὸν ἐπιστολῆς αὐτοῦ παραθήσομαι, ἔνθα τοῦτον περὶ ἐαυτοῦ λέγων ἵστορεῖ τὸν τρόπον “ἔγώ δὲ καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ λαλῶ, καὶ ‘αὐτὸς οἶδεν ὅτι οὐ ψεύδομαι· οὐδὲ μίαν ἐπ’ ἔμαυ’ τοῦ βαλλόμενος οὐδὲ ἀθεεὶ πεποίημαι τὴν φυγὴν.”

6.40.2 | ἀλλὰ καὶ πρότερον τοῦ κατὰ Δέκιον προτεθέντος “διωγμοῦ Σαβῖνος αὐτῆς ὥρας φρουμεντάριον ἔπειμ”ψεν εἰς ἀναζήτησίν μου, κάγὼ μὲν τεσσάρων ήμε“ρῶν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἔμεινα, τὴν ἄφιξιν τού φρου“μενταρίου προσδοκῶν. ὁ δὲ πάντα μὲν περιῆλθεν “ἀνερευνῶν, τοὺς ποταμοὺς, τὰς ὁδοὺς, τοὺς ἀγροὺς, “ἔνθα κρύπτεσθαί με ἢ βαδίζειν ὑπενόησεν, ἀορασίᾳ δὲ εἴχετο, μὴ εὑρίσκων τὴν οἰκίαν οὐ γάρ ἐπίστευ“σεν οἴκοι με διωκόμενον ἔχειν.

6.40.3 | καὶ μόλις μετὰ τὴν τετάρτην ἡμέραν κελεύσαντός moi μεταστῆναι “τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παραδόξως ὀδοποιήσαντος ἔγώ τε “οἱ παῖδες καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄμα “θομεν. καὶ ὅτι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας ἔργον ἐκεῖνο “γέγονε τὰ ἔξης ἐδήλωσεν, ἐν οἷς τάχα τισὶ γεγόναμεν χρήσιμοι.”

6.40.4 | εἶτά τινα μεταξὺ εἰπὼν τὰ μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν αὐτῷ συμβεβηκότα δηλοῖ, ταῦτα ἐπιφέρων “ἔγὼ μὲν γάρ περὶ ἡλίου δυσμάς ἄμα τοῖς “σὺν ἐμοὶ γενόμενος ὑπὸ τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰς Ταπό“σιριν ἤχθην, ὁ δὲ Τιμόθεος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ “πρόνοιαν

6.40.1 | Now, I will present what Dionysius says in his letter to Germanus, where he speaks about himself and recounts the way: 'I speak even before God, and he knows that I am not lying; I have not been driven to escape in any way that is godless.'

6.40.2 | But even earlier, during the persecution under Decius, Sabinus sent a guard to search for me. I stayed in my house for four days, waiting for the arrival of the guard. He searched everywhere, looking along the rivers, the roads, and the fields, thinking that I might be hiding or moving around. However, he was blind to the truth, as he could not find the house, for he did not believe that I was being hidden at home.

6.40.3 | And hardly after the fourth day, when I was ordered to move, God made a way for me, and I, along with the children and many of the brothers, left together. And that event was a work of God's providence, as it later showed that we had become useful to some.

6.40.4 | Then, after saying something about what happened to him after his escape, he explains: 'I was taken to Taposirin at sunset, along with those who were with me, by the soldiers. However, Timothy, by God's providence, was not present and was

έτυχε μὴ παρὼν μηδὲ καταληφθείς. ἐλθὼν  
“δὲ Ὂστερον ηὔρε τὸν οἶκον ἔρημον, καὶ  
φρουροῦν “τας αὐτὸν ὑπηρέτας, ήμᾶς δὲ  
έξηνδραποδισμένους.”

6.40.5 | καὶ μεθ' ἔτερά φησι “καὶ τίς ὁ τῆς  
θαυμασίας οἰκονομίας αύτοῦ τρόπος; τὰ  
γὰρ ἀληθῆ λεχθήσεται. ἀπηντᾶτό τις τῶν  
χωρικῶν ὑποφεύγοντι τῷ Τιμοθέῳ καὶ  
τεταραγμένῳ, καὶ τὴν αἵτιαν τῆς ἐπείξεως  
ἐπύθετο.

6.40.6 | ὁ δὲ τάληθὲς ἔξεπε, κάκενος  
ἀκούσας ἀπήει δὲ εὐωχησόμενος γάμους·  
διαπαννυχίζειν ‘γὰρ αύτοῖς ἐν ταῖς  
τοιαύταις συνόδοις ἔθος) είσελ’ “θῶν  
ἀπήγγειλε τοῖς κατακειμένοις· οὗ δὲ ὅρμῇ  
καθάπερ ἀπὸ συνθήματος πάντες  
ἔξανέστησαν, καὶ δρόμῳ φερόμενοι  
τάχιστα ἦκον, ἐπεισπεσόντες τε ἡμῖν  
ἡλάλαξαν, καὶ φυγῆς εὐθέως τῶν  
φρουρούντων ήμᾶς στρατιωτῶν  
γενομένης ἐπέστησαν ἡμῖν, ὡς εἴχομεν ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τῶν ἀστρώτων σκιμπόδων κατακείμενοι.

6.40.7 | κάγὼ μὲν, οἶδεν ὁ θεὸς, ὡς λῃστὰς  
εἶναι “πρότερον ἡγούμενος ἐπὶ σύλησιν καὶ  
ἀρπαγὴν “κομένους, μένων ἐπὶ τῆς εύνης,  
ῆς ἡμην γυμνὸς ἐν “τῷ λινῷ ἐσθήματι, τὴν  
δὲ λοιπὴν ἐσθῆτα “μένην αύτοῖς ὥρεγον, οἱ  
δὲ ἔξανίστασθαί τε ἐκέλευον καὶ τὴν  
ταχίστην ἔξιέναι.

6.40.8 | καὶ τότε συνεὶς ἐφ' ᾧ παρῆσαν  
ἀνέκραγον δεόμενος αύτῶν καὶ “ἰκετεύων  
ἀπιέναι καὶ ήμᾶς ἔαν, εἴ δὲ βούλονται τι  
χρηστὸν ἔργασασθαι, τοὺς ἀπάγοντάς με  
φθάσαι, “καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αύτοὺς τὴν ἐμὴν

not caught. When he later arrived, he found  
the house empty and the guards serving  
him, while we had been taken captive.'

6.40.5 | And then he says, 'What is the way  
of his wonderful plan? For the truth will be  
told. Someone from the villagers met  
Timothy, who was fleeing and disturbed,  
and he learned the reason for the pursuit.'

6.40.6 | But he spoke the truth, and hearing  
this, he went away to enjoy a wedding  
feast. For it was their custom to stay up all  
night at such gatherings. Entering, he  
announced to those who were lying down.  
And they, as if by agreement, all jumped up  
and, rushing quickly, came. When they fell  
upon us, they shouted, and as the soldiers  
guarding us fled, they stood by us, as we  
were lying on the ground.

6.40.7 | And I, God knows, thought they  
were robbers, planning to steal and take  
me away. I was lying on the bed, where I  
was naked in my linen garment, while the  
rest of my clothes were being taken by  
them. They ordered me to get up and to  
leave as quickly as possible.

6.40.8 | And then, realizing what was  
happening, I cried out, begging them to  
leave and, if they wanted to do something  
good, to let those who had taken me go.  
They demanded to cut off my head. While I

άποτεμεῖν ἡξίουν. “καὶ τοιαῦτα βοῶντος,  
ώς ἵσασιν οἱ κοινωνοί μου καὶ “μέτοχοι  
πάντων γενόμενοι, ἀνίστασαν πρὸς βίαν,  
“κάγὼ μὲν παρῆκα ἐμαυτὸν ὑπτιον εἰς  
τούδαφος, οἱ “δὲ διαλαβόντες χειρῶν καὶ  
ποδῶν σύροντες “γαγον.

was shouting such things, my companions,  
who were all involved, stood up against the  
violence. I lay there on my back on the  
ground, while they grabbed my hands and  
feet and dragged me away.

6.40.9 | ἔπηκολούθουν δέ μοι οὶ τούτων  
πάντων “γενόμενοι μάρτυρες, Γάι·ος,  
Φαῦστος, Πέτρος, Παῦλος, οἵ καὶ  
ὑπολαβόντες με φοράδην ἔξήγαγον  
“πολιχνίου, καὶ ὅνῳ γυμνῷ ἐπιβιβάσαντες  
ἀπήγαγον.” ταῦτα περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Διονύσιος.

6.40.9 | "And all those who witnessed these  
things followed me: Gaius, Faustus, Peter,  
and Paul. They took me up and carried me  
out of the city, placing me on a donkey and  
leading me away." This is what Dionysius  
said about himself.

## Section 41

6.41.1 | [ Nic. H. E. V, 29—31] Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἐν  
τῇ πρὸς Φαβιανὸν Ἀντιοχέων ἐπίσκοπον  
τῶν κατὰ Δέκιον μαρτυρησάντων ἐν  
Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοῦτον ἴστορεῖ  
τὸν τρόπον “οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ  
προστάγματος ὁ διωγμὸς παρ’ ἡμῖν ἤρξατο,  
ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅλον ἐνιαυτὸν προύλαβε, καὶ  
φθάσας ὁ “κακῶν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ μάντις  
καὶ ποιητὴς, ὅστις ἐκεῖνος ἦν, ἐκίνησε καὶ  
παρώρμησε καθ' ἡμῶν τὰ πλήθη τῶν  
ἐθνῶν, εἰς τὴν ἐπιχώριον αὐτοὺς  
δεισιδαιμονίαν ἀναρριπίσας.

6.41.1 | But he himself, in his account to  
Fabian, the bishop of Antioch, tells of the  
struggles of those who were martyred  
during the reign of Decius in Alexandria. He  
states that the persecution did not begin  
because of a royal command, but rather it  
was anticipated for a whole year. A certain  
soothsayer and poet, who was there,  
stirred up and incited the crowds of the  
nations against us, raising their local  
superstitions.

6.41.2 | οἱ δὲ ἐρεθισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ  
πάσης ἔξουσίας εἰς ἀνοσιουργίαν  
λαβόμενοι, μόνην εύσέβειαν τὴν  
Θρησκείαν τῶν “ταύτην ὑπέλαβον, τὸ καθ'  
ἡμῶν φονᾶν.”

6.41.2 | But those who were stirred up by  
him, and taking all authority to commit  
wicked acts, believed that the only piety  
was to kill us.

6.41.3 | πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτην  
Μητρᾶν ὄνόματι συναρπάσαντες, καὶ  
κελεύσαντες ἄθεα λέγειν ὅτι “ματα, μὴ

6.41.3 | First, then, they seized an elder  
named Mithran, and ordering him to speak  
blasphemous words, when he did not obey,

πειθόμενον, ξύλοις τε παίοντες τὸ σῶμα, ‘καὶ καλάμοις ὁξέσι τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς κεντοῦντες, ἀγαγόντες εἰς τὸ προάστειον “λιθοβόλησαν.

6.41.4 | ἔπειτα πιστὴν γυναῖκα Κοῖνταν “καλουμένην ἐπὶ τὸ εἰδωλεῖον ἀγαγόντες “προσκυνεῖν’ ἀποστρεφομένην δὲ καὶ βδελυττομένην “έκδήσαντες τῶν ποδῶν, διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως κατὰ “τοῦ τραχέος λιθοστρώτου σύροντες, προσαρασσομένην τοῖς μυλιαίοις λίθοις ἄμα καὶ μαστιγοῦντες, ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες κατέλευσαν τόπον.

6.41.5 | εἶθ’ ὅμοθυμαδὸν ἄπαντες ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν θεοσεῖς βῶν οἰκίας, καὶ οὓς ἐγνώριζον ἔκαστοι “ἐπισπεύδοντες ἥγον, ἐσύλων τε καὶ διήρπαζον, τὰ ‘μὲν τιμιώτερα τῶν κειμηλίων νοσφιζόμενοι, τὰ δὲ “εὔτελέστερα καὶ ὅσα ἐκ ξύλων πεποίητο, διαρριπτοῦντες καὶ κατακαίοντες ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἑαλωκυίας ὑπὸ πολεμίων πόλεως παρεῖχον θέαν.

6.41.6 | ἔξεκλινον δὲ καὶ ὑπανεχώρουν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ, καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ὅμοιῶς ἐκείνοις οἵς καὶ Παῦλος ἐμαρτύρησε, μετὰ χαρᾶς προσεδέξαντο. καὶ οὐκ οἴδ’ εἴ τις, πλὴν εἰ μή πού τις εἴς ἐμπεσὼν, μέχρι γε τούτου τὸν κύριον ἡρνήσατο.

6.41.7 | ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν “θαυμασιωτάτην τότε παρθένον πρεσβῦτιν Ἀπολλωνίαν διαλαβόντες, τοὺς μὲν ὄδόντας ἄπαντας, κόπτοντες τὰς σιαγόνας, ἔξηλασαν, πυρὰν δὲ νήσαν “τες πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ζῶσαν

they beat his body with sticks and pierced his face and eyes with sharp reeds, and they took him to the courtyard and stoned him.

6.41.4 | Then they brought a faithful woman named Quintana to the idol to worship; but when she turned away and was disgusted, they bound her feet and dragged her through the rough stone streets of the city, while also beating her with many stones, and they led her to the same place.

6.41.5 | Then all together they rushed to the houses of the worshippers, and each one brought those they recognized, hurrying them along, and they were looting and seizing, taking away the more valuable belongings, while throwing and burning the cheaper ones and those made of wood, providing a sight of destruction in the streets of the city under attack.

6.41.6 | But the brothers turned away and withdrew, and they received the plunder of their belongings with joy, just as those whom Paul had testified about. And I do not know if anyone, except perhaps one who fell in, denied the Lord up to that point.

6.41.7 | But also seizing the most wonderful virgin, the elderly Apollonia, they cut out all her teeth and drove her out, threatening to burn her alive in front of the city unless she joined them in proclaiming the messages of

ήπειλουν κατακαύσειν, “εί μὴ συνεκφωνήσειν αύτοῖς τὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας “κηρύγματα. ἡ δὲ ὑποπαραιτησαμένη βραχὺ καὶ “ἀνεθεῖσα συντόνως ἐπεπήδησεν εἰς τὸ πῦρ καὶ “καταπέφλεκται.

6.41.8 | Σαραπίωνά τε καταλαβόντες “έφρέστιον, σκληραῖς βασάνοις αἰκισάμενοι, καὶ πάντα “τὰ ἄρθρα διακλάσαντες, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπερώου πρηηνῆ “κατέρριψαν. οὐδεμίᾳ δὲ ὀδὸς, οὐ λεωφόρος, οὐ στε“νωπὸς ἡμῖν βάσιμος ἦν, οὐ νύκτωρ, οὐ μεθ’ ἡμέ“ραν, ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ πάντων κεκραγότων, εἴ μὴ “τὰ δύσφημά τις ἀνυμνοίη ḥρήματα, τοῦτον δεῖν σύρεσθαι τε καὶ πίμπρασθαι.

6.41.9 | καὶ ταῦτα “ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἥκμασε τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον, διαδεξα“μένη δὲ τοὺς ἀθλίους ἡ στάσις καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ὁ ἐμφύλιος τὴν καθ’ ἡμῶν ὡμότητα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ‘αύτῶν ἔτρεψε. καὶ σμικρὸν μὲν προσανεπνεύσαμεν, “ἀσχολίαν τοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς θυμοῦ λαβόντων, εύθέως δὲ ἡ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκείνης τῆς εὐμενεστέρας ἡμῖν “μεταβολὴ διήγγελται, καὶ πολὺς ὁ τῆς ἐφ’ ἡμὰς ἀπειλῆς φόβος ἀνετείνετο.

6.41.10 | καὶ δὴ καὶ παρῆν “τὸ πρόσταγμα, αύτοσχεδὸν ἐκεῖνο οἶν τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἀποφαῖνον τὸ φοβερώτατον, ὡς, εἴ δυνατὸν, σκανδαλίσαι καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς.  
“

6.41.11 | πλὴν πάντες γε κατεπτήχεσαν, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν “εὐθέως τῶν περιφανεστέρων οἱ μὲν ἀπήντων “τες, οἱ δὲ

wickedness. But she, having briefly refused and then committed herself, jumped into the fire and was consumed.

6.41.8 | Seizing Sarapion, they tortured him with harsh punishments and broke all his joints, then threw him headfirst from the upper room. There was no way, no main road, no narrow path that was safe for us, neither at night nor during the day, with everyone always shouting, except that someone had to sing the blasphemous words, and he had to be dragged and burned.

6.41.9 | And for a long time, this way flourished, but the civil strife and war turned the cruelty among us against each other. We took a small breath of relief, having escaped the anger directed at us, but immediately the news came of a change in that kind and favorable kingdom for us, and great was the fear of the threats against us.

6.41.10 | And indeed, there was the command, almost as if it were declared by the lord, the most terrifying one, that if possible, it would scandalize even the chosen ones.

6.41.11 | But indeed, all fell silent, and many of the more famous ones were present; some were publicly accused by

δημοσιεύοντες ὑπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἥγοντο, “οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφ’ αὐτοῖς ἐφείλκοντο· ὄνομαστί τε καλούμενοι ταῖς ἀνάγνοις καὶ ἀνιέροις θυσίαις προσήσαν, οἱ μὲν ὡχριῶντες καὶ τρέμοντες, ὥσπερ οὐ θύσοντες, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ θύματα καὶ σφάγια τοῖς “εἰδώλοις ἐσόμενοι, ώς ὑπὸ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιεστῶτος δήμου χλεύην αὐτοῖς ἐπιφέρεσθαι, καὶ δήλους μὲν εἶναι πρὸς πάντα δειλοὺς ὑπάρχοντας, καὶ πρὸς τὸ “τεθνάναι καὶ πρὸς τὸ θῦσαι·

their actions, while others were dragged down by those around them. They were called by name in the public readings and were brought to the sacrificial altars, some pale and trembling, as if they were not making sacrifices, but were themselves to become offerings and victims to the idols, fearing that they would be mocked by the great crowd surrounding them, and they were clearly cowardly in everything, both in facing death and in making sacrifices.

6.41.12 | οἱ δέ τινες ἔτοι“μότερον τοῖς βωμοῖς προσέτρεχον, ἴσχυριζόμενοι τῇ “θρασύτητι τὸ μηδὲ πρότερον Χριστιανὸν γεγονέναι, “περὶ ὃν ἡ τοῦ κορίου πρόρρησις ἀληθεστάτῃ, ὅτι “δυσκόλως σωθήσονται· τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν οἱ μὲν εἴποντο “τούτοις ἐκατέροις, οἱ δὲ ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ ἠλίσκοντο.“

6.41.12 | But some ran eagerly to the altars, insisting with boldness that they had never been Christians before, about which the prophecy of the girl was most true, that they would be saved with difficulty. As for the others, some followed these people, while others fled, and some were hiding.

6.41.13 | καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἄχρι δεσμῶν καὶ φυλακῆς “χωρήσαντες, καί τινες καὶ πλείονας ἡμέρας καθειρ“χθέντες, εἴτα καὶ πρὶν ἐπὶ δικαστήριον ἐλθεῖν, “έξωμόσαντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ βασάνοις ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἐγκαρ“τερήσαντες πρὸς τὸ ἐξῆς ἀπεῖπον.

6.41.13 | And among these, some went as far as imprisonment and confinement, and some were held for many days; then, even before coming to trial, they renounced their faith. Others, after enduring torture for a while, refused to continue.

6.41.14 | οἱ δὲ στερροὶ “καὶ μακάριοι στῦλοι τοῦ κυρίου, κραταιωθέντες ὑπὸ “αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῆς ἴσχυρᾶς ἐν ἐαυτοῖς πίστεως ἀξίαν “καὶ ἀνάλογον δύναμιν καὶ καρτερίαν λαβόντες, “θαυμαστοὶ γεγόνασιν αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας μάρτυρες.“

6.41.14 | But the strong and blessed pillars of the Lord, strengthened by him, and having received a worthy and equal power and endurance from their strong faith, became wonderful witnesses of his kingdom.

6.41.15 | ὃν πρῶτος Ἰουλιανὸς, ἄνθρωπος ποδαγρὸς, μὴ “στῆναι, μὴ βαδίσαι δυνάμενος, σὺν ἐτέροις δύο τοῖς “φέρουσιν

6.41.15 | Of these, the first was Julian, a man unable to stand or walk, who was brought along with two others who carried

αύτὸν προσήχθη, ὃν ὁ μὲν ἔτερος εύθὺς  
“ἡρνήσατο, ὁ δὲ ἔτερος, Κρονίων ὄνόματι,  
έπικλην “δὲ Εὔνους, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πρεσβύτης  
Ιουλιανὸς, ὅμοι λογήσαντες τὸν κύριον, διὰ  
πάσης τῆς πόλεως μεγί “στης οὕσης, ὡς  
ἴστε, καμήλοις ἐποχούμενοι καὶ “μετέωροι  
μαστιγούμενοι, τέλος ἀσβέστῳ πυρὶ,  
περὶ κεχυμένου τοῦ δήμου παντὸς,  
κατεκάησαν.

6.41.16 | στρα “τιώτης τε αύτοῖς  
ἀπαγομένοις παραστὰς καὶ τοῖς  
“έφυβρίζουσιν ἐναντιωθεὶς, ἐκβοησάντων  
ἐκείνων “προσαχθεὶς ὁ ἀνδρειότατος  
ὁπλομάχος τοῦ θεοῦ “Βησᾶς, κάν τῷ  
μεγάλῳ πολέμῳ τῷ περὶ τῆς εύσε “βείας  
ἀριστεύσας, ἀπετμήθη τὴν κεφαλήν.

6.41.17 | καὶ “τις ἔτερος, τὸ μὲν γένος  
Λίβυς, τὴν δὲ προσηγορίαν “ἄμα καὶ τὴν  
εύλογίαν ἀληθῆς Μάκαρ, προτροπῆς “αὐτῷ  
πολλῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ δικαστοῦ πρὸς ἄρνησιν  
γενο “μένης, οὐχ ὑπαχθεὶς ζῶν  
καταπέφλεκται. Επίμα “χός τε μετ’ αὐτοὺς  
καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος μετὰ πολὺν ὃν “ἔμειναν  
δεσμῶται χρόνον, μυρίας διενεγκόντες  
ἀλγη “δόνας, ξυστῆρας, μάστιγας, πυρὶ  
ἀσβέστῳ καὶ οὗτοι “διεχύθησαν.

6.41.18 | καὶ σὺν αύτοῖς γυναῖκες  
τέσσαρες: “Ἀμμωνάριόν τε ἀγία παρθένος,  
πάνυ φιλονείκως “αύτὴν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ  
δικαστοῦ βασανίσαντος, “ἄτε  
προαποφηναμένην ὅτι μηδὲν ὃν ἔκεīνος  
“φθέγξαιτο, ἀληθεύσασα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν  
ἀπήχθη: “αὶ δὲ λοιπαὶ, ἡ σεμνοτάτῃ  
πρεσβύτις Μερκουρία, “καὶ ἡ πολύπαις μὲν,  
οὐχ ὑπὲρ τὸν κύριον δὲ ‘πήσασα ἐαυτῆς τὰ  
τέκνα Διονυσία, καταιδεσθέντος “εἰς

him. One of them immediately denied, but the other, named Cronion, called himself Eunos. Both the elder Julian and he confessed the Lord, while the whole city was in great turmoil, as you know, being beaten by camels and tortured by the crowd, and in the end, they were burned by unquenchable fire.

6.41.16 | When the soldiers were being led away, and those who were mocking them opposed them, the bravest warrior of God, Besa, was brought forward by their cries. He had excelled in the great battle for piety, and he was beheaded.

6.41.17 | And another, of Libyan descent, whose name and blessing was the true Makarios, was not forced to deny his faith, but was burned alive after much urging from the judge. Along with them was Alexander, who remained in prison for a long time, enduring countless pains, scourges, and unquenchable fire, and these also were scattered.

6.41.18 | And with them were four women: the holy virgin Ammonaria, who was greatly tormented by the judge, since she had previously declared that he would say nothing. After confirming her promise, she was taken away. The others were the most honorable elder Merkuria, and the mother of many, Dionysia, who, not wanting to deny the Lord, was ashamed to see her children tortured. She was still being

άνήνυτον ἔτι βασανίζειν καὶ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν  
ἡττᾶσθαι τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, σιδήρῳ τεθνᾶσι,  
μηκέτι “βασάνων πεῖραν λαβοῦσαι· τὰς  
γὰρ ὑπὲρ πασῶν “ἢ πρόμαχος Ἀμμωνάριον  
ἀναδέδεκτο

tormented and defeated by women, having died by iron, no longer able to endure the tortures. For the champion Ammonaria had received them all.

6.41.19 | Ἡρων δὲ καὶ Ἄτηρ καὶ Ἰσίδωρος  
Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ “σὺν αὐτοῖς παιδάριον ὡς  
πεντεκαιδεκάτης ὁ Διόσ’κορος  
παρεδόθησαν· καὶ πρῶτον τὸ ἀγόριος τε  
ἀπατᾶν ὡς εὐπαράγωγον, καὶ  
“καταναγκάζειν ὡς εὐένδοτον πειρωμένου,  
οὕτε ἐπείσθη οὕτε εἶξεν ὁ Διοσκόρος.

6.41.19 | Heron, Ather, and Isidorus, all Egyptians, along with a boy about fifteen years old named Dioscorus, were handed over. First, they tried to deceive him with words, claiming that he would easily yield, and they pressured him as if he were weak. But Dioscorus was neither persuaded nor did he give in.

6.41.20 | τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς “ἀγριώτατα  
καταξῆνας, ἔγκαρτερήσαντας πυρὶ καὶ  
‘τούτους παραδέδωκε, τὸν δὲ Διόσκορον  
ἔλλαμπρυνάμενόν τε δημοσίᾳ, καὶ  
σοφώτατα πρὸς τὰς ἴδιας πεύσεις  
ἀποκρινάμενον θαυμάσας παρῆκεν,  
ὑπέρθεσιν φήσας εἰς μετάνοιαν αὐτῷ διὰ  
τὴν ἡλικίαν “ἐπιμετρεῖν. καὶ νῦν ὁ  
θεοπρεπέστατος σὺν ἡμῖν “ἔστι Διοσκόρος,  
εἰς μακρότερον τὸν ἄγωνα καὶ  
διαρκέστερον μείνας τὸν ἄθλον.

6.41.20 | But the others, being treated very harshly, endured the fire, and he handed them over as well. Dioscorus, shining in public and responding very wisely to their questions, amazed those present. He said that, because of his age, they should consider him for repentance. And now the most godly Dioscorus is with us, remaining for a longer contest and a lasting reward.

6.41.21 | Νεμεσίων δέ τις, κάκεῖνος  
Αἰγύπτιος, ἐσυκοφαντήθη μὲν ὡς δὴ  
σύνοικος ληστῶκ, ἀπολυσάμενος δὲ  
ταύτην παρὰ τῷ “ἐκατοντάρχῳ τὴν  
ἄλλοτριωτάτην κατ’ αὐτοῦ διαβολὴν,  
καταμηνυθεὶς ὡς Χριστιανὸς ἤκε δεσμώτης  
“ἐπὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον. ὃ δὲ ἀδικώτατος  
διπλαῖς αὐτὸν “ἢ τοὺς ληστὰς ταῖς τε  
βασάνοις καὶ ταῖς μάστιξι “λυμηνάμενος,  
μεταξὺ τῶν ληστῶν κατέφλεξε, τιμῇ “θέντα  
τὸν μακάριον τῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ

6.41.21 | One Nemesion, also an Egyptian, was falsely accused as a companion of robbers. After he was released, he brought this very serious accusation against him to the centurion, having been reported as a Christian and brought in chains to the leader. But the most unjust one tortured him twice as much as the robbers, and among the robbers, he burned him, honoring the blessed one by following the example of Christ.

παραδείγματι. “

6.41.22 | ἀθρόον δέ τι σύνταγμα στρατιωτικὸν, Ἀμμων “καὶ Ζήνων καὶ Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Τιγγένης, καὶ σὺν “αὐτοῖς πρεσβύτης Θεόφιλος, εἰστήκεισαν πρὸ τοῦ “δικαστηρίου· κρινομένου δή τινος ὡς Χριστιανοῦ ‘καὶ πρὸς ἄρνησιν ἥδη ἥπερντος ἐπρίοντο οὗτοι “παρεστηκότες, καὶ τοῖς τε προσώποις ἐνένευον, καὶ “τὰς χεῖρας ἀνέτεινον, καὶ συνεσχηματίζοντο τοῖς σώμασιν.

6.41.23 | ἐπιστροφῆς δὲ πάντων πρὸς αὐτοὺς γενομένης, πρὶν τινας αὐτῶν ἄλλους λαβέσθαι, “φθάσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ βάθρον ἀνέδραμον, εἶναι Χρι“στιανοὶ λέγοντες, ὡς τόν τε ἡγεμόνα καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους ἐμφόβους γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν κρινομένους “εὐθαρσεστάτους ἐφ’ οὓς πείσονται φαίνεσθαι, “δὲ δικάζοντας ἀποδειλιᾶν. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ δικα‘στηρίων ἐνεπόμπευσαν καὶ ἡγαλλιάσαντο τῇ μαρ“τυρίᾳ, θριαμβεύοντος αὐτοὺς ἐνδόξως τού θεοῦ.”

## Section 42

6.42.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 31] “Ἄλλοι δὲ πλεῖστοι “κατὰ κόλεις καὶ κώμας ὑπὸ τῶν ἔθνῶν διεσπάσθη“σαν, ὃν ἐνὸς παραδείγματος ἔνεκεν “μαι. Ἰσχυρίων ἐπετρόπευε τινι τῶν ἀρχόντων μισθῷ. τοῦτον ὁ μισθοδότης ἐκέλευσε θῦσαι, μὴ πειθόμενον ὕβριζεν, ἐμμένοντα προεπηλάκιζεν· ὑφι“σταμένου, βακτηρίαν μεγίστην λαβών, διὰ τῶν ἐντέρων καὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων διώσας ἀπέκτεινε.

6.41.22 | A certain group of soldiers, Ammon, Zenon, Ptolemaeus, and Iggeneus, along with an elder named Theophilus, stood before the court. As someone was being judged as a Christian and was already leaning towards denial, these men were present, signaling with their faces, raising their hands, and shaping their bodies in agreement.

6.41.23 | When everyone turned back to them, before some of them could be taken, they rushed to the platform, declaring that they were Christians. This made both the governor and the judges very afraid. The ones being judged showed great courage, while the judges began to hesitate. These men were honored in the courts and rejoiced in their witness, triumphing gloriously in God.

6.42.1 | Most others were scattered in the valleys and villages by the pagans, of which I will give one example. A strong man was hired by one of the rulers. This hired man ordered him to sacrifice, and when he refused, he insulted him and kept pressing him. As he stood firm, he took a very large stick and killed him, striking through his insides.

6.42.2 | τί δεῖ λέγειν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν ἔρημίαις καὶ ὄρεσι “πλανηθέντων, ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ δίψης καὶ κρύους καὶ νόσων καὶ ληστῶν καὶ θηρίων διεφθαρμένων; ὃν “οἱ περιγενόμενοι τῆς ἐκείνων εἰσὶν ἐκλογῆς καὶ “νίκης μάρτυρες. ἐν δὲ καὶ τούτων εἰς δήλωσιν “ἔργον παραθήσομαι.

6.42.3 | Χαιρήμων ἦν ὑπεργήρως “τῆς Νείλου καλουμένης ἐπίσκοπος πόλεως. “εἰς τὸ Ἀράβιον ὄρος ἅμα τῇ συμβίῳ ἐαυτοῦ φυγὼν “οὐκ ἐπανελήλυθεν, οὐδὲ ἐδυνήθησαν ἵδεῖν οὐκέτι “καίτοι πολλὰ διερευνησάμενοι οἱ ἀδελφοὶ οὕτε αὐτοὺς οὕτε τὰ σώματα.

6.42.4 | πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ κατ’ αύτὸ τὸ “Ἀραβικὸν ὄρος ἔξανδραποδισθέντες ὑπὸ “Σαρακηνῶν, οἱ μὲν μόλις ἐπὶ πολλοῖς χρήμασιν “ἔλυτρώθησαν, οἱ δὲ μέχρι καὶ νῦν οὐδέπω. καὶ ταῦτα διεξῆλθον οὐ μάτην, ἀδελφὲ, ἀλλ’ ἔνα εἰδῆς “ὅσα καὶ ἡλίκα δεινὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν συνέβη· ὃν οἱ μᾶλλον πεπειραμένοι πλείονα ἀν είδειν.’

6.42.5 | εἶτα τούτοις ἐπιφέρει μετὰ βραχέα λέγων ‘αύτοὶ τοίνυν οἱ “θεῖοι μάρτυρες παρ’ ἡμῖν, οἱ νῦν τοῦ “πάρεδροι καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αύτοῦ κοινωνοὶ καὶ “μέτοχοι τῆς κρίσεως αύτοῦ καὶ συνδικάζοντες αύτῷ, “τῶν παραπεπτωκότων ἀδελφῶν τινὰς ὑπευθύνους “τοῖς τῶν θυσιῶν ἐγκλήμασι γενομένους προσελά“βοντο, καὶ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν καὶ μετάνοιαν αύτῶν “ἰδόντες, δεκτήν τε γενέσθαι δυναμένην τῷ μὴ βου“λομένῳ καθόλου τὸν θάνατον τοῦ

6.42.2 | What should we say about the crowd that was lost in the deserts and mountains, destroyed by hunger, thirst, cold, diseases, robbers, and wild animals? Those who survived are witnesses of their choice and victory. I will present one of these deeds as an example.

6.42.3 | Chairemon was an extremely old bishop of the city called Nile. He fled to the Arabian mountain with his wife and did not return. Nor were they ever able to see him again, even though many of the brothers searched for him, both for him and for his body.

6.42.4 | Many were captured in the Arabian mountain by the Saracens. Some were barely freed for a lot of money, while others still have not been freed even now. And these things did not happen without reason, brother, but you should know how many and how terrible things have happened to us; those who are more experienced would know even more.

6.42.5 | Then he added briefly, saying, "So these are the divine witnesses among us, who are now present and share in his kingdom, and are partakers of his judgment, and they are advocating for some of the brothers who have fallen. They came to those responsible for the sins of the sacrifices, and seeing their return and repentance, they were able to accept the one who did not want death at all, as they tested the repentance. They welcomed and

ἀμαρτωλοῦ ὡς “τὴν μετάνοιαν δοκιμάσαντες, εἰσεδέξαντο καὶ συνήγαγον καὶ συνέστησαν, καὶ προσευχῶν αὐτοῖς καὶ “ἐστιάσεων ἐκοινώνησαν.

6.42.6 | τί οὖν ἡμῖν, ἀδελφοὶ, “περὶ τούτων συμβουλεύετε; τί ἡμῖν πρακτέον; σύμψηφοι καὶ ὄμογνώμονες αὐτοῖς καταστῶμεν, καὶ κρίσιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν χάριν φυλάξωμεν, καὶ τοῖς ἐλεηθεῖσιν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν χρηστευσώμεθα, ἢ τὴν κρίσιν “αὐτῶν ἄδικον ποιησώμεθα, καὶ δοκιμαστὰς αὐτοὺς “τῆς ἔκείνων γνώμης ἐπιστήσωμεν, καὶ τὴν χρηστότητα λυπήσωμεν, καὶ τὴν τάξιν ἀνασκευάσωμεν; ταῦτα δὲ εἰκότως ὁ Διονύσιος παρατέθειται, τὸν περὶ τῶν ἔξησθενηκότων κατὰ τὸν τοῦ διωγμοῦ καιρὸν ἀνακινῶν λόγον.

## Section 43

6.43.1 | [ Nic. H. E. VI, 5] Ἐπειδήπερ τῇ κατὰ τούτων ἀρθεὶς ὑπερηφανίᾳ Νοούάτος, τῆς Ψωμαίων ἐκκλησίας πρεσβύτερος, ὡς μηκέτ’ οὕσης αὐτοῖς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδος, μηδ’ εἰ πάντα τὰ εἰς ἐπιστροφὴν γνησίαν καὶ καθαρὰν ἔξιμολόγησιν ἐπιτελοῖεν, ίδίας αἰρέσεως τῶν κατὰ λογισμοῦ φυσίωσιν Καθαροὺς ἐαυτοὺς ἀποφηνάντων ἀρχηγὸς καθίσταται.

6.43.2 | ἐφ’ ᾧ συνόδου μεγίστης ἐπὶ Ψώμης συγκροτηθείσης, ἐξήκοντα μὲν τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπισκόπων, πλειόνων δ’ ἔτι μᾶλλον πρεσβυτέρων τε καὶ διακόνων, ίδίως τε κατὰ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐπαρχίας τῶν κατὰ χώραν ποιμένων περὶ τοῦ πρακτέου

gathered them together, and they shared in their prayers and meals.”

6.42.6 | So what should we do about these things, brothers? What action should we take? Should we stand with them as supporters and agree with them, and keep their judgment and grace safe? Should we treat those who have been shown mercy by them kindly, or should we make their judgment unjust, and disregard their opinion? Should we cause harm to their goodness and disrupt their order? These things are rightly presented by Dionysius, who raises the issue about those who have weakened during the time of persecution.

6.43.1 | Since Nouatus, an elder of the Roman church, was lifted up by pride against these things, claiming that there was no longer any hope of salvation for them, and even if they completed everything for true and pure repentance, he became the leader of those who declare themselves to be pure according to their own reasoning.

6.43.2 | When a great council was gathered in Rome, with sixty bishops and even more elders and deacons, especially from the other provinces where local shepherds were discussing what to do, a decree was presented to all. It declared that Nouatus

διασκεψαμένων, δόγμα παρίσταται τοῖς πᾶσι τὸν μὲν Νοουάτον ἄμα τοῖς αὐτῷ συνεπαρθεῖσι τούς τε συνευδοκεῖν τῇ μισαδέλφῳ καὶ ἀπανθρωποτάτῃ γνώμῃ τάνδρὸς προαιρουμένους ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡγεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ τῇ συμφορᾷ περιπεπτωκότας τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἴσσθαι καὶ θεραπεύειν τοῖς τῆς μετανοίας φαρμάκοις.

and those who agreed with him should lead those who chose to follow a cruel and unkind opinion, while those who had fallen into misfortune among the brothers should be healed and cared for with the remedies of repentance.

6.43.3 | ἦλθον δ' οὖν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπιστολαὶ Κορνηλίου Ὠρμαίων ἐπισκόπου πρὸς τὸν τῆς Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησίας Φάβιον, δηλοῦσαι τὰ περὶ τῆς Ὠρμαίων συνόδου καὶ τὰ δόξαντα πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Ἀφρικὴν καὶ τὰς αὐτόθι χώρας· καὶ ἄλλαι πάλιν Ὠρμαϊκῇ φωνῇ συντεταγμέναι Κυπριανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἅμ' αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἀφρικὴν, δι' ὧν τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς συνευδοκεῖν τῷ δεῖν τυγχάνειν ἐπικουρίας τοὺς πεπειρασμένους ἔφαινετο, καὶ τῷ χρῆναι εὐλόγως τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκκήρυκτον ποιήσασθαι τὸν τῆς αἱρέσεως ἀρχηγὸν, πάντας τε ὁμοίως τοὺς συναπαγομένους αὐτῷ.

6.43.3 | Letters came to us from Cornelius, the bishop of Rome, to Fabius of the church in Antioch. They explained what was happening at the Roman council and what was agreed upon by all in Italy, Africa, and the nearby regions. There were also other letters written in Latin from Cyprian and those with him in Africa, which showed that those experienced in these matters thought it necessary to support them. They believed it was right to declare the leader of the heresy and to include all those who were with him.

6.43.4 | ταύταις ἄλλῃ τις ἐπιστολὴ συνήπτο τοῦ Κορνηλίου περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν σύνοδον ἀρεσάντων, καὶ πάλιν ἐτέρ(??) περὶ τῶν κατὰ Νοουάτον πραχθέντων, ἀφ' ᾧς καὶ μέρη παραθέσθαι ούδεν ἀν κωλύοι, ὅπως είδεῖεν τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν οἱ τῆδε ἐντυγχάνοντες τῇ γραφῇ.

6.43.4 | Another letter from Cornelius was attached, concerning what was pleasing at the council, and again another about what was done regarding Nouatus. From this, nothing would prevent us from presenting parts of it, so that those who come across this writing could know what was said about him.

6.43.5 | τὸν δὴ οὖν Φάβιον ἀναδιδάσκων δοποῦός τις ὁ Νοουάτος ἐγεγόνει τὸν τρόπον αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα γράφει ὁ Κορνήλιος "ἴνα δὲ γνῶς ὅτι πρόπαλαι ὄρεγόμενος "ἐπισκοπῆς θαυμάσιος οὗτος καὶ κρύπτων ἐ "ἔαυτῷ

6.43.5 | So, Cornelius writes to Fabius about how Nouatus came to be. He says, "To let you know that this remarkable man, who was seeking the bishopric, hid his desire for it. He acted under the cover of his

τὴν προπετῆ ταύτην αύτοῦ ἐπιθυμίαν  
έλάν“θανεν, ἐπικαλύμματι τῆς αύτοῦ  
ἀπονοίας τῷ ἀρχὰς σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς  
όμοιογητὰς ἐσχηκέναι χρώμενος, εἴπεῖν  
βούλομαι.

6.43.6 | Μάξιμος, πρεσβύτερος “τῶν παρ’  
ἡμῖν, καὶ Οὐρβανὸς, δὶς τὴν ἐξ ὄμοιογίας  
“δόξαν ἀρίστην καρπωσάμενοι, Σιδώνιός τε  
καὶ Κελερίνος, ἀνὴρ ὃς πάσας βασάνους  
διὰ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ “ἔλεον καρτερικώτατα  
διενέγκας, καὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ τῆς “αύτοῦ πίστεως  
τὸ ἀσθενὲς τῆς σαρκὸς ἐπιρρώσας, “κατὰ  
κράτος νενίκηκε τὸν ἀντικείμενον — οὗτοι  
δὴ “οὖν οἱ ἄνδρες κατανοήσαντες αὐτὸν,  
καὶ καταφωράσαντες τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ  
πανουργίαν τε καὶ παλιμβο“λίαν, τάς τε  
ἐπιορκίας καὶ ψευδολογίας, καὶ τὴν  
“ἀκοινωνησίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ λυκοφιλίαν,  
ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ  
ἄπαντα αὐτοῦ τὰ τεχνά“σματα καὶ  
πονηρεύματα, ἃ ἔκ πολλοῦ ἔχων ἐν ἐαυτῷ  
“ὑπεστέλλετο, παρόντων ἱκανῶν τοῦτο μὲν  
ἐπισκόπῳ“πων, τοῦτο δὲ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ  
λαικόν ἀνδρῶν ‘παμπόλλων, ἔξήγγειλαν  
ἀποδυρόμενοι καὶ μεταγι“νώσκοντες ἐφ’  
οἵς πεισθέντες τῷ δολερῷ καὶ κα“κοήθει  
θηρίῳ πρὸς ὄλιγον χρόνον τῆς ἐκκλησίας  
“ἀπελείφθησαν.”

6.43.7 | εἶτα μετὰ βραχέα φησίν  
“ἀμή“χανον ὅσην, ἀγαπητὲ ἀδελφὲ, τροπήν  
καὶ “ἐν βραχεῖ καιρῷ ἐθεασάμεθα ἐπ’  
αὐτοῦ γεγενημένην. “ὺ γάρ τοι  
λαμπρότατος καὶ δι’ ὅρκων φοβερῶν  
“τινῶν πιστούμενος τὸ μηδ’ ὅλως  
ἐπισκοπῆς ὄρέγε“σθαι, αἰφνίδιον  
ἐπίσκοπος ὡσπερ ἐκ μαγγάνου τινὸς “εἰς  
τὸ μέσον ῥιφεὶς ἀναφαίνεται.

own deceit, using the leaders with him to support his claim, as I want to say."

6.43.6 | Maximus, an elder among us, and Urbanus, having received the best reputation from their confession, along with Sidonius and Kelerinus, a man who endured all kinds of suffering for the mercy of God, and strengthened by the power of his faith, overcame the opposing force. These men, realizing his cunning and deceit, along with his perjury and lies, and his lack of fellowship and wolfish friendship, returned to the holy church. They revealed all his tricks and schemes, which he had long kept hidden within himself, in the presence of many bishops, elders, and laymen. They announced this as they left, confessing that they had been persuaded for a short time by the treacherous and wicked beast of the church.

6.43.7 | Then, after a short time, he says, "Dear brother, we have seen a change that happened quickly. For you are most brilliant and, by certain terrible oaths, believed not to desire the bishopric at all. Suddenly, like someone thrown from a machine, he appears as a bishop."

6.43.8 | οὗτος γάρ τοι "ὸ δογματιστής, ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἐπιστήμης "ὑπερασπιστής, ὅπηνίκα παρασπᾶσθαι τε καὶ ὑφαρ"πάζειν τὴν μὴ δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ ἄνωθεν ἐπισκοπὴν "ἐπεχείρει, δύο δύο ἔαυτῷ κοινωνοὺς ἀπεγνωκότας "ἔαυτῶν σωτηρίας ἐπελέξατο ὡς ὡς ἀν εἰς βραχύ τι "μέρος καὶ ἐλάχιστον τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀποστείλῃ, κάκε"θὲν ἐπισκόπους τρεῖς, ἀνθρώπους ἀγροίκους καὶ "ἀπλουστάτους, πλαστῇ τινι ἐπιχειρήσει ἔξαπατήσῃ, "διαβεβαιούμενος καὶ δισχυριζόμενος δεῖν αὐτοὺς "ἐν τάχει παραγενέσθαι εἰς Ρώμην, ὡς δῆθεν πάσα "ἡτισδηκποτοῦν διχοστασίᾳ γεγονυῖα σὺν καὶ ἐτέροις "ἐπισκόποις καὶ αὐτῶν μεσιτευόντων διαλυθῆ.

6.43.9 | οὓς "παραγενομένους, ἄτε δὴ, ὡς ἔφθημεν λέγοντες, "ἀνθρώπους ἀπλουστέρους περὶ τὰς τῶν πονηρῶν μηχανάς τε καὶ ράδιουργίας, συγκλεισθέντας ὑπό "τινων ὄμοιών αὐτῷ τεταγμένων ἀνθρώπων, ὥρα "δεκάτῃ μεθύοντας καὶ κραιπαλῶντας μετὰ βίας "ήναγκασεν εἰκονικῇ τινι καὶ ματαίᾳ χειρεπιθεσίᾳ "ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτῷ δοῦναι, ἦν ἐνέδρᾳ καὶ πανουργίᾳ, "μή ἐπιβάλλουσαν αὐτῷ, ἔκδικε.

6.43.10 | ἔξ ὧν εῖς μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀποδυρό"μενος καὶ ἔξομολογούμενος τὸ ἔαυτοῦ ἀμάρτημα, "καὶ ἔκοινωνήσαμεν ὡς λαικῷ, ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεηθέντος "παντὸς τοῦ παρόντος λαοῦ. καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν δὲ ἐπὶ"σκόπων διαδόχους εἰς τοὺς τόπους, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν, χειρο' τονήσαντες ἀπεστάλκαμεν.

6.43.8 | For this man, the dogmatist, the defender of church knowledge, when he tried to seize the bishopric that was not given to him from above, chose two desperate companions for his own salvation. He planned to send them to a small and very little part of Italy, and there he would bring in three bishops, simple and rustic men, hoping to deceive them with some kind of trick. He claimed and insisted that they should quickly come to Rome, as if any division that had happened could be resolved with the help of other bishops who were mediating.

6.43.9 | When they arrived, as we said, these simple men, unaware of the wicked schemes and tricks, were trapped by some people like him. At the tenth hour, while they were drunk and staggering, he forced them with some kind of false and foolish gesture to give him the bishopric, which he sought through deceit and cunning, not allowing him to be denied.

6.43.10 | From these, one returned to the church not long after, confessing and admitting his own sin. We communicated with him as laypeople, while he prayed for all the people present. We also elected successors from the other bishops to the places where they were and sent them out.

6.43.11 | ὁ ἔκδικητής οὗν τοῦ "εὐαγγελίου οὐκ ἤπιστατο ἵνα ἐπίσκοπον δεῖν εἶναι ἐν καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἤγνοει πῶς γάρ;) "πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι τεσσαράκοντα ἔξ, διακόνους "ἐπτὰ, ὑποδιακόνους ἐπτὰ, ἀκολούθους δύο καὶ "τεσσαράκοντα, ἔξορκιστὰς δὲ καὶ ἀναγνώστας ἅμα "πυλωροῖς δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα, χήρας σὺν θηλιβομέ"νοις ὑπὲρ τὰς χιλίας πεντακοσίας, οὓς πάντας "τοῦ δεσπότου χάρις καὶ φιλανθρωπία διατρέφει. "

6.43.12 | ὃν οὐδὲ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος καὶ οὕτως ἀναγκαῖον ἐν "τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, διὰ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ προνοίας πλούσιός 'τε καὶ πληθύων ἀριθμὸς μετὰ μεγίστου καὶ ἄνα "ριθμήτου λαοῦ, ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀνεκαλέσατο τε 'καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεως ἐνέτρεψε τε καὶ ἀνεκαλέσατο εἰς "τὴν ἐκκλησίαν."

6.43.13 | καὶ αὖθις μεθ' ἔτερα τούτοις προστίθησι ταῦτα: "φέρε δὴ ἔχης εἴπωμεν τίσιν "ἔργοις ἢ τίσι πολιτείαις τεθαρρηκώς ἀντεποιήθη "τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς. ἄρα γε διὰ τὸ ἔξ ἀρχῆς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀνεστράφθαι, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀγῶνας ὑπὲρ "αὐτῆς ἡγωνίσθαι, καὶ ἐν κινδύνοις πολλοῖς τε καὶ μεγάλοις ἔνεκα τῆς θεοσεβείας γεγονέναι; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν"

6.43.14 | Ὡς γε ἀφορμὴ τοῦ πιστεῦσαι γέγονεν ὁ "σατανᾶς, φοιτήσας εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ οἰκήσας ἐν αὐτῷ χρόνον ἱκανόν. ὃς βοηθούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπορκιστῶν, νόσῳ περιπεσὼν χαλεπῆ, καὶ ἀποθανεῖσθαι ὅσον οὐδέπω νομιζόμενος, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κλίνῃ, ἦ

6.43.11 | The avenger of the gospel did not know that there should be a bishop in the universal church, where he was unaware of how many there should be: forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven subdeacons, two and forty followers, along with exorcists and readers, two and fifty, and widows along with those in distress, more than one thousand five hundred, all of whom are supported by the grace and kindness of the Lord.

6.43.12 | Although there was not such a large number and it was not so necessary in the church, through God's providence, a rich and numerous group with a great and countless people was called together and was turned back and called into the church.

6.43.13 | And again, he adds these things to what was said before: "Come now, let us say next what works or what ways of life have been opposed to the bishopric. Was it not because it was turned upside down in the church from the beginning, and many struggles were fought for it, and because of great and many dangers, it came to be due to piety? But it is not so."

6.43.14 | To him, the devil became an opportunity to believe, having approached him and stayed in him for a long time. He, being helped by the perjurers, fell into a serious illness, and thinking he was about to die, while lying on that very bed where

ἔκειτο, περιχυθεὶς ἔλαβεν· εἴ γε χρὴ λέγειν τὸν τοιοῦτον εἰληφέναι.

he was, he was overwhelmed and received it; if indeed it is right to say that such a one was taken.

6.43.15 | οὐ μὴν ούδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτυχε διαφυγῶν τὴν νόσον, ὃν χρὴ μεταλαμβάνειν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας κανόνα, τοῦ τε σφραγισθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. τούτων δὲ μὴ τυχών πῶς ἀν τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος ἔτυχε;

6.43.15 | Indeed, he did not escape the illness of the others, from whom one must receive according to the rule of the church, and to be sealed by the bishop. And not having received these, how could he have received the holy spirit?

6.43.16 | καὶ πάλιν μετὰ βραχέα φησίν "ὸ διὰ δειλίαν καὶ φιλοζωίαν ἐν τῷ 'καιρῷ τῆς διώξεως πρεσβύτερον εἶναι ἔαυτὸν ἀρνησάμενος. ἀξιούμενος γάρ καὶ παρακαλούμενος ὑπὸ "τῶν διακόνων, ἵν' ἔξελθὼν τοῦ οἰκίσκου, ἐν ᾧ "καθεῖρξεν ἔαυτὸν, βοηθήσῃ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὅσα 'θέμις καὶ ὅσα δυνατὸν πρεσβυτέρῳ "ἀδελφοῖς καὶ ἐπικουρίας δεομένοις βοηθεῖν, τοσοῦ "τον ἀπέσχε τοῦ πειθαρχῆσαι παρακαλοῦσι τοῖς διακόνοις ὡς ὡς καὶ χαλεπαίνοντα ἀπιέναι καὶ "τεσθαι· μὴ γάρ ἔτι βούλεσθαι πρεσβύτερος εἶναι "ἔφη· ἐτέρας γάρ εἶναι φιλοσοφίας ἐραστής."

6.43.16 | And again, shortly after, he says, 'He who, out of cowardice and love of life, denied being a presbyter in the time of persecution. For he was being asked and urged by the deacons to go out of the little house where he had confined himself, so that he could help the brothers as much as was right and as much as a presbyter could help those who were in need of support. But he kept refusing to obey the deacons, as he was angry and wanted to leave, saying, 'I no longer wish to be a presbyter; for I am a lover of a different philosophy.'

6.43.17 | ὑπερβάς δ' ὄλιγα τούτοις πάλιν ἐπιφέρει λέγων "καταλιπών "γάρ ὁ λαμπρὸς οὗτος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐν ᾧ πιστεύσας κατηξιώθη τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου κατὰ "χάριν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ ἐπιθέντος αὐτῷ χειρα εἰς "πρεσβυτερίου κλῆρον, ὃς διακωλυόμενος ὑπὸ παντὸς "τοῦ κλήρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ λαικῶν πολλῶν, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἔξὸν "ἢ τὸν ἐπὶ κλίνης διὰ νόσου περιχυθέντα, ὥσπερ "καὶ οὗτος, εἰς κλῆρόν τινα γενέσθαι, ἡξίωσε συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτῷ τοῦτον μόνον χειροτονῆσαι."

6.43.17 | Having gone beyond these things, he again adds, saying, 'For this bright one left the church of God, in which, having believed, he was deemed worthy of the presbyterate by the grace of the bishop who laid hands on him for the presbyterate. But being hindered by all of the clergy, and also by many laypeople, since it was not allowed for the one on the bed, due to illness, to be ordained into any clergy, he alone was deemed worthy to be ordained.'

6.43.18 | εῖτ' ἄλλο τι χείριστον τούτοις προστίθησι τῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀτοπημάτων, λέγων οὐτως 'ποιήσας γὰρ τὰς προσφορὰς, καὶ διανέμων ἐκάστῳ τῷ μέρος καὶ ἐπιδιδοὺς "τοῦτο, ὅμνύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐλογεῖν τοὺς ταλαιπώρους 'ἀνθρώπους ἀναγκάζει, κατέχων ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς 'χερσὶ τὰς τοῦ λαβόντος, καὶ μὴ ἀφεὶς ἔστ' ἀν "όμνυοντες ἐξ εἴπωσι ταῦτα τοῖς γὰρ ἐκείνου χρήσομαι λόγοις· ὅμοσόν μοι κατὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ "αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μηδέποτέ "με καταλιπεῖν καὶ ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς Κορνήλιον.

6.43.19 | καὶ ὁ ἄθλιος ἀνθρωπος οὐ πρότερον γεύεται, εἰ μὴ πρότερον αὐτῷ καταράσαιτο. καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ 'είπεῖν λαμβάνοντα τὸν ἄρτον ἐκεῖνον τὸ ἀμήν 'οὐκ"ἔτι ἀνήξω πρὸς Κορνήλιον λέγει."

6.43.20 | καὶ μεθ' ἔτερα πάλιν ταῦτά φησιν "ἢδη δὲ ἵσθι γεγυμνῶσθαι "καὶ ἔρημον γεγονέναι, καταλιμπανόντων αὐτὸν καθ' "ἡμέραν ἐκάστην τῶν ἀδελφῶν, καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπανερχομένων. ὃν καὶ Μωυσῆς ὁ μακάριος μάρτυς, ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν ἔναγχος μαρτυρήσας καλήν "τινα καὶ θαυμαστὴν μαρτυρίαν, ἔτι ὅν ἐν κόσμῳ, "κατιδῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν θρασύτητα καὶ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν, "ἀκοινώνητον ἐποίησε σὺν τοῖς πέντε πρεσβυτέροις 'τοῖς ἄμα αὐτῷ ἀποσχίσασιν ἐαυτοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας."

6.43.21 | καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῶν ἐπὶ Ψώμης παραγενομένων ἐπισκόπων τῆς τε τοῦ Νοουάτου κατεγνωκότων

6.43.18 | Then he adds something even worse about the man's misdeeds, saying this: 'For after making the offerings and distributing to each one their share, instead of blessing the suffering people, he forces them to swear, holding both hands of the one receiving, and not allowing them to speak these things unless they use his words: 'Swear to me by the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ that you will never leave me and return to Cornelius.'

6.43.19 | And the wretched man does not taste [the bread] unless he first curses him. And instead of saying, when he takes that bread, 'Amen,' he says, 'I will no longer go to Cornelius.'

6.43.20 | And after other things, he says again, 'Now know that he has been stripped bare and has become desolate, as the brothers leave him each day, while they return to the church. This man, blessed Moses, who bore witness among us, having given a beautiful and wonderful testimony while still in the world, seeing his boldness and recklessness, made himself unapproachable along with the five elders who separated themselves from the church.'

6.43.21 | And at the end of the letter, a list is made of the bishops who came to Rome, condemning the wickedness of Noatus,

άβελτερίας κατάλογον πεποίηται, όμοῦ τά  
τε όνόματα καὶ ἡς ὁ καθεῖς αὐτῶν  
προηγεῖτο παροικίας ἐπισημανόμενος.

6.43.22 | τῶν τε μὴ παραγενομένων μὲν ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τῆς Ρώμης, συνευδοκησάντων δὲ διὰ  
γραμμάτων τῇ τῶν προειρημένων ψήφῳ,  
τὰς προσηγορίας όμοῦ καὶ τὰς πόλεις ὅθεν  
ἐκαστος ὄρμώμενος ἐπέστελλε μνημονεύει.  
ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Κορνήλιος Φαβίώ Αντιοχείας  
ἐπισκόπῳ δηλῶν ἔγραψε.

## Section 44

6.44.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 6] Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ  
Φαβίώ ὑποκατακλινομένῳ πως τῷ  
σχίσματι καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ κατ'  
Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπιστείλας, πολλά τε καὶ  
ἄλλα περὶ μετανοίας ἐν τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν  
γράμμασι διελθών, τῶν τε κατ'  
Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἔναγχος τότε  
μαρτυρησάντων τοὺς ἀγῶνας διιών, μετὰ  
τῆς ἄλλης ἱστορίας πρᾶγμά τι μεστὸν  
Θαύματος διηγεῖται, ὁ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναγκαῖον  
τῇδε παραδοῦναι τῇ γραφῇ, οὕτως ἔχον

6.44.2 | ἐν δέ σοι τοῦτο παράδειγμα παρ'  
“ἡμῖν συμβεβηκός ἐκθήσομαι. Σαραπίων  
τις ἦν “παρ’ ἡμῖν πιστὸς γέρων, ἀμέμπτως  
μὲν τὸν πολὺν “διαβιώσας χρόνον, ἐν δὲ τῷ  
πειρασμῷ πεσών. οὗτος ‘πολλάκις ἐδεῖτο,  
καὶ οὐδεὶς προσεῖχεν αὐτῷ, καὶ “γάρ  
ἔτεθύκει· ἐν νόσῳ δὲ γενόμενος τριῶν ἔξις  
ἡμερῶν ἄφωνος καὶ ἀναίσθητος διετέλεσε.

6.44.3 | βραχὺ δὲ ἀνασφήλας τῇ τετάρτῃ  
προσεκαλέσατο τὸν θυγατριδοῦν, καὶ

along with the names of each one and the  
parish they led, being marked clearly.

6.43.22 | And for those who did not come to  
Rome, they agreed through letters with the  
vote of those mentioned before, noting  
together their titles and the cities from  
which each one was sending a message.  
These things were written by Cornelius to  
Fabious, the bishop of Antioch.

6.44.1 | To the same Fabious, who was  
somehow leaning towards the schism,  
Dionysius, the one from Alexandria, wrote  
a letter. He discussed many other things  
about repentance in his letters to him, and  
he also went through the struggles of those  
who had recently testified in Alexandria.  
Along with the other history, he tells  
something full of wonder, which is also  
necessary to pass on to this writing, as it  
stands.

6.44.2 | Let me give you this example that  
happened among us. There was a certain  
old man named Sarapion, who was faithful  
among us. He lived a long time without  
blame, but he fell during a trial. This man  
often asked for help, but no one paid  
attention to him, even though he was being  
cared for. After becoming ill, he was silent  
and unresponsive for three days.

6.44.3 | Then, after a short while, he called  
for his daughter on the fourth day and said,

"μέχρι τίνος, φησὶν, ώ τέκνον, με κατέχετε;  
δέομαι, σπεύσατε, καὶ με θᾶττον  
ἀπολύσατε, τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μοί τινα  
κάλεσον." καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν πάλιν ἦν  
ἄφωνος.

'Until when, oh my child, will you hold me?  
I beg you, hurry, and release me sooner.  
Call one of the elders for me.' After saying  
this, he was silent again.

6.44.4 | ἔδραμεν ὁ παῖς ἐπὶ τὸν  
πρεσβύτερον· νὺξ δὲ ἦν, κάκεινος ἡσθένει.  
ἀφικέσθαι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐδυνήθη, ἐντολῆς  
δὲ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δεδομένης, τοὺς  
ἀπαλλαττομένους τοῦ βίου, εἰ δέοιντο, καὶ  
μάλιστα εἰ καὶ πρότερον ἱκετεύσαντες  
τύχοιεν, ἀφίεσθαι, ἵν' εὐέλπιδες  
ἀπαλλάττωνται, βραχὺ τῆς εὐχαριστίας  
ἔδωκεν τῷ παιδαρίῳ, ἀποβρέξαι βρέξαι  
κελεύσας καὶ τῷ πρεσβύτῃ κατὰ τοῦ  
στόματος ἐπιστάξαι.

6.44.4 | The boy ran to the elder. It was  
night, and he was weak. Therefore, he could  
not arrive, but I had given the order that  
those who were being released from life, if  
they asked, especially if they had  
previously begged, should be let go, so that  
they might depart with good hope. He gave  
a little of the thanks to the boy, telling him  
to sprinkle water and to pour it over the  
elder's mouth.

6.44.5 | ἐπανῆκεν ὁ παῖς φέρων ἔγγυς τε  
γενομένου, πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν, ἀνενέγκας πάλιν  
ὁ Σαραπίων, ἥκεις, ἔφη, τέκνον; καὶ ὁ μὲν  
πρεσβύτερος ἐλθεῖν ούκ ἡδυνήθη, σὺ δὲ  
ποίησον ταχέως τὸ προσταχθὲν, καὶ  
ἀπάλλαττέ με. ἀπέβρεξεν ὁ παῖς καὶ ἄμα τε  
ἐνέχεε τῷ στόματι καὶ μικρὸν ἕκεῖνος  
καταβροχθίσας εὐθέως ἀπέδωκε τὸ  
πνεῦμα.

6.44.5 | The boy returned carrying [the  
water]. When he got close, before entering,  
Sarapion said again, "Are you here, my  
child?" The elder could not come in, but  
you should quickly do what was ordered  
and release me. The boy sprinkled [the  
water] and at the same time poured it into  
his mouth, and after he swallowed a little,  
he immediately breathed his last.

6.44.6 | ἄρ' οὐκ ἐναργῶς διετηρήθη καὶ  
παρέμεινεν, ἔως λυθῆ, καὶ τῆς ἀμαρτίας  
ἔξαλειφθείσης ἐπὶ πολλοῖς οἷς ἔπραξε  
καλοῖς ὅμολογηθῆναι δυνηθῆ; ταῦτα ὁ  
Διονύσιος.

6.44.6 | "Was he not clearly kept and  
remained until he was released, and after  
his sins were wiped away, could he not be  
acknowledged for many good things he  
did?" This is what Dionysius said.

## Section 45

6.45.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 4] "Ιδωμεν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς  
δποῖα καὶ τῷ Νοουάτῳ διεχάραξε,

6.45.1 | Let us see what the same person  
wrote to Nouat, troubling the brotherhood

ταράττοντι τηνικάδε τὴν Ρωμαίων  
ἀδελφότητα. ἐπειδὴ οὖν τῆς ἀποστασίας  
καὶ τοῦ σχίσματος πρόφασιν ἐποιεῖτο τῶν  
ἀδελφῶν τινας, ὡς δὴ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τοῦτ' ἐλθεῖν ἐκβεβιασμένος, ὅρα τίνα  
τρόπον αὐτῷ γράφει· "Διοινύσιος  
"Νοουάτῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαιρεῖν. εἰ ἄκων, ὡς  
φῆς, ἦχθης, δείξεις, ἔαν ἀναχωρήσῃς ἑγών.  
ἔδει μὲν γὰρ "καὶ πάντας τὸν παθεῖν ὑπὲρ  
τοῦ μὴ διακόψαι τὴν ἐκ" κλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ,  
καὶ ἦν οὐκ ἀδοξοτέρα τῆς ἔνεκεν "τοῦ μὴ  
εἰδωλολατρῆσαι γινομένης ἢ ἔνεκεν τοῦ μὴ  
σχίσαι μαρτυρίᾳ, κατ' ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ μείζων.  
ἔκει μὲν "γὰρ ὑπὲρ μιᾶς τις τῆς ἐαυτοῦ  
ψυχῆς, ἐνταῦθα δὲ "ὑπὲρ ὅλης τῆς  
ἐκκλησίας μαρτυρεῖ. καὶ νῦν δὲ εἰ "πείσαις  
ἢ βιάσαι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς εἰς ὁμόνοιαν  
ἔλθειν, μείζον ἔσται σοι τοῦ σφάλματος τὸ  
κατόρθωμα, "καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐ λογισθήσεται,  
τὸ δὲ ἐπαινεθήσεται. "εἰ δὲ ἀπειθούντων  
ἀδυνατοίης, σώζων σῶζε τὴν "σεαυτοῦ  
ψυχήν. ἐρρῶσθαί σε ἔχόμενον τῆς εἰρήνης  
'ἐν κυρίῳ εὔχομαι.' ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς τὸν  
Νοουάτον.

## Section 46

6.46.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 6] Γράφει δὲ καὶ τοῖς  
κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἐπιστολὴν περὶ μετανοίας,  
ἐν ᾧ τὰ δόξαντα αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν  
ὑποπεπτωκότων παρατέθειται, τάξεις  
παραπτωμάτων διαγράψας.

6.46.2 | καὶ πρὸς Κόνωνα τῆς  
Ἐρμουπολιτῶν δὲ παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος ἦν  
οὗτος) ἴδια τις περὶ μετανοίας αὐτοῦ  
φέρεται γραφὴ, καὶ ἄλλη ἐπιστρεπτικὴ  
πρὸς τὸ κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ποίμνιον αὐτοῦ.  
ἐν τούτοις ἔστι καὶ ἡ περὶ μαρτυρίου πρὸς  
τὸν Ὄριγένην γραφεῖσα, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ  
Λαοδίκειαν ἀδελφοῖς, ὃν προίστατο

of the Romans in this way. Since he was making an excuse for the division and schism of some brothers, as if he was forced to come to them, look at what he writes to him: 'Dionysius sends greetings to his brother Nouat. If you are unwilling, as you say, you will show it if you withdraw. For it was necessary to suffer anything to avoid breaking the church of God, and it was not less disgraceful to avoid idolatry than to avoid schism, and in my view, it is even greater. For there, he bears witness for his own soul, but here he bears witness for the whole church. And now, if you persuade or force the brothers to come to unity, your success will be greater than your failure, and the failure will not be counted, but the success will be praised. But if they refuse, save your own soul. I wish you to be strong, holding on to the peace in the Lord.' This is what he wrote to Nouat.

6.46.1 | He also writes a letter to those in Egypt about repentance, in which he lays out what he thinks about those who have fallen, having written down the different kinds of sins.

6.46.2 | And this person was also a bishop of the community of Hermopolis. A certain letter about repentance is said to be written by him, and another letter of encouragement to his flock in Alexandria. Among these is the one about martyrdom written to Origen, and to the brothers in Laodicea, where Thalymides was the

Θηλυμίδρης ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ Ἀρμενίαν ὡσαύτως περὶ μετανοίας ἐπιστέλλει, ὃν ἐπεσκόπευε Μερουζάνης.

6.46.3 | πρὸς ἄπασι τούτοις καὶ Κορνηλίῳ τῷ κατὰ Ῥώμην γράφει, δεξάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν κατὰ τοῦ Νοούάτου ἐπιστολὴν, ὃ καὶ σημαίνει δηλῶν ἐαυτὸν παρακεκλῆσθαι ὑπὸ τε Ἐλένου τοῦ ἐν Ταρσῷ τῆς Κιλικίας ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν λοιπὸν τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, Φιρμιλλιανοῦ τε τοῦ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ καὶ τού κατὰ Παλαιστίνην Θεοκτίστου, ὡς ἀν ἐπὶ τὴν σύνοδον ἀπαντήσοι τὴν κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν, ἵνθα τοῦ Νοούάτου κρατύνειν τινὲς ἐπεχείρουν τὸ σχίσμα.

6.46.4 | πρὸς τούτοις ἐπιστέλλει μηνυθῆναι αὐτῷ Φάβιον μὲν κεκοιμῆσθαι, Δημητριανὸν δὲ διάδοχον ἔκείνου τῆς κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπισκοπῆς καθεστάναι. γράφει δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις αὐτοῖς ḥήμασι φάσκων "ὸ μὲν γὰρ "μακάριος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν φρουρᾷ γενόμενος μακα"ρίως ἀνεπαύσατο."

6.46.5 | ἔξῆς ταύτῃ καὶ ἐτέρα τις ἐπιστολὴ τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῦ Διονυσίου φέρεται διακονικὴ διὰ Ἰππολύτου. τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἄλλην περὶ εἰρήνης διατυποῦται, καὶ ὡσαύτως περὶ μετανοίας, καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἄλλην τοῖς ἐκεῖσε δύμολογηταῖς, ἔτι τῇ τοῦ Νοούάτου συμφερομένοις γνώμῃ. τοῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἐτέρας δύο μεταθεμένοις ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιστέλλει. καὶ ἄλλοις δὲ πλειόσιν δύμοιώς διὰ γραμμάτων δύμιλήσας ποικίλας τοῖς ἔτι νῦν σπουδὴν περὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ποιουμένοις καταλέλοιπεν ὡφελείας.

bishop. He also writes about repentance to those in Armenia, where Meruzanes was the bishop.

6.46.3 | To all of these, he also writes to Cornelius in Rome, having received from him the letter about Nouat. He also indicates that he has been called by both Helen, the bishop in Tarsus of Cilicia, and the others with him, including Firmilian in Cappadocia and Theoctistus in Palestine, so that he might meet at the council in Antioch, where some were trying to strengthen the schism of Nouat.

6.46.4 | To these, he writes that he has been informed that Fabius has died, and that Demetrian has been appointed as his successor to the bishopric in Antioch. He also writes about what has been said to them in Jerusalem, stating, 'For the blessed Alexander, having become a guard, has peacefully rested.'

6.46.5 | Next, another letter from Dionysius is said to be sent to those in Rome through Hippolytus. To the same people, another letter about peace is written, and similarly about repentance, and again another to the confessors there, still agreeing with the opinion of Nouat. To these same people, he sends two more letters to the church. And to many others, he has also communicated through letters, leaving behind various benefits for those who are still making an effort regarding his words.

## Book Seven (ΛΟΓΟΣ Ζ.)

### Introduction

7.praef.1 | [Προοίμιον] Τὸν ἔβδομον τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας αῦθις ὁ μέγας ἡμῖν Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐπίσκοπος Διονύσιος ἴδιαις φωναῖς συνεκπονήσει, τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν πεπραγμένων ἔκαστα ἐν μέρει δι' ὧν καταλέλοιπεν ἐπιστολῶν ὑφηγούμενος. ἐμοὶ δὲ ὁ λόγος ἐντεῦθεν ποιήσεται τὴν ἀρχήν.

7.praef.1 | [Introduction] The seventh of the church history will again be composed by the great bishop of Alexandria, Dionysius, in his own words, discussing each matter that has happened through the letters he has left behind. For me, the account will begin from here.

### Section 1

7.1.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 43] Δέκιον οὐδ' ὅλον ἐπικρατήσαντα δυοῖν ἑτοῖν χρόνον, αὐτίκα τε ἄμα παισὶ κατασφαγέντα Γάλλος διαδέχεται. Ὡριγένης ἐν τούτῳ ἐνὸς δέοντα τῆς ζωῆς ἔβδομήκοντα ἀποπλήσας ἔτη τελευτᾶς γράφων γέ τοι ὁ Διονύσιος Ἐρμάμμιων περὶ τοῦ Γάλλου ταῦτα φάσκει "ἄλλ" οὐδὲ Γάλλος ἔγνω τὸ Δεκίου κακὸν, οὐδὲ προεσκόπησε τί ποτ' ἐκεῖνον ἔσφηλεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ γενόμενον ἔπταισε λίθον. ὃς εὖ φερομένης αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ κατὰ νοῦν χωρούντων τῶν πραγμάτων, τοὺς Ἱεροὺς ἄνδρας περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ὑγιείας πρεσβεύοντας 'βεύοντας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἥλασεν. οὐκοῦν σὺν ἐκείνοις ἐδίωξε καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ προσευχάς." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦδε.

7.1.1 | [Nic. H. E. V, 43] Decius did not hold power for a full two years, and immediately after, the Gallic man was killed along with children. In this time, Origen, having lived seventy years, passed away. Dionysius writes to Hermammon about the Gallic man, saying, 'But neither did the Gallic man recognize the evil of Decius, nor did he foresee what would happen to him, but he stumbled over a stone that was right in front of his eyes. He, having been well-prepared for the kingdom, and with the affairs going according to plan, had the holy men praying for his peace and health, and he fled to God. Therefore, along with them, he also pursued prayers for himself.' This is what is said about this matter.

### Section 2

7.2.1 | [Nic. H. E VI, 7] Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν Κορνηλίου ἔτεσιν ἀμφὶ τὰ τρία τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διανύσαντος Λούκιος κατέστη διάδοχος, μησὶ δ' οὐδ' ὅλοις οὐτος

7.2.1 | [Nic. H. E VI, 7] During the time of Cornelius in the city of the Romans, after three years of his episcopate, Lucius became his successor. And he did not hand

οὗτος ὁκτὼ τῇ Στεφάνῳ τελευτῶν  
μεταδίδωσι τὸν κλῆρον. τούτῳ τὴν πρώτην  
ὸ Διονύσιος τῶν περὶ βαπτίσματος  
έπιστολῶν διατυποῦται, ζητήματος οὐ  
μικροῦ τηνικάδε ἀνακινηθέντος, εἰ δέοι  
τοὺς ἔξ οἰας δ' οὖν αἰρέσεως  
έπιστρέφοντας διὰ λουτροῦ καθαίρειν,  
παλαιοῦ γέ τοι κεκρατηκότος ἔθους ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τῶν τοιούτων μόνῃ χρῆσθαι τῇ διὰ χειρῶν  
έπιθεσεως εὔχῃ.

over the office to all eight of those who were with Stephen. To him, Dionysius first writes about the letters concerning baptism, as a significant question was raised about whether it is necessary to cleanse those who turn back from heresies through baptism. It was an old custom to use only the laying on of hands in prayer for such cases.

### Section 3

7.3.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 7] Πρῶτος τῶν τότε Κυπριανὸς τῆς κατὰ Καρχηδόνα παροικίας ποιμὴν οὐδ' ἄλλως ἢ διὰ λουτροῦ πρότερον τῆς πλάνης ἀποκαθηραμένους προσίεσθαι δεῖν ἡγεῖτο. ἀλλ' ὅ γε Στέφανος, μὴ δεῖν τι νεώτερον παρὰ τὴν κρατήσασαν ἀρχῆθεν παράδοσιν ἐπικαινοτομεῖν οἴόμενος, ἐπὶ τούτῳ διηγανάκτει.

7.3.1 | [Nic. H. E VI, 7] The first of those at that time was Cyprian, the bishop of the community in Carthage, who believed that those who had been led astray should be received only through baptism. But Stephen, thinking that nothing new should be introduced beyond the tradition that had been established from the beginning, opposed him on this matter.

### Section 4

7.4.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 7] Πλεῖστα δὴ οὖν αὐτῷ περὶ τούτου διὰ γραμμάτων ὁ Διονύσιος διμιήσας τελευτῶν δηλοῖ ὡς ἄρα τοῦ διωγμοῦ λελωφηκότος αἱ πανταχόσε έκκλησίαι τὴν κατὰ Νοούάτον ἀποστραφεῖσαι νεωτεροποιίαν είρήνην πρὸς ἑαυτὰς ἀνειλήφεσαν. γράφει δὲ ὡδε·

7.4.1 | [Nic. H. E VI, 7] Therefore, Dionysius, after discussing this matter in letters, finally shows that when the persecution was known, all the churches everywhere turned away from the innovations against Novatian and sought peace among themselves. He writes as follows:

### Section 5

7.5.1 | “Ισθι δὲ νῦν, ἀδελφὲ, ὅτι ἥνωνται “αἱ πρότερον διεσχισμέναι κατά τε τὴν “έκκλησίαι καὶ ἔτι προσωτέρω. καὶ πάντες εἰσὶν “ὸμόφρονες οἱ πανταχοῦ προεστῶτες,

7.5.1 | Now, brother, know that those who were previously divided are being joined together in the churches, and even more so. And all the leaders everywhere are of one

χαίροντες καθ' "ùπερβολὴν ἐπὶ τῇ παρὰ προσδοκίαν εἰρήνῃ γενο"μένη,  
Δημητριανὸς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, Θεόκτιστος ἐν  
"Καισαρείᾳ, Μαζαβάνης ἐν Αἴλιᾳ, Μαρίνος  
ἐν Τυρῷ 'κοιμηθέντος Ἀλεξάνδρου,  
Ἡλιόδωρος ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ "ἀναπαυσαμένου  
Θηλυμίδρου, "Ἐλενος ἐν Ταρσῷ καὶ 'πᾶσαι  
αἱ τῆς Κιλικίας ἐκκλησίαι, Φιρμιλλιανὸς καὶ  
πᾶσα Καππαδοκία. τοὺς 'γὰρ  
περιφανεστέρους μό"νους τῶν ἐπισκόπων  
ώνομασα, ἵνα μήτε μῆκος τῇ "ἐπιστολῇ  
μήτε βάρος προσάψω τῷ λόγῳ.

mind, rejoicing greatly at the unexpected peace that has come about. Demetrianus in Antioch, Theoctistus in Caesarea, Mazabanes in Aelia, Marinus in Tyre after Alexander had fallen asleep, Heliodorus in Laodicea after Thylimidrus had rested, Helenus in Tarsus, and all the churches of Cilicia, Firmilian and all of Cappadocia. For I have named only the most prominent of the bishops, so that I do not add length to the letter or weight to the message.

7.5.2 | αἱ "μέντοι Συρίαι ὅλαι καὶ ἡ Ἀραβία,  
οἵς ἐπαρκεῖτε 'ἐκάστοτε καὶ οἵς νῦν  
ἐπεστείλατε, ἥτε Μεσοποταμία, 'Πόντος τε  
καὶ Βιθυνία καὶ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν  
ἀγαλ"λιῶνται πάντες πανταχοῦ τῇ ὄμονοίᾳ  
καὶ φιλαδελ"φίᾳ, δοξάζοντες τὸν θεόν."

7.5.2 | Indeed, all of Syria and Arabia, to whom you have sent letters, as well as Mesopotamia, Pontus, and Bithynia, are all rejoicing everywhere in unity and brotherly love, praising God.

7.5.3 | ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Διονύσιος. Στέφανον δ'  
ἐπὶ δυσὶν ἀποπλήσαντα τὴν λειτουργίαν  
ἔτεσι Ξύστος διαδέχεται. τούτῳ δευτέρῳ ὁ  
Διονύσιος περὶ βαπτίσματος ἐγχαράξας  
ἐπιστολὴν ὄμοιον τὴν Στεφάνου καὶ τῶν  
λοιπῶν ἐπισκόπων γνώμην τε καὶ κρίσιν  
δηλοῖ, περὶ τοῦ Στεφάνου λέγων ταῦτα·

7.5.3 | These things are from Dionysius. Stephen, after completing the liturgy for two years, is succeeded by Xystus. To him, Dionysius wrote a second letter about baptism, showing the opinion and judgment of Stephen and the other bishops, saying these things about Stephen:

7.5.4 | "ἐπεστάλκει μὲν οὖν πρότερον καὶ  
"περὶ Ἐλένου καὶ περὶ Φιρμιλλιανοῦ καὶ  
πάντων "τῶν τε ἀπὸ Κιλικίας καὶ Γαλατίας  
καὶ πάντων τῶν "ἐξῆς ὄμορούντων ἔθνῶν,  
ώς οὐδὲ ἔκείνοις κοινωνήσων διὰ τὴν  
αὐτὴν ταύτην αἰτίαν, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς  
"αἱρετικὸν, φησὶν, ἀναβαπτίζουσι.

7.5.4 | He had previously sent letters about Helen and Firmilian and all those from Cilicia and Galatia and all the neighboring nations, saying that he would not share with them for the same reason, since they are rebaptizing the heretics.

7.5.5 | καὶ σκόπει "τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ  
πράγματος. ὅντως γὰρ δόγματα "περὶ

7.5.5 | And consider the seriousness of the matter. For indeed, there have been

τούτου γέγονεν ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις τῶν ἐπισκόπων συνόδοις, ὡς πυνθάνομαι, ὥστε τοὺς προσιόντας “ἀπὸ αἰρέσεως, προκατηχηθέντας, εἴτα ἀπολούσασθαι “καὶ ἀνακαθαίρεσθαι τὸν τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ ἀκαθάρτου “ζύμης ρύπον. καὶ περὶ τούτων αὐτοῦ πάντων δεόμε‘νος ἐπέστειλα.” 6

teachings about this in the greatest councils of the bishops, as I hear, so that those coming from heresy, after being instructed, are then to be washed and cleansed from the filth of the old and unclean leaven. And about all these things, I am asking and have sent [this letter].

7.5.6 | καὶ μεθ' ἔτερά φησι “καὶ ἄγαπητοῖς δὲ ήμῶν καὶ συμπρεσβυτέροις Διονυσίῳ “καὶ Φιλήμονι, συμψήφοις πρότερον Στεφάνῳ γενο“μένοις, καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μοι γράφουσι, πρότερον “μὲν ὄλιγα, καὶ νῦν δὲ διὰ πλειόνων ἐπέστειλα.” ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ δηλουμένου ζητήματος.

7.5.6 | And he says in another part, 'And to our beloved fellow presbyters Dionysius and Philemon, who had previously voted with Stephen, they are writing to me about the same things, first a few, and now I have sent more.' But these things are about the matter being discussed.

## Section 6

7.6.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 7] Σημαίνων δὲ ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ Σαβέλλιον αἱρετικῶν ὡς κατ' αὐτὸν ἐπιπολαζόντων ταῦτά φησι “περὶ γὰρ τοῦ νῦν “κινηθέντος ἐν τῇ Πτολεμαίδι τῆς Πενταπόλεως “δόγματος, ὅντος ἀσεβοῦς καὶ βλασφημίαν πολλὴν “ἔχοντος περὶ τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ, πατρὸς τοῦ κυρίου ήμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀπιστίαν τε πολλὴν περὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς παιδὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ πρωτοτόκου πάσης κτίσεως, τοῦ ἐνανθρωπήσαντος λόγου, ἀναισθησίαν δὲ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος, ἐλθόντων ἐκατέ“πωθεν πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ προγραμμάτων καὶ τῶν διαλεξιμένων ἀδελφῶν, ἐπέστειλά τινα ὡς ἐδυνήθην, παρασχόντος τοῦ Θεοῦ, διδασκαλικώτερον ὑφηγούμενος, ὃν τὰ ἀντίγραφα ἔπειμψά σοι.

7.6.1 | And he indicates in the same context about the heretics concerning Sabellius, saying this: 'For concerning the doctrine that has now arisen in Ptolemaïs of the Pentapolis, which is impious and full of blasphemy about the Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and much disbelief about his only-begotten Son and firstborn of all creation, the Word who became human, and insensitivity of the Holy Spirit, I have sent some things as I was able, with God's help, explaining them more as a teacher, of which I have sent you copies.'

## Section 7

7.7.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 8] Καὶ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ περὶ βαπτίσματος, ἣν Φιλήμονι τῷ κατὰ Ρώμην πρεσβυτέρῳ ὁ αὐτὸς γράφει Διονύσιος, ταῦτα παρατίθεται “έγὼ δὲ καὶ τοῖς συντάγμασι καὶ ταῖς παραδόσεσι τῶν αἱρετικῶν ἐνέτυχον, χραίνων μέν μου πρὸς ὀλίγον τὴν ψυχὴν ταῖς παμμιάροις αὐτῶν “ἐνθυμήσεσιν, ὅνησιν δ' οὖν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ταύτην λαμβάνων, τὸ ἔξελέγχειν αὐτοὺς παρ' ἐμαυτῷ, καὶ πολὺ πλέον βδελύττεσθαι.

7.7.2 | καὶ δή τινος ἀδελφοῦ “τῶν πρεσβυτέρων με ἀπείργοντος καὶ δεδιττομένου “συμφύρεσθαι τῷ τῆς πονηρίας αὐτῶν βορβόρῳ· “λυμανεῖσθαι γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν ἔμαυτοῦ, καὶ ἀληθῆ “γε λέγοντος, ὡς ἡσθόμην· ὅραμα θεόπεμπτον προσ“ελθὸν ἐπέρρωσέ με.

7.7.3 | καὶ λόγος πρός με γενό“μενος προσέταξε διαρρήδην λέγων, πᾶσιν ἐντύγχανε “οῖς ἀν εἰς χεῖρας λάβοις· διευθύνειν γὰρ ἔκαστα “καὶ δοκιμάζειν ἵκανὸς εῖ, καί σοι γέγονε τοῦτο ἔξ “ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς πίστεως αἴτιον. ἀπεδεξάμην τὸ ὅραμα, “ὡς ἀποστολικῆ φωνῇ συντρέχον τῇ λεγούσῃ πρὸς “τοὺς δυνατωτέρους, γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τρακπεζῖται.”

7.7.4 | εἴτα τινα περὶ πασῶν είπων τῶν αἱρέσεων ἐπιφέρει λέγων “τοῦτον ἔγὼ τὸν κανόνα καὶ τὸν τύπον “παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίου πάπα ἡμῶν Ἡρακλᾶ παρέλαβον. “τοὺς γὰρ προσιόντας ἀπὸ τῶν αἱρέσεων, καίτοι τῆς “ἐκκλησίας ἀποστάντας, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ ἀποστάντας, “ἄλλὰ συνάγεσθαι μὲν δοκοῦντας, καταμηνύθεντας “δὲ ὡς

7.7.1 | And in the third letter about baptism, which Dionysius writes to Philemon, the presbyter in Rome, he presents these things: 'I have encountered both the teachings and traditions of the heretics, causing my soul to suffer a little from their very harmful thoughts, but taking this benefit from them, I have been examining them within myself and have become much more disgusted by them.'

7.7.2 | And indeed, when a certain brother among the presbyters was preventing me and was afraid to be mixed up with their wicked filth, for it would pollute my own soul, and truly saying that I felt this, a vision sent by God came to me and strengthened me.

7.7.3 | And a voice came to me, commanding clearly, 'You will encounter all those whom you may take into your hands; for you are capable of directing and testing each thing, and this has been given to you from the beginning as the cause of your faith.' I accepted the vision, as if it were an apostolic voice joining with the one saying to the more powerful, 'Become worthy of the table.'

7.7.4 | Then, speaking about all the heresies, he brings forward saying, 'I have received this rule and pattern from our blessed pope Heraclas. For those who come from the heresies, although they have departed from the church, or rather, not even having departed, but appearing to gather together, having been reported as

προσφοιτῶντάς τινι τῶν  
έτεροδιδασκαλούντων, “ἀπελάσας τῆς  
έκκλησίας, δεομένους οὐ προσήκατο, “ἔως  
δημοσίᾳ πάντα ὅσα ἡκηκόεσαν παρὰ τοῖς  
άντι“διατιθεμένοις ἔξεφρασαν, καὶ τότε  
συνήγαγεν αὐτοὺς, “οὐ δεηθεὶς ἐπ’ αὐτῶν  
έτέρου βαπτίσματος· τοῦ γάρ “ἄγιου  
πρότερον παρ’ αὐτοῦ τετυχήκεσν.”

approaching some of the false teachers, he removed them from the church, not allowing them to ask, until they publicly expressed everything they had heard from those who opposed the teachings, and then he gathered them, not having prayed for another baptism; for they had already received the holy one from him.'

7.7.5 | πάλιν δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ γυμνάσας τὸ  
πρόβλημα ταῦτα ἐπιλέγει “μεμάθηκα καὶ  
τοῦτο, ὅτι μὴ νῦν οἱ ἐν Ἀφρικῇ μόνον  
“τοῦτο παρεισήγαγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ  
πολλοῦ κατὰ τοὺς “πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπους  
ἐν ταῖς πολυανθρωποτάταις “έκκλησίαις  
καὶ ταῖς συνόδοις τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἐν Ἰκο“νίῳ  
καὶ Συννάδοις καὶ παρὰ πολλοῖς τοῦτο  
ἔδοξεν· “ῶν τὰς βουλὰς ἀνατρέπων εἰς ἔριν  
αὐτοὺς καὶ φιλο“νεικίαν ἐμβαλεῖν οὐχ  
ὑπομένω. οὐ γάρ μετακινήσεις, “φησὶν,  
ὅρια τοῦ πλησίον σου, ἢ ἔθεντο οἱ πατέρες  
“σου.”

7.7.5 | Again, after much discussion, he concludes this problem saying, 'I have also learned that not only now have those in Africa introduced this, but also long ago among the bishops before us in the very large churches and in the gatherings of the brothers, in Iconium and Synada, and among many, this seemed good; whose decisions I do not endure to turn into strife and rivalry. For you shall not move the boundaries of your neighbor, which your fathers have set.'

7.7.6 | ἡ τετάρτη αὐτοῦ τῶν περὶ  
βαπτίσματος ἐπιστολῶν πρὸς τὸν κατὰ  
Ῥώμην ἑγράφη Διονύσιον, τότε μὲν  
πρεσβείου ἡξιωμένον, οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν δὲ  
καὶ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν τῶν ἐκεῖσε  
παρειληφότα· ἔξ ἣς γνῶναι πάρεστιν ὅπως  
καὶ αὐτὸς οὗτος λόγιός τε καὶ θαυμάσιος  
πρὸς τοῦ κατ’ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Διονυσίου  
μεμαρτύρηται. γράφει δὲ αὐτῷ μεθ’ ἔτερα  
τῶν κατὰ τὸν Νοούάτον μνημονεύων ἐν  
τούτοις.

7.7.6 | The fourth of his letters about baptism was written to Dionysius in Rome, who was then honored with the office of bishop, and not long after he had taken on the bishopric there. From this, it is possible to know how this man is both wise and remarkable, as he is also testified to by Dionysius of Alexandria. He writes to him, mentioning other matters concerning the Noahtic traditions.

## Section 8

7.8.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 9] “Νοούατιανῷ μὲν  
γάρ “εύλόγως ἀπεχθανόμεθα διακόψαντι

7.8.1 | For we rightly hate Novatian, who has divided the church, and has drawn

τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ‘καὶ τινας τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἰς ἀσεβείας καὶ βλασφημίας ἐλκύσαντι, καὶ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ διδασκαλίαν ἀνοσιωτάτην ἐπεισκυκλήσαντι, καὶ τὸν χρηστότατον κύριον “ἥμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ὡς ἀνηλεῆ συκοφαντοῦντι, ἐπὶ πάσι δὲ τούτοις τὸ λουτρὸν ἀθετοῦντι τὸ ἄγιον, “καὶ τὴν τε πρὸ αὐτοῦ πίστιν καὶ ὁμολογίαν ἀνατρέποντι, τό τε πνεῦμα τό ἄγιον ἔξ αὐτῶν, εἴ καὶ τις ἦν ἐλπὶς τοῦ παραμεῖναι ἢ καὶ ἐπανελθεῖν πρὸς ‘αὐτοὺς, παντελῶς φυγαδεύοντι.”

some of the brothers into impiety and blasphemy, and has surrounded the teaching about God with most wicked ideas, and who slanders our most good Lord Jesus Christ as merciless. In addition to all this, he rejects the holy baptism and overturns both the faith and confession before him, and drives away the Holy Spirit from them. If there was any hope of remaining or returning to them, he completely drives it away.

## Section 9

7.9.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 9] Καὶ ἡ πέμπτη δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν ᾿Ρωμαίων ἐπίσκοπον Ξυστὸν ἑγέγραπτο, ἐν ἣ πολλὰ κατὰ τῶν αἱρετικῶν εἰπὼν τοιοῦτόν τι γεγονός κατ’ αὐτὸν ἐκτίθεται λέγων· “καὶ γὰρ ὅντως, “ἀδελφὲ, καὶ συμβουλῆς δέομαι, καὶ γνώμην αἵτω παρὰ σοῦ, τοιούτου τινός μοι προσελθόντος πράγματος, δεδιώς μὴ ἄρα σφάλλωμαι.

7.9.1 | And the fifth letter to the bishop of the Romans, Xystus, was written, in which he speaks much against the heretics and presents a certain event concerning him, saying: 'For indeed, brother, I ask for your counsel and opinion, since I am afraid I might be mistaken about a certain matter that has come to me.'

7.9.2 | τῶν γὰρ συναγομένων ἀδελφῶν πιστὸς νομιζόμενος ἀρχαῖος καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐμῆς χειροτονίας, οἷμαι δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς “τοῦ μακαρίου Ἡρακλᾶ καταστάσεως τῆς συναγωγῆς “μετασχῶν, τοῖς ὑπόγυιον βαπτιζομένοις παρατυχῶν, καὶ τῶν ἐπερωτήσεων καὶ ἀποκρίσεων ἐπακούσας, “προσῆλθέ μοι κλαίων καὶ καταθρηνῶν ἐαυτὸν καὶ “πίπτων πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν μου, ἔξομολογούμενος μὲν ‘καὶ ἔξομνύμενος τὸ βάπτισμα, ὃ παρὰ τοῖς αἱρετὶ κοῖς βεβάπτιστο, μὴ τοιοῦτο εἶναι, μηδὲ ὅλως ἔχειν “τινὰ πρὸς τοῦτο κοινωνίαν· ἀσεβείας γὰρ ἐκεῖνο καὶ βλασφημιῶν πεπληρῶσθαι.

7.9.2 | For among the gathered brothers, he is considered a faithful and ancient one, even before my ordination. I think he also participated before the establishment of the blessed Heracles' assembly. When he happened to be present at the baptisms of those under the roof, and having heard the questions and answers, he came to me weeping and lamenting for himself, and falling at my feet, confessing and swearing that the baptism he received from the heretics is not such, nor does it have any connection to this. For that is filled with impiety and blasphemies.

7.9.3 | λέγων δὲ πάνυ τι τὴν ψυχὴν νῦν κατανενύχθαι, καὶ μηδὲ παρρησίαν "ἔχειν ἐπᾶραι τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν, ἀπὸ "τῶν ἀνοσίων ἔκείνων ρημάτων καὶ πραγμάτων ὅρ"μώμενος" καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δεόμενος τῆς εἰλικρινεστάτης "ταύτης καθάρσεως καὶ παραδοχῆς καὶ χάριτος τυχεῖν."

7.9.4 | ὅπερ ἔγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησα ποιῆσαι, φήσας "αὔτάρκη τὴν πολυχρόνιον αὐτῷ κοινωνίαν εἰς τοῦτο γεγονέναι. εύχαριστίας γάρ ἐπακούσαντα, καὶ συν"ἐπιφθεγξάμενον τὸ ἀμὴν, καὶ τραπέζῃ παραστάντα, "καὶ χεῖρας εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τῆς ἀγίας τροφῆς προτεί"ναντα, καὶ ταύτην καταδεξάμενον, καὶ τοῦ σώματος "καὶ τού αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ 'μετασχόντα ἱκανῷ χρόνῳ, οὐκ ἀν ἔξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀνα"σκευάζειν ἔτι τολμήσαιμι· Θαρσεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευνον, καὶ "μετὰ βεβαίας πίστεως καὶ ἀγαθῆς συνεδήσεως τῇ "μετοχῇ τῶν ἀγίων προσιέναι.

7.9.5 | ὃ δὲ οὕτε πενθῶν "παύεται, πέφρικέ τε τῇ τραπέζῃ προσιέναι, καὶ "μόλις παρακαλούμενος συνεστάναι ταῖς προσευχαῖς "ἀνέχεται."

7.9.6 | ἐπὶ ταῖς προειρημέναις φέρεταί τις καὶ ἄλλη τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ βαπτίσματος ἐπιστολὴ, ἔξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἣς ἡγεῖτο παροικίας Ξυστῷ καὶ τῇ κατὰ Ρώμην ἐκκλησίᾳ προσπεφωνημένη, ἐν ἡ διὰ μακρᾶς ἀποδείξεως τὸν περὶ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου ζητήματος παρατείνει λόγον. καὶ ἄλλη δέ τις αὐτοῦ μετὰ ταύτας φέρεται πρὸς τὸν

7.9.3 | And he said that his soul was now completely troubled, and he had no confidence to lift his eyes to God, being overwhelmed by those impious words and actions. And for this reason, he was asking to receive this most sincere purification, acceptance, and grace.

7.9.4 | What I did not dare to do, I said, was to consider his long-standing communion as sufficient for this. For after hearing the thanksgiving, and having joined in saying 'Amen,' and standing at the table, and stretching out his hands to receive the holy food, and having accepted it, and having participated in the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ for a sufficient time, I would not dare to question it any longer. But I encouraged him to have courage, and with firm faith and a good conscience to approach the participation in the holy things.

7.9.5 | But he neither stops mourning, nor does he dare to approach the table, and with great difficulty, he is able to stand with the prayers.

7.9.6 | Along with the previously mentioned letters, there is also another letter about baptism, from him and addressed to the community led by Xystus and the church in Rome, in which he extends the discussion on the subject at hand for a long time. And there is also another letter of his that follows these,

κατὰ Ρώμην Διονύσιον, ἡ περὶ Λουκιανοῦ.  
καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων τοσαῦτα.

addressed to Dionysius in Rome,  
concerning Lucian. And about these  
matters, that is all.

## Section 10

7.10.1 | [Nic. II. E. VI, 10] Οὐ γε μὴν ἀμφὶ τὸν  
Γάλλον οὐδ' ὅλοις ἔτεσι δύο τὴν ἀρχὴν  
ἐπικατασχόντες ἐκποδῶν μεθίστανται,  
Οὐαλεριανὸς δὲ ἄμα παιδὶ διαδέχεται τὴν  
ἡγεμονίαν.

7.10.1 | Those around Gallus, however, do  
not change their leadership even after two  
whole years; but Valerian takes over the  
leadership at the same time as a child.

7.10.2 | αὖθις δὴ οὗν ὁ Διονύσιος οὕα καὶ  
περὶ τούτου διέξεισιν, ἐκ τῆς πρὸς  
Ἐρμάμμωνα ἐπιστολῆς μαθεῖν ἔστιν, ἐν ᾧ  
τοῦτον ἴστορεῖ τὸν τρόπον “καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ  
δὲ ὅμοίως ἀποκαλύπτεται. καὶ ἐδόθη γὰρ  
αὐτῷ, φησὶ, στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα καὶ  
βλασφημίαν, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἔξουσία καὶ  
μῆνες τεσσαράκοντα δύο.

7.10.2 | Again, therefore, Dionysius will  
explain about this, as it can be learned from  
the letter to Hermamon, in which he tells  
about this person, saying, 'And to John,  
similarly, it is revealed. For he was given,  
he says, a mouth that speaks great things  
and blasphemy, and he was given authority  
and forty-two months.'

7.10.3 | ἀμφότερα “δὲ ἔστιν ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
Οὐαλεριανοῦ θαυμάσαι, καὶ τούτων  
‘μάλιστα τὰ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ὡς οὗτος ἔσχε<sup>2</sup>  
συννοεῖν, ὡς ‘μὲν ἥπιος καὶ φιλόφρων ἦν  
πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ‘τοῦ Θεοῦ. οὐδὲ γὰρ  
ἄλλος τις οὕτω τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ “βασιλέων  
εὔμενῶς καὶ δεξιῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς διετέθη,  
“οὐδ’ οἱ λεχθέντες ἀναφανδὸν Χριστιανοὶ<sup>3</sup>  
γεγονέναι, ‘ὡς ἑκεῖνος οἰκειότατα ἐν ἀρχῇ  
καὶ προσφιλέστατα “φανερὸς ἦν αὐτοὺς  
ἀποδεχόμενος. καὶ πᾶς τε ὁ ‘οἶκος αὐτοῦ  
Θεοσεβῶν πεπλήρωτο καὶ ἦν ἐκκλησία  
“Θεοῦ.

7.10.3 | Both of these things are amazing  
during Valerian's time, and especially that  
he had such understanding before him, as  
he was gentle and friendly toward people  
of God. For no other king before him  
treated them so kindly and favorably, nor  
did those who were openly known to be  
Christians, as he was most welcoming and  
dear to them from the beginning. And his  
whole household was filled with those who  
worship God, and it was a church of God.

7.10.4 | ἀποσκευάσασθαι δὲ παρέπεισεν  
αὐτὸν ὁ “διδάσκαλος καὶ τῶν ἀπ' Αἴγυπτου  
μάγων ἀρχισυν“ἀγωγος, τοὺς μὲν

7.10.4 | The teacher and the chief magician  
from Egypt persuaded him to prepare for  
the killing and persecution of pure and holy

καθαροὺς καὶ ὄσίους ἄνδρας “κτίννυσθαι καὶ διώκεσθαι κελεύων, ὡς ἀντιπάλους καὶ κωλυτὰς τῶν παμμιάρων καὶ βδελυκτῶν ἐπαιδῶν ὑπάρχοντας, (καὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ καὶ ἡσαν ἱκανοὶ, παρόντες καὶ ὄρώμενοι, καὶ μόνον ἐμὸν “πνέοντες καὶ φθεγγόμενοι, διασκεδάσαι τὰς τῶν ἀλιτηρίων δαιμόνων ἐπιβουλάς), τελετὰς δὲ ἀνάγνους καὶ μαγγανείας ἔξαγιστους καὶ Ἱερουργίας “ἀκαλλιερήτους ἐπιτελεῖν ὑποτιθέμενος, παῖδας αὐτοῦ “θλίους ἀποσφάττειν, καὶ τέκνα δυστήνων πατέρων καταθύειν, καὶ σπλάγχνα νεογενῆ διαιρεῖν, καὶ τὰ “τοῦ Θεοῦ διακόπτειν καὶ καταχορδεύειν πλάσματα, “ώς ἐκ τούτων εύδαιμονήσοντας.”

7.10.5 | καὶ τούτοις γε ἐπιφέρει λέγων ‘καλὰ γοῦν αὐτοῖς Μακριανὸς τῆς “ἐλπιζομένης βασιλείας προσήνεγκε χαριστήρια, δος πρότερον μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν καθόλου λόγων λεγόμενος “εἴναι βασιλέως οὐδὲν εὔλογον οὐδὲ καθολικὸν ἔφρος “νησεν, ἀλλ’ ὑποπέπτωκεν ἀρά προφητικῇ τῇ λεγούσῃ ‘ούαὶ τοῖς προφητεύουσιν ἀπὸ καρδίας αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ καθόλου μὴ βλέπουσιν.’

7.10.6 | οὐ γὰρ συνῆκε τὴν καθόλου πρόνοιαν, οὐδὲ τὴν κρίσιν ὑπείδετο τοῦ πρὸ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι. διὸ καὶ τῆς μὲν καθολικῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας γέγονε πολέμιος, ἡλλοτρίωσε δὲ καὶ ἀπεξένωσεν ἐαυτὸν τοῦ ἐλέους τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ὡς πορρωτάτῳ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ “σωτηρίας ἐφυγάδευσεν, ἐν τούτῳ τὸ ἴδιον ἐπαληθεύων ὄνομα.”

7.10.7 | καὶ πάλιν μεθ’ ἔτερά φησιν “ὸ μὲν

men, as they were seen as opponents and obstacles to the wicked and detestable spells. (For they were indeed capable, present and visible, and only breathing and speaking, to distract from the plots of the wandering demons.) He suggested performing unholy rituals and magic, conducting shameless sacrifices, killing poor children, burying the offspring of unfortunate fathers, cutting open newborns, and tearing apart and shredding the creations of God, claiming that from these actions they would become prosperous.

7.10.5 | "And to these he adds, saying, 'At least let Macrianus offer gifts to the hoped-for kingdom, who, when speaking about the general matters, showed no reasonable or universal understanding of being a king, but has fallen under the prophetic curse that says, "Woe to those who prophesy from their own hearts, and do not see the whole."'"

7.10.6 | For he did not understand the overall plan, nor did he consider the judgment that is before all, through all, and over all. Therefore, he became an enemy of the universal church, and he alienated and separated himself from the mercy of God, and he fled far from his own salvation, while in this he was denying his own name.

7.10.7 | And again he says with another,

γὰρ Οὐαλεριανὸς είς ταῦτα ὑπὸ τούτου προαχθεὶς, είς ὕβρεις καὶ ὄνειδισμοὺς ἐκδοθεὶς κατὰ τὸ ῥηθὲν πρὸς Ἡσαῖαν· καὶ οὗτοι ἔξελέξαντο τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ βδελύγματα αὐτῶν, ἀ ή ψυχὴ ἡθέλησε, καὶ ἐγὼ ἐκλέξομαι τὰ ἐμπαίγματα “αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἀνταποδώσω αὐτοῖς.”

'For Valerian, having been led to these things by him, was given over to insults and reproaches, as was said to Isaiah. And they chose their own paths and their own abominations, which the soul desired, and I will choose their mockeries, and I will repay them for their sins.'

7.10.8 | οὗτος δὲ τῇ βασιλείᾳ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐπιμανεὶς, καὶ τὸν βασίλειον ὑποδῦναι κόσμον ἀδυνατῶν ἀναπήρω τῷ σώματι, τοὺς δύο παῖδας τὰς πατρῷας ἀναδεξαμένους ἀμαρτίας προεστήσατο. ἐναργῆς γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτων ἡ πρόρρησις ἦν εἶπεν ὁ θεός ‘ἀποδιδοὺς ἀμαρτίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα ἔως τρίτης καὶ τετάρτης γενεᾶς τοῖς μισοῦσί με.’

7.10.8 | But he, being obsessed with the kingdom beyond what is right, and unable to put on the royal robe because of his weak body, set before the two children the inherited sins. For the prophecy that God said is clear about these things: 'I will repay the sins of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation of those who hate me.'

7.10.9 | τὰς γὰρ ἴδιας πονηρὰς ἐπιθυμίας, ὃν ηύτύχει, ταῖς τῶν υἱῶν κεφαλαῖς ἐπιβαλῶν, είς ἔκείνους “τὴν ἐαυτοῦ κακίαν καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν μῆσος “ἔξωμόρξατο.” καὶ περὶ μὲν τοῦ Οὐαλεριανοῦ τοσαῦτα ὁ Διονύσιος.

7.10.9 | "For he laid his own wicked desires, which he had, upon the heads of the sons, transferring to them his own evil and his hatred toward God." And concerning Valerian, this is what Dionysius said.

## Section 11

7.11.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 10] Περὶ δὲ τοῦ κατ’ αὐτὸν διωγμοῦ σφοδρότατα πνεύσαντος οἴα σὺν ἐτέροις ὃ αὐτὸς διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν δόλων θεὸν εύσέβειαν ὑπέστη, δηλώσουσιν αἱ αὐτοῦ φωναὶ, ἀς πρὸς Γερμανὸν τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν ἐπισκόπων κακῶς ἀγορεύειν αὐτὸν πειρώμενον ἀποτεινόμενος τοῦτον παρατίθεται τὸν τρόπον

7.11.1 | About the severe persecution against him, as he suffered for his piety toward the God of all, his own words will show, which he spoke to Germanus, one of the bishops against him, trying to argue against him in a bad way, he presents this method.

7.11.2 | “είς ἀφροσύνην δὲ κινδυνεύω πολλὴν καὶ ἀναισθησίαν ὄντως ἐμπεσεῖν,

7.11.2 | I am in danger of falling into great foolishness and truly becoming insensitive,

είς άνάγκην συμβιβαζό“μενος τοῦ διηγεῖσθαι τὴν θαυμαστὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς οίκο“νομίαν τοῦ θεοῦ. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ μυστήριον, φησὶ, βασι“λέως κρύψαι καλὸν, τὰ δὲ ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνακαλύπτειν ἔνδοξον, ὅμόσε χωρήσω τῇ Γερμανοῦ βίᾳ.

as I am forced to recount the wonderful plan of God concerning us. But since, he says, it is good to hide the mystery of the king, it is glorious to reveal the works of God, I will proceed in the manner of Germanus.

7.11.3 | ἦκον “πρὸς Αἴμιλιανὸν οὐ μόνος· ἡκολούθησαν δέ μοι “συμπρεσβύτερός τέ μου Μάξιμος καὶ διάκονοι “Φαῦστος καὶ Εύσέβιος καὶ Χαιρήμων· καί τις τῶν “ἀπὸ ‘Ρώμης παρόντων ἀδελφῶν ἡμῖν συνεισῆλθεν.”

7.11.3 | I came to Aemilianus not alone; my senior Maximus followed me, along with the deacons Faustus, Eusebius, and Chairemon. And one of the brothers from Rome who was present joined us.

7.11.4 | Αἴμιλιανὸς δὲ οὐκ εἶπέ μοι προηγουμένως ‘μὴ “σύναγε.’ περιττὸν γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ “τελευταῖον ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀνατρέχοντι οὐ γάρ “περὶ τοῦ μὴ συνάγειν ἐτέρους ὁ λόγος ἦν αὐτῷ, “ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ μηδ’ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς εἶναι Χριστιανοὺς, “καὶ τούτου προσέταττε πεπαῦσθαι, εἰ μεταβαλοίμην “ἔγωγε, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔψεσθαί μοι νομίζων.”

7.11.4 | Aemilianus did not tell me beforehand not to gather. For this was unnecessary for him, especially since it was the last time I was rushing to the first. For his concern was not about not gathering others, but about us not being Christians, and he ordered me to stop this, thinking that if I changed, the others would follow me.

7.11.5 | ἀπεκρινάμην δὲ οὐκ ἀπεοικότως οὐδὲ μακράν “πειθαρχεῖν δεῖ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις.’ ἀλλ’ “ἄντικρυς διεμαρτυράμην ὅτι τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὄντα “μόνον καὶ οὐδένα ἔτερον σέβω, οὐδὲ’ ἀν μεταθεῖ“μην οὐδὲ παυσαίμην ποτὲ Χριστιανὸς ὥν. ἐπὶ “τούτοις ἐκέλευσεν ἡμᾶς ἀπελθεῖν εἰς κώμην πλησίον “τῆς ἐρήμου καλουμένην Κεφρώ.

7.11.5 | I answered him not without fear and not far off, 'It is necessary to obey God rather than men.' But I boldly declared that I honor the one true God and no other, and I would not change or ever stop being a Christian. On this, he commanded us to go to a village nearby called Kephro, close to the desert.

7.11.6 | αὐτῶν δὲ ἐπα“κούσατε τῶν ὑπ’ ἀμφοτέρων λεχθέντων ὡς ὑπεμνη“ματίσθη. εἰσαχθέντων Διονυσίου καὶ Φαῦστου καὶ “Μαξίμου καὶ Μαρκέλλου

7.11.6 | And you all heard what was said by both sides as it was remembered. When Dionysius, Faustus, Maximus, Marcellus, and Chairemon were brought in,

καὶ Χαιρήμονος Αίμιλια "νὸς διέπων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἶπε· καὶ ἀγράφως ὑμῖν "διελέχθην περὶ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας τῶν κυρίων ὑμῶν "ἢ περὶ ὑμᾶς κέχρηνται.

7.11.7 | δεδώκασι γὰρ ἔξουσίαν "ὑμῖν σωτηρίας, εἰ βούλοισθε ἐπὶ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν "τρέπεσθαι, καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς σώζοντας αὐτῶν τὴν "βασιλείαν προσκυνεῖν, ἐπιλαθέσθαι τε τῶν παρὰ "φύσιν. τί οὖν φατὲ πρὸς ταῦτα; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀχαρί"στους ὑμᾶς ἔσεσθαι περὶ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν αὐτῶν "προσδοκῶ, ἐπειδήπερ ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίω ὑμᾶς προτρέ"πονται.

7.11.8 | Διονύσιος ἀπεκρίνατο· οὐ πάντες πάντας "προσκυνοῦσι θεοὺς, ἀλλ' ἔκαστοι τινὰς, οὓς νομί"ζουσιν. ήμεῖς τοίνυν τὸν ἔνα θεὸν, τὸν δημιουργὸν "τῶν ἀπάντων, τὸν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐγχειρίσαντα "τοῖς θεοφιλεστάτοις Οὐαλλεριανῷ καὶ Γαλλιηνῷ "σεβαστοῖς, τοῦτον καὶ σέβομεν καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν, "καὶ τούτῳ διηνεκῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν, "ὅπως ἀσάλευτος διαμένῃ, προσευχόμεθα.

7.11.9 | Αίμι"λιανὸς διέπων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῖς εἶπε· τίς γὰρ "ὑμᾶς κωλύει καὶ τοῦτον, εἴπερ ἐστὶ θεὸς, μετὰ "τῶν κατὰ φύσιν θεῶν προσκυνεῖν; θεοὺς γὰρ "σέβειν ἐκελεύσθητε, καὶ θεοὺς οὓς πάντες ἴσασι. "Διονύσιος ἀπεκρίνατο 'ήμεῖς οὐδένα ἔτερον προσ"κυνοῦμεν.

7.11.10 | Αίμιλιανὸς διέπων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν "αὐτοῖς εἶπεν· ὁρῶ ὑμᾶς ὄμοῦ καὶ ἀχαρίστους ὄντας "καὶ ἀναισθήτους τῆς

Aemilianus, leading the meeting, said: 'And I spoke to you without writing about the kindness of our Lord, which is shown towards you.'

7.11.7 | For they have given you the power of salvation, if you wish to turn towards what is natural, and to worship the gods who save their kingdom, and to forget what is against nature. So what do you say to this? For I do not expect you to be ungrateful regarding their kindness, since they encourage you towards better things.

7.11.8 | Dionysius answered: "Not everyone worships all the gods, but each person worships certain ones that they believe in. Therefore, we worship the one God, the creator of all, who has also entrusted the kingdom to the most beloved Valerian and Gallienus. This is the God we honor and worship, and we continually pray for their kingdom, that it may remain safe."

7.11.9 | Aemilianus, leading the meeting, said to them: "Who is stopping you from worshiping this one, if he is a god, along with the gods who are natural? For you have been commanded to honor the gods, and the gods that everyone knows." Dionysius answered, "We worship no other."

7.11.10 | Aemilianus, leading the meeting, said to them: "I see that you are both ungrateful and insensitive to the kindness

πραότητος τῶν σεβαστῶν ἡμῶν. “διόπερ οὐκ ἔσεσθε ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ, ἀλλὰ ἀποστα“λήσεσθε εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Λιβύης, καὶ ἐν τόπῳ “λεγομένῳ Κεφρῷ· τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν τόπον ἔξελεξάμην “ἐκ τῆς κελεύσεως τῶν σεβαστῶν ἡμῶν. οὐδαμῶς “δὲ ἔξεσται οὕτε ὑμῖν οὕτε ἄλλοις τισὸν ἢ συνόδους “ποιεῖσθαι, ἢ εἰς τὰ καλούμενα κοιμητήρια εἰσιέναι. ”

of our respected ones. Therefore, you will not remain in this city, but you will be sent to the regions of Libya, to a place called Kephro. For I have chosen this place by the order of our respected ones. You will not be allowed to gather together, nor to enter the places called cemeteries.”

7.11.11 | εἰ δέ τις φανείη ἢ μὴ γενόμενος εἰς τὸν τόπον “τοῦτον ὃν ἐκέλευσα, ἢ ἐν συναγωγῇ τινι εὐρεθείη, “ἐσαυτῷ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐπαρτήσει. οὐ γὰρ ἐπιλείψει “ἡ δέουσα ἐπιστρέψεια. ἀπόστητε οὖν ὅπου ἐκελεύ“σθητε. καὶ νοσοῦντα δέ με κατήπειξεν, οὐδὲ μιᾶς “ὑπέρθεσιν δοὺς ἡμέρας. ποίαν οὖν ἔτι τοῦ συνα“γαγεῖν ἢ μὴ συναγαγεῖν εἶχον σχολήν;” εἴτα μεθ’ ἔτερά φησιν

7.11.11 | If anyone appears here or does not go to the place I ordered, or is found in some gathering, he will bring danger upon himself. For the necessary punishment will not be lacking. Therefore, stay away from where you have been ordered. And he has threatened me while I am sick, not giving me even one day of delay. What chance did I have to gather or not gather? Then he says something else.

7.11.12 | “ἄλλ’ οὐδὲ τῆς αἰσθητῆς ἡμεῖς “μετὰ τοῦ κυρίου συναγωγῆς ἀπέστημεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς “μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει σπουδαιότερον συνεκρότουν ὡς “συνών, ἀπών μὲν τῷ σώματι, ὡς είπεῖν, παρών δὲ “τῷ πνεύματι, ἐν δὲ τῇ Κεφροῖ καὶ πολλὴ συνεπε“δήμησεν ἡμῖν ἐκκλησίᾳ, τῶν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως “ἀδελφῶν ἐπομένων, τῶν δὲ συνόντων ἀπ’ Αἴγυπτου. ”

7.11.12 | But we did not stay away from the gathering with the lord of the senses, but rather we were more devoted in the city, as being present in spirit while absent in body, so to speak. And in Kephro, a large church has gathered for us, with some brothers following from the city and others coming from Egypt.

7.11.13 | κάκεῖ θύραν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς ἀνέῳξε τοῦ λόγου. καὶ “τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐδιώχθημεν, ἐλιθοβολήθημεν, ὕστε“ρον δέ τινες οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἔθνῶν τὰ εἴδωλα κατα“λιπόντες ἐπέστρεψαν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν. οὐ πρότερον “γὰρ παραδεξαμένοις αὐτοῖς τότε πρῶτον δι’ ἡμῶν “ὁ λόγος ἐπεσπάρη.

7.11.13 | And there, God opened the door of the word for us. At first, we were chased and stoned, but later, some of the nations, not a few, left their idols and turned back to God. For they had not received the word through us before that time.

7.11.14 | καὶ ὥσπερ τούτου ἔνεκεν  
“ἀπαγαγὼν ἡμᾶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ θεός, ἐπεὶ  
τὴν “διακονίαν ταύτην ἐπληρώσαμεν,  
πάλιν ἀπαγήσειν. “ὁ γὰρ Αἰμιλιανὸς εἰς  
τραχυτέρους μὲν, ὡς ἐδόκει, “καὶ  
λιβυκωτέρους ἡμᾶς μεταστῆσαι τόπους  
ἔβου”λήθη, καὶ τοὺς πανταχόσε εἰς τὸν  
Μαρεώτην ἐκέ“γευσε συρρεῖν, κώμας  
ἐκάστοις τῶν κατὰ χώραν “ἀφορίσας, ἡμᾶς  
δὲ μᾶλλον ἐν ὁδῷ καὶ πρώτους  
“καταληφθησομένους ἔταξεν. φονόμει  
γὰρ δηλονότι “καὶ παρεσκεύαζεν, ἵνα  
δόπταν βουληθείη συλλαβεῖν, “πάντας  
εύαλωτους ἔχοι.

7.11.15 | ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτε μὲν εἰς “Κεφρῶν  
κεκελεύσμην ἀπελθεῖν, καὶ τὸν τόπον  
“ήγνοιον ὅποι ποτὲ οὗτός ἐστιν, οὐδὲ τὸ  
ὄνομα σχε“δὸν πρότερον ἀκηκοώς· καὶ  
ὅμως εὐθύμως καὶ “ἀταράχως ἀπήγειν. ἐπεὶ  
δὲ μετασκηνώσειν εἰς τὰ “Κολλουθίωνος  
ἀπηγέλη μοι, ἶσασιν οἱ παρόντες “ὅπως  
διετέθην· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐμαυτοῦ  
κατηγορήσω.”

7.11.16 | τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡχθέσθην καὶ λίαν  
έχαλέπηνα· “καὶ γὰρ εἴ γνωριμώτεροι καὶ  
συνηθέστεροι ἔτυγχα“νον ἡμῖν οἱ τόποι,  
ἄλλ’ ἔρημον μὲν ἀδελφῶν καὶ “σπουδαίων  
ἀνθρώπων ἔφασκον εἶναι τὸ χωρίον, “ταῖς  
δὲ τῶν ὁδοιπορούντων ἐνοχλήσεσι καὶ  
ληστῶν “καταδρομαῖς ἐγκείμενον.

7.11.17 | ἔτυχον δὲ παραμυθίας,  
“ὑπομνησάντων με τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ὅτι  
γειτνιᾶ μᾶλλον “τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἡ μὲν Κεφρῶν  
πολλὴν ἡμῖν ἦγεν “ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἀπ’

7.11.14 | And for this reason, God brought us back to them. After we fulfilled this ministry, he led us away again. For Aemilianus wanted to move us to harsher and more Libyan places, as it seemed to him, and he tried to gather everyone to the Mareotic area, setting apart villages for each of those in the region. But he arranged for us to be more on the road and to be caught first. For he was clearly preparing, so that whenever he wanted to gather, he would have everyone ready.

7.11.15 | But when I was ordered to go to Kephro, I did not know where this place was, nor had I ever heard the name before. And yet, I went away cheerfully and without worry. But when it was announced that I would move to the area of Kollouthion, those present knew how I had been treated; for here, I would accuse myself.

7.11.16 | At first, I was upset and very distressed; for even if the places were more familiar and usual to us, they said that the area was empty of brothers and serious people. Instead, it was troubled by the disturbances of travelers and attacks from robbers.

7.11.17 | I received comfort when the brothers reminded me that it is closer to the city. For Kephro would bring us many brothers from Egypt, so that we could

Αίγυπτου τὴν ἐπιμιξίαν, ώς “πλατύτερον ἔκκλησιάζειν δύνασθαι, ἐκεῖ δὲ πλησιά“τερον οὕσης τῆς πόλεως συνεχέστερον τῆς τῶν “ὄντως ἀγαπητῶν καὶ οἰκειοτάτων καὶ φιλτάτων “ὅψεως ἀπολαύσομεν. ἀφίξονται γὰρ καὶ ἀναπαύ“σονται, καὶ ως ἐν προαστείοις πορρωτέρω κειμένοις “κατὰ μέρος ἔσονται συναγωγαί. καὶ οὕτως ἐγένετο.”

7.11.18 | καὶ μεθ' ἔτερα περὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων αὐτῷ αὗθις ταῦτα γράφει “πολλαῖς γε ταῖς ὁμολογίαις “Γερμανὸς σεμνύνεται. πολλά γε εἴπειν ἔχει καθ' ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενα. ὅσας ἀριθμῆσαι δύναται περὶ “ἡμῶν ἀποφάσεις, δημεύσεις, προγραφὰς, ὑπαρχόν“των ἀρπαγὰς, ἀξιωμάτων ἀποθέσεις, δόξης κοσμὶ“κῆς ὀλιγωρίας, ἐπαίνων ἡγεμονικῶν καὶ βουλευτὶ“κῶν καταφρονήσεις, καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπειλῶν καὶ “καταβοήσεων καὶ κινδύνων καὶ διωγμῶν καὶ πλάνης καὶ στενοχωρίας καὶ ποικίλης θλίψεως ὑπομονὴν, “οἴα τὰ ἐπὶ Δεκίου καὶ Σαβίνου συμβάντα μοι, οἴα “μέχρι νῦν Αίμιλιανοῦ.

7.11.19 | ποῦ δὲ Γερμανὸς “νη; τίς δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος; ἀλλὰ τῆς πολλῆς “ἀφροσύνης, εἰς ἣν ἐμπίπτω διὰ Γερμανόν, ὑφίεμαι, διὸ καὶ τὴν καθ' ἔκαστον τῶν γενομένων διήγησιν παρίημι τοῖς εἰδόσιν ἀδελφοῖς λέγειν.”

7.11.20 | ὃ δ' αὐτὸς καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Δομέτιον καὶ Δίδυμον ἐπιστολῇ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν διωγμὸν αὗθις μνημονεύει ἐν τούτοις “τοὺς δὲ ἡμετέρους πολλούς τε ὄντας καὶ ἀγνῶτας ὑμῖν περισσὸν ὄνομαστὶ καταλέγειν· πλὴν “ἴστε ὅτι ἄνδρες καὶ

gather more widely. There, being closer to the city, we would enjoy the presence of those who are truly beloved, most familiar, and dearest to us. They will come and rest, and there will be gatherings in the suburbs that are further away.

7.11.18 | And with other things about what happened to him, Germanus writes again these things with many confessions. He has much to say about what has happened to him. He can count the decisions against us, the confiscations, the registrations, the seizures of possessions, the dismissals from offices, the disregard for honorable reputation, the contempt for leaders and councils, and the threats and cries of danger, persecutions, confusion, distress, and various troubles he has endured, like those that happened to me under Decius and Sabinus, and those that continue until now under Aemilianus.

7.11.19 | But where is Germanus now? And what is said about him? But because of the great foolishness into which I fall because of Germanus, I allow each account of what has happened to be told to the brothers who know.

7.11.20 | He also mentions in his letter to Domitian and Didymus the many who are involved in the persecution. He notes that there are many of our people, both known and unknown to you. But know that there are men and women, young and old, girls

γυναῖκες, καὶ νέοι καὶ γέροντες, καὶ κόραι  
καὶ πρεσβύτιδες, καὶ στρατιῶται καὶ  
“ίδιῶται, καὶ πᾶν γένος καὶ πᾶσα ἡλικία, οἵ  
μὲν διὰ “μαστίγων καὶ πυρὸς, οἱ δὲ διὰ  
σιδήρου τὸν ἄγῶνα “νικήσαντες τοὺς  
στεφάνους ἀπειλήφασι·

and elderly women, soldiers and common  
people, and all kinds of people of every age.  
Some have won their crowns through  
beatings and fire, while others have  
triumphed through iron.

7.11.21 | τοῖς δὲ οὐ πάμπολυς αύτάρκης  
ἀπέβη χρόνος εἰς τὸ φανῆναι δεκτοὺς τῷ  
κυρίῳ, ὥσπερ οὖν ἔοικε μηδὲ ἔμοι ὁ μέχρι  
νῦν. διόπερ εἰς δὸν οἴδεν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ “τήδειον  
καιρὸν ὑπερέθετό με ὁ λέγων ‘καιρῷ  
δεκτῷ “έπήκουσά σου, καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ  
σωτηρίας ἐβοήθησά σοι.’

7.11.21 | For those who are not very self-  
sufficient, time has passed for them to be  
accepted by the Lord, just as it seems to me  
until now. Therefore, at the time he knows  
is suitable, he has placed me, saying, 'At the  
right time, I have listened to you, and on  
the day of salvation, I have helped you.'

7.11.22 | τὰ γὰρ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπειδὴ  
πυνθάνεσθε καὶ βούλεσθε δηλωθῆναι ὑμῖν  
ὅπως διάγομεν, ἡκούσατε “μὲν πάντως  
ὅπως ἡμᾶς δεσμώτας ἀπαγομένους ὑπὸ  
“ἐκατοντάρχου καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν σὺν  
αὐτοῖς στρατιωτῶν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν, ἐμέ τε  
καὶ Γάϊον καὶ “Φαῦστον καὶ Πέτρον καὶ  
Παῦλον, ἐπελθόντες τινὲς “τῶν Μαρεωτῶν  
ἄκοντας καὶ μηδὲ ἐπομένους, βίᾳ “τε  
σύροντες ἀφήρπασαν.

7.11.22 | For as you are inquiring about us  
and wish to know how we live, you have  
heard that we are being held as prisoners  
by a centurion, generals, and the soldiers  
and servants with them, including me,  
Gaius, Faustus, Peter, and Paul. Some of the  
Mareotians came upon us, not following  
orders, and by force they seized us.

7.11.23 | ἐγὼ δὲ νῦν καὶ Γάϊος “καὶ Πέτρος,  
μόνοι τῶν ἄλλων ἀδελφῶν  
ἀπορφανοί “σθέντες, ἐν ἐρήμῳ καὶ αὐχμηρῷ  
τῆς Λιβύης τόπῳ κατακειλείσμεθα, τριῶν  
ἡμερῶν ὀδὸν τοῦ Παραί “τονίου  
διεστηκότες.”

7.11.23 | But now, Gaius, Peter, and I, being  
the only ones left without our other  
brothers, are shut up in a desolate and dry  
place in Libya, having been on the road  
from Paraitonion for three days.

7.11.24 | καὶ ὑποκαταβάς φησιν ‘ἐν δὲ τῇ  
πόλει καταδεδύκασιν ἀφανῶς  
ἐπισκεπτό “μένοι τοὺς ἀδελφούς —  
πρεσβύτεροι μὲν Μάξιμος, Διοσκόρος,  
Δημήτριος, Λούκιος· οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ

7.11.24 | And he says that 'in the city, they  
have secretly visited the brothers—among  
them are the elders Maximus, Dioscorus,  
Demetrius, and Lucius; for those who are  
more well-known in the world, Faustinus

"προφανέστεροι Φαυστῖνος καὶ Ἀκύλας ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ πλανῶνται· διάκονοι δὲ οἱ μετὰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ νόσῳ τελευτήσαντας ὑπολειφθέντες Φαῦστος, Εὔσεβίος, Ἐχαρήμων Εύσέβιος, ὃν ἔξ ἀρχῆς ὁ θεὸς καὶ παρεσκεύασε, τὰς ὑπηρεσίας τῶν ἐν ταῖς φυλακαῖς γενομένων ὁμολογητῶν ἐναγωνίως ἀπὸ "πληροῦν, καὶ τὰς τῶν σωμάτων περιστολὰς τῶν "τελείων καὶ μακαρίων μαρτύρων οὐκ ἀκινδύνως ἔκτελεῖν.

7.11.25 | καὶ γὰρ μέχρι νῦν οὐκ ἀνίησιν ὁ "ἡγούμενος, τοὺς μὲν ἀναιρῶν, ὡς προεῖπον, ὡμῶς "τῶν προσαγομένων, τοὺς δὲ βασάνοις καταξαίνων, "τοὺς δὲ φυλακαῖς καὶ δεσμοῖς ἔκτήκων, προστάσσων "τε μηδένα τούτοις προσιέναι, καὶ ἀνερευνῶν μή τις "φανείη. καὶ ὅμως ὁ θεὸς τῇ προθυμίᾳ καὶ λιπαρείᾳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν διαναπαύει τοὺς πεπιεσμένους." καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν ὁ Διονύσιος.

7.11.26 | ἴστέον δὲ ὡς ὁ μὲν Εύσέβιος, ὃν διάκονον προσεῖπεν 5 σμικρὸν ὕστερον ἐπίσκοπος ἐκκλησίας τῆς κατὰ Συρίαν Λαοδικείας καθίσταται, ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος, ὃν τότε πρεσβύτερον εἶρηκε, μετὰ τὸν Διονύσιον τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀδελφῶν διαδέχεται, Φαῦστος δὲ ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ τηνικάδε διαπρέψας ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ, μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς διωγμοῦ φυλαχθεὶς, γηραιὸς κομιδῆς καὶ πλήρης ἡμερῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς μαρτυρίω τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθεὶς τελειοῦται. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατ' ἔκεινο καιροῦ τῷ Διονυσίῳ συμβάντα τοιαῦτα.

and Aquila, are wandering in Egypt. The deacons who remain with those who have died in prison are Faustus, Eusebius, and Chairemon. Eusebius, whom God prepared from the beginning, is eagerly fulfilling the services of those who have become witnesses in the prisons, and he is not carrying out the duties of the bodies of the perfect and blessed martyrs without danger.'

7.11.25 | "And indeed, up to now, the leader does not let go of those he is killing, as I said before, brutally taking the ones brought to him, and torturing others with punishments, while he is wasting away those in prison and chains, ordering that no one should approach them, and investigating whether anyone might be revealed. And yet, God comforts the oppressed through the eagerness and care of the brothers." Thus spoke Dionysius.

7.11.26 | Know that Eusebius, whom he called a deacon, later becomes the bishop of the church in Laodicea, Syria. Maximus, whom he mentioned as an elder at that time, after Dionysius, takes over the service of the brothers in Alexandria. Faustus, who was with him and excelled in the confession, was kept safe until our persecution, and as an old man, full of days, he is completed in martyrdom, having had his head cut off. But these things happened in that time to Dionysius.

## Section 12

7.12.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 11] Κατὰ δὲ τὸν δηλούμενον Οὐαλεριανοῦ διωγμὸν τρεῖς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης τῇ κατὰ Χριστὸν διαλάμψαντες ὅμολογίᾳ θείῳ κατεκοσμήθησαν μαρτυρίῳ, θηρίων γενόμενοι βορά. τούτων ὁ μὲν Πρίσκος ἔκαλεῖτο, ὁ δὲ Μάλχος, τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ Ἀλέξανδρος ὄνομα ἦν. τούτους φασὶ κατ' ἀγρὸν οἰκοῦντας πρότερον μὲν ἐαυτοὺς ὡς ἀμελεῖς καὶ ῥᾳθύμους κακίσαι, ὅτι δὴ βραβείων, τοῦ καιροῦ τοῖς πόθου γλιχομένοις οὐρανίου διανέμοντος, ὀλιγωροῖen αὐτοὶ μὴ οὐχὶ προαρπάζοντες τὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου στέφανον· ταῦτα δὲ βουλευσαμένους ὀρμῆσαι ἐπὶ τὴν Καισάρειαν, ὅμοσ' ἐτε χωρῆσαι ἐπὶ τὸν δικαστὴν, καὶ τυχεῖν τοῦ προδεδηλωμένου τέλους. ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις γύναιόν τι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν διωγμὸν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει τὸν ὅμοιον ἴστοροῦσιν ἀγῶνα διηθληκέναι. τῆς δὲ Μαρκίωνος αὐτὴν αἰρέσεως γενέσθαι κατέχει λόγος.

## Section 13

7.13.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 12] Ἄλλ' οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν δουλείαν τὴν παρὰ βαρβάροις ὑπομείναντος Οὐαλεριανοῦ, μοναρχήσας ὁ παῖς σωφρονέστερον περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διατίθεται, ἀνίησί τε αὐτίκα διὰ προγραμμάτων τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν διωγμὸν, ἐπ' ἐλευθερίας τοῖς τοῦ λόγου προεστῶσι τὰ ἔξ ἔθους ἐπιτελεῖν δι' ἀντιγραφῆς προστάξας, ἥτις τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον Αὔτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Πούπλιος Λικίννιος Γαλλιηνὸς, "εὔσεβὴς, εύτυχὴς, σεβαστὸς, Διονυσίων καὶ Πίννας καὶ "Δημητρίων καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπισκόποις. τὴν εὐεργεσίαν 'τῆς ἐμῆς δωρεᾶς διὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου

7.12.1 | During the mentioned persecution of Valerian, three people in Caesarea of Palestine shone with a divine confession and were honored with martyrdom, becoming food for wild beasts. One was called Priscus, another Malchus, and the third was named Alexander. They say that they lived in the countryside, previously considering themselves careless and lazy, thinking that they would not seize the crown of martyrdom since the time was offering heavenly rewards to those longing for them. After deciding to rush to Caesarea, they all went to the judge, hoping to achieve the previously declared goal. Additionally, they tell of a woman in the same city who fought a similar struggle during the same persecution. It is said that she belonged to the sect of Marcion.

7.13.1 | But not long after Valerian endured slavery among the barbarians, the young man, having taken control, arranged matters more wisely regarding the leadership. He immediately lifted the persecution against us through edicts, allowing those in charge of the word to carry out their duties freely by ordering copies to be made. This is the way of the Emperor Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus, 'pious, fortunate, revered, to Dionysius and Pinna and Demetrios and the other bishops. I have ordered that the benefit of my gift be spread throughout the world, so

έκβιβασθῆναι προσέταξα, ὅπως ἀπὸ τόπων τῶν θρησκευ“σίμων ἀποχωρήσωσι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑμεῖς τῆς “ἀντιγραφῆς τῆς ἐμῆς τῷ τύπῳ χρῆσθαι δύνασθε, ὥστε μηδένα ὑμῖν ἐνοχλεῖν. καὶ τοῦτο ὅπερ κατὰ τὸ ἔξον δύναται ὑφ’ ὑμῶν ἀναπληροῦσθαι ἥδη “πρὸ πολλοῦ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ συγκεχώρηται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ‘Αύρήλιος Κυρήνιος, ὁ τοῦ μεγίστου πράγματος προστατεύων, τὸν τύπον τοῦτον τὸν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ ‘δοθέντα διαφυλάξει ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὸ σαφέστερον ἐκ τῆς Ρωμαίων ἐρμηνευθέντα γλώττης ἔγκείσθω. καὶ ἄλλῃ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ διάταξις φέρεται, ἵν πρὸς ἐτέρους ἐπισκόπους πεποίηται, τὰ τῶν καλουμένων κοιμητηρίων ἀπολαμβάνειν ἐπιτρέπων χωρία.

that they may depart from places of worship. And for this reason, you can use my copy of this decree, so that no one may trouble you. And this, which can be fulfilled by you according to the authority, has already been granted by me long ago. And for this reason, Aurelius Cyrenius, who oversees the greatest matters, shall safeguard this decree given by me, to be translated into the clearer language of the Romans. Another similar order is reported, which has been made to other bishops, allowing them to take possession of the so-called cemeteries.

## Section 14

7.14.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 34] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῆς μὲν Ρωμαίων ἐκκλησίας εἰσέτι τότε καθηγεῖτο Ξυστὸς, τῆς δὲ ἐπ’ Ἀντιοχείας μετὰ Φάβιον Δημητριανὸς, Φιρμιλλιανὸς δὲ Καισαρείας τῆς Καππαδοκῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν κατὰ Πόντον ἐκκλησιῶν Γρηγόριος καὶ ὁ τούτου ἀδελφὸς Ἀθηνόδωρος, Ὁριγένους γνώριμοι. τῆς δ’ ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνης Καισαρείας Θεοκτίστου μεταλλάξαντος διαδέχεται τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν Δόμνος, βραχεῖ δὲ χρόνῳ τούτου διαγενομένου Θεότεκνος, ὁ καθ’ ἡμᾶς, διάδοχος καθίσταται. τῆς δ’ Ὁριγένους διατριβῆς καὶ οὗτος ἦν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀναπαυσαμένου Μαζαβάνου τὸν θρόνον Υμέναιος, ὁ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ πλείστοις τοῖς καθ’ ἡμᾶς διαπρέψας ἔτεσι, διεδέξατο.

7.14.1 | At that time, Xystus was still leading the church of the Romans, while Demetrius was with Fabian in Antioch, and Firmilian was in Caesarea of Cappadocia. In addition to these, Gregory and his brother Athenodorus were known among the churches in Pontus. In Caesarea of Palestine, after Theoctistus had passed away, Domnus succeeded him as bishop. Shortly after, Theoteknos, who was among us, became the successor. He was also part of Origen's circle. Meanwhile, in Jerusalem, Hymenaeus took the throne after Mazabonus had rested, and he had distinguished himself greatly among us for many years.

## Section 15

7.15.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 13] Κατὰ τούτους εἱρήνης ἀπανταχοῦ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οὕσης, ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης Μαρῖνος τῶν ἐν στρατείαις ἀξιώμασι τετιμημένων, γένει τε καὶ πλούτῳ περιφανῆς ἀνὴρ, διὸ τὴν Χριστοῦ μαρτυρίαν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνεται, τοιᾶσδε ἔνεκεν αἰτίας.

7.15.2 | τιμῇ τίς ἔστι παρὰ Ρωμαίοις τὸ κλῆμα, οὗ τοὺς τυχόντας φασὶν γίνεσθαι. τόπου σχολάζοντος, ἐπὶ τοῦτο προκοπῆς τὸν Μαρῖνον ἡ τοῦ βαθμοῦ τάξις ἐκάλει. ἥδη τε μέλλοντα τῆς τιμῆς ἔχεσθαι, παρελθών ἄλλος πρὸ τοῦ βήματος, μὴ ἔξειναι μὲν ἐκείνῳ τῆς Ῥωμαίων μετέχειν ἀξίας κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς νόμους, Χριστιανῷ γε ὅντι καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι μὴ θύοντι, κατηγόρει· αὐτῷ δὲ ἐπιβάλλειν τὸν κλῆρον.

7.15.3 | ἐφ' ᾧ κινηθέντα τὸν δικαστὴν (Ἀχαιὸς οὗτος ἦν) πρῶτον μὲν ἐρέσθαι ποίας ὁ Μαρῖνος εἴτε γνώμης. ὡς δ' ὅμοιογοῦντα Χριστιανὸν ἐπιμόνως ἐώρα, τριῶν ὡρῶν ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτῷ εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν διάστημα.

7.15.4 | ἑκτὸς δῆτα γενόμενον αὐτὸν τοῦ δικαστηρίου Θεότεκνος ὁ τῆδε ἐπίσκοπος ἀφέλκει προσελθών δι' ὄμιλίας, καὶ τῆς χειρὸς λαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προάγει, εἴσω τε πρὸς αὐτῷ στήσας τῷ ἀγιάσματι, μικρὸν τι παραναστείλας αὐτοῦ τῆς χλαμύδος καὶ τὸ προσηρτημένον αὐτῷ ξίφος ἐπιδείξας, ἅμα τε ἀντιπαρατίθησι προσαγαγὼν αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν θείων εὐαγγελίων γραφὴν, κελεύσας τῶν δυεῖν ἐλέσθαι τὸ κατὰ γνώμην. ὡς δ' ἀμελλητὶ

7.15.1 | During this time of peace for all the churches, in Caesarea of Palestine, Marinus, a man honored with military rank and known for his family and wealth, was beheaded for the witness of Christ, for such a reason.

7.15.2 | What is the honor of the rank among the Romans, which they say some people can attain? While the place was quiet, the rank called Marinus to advancement. Already about to receive this honor, another man passed before the judgment seat, saying that it was not allowed for him to share in the Roman rank according to the old laws, since he was a Christian and did not sacrifice to the emperors, and he accused him. He was then forced to take on the rank.

7.15.3 | When the judge was moved (this was Achaeus), he first asked what Marinus thought. When he saw that he firmly admitted he was a Christian, he gave him a delay of three hours for reflection.

7.15.4 | Then, outside the courtroom, Theoteknos, the bishop here, approached him for a conversation and took him by the hand, leading him to the church. Once inside, he stood him before the holy place and, after slightly adjusting his cloak and showing him the sword attached to him, he also presented to him the writings of the divine gospels, urging him to choose between the two according to his own judgment. When he immediately extended

τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνας ἐδέξατο τὴν θείαν γραφήν, “ἔχου τοίνυν, ἔχου,” φησὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Θεότεκνος, “τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τύχοις ὡν εἴλου, πρὸς αὐτοῦ δυναμούμενος, καὶ βάδιζε μετ' εἰρήνης.”

his right hand, he accepted the divine writing. Theoteknos said to him, 'Now you have it, you have it, of God, and may you succeed in what you choose, being strengthened by it, and walk in peace.'

7.15.5 | εύθὺς ἑκεῖθεν ἐπανελθόντα αὐτὸν κῆρυξ ἐβόα καλῶν πρὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου· καὶ γὰρ ἥδη τὰ τῆς προθεσμίας τοῦ χρόνου πεπλήρωτο. καὶ δὴ παραστὰς τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, καὶ μείζονα τῆς πίστεως τὴν προθυμίαν ἐπιδείξας, εύθὺς, ὡς εἶχεν, ἀπαχθεὶς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τελειοῦται.

7.15.5 | Immediately after he returned, a herald called him before the court; for the time of the deadline had already passed. And so, standing before the court and showing even greater eagerness for his faith, he was quickly taken away and was completed in death.

## Section 16

7.16.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 14] "Ἐνθα καὶ Ἀστύριος ἐπὶ τῇ θεοφιλεῖ παρρησίᾳ μνημονεύεται, ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης συγκλητικῶν γενόμενος, βασιλεῦσί τε προσφιλής, καὶ πᾶσι γνώριμος εύγενείας τε ἔνεκα καὶ περιουσίας· ὃς παρὼν τηνικάδε τελειουμένῳ τῷ μάρτυρι, τὸν ὕμον ὑποθεὶς, ἐπὶ λαμπρᾶς καὶ πολυτελοῦς ἐσθῆτος ἄρας τὸ σκήνωμα ἐπιφέρεται, περιστείλας τε εὺ μάλα πλουσίως τῇ προσηκούσῃ ταφῇ παραδίδωσι. τούτου μυρία μὲν καὶ ἄλλα μνημονεύουσιν οἱ τάνδρος καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς διαμείναντες γνώριμοι,

7.16.1 | Here, Astyrius is also mentioned for his God-loving boldness. He was a man of the Roman Senate, dear to the emperor, and well-known to all because of his nobility and wealth. Being present when the martyr was being completed, he placed his shoulder under him and lifted the body onto a splendid and costly garment. After wrapping it richly, he handed it over for the proper burial. Many others remember this man, and those who are well-known to us also speak of him.

## Section 17

7.17.1 | ἀτὰρ καὶ παραδόξου τοιούτου. ἐπὶ τῆς Φιλίππου Καισαρείας, ἣν Πανεάδα Φοίνικες προσαγορεύουσι, φασὶ παρὰ ταῖς αὐτόθι δεικνυμέναις ἐν ταῖς ὑπωρείαις τοῦ καλουμένου Πανίου ὅρους πηγαῖς, ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην προχεῖσθαι, κατά τινα

7.17.1 | But also of such a strange thing. In Caesarea of Philip, which the Phoenicians call Paneas, they say that near the springs shown there at the foot of the mountain called Panion, from which the Jordan also flows, on a certain festival day, a sacrifice

έορτῆς ἡμέραν σφάγιόν τι καταβάλλεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο τῇ τοῦ δαίμονος δυνάμει ἀφανὲς γίνεσθαι παραδόξως, θαῦμά τε εἶναι περιβόητον τοῖς παροῦσι τὸ γινόμενον. παρόντα δ' οὖν ποτὲ τοῖς πραττομένοις τὸν Ἀστύριον, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα καταπεπληγμένους ἴδοντα τοὺς πολλοὺς, οἴκτεῖραι τῆς πλάνης, κάπειτα ἀνανεύσαντα εἰς οὐρανὸν ἱκετεῦσαι διὰ Χριστοῦ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν, τὸ λαοπλάνον δαιμόνιον ἐλέγχαι καὶ παῦσαι τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάτης. ταῦτα δέ φασιν εὐχαμένου ἀθρόως τὸ ιερεῖον ἐπιπολάσαι ταῖς πηγαῖς, οὕτω τε αὐτοῖς τὸ παράδοξον οἶχεσθαι, μηδενὸς μηκέτι θαύματος περὶ τὸν τόπον γενομένου.

## Section 18

7.18.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 15] Άλλ' ἔπειδὴ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως είς μνήμην ἐλήλυθα, οὐκ ἄξιον ἡγοῦμαι παρελθεῖν διήγησιν καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς μνημονεύεσθαι ἄξιαν. τὴν γὰρ αἰμορροοῦσαν, ἦν ἐκ τῶν ιερῶν εύαγγελίων πρὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τοῦ πάθους ἀπαλλαγὴν εὐρέσθαι μεμαθήκαμεν, ἐνθένδε ἔλεγον ὅρμᾶσθαι, τόν τε οἶκον αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως δείκνυσθαι, καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος εἰς αὐτὴν εὔεργεσίας θαυμαστὰ τρόπαια παραμένειν.

7.18.2 | ἐστάναι γὰρ ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ λίθου πρὸς μὲν ταῖς πύλαις τοῦ αὐτῆς οἴκου γυναικὸς ἐκτύπωμα χάλκεον ἐπὶ γόνῳ κειλιμένον καὶ τεταμέναις ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσθεν ταῖς χερσὶν, ἱκετευούσῃ ἑοικόδ, τούτου δὲ ἄντικρυς ἄλλο τῆς αὐτῆς ὄλης ἀνδρὸς ὅρθιον σχῆμα, διπλοῖδα κοσμίως περιβεβλημένον, καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τῇ γυναικὶ προτεῖνον, οὗ παρὰ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐπὶ τῆς στήλης αὐτῆς ξένον τι βοτάνης εἶδος φύειν,

was thrown down, and this happened invisibly by the power of the spirit, becoming a great wonder to those present. When Astyrius was present and saw many people astonished by the event, he felt pity for their deception. Then, raising his eyes to heaven, he prayed to God, who is above all, through Christ, to rebuke the deceiving spirit and to stop the deception of the people. They say that after he prayed, the priest was able to pour water over the springs, and thus the strange event ceased, with no more wonder happening in that place.

7.18.1 | But since I have come to this city, I think it is worth telling about and remembering what is worthy for those with us. For we have learned from the holy gospels that the woman who had a flow of blood was healed by our Savior. From here, they say that her house can be shown in the city, and that the wonderful signs of the blessings from the Savior remain there.

7.18.2 | For there stands on a high stone, at the entrance of the same house, a bronze relief of a woman kneeling with her hands stretched out in prayer. Opposite this, there is another figure of a man made from the same material, standing upright, dressed in a double robe, and extending his hand toward the woman. Below his feet, on the base, there grows a strange kind of plant, which rises up to the hem of the bronze

ὅ μέχρι τοῦ κρασπέδου τῆς τοῦ χαλκοῦ  
διπλοίδος ἀνιὸν, ἀλεξιφάρμακόν τι  
παντοίων νοσημάτων τυγχάνειν.

7.18.3 | τοῦτον τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ  
εἰκόνα φέρειν ἔλεγον. ἔμεινε δὲ καὶ εἰς  
ἡμᾶς, ὡς καὶ ὅψει παραλαβεῖν  
ἐπιδημήσαντας αὐτοὺς τῇ πόλει.

7.18.4 | καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν τοὺς πάλαι ἐξ  
ἔθνῶν εὔεργετηθέντας πρὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος  
ἡμῶν ταῦτα πεποιηκέναι, ὅτε καὶ τῶν  
ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ τὰς εἰκόνας, Παύλου καὶ  
Πέτρου καὶ αὐτοῦ δὴ τού ἀνδριάντα, διὰ  
χρωμάτων ἐν γραφαῖς σωζομένας  
ιστορήσαμεν, ὡς εἰκὸς τῶν παλαιῶν  
ἀπαραφυλάκτως οἴα σωτῆρας ἔθνικῇ  
συνηθείᾳ παρ' ἐαυτοῖς τοῦτον τιμάν  
εἰώθότων τὸν τρόπον.

## Section 19

7.19.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 16] Τὸν γὰρ Ἰακώβου  
θρόνον, τοῦ πρώτου τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων  
ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ  
σωτῆρος καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων  
ὑποδεξαμένου, ὃν καὶ ἀδελφὸν τοῦ  
Χριστοῦ χρηματίσαι οἱ θεῖοι λόγοι  
περιέχουσιν, εἰς δεῦρο πεφυλαγμένον οἱ  
τῇδε κατὰ διαδοχὴν περιέποντες ἀδελφοὶ  
σαφῶς τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐπιδείκνυνται οἶν περὶ  
τοὺς ἄγιους ἄνδρας τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς ἔνεκεν  
οἱ τε πάλαι καὶ οἱ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔσωζόν τε καὶ  
ἀποσώζουσι σέβας. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ταύτῃ.

## Section 20

7.20.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 4] Ὁ γε μὴν Διονύσιος

double robe, believed to be a remedy for all kinds of illnesses.

7.18.3 | They said that this statue carries the image of Jesus. It also remained for us, so that we could see it when we visited the city.

7.18.4 | And it is not surprising that those who were helped by our Savior in the past have done these things, when we have also recorded the images of his apostles, Paul and Peter, and of Christ himself, preserved in colors in writings. It is fitting that the ancient people honored him in this way, as was their custom.

7.19.1 | For the throne of James, the first bishop of the Church of Jerusalem, who received it from the Savior and the apostles, and who is also called the brother of Christ, is kept here. The brothers who have succeeded him clearly show it to everyone, as is fitting for the holy men, both those of old and those who save and protect us now. And this is what is said here.

7.20.1 | Dionysius, in addition to the letters

πρὸς ταῖς δηλωθείσαις ἐπιστολαῖς αὐτοῦ  
ἔτι καὶ τὰς φερομένας ἑορταστικὰς τὸ  
τηνικαῦτα συντάττει, πανηγυρικωτέρους  
ἐν αὐταῖς περὶ τῆς τοῦ πάσχα ἑορτῆς  
ἀνακινῶν λόγους. τούτων τὴν μὲν  
Φλαουίῳ προσφωνεῖ, τὴν δὲ Δομετίῳ καὶ  
Διδύμῳ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ κανόνα ἔκτιθεται  
όκταετηρίδος, ὅτι μὴ ἄλλοτε ἢ μετὰ τὴν  
έαρινὴν ἴσημερίαν προσήκοι τὴν τοῦ  
πάσχα ἑορτὴν ἐπιτελεῖν παριστάμενος.  
πρὸς ταύταις καὶ ἄλλην τοῖς κατ'  
Ἀλεξάνδρειαν συμπρεσβυτέροις ἐπιστολὴν  
διαχαράττει, ἐτέροις τε ὁμοῦ διαφόρως,  
καὶ ταύτας ἔτι τοῦ διωγμοῦ συνεστῶτος.

he has already written, also writes festive letters at that time, stirring up more joyful words about the feast of Passover. He addresses one to Flavius and another to Domitius and Didymus, in which he also presents a rule stating that the Passover feast should be celebrated only after the spring equinox. He also sends another letter to the older presbyters in Alexandria, with different messages, while these letters are still written during the time of persecution.

## Section 21

7.21.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 19] Ἐπιλαβούσης δὲ  
ὅσον οὕπω τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπάνεισι μὲν εἰς τὴν  
Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, πάλιν δ' ἐνταῦθα στάσεως  
καὶ πολέμου συστάντος, ως οὐχ οἶν τε ἦν  
αὐτῷ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἅπαντας  
ἀδελφοὺς εἰς ἐκάτερον τῆς στάσεως μέρος  
διηρημένους ἐπισκοπεῖν, αὐθις ἐν τῇ τοῦ  
πάσχα ἑορτῇ ὥσπερ τις ὑπερόριος ἐξ αὐτῆς  
τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας διὰ γραμμάτων αὐτοῖς  
ώμιλει.

7.21.1 | When peace had not yet been fully restored, he returned to Alexandria. But again, with conflict and war breaking out there, it was not possible for him to oversee all the brothers in the city, as they were divided into different groups because of the unrest. During the Passover feast, he spoke to them through letters, as if he were addressing them from above Alexandria.

7.21.2 | καὶ Ἱέρακι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν κατ'  
Αἴγυπτον ἐπισκόπῳ ἐτέραν ἑορταστικὴν  
ἐπιστολὴν γράφων, τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν τῶν  
Ἀλεξανδρέων στάσεως μνημονεύει διὰ  
τούτων 'ἔμοὶ δὲ τί θαυμαστὸν εἴ πρὸς τοὺς  
πορρω"τέρω παροικοῦντας χαλεπὸν τὸ  
κἄν δι' ἐπιστολῶν "όμιλεῖν, ὅτε καὶ τὸ πρὸς  
ἔμαυτὸν αὐτῷ μοι διαλέγε"σθαι καὶ τῇ ἴδιᾳ  
ψυχῇ συμβουλεύεσθαι καθέστηκεν  
ἄπορον;

7.21.2 | And after this, Hierax writes another festive letter to the bishop in Egypt, mentioning the unrest among the Alexandrians. He says through this, 'What is so surprising for me if it is difficult to communicate with those living far away even through letters, when it has become impossible for me to speak to myself and give advice to my own soul?'

7.21.3 | πρὸς γοῦν τὰ ἔμαυτοῦ σπλάγχνα, τοὺς “δμοσκήνους καὶ συμψύχους ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ‘πολίτας ἐκκλησίας ἐπιστολιμαίων δέομαι γραμμάτων, καὶ ταῦθ’ ὅπως διαπεμψαίμην, ἀμήχανον “φαίνεται. ḥῶν γὰρ ἄν τις οὐχ ὅπως εἰς τὴν ὑπερ“όριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπ’ ἀνατολῶν ἐπὶ δυσμὰς περαιωθείη, ἢ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπέλθοι.

7.21.4 | τῆς γὰρ ἐρήμου τῆς πολλῆς “ἀτριβοῦς ἐκείνης, ἦν ἐν δυσὶ γενεαῖς διώδευσεν ὁ “Ισραὴλ, ἀπειρος μᾶλλον καὶ ἄβατός ἐστιν ἡ μεσαι“τάτη τῆς πόλεως ὁδός· καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἦν ἐκεῖνοι “ῥαγεῖσαν καὶ διατειχισθεῖσαν ἔσχον ἵππήλατον, καὶ “ῶν ἐν τῇ λεωφόρῳ κατεποντίσθησαν Αἴγυπτοι, οἱ “γαληνοὶ καὶ ἀκύμαντοι λιμένες γεγόνασιν εἰκὼν, “πολλάκις φανέντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς φόνων οἶον “έρυθρὰ θάλασσα.

7.21.5 | ὁ δ’ ἐπιτρέων ποταμὸς τὴμ “πόλιν ποτὲ μὲν ἐρήμου τῆς ἀνύδρου ξηρότερος “ῶφθη, καὶ μᾶλλον αὐχμώδης ἐκείνης, ἦν διαπο“ρευόμενος ὁ Ισραὴλ οὕτως ἐδίψησεν, ὡς Μωυσοῦ “μὲν καταβοῦν, ḥυῆναι δ’ αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ θαυμάσια “ποιοῦντος μόνου ἐκ πέτρας ἀκροτόμου ποτόν·

7.21.6 | ποτὲ “δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐπλήμμυρεν ὡς πᾶσαν τὴν περίχωρον “τάς τε ὁδοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἐπικλύσαντα, τῆς ἐπὶ “Νῶς γενομένης τοῦ ὕδατος φορᾶς ἐπαγαγεῖν ἀπει“λήν· ἀεὶ δὲ αἷματι καὶ φόνοις καὶ καταποντισμοῖς “κάτεισι μεμιασμένος, οὗος ὑπὸ Μωυσῆ γέγονε τῷ “Φαραὼ,

7.21.3 | Indeed, for my own feelings, I ask for letters from my brothers who are of the same mind and spirit, and who belong to the same church. It seems impossible for me to send these things. For it would be easier for someone to travel from the east to the west, or to come to Alexandria from Alexandria itself.

7.21.4 | For the vast wilderness, which Israel crossed in two generations, is much more endless and impassable than the middle road of the city. And of the sea, which they broke through and fortified, the Egyptians were drowned in the highway, and calm and still harbors became like an image, often appearing because of the murders in them, like the Red Sea.

7.21.5 | But the flowing river once appeared to the city as drier than the wilderness, and more parched than that, which Israel crossed and thirsted for, so that Moses cried out to bring them water from the amazing spring that came only from a sharp rock.

7.21.6 | Once it flooded so much that it covered all the surrounding area, washing away the roads and the fields, bringing a terrible flow of water upon the land. But it is always stained with blood, murders, and drownings, like what happened to Pharaoh by Moses, when it turned into blood and

μεταβαλών είς αἷμα καὶ ἐποζέσας.

became a curse.

7.21.7 | καὶ “ποῖον γένοιτ’ ἀν τοῦ πάντα καθαίροντος ὕδατος ὕδωρ “καθάρσιον ἄλλο; πῶς ἀν ὁ πολὺς καὶ ἀπέραντος “ἀνθρώποις ώκεανὸς ἐπιχυθεὶς τὴν πικρὰν ταύτην “ἀποσμήξαι θάλασσαν; ἡ πῶς ἀν ὁ μέγας ποταμὸς “ὁ ἐκπορευόμενος ἔξ Ἐδὲμ, τὰς τέσσαρας ἀρχὰς εἰς “ἄς ἀφορίζεται μετοχετεύσας είς μίαν τοῦ Γηῶν, “ἀποπλύναι τὸ λύθρον;

7.21.7 | And what kind of water could cleanse everything? How could the vast and endless ocean wash away this bitter sea for people? Or how could the great river that flows from Eden, dividing into four heads, come together to wash away the filth?

7.21.8 | ἡ πότε ὁ τεθολωμένος “ὑπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν πανταχόθεν ἀναθυμιάσεων ἄὴρ “εἱλικρινῆς γένοιτο; τοιοῦτοι γάρ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀτμοὶ, “καὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνεμοι, ποταμῶν τε αὖραι καὶ “λιμένων ἀνιψήσεις ἀποπνέουσιν, ὡς σηπομένων ἐν “πᾶσι τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις στοιχείοις νεκρῶν ἵχωρας “εἶναι τὰς δρόσους.

7.21.8 | And when could the air, clouded by the wicked from all sides, become pure? For such mists come from the earth, and winds from the sea, and breezes from rivers and marshes blow, as if the dews are the decay of all the underlying elements of dead things.

7.21.9 | εἴτα θαυμάζουσι καὶ διαπο“ροῦσι πόθεν οὶ συνεχεῖς λοιμοὶ, πόθεν αἱ χαλεπαὶ νόσοι, πόθεν αἱ παντοδαπαὶ φθοραὶ, πόθεν ὁ ποικίλος καὶ πολὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅλεθρος, διὰ τί “μηκέτι τοσοῦτο πλῆθος οἰκητόρων ἡ μεγίστη πόλις “ἐν αὐτῇ φέρει, ἀπὸ νηπίων ἀρξαμένη παίδων μέχρι “τῶν εἰς ἄκρον γεγηρακότων, ὅσους ὡμογέροντας οὓς “έκάλει πρότερον ὄντας ἔτρεφεν, ἄλλ’ οἱ τεσσαράκονταὶ καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτῶν τοσοῦτο ‘πλείονες τότε ὥστε μὴ συμπληροῦσθαι νῦν τὸν “ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν, προσεγγραφέντων καὶ συγκαταλεγέντων εἰς τὸ δημόσιον σιτηρέσιον τόν ἀπὸ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἔτῶν μέχρι τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα, καὶ γεγόνασιν οἶον ἡλικιῶται

7.21.9 | Then they wonder and are puzzled about where the constant plagues come from, where the terrible diseases come from, where all kinds of destruction come from, where the varied and great ruin of people comes from. Why does the greatest city no longer hold so many inhabitants, starting from infants and children up to the very old? Those whom it once fed as they grew up are now fewer, and even those who are thirty and up to seventy years old are now so many that the number cannot be filled, as they are counted and listed for public food from the age of fourteen to eighty, and those who are the youngest now look like the oldest from long ago.

τῶν πάλαι γεραίτατων οἱ ὄψει “νεώτατοι.

7.21.10 | καὶ οὕτω μειούμενον ἀεὶ καὶ δαπα“νώμενον ὄρῶντες τὸ ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνθρώπων γένος οὐ τρέμουσιν, αὔξομένου καὶ προκόπτοντος τοῦ παντελοῦς αὔτῶν ἀφανισμοῦ.”

7.21.10 | And seeing that the race of humans on earth is always decreasing and wasting away, they do not tremble at the complete destruction that is growing and advancing.

## Section 22

7.22.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 20] Μετὰ ταῦτα λοιμικῆς τὸν πόλεμον διαλαβούσης νόσου, τῆς τε ἑορτῆς πλησιαζούσης, αὔθις διὰ γραφῆς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὅμιλεῖ, τὰ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐπισημαίνομενος πάθη διὰ τούτων

7.22.1 | After this, when the disease of the plague had taken hold of the war and the festival was approaching, he again speaks to his brothers through writing, pointing out the sufferings caused by this disaster.

7.22.2 | “τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις οὐκ ἀν δόξειε “καιρὸς ἑορτῆς εἶναι τὰ παρόντα. οὐδ' ἔστιν αὐτοῖς “οὕτε οὗτος οὕτε τις ἔτερος, οὐχ ὅπως τῶν ἐπιλύπων, ἀλλ' οὐδ' εἴ τις περιχαρής, δὸν οἰηθεῖν μάλιστα. “νῦν μέν γε θρῆνοι πάντα, καὶ πενθοῦσι πάντες, καὶ περιηχοῦσιν οἵμωγαὶ τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ‘τῶν τεθνηκότων καὶ τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων δόσημέραι.”

7.22.2 | For the other people, it would not seem to be the right time for a festival. There is no one, neither this person nor anyone else, who is cheerful, as they might have thought. Now, indeed, there are wails everywhere, and everyone is mourning, and the city echoes with cries because of the many who have died and those who are dying every day.

7.22.3 | ὡς γάρ ἐπὶ τῶν πρωτοτόκων τῶν Αἴγυπτίων γέγραπται, οὕτως καὶ νῦν ἐγενήθη κραυγὴ μεγάλη. οὐ γάρ ἔστιν οἰκία, ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῇ τεθνῃ· κώς· καὶ ὥφελόν γε πολλὰ μὲν γάρ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ “τὰ πρὸ τούτου συμβεβηκότα.

7.22.3 | For just as it was written about the firstborn of the Egyptians, so now a great cry has arisen. For there is no house in which there is not someone dead; and indeed, many terrible things have happened before this.

7.22.4 | πρῶτον μὲν ἡμᾶς “ῆλασαν, καὶ μόνοι πρὸς ἀπάντων διωκόμενοι καὶ “θανατούμενοι ἐωρτάσαμεν καὶ τότε, καὶ

7.22.4 | First, they drove us away, and we alone, being chased and killed by everyone, celebrated a festival then. And every place

πᾶς ὁ τῆς “καθ’ ἔκαστον θλίψεως τόπος πανηγυρικὸν ἡμῖν “γέγονε χωρίον, ἀγρὸς, ἔρημία, ναῦς, πανδοχεῖον, “δεσμωτήριον· φαιδροτάτην δὲ πασῶν ἥγανον ἐορτὴν οἱ τέλειοι μάρτυρες εύωχηθέντες ἐν οὐρανῷ. “

of sorrow became a festive area for us: fields, wilderness, ships, inns, and prisons. But the most joyful of all were those who were perfect witnesses, feasting in heaven.

7.22.5 | μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πόλεμος καὶ λιμὸς ἐπέλαβεν, ἢ “τοῖς ἔθνεσι συνδιηνέγκαμεν, μόνοι μὲν ὑποστάντες “ὅσα ἡμῖν ἐλυμήναντο, παραπολαύσαντες δὲ καὶ ὡν “ἀλλήλους εἰργάσαντό τε καὶ πεπόνθασι· καὶ τῇ “Χριστοῦ πάλιν ἐνηυφράνθημεν εἰρήνῃ, ἦν μόνοις “ἡμῖν δέδωκε.

7.22.5 | After these things, war and famine seized us, which we endured together with the nations. We alone, having suffered all that they inflicted on us, also experienced what they had worked against each other and had suffered. And in Christ, we were again filled with joy in peace, which he alone has given to us.

7.22.6 | βραχυτάτης δὲ ἡμῶν τε καὶ αὐτῶν “τυχόντων ἀναπνοῆς, ἐπικατέσκηψεν ἡ νόσος αὐτῇ, “πρᾶγμα φόβου τε παντὸς φοβερώτερον ἐκείνοις, καὶ “συμφορᾶς ἡστινοσοῦν σχετλιώτερον, καὶ ὡς ἴδιός “τις αὐτῶν ἀπήγγειλε συγγραφεὺς, πρᾶγμα μόνον “δὴ τῆς πάντων ἐλπίδος κρείσσον γενόμενον· ἡμῖν “δὲ οὐ τοιοῦτο μὲν, γυμνάσιον δὲ καὶ δοκίμιον οὐ “δενὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἔλαττον. ἀπέσχετο μὲν γάρ οὐδὲ “ἡμῶν, πολλὴ δὲ ἔξηλθεν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη.”

7.22.6 | But when we and they had a brief moment of relief, this disease descended upon us, a thing more fearful than any fear to them, and more terrible than any misfortune. And as one of them reported, it became a thing greater than all hope. But for us, it was not so; it was a gymnasium and a trial, not less than any of the others. For it did not hold back even from us, but much went out to the nations.

7.22.7 | τούτοις ἔξῆς ἐπιφέρει λέγων “οἱ γοῦν πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀδελφῶν “ἡμῶν δι’ ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἀγάπην καὶ φιλαδελφίαν “ἀφειδοῦντες ἐαυτῶν καὶ ἀλλήλων ἔχόμενοι, ἐπισκοποῦντες ἀφυλάκτως τοὺς νοσοῦντας, λιπαρῶς ὑπὲρ “ρετούμενοι, θεραπεύοντες ἐν Χριστῷ, συναπηλάτης τοντοῦ ἐκείνοις ἀσμενέστατα, τοῦ παρ’ ἐτέρων ἀνα “πιμπλάμενοι πάθους, καὶ τὴν νόσον ἐφ’ ἐαυτοὺς “ἔλκοντες ἀπὸ τῶν πλησίον, καὶ ἐκόντες ἀναμασσό “μενοι τὰς ἀλγηδόνας. καὶ πολλοὶ

7.22.7 | Next, he said, 'Indeed, most of our brothers, with overflowing love and brotherly kindness, gave themselves and each other without holding back. They watched over the sick without fear, serving diligently, healing in Christ, and they joyfully helped those in need, filling themselves with the sufferings of others. They drew the disease upon themselves from those nearby, willingly taking on the pains. And many who cared for the sick and healed others themselves died, transferring

νοσοκομήσαντες “καὶ ῥώσαντες ἐτέρους  
ἔτελεύτησαν αὐτοὶ, τὸν ἔκεινον θάνατον  
εἰς ἑαυτοὺς μεταστησάμενοι, καὶ τὸ  
“δημῶδες ὅπια, μόνης ἀεὶ δοκεῖν  
φιλοφροσύνης ἔχει σθαι, ἔργω δὴ τότε  
πληροῦντες, ἀπιόντες αὐτῶν περίψημα.

the death of those to themselves. And the common saying, that it seems to be only a matter of kindness, they truly fulfilled in action, leaving behind a memory of them.'

7.22.8 | οἱ γοῦν ἄριστοι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν  
ἀδελφῶν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἔξεχώρησαν  
τοῦ βίου, πρεσβύτεροί τέ τινες καὶ  
διάκονοι καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ “λίαν  
ἐπαινούμενοι, ὡς καὶ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦτο  
τὸ “εἶδος διὰ πολλὴν εὔσεβειαν καὶ πίστιν  
ἰσχυρὰν γε νόμενον μηδὲν ἀποδεῖν  
μαρτυρίου δοκεῖν.

7.22.8 | Indeed, the best of our brothers departed from this life in this way, some being elders and deacons, and very praised by the people, as this kind of death seemed to come from much piety and strong faith, showing nothing lacking in their witness.

7.22.9 | καὶ τὰ σώματα δὲ τῶν ἀγίων  
ὑπτίαις χερσὶ καὶ κόλποις  
“ὑπολαμβάνοντες, καθαιροῦντες τε  
όφθαλμοὺς, καὶ στόματα συγκλείοντες,  
ώμοφοροῦντες τε καὶ διατιθέντες,  
προσκολλώμενοι, συμπλεκόμενοι, λουτροῖς  
“τε τε καὶ περιστολαῖς κατακοσμοῦντες,  
μετὰ μικρὸν ἔτυγχανον τῶν Ἰσων, ἀεὶ τῶν  
ὑπολειπομένων ἐφεπομένων τοῖς πρὸ<sup>τ</sup>  
αὐτῶν.

7.22.9 | And they took the bodies of the saints with their hands and arms, cleaning their eyes and closing their mouths, carrying and placing them, sticking together, joining together, adorning them with baths and wrappings. Soon they received the same treatment, always being followed by those who remained after them.

7.22.10 | τὰ δέ γε ἔθνη πᾶν “τούναντίον·  
καὶ νοσεῖν τε ἀρχομένους ἀπωθοῦντο, “καὶ  
ἀπέφευγον τοὺς φιλτάτους, κάν ταῖς ὁδοῖς  
έρητίπτουν ἡμιθνῆτας, καὶ νεκροὺς  
ἀτάφους ἀπεσκύβαλίζοντο, τὴν τοῦ  
θανάτου διάδοσιν καὶ κοινωνίαν  
ἐκτρεπόμενοι, ἦν οὐκ ἦν καὶ πολλὰ  
μηχανωμένοις ἔκκλιναι ὥρᾳ.

7.22.10 | But the nations did the opposite: they began to push away those who were sick and avoided their loved ones. They threw half-dead bodies in the streets and left the dead unburied, trying to escape the spread and sharing of death, which was not easy to avoid for many who were trying.

7.22.11 | μετὰ δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν  
ἐπιστολὴν, είρηνευσάντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν

7.22.11 | After this letter, when peace was made among those in the city, it sends

πόλιν, τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἀδελφοῖς  
ἐορταστικὴν αὐθις ἐπιστέλλει γραφὴν, καὶ  
ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἄλλας διαφόρους πάλιν  
διατυποῦται. φέρεται δέ τις αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ  
σαββάτου, καὶ ἄλλη περὶ γυμνασίου.

another festive letter to the brothers in Egypt, and in this one, different matters are discussed again. There is also something about the Sabbath and another about gymnasiums.

7.22.12 | Έρμάμμωνι δὲ καὶ τοῖς κατ'  
Αἴγυπτον ἀδελφοῖς δι' ἐπιστολῆς ὅμιλῶν,  
πολλὰ τε ἄλλα περὶ τῆς Δεκίου καὶ τῶν μετ'  
αὐτὸν διεξελθών κακοτροπίας, τῆς κατὰ  
τὸν Γαλλιηνὸν εἱρήνης ἐπιμιμήσκεται.

7.22.12 | Speaking through a letter to Hermammon and the brothers in Egypt, he discusses many other things about Decius and the troubles that followed him, and he also reminds them of the peace that was made in Galilee.

## Section 23

7.23.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 21] Οὐδὲν δὲ οἶον τὸ  
καὶ τούτων ὥδε πως ἔχόντων ἀκοῦσαι·  
“ἔκεινος μὲν “οὖν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων  
τὸν μὲν προέμενος, “τῷ δὲ ἐπιθέμενος,  
παγγενῆ ταχέως καὶ πρόρριζος  
“έξηφανίσθη· ἀνεδείχθη δὲ καὶ  
συνανωμολογήθη “παρὰ πάντων ὁ  
Γαλλιηνὸς, παλαιὸς ἄμα βασιλεὺς “καὶ νέος,  
πρῶτος ὁν καὶ μετ' ἔκεινους παρών.

7.23.1 | However, there is nothing like hearing this: 'That one, therefore, of the kings before him, having advanced one and having attacked another, quickly and completely disappeared. The Galilean was revealed and agreed with everyone, being both an old king and a young one, being the first and present among those after him.'

7.23.2 | “κατὰ γὰρ τὸ ῥηθὲν πρὸς τὸν  
προφήτην Ἡσαΐαν “τὰ “ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ἴδού  
ἡκασι, καὶ καινὰ ἂ νῦν ἀνατελεῖ.” “ώσπερ  
γὰρ νέφος τὰς ἡλιακὰς ἀκτῖνας ὑποδραμὸν  
καὶ “πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐπηλυγάσαν ἐσκίασεν  
αὐτὸν καὶ ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προεφάνη, εἴτα  
παρελθόντος ἡ διατακέντος τοῦ “νέφους  
ἔξεφάνη πάλιν ἐπανατείλας ὁ ἥλιος ὁ  
προαὐτείλας, οὕτω προστὰς καὶ  
προσπελάσας ἐαυτὸν ὁ “Μακριανὸς τῆς  
ἐφεστώσης Γαλλιηνοῦ βασιλείας, ὁ “μὲν  
οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἦν, ὁ δὲ ἔστιν ὅμοιώς  
“ώσπερ ἦν.

7.23.2 | For according to what was said to the prophet Isaiah, 'From the beginning, behold, they have come, and new things that now arise.' Just as a cloud briefly hides the rays of the sun and then, after the cloud has passed or been removed, the sun that was shining before appears again, so the Macrian, standing and approaching himself to the presence of the Galilean kingdom, is not there, since he was not even there, but he is there just as he was.

7.23.3 | καὶ οἶον ἀποθεμένη τὸ γῆρας ἡ  
βασι“λεία, καὶ τὴν προοῦσαν  
ἀνακαθηραμένη κακίαν, “άκμαιότερον νῦν  
έπανθεῖ, καὶ πορρώτερον ὀρᾶται “καὶ  
ἀκούεται καὶ διαφοιτᾷ πανταχοῦ.”

7.23.4 | εἴθ’ ἔξῆς καὶ τὸν χρόνον, καθ’ ὃν  
ταῦτ’ ἔγραψε, διὰ τούτων σημαίνει “καὶ μοι  
πάλιν τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν βασιλικῶν “έτῶν  
ἔπεισι σκοπεῖν. ὅρῳ γάρ, ὡς ὄνομασθέντες  
“μὲν οἱ ἀσεβέστατοι μετ’ οὐ πολὺ  
γεγόνασιν ἀνώνυμοι, ὁ δὲ ὀσιώτερος καὶ  
φιλοθεώτερος ὑπερβάς τὴν “ἐπταετηρίδα  
νῦν ἐνιαυτὸν ἔνατον διανύει, ἐν ᾧ “ἡμεῖς  
ἐορτάσωμεν.”

## Section 24

7.24.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 21] Ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσι  
σπουδάζεται αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ περὶ ἐπαγγελιῶν  
δύο συγγράμματα. ἡ δ’ ὑπόθεσις αὐτῷ  
Νέπως ἦν, ἐπίσκοπος τῶν κατ’ Αἴγυπτον,  
Ιουδαϊκώτερον τὰς ἐπηγγελμένας τοῖς  
ἀγίοις ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ἐπαγγελίας  
ἀποδοθήσεσθαι διδάσκων, καὶ τινα χιλιάδα  
έτῶν τρυφῆς σωματικῆς ἐπὶ τῆς ξηρᾶς  
ταύτης ἔσεσθαι ὑποτιθέμενος.

7.24.2 | δόξας γοῦν οὗτος ἐκ τῆς  
Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου τὴν ἴδιαν  
κρατύνειν ὑπόληψιν, “ἔλεγχον  
ἀλληγοριστῶν” λόγον τινὰ περὶ τούτου  
συντάξας ἐπέγραψε.

7.24.3 | πρὸς ὃν ὁ Διονύσιος ἐν τοῖς περὶ  
ἐπαγγελιῶν ἐνίσταται, διὰ μὲν τοῦ

7.23.3 | And just as if the kingdom had cast  
off old age and had removed the previous  
wickedness, it now blooms more  
vigorously and is seen more clearly and is  
heard and moves everywhere.

7.23.4 | Then next, concerning the time in  
which these things were written, it means  
that I must again consider the days of the  
royal years. For I see that the most impious  
have become nameless not long ago, but  
the most holy and god-loving, having  
surpassed the seven-year period, now  
completes the ninth year, in which we  
should celebrate.

7.24.1 | On all these matters, he studies two  
writings about the promises. His  
assumption was that he was a bishop in  
Egypt, teaching that the promises made to  
the saints in the divine scriptures would be  
fulfilled, and suggesting that there would  
be a thousand years of physical delight in  
this dry land.

7.24.2 | This man, indeed, holds his own  
opinion from the Revelation of John, having  
written a certain work titled 'Refutation of  
Allegorists' about this.

7.24.3 | To him, Dionysius refers in his  
writings about the promises, presenting his

προτέρου τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην ἣν εἶχε περὶ τοῦ δόγματος παρατιθέμενος, διὰ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου περὶ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου διαλαμβάνων, ἔνθα τοῦ Νέπωτος κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν μνημονεύσας ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ γράφει

own opinion about the doctrine through the first one, and discussing the Revelation of John through the second, where he mentions Nepos at the beginning and writes these things about him.

7.24.4 | “έπει δὲ σύνταγμά τι προκομίζουσι Νέπωτος, ὃ λίαν ἐπερείδονται ὡς ἀναντιρρήτως ἀποδεικνύντι τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείαν ἐπὶ γῆς ἔσεσθαι, ἐν ἄλλοις μὲν πολλοῖς ἀποδέχομαι καὶ ἀγαπῶ Νέπωτα, τῆς τε πίστεως καὶ τῆς φιλοπονίας καὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς διατριβῆς καὶ τῆς πολλῆς ψαλμῳδίας, ἢ μέχρι νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν εὐθυμοῦνται, καὶ πάνυ δι' αἰδοῦς ἄγω τὸν ἄνθρωπον ταύτῃ μαλλοῦ, ἥτις προανεπαύσατο, ἀλλὰ φίλη γάρ καὶ προτιμοτάτη πάντων ἡ ἀλήθεια) ἐπαινεῖν τε χρὴ καὶ συναινεῖν ἀφθόνως, εἴ τι ὁρθός λέγοιτο, ἔξετάζειν δὲ καὶ διευθύνειν, εἴ τι μὴ φαίνοιτο ὑγιῶς ἀναγεγραμμένον.

7.24.4 | Since Nepos brings forward some writings, to which they strongly lean as he clearly proves that the kingdom of Christ will be on earth, I accept and love Nepos in many other ways, for his faith, hard work, study of the scriptures, and his great singing, which many of the brothers still enjoy. And I truly hold this man in high regard, as he rested in this way, for truth is dear and more precious than all. It is right to praise and agree freely if he says anything correct, but to examine and correct if anything does not seem to be written healthily.

7.24.5 | καὶ πρὸς μὲν παρόντα καὶ ψιλῷ λόγῳ δογματίζοντα αὐτάρκης ἦν ἀνὴρ ἄγραφος ὅμιλίᾳ, δι' ἐρωτήσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως πείθουσα καὶ συμβιβάζουσα τοὺς ἀντιδιατιθεμένους· γραφῆς δὲ ἔκκειμένης, ὡς δοκεῖ τισὶ, πιθανωτάτης, καὶ τινων διδασκάλων τὸν μὲν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας τὸ μηδὲν “ἡγουμένων, καὶ τὸ τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις ἐπεσθαι παρέντων, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπιστολὰς ἐκφαυλισάντων, τὴν δὲ τοῦ συγγράμματος τούτου διδασκαλίαν “ώς μέγα δή τι καὶ κεκρυμμένον μυστήριον κατεπαγγελλομένων, καὶ τοὺς ἀπλουστέρους ἀδελφοὺς ἡμῶν “ούδὲν ἔώντων ὑψηλὸν καὶ μεγαλεῖον φρονεῖν

7.24.5 | And for those present, if they were to teach with simple words, the unwritten teaching would be sufficient, convincing and bringing together those who oppose each other through questions and answers. But since the scriptures are available, as some think, they are more persuasive, and some teachers consider the law and the prophets to mean nothing, and they follow the gospels, while dismissing the letters of the apostles. The teaching of this writing is seen as a great and hidden mystery, and it leads our simpler brothers to think of nothing high or great, neither about the glorious and truly divine appearance of our Lord, nor about our resurrection from the

ούτε “περὶ τῆς ἐνδόξου καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐνθέου τοῦ κυρίο “ἡμῶν ἐπιφανείας, οὔτε τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐκ νεκρῶν “ἀναστάσεως καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπισυναγωγῆς καὶ “δομοιώσεως, ἀλλὰ μικρὰ καὶ θνητὰ καὶ οἴα τὰ νῦν ἐλπί“ζεν ἀναπειθόντων ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀναγκαῖο “καὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς πρὸς παρόντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν δια“λεχθῆναι Νέπωτα.”

dead and the gathering and likeness to him. Instead, they think of small and mortal things, like what they now hope for in the kingdom of God. It is necessary for us to speak with our brother Nepos about the present.

7.24.6 | τούτοις μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιφέρει λέγων “ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ Ἀρσινοῖτη γενόμενος, ἐνθα, “ὡς οἶδας, πρὸ πολλοῦ τοῦτο ἐπεπόλαζε τὸ δόγμα, “ὡς καὶ σχίσματα καὶ ἀποστασίας ὅλων ἐκκλησιῶν “γεγονέναι, συγκαλέσας τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ δι“δασκάλους τῶν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἀδελφῶν, παρόντων “καὶ τῶν βουλομένων ἀδελφῶν, δημοσίᾳ τὴν ἔξετα“σιν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ λόγου προετρεψάμην.

7.24.6 | With these things, he adds by saying, 'In fact, while in Arsinoe, as you know, this teaching was spreading for a long time, causing divisions and separations in all the churches. I called together the elders and teachers of the brothers in the villages, as well as the willing brothers present, to publicly conduct an examination of the matter.'

7.24.7 | καὶ “τοῦτό μοι προσαγόντων τὸ βιβλίον ὡς τι ὅπλον καὶ “τεῖχος ἀκαταμάχητον, συγκαθεσθεὶς αὐτοῖς τριῶν “ἔξῆς ἡμερῶν ἐξ ἔω μέχρις ἐσπέρας, διευθύνειν ἐπει“ράθην τὰ γεγραμμένα.

7.24.7 | And when they brought this book to me as if it were an invincible weapon and wall, I sat with them for three days, from morning until evening, trying to explain the written words.

7.24.8 | ἐνθα καὶ τὸ εύσταθὲς “καὶ τὸ φιλάληθες καὶ τὸ εύπαρακολούθητον καὶ “συνετὸν ὑπερηγάσθην τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ὡς ἐν τάξει “καὶ μετ' ἐπιεικείας τὰς ἐρωτήσεις καὶ τὰς ἐπαπορή“σεις καὶ τὰς συγκαταθέσεις ἐποιούμεθα, τὸ μὲν ἐκ “παντὸς τρόπου φιλονείκως τῶν ἄπαξ δοξάντων πε“ριέχεσθαι, εἰ καὶ μὴ φαίνοιντο ὄρθῶς ἔχοντα, παρ“αιτησάμενοι, μήτε δὲ τὰς ἀντιλογίας ὑποστελλόμενοι, “ἄλλ' εἰς ὅσον οἶόν τε τῶν προκειμένων ἐπιβατεύειν “καὶ κρατύνειν αὐτὰ πειρώμενοι, μήτε, εἰ λόγος αἱ“ρεῖ,

7.24.8 | There, I was filled with the stable, truthful, and easy-to-follow teachings of the brothers, as we took turns asking questions and raising concerns with kindness and order. We aimed to cover everything, even if those who had once held certain views did not seem to be correct. We asked them not to hold back from debates, but to the best of our ability, we tried to engage with and understand the matters at hand. We did not let fear of being wrong stop us from speaking up or agreeing, but we approached everything with a clear

μεταπείθεσθαι καὶ συνομολογεῖν  
αἰδούμενοι, “ἄλλ’ εὐσυνειδήτως καὶ  
ἀνυποκρίτως καὶ ταῖς καρ“δίαις πρὸς τὸν  
Θεὸν ἡπλωμέναις τὰ ταῖς ἀποδείξεσι ‘καὶ  
διδασκαλίαις τῶν ἀγίων γραφῶν  
“καταδεχόμενοι.

7.24.9 | καὶ τέλος ὁ τε τῆς διδαχῆς ταύ‘της  
άρχηγὸς καὶ εἰσηγητὴς, ὁ καλούμενος  
Κορακίων, “ἐν ἐπηκόῳ πάντων τῶν  
παρόντων ἀδελφῶν ὡμολό“γησε καὶ  
διεμαρτύρατο ἡμῖν μηκέτι τούτῳ  
προσ“έξειν, μηδὲ διαλέξεσθαι περὶ τούτου,  
μηδὲ μεμνῆ“σθαι, μηδὲ διδάξειν, ὡς ἱκανῶς  
ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντι“λεχθέντων ἡρημένος· τῶν τε  
ἄλλων ἀδελφῶν οἱ “παρόντες ἔχαιρον ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τῇ κοινολογίᾳ καὶ τῇ πρὸς “πάντας  
συγκαταβάσει καὶ συνδιαθέσει.”

## Section 25

7.25.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 22-23] Εἶθ’ ἔξῆς  
ὑποβὰς περὶ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου  
ταῦτά φησι· τινὲς μὲν οὖν τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν  
ἡθέτησαν καὶ ἀνεσκεύασαν πάντη τὸ  
βιβλίον, καθ’ ἔκαστον κεφάλαιον  
διευθύνοντες ἄγνωστόν τε καὶ  
ἀσυλλόγιστον ἀποφαίνοντες, ψεύδεσθαι τε  
τὴν ἐπιγραφήν.

7.25.2 | Ἰωάννου γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι λέγουσιν·  
ἄλλ’ οὐδ’ ἀποκάλυψιν εἶναι, τὴν σφροδρῶ  
καὶ παχεῖ κεκαλυμμένην τῷ τῆς ἀγνοίας  
παραπετάσματι· καὶ οὐχ ὅπως τῶν  
ἀποστόλων τινὰ, ἄλλ’ οὐδ’ ὅλως τῶν ἀγίων  
ἢ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τούτου γεγονέναι  
ποιητὴν τοῦ συγγράμματος, Κήρινθον δὲ  
τὸν καὶ τὴν ἀπ’ ἑκείνου κληθεῖσαν  
Κηρινθιανὴν συστησάμενον αἵρεσιν,

conscience and sincerity, with our hearts  
open to God, accepting the proofs and  
teachings of the holy scriptures.

7.24.9 | And finally, the leader and  
introducer of this teaching, the one called  
Korakion, declared and testified in front of  
all the present brothers that we should no  
longer engage with this matter, nor discuss  
it, remember it, or teach it, since it had  
been sufficiently rejected by those who  
opposed it. The other brothers present  
rejoiced at this common agreement and the  
mutual understanding and cooperation  
among everyone.

7.25.1 | Then, going on, he speaks about the  
Revelation of John: some of those before us  
have criticized and examined the entire  
book, addressing each chapter, declaring it  
unknown and unconsidered, and claiming  
that the title is false.

7.25.2 | They say that it is not by John; and  
they also say that it is not a revelation,  
which is heavily and thickly covered by the  
curtain of ignorance. They claim that it was  
not written by any of the apostles, nor by  
any of the saints, or anyone from the  
church. They suggest that it was composed  
by Cerinthus, who established a sect named  
after him, wanting to give his own creation

άξιόπιστον ἐπιφημίσαι θελήσαντα τῷ  
ἐαυτοῦ πλάσματι ὄνομα.

7.25.3 | τοῦτο γὰρ εἶναι τῆς διδα'σκαλίας  
αὐτοῦ τὸ δόγμα, ἐπίγειον ἔσεσθαι τὴν τοῦ  
Χριστοῦ βασιλείαν, καὶ ὡν αὐτὸς ὥρέγετο  
φιλοσώματος ὧν καὶ πάνυ σαρκικὸς, ἐν  
τούτοις ὄνειροπολεῖν ἔσεσθαι, γαστρὸς καὶ  
τῶν ὑπὸ γαστέρα πλησμοναῖς, τουτέστι  
σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ γάμοις, καὶ δι' ὧν  
εὐφημότερον ταῦτα ὥήθη ποριεῖσθαι,  
“ἐορταῖς καὶ θυσίαις καὶ ιερείων σφαγαῖς.

7.25.4 | ἐγὼ “δὲ ἀθετῆσαι μὲν οὐκ ἀν  
τολμήσαιμι τὸ βιβλίον, “πολλῶν αὐτὸ διὰ  
σπουδῆς ἔχόντων ἀδελφῶν, μείζονα δὲ  
τῆς ἔμαυτοῦ φρονήσεως τὴν ὑπόληψιν τὴν  
“περὶ αὐτοῦ λαμβάνων, κεκρυμμένην εἶναι  
τινα καὶ “θαυμασιωτέραν τὴν καθ' ἔκαστον  
ἔκδοχὴν ὑπολαμβάνω. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ  
συνίημι, ἀλλ' ὑπονοῶ γε νοῦν “τινὰ  
βαθύτερον ἔγκεῖσθαι τοῖς ρήμασιν.

7.25.5 | οὐκ “ἴδιω ταῦτα μετρῶν καὶ κρίνων  
λογισμῷ, πίστει δὲ “τὸ πλέον νέμων,  
ὑψηλότερα ἢ ὑπ' ἔμοῦ καταληφθῆναι  
νενόμικα, καὶ οὐκ ἀποδοκιμάζω ταῦτα, ἀ  
μὴ “συνεώρακα, θαυμάζω δὲ μᾶλλον ὅτι μὴ  
καὶ εἶδον.”

7.25.6 | ἐπὶ τούτοις τὴν ὅλην τῆς  
Ἀποκαλύψεως βασανίσας γραφὴν,  
ἀδύνατον δὲ αὐτὴν κατὰ τὴν πρόχειρον  
ἀποδεῖξας νοεῖσθαι διάνοιαν, ἐπιφέρει  
λέγων “συν“τελέσας δὴ πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν  
τὴν προφητείαν, μα“καρίζει ὁ προφήτης  
τούς τε φυλάσσοντας αὐτὴν “καὶ δὴ καὶ  
ἐαυτόν. μακάριος γὰρ, φησὶν, ὁ τηρῶν

a credible name.

7.25.3 | For this is the doctrine of his  
teaching: that the kingdom of Christ will be  
earthly, and that he himself, being very  
fleshly and entirely carnal, will dream of  
these things, which are filled with food and  
drink and marriages. He thought that these  
things would be provided through festivals,  
sacrifices, and the slaughter of priests.

7.25.4 | I would not dare to reject the book,  
since many brothers hold it in high regard.  
I take a greater view of my own  
understanding about it, believing that there  
is something hidden and more wonderful  
in each interpretation. For even if I do not  
fully understand, I suspect that there is a  
deeper meaning lying within the words.

7.25.5 | I do not measure and judge these  
things by my own reasoning, but I believe  
that the majority of them are held higher  
than I can grasp. I do not reject those things  
that I have not seen; rather, I am even more  
amazed that I have not seen them.

7.25.6 | On these matters, having examined  
the whole writing of the Revelation, it is  
impossible to understand it according to a  
quick judgment. It says, 'Blessed is the one  
who keeps this prophecy,' and the prophet  
blesses both those who keep it and himself.  
For he says, 'Blessed is the one who keeps  
the words of the prophecy of this book,'

“τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου, “κάγὼ Ἰωάννης ὁ βλέπων καὶ ἀκούων ταῦτα.

7.25.7 | καὶ λεῖσθαι μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν Ἰωάννην, καὶ εἶναι τὴν γρα“φὴν Ἰωάννου ταύτην, οὐκ ἀντερῶ. ἀγίου μὲν γὰρ “εἶναι τινος καὶ θεοπνεύστου συναινῶ, οὐ μὴν ὅτι “δίως ἀν συνθείμην τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν ἀπόστολον, τὸν “υἱὸν Ζεβεδαίου, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰακώβου, οὗ τὸ εὔ“αγγέλιον τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην ἐπιγεγραμμένον καὶ ἡ “ἐπιστολὴ ἡ καθολική.

7.25.8 | τεκμαίρομαι γὰρ ἔκ τε “τοῦ ἥθους ἑκατέρων καὶ τοῦ τῶν λόγων εἴδους, “καὶ τῆς τοῦ βιβλίου διεξαγωγῆς λεγομένης, μὴ τὸν “αὐτὸν εἶναι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐαγγελιστὴς οὐδαμοῦ τὸ “ὄνομα αὐτοῦ παρεγγράφει, οὐδὲ κηρύσσει ἐαυτὸν, “οὕτε διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου οὕτε διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς.”

7.25.9 | εἶθ’ ὑποβάς ταῦτα λέγει πάλιν “Ιωάννης δὲ οὐδαμοῦ “οὐδὲ ὡς περὶ ἐαυτοῦ οὐδὲ ὡς περὶ ἐτέρου· ὁ δὲ τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν γράψας εὐθύς τε ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐαυτὸν προτάσσει Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἦν “δεῖξαι τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ ἐν τάχει, καὶ ἐσήμανεν ἀπὸ “στείλας διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ Ἰω“άννῃ, ὃς ἐμαρτύρησε τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν αὐτοῦ, ὅσα εἶδεν.

7.25.10 | εἶτα καὶ ἐπιστολὴν “γράφει· “Ιωάννης ταῖς ἐπτά ἑκκλησίαις ταῖς ἐν τῇ “Ασίᾳ, χάρις ὑμίν καὶ εἰρήνη. ὁ δέ γε ‘στὴς

and I, John, am the one who sees and hears these things.

7.25.7 | I do not deny that he is called John, and that this writing is by John. For I agree that it is from a holy and inspired source, but I would not easily say that this is the apostle, the son of Zebedee, the brother of James, whose gospel is titled according to John, and the general letter.

7.25.8 | For I conclude from both their character and the style of their words, and from the way the book is presented, that they are not the same person. For the evangelist does not write his name anywhere, nor does he proclaim himself, neither through the gospel nor through the letter.

7.25.9 | Then, having put this aside, he says again, 'John does not mention himself anywhere, nor does he speak of another.' But the one who wrote the Revelation immediately introduces himself at the beginning: 'The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which must be shown to his servants quickly, and he signified it by sending it through his angel to his servant John, who bore witness to the word of God and to his testimony, whatever he saw.'

7.25.10 | Then he also writes a letter: 'John to the seven churches in Asia, grace to you and peace.' But he does not write his name

ούδε τῆς καθολικῆς ἐπιστολῆς προέγραψεν  
“ἐαυτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ ἀπερίττως ἀπ’  
αὐτοῦ τοῦ “μυστηρίου τῆς θείας  
ἀποκαλύψεως ἤρξατο ὃ ἦν ἀπ’ “ἀρχῆς, ὃ  
ἀκηκόαμεν, ὃ ἐωράκαμεν τοῖς ὄφθαλμοῖς  
“ἡμῶν.” ἡμῶν. ἐπὶ ταύτῃ γὰρ τῇ  
ἀποκαλύψει καὶ ὁ κύριος ‘τὸν Πέτρον  
ἔμακάρισεν εἰπών ‘μακάριος εἶ Σίμων· βάρ  
Ἰωνᾶ, ὅτι ὅτι σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα οὐκ ἀπεκάλυψε  
‘ἄλλ’ ὁ πατέρας μου ὃ οὐράνιος.’

in the general letter either, but rather begins with the mystery of the divine revelation: 'That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes.' For in this revelation, the Lord also blessed Peter, saying, 'Blessed are you, Simon son of Jonah, for flesh and blood has not revealed this to you, but my Father who is in heaven.'

7.25.11 | ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ “δευτέρᾳ  
φερομένῃ Ἰωάννου καὶ τρίτῃ, καίτοι  
βραχείαις οὕσαις ἐπιστολαῖς, ὃ Ἰωάννης  
ὄνομαστὶ πρόκειται, ἀλλὰ ἀνωνύμως ὃ  
πρεσβύτερος γέγραπται. “οὗτος δέ γε οὐδὲ  
αὔταρκες ἐνόμισεν, ἅπαξ ἐαυτὸν ὄνομάσας  
διηγεῖσθαι τὰ ἔχης, ἀλλὰ πάλιν  
ἀναλαμβάνει ἑγώ Ἰωάννης, ὃ ἀδελφὸς  
ἡμῶν καὶ συγκοινωνὸς ἐν τῇ θλίψει καὶ  
βασιλείᾳ καὶ ἐν ὑπομονῇ Ἰησοῦ, ἐγενόμην  
ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ καλουμένῃ Πάτμῳ, διὰ τὸν  
λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ·  
“καὶ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τῷ τέλει ταῦτα εἴπε  
‘μακάριος ὃ “τηρῶν τοὺς λόγους τῆς  
προφητείας τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου· κάγὼ  
Ἰωάννης ὃ βλέπων καὶ ἀκούων ταῦτα. ”

7.25.11 | But not even in the second letter attributed to John, nor in the third, although they are short letters, does John mention his name. Instead, the elder is written anonymously. This one did not think it enough to name himself once to tell what follows, but again takes up, 'I, John, your brother and partner in the tribulation and kingdom and patience of Jesus, was on the island called Patmos for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus.' And indeed, at the end, he said, 'Blessed is the one who keeps the words of the prophecy of this book.' And I, John, the one seeing and hearing these things.

7.25.12 | ὅτι μὲν οὖν Ἰωάννης ἐστὶν ὃ  
ταῦτα γράφων ‘αὐτῷ λέγοντι πιστευτέον  
ποῖος δὲ οὗτος ἄδηλον. “οὐ γὰρ εἴπεν  
ἐαυτὸν εἶναι, ὡς ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ  
πολλαχοῦ, τὸν ἡγαπημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ  
κυρίου μαθητὴν, “οὐδὲ τὸν ἀναπεσόντα ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τὸ στῆθος αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν  
Ἴακωβού, οὐδὲ τὸν αὐτόπτην καὶ  
αὐτήκοον τοῦ κυρίου γενόμενον.

7.25.12 | That John is the one writing these things is said to him, 'You must believe.' But who this is remains unclear. For he did not say that he is the one, as in the Gospel, where he often refers to himself as the beloved disciple of the Lord, nor as the one who leaned on his chest, nor as the brother of James, nor as the eyewitness and hearer of the Lord.

7.25.13 | εἴπε γὰρ ἂν τι τούτων τῶν

7.25.13 | For if he wanted to clearly show

προδεδηλωμένων, σαφῶς ἐαυτὸν  
έμφα“νίσαι βουλόμενος. ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν  
οὐδὲν, ἀδελφὸν “δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ συγκοινωνὸν  
εἶπε καὶ μάρτυρα Ἰησοῦ “καὶ μακάριον ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τῇ θέᾳ καὶ ἀκοῇ τῶν ἀποκαλύψεων.

himself among those things previously mentioned, he would have said something. But of these, he said nothing, only that he is a brother of ours and a partner and witness of Jesus, and blessed for the sight and hearing of the revelations.

7.25.14 | πολλοὺς δὲ ὄμωνύμους Ἰωάννη<sup>2</sup>  
τῷ ἀπὸ στόλῳ νομίζω γεγονέναι, οἱ διὰ τὴν  
πρὸς ἑκεῖνον ἀγάπην, καὶ τὸ θαυμάζειν καὶ  
ζηλοῦν, ἀγαπηθῆναι “τε ὅμοιώς αὐτῷ  
βούλεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ τὴν  
“ἐπωνυμίαν τὴν αὐτὴν ἡσπάσαντο, ὥσπερ  
καὶ ὁ Παῦλος πολὺς καὶ δὴ ὁ Πέτρος ἐν  
τοῖς τῶν πιστῶν παις<sup>3</sup> σὺν ὀνομάζεται.

7.25.14 | I think many others have become named John, like the apostle, because of their love for him, and their admiration and jealousy, wanting to be loved by the Lord in the same way. They took on the same name, just as many, including Paul and Peter, are named among the believers.

7.25.15 | ἔστι μὲν οὗν καὶ ἔτερος Ἰωάννης  
“ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι τόν ἀποστόλων ὁ  
ἐπικληθεὶς Μάρκος, ὃν Βαρνάβας καὶ  
Παῦλος ἐαυτοῖς συμπαρέλαβον, περὶ οὗ  
καὶ πάλιν λέγει εἰχον δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννην  
“ὑπηρέτην.” εἰ δὲ οὗτος ὁ γράψας ἔστιν οὐκ  
ἄν “φαίην” οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀφῆθαι σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰς  
τὴν Ἀσίαν “γέγραπται, ἀλλὰ ἀναχθέντες  
μὲν, φησὶν, ἀπὸ τῆς “Πάφου οἵ περ τὸν  
Παῦλον ἤλθον εἰς Πέργην τῆς “Παμφυλίας,  
Ἰωάννης δὲ ἀποχωρήσας ἀπ’ αὐτῶν  
“ὑπέστρεψεν Ἱεροσόλυμα.

7.25.15 | There is also another John mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, the one called Mark, whom Barnabas and Paul took with them. About him, it is said, 'They also had John as a helper.' If this writer is he, I would not say so; for it is not written that he arrived with them in Asia. But it says that after they set sail from Paphos, they came to Perga in Pamphylia, and John left them and returned to Jerusalem.

7.25.16 | ἄλλον δέ τινα “τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ  
γενομένων, ἐπεὶ καὶ δύο φασὶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ  
γενέσθαι μνήματα, καὶ ἐκάτερον Ἰωάννου  
λέγεσθαι.

7.25.16 | Another John is said to have been among those in Asia, since they say that two memorials were made in Ephesus, and each is called after John.

7.25.17 | καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νοημάτων δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ<sup>4</sup>  
τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ τῆς συντάξεως αὐτῶν  
εἰκότως ἔτερος οὗτος παρ’ ἑκεῖνον

7.25.17 | And from the meanings and from the words and their arrangement, it is reasonable that this one will be understood

ύπονοηθήσεται.

7.25.18 | συνάδουσι μὲν γὰρ ἀλλήλοις τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ, ὁμοίως τε ἄρχονται. τὸ μέν φησιν· ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, ἡ δὲ, δὴ ἡνὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. τὸ μέν φησι· καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ ἔθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός· ἡ δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ σμικρῷ παρηλλαγμένα· δὲ ἀκηκόαμεν, δὲ ἐωράκαμεν τοῖς ὄφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν, δὲ ἔθεασάμεθα, καὶ αἱ χεῖρες ἡμῶν ἐψηλάφησαν, περὶ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἐφανερώθη.

7.25.19 | ταῦτα γὰρ προανακρούεται διατεινόμενος, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἔξης ἐδήλωσε, πρὸς τοὺς οὐκ ἐν σαρκὶ φάσκοντας ἐληλυθέναι τὸν κύριον· διὸ καὶ συνῆψεν ἐπιμελῶς· καὶ ἐωράκαμεν καὶ μαρτυροῦμεν, καὶ ἀπαγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον, ἥτις ἦν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, καὶ ἐφανερώθη ἡμῖν· δὲ ἐωράκαμεν καὶ ἀκηκόαμεν ἀπαγγέλλομεν καὶ ὑμῖν.

7.25.20 | ἔχεται αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν προθέσεων οὐκ ἀφίσταται, διὰ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν κεφαλαίων καὶ ὄνομάτων πάντα διεξέρχεται, ὃν τινα μὲν ἡμεῖς συντόμως ὑπεμνήσαμεν.

7.25.21 | ὃ δὲ προσεχῶς ἐντυγχάνων εὐρήσει ἐν ἑκατέρῳ πολλὴν τὴν ζωὴν, πολὺ τὸ φῶς, ἀποτροπὴν τοῦ σκότους, συνεχῆ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, τὴν χάριν, τὴν χαρὰν, τὴν

differently from that one.

7.25.18 | For the Gospel and the letter agree with each other, and they begin in a similar way. The former says: 'In the beginning was the Word,' while the latter says: 'What was from the beginning.' The former says: 'And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, glory as of the only Son from the Father.' The latter has similar things, but in slightly different words: 'What we have heard, what we have seen with our eyes, what we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, concerning the Word of life, and the life was manifested.'

7.25.19 | For he is saying these things beforehand, as he made clear in what follows, against those who claim that the Lord did not come in the flesh. Therefore, he carefully connected these points: 'And we have seen and bear witness, and we declare to you the eternal life, which was with the Father, and was manifested to us.' What we have seen and heard, we declare to you.

7.25.20 | He holds to his own ideas and does not depart from them, but goes through everything with the same headings and names, some of which we have briefly reminded you.

7.25.21 | But the one who pays close attention will find much life in each, much light, a turning away from darkness, a continuous truth, grace, joy, the flesh and

σάρκα καὶ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ κυρίου, τὴν κρίσιν, τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν, τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγάπην τοῦ θεοῦ, τὴν πρὸς ἄλλήλους ἡμᾶς ἀγάπης ἐντολὴν, ὡς πάσας δεῖ φυλάσσειν τὰς ἐντολάς· ὁ ἔλεγχος τοῦ κόσμου, τοῦ διαβόλου, τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου, ἡ ἐπαγγεῖλα τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος, ἡ νιοθεσία τοῦ θεοῦ, ἡ “διόλου πίστις ἡμῶν ἀπαιτουμένη, ὁ πατήρ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς πανταχοῦ· καὶ ὅλως διὰ πάντων χαρακτηρίζοντας ἔνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν συνορᾶν τοῦ τε εὐαγγεῖλου καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς χρῶτα πρόκειται.

blood of the Lord, judgment, forgiveness of sins, the love of God towards us, the command to love one another, as all must keep the commandments. The proof against the world, the devil, the antichrist, the promise of the Holy Spirit, the adoption of God, the faith of us all is required, the Father and the Son everywhere; and in all things, they mark out one and the same view of both the Gospel and the letter.

7.25.22 | ἀλλ’ λοιοτάτη δὲ καὶ ξένη παρὰ ταῦτα ἡ Ἀποκάλυψις, “μήτε ἔφαπτομένη μήτε γειτνιῶσα τούτων μηδενὶ, “σχεδὸν ὡς εἰπεῖν μηδὲ συλλαβὴν πρὸς αὐτὰ κοινὴν “ἔχουσα.

7.25.22 | But the Revelation is very different and foreign from these, neither touching nor being near to any of them, almost as if it has no common understanding with them.

7.25.23 | ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ μνήμην τινὰ οὐδὲ ἔννοιαν “οὕτε ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως ἔχει ἕως γὰρ τὸ “εὐαγγέλιον), οὕτε τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἡ Ἀποκάλυψις, “Παύλου διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ὑποφήναντός τι καὶ “περὶ τῶν ἀποκαλύψεων αὐτοῦ, ἃς οὐκ ἐνέγραψε “καθ’ αὐτάς.

7.25.23 | But neither does the letter of the Revelation have any memory or idea of the Gospel, nor does the Revelation have any idea of the letter, as Paul suggested in his letters about his revelations, which he did not write down in themselves.

7.25.24 | ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῆς φράσεως τὴν διαφορὰν ἔστι τεκμήρασθαι τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ τῆς “ἐπιστολῆς πρὸς τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν.

7.25.24 | Moreover, the difference in expression can be shown between the Gospel and the letter compared to the Revelation.

7.25.25 | τὰ μὲν γὰρ “οὐ μόνον ἀπταίστως κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων φωνὴν, “ἀλλὰ καὶ λογιώτατα ταῖς λέξεσι, τοῖς συλλογισμοῖς, “ταῖς συντάξεσι τῆς ἐρμηνείας γέγραπται. πολλοῦ “γε δεῖ βάρβαρόν τινα φθόγγον ἡ σολοικισμὸν ἥ “ὅλως ἴδιωτισμὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς

7.25.25 | For these are written not only without error according to the speech of the Greeks, but also very carefully in their words, arguments, and structures of interpretation. It would be a great mistake to find any barbarous sound, solecism, or

εύρεθῆναι. ἐκάτερον 'γὰρ εἶχεν, ὡς ἔοικε,  
τὸν λόγον, ἀμφοτέρους αὐτῷ  
"χαρισμένου τοῦ κυρίου, τὸν τε τῆς  
γνώσεως, τὸν "τε τῆς φράσεως.

completely private language in them. Each one, it seems, had the word, both having been given by the Lord, the one of knowledge and the one of expression.

7.25.26 | τοῦτον δὲ ἀποκάλυψιν μὲν  
"ἐωρακέναι, καὶ γνῶσιν εἰληφέναι καὶ  
προφητείαν, οὐκ ἀντερῶ, διάλεκτον μέντοι  
καὶ γλῶτταν οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐλληνίζουσαν  
αὐτοῦ βλέπω, ἀλλ' ἴδιῳ μασί τε  
βαρβαρικοῖς χρώμενον, καὶ που καὶ  
σολοι"κίζοντα.

7.25.26 | I do not deny that he has seen the Revelation and received knowledge and prophecy, but I see that his dialect and language do not exactly follow Greek, but rather use private expressions that are somewhat barbarous, and sometimes even have solecisms.

7.25.27 | ἄπερ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον νῦν ἔκλέγειν  
"οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπισκώπτων, μή τις νομίσῃ,  
ταῦτα εἴπον, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὴν ἀνομοιότητα  
διευθύνων τῶν γράφων.

7.25.27 | It is not necessary to choose these things now; for I do not say this in a mocking way, so that someone might think, but only to point out the difference in the writings.

## Section 26

7.26.1 | [Nic. H. E VI, 24] Ἐπὶ ταύταις τοῦ Διονυσίου φέρονται καὶ ἄλλαι πλείους ἐπιστολαὶ, ὡσπερ αἱ κατὰ Σαβελλίου πρὸς Ἀμμωνα τῆς κατὰ Βερνίκην ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ ἡ πρὸς Τελεσφόρον, καὶ ἡ πρὸς Εὐφράνορα, καὶ πάλιν Ἀμμωνα καὶ Εὔπορον. συντάττει δὲ περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως καὶ ἄλλα τέσσαρα συγγράμματα, ἢ τῷ κατὰ Ψώμην Διονυσίῳ προσφωνεῖ.

7.26.1 | Along with these, many other letters of Dionysius are also mentioned, such as those to Ammon from the church in Berenice regarding Sabellius, and the one to Telephorus, and the one to Euphranor, and again to Ammon and Euporus. He also writes four other documents about the same subject, which he addresses to Dionysius in Rome.

7.26.2 | καὶ πλείους δὲ παρὰ ταύτας είσὶν αὐτοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπιστολαὶ, καὶ δὴ καὶ πολυεπεῖς λόγοι ἐν ἐπιστολῇς χαρακτῆρι γραφέντες, ὡς οἱ περὶ φύσεως, Τιμοθέῳ τῷ παιδὶ προσπεφωνημένοι, καὶ ὁ περὶ πειρασμῶν, δὲν καὶ αὐτὸν Εὐφράνορι

7.26.2 | And there are many more letters from him among us, and indeed many lengthy discussions written in the form of letters, such as those about nature, addressed to the boy Timothy, and the one about temptations, which he also presented

άνατέθεικεν.

to Euphranor.

7.26.3 | ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ Βασιλείδῃ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Πεντάπολιν παροικιῶν ἐπισκόπω γράφων φησὶν ἐαυτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔξήγησιν πεποιῆσθαι τοῦ Ἐκκλησιαστοῦ. διαφόρους δ' ἡμῖν καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον καταλέλοιπεν ἐπιστολάς. τοσαῦτα ὁ Διονύσιος. ἀλλὰ γάρ ἥδη μετὰ τὴν τούτων ἴστορίαν φέρε καὶ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς τοῖς μετέπειτα γνωρίζειν γενεὰν, ὅποια τις ἦν, παραδῶμεν.

7.26.3 | On these matters, he writes to Basilides, the bishop of the communities in Pentapolis, saying that he has made an explanation of Ecclesiastes. He has also left us various letters to this person. This is what Dionysius has said. But indeed, after the history of these things, we should also pass on what kind of generation there was that came after us.

## Section 27

7.27.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 27] Ξεστὸν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἔτεσιν ἔνδεκα προστάντα διαδέχεται τῷ κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὄμώνυμος Διονύσιος. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Δημητριανοῦ κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν τὸν βίον μεταλλάξαντος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν Παῦλος ὁ ἐκ Εαμοσάτων παραλαμβάνει.

7.27.1 | After eleven years, the Dionysius who is named after Alexandria takes over the leadership of the Roman church. In this time, Paul from Eamosata takes over the bishopric after Demetrius, who changed his life in Antioch.

7.27.2 | τούτου δὲ ταπεινὰ καὶ χαμαιπετῆ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν διδασκαλίαν φρονήσαντος, ὡς κοινοῦ τὴν φύσιν ἀνθρώπου γενομένου, ὃ μὲν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Διονύσιος, παρακληθεὶς ὡς ἀν ἐπὶ τὴν σύνοδον ἀφίκοιτο, γῆρας ὄμοιος καὶ ἀσθένειαν τοῦ σώματος αἴτιασάμενος, ἀνατίθεται τὴν παρουσίαν, δ' ἐπιστολῆς τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην, ἦν ἔχοι περὶ τοῦ ζητουμένου, παραστήσας, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ποιμένες ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν ὡς ἐπὶ λυμεῶνα τῆς Χριστοῦ ποίμνης συνήσαν, οἱ πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν σπεύδοντες.

7.27.2 | Since he was humble and lowly about Christ, thinking about the church's teaching, as a common human being, Dionysius from Alexandria, when called to the council, citing old age and weakness of the body, presents his presence through a letter stating his opinion on the matter at hand. The other leaders of the churches came from different places, like a gathering for the flock of Christ, all hurrying to Antioch.

## Section 28

7.28.1 | Τούτων οἱ μάλιστα διέπρεπον, Φιρμιλιανὸς μὲν τῆς Καππαδοκῶν Καισαρείας ἐπίσκοπος ἦν, Γρηγόριος δὲ καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρος ἀδελφοὶ, τῶν κατὰ Πόντον παροικιῶν ποιμένες, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἐλενος τῆς ἐν Ταρσῷ παροικίας, καὶ Νικομᾶς τῆς ἐν Ἰκονίῳ· οὐ μὴν ἄλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐν Ιεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίᾳς Υμέναιος, τῆς τε ὁμόρου ταύτης Καισαρείας Θεότεκνος, Μάξιμος ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις· τῶν κατὰ Βόστραν δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἀδελφῶν διαπρεπῶς ἡγεῖτο· μυρίους τε ἄλλους οὐκ ἀν ἀπορήσαι τις ἄμα πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις τῆς αὐτῆς ἔνεκεν αἴτιας ἐν τῇ προειρημένῃ πόλει τηνικάδε συγκροτηθέντας ἀπαριθμούμενος, ἄλλὰ τούτων γε οἱ μάλιστα ἐπιφανεῖς οἶδε ἡσαν.

7.28.2 | πάντων οὖν κατὰ καιροὺς διαφόρως καὶ πολλάκις ἐπὶ ταύτῳ συνιόντων, λόγοι καὶ ζητήσεις καθ' ἐκάστην ἀνεκινοῦντο σύνοδον, τῶν μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Σαμισατέα τὰ τῆς ἐτεροδοξίας ἐπικρύπτειν ἔτι καὶ παρακαλύπτεσθαι πειρωμένων, τῶν δὲ ἀπογυμνοῦν καὶ εἰς φανερὸν ἄγειν τὴν αἵρεσιν καὶ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν βλασφημίαν αὐτοῦ διὰ σπουδῆς ποιουμένων.

7.28.3 | ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Διονύσιος τελευτᾷ, κατὰ τὸ δωδέκατον ἔτος τῆς Γαλλιηνοῦ βασιλείας, προστὰς τῆς κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπισκοπῆς ἔτεσιν ἐπτακαίδεκα· διαδέχεται δὲ αὐτὸν Μάξιμος.

7.28.4 | Γαλλιηνοῦ δὲ ἐφ' ὅλοις ἐνιαυτοῖς

7.28.1 | Among those who stood out the most were Firmilian, the bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and Gregory and Athenodoros, brothers who were leaders of the communities in Pontus. Also present were Helenus from the community in Tarsus and Nicomas from Iconium. Furthermore, Hymenaeus from the church in Jerusalem and Theoteknos from the neighboring Caesarea, along with Maximus. This man also led the brothers from Bostra well. There were many others, including elders and deacons, gathered for the same reason in the previously mentioned city, but these were the most notable among them.

7.28.2 | Therefore, at different times and often coming together for the same purpose, discussions and inquiries were raised in the council. Some were trying to hide and cover up the heresies related to Sabellius, while others were working hard to expose and bring to light his heresy and the blasphemy against Christ.

7.28.3 | In this time, Dionysius died in the twelfth year of the reign of Gallienus, having served as bishop of Alexandria for seventeen years. Maximus succeeded him.

7.28.4 | During the entire reign of Gallienus,

πεντεκαίδεκα τὴν ἀρχὴν κεκρατηκότος  
Κλαύδιος κατέστη διάδοχος. δεύτερον δὲ  
οὗτος διελθὼν ἔτος Αύρηλιανῷ μεταδίδωσι  
τὴν ἡγεμονίαν,

Claudius held power for fifteen years as his successor. After this, he passed on the leadership in the year of Aurelian.

## Section 29

7.29.1 | καθ' ὃν τελευταίας  
συγκροτηθείσης πλείστῶν ὅσων  
ἐπισκόπων συνόδου φωραθεὶς καὶ πρὸς  
ἀπάντων ἥδη σαφῶς καταγνωσθεὶς  
ἐτεροδοξίαν ὁ τῆς κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν  
αἰρέσεως ἀρχηγὸς τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν  
καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποκηρύττεται.

7.29.1 | When the last council of most of the bishops was gathered, the leader of the heresy in Antioch was clearly recognized and condemned for his false beliefs by all.

7.29.2 | μάλιστα δ' αὐτὸν εύθύνας  
ἐπικρυπτόμενον διήλεγξε Μαλχίων, ἀνὴρ  
τά τε ἄλλα λόγιος καὶ σοφὸς, τῆς τῶν ἐπ'  
Ἀντιοχείας Ἑλληνικῶν παιδευτηρίων  
διατριβῆς προεστώς, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ δι'  
ὑπερβάλλουσαν τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως  
γνησιότητα πρεσβυτερίου τῆς αὐτόθι  
παροικίας ἡξιωμένος· οὗτός γέ τοι  
ἐπισημειουμένων ταχυγράφων ζήτησιν  
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνστησάμενος, ἦν καὶ εἰς δεῦρο  
φερομένην ἵσμεν, μόνος ἵσχυσε τῶν ἄλλων  
κρυψίνουν ὅντα καὶ ἀπατηλὸν φωρᾶσαι  
τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

7.29.2 | Especially, Malchion, a man both learned and wise, challenged him while he was trying to hide. He was the head of the Greek schools in Antioch and was honored for his strong faith in Christ as an elder of the local community. He alone was able to expose the man, who was deceitful and secretive, by presenting evidence against him that we know was brought here.

## Section 30

7.30.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 29-30] Μίαν δὴ οὖν ἐκ  
κοινῆς γνώμης οἱ ἐπὶ ταύτῳ  
συγκεκροτημένοι ποιμένες διαχαράξαντες  
ἐπιστολὴν εἰς πρόσωπον τοῦ τε Ῥωμαίων  
ἐπισκόπου Διονυσίου καὶ Μαξίμου τοῦ  
Ἀλεξανδρειανὸν ἐπὶ πάσας διαπέμπονται τὰς  
ἐπαρχίας, τὴν αὐτῶν τε σπουδὴν τοῖς πᾶσι  
φανερὰν καθιστάντες, καὶ τοῦ Παύλου τὴν

7.30.1 | Therefore, the shepherds who were gathered together in agreement wrote a letter addressed to both the Roman bishop Dionysius and Maximus of Alexandria. They sent it to all the provinces, making their concern clear to everyone, and they pointed out the twisted heresy of Paul, including the accusations and questions

διάστροφον ἐτεροδοξίαν, ἐλέγχους τε καὶ  
έρωτήσεις ἃς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνακεκινήκασι,  
καὶ ἔτι τὸν πάντα βίον τε καὶ τρόπον τοῦ  
ἀνδρὸς διηγούμενοι· ἐξ ὧν μνήμης ἔνεκεν  
καλῶς ἀν ἔχοι ταύτας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ  
παρόντος διελθεῖν τὰς φωνάς

raised against him, while also recounting  
the entire life and behavior of the man. For  
the sake of memory, it would be good to go  
through their words at this time.

7.30.2 | “Διονυσίῳ καὶ Μαξίμῳ καὶ τοῖς  
κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσι συλλειτουργοῖς  
ἡμῶν ἐπισκόποις ‘καὶ πρεσβυτέροις καὶ  
διακόνοις, καὶ πάσῃ τῇ ὑπὸ ‘τὸν οὐρανὸν  
καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ‘Ἐλενος καὶ ‘Υμές’ναιος  
καὶ Θεόφιλος καὶ Θεότεκνος καὶ Μάξιμος,  
Πρόκλος, Νικομᾶς καὶ Αἴλιανὸς καὶ Παῦλος  
καὶ ‘Βωλανὸς καὶ Πρωτογενῆς καὶ Ιέραξ  
καὶ Εύτύχιος ‘καὶ Θεόδωρος καὶ Μαλχίων  
καὶ Λούκιος, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες οἵ σὺν  
ἡμῖν παροικοῦντες τὰς ἐγγὺς ‘πόλεις καὶ  
ἔθνη ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ  
διάκονοι καὶ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ θεοῦ  
ἀγαπητοῖς ‘ἀδελφοῖς ἐν κυρίῳ χαίρειν.

7.30.2 | To Dionysius and Maximus and to  
all our bishops who serve throughout the  
world, and to the elders and deacons, and  
to the entire universal church under  
heaven, greetings from Helen, Hymenaeus,  
Theophilus, Theoteknos, Maximus, Proclus,  
Nicomas, Aelianus, Paul, Bolanus,  
Protagenius, Hierax, Eutychius, Theodorus,  
Malchion, Lucius, and all the others who  
live nearby with us, including the bishops,  
elders, deacons, and the churches of God.  
Greetings to our beloved brothers in the  
Lord.

7.30.3 | τούτοις μετὰ βραχέα ἐπιλέγουσι  
ταῦτα ἐπεστέλλομεν δὲ ἄμα καὶ  
παρεκαλοῦμεν πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν μακρὰν  
ἐπισκόπων ‘ἐπὶ τὴν θεραπείαν τῆς  
θανατηφόρου διδασκαλίας, ‘ῷσπερ καὶ  
Διονύσιον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, ‘καὶ  
Φιρμιλλιανὸν τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Καππαδοκίας,  
τοὺς ‘μακαρίτας, ὧν δὲ μὲν καὶ ἐπέστειλεν  
εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῆς πλάνης  
οὐδὲ προσρήσεως ἀξιώσας, οὐδὲ πρὸς  
πρόσωπον γράψας αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ τῇ παροικίᾳ  
πάσῃ, ἵς καὶ τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὑπετάξα‘μεν·

7.30.3 | After a short time, we send these  
things and also encourage many of the  
bishops from far away to come for the  
healing of the deadly teaching, just like  
Dionysius of Alexandria and Firmilian  
from Cappadocia, those blessed men. The  
former even sent a letter to Antioch, but he  
did not consider it worthy to address the  
leader of the error directly or to write to  
him personally, but instead to the whole  
community, to which we also submitted a  
copy.

7.30.4 | ὁ δὲ Φιρμιλλιανὸς καὶ δὶς  
ἀφικόμενος κατέγνω μὲν τῶν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου  
καινοτομουμένων, ὡς ἴσμεν καὶ  
μαρτυροῦμεν οἱ παραγενόμενοι, καὶ ἄλλοι

7.30.4 | But Firmilian, after arriving twice,  
condemned the new teachings coming from  
him, as we know and testify, along with  
many others who agree. And when he

πολ “λοὶ συνίσασιν, ἐπαγγειλαμένου δὲ μεταθήσεσθαι, πιστεύσας καὶ ἐλπίσας ἄνευ τινὸς περὶ τὸν λόγον “λοιδορίας τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς δέον καταστήσεσθαι, ἀνε’ βάλετο, παρακρουσθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ καὶ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἐαυτοῦ ἀρνουμένου, καὶ τὴν πίστιν, ἣν καὶ αὐτὸς πρότερον εἶχε, μὴ φυλάξαντος.

promised to change his mind, believing and hoping that the matter of insults would be settled properly, he withdrew, being led astray by the one who denies his own God, and he did not keep the faith that he had before.

7.30.5 | ἔμελλε δὲ καὶ νῦν ὁ Φιρμιλλιανὸς εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν διαβήσεσθαι, καὶ μέχρι γε Ταρσῶν ἦκεν, ἀτε τῆς ἀρνησιθέου κακίας αὐτοῦ πεῖραν εἰληφώς· ἀλλὰ γάρ μεταξὺ “συνεληλυθότων ἡμῶν καὶ καλούντων καὶ ἀναμενόν“των, ἄχρις ἂν ἔλθῃ, τέλος ἔσχε τοῦ βίου.”

7.30.5 | Now Firmillian was also about to go to Antioch, and he had even reached Tarsus, having experienced the evil of denying God. But while we were gathered together, calling and waiting for him to arrive, his life came to an end.

7.30.6 | μεθ’ ἔτερα δ’ αὐθις τὸν βίον τοῦ αὐτοῦ, οἵας ἐτύγχανεν ἀγωγῆς, διαγράφουσιν ἐν τούτοις “ὅπου γε ἀποστάς “τοῦ κανόνος ἐπὶ κίβδηλα καὶ νόθα διδάγματα με“τελήλυθεν, ούδεν δεῖ τοῦ ἔξω ὅντος τὰς πράξεις κρίνειν·”

7.30.6 | After that, they write about the life of the same person, describing the kind of guidance he had, saying, 'Where he has strayed from the rule and has embraced false and counterfeit teachings, there is no need to judge the actions of one who is outside.'

7.30.7 | ούδ’ ὅτι πρότερον πένης ὡν καὶ πτωχὸς, καὶ μήτε παρὰ πατέρων παραλαβών μηδεμίαν εύπορίαν, μήτε ἐκ τέχνης ἢ τινος ἐπιτηδεύματος κτησάμενος, νῦν εἰς ὑπερβάλλοντα πλοῦτον ἐλήλακεν, ἐξ ἀνομιῶν καὶ ἱεροσυλιῶν καὶ ὡν αἴτει καὶ σείει τοὺς ἀδελφούς, καταβραβεύων τοὺς ἀδικουμένους, “καὶ ὑπισχνούμενος βοηθήσειν μισθοῦ, ψευδόμενος “δὲ καὶ τούτους, καὶ μάτην καρπούμενος τὴν τῶν ἐν πράγμασιν ὄντων ἐτοιμότητα πρὸς τὸ διδόναι ὑπὲρ ἀπαλλαγῆς τῶν ἐνοχλούντων, πορισμὸν ἥγούμενος “τὴν θεοσέβειαν·”

7.30.7 | Nor is it that, being poor and without wealth before, and having received no fortune from his ancestors, nor gaining anything from a craft or any trade, he has now rushed into excessive riches. He has done this through wrongdoings and sacrilege, and by asking and shaking down his brothers, rewarding those who are wronged, 'and promising to help for a fee, but deceiving them, and in vain reaping the readiness of those who are in need to give for relief from those who trouble them, thinking that this is piety.'

7.30.8 | οὕτε ὡς ὑψηλοφρόνει καὶ  
ὑπερῆρται κοσμικὰ ἀξιώματα  
ὑποδυόμενος, καὶ δουκὴνάριος μᾶλλον ἥ  
ἐπίσκοπος θέλων καλεῖσθαι, καὶ “σοβῶν  
κατὰ τὰς ἀγορὰς, καὶ ἐπιστολὰς  
ἀναγινώσκων καὶ ὑπαγορεύων, ἄμα  
βαδίζων δημοσίᾳ καὶ “δορυφορούμενος,  
τῶν μὲν προπορευομένων, τῶν δὲ  
ἔφεπομένων πολλῶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ὡς καὶ  
τὴν πίστιν φθονεῖσθαι καὶ μισεῖσθαι διὰ  
τὸν ὅγκον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν τῆς  
καρδίας·

7.30.9 | οὕτε τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς  
συνόδοις τερατείαν, ἣν μηχανᾶται  
δοξοκοπῶν καὶ φαντασιοκοπῶν, καὶ τὰς  
τῶν ἀκεραιοτέρων ψυχὰς τοῖς τοιούτοις  
ἐκπλήττων, βῆμα μὲν καὶ θρόνον ὑψηλὸν  
ἐσαυτῷ κατασκευασά“μένος, οὐχ ὡς  
Χριστοῦ μαθητής, σήκρητον δὲ, “ῶσπερ οἱ  
τοῦ κόσμου ἄρχοντες, ἔχων τε καὶ  
όνομάζων, παίων τε τῇ χειρὶ τὸν μηρὸν, καὶ  
τὸ βῆμα “ἀράττων τοῖς ποσὶ, καὶ τοῖς μὴ  
ἐπαινοῦσι μηδὲ “ῶσπερ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις  
κατασείουσι ταῖς ὁθόναις “μηδ’ ἐκβοῶσί τε  
καὶ ἀναπηδῶσι κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς “μηδ’  
ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν στασιώταις ἀνδράσι τε καὶ  
γυναίοις, “ἀκόσμως οὕτως ἀκροωμένοις,  
τοῖς δ’ οὖν ὡς ἐν “οἴκῳ θεοῦ σεμνοπρεπῶς  
καὶ εὔτάκτως ἀκούουσιν “ἐπιτιμῶν καὶ  
ἐνυβρίζων, καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀπελθόντας “ἐκ τοῦ  
βίου τούτου παροινῶν ἔξηγητὰς τοῦ λόγου  
“φορτικῶς ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, καὶ  
μεγαλορρημονῶν περὶ “ἐσαυτοῦ, καθάπερ  
οὐκ ἐπίσκοπος, ἀλλὰ σοφιστὴς καὶ “γόης·

7.30.10 | ψαλμοὺς δὲ τοὺς μὲν είς τὸν  
κύριον ἡμῶν “Ιησοῦν Χριστὸν παύσας, ὡς  
δὴ νεωτέρους καὶ νεωτέρων ἀνδρῶν  
συγγράμματα, εἰς ἐαυτὸν δὲ ἐν μέσῃ “τῇ

7.30.8 | Nor is it that he is proud and seeks worldly honors, wanting to be called a duke rather than a bishop, and boasting in the marketplaces, reading and dictating letters, while walking publicly and being followed by many, both those who go before him and those who come after, as if he is envied and hated for his size and the arrogance of his heart.

7.30.9 | Nor does he seek the greatness in church assemblies, which he boasts about and imagines, frightening the more honest souls with such things. He has built a high platform and throne for himself, not as a disciple of Christ, but like the rulers of the world, having and naming himself, striking his thigh with his hand, and lifting the platform with his feet, and not praising those who do not applaud him, just as in theaters they shake their cloaks and shout and leap about, while those who listen in a house of God hear him solemnly and properly, scolding and insulting, and urging those who have departed from this life to be interpreters of the word, burdening the common people, and boasting about himself, as if he were not a bishop, but a sophist and a charlatan.

7.30.10 | But he stops the psalms to our Lord Jesus Christ, as if they were the writings of younger and lesser men, and in the middle of the great church on the day of

έκικλησία τῇ μεγάλῃ τοῦ πάσχα ἡμέρᾳ ψαλμωδεῖν “γυναῖκας παρασκευάζων, ὃν καὶ ἀκούσας ἄν τις “φρίξειν, οἴα καὶ τοὺς θωπεύοντας αὐτὸν ἐπισκόπους τῶν διμόρων ἀγρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων καὶ πρεσβυτέρους ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν λαὸν διμιλίαις καθίησι “διαλέγεσθαι.

7.30.11 | τὸν μὲν γὰρ υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐ “βούλεται συνομολογεῖν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατεληλυθέναι, “(ἴνα τι προιλαβόντες τῶν μελλόντων γραφήσεσθαι “θῶμεν· καὶ τοῦτο οὐ λόγῳ ψιλῷ ḥρηθήσεται, ἀλλ’ “ἐξ ὃν ἐπέμψαμεν ὑπομνημάτων δείκνυται πολλα “χόθεν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ ὅπου λέγει Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν “κάτωθεν), οἱ δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν ψάλλοντες καὶ ἔγκωμιά “ζοντες ἐν τῷ λαῷ ἄγγελον τὸν ἀσεβῆ διδάσκαλον “ἐαυτῶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατεληλυθέναι λέγουσι, καὶ “ταῦτα οὐ κωλύει, ἀλλὰ καὶ λεγομένοις πάρεστιν ὁ “ὑπερήφανος.

7.30.12 | τὰς δὲ συνεισάκτους αύτοῦ γυναῖκας, ὡς Ἀντιοχεῖς ὄνομάζουσι, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν “πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων, οἵς καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ “ἄλλα ἀμαρτήματα ἀνίατα ὄντα συγκρύπτει, συνει “δώς καὶ ἐλέγξας, ὅπως αὐτοὺς ὑπόχρεως ἔχῃ, περὶ “ῶν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις ἀδικεῖ, μὴ τολμῶντας κατηγορεῖν τῷ καθ’ ἐαυτοὺς φόβῳ — ἀλλὰ καὶ πλουσίοις οὓς ἀπέφηνεν, ἐφ’ ὃ πρὸς τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ζηλούν “των φιλεῖται καὶ θαυμάζεται — τί ἀν ταῦτα γρά “φοιμεν;

7.30.13 | ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ, ἀγαπητοὶ, ὅτι τὸν ἐπί “σκοπον καὶ τὸ ἱερατεῖον ἄπαν παράδειγμα εἶναι δεῖ “τῷ πλήθει πάντων καλῶν ἔργον, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνο “ἀγνοοῦμεν,

Passover, he prepares to sing with women, of whom if anyone hears, they would shudder, just like those who flatter him, the bishops of neighboring villages and cities, and the elders in their talks with the people, he lets them speak.

7.30.11 | For he does not want to agree that the Son of God has come down from heaven, (so that we might say what will be written in the future. And this will not be said with mere words, but is shown from many records we have sent, especially where it says Jesus Christ has come down). But those who sing to him and praise him among the people say that the impious teacher has come down from heaven as an angel of their own, and he does not stop this, but the arrogant one is present even among those who speak.

7.30.12 | But his female associates, whom the Antiochians call, and the elders and deacons around him, he hides this and other sins that are incurable, knowing and having corrected them, so that he keeps them under obligation, about which he wrongs them with words and deeds, not daring to accuse them out of fear for himself — but he has also dismissed the rich, for whom those who desire such things are loved and admired — what should we write about these things?

7.30.13 | But we know, dear ones, that the bishop and the priesthood should be an example to all for good works, and we do not ignore this, as many have fallen

ὅσοι ὑπὸ τοῦ συνεισάγειν ἐαυτοῖς  
γυναικας ἔξέπεσον, οἱ δὲ ὑπωπτεύθησαν·  
ῶστ' εἰ “καὶ δοίη τις αὐτῷ τὸ μηδὲν  
ἀσελγὲς ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ “τήν γε ὑπόνοιαν τὴν  
ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου πράγματος “φυομένην  
ἔχρην εὐλαβηθῆναι, μή τινα σκανδαλίσῃ,  
“τοὺς δὲ καὶ μιμεῖσθαι προτρέψηται.

because they brought women to themselves, and some have been suspected. So, even if someone were to give him the chance to do nothing immoral, still the suspicion that arises from such actions should be treated with caution, so that he does not cause anyone to stumble, and he should also encourage others to imitate him.

7.30.14 | πῶς γὰρ “ἄν ἐπιπλήξειν ἢ  
νουθετήσειν ἔτερον μὴ συγκατα“βαίνειν  
ἐπὶ πλέον εἰς ταύτὸν γυναικὶ, μὴ ὄλισθῃ  
“φυλαττόμενον, ὡς γέγραπται, ὅστις μίαν  
μὲν ἀπέ “στησεν ἥδη, δύο δὲ ἀκμαζούσας  
καὶ εὐπρεπεῖς “ὄψιν ἔχει μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ, κἄν  
ἀπίη που, συμπερι“φέρει, καὶ ταῦτα  
τρυφῶν καὶ ὑπερεμπιμπλάμενος; ”

7.30.14 | For how could he rebuke or advise someone not to go further with a woman, if he himself does not keep watch, as it is written, whoever has already put away one wife, but has two flourishing and beautiful ones with him, even if he goes away somewhere, he carries these things on, living in luxury and being overly filled?

7.30.15 | ὃν ἔνεκα στενάζουσι μὲν καὶ  
όδύρονται πάντες “καθ' ἐαυτοὺς, οὕτω δὲ  
τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ δυνα“στείαν αὐτοῦ  
πεφόβηνται ὡστε κατηγορεῖν μὴ τολ“μᾶν.

7.30.15 | Because of these things, everyone groans and laments for themselves, and they are so afraid of his tyranny and power that they do not dare to accuse him.

7.30.16 | ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ὡς  
προειρήκαμεν, ηὕθυ“νεν ἄν τις τὸν ἄνδρα,  
τὸ γοῦν φρόνημα καθολικὸν “ἔχοντα καὶ  
συγκαταριθμούμενον ἡμῖν, τὸν δὲ  
έξορ“χησάμενον τὸ μυστήριον καὶ  
έμπομπεύοντα τῇ μιαρᾷ “αἰρέσει τῇ  
Ἄρτεμι (τί γὰρ οὐ χρὴ μόλις τὸν πατέρα  
‘αὐτοῦ δηλῶσαι;) οὐδὲν δεῖν ἡγούμεθα  
τούτων τοὺς “λογισμοὺς ἀπαιτεῖν.”

7.30.16 | But these things, as we have said before, someone could direct towards the man, at least having a general mindset that includes us, but the one who has rejected the mystery and is following the foul heresy of Artemis (for why should he not clearly show his father?) we believe there is no need to demand his thoughts on these matters.

7.30.17 | εἴτ' ἐπὶ τέλει τῆς ἐπι“στολῆς ταῦτ'  
ἐπιλέγουσιν ἡναγκάσθημεν οὖν,  
ἄν“τιτασσόμενον αὐτὸν τῷ θεῷ καὶ μὴ  
εἴκοντα ἐκ“κηρύξαντες, ἔτερον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ

7.30.17 | Then at the end of the letter, they say this: Therefore, we were forced, since he was opposing God and not obeying, to appoint another bishop for the universal

τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καταστῆσαι  
ἐπίσκοπον, θεοῦ προνοίᾳ, ὡς “πεπείσμεθα,  
τὸν τοῦ μακαρίου Δημητριανοῦ καὶ  
“ἐπιφανῶς προστάντος πρὸ τούτου τῆς  
αὐτῆς παροικίας υἱὸν Δόμινον, ἀπασι τοῖς  
πρέπουσιν ἐπὶ “σκόπῳ καλοῖς  
κεκοσμημένον· ἐδηλώσαμέν τε ὑμῖν “ὅπως  
τούτῳ γράφητε, καὶ τὰ παπὰ τούτου  
κοινωνικὰ δέχησθε γράμματα. τῷ δὲ  
Ἄρτερι μᾶς οὗτος ἐπὶ “στελλέτω, καὶ οἱ τὰ  
Ἄρτεμα φρονοῦντες τούτῳ  
“κοινωνείτωσαν.”

7.30.18 | τοῦ δὴ οὗν Παύλου σὺν καὶ τῇ τῆς  
πίστεως ὄρθιοδοξίᾳ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς  
ἐκπεπτωκότος Δόμινος, ὡς εἴρηται, τὴν  
λειτουργίαν τῆς κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν  
ἐκκλησίας διεδέξατο.

7.30.19 | ἀλλὰ γάρ μηδαμῶς ἔκστηναι τοῦ  
Παύλου τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἴκου θέλοντος,  
βασιλεὺς ἐντευχθεὶς Αύρηλιανὸς  
αἰσιώτατα περὶ τοῦ πρακτέου διεληφε,  
τούτοις νεῖμαι προστάττων τὸν οἶκον, οἵ  
ἄν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων  
πόλιν ἐπίσκοποι τοῦ δόγματος  
ἐπιστείλαιεν. οὕτω δῆτα ὁ προδηλωθεὶς  
ἀνήρ μετὰ τῆς ἐσχάτης αἰσχύνης ὑπὸ τῆς  
κοσμικῆς ἀρχῆς ἔξελαύνεται τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

7.30.20 | τοιοῦτος μέν γέ τις ἦν τὸ τηνικάδε  
περὶ ἡμᾶς ὁ Αύρηλιανὸς, προϊούσης δ'  
αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀλλοῖόν τι περὶ ἡμῶν  
φρονήσας ἥδη τισὶ βουλαῖς, ὡς ἀν διωγμὸν  
καθ' ἡμῶν ἐγείρειεν, ἀνεκινεῖτο, πολὺς τε  
ἦν ὁ παρὰ πᾶσι περὶ τούτου λόγος.

7.30.21 | μέλλοντα δὲ ἥδη καὶ σχεδὸν εἴπειν

church, by the providence of God, as we are convinced, the son of the blessed Demetrianus, who had previously come to this same community, named Domnus, adorned with all the qualities fitting for a good bishop. We have made it clear to you that you should write to him, and receive letters from his father in common. Let this one be sent to Artemis, and those who think like Artemis should join him.

7.30.18 | Therefore, Domnus, who has fallen from the faith and the correct teaching of the bishop, as it has been said, took over the service of the church in Antioch.

7.30.19 | But indeed, Paul, wanting to keep the house of the church, was not at all disturbed. The emperor Aurelian, having made a request, very favorably decided on the matter at hand, and I direct these things to the house, to those whom the bishops in Italy and the city of the Romans would send letters of doctrine. Thus, this man, clearly shown, is driven out of the church with the greatest shame by the worldly authority.

7.30.20 | Such was Aurelian concerning us, but as he was moving up in power, he thought differently about us with certain plans, so that he might stir up persecution against us. There was much talk about this among everyone.

7.30.21 | But as it was about to be said in

τοῖς καθ' ἡμῶν γράμμασιν  
ὑποσημειούμενον θεία μέτεισιν δίκη,  
μονονουχὶ ἐξ ἀγκώνων τῆς ἔγχειρήσεως  
αὐτὸν ἀποδεσμοῦσα, λαμπρῶς τε τοῖς πᾶσι  
συνορᾶν παριστῶσα, ὡς οὕποτε γένοιτ' ἀν  
ῥαστώνη τοῖς τοῦ βίου ἄρχουσι κατὰ τῶν  
τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησιῶν, μὴ οὐχὶ τῆς  
ὑπερμάχου χειρὸς θείᾳ καὶ ούρανίῳ κρίσει,  
παιδίας ἔνεκα καὶ ἐπιστροφῆς, καθ' οὓς  
ἀν αὐτὴ δοκιμάζοι καιροὺς, τοῦτ'  
ἐπιτελεῖσθαι συγχωρούσης.

writing concerning us, divine justice intervenes, not only freeing him from the grips of the action but also presenting him brightly for all to see, so that there would never be ease for those in power against the churches of Christ, except through the powerful hand of divine and heavenly judgment, for the sake of teaching and return, during which it itself might test the times, allowing this to be accomplished.

7.30.22 | ἔτεσι γοῦν ἐξ κρατήσαντα τὸν  
Αύρηλιανὸν διαδέχεται Πρόβος, καὶ τοῦτον  
δέ που τοῖς ἵσοις ἐπικατασχόντα Κᾶρος  
ἄμα παισὶ Καρίνῳ καὶ Νουμεριανῷ· πάλιν  
τ' αὖ καὶ τούτων ούδ' ὅλοις τρισὶν  
ἐνιαυτοῖς διαγενομένων μέτεισι τὰ τῆς  
ἡγεμονίας εἰς Διοκλητιανὸν καὶ τοὺς μετ'  
αὐτὸν εἰσποιηθέντας, ἐφ' ὃν ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς  
συντελεῖται διωγμός καὶ ἡ κατ' αὐτὸν τῶν  
ἐκκλησιῶν καθαίρεσις.

7.30.22 | After six years of Aurelian's rule, Probus succeeded him, and he was succeeded by Carus along with his sons, Carinus and Numerian. Again, after these three years had passed, the leadership passed to Diocletian and those who came after him, during which the persecution against us was carried out and the churches faced destruction.

7.30.23 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ μικρῷ τούτου πρότερον  
τὸν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον Διονύσιον ἔτεσιν  
ἐννέα διελθόντα τὴν λειτουργίαν  
διαδέχεται Φῆλιξ.

7.30.23 | But just a little before this, after nine years of service, Felix succeeded Dionysius, the bishop of Rome.

## Section 31

7.31.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 31-32] Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ  
ὁ Μανεῖς τὰς φρένας, ἐπώνυμός τε τῆς  
δαιμονώσης αἱρέσεως, τὴν τοῦ λογισμοῦ  
παρατροπὴν καθωπλίζετο, τοῦ δαίμονος,  
αὐτοῦ δήπου τοῦ θεομάχου σατανᾶ, ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
λύμῃ πολλῶν τὸν ἄνδρα προβεβλημένου.  
βάρβαρος δῆτα τὸν βίον αὐτῷ λόγω καὶ  
τρόπῳ, τὴν τε φύσιν δαιμονικός τις ὁν καὶ  
μανιώδης, ἀκόλουθα τούτοις ἔγχειρῶν,

7.31.1 | In this time, the Manichaeans, named after the demon-possessed sect, was preparing to lead the minds of many astray, influenced by the devil, that same adversary of God. He lived a barbaric life in both word and manner, being somewhat demonic and mad. Following this, he tried to shape himself into Christ, sometimes claiming to be the Comforter and the Holy

Χριστὸν αὐτὸν μορφάζεσθαι ἐπειρᾶτο,  
τοτὲ μὲν τὸν παράκλητον καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ  
πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον' αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν  
ἀνακηρύττων, καὶ τυφούμενός γε ἐπὶ τῇ  
μανίᾳ, τοτὲ δὲ, οἶα Χριστὸς, μαθητὰς  
δώδεκα κοινωνοὺς τῆς καινοτομίας  
αἰρούμενος.

Spirit. He declared himself, and being blinded by his madness, at other times he claimed to be like Christ, choosing twelve disciples to share in his new teachings.

7.31.2 | δόγματά γε μὴν ψευδῆ καὶ ἄθεα ἐκ μυρίων τῶν πρόπαλαι ἀπεσβηκότων ἄθεων συμπεφορημένα καττύσας, ἐκ τῆς Περσῶν ἐπὶ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην ὥσπερ τινὰ θανατηφόρον ίὸν ἔξωμόρχατο, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ τὸ Μανιχαίων δυσσεβὲς ὄνομα τοῖς πολλοῖς είσετι νῦν ἐπιπολάζει. τοιαύτη μὲν οὖν ἡ καὶ τῆσδε τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως ὑπόθεσις, κατὰ τοὺς δεδηλωμένους ὑποφυείσης χρόνους,

7.31.2 | Indeed, he struck down false and godless doctrines that had been gathered from countless earlier atheists, and he unleashed them from Persia upon our world like a deadly poison. From this, the wicked name of the Manichaeans still spreads among many even now. Such is the basis of this false knowledge, arising from the times that have been revealed.

## Section 32

7.32.1 | [Nic. H. E. VI, 34—37] καθ' οὓς τῆς Ρωμαίων προστάντα ἐκκλησίας ἔτεσι Εύτυχιανὸς διαδέχεται· ούδ' ὅλοις δὲ μησὸν οὗτος δέκα διαγενόμενος Γαϊώ τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς καταλείπει τὸν κλῆρον. καὶ τούτου δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτη προστάντος Μαρκελλῖνος κατέστη διάδοχος, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ διωγμὸς κατείληφε.

7.32.1 | During these years, the church of the Romans was led by Eutychianus. This man, after ten years, left the office to Gaius, who was in charge of us. And after about fifteen years of his leadership, Marcellinus became his successor, who was also affected by the persecution.

7.32.2 | κατὰ τούσδε τῆς Ἀντιοχέων ἐπισκοπῆς μετὰ Δόμνον ἡγήσατ' Τίμαιος, ὃν ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς διεδέξατο Κύριλλος, ὃν Δωρόθεον πρεσβείου τοῦ κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν ἡξιω μένον τῶν τηγικάδε λόγιον ἄνδρα ἔγνωμεν. φιλόκαλο δ' οὗτος περὶ τὰ θεῖα γεγονώς καὶ τῆς Ἐβραίων ἐπεμελήθη γλώττης, ὡς καὶ αὐταῖς ταῖς Ἐβραϊκαῖς γραφαῖς ἐπιστημόνως ἐντυγχάνειν.

7.32.2 | After Domnus, Timaios led the church of Antioch, who was appointed by Cyril, a man we recognized as worthy of the position in Antioch. This man was also devoted to the divine and took care to study the Hebrew language, so that he could understand the Hebrew scriptures well.

7.32.3 | . ἦν δ' οὗτο τῶν μάλιστα  
έλευθερίων, προπαιδείας τε τῆς καθ'  
Ἐλληνας οὐκ ἄμιορος, τὴν φύσιν δὲ ἄλλως  
εύνοῦχος, οὕτω πεφυκὼς ἐξ αὐτῆς  
γενέσεως ὡς καὶ βασιλέα διὰ τοῦτο οἶόν τι  
παράδοξον αὐτὸν οίκειώσασθαι, καὶ  
τιμῆσαι γε ἐπιτροπῇ τῆς κατὰ Τυρὸν  
ἀλουργοῦ βαφῆς.

7.32.4 | τούτου μετρίως τὰς γραφὰς ἐπὶ τῆς  
ἐκκλησίας διηγουμένου κατηκούσαμεν.  
μετὰ δὲ Κύριλλον Τύραννος τῆς Ἀντιοχέων  
παροικίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διεδέξατο, καθ'  
ὅν ἥκμασεν ἡ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν πολιορκία.

7.32.5 | τῆς δ' ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ παροικίας  
ήγήσατο μετὰ Σωκράτην Εύσέβιος, ἀπὸ  
Ἀλεξανδρέων ὀρμηθεὶς πόλεως. αἵτια δ'  
αὐτῷ τῆς μεταναστάσεως ὑπῆρξεν ἡ κατὰ  
τὸν Παῦλον ὑπόθεσις, δι' ὃν τῆς Συρίας  
ἐπιβάς πρὸς τῶν τῆδε περὶ τὰ θεῖα  
ἔσπουδακότων τῆς οἰκαδε πορείας  
εἴργεται, ἐπέραστόν τι θεοσεβείας χρῆμα  
τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς γενόμενος, ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν  
παρατεθεισῶν Διονυσίου φωνῶν  
διαγνῶναι ἥδιον.

7.32.6 | Ἀνατόλιος αὐτῷ διάδοχος, ἀγαθός  
φασιν ἀγαθοῦ, καθίσταται, γένος μὲν καὶ  
αὐτὸς Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, λόγων δ' ἔνεκα καὶ  
παιδείας τῆς Ἐλλήνων φιλοσοφίας τε τὰ  
τῶν μάλιστα καθ' ἡμᾶς δοκιμωτάτων  
ἀπενηγμένος, ἀτε ἀριθμητικῆς καὶ  
γεωμετρίας ἀστρονομίας τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης  
διαλεκτικῆς, ἔτι τε φυσικῆς θεωρίας,  
ρητορικῶν τε αὖ μαθημάτων ἐληλακώς εἰς  
ἄκρον ὅν ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀριστοτέλους

7.32.3 | He was one of the most free men,  
not lacking in the education of the Greeks,  
but in nature he was otherwise a eunuch.  
He was born in such a way that it seemed  
somewhat strange for him to be associated  
with kingship, and he was honored with the  
oversight of the purple dye trade in Tyre.

7.32.4 | We heard about the writings of this  
man while he was telling about the church.  
After him, Tyrannus took over the  
leadership of the church in Antioch, during  
which the churches flourished.

7.32.5 | Eusebius, along with Socrates, led  
the community in Laodicea after coming  
from the city of Alexandria. The reason for  
his move was the situation concerning Paul,  
which prevented him from returning home  
while he was studying the divine matters  
here in Syria. He was somewhat inspired by  
a certain matter of piety, making it easy to  
understand from the writings of Dionysius.

7.32.6 | Anatolius became his successor,  
said to be a good man. He was also from  
Alexandria and was well-versed in the  
philosophy of the Greeks. He had studied  
the most respected subjects among us, such  
as arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and  
other forms of dialectic, as well as natural  
philosophy and rhetoric. Because of this,  
there is a reason to believe that he was  
worthy to be appointed by the citizens

διαδοχῆς τὴν διατριβὴν λόγος ἔχει πρὸς τῶν τῇδε πολιτῶν συστήσασθαι αὐτὸν ἀξιωθῆναι.

7.32.7 | μυρίας μὲν οὖν τοῦδε καὶ ἄλλας ἀριστείας ἐν τῇ κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τοῦ Προυχείου πολιορκίᾳ μνημονεύουσιν, ἃτε τῶν ἐν τέλει προνομίας ἔξαιρέτου πρὸς ἀπάντων ἡξιωμένου, δείγματος δὲ ἔνεκα μόνου τοῦδε ἐπιμνησθήσομαι.

7.32.8 | τοῦ πυροῦ, φασὶ, τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἐπιλελοιπότος, ὡς ἥδη τῶν ἔξωθεν πολεμίων μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς τὸν λιμὸν ἀφόρητον καθεστάναι, παρὼν ὁ δηλούμενος οἰκονομεῖται τι τοιοῦτον. Θατέρου μέρους τῆς πόλεως τῷ Ὠραμαϊκῷ συμμαχοῦντος στρατῷ, ταύτῃ τε τυγχάνοντος ἀπολιορκήτου, τὸν Εὔσέβιον ἔτι γὰρ εἶναι τότε αὐτόθι πρὸ τῆς ἐπὶ Συρίαν μεταναστάσεως) ἐν τοῖς ἀπολιορκήτοις ὅντα, μέγα τε κλέος καὶ διαβόητον ὄνομα μέχρι καὶ τοῦ Ὠραμαίων στρατηλάτου κεκτημένον, περὶ τῶν λιμῷ διαφθειρομένων κατὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν πέμψας ὁ Ἀνατόλιος ἐκδιδάσκει.

7.32.9 | ὁ δὲ μαθὼν σωτηρίαν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτομόλοις παρασχεῖν ὡς ἐν μεγίστῃ χάριτι δωρεάς τὸν Ὠραμαίων στρατηγὸν αἴτεῖται, καὶ τῆς ἀξιώσεως γε τυχῶν ἐμφανὲς τῷ Ἀνατολίῳ καθίστησιν. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν δεξάμενος, βουλὴν τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων συναγαγὼν, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πάντας ἡξίου φιλικὴν δοῦναι Ὠραμαίοις δεξιὰν, ὡς δ' ἀγριαίνοντας ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ συνεῖδεν, ἄλλ' οὐ τούτῳ γε, φησὶν, ἀντιλέξειν ποθ' ὑμᾶς οἴομαι, εἰ τοὺς περιττοὺς καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς οὐδαμῆ

here, following the teachings of Aristotle.

7.32.7 | They remember many great deeds during the siege of the city of Prochyntus near Alexandria, especially since he was honored above all others for his special privileges. I will mention only this one example.

7.32.8 | They say that during the siege, when the grain was running low for those being besieged, the enemy outside made their hunger unbearable. The one mentioned was managing something like this. On the other side of the city, where the Roman allies were helping, and where the siege was happening, Eusebius was still there before his move to Syria. He had a great reputation and a well-known name, even among the Roman commanders. Anatolius sent help to those suffering from hunger during the siege.

7.32.9 | He learned that he could provide safety to those who had deserted from the enemy, and he asked the Roman general for this great favor. Having gained this honor, he made it clear to Anatolius. He immediately accepted the promise and called a meeting of the Alexandrians. At first, he thought everyone should give a friendly hand to the Romans. But when he saw them becoming wild at the suggestion, he said, "I do not think you will oppose me if I suggest that we send out the useless

χρησίμους, γραῦδας καὶ νήπια καὶ πρεσβύτας, ἐκδοῦναι πυλῶν ἔξω βαδίζειν ὅποι καὶ βούλοιντο συμβουλεύσαμι. τί γὰρ δὴ τούτους εἰς μάτην ὅσον οὕπω τεθνημένους παρ' ἐαυτοῖς ἔχοιμεν; τί δὲ τοὺς ἀναπήρους καὶ τὰ σώματα λελωβημένους τῷ λιμῷ κατατρύχομεν, τρέφειν δέον μόνους ἄνδρας καὶ νεανίας, καὶ τὸν ἀναγκαῖον πυρὸν τοῖς ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτηδείοις ταμιεύεσθαι;

people—old men, children, and the weak—beyond the gates to go wherever they want. What good are they to us, since they are not yet dead? And why should we waste food on the sick and starving, when we should be feeding only strong men and young people, and keeping the necessary fire for those guarding the city?"

7.32.10 | τοιούτοις τισὶ λογισμοῖς πείσας τὸ συνέδριον, ψῆφον πρῶτος ἀναστὰς ἐκφέρει, πὰν τὸ τῇ στρατείᾳ μὴ ἐπιτήδειον εἴτε ἄνδρῶν εἴτε γυναικῶν γένος ἀπολύειν τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι μηδὲ καταμένουσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰς τὸ ἄχρηστον ἐν τῇ πόλει διατρίβουσιν ἐλπὶς ἀν γένοιτο σωτηρίας, πρὸς τοῦ λιμοῦ διαφθαρησομένοις.

7.32.10 | Having convinced the council with such reasoning, he was the first to stand up and propose a vote to expel all those who were not useful to the army, whether men or women, from the city. He argued that they should not remain and waste away in the city, as there was no hope of salvation for those who would perish from hunger.

7.32.11 | ταύτῃ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπάντων τῇ βουλῇ συγκατατεθειμένων μικροῦ δεῖν τοὺς πάντας τῶν πολιορκουμένων διεσώσατο, ἐν πρώτοις μὲν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν διαδιδράσκειν προιμηθούμενος, οὐ μόνον τῶν κατὰ τὴν ψῆφον δεδογμένων, τῇ δὲ τούτων προφάσει καὶ μυρίους ἄλλους λεληθότως γυναικείαν στολὴν ἀμπισχομένους, νύκτωρ τε τῇ ἑκείνου φροντίδι τῶν πυλῶν ἔξιόντας καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρωμαίων στρατιὰν ὀρμῶντας. ἐνθα τοὺς πάντας ὑποδεχόμενος ὁ Εὔσάβιος πατρὸς καὶ ίατ' ἥρου δίκην κεκακωμένους ἐκ τῆς μακρὰς πολιορκίας διὰ πάσης προνοίας καὶ θεραπείας ἀνεκτᾶτο.

7.32.11 | With all the others in the council agreeing, he saved almost all of the besieged people. First, he saved those from the assembly, and then he planned to help others of all ages throughout the city. Not only those who were decided by the vote, but also under this pretext, many other women, disguised in female clothing, secretly slipped out at night due to his care, rushing toward the Roman army. There, Eusebius welcomed all of them and, like a father and healer, took care of them after their long siege, providing for all their needs and healing.

7.32.12 | τοιούτων ἡ κατὰ Λαοδίκειαν

7.32.12 | In this way, the church at

έκκλησία δύο ἔφεξῆς κατὰ διαδοχὴν  
ἥξιώθη ποιμένων, σὺν θείᾳ προμηθείᾳ μετὰ  
τὸν δηλωθέντα πόλεμον ἐκ τῆς  
Αλεξανδρέων πόλεως ἐπὶ τὰ τῇδε  
μετεληλυθότων.

Laodicea was deemed worthy of two successive leaders, with divine guidance, after the declared war had moved from the city of Alexandria to here.

7.32.13 | οὐ ω μὲν οῦν ἑσπουδάσθη  
πλεῖστα τῷ Ἀνατολίῳ συγγράμματα,  
τοσαῦτα δ' εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλήλυθε, δι' ὧν αὐτοῦ  
καταμαθεῖν δυνατὸν ὅμοι τό τε λόγιον καὶ  
πολυμαθές, ἐν οἷς μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τοῦ  
πάσχα δόξαντα παρίστησιν, ἀφ' ὧν  
ἀναγκαῖον ἀν εἴη τούτων ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος  
μνημονεῦσαι. [Ἐκ τῶν περὶ τοῦ πάσχα  
Ἀνατολίου κανόνων]

7.32.13 | So, many writings have been studied in the East, but so many have come to us, through which it is possible to learn both the teachings and the many things, especially those about Passover, which are presented. From these, it would be necessary to remember some of them for the present. [From the Eastern canons about Passover]

7.32.14 | “Ἐχει τοίνυν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει  
τὴν νου” μηνίαν τοῦ πρώτου μηνὸς, ἥτις  
ἀπάσης ἔστιν ἀρχὴ “τῆς  
ἐννεακαιδεκαετηρίδος, τῇ κατ’ Αίγυπτίους  
μὲν “Φαμενὼθ ἔκτῃ καὶ είκαδι, κατὰ δὲ  
τοὺς Μακεδόνας “νων μῆνας Δύστρου δευτέρα  
καὶ είκαδι, ὡς δ’ “ἄν εἴποιεν ‘Ρωμαῖοι, πρὸ<sup>τ</sup>  
ἔνδεκα Καλανδῶν Απριλ“λίων.

7.32.14 | Therefore, in the first year, the new moon of the first month, which is the beginning of the fourteen-year cycle, according to the Egyptians is on the sixth and twentieth day, while according to the Macedonians it is on the second and twentieth day of the month Dystros. As the Romans would say, it is before the eleventh of the Kalends of April.

7.32.15 | εὐρίσκεται δὲ ὁ ἥλιος ἐν τῇ  
προκειμένῃ “Φαμενὼθ ἔκτῃ καὶ είκαδι οὐ  
μόνον ἐπιβάς τοῦ “πρώτου τμήματος, ἀλλ’  
ἥδη καὶ τετάρτην ἡμέραν “ἐν αὐτῷ  
διαπορευόμενος. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ τμῆμα  
πρῶτον δωδεκατημόριον καὶ ίσημερινὸν  
καὶ μηνῶν “ἀρχὴν καὶ κεφαλὴν τοῦ κύκλου  
καὶ ἄφεσιν τοῦ “τῶν πλανητῶν δρόμου  
καλεῖν εἰώθασι, τὸ δὲ πρὸ “τούτου μηνῶν  
ἔσχατον καὶ τμῆμα δωδέκατον καὶ  
“τελευταῖον δωδεκατημόριον καὶ τέλος τῆς  
τῶν πλανητῶν περιόδου. διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἐν  
αὐτῷ τιθεμένους “τὸν πρώτον μῆνα καὶ

7.32.15 | The sun is found on the upcoming sixth and twentieth of Phamenoth, not only having risen in the first part, but already traveling for the fourth day in it. This part is called the first of the twelve divisions, the equinox, the beginning and head of the months, and the release of the path of the planets. The part before this is the last of the months, the twelfth division, and the end of the orbit of the planets. Therefore, those who set the first month and the fourteenth of Passover according to it do not make a small mistake, nor do they err

τὴν τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτην “τοῦ πάσχα κατ’ αὐτὴν λαμβάνοντας οὐ μικρῶς “ούδ’ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἀμαρτάνειν φαμέν.

7.32.16 | ἔστι δ' οὐχ “ἡμέτερος οὗτος ὁ λόγος, Ἰουδαίοις δὲ ἐγινώσκετο “τοῖς πάλαι καὶ πρὸ Χριστοῦ, ἐφυλάττετό τε πρὸς “αὐτῶν μάλιστα. μαθεῖν δ' ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Φίλωνος, Ἰωσήπου, Μουσαίου λεγομένων, καὶ οὐ “μόνων τούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἔτι παλαιοτέρων, “ἀμφοτέρων Ἀγαθοβιούλων τῶν ἐπίκλην διδασκάλων, Ἀριστοβιούλου τοῦ πάνυ, δὲς ἐν τοῖς ἐβδομήνῃς “κονταὶ κατειλεγμένος τοῖς τὰς ἱερὰς καὶ θείας “Ἐβραίων ἐρμηνεύσασι γραφὰς Πτολεμαίω τῷ Φιλα“δέλφῳ καὶ τῷ τούτου πατρὶ, καὶ βίβλους ἔξηγητι“κὰς τοῦ Μωυσέως νόμου τοῖς αὐτοῖς προσεφώνησε “βασιλεῦσιν.

7.32.17 | οὗτοι τὰ ζητούμενα κατὰ τὴν “Ἐξοδον ἐπιλύοντές φασι δεῖν τὰ διαβατήρια θύειν ἐπ’ “ἴσης ἄπαντας μετὰ ίσημερίαν ἔαρινὴν, μεσοῦντος “τοῦ πρώτου μηνός τοῦτο δὲ εὐρίσκεσθαι, τὸ πρῶτον τμῆμα τοῦ ἥλιακοῦ, ἥ ὡς τινες αὐτῶν ὀνόμασαν, ζωοφόρου κύκλου διεξιόντος ἥλιου. ὁ δὲ Ἀριστόβουλος προστίθησιν ὡς εἴη ἔξ ἀνάγκης τῇ “τῶν διαβατηρίων ἐօρτῇ, μὴ μόνον τὸν ἥλιον τὸ ίσημερινὸν διαπορεύεσθαι τμῆμα, καὶ τὴν σελήνην “δέ.

7.32.18 | τῶν γὰρ ίσημερινῶν τμημάτων ὅντων δύο, “τοῦ μὲν ἔαρινοῦ, τοῦ δὲ μετοπωρινοῦ, καὶ διαμετρούντων ἄλληλα, δοθείσης τε τῆς τῶν διαβατῶν ἡμέρας τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς μεθ’ ἐσπέραν, ἔστήξεται μὲν ἡ σελήνη τὴν ἐναντίαν καὶ διάμετρον τῷ ἥλιῳ στάσιν,

as it happens.

7.32.16 | This saying is not ours; it was known to the Jews of old, even before Christ, and was especially preserved among them. It can be learned from those called Philo, Josephus, and Musaeus, and not only from these, but also from even older sources, both Agathobulus, the teacher, and Aristobulus, who was among the seventy, and who translated the sacred and divine writings of the Hebrews for Ptolemy Philadelphus and his father, and he addressed the books explaining the law of Moses to the same kings.

7.32.17 | They say that those seeking answers in the Exodus must sacrifice the crossing offerings equally for all at the spring equinox, in the middle of the first month. This is found to be the first part of the solar cycle, or as some of them called it, the passage of the life-giving circle of the sun. Aristobulus adds that it is necessary for the festival of the crossing offerings, not only for the sun to pass through the equinox part, but also for the moon.

7.32.18 | For there are two equinox parts, one in spring and the other in autumn, and they are opposite each other. When the day of the crossing offerings is given on the fourteenth of the month after sunset, the moon will stand opposite and directly across from the sun. Just as it is possible to

ώσπερ οὖν ἔξεστιν ἐν ταῖς πανσελήνοις δὸραν, ἔσονται δὲ ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἑαρινὸν ἴσημερινὸν, ὁ ἥλιος, τμῆμα, ἡ δὲ ἔξ ἀνάγκης κατὰ τὸ φθινοπωρινὸν ἴσημερινὸν, ἡ σελήνη.

7.32.19 | οἶδα πλεῖστα καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς αὐτῶν λεγόμενα, τοῦτο μὲν πιθανὰ, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ τὰς κυριακὰς ἀποδείξεις προιόντα, δι' ὃν παριστάνειν πειρῶνται, τὴν τοῦ πάσχα καὶ τῶν ἀζύμων ἐօρτὴν δεῖν πάντως μετ' ἴσημερίαν ἄγεσθαι· παρίημι δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας τῶν ἀποδείξεων ὕλας ἀπαιτῶν, ὃν περιήρηται μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ Μωυσέως νόμῳ κάλυμμα, ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ δὲ τῷ προσώπῳ λοιπὸν ἥδη Χριστὸν καὶ τὰ Χριστοῦ ἀεὶ κατοπτρίζεσθαι μαθήματά τε καὶ παθήματα. τοῦ δὲ τὸν πρῶτον παρ' Έβραιοῖς ὅις μῆνα περὶ ἴσημερίαν εἶναι παραστατικὰ καὶ τὰ “ἐν τῷ Ἐωῶχ μαθήματα.”

7.32.20 | καὶ ἀριθμητικὰς δὲ καταλέλοιπεν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν ὅλοις δέκα συγγράμμασιν είσαγωγὰς, καὶ ἄλλα δείγματα τῆς περὶ τὰ θεῖα σχολῆς τε αὐτοῦ καὶ πολυπειρίας.

7.32.21 | τούτῳ πρῶτος ὁ τῆς Παλαιστινῶν Καισαρείας ἐπίσκοπος Θεότεκνος χεῖρας εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν ἐπιτέθεικε, διάδοχον ἐαυτοῦ μετὰ τελευτὴν ποριεῖσθαι τῇ ἴδιᾳ παροικίᾳ προμνώμενος. καὶ δὴ ἐπὶ σμικρόν τινα χρόνον ἄμφω τῆς αὐτῆς προύστησαν ἐκκλησίας, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν τῆς κατὰ Παῦλον συνόδου καλούσης, τὴν Λαοδικέων πόλιν παριών πρὸς τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτόθι κοιμηθέντος Εύσεβίου

see during full moons, the sun will be at the spring equinox part, while the moon will necessarily be at the autumn equinox part.

7.32.19 | I know many things and other things said about them. This is likely, and this is based on the main proofs. They try to show that the festival of Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread should always be held after the equinox. But I dismiss such claims of proofs as unnecessary, since the covering mentioned in the law of Moses is hidden, while the face is now revealed in Christ, and the teachings and sufferings of Christ are always reflected. The first month among the Hebrews is said to be around the equinox, and the teachings in the Book of Enoch.

7.32.20 | And he also left behind numerical calculations in all ten letters of the alphabet, along with other examples of his study about the divine and his great experience.

7.32.21 | To him, the first bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, Theoteknos, laid hands for the episcopate, mentioning that a successor should be provided for his own community after his death. And indeed, for a short time, both led the same church, but when the council called by Paul met in Antioch, passing by the city of Laodicea, he was succeeded by Eusebius, who had died

κεκράτηται·

7.32.22 | καὶ τοῦ Ἀνατολίου δὲ τὸν βίον  
μεταλλάξαντος τῆς ἐκεῖσε παροικίας  
ὕστατος τῶν πρὸ τοῦ διωγμοῦ καθίσταται  
Στέφανος, λόγων μὲν φιλοσόφων καὶ τῆς  
ἄλλης παρ' Ἑλλησι παιδείας παρὰ τοῖς  
πολλοῖς θαυμασθεῖς, οὐχ ὁμοίως γε μὴν  
περὶ τὴν θείαν πίστιν διατεθειμένος, ὡς  
προϊὼν ὁ τοῦ διωγμοῦ καιρὸς ἀπήλεγξεν,  
εἴρωνα μᾶλλον δειλόν τε καὶ ἄνανδρον  
ἢ περ ἀληθῆ φιλόσοφον ἀποδείξας τὸν  
ἄνδρα.

7.32.23 | οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τούτῳ γε  
καταστρέφειν ἥμελλε τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας,  
ἀνορθοῦται δ' αὐτὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ  
πάντων σωτῆρος αὐτίκα τῆς αὐτόθι  
παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος ἀναδειχθεὶς  
Θεόδοτος, πράγμασιν αὐτοῖς ἀνήρ καὶ τὸ  
κύριον ὄνομα καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον  
ἐπαληθεύσας. ίατρικῆς μὲν γὰρ σωμάτων  
ἀπεφέρετο τὰ πρῶτα τῆς ἐπιστήμης,  
ψυχῶν δὲ θεραπευτικῆς οἶος οὐδὲ ἄλλος  
ἀνθρώπων ἐτύγχανε, φιλανθρωπίας,  
γνησιότητος, συμπαθείας, σπουδῆς τῆς  
τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ δεομένων ὡφελείας  
ἔνεκεν. πολὺ δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ  
θεῖα μαθήματα συνησκημένον. οὗτος μὲν  
δὴ τοιοῦτος ἦν.

7.32.24 | ἐν Καισαρείᾳ δὲ τῆς Παλαιστίνης  
Θεότεκνον σπουδαιότατα τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν  
διελθόντα Ἀγάπιος διαδέχεται, δὸν καὶ  
πολλὰ καμεῖν, γνησιωτάτην τε πρόνοιαν  
τῆς τοῦ λαοῦ προστασίας ἴσμεν  
πεποιημένον, πλουσίᾳ τε χειρὶ πάντων  
μάλιστα πενήτων ἐπιμεμελημένον.

there among the brothers.

7.32.22 | And when Anatolius changed his life, the last of those before the persecution was Stephen, who was admired by many for his philosophical words and other Greek education, but he did not have the same attitude toward divine faith. As the time of persecution approached, he was shown to be more of a coward and unmanly than a true philosopher.

7.32.23 | Yet he was not going to destroy the things of the church. Instead, Theodotus was immediately raised up as bishop of that community, turning to God, the savior of all. He was a man of action, confirming both the Lord's name and the bishop. For he brought forth the first principles of medical knowledge for the body, and no one else was as skilled in healing souls. He showed kindness, sincerity, compassion, and diligence for the benefit of those who asked him for help. He also had a lot of knowledge about divine matters. This man was indeed like that.

7.32.24 | In Caesarea of Palestine, Agapius succeeded Theoteknos, who had served as bishop very well. We know that he had a genuine concern for the protection of the people and that he took special care of the poorest with a generous hand.

7.32.25 | κατὰ τοῦτον ἔλλογιμώτατον αὐτῷ τε βίῳ φιλόσοφον ἀληθῆ, πρεσβείου τῆς αὐτόθι παροικίας ἡξιωμένον, Πάμφιλον ἔγνωμεν, ὃν ὅποιός τις ἦν καὶ ὅποθεν ὀρμώμενος, οὐ σμικρᾶς ἀν γένοιτο δηλοῦν ὑποθέσεως: ἔκαστα δὲ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν βίου καὶ ἡς συνεστήσατο διατριβῆς, τούς τε κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν ἐν διαφόροις ὄμοιογίαις ἀγῶνας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὃν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀνεδήσατο τοῦ μαρτυρίου στέφανον, ἐν ίδιᾳ τῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ διειλήφαμεν ὑποθέσει.

7.32.26 | ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν τῶν τῆδε θαυμασιώτατος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μάλιστα καθ' ἡμᾶς σπανιωτάτους γενομένους ἵσμεν τῶν μὲν ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας πρεσβυτέρων Πιέριον, Μελέτιον δὲ τῶν κατὰ Πόντον ἐκιλησιῶν ἐπίσκοπον.

7.32.27 | ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἄκρως ἀκτήμονι βίῳ καὶ μαθήμασι φιλοσόφοις δεδοκίμαστο, ταῖς περὶ τὰ θεῖα θεωρίαις καὶ ἔξηγήσεσι, καὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διαλέξεσιν ὑπερφυῶς ἔξησκημένος, ὁ δὲ Μελέτιος τὸ μέλιτῆς' Αττικῆς ἐκάλουν αὐτὸν οἱ ἀπὸ παιδείας) τοιοῦτος ἦν, οἶον ἀν γράψειέ τις τῶν κατὰ πάντα λόγων ἔνεκα τελεώτατον· ḥητορικῆς μὲν γε τὴν ἀρετὴν ούδε οἶόν τε θαυμάζειν ἐπαξίως, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν εἴναι αὐτῷ φαίη ἀν τις τὸ κατὰ φύσιν· τῆς δ' ἄλλης πολυπειρίας τε καὶ πολυμαθείας τίς ἀν τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑπερβάλοιτο;

7.32.28 | ὅτι δὴ ἐπὶ πάσαις λογικαῖς ἐπιστήμαις τὸν τεχνικώτατον καὶ λογιώτατον καὶ μόνον πεῖραν αὐτοῦ λαβὼν

7.32.25 | According to this, we recognize Pamphilus as a very wise philosopher in his life, who was honored with the position of elder in that community. It would not be a small matter to show what kind of person he was and where he came from. We will discuss everything about his life and the way he lived, including his struggles during the persecution and the crown of martyrdom that he received in all things. We have set forth this topic about him.

7.32.26 | But this man is indeed the most wonderful among those here, and we know that among the very rare ones who have come to us are Pierion, one of the elders from Alexandria, and Meletius, the bishop of the churches in Pontus.

7.32.27 | But one was truly tested in a life of great learning and philosophy, especially in the study of divine matters and in explanations, and he was wonderfully skilled in discussions about the common church. The other, Meletius, was called "the honeyed one" by those educated in Attica. He was such a person that anyone could write about him as the most complete in all matters. As for his skill in rhetoric, no one could rightly praise it, but it could be said that it was natural to him. As for his other experience and vast knowledge, who could surpass his excellence?

7.32.28 | Indeed, if you took the most skilled and wise person in all logical sciences, you would say he was the one.

ἄν εἶπες. ἐφάμιλλα δὲ αύτῷ καὶ τὰ τῆς  
ἀρετῆς παρῆν τοῦ βίου. τοῦτον κατὰ τὸν  
τοῦ διωγμοῦ καιρὸν τοῖς κατὰ Παλαιστίνην  
κλίμασι διαδιδράσκοντα ἐφ' ὅλοις ἔτεσιν  
ἐπτὰ κατενοήσαμεν.

Also, his life showed a match with the qualities of virtue. During the time of persecution, we recognized him as fleeing through the regions of Palestine for a total of seven years.

7.32.29 | τῆς δ' ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας μετὰ τὸν σμικρῷ πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένον ἐπίσκοπον Ὑμέναιον Ζάμβδας τὴν λειτουργίαν παραλαμβάνει. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τούτου κεκοιμημένου Ἔρμων ὕστατος τῶν μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς διωγμοῦ τὸν εἰσέτι νῦν ἐκεῖσε πεφυλαγμένον ἀποστολικὸν διαδέχεται θρόνον.

7.32.29 | After the previously mentioned bishop Hymenaeus, who was a little known, Zambdas takes over the service of the church in Jerusalem. Not long after he passed away, Hermon, the last of those who were still there until our time of persecution, takes over the apostolic throne that is still preserved there.

7.32.30 | καὶ ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας δὲ Μάξιμον ὁκτωκαίδεκα ἔτεσι μετὰ τὴν Διονυσίου τελευτὴν ἐπισκοπεύσαντα Θεωνᾶς διαδέχεται· καθ' ὃν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπὶ ταύτον τῷ Πιερίῳ πρεσβυτερίου ἡξιωμένος Ἄχιλλᾶς ἐγγωρίζετο, τῆς ἱερᾶς πίστεως τὸ διδασκαλεῖον ἐγκεχειρισμένος, οὐδενὸς ἥττον σπανιώτατον φιλοσοφίας ἔργον καὶ πολιτείας εὐαγγελικῆς τρόπον γνήσιον ἐπιδεδειγμένος.

7.32.30 | In Alexandria, after the death of Dionysius, Maximus served as bishop for eighteen years and was succeeded by Theonas. During his time in Alexandria, he was honored with the presbyterate alongside Pierius. He was entrusted with the teaching of the holy faith and showed a truly rare work of philosophy and the way of the Gospel in his life.

7.32.31 | μετὰ δὲ Θεωνᾶν ἐννεακαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ἔξυπηρετησάμενον διαδέχεται τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας Πέτρος, ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ αὐτὸς διαπρέψας ἐφ' ὅλοις δυοκαίδεκα ἑνιαυτοῖς, ὃν πρὸ τοῦ διωγμοῦ τρισὶν οὐδὲν ὅλοις ἔτεσιν ἡγησάμενος τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου χρόνον εὔτονωτέρᾳ τῇ συνασκήσει ἐαυτὸν τε ἥγε, καὶ τῆς κοινῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ὡφελείας οὐκ ἀφανῶς ἐπεμέλετο. ταύτῃ δ' οὖν ἐνάτῳ ἔτει τοῦ διωγμοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθεὶς τῷ τοῦ

7.32.31 | After Theonas, Peter served as bishop of Alexandria for nineteen years, during which he himself was very active for twelve of those years. Before the persecution, he led the church for three full years. For the rest of his life, he lived a more peaceful life through his practices and took care of the common good of the churches without being unnoticed. In the ninth year of the persecution, he was beheaded and honored with the crown of martyrdom.

μαρτυρίου κατεκοσμήθη στεφάνω.

7.32.32 | Ἐν τούτοις τὴν τῶν διαδοχῶν περιγράψαντες ὑπόθεσιν, ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν γενέσεως ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν προσευκτηρίων καθαίρεσιν εἰς ἔτη συντείνουσαν πέντε καὶ τριακόσια, φέρε ἔξῆς τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς τῶν ὑπὲρ εύσεβείας ἀνδρισαμένων ἄγῶνας, ὅσοι τε καὶ πηλίκοι γεγόνασι, καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμάς εἰδέναι διὰ γραφῆς καταλείψωμεν.

7.32.32 | In this, having described the succession of bishops, we will bring forth the struggles of those who have fought for piety from the birth of our Savior until the removal of the places of worship, which lasted for three hundred and five years. We will leave behind a written account of those who have fought bravely and those who have suffered, so that those who come after us may know.

## Book Eight (ΛΟΓΟΣ Η.)

### Introduction

8.praef.1 | Προοίμιον. Τὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων διαδοχὴν ἐν ὅλοις ἐπτὰ περιγράψαντες βιβλίοις ἐν ὄγδῷ τούτῳ συγγράμματι τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς, οὐ τῆς τυχούσης ἄξια ὅντα γραφῆς, ἔν τι τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων ἡγούμεθα δεῖν εἰς γνῶσιν καὶ τῶν μεθ' ἡμᾶς παραδοῦναι, καὶ ἄρξεται γε ὁ λόγος ἐντεῦθεν ἡμῖν.

8.praef.1 | Introduction. After describing the succession of the apostles in all seven books, in this eighth writing we consider it necessary to present something very important for our understanding and to pass on to those who come after us. And so, the speech will begin from here for us.

### Section 1

8.1.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 2] "Οσης μὲν καὶ ὅποιας πρὸ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς διωγμοῦ δόξης δόμοῦ καὶ παρρησίας ὃ διὰ Χριστοῦ τῷ βίῳ κατηγγελμένος τῆς εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν εύσεβείας λόγος παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, "Ελλησι τε καὶ βαρβάροις, ἡξίωτο, μεῖζον ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπαξιώς διηγήσασθαι.

8.1.1 | As for the kind and extent of the glory and boldness that was proclaimed in the life of Christ before our persecution, the message of piety toward the God of all was deemed worthy by all people, both Greeks and non-Greeks, to be told in greater detail than we can.

8.1.2 | τεκμήρια δ' ἀν γένοιτο τῶν

8.1.2 | There would be evidence from the

κρατούντων αἱ περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρους δεξιώσεις, οἵς καὶ τὰς τῶν ἔθνῶν ἐνεχείριζον ἡγεμονίας, τῆς περὶ τὸ θύειν ἀγωνίας κατὰ πολλὴν, ἥν ἀπέσωζον περὶ τὸ δόγμα, φιλίαν αὐτοὺς ἀπαλλάττοντες.

rulers about the receptions of our people, to whom they entrusted the leadership of the nations, concerning the struggle over the sacrifices, which they saved for the doctrine, freeing them from friendship.

8.1.3 | τί δεῖ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς λέγειν οἴκους, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀρχόντων; οἱ τοῖς οἰκείοις εἰς πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τῷ θείῳ παρρησιαζομένοις λόγῳ τε καὶ βίῳ συνεχώρουν, γαμεταῖς καὶ παισὶ καὶ οἰκέταις, μονονούχῃ καὶ ἐγκαυχᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ παρρησίᾳ τῆς πίστεως ἐπιτρέποντες· οὓς ἔξοχως καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν συνθεραπόντων ἀποδεκτοὺς ἤγοῦντο.

8.1.3 | What is there to say about the royal households and those in authority over all? Those who boldly spoke about the divine in both word and life were accepted by their own family members, including wives, children, and servants, allowing them to boast about the boldness of their faith. They were especially regarded as more worthy than their companions.

8.1.4 | οὗτος ἐκεῖνος ἦν Δωρόθεος, πάντων αὐτοῖς εύνούστατος καὶ πιστότατος, καὶ τούτων ἔνεκα διαφερόντως παρὰ τοὺς ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἡγεμονίαις αὐτοῖς τιμιωτάταις ἐντιμότατος, ὅ τε σὺν αὐτῷ περιβόητος Γοργόνιος, καὶ ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῆς ὅμοιώς τούτοις ἤξιώντο διὰ τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον τιμῆς.

8.1.4 | Such was Dorotheus, most favorable and faithful to all, and for this reason he was especially honored among those in power and leadership. Along with him was the famous Gorgonius, and all those who were similarly worthy because of the word of God were honored as well.

8.1.5 | οἵας τε καὶ τοὺς καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν ἄρχοντας παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐπιτρόποις καὶ ἡγεμόσιν ἀποδοχῆς ἦν ὡρᾶν ἀξιουμένους. πῶς δ' ἀν τις διαγράψει τὰς μυριάνδρους ἐκείνας ἐπισυναγωγὰς καὶ τὰ πλήθη τῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἀθροισμάτων, τάς τε ἐπισήμους ἐν τοῖς προσευκτηρίοις συνδρομὰς, ὃν δὴ ἔνεκα μηδαμῶς ἔτι τοῖς παλαιοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν ἀρκούμενοι εύρειας εἰς πλάτος ἀνὰ πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἐκ θεμελίων ἀνίστων ἐκκλησίας.

8.1.5 | In every church, the rulers were seen as worthy of acceptance by all the officials and leaders. But how could anyone describe those countless gatherings and the crowds that gathered in every city, as well as the notable contributions in the places of worship? For this reason, they were no longer satisfied with the old buildings, but instead built churches from the ground up across all the cities.

8.1.6 | ταῦτα δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις προιόντα,

8.1.6 | As time went on, while each day

όσημέραι τε είς αὔξησιν καὶ μέγεθος  
έπιδιδόντα ούδεις ἀνεῖργε φθόνος, ούδέ τις  
δαίμων πονηρὸς οἰός τε ἦν βασκαίνειν ούδ'  
ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβουλαῖς κωλύειν, εἰς ὅσον ἡ  
Θεία καὶ οὐράνιος χεὶρ ἔσκεπέ τε καὶ  
ἐφρούρει οἴα δὴ ἄξιον ὅντα τὸν ἑαυτῆς  
λαόν.

8.1.7 | ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ πλέον ἐλευθερίας  
ἐπὶ χαυνότητα καὶ νωθρίαν τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς  
μετηλλάττετο, ἄλλων ἄλλοις  
διαφθονουμένων καὶ διαλοιδορουμένων,  
καὶ μονονουχὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἑαυτοῖς  
προσπολεμούντων ὅπλοις, εἰ οὕτω τύχοι,  
καὶ δόρασι τοῖς διὰ λόγων, ἀρχόντων τε  
ἄρχουσι προσρηγγύντων, καὶ λαῶν ἐπὶ  
λαοὺς καταστασιαζόντων, τῆς τε  
ὑποκρίσεως ἀφάτου καὶ τῆς είρωνείας ἐπὶ  
πλεῖστον ὅσον κακίας προϊούσης, ἡ μὲν δὴ  
Θεία κρίσις, οἴα φιλον αὐτῇ, πεφεισμένως,  
τῶν ἀθροισμάτων ἔτι συγκροτουμένων,  
ἡρέμα καὶ μετρίως τὴν αὐτῆς ἐπισκοπήν  
ἀνεκίνει, ἐκ τῶν ἐν στρατείαις ἀδελφῶν  
καταρχομένου τοῦ διωγμοῦ.

8.1.8 | ὡς δ' ἀνεπαισθήτως ἔχοντες οὐχ  
ὅπως εύμενὲς καὶ ἥλεω καταστήσεσθαι τὸ  
Θεῖον προυθυμούμεθα, οἴα δέ τινες ἄθεοι  
ἀφρόντιστα καὶ ἀνεπὶ σκόπα τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς  
ἡγούμενοι ἄλλας ἐπ' ἄλλαις προσετίθεμεν  
κακίας, οἱ τε δοκοῦντες ἡμῶν τοιμένες  
μένες τὸν τῆς θεοσεβείας θεσμὸν  
παρωσάμενοι ταῖς πρὸς ἄλλήλους  
ἀνεφλέγοντο φιλονεικίαις, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα  
μόνα, τὰς ἔρεις καὶ τὰς ἀπειλὰς τὸν τε  
ζῆλον καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἄλλήλους ἔχθος τε καὶ  
μῖσος ἀπαύζοντες, οἴά τε τυραννίδας τὰς  
φιλαρχίας ἐκθύμως διεκδικοῦντες, τότε δὴ,  
τότε κατὰ τὴν φάσκουσαν τοῦ Ἱερεμίου  
φωνὴν „έγνόφωσεν ἐν ὄργῃ αύτοῦ κύριος

brought growth and increase, no one stopped the envy, nor did any evil spirit think to cast a spell or prevent human plots, as long as the divine and heavenly hand was protecting and caring for its own people, who were truly worthy.

8.1.7 | As we moved from greater freedom to emptiness and laziness, some were being corrupted and slandered by others, while we ourselves were fighting among ourselves with weapons, if that were to happen, and with spears through words. Rulers were breaking against rulers, and people were rising up against people. With the endless hypocrisy and increasing irony of wickedness, the divine judgment, as it is dear to itself, quietly and moderately raised its oversight, while the gatherings were still being formed, beginning with the brothers in the armies facing persecution.

8.1.8 | While we were unaware, we were not eager to make the divine favorable and gracious toward us. Some godless people, thinking carelessly and without consideration of our situation, added one evil after another. Those who seemed to uphold the law of piety were consumed by quarrels with each other. These alone, the disputes and threats, along with the zeal and hatred toward one another, were like tyrannies fiercely claiming power. Then, according to the words of Jeremiah, "The Lord has made the daughter of Zion shine in his anger, and has thrown down from heaven to earth the glory of Israel; he did

τὴν θυγατέρα Σιών, καὶ κατέρριψεν  
οὐρανοῦ εἰς γῆν δόξασμα Ἰσραὴλ, οὐκ  
έμνήσθη τε ὑποποδίου ποδῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν  
ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ· ἀλλὰ καὶ κατεπόντισε  
κύριος πάντα τὰ ὡραῖα Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ  
καθεῖλε πάντας τοὺς φραγμοὺς αὐτοῦ,"

8.1.9 | κατά τε τὰ ἐν ψαλμοῖς  
προθεσπισθέντα κατέστρεψε τὴν διαθήκην  
τοῦ δούλου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐβεβήλωσεν εἰς γῆν  
διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καθαιρέσεως τὸ  
ἀγίασμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ καθεῖλε πάντας τοὺς  
φραγμοὺς αὐτοῦ, ἔθετο τὰ ὄχυρά ματα  
αὐτοῦ δειλίαν· διήρπασάν τε τὰ πλήθη τοῦ  
λαοῦ πάντες οἱ διοδεύοντες ὁδὸν, καὶ δὴ  
ἐπὶ τούτοις ὅνειδος ἐγενήθη τοῖς γείτοσιν  
αὐτοῦ. Ὕψωσε γάρ τὴν δεξιὰν τῶν ἔχθρῶν  
αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπέστρεψε τὴν βοήθειαν τῆς  
ριμφαίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἀντελάβετο  
αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ· ἀλλὰ καὶ κατέλυσεν  
ἀπὸ καθαρισμοῦ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν θρόνον  
αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν κατέρραξεν· ἐσμίκρυνέ  
τε τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ χρόνου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ  
πᾶσι κατέχεεν αὐτοῦ αἰσχύνην.

## Section 2

8.2.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 3] Συντετέλεσται δῆτα  
καθ' ἡμᾶς πάντα, ὅπηνίκα τῶν μὲν  
προσευκτηρίων τοὺς οἴκους ἐξ ὕψους εἰς  
ἔδαφος αὐτοῖς θεμελίοις  
καταρριπτουμένους, τὰς δὲ ἐνθέους καὶ  
ἱερὰς γραφὰς κατὰ μέσας ἀγορὰς πυρὶ<sup>1</sup>  
παραδιδομένας αὐτοῖς ἐπείδομεν  
όφθαλμοῖς, τούς τε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν  
ποιμένας αἰσχρῶς ὥδε κάκεῖσε  
κρυπταζομένους, τοὺς δὲ ἀσχημόνων  
ἀλισκομένους, καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἔχθρῶν  
καταπαιζομένους, ὅτε καὶ κατ'  
προφητικὸν λόγον, ἔξεχύθη ἔξουδενωσις  
ἐπ' ἄρχοντας, καὶ ἐπλάνησεν αὐτοὺς ἐν

not remember the footstool of his feet on  
the day of his anger. But the Lord has  
destroyed all the beautiful things of Israel  
and has pulled down all its strongholds."

8.1.9 | According to what was foretold in  
the psalms, he destroyed the covenant of  
his servant and made his sanctuary unclean  
on earth through the destruction of the  
churches. He pulled down all his  
strongholds and made his fortifications  
weak. All those who traveled the road  
plundered the multitude of the people, and  
because of this, he became a disgrace to his  
neighbors. For he raised the right hand of  
his enemies and turned away the help of  
his sword, and he did not support him in  
battle. But he also removed him from his  
purification and threw down his throne to  
the ground. He shortened the days of his  
time and covered him with shame in  
everything.

8.2.1 | Indeed, everything has been  
completed against us, when we saw the  
houses of the places of prayer being thrown  
down from above to the ground, and the  
sacred writings being handed over to fire in  
the middle of the marketplaces. The  
shepherds of the churches were shamefully  
hiding here and there, while others were  
caught in disgrace and beaten down by  
their enemies. At that time, according to the  
prophetic word, disgrace was poured out  
upon the rulers, and they were led astray in  
a place that was not a path.

άβάτω καὶ οὐχ ὁδῷ. “

8.2.2 | ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν οὐχ ἡμέτερον διαγράφειν τὰς ἐπὶ τέλει σκυθρωπάς συμφοράς, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς πρόσθεν τοῦ διωγμοῦ διαστάσεις τε αὐτῶν εἰς ἄλλήλους καὶ ἀτοπίας οὐχ ἡμῖν οἰκεῖον μνήμη παραδιδόναι. διὸ καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ἴστορῆσαι περὶ αὐτῶν διέγνωμεν ἢ δι' ὃν ἀν τὴν θείαν δικαιώσαιμεν κρίσιν.

8.2.3 | ούκοῦν ούδε τῶν πρὸς τοῦ διωγμοῦ πεπειραμένων, ἢ τῶν εἰς ἅπαν τῆς σωτηρίας νεναναγηκότων, αὐτῇ τε γνώμῃ τοῖς τοῦ κλύδωνος ἐναπορριφέντων βυθοῖς, μνήμην ποιήσασθαι προήχθημεν, μόνα δὲ ἔκεινα τῇ καθόλου προσθήσομεν ἴστορίᾳ, ἂ πρώτοις μὲν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς γένοιτ' ἀν πρὸς ὥφελείας. ἵωμεν οὖν ἐντεῦθεν ἥδη, τοὺς Ἱεροὺς ἀγῶνας τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου μαρτύρων ἐν ἐπιτομῇ διαγράψοντες.

8.2.4 | ἔτος τοῦτο ἦν ἐννεακαιδέκατου τῆς Διοκλητιανοῦ βασιλείας, Δύστρος μὲν, λέγοιτο δ' ἀν οὗτος Μάρτιος κατὰ Ψωμαίους), ἐν ᾧ τῆς τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους ἐορτῆς ἐπελαυνούσης ἥπλωτο πανταχόσε βασιλικὰ γράμματα, τὰς μὲν ἐκκλησίας εἰς ἔδαφος φέρειν, τὰς δὲ γραφὰς ἀφανεῖς πυρὶ γενέσθαι προστάττοντα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τιμῆς ἐπειλημμένους ἀτίμους, τοὺς δὲ ἐν οἰκετίαις, εἰ ἐπιμένοιεν τῇ τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ προθέσει, ἐλευθερίας στερεῖσθαι προαγορεύοντα.

8.2.5 | καὶ ἡ μὲν πρώτη καθ' ἡμῶν γραφὴ τοιαύτη τις ἦν· μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἐτέρων

8.2.2 | But we do not write about their sad misfortunes at the end, since it is not fitting for us to remember their earlier divisions and absurdities before the persecution. Therefore, we have decided not to record anything more about them or about those through whom we might justify the divine judgment.

8.2.3 | Therefore, we are not led to remember those who experienced the persecution or those who were shipwrecked in the whole matter of salvation, nor those who were thrown into the depths of the storm. Instead, we will add only those things to the history that might be beneficial for us first and then for those who come after us. Let us now proceed to briefly write about the holy struggles of the martyrs of the word of God.

8.2.4 | This year was the eleventh of the reign of Diocletian. It was called Dystros, during which, as the feast of the passion of salvation was approaching, royal edicts were spread everywhere. These commanded that the churches be brought down to the ground, that the scriptures be made invisible by fire, and that those honored be dishonored, while those in households, if they continued in their Christian faith, were declared to be deprived of their freedom.

8.2.5 | And the first writing among us was of this kind: Soon after, other letters were

έπιφοιτησάντων γραμμάτων  
προσετάττετο τοὺς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν  
προέδρους πάντας τοὺς κατὰ πάντα τόπον  
πρῶτα μὲν δεσμοῖς παραδίδοσθαι, εἴθ'  
ὕστερον πάσῃ μηχανῇ θύειν  
έξαναγκάζεσθαι.

sent ordering all the leaders of the churches in every place to be first handed over in chains, and then afterward to be forced by every means to offer sacrifices.

### Section 3

8.3.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 4] Τότε δὴ οὖν, τότε πλεῖστοι μὲν ὄσοι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἄρχοντες, δειναῖς αἰκίαις προθύμως ἐναθλήσαντες, μεγάλων ἀγώνων ἴστορίας ἐπεδείξαντο, μυρίοι δ' ἄλλοι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὸ δειλίας προναρκήσαντες προχείρως οὕτως ἀπὸ πρώτης ἔξησθένησαν προσβολῆς, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἔκαστος εἴδη διάφορα βασάνων ἐνήλαττεν, ὁ μὲν μάστιξ αἰκιζόμενος τὸ σῶμα, ὁ δὲ στρεβλώσεσι καὶ ξεσμοῖς ἀνυπομονήτοις τιμωρούμενος, ἐφ' οἵς ἥδη τινὲς οὐκ αἴσιον ἀπηνέγκαντο τοῦ βίου τέλος.

8.3.1 | At that time, many of the leaders of the churches bravely endured terrible tortures and showed great struggles in their stories. Countless others, having been caught in fear, quickly lost their courage at the first attack. Each of the rest faced different kinds of torture: some were tortured with whips on their bodies, while others were punished with cruel twists and blows, among which some had already met an unhappy end to their lives.

8.3.2 | ἄλλοι δ' αὖ πάλιν ἄλλως τὸν ἀγῶνα διεξήσαν· ὁ μὲν γάρ τις ἐτέρων βίᾳ συνωθούντων καὶ ταῖς παμμιάροις καὶ ἀνάγνοις προσαγόντων θυσίαις ὡς τεθυκὼς ἀπηλλάττετο, καὶ εἰ μὴ τεθυκὼς ἦν, ὁ δὲ μηδ' ὅλως προσπελάσας, μηδέ τινος ἐναγοῦς ἐφραψάμενος, εἰρηκότων δ' ἐτέρων ὅτι τεθύκοι, σιωπῇ φέρων τὴν συκοφαντίαν ἀπήγει, ἄλλος ἡμιθανὴς αἱρόμενος ὡσὰν ἥδη νεκρὸς ἐρρίπτετο.

8.3.2 | Others, on the other hand, fought their struggle in different ways: some, when others were forcing them by violence and bringing them to the common and shameful sacrifices, would escape as if they had already offered a sacrifice. And if they had not actually sacrificed, some did not even approach at all, nor did they touch any of the offerings. While others were saying that they had sacrificed, one quietly left, carrying the false accusation. Another, half-dead, was thrown down as if already dead.

8.3.3 | καί τις αὖ πάλιν ἐπ' ἐδάφους κείμενος μακρὰν ἐσύρετο τοῖν ποδοῖν, ἐν τεθυκόσιν αὐτοῖς λελογισμένος· ὁ δέ τις

8.3.3 | And one person, lying on the ground, was being dragged away by his feet, thinking about those who had already

έβόα, καὶ μεγάλῃ διεμαρτύρετο φωνῇ τῆς θυσίας τὴν ἄρνησιν· καὶ ἄλλος Χριστιανὸς εἶναι ἐκεκράγει, τῇ τοῦ σωτηρίου προσρήματος ὁμολογίᾳ λαμπρυνόμενος· ἔτερος τὸ μὴ τεθυκέναι μήτε θύσειν ποτὲ διετείνετο.

sacrificed. Another cried out loudly, strongly declaring his refusal to sacrifice. And yet another shouted that he was a Christian, shining with the confession of salvation. Another insisted that he had neither sacrificed nor would he ever sacrifice.

8.3.4 | ὅμως δ' οὖν καὶ οὕδε πολυχειρίᾳ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦτο τεταγμένης στρατιωτικῆς παρατάξεως κατὰ στόματος παιόμενοι καὶ κατασιγαζόμενοι, κατά τε προσώπου καὶ παρειῶν τυπτόμενοι μετὰ βίας ἔξωθοῦντο. οὕτως ἔξ ἀπαντος οὗ τῆς Θεοσεβείας ἔχθροι τὸ δοκεῖν ἡνυκέναι περὶ πολλοῦ ἐτίθεντο. ἀλλ' οὐ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀγίων αὐτοῖς μαρτύρων ταῦτα προυχώρει, ὅν εἰς ἀκριβῆ διήγησιν τίς ἂν ἡμῖν ἔξαρκέσειε λόγος;

8.3.4 | Yet these people, being beaten and silenced by the many hands of the military force set against them, were violently pushed away, struck on their faces and cheeks. Thus, the enemies of piety placed great importance on what seemed to be a victory. But these things did not happen against the holy martyrs, of whom who could provide a complete account?

## Section 4

8.4.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 3] Μυρίους μὲν γὰρ ιστορήσαι ἂν τις θαυμαστὴν ὑπὲρ εύσεβείας τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων ἐνδεδειγμένους προθυμίαν, οὐκ ἔξτοι περ μόνον ὁ κατὰ πάντων ἀνεκινήθη διωγμὸς, πολὺ πρότερον δὲ, καθ' ὅν ἔτι τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης συνεκροτεῖτο.

8.4.1 | For someone could tell of countless wonderful examples of zeal for the piety of God among all those chosen, not only from the recent persecution that arose against everyone, but much earlier, during which the things of peace were still being gathered together.

8.4.2 | ἄρτι γὰρ ἄρτι πρῶτον ὥσπερ ἀπὸ κάρου βαθέος ὑποκινουμένου τοῦ τὴν ἔξουσίαν εἴληφότος, κρύβδην τε ἔτι καὶ ἀφανῶς μετὰ τὸν ἀπὸ Δεκίου καὶ Οὐαλεριανοῦ μεταξὺ χρόνον ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπιχειροῦντος, οὐκ ἀθρόως τε τῷ καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπαποδυομένου πολέμῳ, ἀλλ' ἔτι τῶν κατὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα μόνων ἀποπειρωμένου — ταύτῃ γὰρ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀλῶναι ῥαδίως ὥστο, εἰ πρότερον

8.4.2 | For just now, as if stirred up from a deep sleep, the one who had taken power was secretly and quietly trying to attack the churches after the time of Decius and Valerian, not openly in the war against us, but still only attempting against those in the camps. For he thought that he could easily capture the others if he first defeated those. Many were very happy to see those in the army embracing their private lives,

έκεινων καταγωνισάμενος περιγένοιτο —, πλείστους παρῆν τῶν ἐν στρατείαις ὥρᾶν ἀσμενέστατα τὸν ἴδιωτικὸν προασπαζομένους βίον, ὡς ἀν μὴ ἔξαρνοι γένοιντο τῆς περὶ τὸν τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸν εύσεβείας.

8.4.3 | ὡς γὰρ ὁ στρατοπεδάρχης, ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν ἐκεῖνος, ἄρτι πρῶτον ἐνεχείρει τῷ κατὰ τῶν στρατευμάτων διωγμῷ, φυλοκρινῶν καὶ διακαθαίρων τοὺς ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἀναφερομένους, αἴρεσίν τε διδοὺς ἢ πειθαρχοῦσιν ἣς μετῆν αὐτοῖς ἀπολαύειν τιμῆς, ἢ τούναντίον στέρεσθαι ταύτης, εἰ ἀντιτάττοιντο τῷ προστάγματι, πλεῖστοι ὅσοι τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας στρατιῶται τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ὅμολογίαν, μὴ μελλήσαντες, τῆς δοκούσης δόξης καὶ εὐπραγίας ἣς εἶχον ἀναμφιλόγως προυτίμησαν.

8.4.4 | ἥδη δὲ σπανίως τούτῶν εἷς που καὶ δεύτερος οὐ μόνον τῆς ἀξίας τὴν ἀποβολὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θάνατον τῆς εύσεβοῦς ἐνστάσεως ἀντικατηλλάττοντο, μετρίως πως ἥδη τότε τοῦ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ἐνεργοῦντος καὶ μέχρις αἱματος ἐπ' ἐνίων φθάνειν ἐπιτολμῶντος, τοῦ πλήθους, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν πιστῶν δεδιττομένου τε αὐτὸν ἔτι καὶ ἀποκναίοντος ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ πάντων ἀθρώως ἐφορμῆσαι πόλεμον.

8.4.5 | ὡς δὲ καὶ γυμνότερον ἐπαπεδύετο οὐδ' ἔστι λόγῳ δυνατὸν ἀφηγήσασθαι, ὅσους καὶ ὅποιους τοῦ θεοῦ μάρτυρας ὀφθαλμοῖς παρῆν ὥρᾶν τοῖς ἀνὰ πάσας τάς τε πόλεις καὶ τὰς χώρας οίκουσιν.

so that they would not become unfaithful to the piety concerning the creator of all.

8.4.3 | For the commander of the camp, whoever he was, was just now first trying to attack the soldiers with persecution, examining and purging those in the camps who were being reported. He offered them a choice: either they obey and enjoy some honor, or they would be deprived of it if they resisted the command. Many soldiers of Christ openly confessed their faith in him, not hesitating, and they clearly preferred the supposed glory and success they had.

8.4.4 | By now, rarely did one or two of them not only lose their honor but also exchange the death of the faithful stance. At that time, the one enforcing the command was daring to go as far as shedding blood, while the majority of the faithful seemed to be afraid of him and were even weakening in their resolve to launch an attack against everyone all at once.

8.4.5 | As he became even more exposed, it is not possible to describe in words how many and what kind of witnesses of God were seen by those living in all the cities and regions.

## Section 5

8.5.1 | [Nic H. E. VII, 5] Αύτίκα γοῦν τῶν οὐκ ἀσήμων τις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄγαν κατὰ τὰς ἐν τῷ βίῳ νενομισμένας ὑπεροχὰς ἐνδοξοτάτων, ἅμα τῷ τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐν τῇ Νικομηδείᾳ προτεθῆναι γραφήν, ζήλω τῷ κατὰ θεὸν ὑποκινηθεὶς, διαπύρῳ τε ἐφορμήσας τῇ πίστει, ἐν προφανεῖ καὶ δημοσίῳ κειμένῃ ὡς ἀνοσίαν καὶ ἀσεβεστάτην ἀνελῶν σπαράττει, δυοῖν ἐπιπαρόντων κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν βασιλέων, τοῦ τε πρεσβυτάτου τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τοῦ τὸν τέταρτον ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατοῦντος βαθμόν. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν τῶν τηνικάδε πρῶτος τοῦτον διαπρέψας τὸν τρόπον, ἅμα τε τοιαῦτα, οἴα καὶ εἰκὸς ἦν, ὑπομείνας ὡσὰν ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ τολμήματι, τὸ ἄλυπον καὶ ἀτάραχον εἰς αὐτὴν τελευταίαν διετήρησεν ἀναπνοήν.

8.5.1 | Immediately, one of those who was not unknown, but rather very distinguished according to the recognized honors in life, was moved by zeal for God. When a document was presented against the churches in Nicomedia, he boldly attacked with faith, seizing what was clearly and publicly seen as an impious and most wicked act. While two kings were present in the same city, he raised this issue, one being the oldest of the others and the one who held the fourth rank from him. This man was the first to carry out such an act, and while enduring such things, as was likely, he maintained a calm and untroubled breath until the very end.

## Section 6

8.6.1 | [Nic. H. E. VH, 5] Πάντων δὲ, ὅσοι τῶν πώποτε ἀνυμνοῦνται θαυμάσιοι καὶ ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ βεβοημένοι, εἴτε παρ' Ἑλλησιν εἴτε παρὰ βαρβάροις, θείους ἥνεγκεν ὁ καιρὸς καὶ διαπρεπεῖς μάρτυρας τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Δωρόθεον βασιλικοὺς παῖδας, οἱ καὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω παρὰ τοῖς δεσπόταις ἡξιωμένοι τιμῆς, γνησίων τε αὐτοῖς διαθέσει τέκνων οὐ λειπόμενοι, μείζονα πλοῦτον ὡς ἀληθῶς ἥγηνται τῆς τοῦ βίου δόξης καὶ τρυφῆς τοὺς ὑπὲρ εύσεβείας ὄνειδισμούς τε καὶ πόνους, καὶ τοὺς κεκαινουργημένους ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πολυτρόπους θανάτους, ὃν ἐνός τινος οὕω κέχρηται μνησθέντες τῷ τοῦ βίου τέλει, σκοπεῖν ἔξ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμβεβηκότα τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι

8.6.1 | Of all those who have ever been praised for their remarkable deeds and known for their bravery, whether among the Greeks or the barbarians, the time has brought forth divine and distinguished witnesses, the royal children around Dorotheus. They were honored with high positions by their masters and did not lack legitimate offspring. They considered greater wealth to be the true glory and pleasure of life than the insults and hardships for the sake of piety, and they faced many varied deaths. We will mention one of these and then leave aside the other events that happened to those who encountered them.

καταλείψομεν.

8.6.2 | ἥγετό τις είς μέσον κατὰ τὴν προειρημένην πόλιν ἐφ' ὃν δεδηλώκαμεν ἀρχόντων. Θύειν δὴ οὖν προσταχθεὶς, ὡς ἐνίστατο, γυμνὸς μετάρσιος ἀρθῆναι κελεύεται, μάστιξί τε τὸ πᾶν σῶμα καταξαίνεσθαι, εἰσότε ἡττηθεὶς κάν αὖτον τὸ προσταττόμενον ποιήσειν.

8.6.2 | Someone was brought into the middle of the previously mentioned city where we said the rulers were. Being ordered to sacrifice, as he stood there, he was commanded to be stripped bare and to be whipped all over his body, even if he was defeated and unwilling, he would still have to do what was commanded.

8.6.3 | ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πάσχων ἀδιάτρεπτος ἦν, ὅξος λοιπὸν ἥδη τῶν ὄστέων ὑποφαινομένων αὐτοῦ σὺν καὶ ἄλατι φύραντες κατὰ τῶν διασαπέντων τοῦ σώματος μερῶν ἐνέχεον· ὡς δὲ καὶ ταύτας ἐπάτει τὰς ἀλγηδόνας, ἐσχάρα τούντεῦθεν καὶ πῦρ είς μέσον εἴλκετο, καὶ κρεῶν ἔδωδίμων δίκην τὰ λείψανα αὐτῷ τοῦ σώματος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς οὐκ εἰς ἄθρουν, ὡς ἀν μὴ συντόμως ἀπαλλαγείη, κατὰ βραχὺ δὲ ἀνηλίσκετο, οὐ πρότερον ἀνεῖναι τῶν ἐπιτιθέντων αὐτὸν τῇ πυρᾳ συγχωρουμένων, πρὶν ἀν καὶ μετὰ τοσαῦτα τοῖς προστασσομένοις ἐπινεύσειν.

8.6.3 | As he was suffering these things, he remained unyielding. They were pouring vinegar on his bones and mixing it with salt, applying it to the parts of his body that had been torn apart. When he endured these pains, a fire was drawn in from the other side, and his body parts were not thrown into the fire all at once, so that he would not quickly escape. Instead, they were slowly being consumed, and he was not allowed to be released from those who were putting him in the fire until he had given a sign of agreement after enduring so much.

8.6.4 | ὁ δ' ἀπρὶξ ἔχόμενος τῆς προθέσεως νικηφόρος ἐν αὐταῖς παρέδωκε τὴν ψυχὴν ταῖς βασάνοις. τοιοῦτον τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐνὸς τὸ μαρτύριον παίδων, ἄξιον ὡς ὄντως καὶ τῆς προσηγορίας· Πέτρος γάρ ἐκαλεῖτο.

8.6.4 | He, holding firmly to his purpose, gave up his soul to the tortures as a victor. This is the testimony of one of the royal children, worthy of the name. For he was called Peter.

8.6.5 | οὐ χείρονα δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὄντα, λόγου φειδόμενοι συμμετρίας, παραλείψομεν, τοσοῦτον ἴστορήσαντες, ὡς ὅ τε Δωρόθεος καὶ ὁ Γοργόνιος, ἐτέροις ἄμα πλείσι τῆς βασιλικῆς οἰκετίας, μετὰ τοὺς

8.6.5 | We will not speak worse of the others, being careful with our words, but we will mention just enough to tell the story. Both Dorotheus and Gorgonius, along with others from the royal household, changed their lives through many struggles

πολυτρόπους ἀγῶνας βρόχῳ τὴν ζωὴν  
μεταλάξαντες, τῆς ἐνθέου νίκης  
ἀπηνέγκαντο βραβεῖα.

8.6.6 | ἐν τούτῳ τῆς κατὰ Νικομήδειαν  
ἐκκλησίας ὁ τηνικαῦτα προεστῶς Ἀνθίμος  
διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν μαρτυρίαν τὴν κεφαλὴν  
ἀποτέμνεται· τούτῳ δὲ πλῆθος ἄθρουν  
μαρτύρων προστίθεται, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐν  
τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Νικομήδειαν βασιλείοις  
πυρκαϊᾶς ἐν αὐταῖς δὴ ταῖς ἡμέραις  
ἀφθείσης, ἥν καθ' ὑπόνοιαν ψευδῇ πρὸς  
τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπιχειρηθῆναι λόγου  
διαδοθέντος, πργγενῆ σωρηδὸν βασιλικῷ  
νεύματι τῶν τῇδε θεοσεβῶν οἱ μὲν ξίφει  
κατεσφάττοντο, οἱ δὲ διὰ πυρὸς  
έτελειοῦντο. ὅ τε λόγος ἔχει προθυμίᾳ τινὶ  
ἀρρήτῳ ἄνδρας ἄμα γυναιξὶν ἐπὶ τὴν  
πυρὰν καθάλλεσθαι· δήσαντες δὲ οἱ δῆμοι  
ἄλλο τι πλῆθος ἐπὶ σκάφαις τοῖς  
θαλαττίοις ἐναπέρριπτον βυθοῖς.

8.6.7 | τοὺς δέ γε βασιλικοὺς μετὰ θάνατον  
παῖδας, γῇ μετὰ τῆς προστηκούσης κηδείας  
παραδοθέντας, αὐθις ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς  
ἀνορύξαντες ἐναπορρῆψαι θαλάσσῃ καὶ  
αὐτοὺς φόντο δεῖν οἴ νενομισμένοι  
δεσπόται, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἐν μνήμασιν  
ἀποκειμένους προσκυνοῖεν τινες, θεοὺς δὴ  
αὐτοὺς, ὡς γε φόντο, λογιζόμενοι. καὶ τὰ  
μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Νικομηδείας κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν  
ἀποτελεσθέντα τοῦ διωγμοῦ τοιαῦτα.

8.6.8 | οὐκ είς μακρὸν δὲ ἐτέρων κατὰ τὴν  
Μελιτηνὴν οὕτῳ καλουμένην χώραν, καὶ αὖ  
πάλιν ἄλλων ἀμφὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἐπιφυῆναι τῇ  
βασιλείᾳ πεπειραμένων, τοὺς πανταχόσε  
τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προεστῶτας εἰρκταῖς καὶ  
δεσμοῖς ἐνεῖραι πρόσταγμα ἐφοίτα

and hardships, and they received prizes for  
their divine victory.

8.6.6 | At that time, Anthimos, who was in  
charge of the church in Nicomedia, was  
beheaded for his witness to Christ. To him,  
a crowd of martyrs was added. I do not  
know how, during those days when a fire  
was set in the royal palace of Nicomedia, a  
false rumor spread that our people were  
involved. Many were killed by royal orders;  
some were slain by the sword, while others  
were finished off by fire. The story tells of  
men and women eagerly gathering at the  
pyre. The executioners tied up another  
large group and threw them into the sea.

8.6.7 | After their death, the royal children  
were handed over to the earth along with  
the proper burial. They thought it  
necessary to dig them up again and throw  
them into the sea, believing that their  
masters had decided this, so that no one  
would worship them as gods, as they  
thought. And this is how things were at the  
beginning of the persecution in Nicomedia.

8.6.8 | Not long after, in a region called  
Melitene, and again in other places around  
Syria, those who were in charge of the  
churches were captured and imprisoned by  
a royal order.

βασιλικόν.

8.6.9 | καὶ ἦν ἡ θέα τῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις γινομένων πᾶσαν διήγησιν ὑπεραίρουσα, μυρίου πλήθους ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καθειργυμένου, καὶ τὰ πανταχῆ δεσμωτήρια, ἀνδροφόνοις καὶ τυμβωρύχοις πάλαι πρότερον ἐπεσκευασμένα, τότε πληρούντων ἐπισκόπων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων, ἀναγνωστῶν τε καὶ ἐπορκιστῶν, ὡς μηδὲ χώραν ἔτι τοῖς ἐπὶ κακουργίαις κατακρίτοις αὐτόθι λείπεσθαι.

8.6.10 | αὕθις δ' ἐτέρων τὰ πρῶτα γράμματα ἐπικατειληφότων, ἐν οἷς τοὺς κατακλείστους θύσαντας μὲν ἐᾶν βαδίζειν ἐπ' ἐλευθερίας, ἐνισταμένους δὲ μυρίαις καταξάνειν προστέτακτο βασάνοις, πῶς ἀν πάλιν ἐνταῦθα τῶν καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν μαρτύρων ἀριθμήσειέ τις τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀφρικὴν καὶ τὸ Μαύρων ἔθνος, Θηβαΐδα τε καὶ κατ' Αἴγυπτον, ἐξ ἣς καὶ εἰς ἐτέρας ἥδη προελθόντες πόλεις τε καὶ ἐπαρχίας διέπρεψαν τοῖς μαρτυρίοις.

## Section 7

8.7.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 7] "Ισμεν γοῦν τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν διαλάμψαντας ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ, ἴσμεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Τύρῳ τῆς Φοινίκης, οὓς τίς ίδων οὐ κατεπλάγη τὰς ἀναριθμήτους μάστιγας, καὶ τὰς ἐν τούτοις τῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς παραδόξων τῆς θεοσεβείας ἀθλητῶν ἐνστάσεις, τόν τε παραχρῆμα μετὰ τὰς μάστιγας ἐν θηρσὶν αἰμοβόροις ἀγῶνα, καὶ τὰς ἐν τούτῳ παρδάλεων καὶ διαφόρων ἄρκτων, συῶν τε ἀγρίων καὶ

8.6.9 | And the sight of what was happening was greatly overwhelming, with a countless crowd gathered everywhere, and all the prisons, which had long been prepared for murderers and grave robbers, were then filled with bishops, elders, deacons, readers, and those who took oaths, so that not even a place was left for those condemned for crimes.

8.6.10 | Again, when others took the first letters, it was ordered that those who had been imprisoned could walk freely if they offered sacrifices, but those who resisted were to be tortured in countless ways. How could anyone count the number of martyrs in each province, especially those in Africa and among the Moors, in Thebaid and in Egypt, from where they had already moved on to other cities and provinces, continuing their witness?

8.7.1 | We know, indeed, those who shone forth from them in Palestine, and we also know those in Tyre of Phoenicia. Who, seeing them, was not amazed by their countless lashes and the truly remarkable displays of piety from these athletes? There was the immediate contest with bloodthirsty beasts after the lashes, and the encounters with leopards and various bears, and the attacks from wild boars that

πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ κεκαυτηριασμένων βοῶν προσβολάς, καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἔκαστον τῶν θηρίων θαυμασίους τῶν γενναίων ὑπομονάς;

8.7.2 | οἵ γινομένοις καὶ αύτοὶ παρῆμεν, διπηνίκα τοῦ μαρτυρουμένου σωτῆρος ἡμῶν αύτοῦ δὴ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν θείαν δύναμιν ἐπιπαροῦσαν, ἐναργῶς τε αὐτὴν τοῖς μάρτυσιν ἐπιδεικνῦσαν ιστορήσαμεν, τῶν ἀνθρωποβόρων ἐπὶ πλείονα χρόνον μὴ προσψάυειν μηδὲ πλησιάζειν τοῖς τῶν θεοφιλῶν σώμασιν ἐπιτολμώντων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅσοι δήπουθεν ἔξωθεν ἐρεθισμοῖς παρώρμων αὐτὰ, φερομένων, μόνων δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀθλητῶν γυμνῶν ἐστῶτων καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ κατασειόντων, ἐπὶ τε σφᾶς αύτοὺς ἐπισπωμένων τοῦτο γὰρ αύτοῖς ἐκελεύετο πράττειν) μηδ' ὅλως ἐφαπτομένων, ἀλλ' ἐσθ' ὅπῃ μὲν καὶ ἐπ' αύτοὺς ὀρμώντων, οἴα δὲ πρός τινος θειοτέρας δυνάμεως ἀνακρουομένων καὶ αὖ πάλιν εἰς τούπισω χωρούντων.

8.7.3 | ὃ καὶ εἰς μακρὸν γινόμενον θαῦμα παρεῖχεν οὐ σμικρὸν τοῖς θεωμένοις, ὥστε ἥδη διὰ τὸ ἄπρακτον τοῦ πρώτου δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον προσαφίεσθαι ἐνὶ καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ μάρτυρι θηρίον.

8.7.4 | καταπλαγῆναι δ' ἦν τὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπτόητον τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκείνων καρτερίαν, καὶ τὴν ἐν σώμασι νέοις βεβηκυῖαν καὶ ἀδιάτρεπτον ἔνστασιν. ἐώρας γοῦν ἡλικίαν ούδ' ὅλων ἐτῶν εἴκοσι δίχα δεσμῶν ἐστῶτος νέου, καὶ τὰς μὲν χεῖρας ἐφαπλοῦντος εἰς σταυροῦ τύπον, ἀκαταπλήκτω δὲ καὶ ἀτρεμεῖ διανοίᾳ ταῖς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον σχολαίτατα τεταμένου

had been burned with fire and iron, and the incredible endurance of the brave against each of these beasts?

8.7.2 | When these things were happening, we were also present, as the divine power of our Savior, Jesus Christ, was clearly showing itself to the martyrs. We recorded that the man-eaters did not dare to touch or come near the bodies of the faithful for a longer time. Instead, they attacked the others, those who were stirred up from outside, while only the holy athletes stood there naked, shaking their hands. They were commanded to do this, not even touching them at all, but wherever they charged at them, they were pushed back as if against some greater divine power, and then they retreated again.

8.7.3 | This also provided a great wonder for those who were watching, so much so that, because the first beast did not act, a second and third beast was added to the same martyr.

8.7.4 | It was astonishing to see the unwavering endurance of those holy ones in the face of these things, and the unyielding stance of the young bodies. You could see a young man, not even twenty years old, standing there bound, with his hands stretched out in the shape of a cross. He remained unshaken and calm in his mind, offering prayers to God, without

λιταῖς, μηδ' ὅλως τε μεθισταμένου μηδ'  
ἀποκλίνοντός ποι τοῦ ἐνθα εἰστήκει τόπου,  
ἄρκτων καὶ παρδάλεων θυμοῦ καὶ θανάτου  
πνεόντων σχεδὸν αὐτῆς καθαπτομένων  
αὐτοῦ τῆς σαρκὸς, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως θείᾳ  
καὶ ἀπορρήτῳ δυνάμει μονονούχῃ  
φραττομένων τὸ στόμα, καὶ αὖθις  
παλινδρομούντων εἰς τούπισω. καὶ οὗτος  
μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτός τις ἦν.

moving from the place where he stood,  
even as lions and leopards were breathing  
down on him, ready to attack his flesh. But I  
do not know how, by a divine and  
incomprehensible power, his mouth was  
kept shut, and then the beasts would  
retreat again. And this was indeed such a  
person.

8.7.5 | πάλιν δ' ἀν ἐτέρους εἶδες, πέντε γὰρ  
οἱ πάντες ἐτύγχανον, ἡγιωμένῳ ταύρῳ  
παραβληθέντας, ὃς τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τῶν  
ἔξωθεν προσιόντων τοῖς κέρασιν εἰς τὸν  
άέρα βίπτων διεσπάραττεν, ἡμιθνῆτας  
αἴρεσθαι καταλιπών, ἐπὶ μόνους δὲ θυμῷ  
καὶ ἀπειλῇ τοὺς Ἱεροὺς ὄρμῶν μάρτυρας  
ούδε πλησιάζειν αὐτοῖς οἶδός τε ἦν,  
κυρίττων δὲ τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ τοῖς τῆδε  
κάκεῖσε χρώμενος καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν  
καυτήρων ἐρεθισμοὺς θυμοῦ καὶ ἀπειλῆς  
πνέων εἰς τούπισω πρὸς τῆς Ἱερᾶς  
ἀνθείλκετο προνοίας, ὡς μηδὲ τούτου  
μηδὲν μηδαμῶς αὐτοὺς ἀδικήσαντος, ἔτερα  
ἄττα αὐτοῖς ἐπαφίεσθαι θηρία.

8.7.5 | Again, you would see others, for  
there were five of them, standing against a  
raging bull. This bull would toss the others  
away with its horns into the air, leaving  
them half-dead. But it could not come close  
to the holy martyrs, who stood firm in  
anger and threat. The bull would charge at  
them, using its feet and moving here and  
there, but because of the heat and anger it  
felt, it would retreat back from the holy  
ones, as if it could not harm them at all,  
leaving other beasts to attack them instead.

8.7.6 | τέλος δὴ οὗν μετὰ τὰς δεινὰς καὶ  
ποικίλας τούτων προσβολὰς ξίφει  
κατασφαγέντες οἱ πάντες, ἀντὶ γῆς καὶ  
τάφων τοῖς θαλαττίοις παραδίδονται  
κύμασι.

8.7.6 | Finally, after these terrible and  
varied attacks, all of them were killed by  
the sword, and instead of earth and graves,  
they were given over to the waves of the  
sea.

## Section 8

8.8.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 8] Καὶ τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ  
ἀγών τῶν κατὰ Τυρὸν τοὺς ὑπὲρ εύσεβείας  
ἄθλους ἐνδειξαμένων Αίγυπτίων.  
Θαυμάσειε δ' ἀν τις αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς  
οἰκείας γῆς μαρτυρήσαντας, ἐνθα μυρίοι

8.8.1 | And such was the struggle of those  
Egyptians who showed their contests for  
piety against Tyre. Anyone would be  
amazed by those who witnessed the  
martyrdom on their own land, where

τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἄνδρες ἄμα γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν,  
ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν διδασκαλίας  
τοῦ προσκαίρου ζῆν καταφρονήσαντες,  
διαφόρους ὑπέμειναν θανάτους, οἱ μὲν  
αὐτῶν μετὰ ξεσμοὺς καὶ στρεβλώσεις  
μάστιγάς τε χαλεπωτάτας καὶ μυρίας  
ἄλλας ποικίλας καὶ φρικτὰς ἀκοῦσαι  
βασάνους πυρὶ παραδοθέντες, οἵ δὲ  
πελάγει καταβροχισθέντες, ἄλλοι δὲ  
εὐθαρσῶς τοῖς ἀποτέμνουσι τὰς ἐαυτῶν  
προτείναντες κεφαλὰς, οἵ δὲ καὶ  
ἐναποθανόντες ταῖς βασάνοις, ἔτεροι δὲ  
λιμῷ διαφθαρέντες, καὶ ἄλλοι πάλιν  
ἀνασκολοπισθέντες, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὸ  
σύνηθες τοῖς κακούργοις, οἱ δὲ καὶ  
χειρόνως ἀνάπαλιν κατωκάρα  
προσηλωθέντες, τηρούμενοί τε ζῶντες,  
είσότε καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἰκρίων λιμῷ  
διαφθαρεῖν.

## Section 9

8.9.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 8] Πάντα δ' ὑπεραίρει λόγον καὶ ἀς ὑπέμειναν αἰκίας καὶ ἀλγηδόνας οἱ κατὰ Θηβαΐδα μάρτυρες, ὁστράκοις ἀντὶ ὄνύχων δλον τὸ σῶμα μέχρις ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ βίου καταξαινόμενοι, γύναια τε τοῖν ποδοῖν ἐξ ἐνὸς ἀποδεσμού μετέωρά τε καὶ διαέρια κάτω κεφαλὴν μαγγάνοις τισὶν εἰς ὕψος ἀνελκόμενα, γυμνοῖς τε παντελῶς καὶ μηδ' ἐπικεκαλυμμένοις τοῖς σώμασι θέαν ταύτην αἰσχίστην καὶ πάντων ὡμοτάτην καὶ ἀπανθρωποτάτην τοῖς ὀρῶσιν ἅπασι παρεσχημένα.

8.9.2 | ἄλλοι δ' αὖ πάλιν δένδρεσι καὶ πρέμνοις ἐναπέθνησκον δεσμούμενοι· τοὺς γὰρ μάλιστα στερροτάτους τῶν κλάδων μηχανᾶς τισιν ἐπὶ ταύτον συνέλκοντες, εἰς ἐκάτερά τε τούτων τὰ τῶν μαρτύρων

countless men, along with women and children, despised the temporary life for the teaching of our Savior. They endured various deaths: some were subjected to terrible beatings and many other cruel and frightful tortures, delivered to fire; others were drowned in the sea; some boldly offered their heads to those who cut them off; others died from the tortures; some were wasted away by hunger; and others were again impaled, some in the usual way by the wicked, and others cruelly nailed down. Those who were kept alive were often destroyed by hunger while they were being watched.

8.9.1 | But all the words and the sufferings that the martyrs from Thebes endured were beyond belief. They were scraped all over their bodies with sharp shells instead of nails until they were freed from life. Women had their feet bound and were lifted up by certain devices, while their heads were pulled down. They were completely naked and not covered at all, and this most shameful and inhumane sight was presented to all who saw it.

8.9.2 | Others again were dying while tied to trees and trunks. For the strongest branches were pulled together by certain machines, and they tied the limbs of the martyrs to each of these branches, allowing

άποτείνοντες σκέλη 5 είς τὴν ἐσαυτῶν  
ἡφίεσαν τοὺς κλάδους φέρεσθαι φύσιν,  
ἄθρουν τῶν μελῶν διασπασμὸν καθ' ὃν  
ταῦτ' ἐνεχείρουν ἐπινοοῦντες.

8.9.3 | καὶ ταῦτά γε πάντα ἐνηργεῖτο οὐκ  
ἐπ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἢ χρόνον τινὰ βραχὺν,  
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν ὅλων ἑτῶν διάστημα, ὅτε  
μὲν πλειόνων ἡ δέκα, ὅτε δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς  
εἴκοσι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀναιρουμένων ἄλλοτε  
δὲ οὐχ ἥττον καὶ τριάκοντα, ἥδη δὲ ἔγγυς  
που καὶ ἔξήκοντα, καὶ πάλιν ἄλλοτε ἐκατόν  
ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ ἄνδρες ἅμα κομιδῇ νηπίοις  
καὶ γυναιξὶν ἐκτείνοντο, ποικίλαις καὶ  
ἐναλλαττούσαις τιμωρίαις  
καταδικαζόμενοι.

8.9.4 | Ἰστορήσαμεν δὲ καὶ αύτοὶ ἐπὶ τῶν  
τόπων γενόμενοι πλείους ἀθρώας κατὰ  
μίαν ἡμέραν τοὺς μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς  
ἀποτομήν ὑπομείναντας, τοὺς δὲ τὴν διὰ  
πυρὸς τιμωρίαν, ὡς ἀμβλύνεσθαι  
φονεύοντα τὸν σίδηρον, ἀτονοῦντά τε  
διαθλᾶσθαι, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς ἀναιροῦντας  
ἀποκάμνοντας ἀμοιβαδὸν ἄλλήλους  
διαδέχεσθαι.

8.9.5 | ὅτε καὶ θαυμασιωτάτην ὄρμὴν θείαν  
τε ὡς ἀληθῶς δύναμιν καὶ προθυμίαν τῶν  
εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ πεπιστευκότων  
συνεωρῶμεν. ἅμα γοῦν τῇ κατὰ τῶν  
προτέρων ἀποφάσει ἐπεπήδων ἄλλοθεν  
ἄλλοι τῷ πρὸ τοῦ δικαστοῦ βήματι,  
χριστιανοὺς σφάζ ὁμολογοῦντες,  
ἀφροντίστως μὲν πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τοὺς  
τῶν πολυειδῶν βασάνων τρόπους  
διακείμενοι, ἀκαταπλήκτως δὲ  
παρησιαζόμενοι ἐπὶ τῇ εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων  
θεὸν εύσεβείᾳ, μετά τε χαρᾶς καὶ γέλωτος

the branches to pull them apart by nature,  
thinking of the tearing apart of their limbs  
as they were being tortured.

8.9.3 | And all these things were not done  
for just a few days or a short time, but over  
a long period of many years. Sometimes  
more than ten were killed, at other times  
more than twenty. At one point, there were  
even thirty, and soon it was close to sixty,  
and again at another time, a hundred men  
were executed in a single day, along with  
children and women, being punished in  
various and changing ways.

8.9.4 | We also witnessed many people  
being gathered together in one day in those  
places. Some were beheaded, while others  
faced punishment by fire, so that the killing  
iron would become dull and weaken. Those  
who were executing them were growing  
tired and passing the task to each other.

8.9.5 | At that time, we saw the most  
amazing eagerness and true strength of  
those who believed in God and Christ.  
Along with the earlier decision against  
them, others came from different places to  
stand before the judge, openly confessing  
that they were Christians. They faced  
terrible things and various forms of torture  
with calmness, boldly speaking about their  
faith in the one true God. With joy, laughter,  
and happiness, they accepted the final  
decision of death, so much so that they sang

καὶ εύφροσύνης τὴν ὑστάτην ἀπόφασιν τοῦ θανάτου καταδεχόμενοι, ὥστε ψάλλειν καὶ ὕμνους καὶ εὐχαριστίας εἰς τὸν τῶν δῶλων θεόν μέχρις αὐτῆς ἐσχάτης ἀναπέμπειν ἀναπνοῆς.

hymns and offered thanks to God until their last breath.

8.9.6 | Θαυμάσιοι μὲν οὖν καὶ οὗτοι, ἔξαιρέτως δὲ ἐκεῖνοι θαυμασιώτεροι, οἱ πλούτῳ μὲν καὶ εὐγενείᾳ καὶ δόξῃ, λόγῳ τε καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ διαπρέψαντες, πάντα γε μὴν δεύτερα θέμενοι τῆς ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν πίστεως·

8.9.6 | These people were indeed amazing, but those others were even more remarkable. They were wealthy, noble, and famous, excelling in speech and philosophy. Yet, they placed everything as secondary to true piety and faith in our Savior and Lord, Jesus Christ.

8.9.7 | οὗτος Φιλόρωμος ἦν, ἀρχήν τινα ού τὴν τυχοῦσαν τῆς κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν βασιλικῆς διοικήσεως ἐγκεχειρισμένος, δὲς μετὰ τοῦ ἀξιώματος καὶ τῆς Ἀρματικῆς τιμῆς ὑπὸ στρατιώταις δορυφορούμενος ἐκάστης ἀνεκρίνετο ἡμέρας· Φιλέας τε τῆς Θμουιτῶν ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος, διαπρέψας ἀνὴρ ταῖς κατὰ τὴν πατρίδα πολιτείαις τε καὶ λειτουργίαις, ἐν τε τοῖς κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λόγοις·

8.9.7 | Philoromos was a certain man who held an important position in the royal administration of Alexandria. He was honored by soldiers and was examined each day while carrying his rank and Roman honor. He was also the bishop of the church of the Thmuitans, a man distinguished in both the affairs and duties of his homeland, as well as in philosophical discussions.

8.9.8 | οἱ καὶ μυρίων ὅσων πρὸς αἴματός τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων ἀντιβολούντων, ἔτι μὴν τῶν ἐπ' ἀξίας ἀρχόντων, πρὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ δικαστοῦ παρακαλοῦντος, ὡς ἀν αὐτῶν οἴκτον λάβοιεν, φειδώ τε παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ποιήσαιντο, οὐδαμῶς πρὸς τῶν τοσούτων ἐπὶ τὸ φιλοζωῆσαι μὲν ἐλέσθαι, καταφρονῆσαι δὲ τῶν περὶ ὁμοιογίας καὶ ἀρνήσεως τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεσμῶν ὑπήχθησαν, ἀνδρείᾳ δὲ λογισμῷ καὶ φιλοσόφῳ, μᾶλλον δὲ εὐσεβεῖ καὶ φιλοθέῳ ψυχῇ, πρὸς πάσας τοῦ δικαστοῦ τάς τε ἀπειλὰς καὶ τὰς ὕβρεις ἐνστάντες, ἄμφω τὰς κεφαλὰς

8.9.8 | When many people came to plead for their blood and the lives of other friends, and even the judge himself was asking for mercy, they did not choose to save themselves by showing pity for children and women. Instead, they did not care about such great things to save their lives, nor did they yield to the demands to deny or reject our Savior. With brave minds and philosophical thoughts, and even more with a pious and God-loving soul, they stood firm against all the threats and insults of the judge, and both had their

άπετμήθησαν.

heads cut off.

## Section 10

8.10.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 9] Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν μαθημάτων ἔνεκα πολλοῦ λόγου ἄξιον γενέσθαι τὸν Φιλέαν ἔφαμεν, αὐτὸς ἐαυτοῦ παρίτω μάρτυς, ἅμα μὲν ἐαυτὸν ὅστις ποτ' ἦν ἐπιδείξων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ συμβεβηκότα μαρτύρια ἀκριβέστερον μᾶλλον ἡ ἡμεῖς ἴστορήσων διὰ τούτων τῶν λέξεων

8.10.1 | Since we said that Philéas deserves much discussion because of the teachings from outside, he himself is a witness to his own life. He will show who he was and also give a more accurate account of the events that happened to him in Alexandria than we can tell through these words.

8.10.2 | τούτων ἀπάντων ὑπὸ “δειγμάτων ἡμῖν καὶ ὑπογραμμῶν καὶ καλῶν γνωρί” σμάτων ἐν ταῖς θείαις καὶ ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς κειμένων, ‘ούδὲν μελλήσαντες οἱ μακάριοι σὺν ἡμῖν μάρτυρες, “τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὅμμα πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν καὶ θαρῶς τείναντες, καὶ τὸν ἐπ’ εὔσεβείᾳ θάνατον ἐν “νῷ λαβόντες, ἀπρὶξ τῆς κλήσεως εἶχοντο, τὸν μὲν “κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εὐρόντες ἐνανθρωπον “πήσαντα δὲ ἡμᾶς, ἵνα πᾶσαν μὲν ἀμαρτίαν ἐκκόψῃ, “ἐφόδια δὲ τῆς εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν εἰσόδου ἡμῖν “κατάθηται οὐ γάρ ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἵσα “θεῷ, ἀλλ’ ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσε μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν, “καὶ σχήματι εὐρεθεὶς ὡς ἀνθρωπος ἐαυτὸν ἔταπείνωσεν ἔως θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ.

8.10.2 | Of all these examples, teachings, and beautiful insights found in the sacred and holy writings, the blessed ones, along with us, are witnesses. They direct the eye of the soul clearly toward the God above all, and they accept the death that comes from piety. They held firmly to their calling, having found our Lord Jesus Christ, who became human for us, to cut off all sin and to prepare the way for our entrance into eternal life. For he did not consider being equal to God something to hold on to, but emptied himself by taking the form of a servant and being found in the appearance of a man, he humbled himself to the point of death, even death on a cross.

8.10.3 | διὸ καὶ “ζηλώσαντες τὰ μείζονα χαρίσματα οἱ Χριστοφόροι “μάρτυρες πάντα μὲν πόνον καὶ παντοίας ἐπινοίας “αἴκισμῶν ούκ είσάπαξ, ἀλλ’ ἥδη καὶ δεύτερον τινες “ὑπέμειναν, πάσας δὲ ἀπειλὰς οὐ λόγοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργοις τῶν δορυφόρων κατ’ αὐτῶν

8.10.3 | Therefore, the Christ-bearers, being zealous for the greater gifts, did not once endure all pain and various forms of torture, but some even endured a second time. They faced all threats not only with words but also with actions from the soldiers who were eager to harm them.

φιλοτιμουμένων, ούκ ἐνεδίδουν τὴν γνώμην, διὰ τὸ τὴν τελείαν ἀγάπην ἔξω βάλλειν τὸν φόβον.

8.10.4 | ὃν καταλέγειν τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν ἐφ' ἐκάστῃ βασάνῳ “ἀνδρείαν, τίς ἀν ἀρκέσει λόγος; ἀνέσεως γὰρ οὕσης ἀπασι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐνυβρίζειν, οἱ μὲν “ξύλοις ἔπαιον, ἔτεροι δὲ ῥάβδοις, ἄλλοι δὲ μάστιξιν, ἔτεροι δὲ πάλιν ἴμᾶσιν, ἄλλοι δὲ σχοινίοις.

8.10.5 | καὶ “ἢν ἡ θέα τῶν αἰκισμῶν ἐνηλλαγμένη, καὶ πολλὴν “τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ κακίαν ἔχουσα. οἷ μὲν γὰρ ὅπίσω τῷ χεῖρε δεθέντες περὶ τὸ ξύλον ἔξηρτῶντο, καὶ μαγγάνοις τισὶ διετείνοντο πᾶν μέλος, εἴθ’ οὕτως διὰ “παντὸς τοῦ σώματος ἐπῆγον ἐκ κελεύσεως οἱ βασα“νισταὶ, οὐ καθάπερ τοῖς φρονεῦσιν ἐπὶ τῶν πλευρῶν “μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς γαστρὸς καὶ κνημῶν καὶ πα“ρειῶν τοῖς ἀμυντηρίοις ἐκόλαζον· ἔτεροι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς “στοᾶς μιᾶς χειρὸς ἔξηρτημένοι ἡωροῦντο, πάσης “ἄληδόνος δεινοτέραν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρθρων καὶ με“λῶν τάσιν ἔχοντες· ἄλλοι δὲ πρὸς τοῖς κιόσιν ἀντὶ “πρόσωποι ἐδοῦντο, οὐ βεβηκόσι τοῖς ποσὶ, τῷ δὲ “βάρει τοῦ σώματος βιαζομένων μετὰ τάσεως ἀνελ“κομένων τῶν δεσμῶν.

8.10.6 | καὶ τοῦθ’ ὑπέμενον, ούκ “ἐφ’ ὅσον προσδιελέγετο ούδ’ αὐτοῖς ἐσχόλαζεν ὁ “ἡγεμῶν, ἀλλὰ μονονουχὶ δι’ ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας. ὅτε “γὰρ καὶ ἐφ’ ἔτέρους μετέβαινε, τοῖς προτέροις κα“τελίμπανεν ἐφεδρεύειν τοὺς τῇ ἔξουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ ὑπη“ρετουμένους, εἴ πού τις ἡττηθεὶς τῶν βασάνων ‘ἐνδιδόναι ἐδόκει, ἀφειδῶς δὲ

They did not give in to their demands because they cast out fear with perfect love.

8.10.4 | Of those, who could describe the virtue and courage shown in each torture? For with freedom available to all who wanted to insult them, some were beaten with sticks, others with rods, some with whips, others again with straps, and still others with ropes.

8.10.5 | And the sight of the tortures was changed, and it had much evil in it. For some, with their hands tied behind the wood, were stretched out, and they were being pulled by certain torturers in every part of their bodies. The torturers did not strike only the sides like murderers, but also the stomach, shins, and cheeks with their instruments of punishment. Others, hanging from a pillar by one hand, were being tortured in a way more terrible than any truth, having pain from their joints and limbs. Still others were given to the columns, not having touched the ground with their feet, while the weight of their bodies was being violently pulled, straining against their bonds.

8.10.6 | And while they were enduring this, the governor did not stop to question them, but only continued throughout the whole day. For when he moved on to others, he left the previous ones to be served by those under his authority. If anyone seemed to give in to the tortures, he ordered them to be treated without mercy, and after that,

κελεύων καὶ τοῖς ‘δεσμοῖς προσιέναι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ψυχορραγοῦν“τας αὐτοὺς κατατιθεμένους εἰς τὴν γῆν ἔλκεσθαι·”

8.10.7 | οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κᾶν μέρος φροντίδος αὐτοῖς περὶ “ἡμῶν, ἀλλ’ οὕτω καὶ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ πράττειν, “ώς μηκέτ’ ὄντων, ταύτην δευτέραν ἐπὶ ταῖς πληγαῖς τῶν ὑπεναντίων ἐφευρόντων.

8.10.8 | ἡσαν δὲ οὗτοι καὶ μετὰ τοὺς αἴκισμοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου κείμενοι διὰ τῶν τεσσάρων ὅπῶν διατεταμένοι ἄμφω τῷ πόδε, “ώς καὶ κατ’ ἀνάγκην αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου ὑπτίους εἶναι, μὴ δυναμένους διὰ τὸ ἔναιντα τὰ τραύματα ἀπὸ τῶν πληγῶν καθ’ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος ἔχειν· ἔτεροι δὲ εἰς τοῦδαφος ῥιφέντες ἔκειντο ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν βασάνων ἀθρόας προσβολῆς, δεινοτέραν τὴν ὄψιν τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῖς ὀρῶσι παρέχοντες, ποικίλας καὶ διαφόρους ἐν τοῖς σώμασι φέροντες τῶν βασάνων τὰς ἐπινοίας.

8.10.9 | τούτων οὕτως ἔχόντων οἱ “μὲν ἐναπέθνησκον ταῖς βασάνοις, τῇ καρτερίᾳ καὶ ταισχύναντες τὸν ἀντίπαλον, οἵ δὲ ἡμιθνῆτες ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ συγκλειόμενοι μετ’ οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ταῖς ἀλγηδόσι συνεχόμενοι ἐτελειοῦντο, οἵ δὲ λοιποὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς θεραπείας ἀνακτήσεως τυχόντες τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τῇ τῆς φυλακῆς διατριβῇ θαρσαλεώτεροι ἐγίνοντο.

8.10.10 | οὕτω γοῦν ἡνίκα προστέτακτο αἰρέσεως κειμένης, ἦ ἐφαψάμενον τῆς ἐναγοῦς θυσίας ἀνενόχλητον εἶναι, τῆς ἐπαράτου ἐλευθερίας παρ’ αὐτῶν

those who were dying were thrown down to the ground to be dragged away.

8.10.7 | For there is not even a part of their thoughts about us, but they think and act in such a way as if we no longer exist, finding this second way against the blows of their opponents.

8.10.8 | And after the tortures, they were lying on the wood, stretched out by their four limbs, with both feet tied, so that they had to lie on their backs, unable to move because of the wounds all over their bodies. Others, thrown to the ground, lay under the overwhelming attack of the tortures, presenting a more terrible sight to those who saw them, showing various and different signs of suffering on their bodies.

8.10.9 | While these things were happening, some were dying from the tortures, having strengthened their resolve against the enemy. Others, half-dead, were locked up in the prison, suffering from pain for not many days, until they died. The rest, having a chance to recover from their treatment over time and from staying in prison, became more courageous.

8.10.10 | So, when the choice was set before them, whether to touch the unoffending sacrifice and be free from the curse of death, or not to offer the sacrifice

“τυχόντα, ἢ μὴ θύοντα τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ δίκην “χεσθαι, οὐδὲν μελλήσαντες ἀσμένως ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον ἔχώρουν· ἥδεσαν γὰρ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν ἡμῖν προορισθέντα. ὁ γὰρ θυσιάζων, φησὶ “θεοῖς ἐτέροις ἔξολοθρευθήσεται, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἔσονται ταί σοι θεοὶ ἔτεροι πλὴν ἐμοῦ.”

and face the death penalty, they willingly went to their deaths without hesitation. They knew what had been determined for them by the sacred writings. For it is said that the one who offers a sacrifice to other gods will be destroyed, and that there will be no other gods for you except me.

8.10.11 | τοιαῦται τοῦ ὡς ἀληθῶς φιλοσόφου τε ὁμοῦ καὶ φιλοθέου μάρτυρος αὗτοντος, ἃς πρὸ τῆς τελευταίας ἀποφάσεως ὑπὸ τὴν δεσμωτικὴν ἔθνη ὑπάρχων τάξιν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ παροικίαν ἀδελφοῖς ἐπεστάλκει, ἅμα μὲν τὰ ἐν οἷς ἦν ἀνατιθέμενος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ παρορμῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπρὶξ ἔχεσθαι καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ὅσον οὕπω τελειωθησόμενον τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ θεοσεβείας.

8.10.11 | Such are the true words of a philosopher and a martyr, which he sent to his brothers in the community while he was in prison, just before the final decision. He was both offering what he had and encouraging them to hold fast to the faith in Christ, which was not yet fully completed.

8.10.12 | ἀλλὰ τί χρὴ πολλὰ λέγειν, καὶ καινοτέρας ἐπὶ καινοτέραις τῶν ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην θεοπρεπῶν μαρτύρων ἀθλήσεις παρατίθεσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν οὐκέτι μὲν κοινῶν νόμων, πολέμου δὲ τρόπῳ πεπολιορκημένων;

8.10.12 | But why should I say much, and add new stories about the noble struggles of the martyrs around the world, especially those who are no longer under common law but are besieged by war?

## Section 11

8.11.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 10] Ἡδη γοῦν ὅλην Χριστιανῶν πολίχνην αὔτανδρον ἀμφὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐν κύκλῳ περιβαλόντες ὀπλῖται, πῦρ τε ὑφάψαντες, κατέφλεξαν αὐτοὺς ἅμα νηπίοις καὶ γυναιξὶ, τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν ἐπιβοωμένους· ὅτι δὴ πανδημεὶ πάντες οἱ τὴν πόλιν οἴκοῦντες, λογιστής τε αὐτὸς καὶ στρατηγὸς σὺν τοῖς ἐν τέλει πᾶσι καὶ ὅλῳ δῆμῳ, Χριστιανοὺς σφᾶς ὁμολογοῦντες, οὐδὲν ὀπωστιοῦν τοῖς προστάττουσιν είδωλολατρεῖν

8.11.1 | Indeed, soldiers surrounded the entire Christian city in Phrygia, setting fire and burning them along with infants and women, while they cried out to the God above all. Because all the people living in the city, along with the accountant and the general and all the leaders, did not obey the orders to worship idols, but openly confessed to being Christians.

έπειθάρχουν.

8.11.2 | καί τις ἔτερος Ὁρωμαϊκῆς ἀξίας ἐπειλημμένος, "Ἄδαυκτος ὄνομα, γένος τῶν παρ' Ἰταλοῖς ἐπισήμων, διὰ πάσης διελθών ἀνὴρ τῆς παρὰ βασιλεῦσι τιμῆς, ὡς καὶ τὰς καθόλου διοικήσεις τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς καλουμένης μαγιστρότητός τε καὶ καθολικότητος ἀμέμπτως διελθεῖν, ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις διαπρέψας τοῖς ἐν θεοσεβείᾳ κατορθώμασι καὶ ταῖς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ὅμοιογίαις, τῷ τοῦ μαρτυρίου διαδήματι κατεκοσμήθη, ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ καθολικοῦ πράξεως τὸν ὑπὲρ εύσεβείας ὑπομείνας ἄγῶνα.

8.11.2 | And another man of Roman rank, named Adauctus, from a notable family among the Italians, having gone through everything as a man of honor before the kings, and having thoroughly handled the overall administration called magistracy and universality, he distinguished himself in all these matters through his achievements in piety and his confessions of faith in Christ, and he was adorned with the crown of martyrdom, having endured the struggle for godliness in the very act of the universal church.

## Section 12

8.12.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 11] Τί με χρὴ νῦν ἐπ' ὄνόματος τῶν λοιπῶν μνημονεύειν, ἢ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀριθμεῖν, ἢ τὰς πολυτρόπους αἰκίας ἀναζωγραφεῖν τῶν θαυμασίων Χριστοῦ μαρτύρων, τοτὲ μὲν πέλυξιν ἀναιρουμένων, οἷα γέγονε τοῖς ἐπ' Ἀραβίας, τοτὲ δὲ τὰ σκέλη καταγνυμένων, οἷα τοῖς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ συμβέβηκε, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἐκ τοῖν ποδοῖν εἰς ὕψος ἀναρτωμένων, καὶ μαλθακοῦ πυρὸς ὑποκαιομένου τῷ παραπεμπομένῳ καπνῷ τῆς φλεγομένης ὕλης ἀποπνιγομένων, οἷα τοῖς ἐν Μέσῃ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐπήχθη, ποτὲ δὲ ῥῖνας καὶ ὤτα καὶ χεῖρας ἀκρωτηριαζομένων, τά τε λοιπὰ τοῦ σώματος μέλη καὶ μέρη κρεουργουμένων, οἷα τὰ ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας ἦν;

8.12.1 | Why should I now mention the names of the others, or count the number of men, or describe the many kinds of tortures of the wonderful martyrs of Christ? Sometimes they were stripped of their clothing, like those in Arabia; sometimes their legs were broken, as happened to those in Cappadocia; at other times they were hung upside down by their feet, or suffocated by the smoke of burning materials, like those in the middle of the rivers; and sometimes their noses, ears, and hands were cut off, while the other parts of their bodies were mutilated, like those in Alexandria?

8.12.2 | τί δεῖ τῶν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας ἀναζωπυρεῖν τὴν μνήμην, ἐσχάραις πυρὸς οὐκ εἰς θάνατον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μακρῷ τιμωρίᾳ

8.12.2 | Why should I rekindle the memory of those in Antioch, who were not burned to death on the pyres, but were subjected

κατοπτωμένων, ἐτέρων τε θᾶττον τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῶν πυρὶ καθιέντων ἢ τῆς ἑναγοῦς θυσίας ἐφαπτομένων; ὃν τινὲς τὴν πεῖραν φεύγοντες, πρὶν ἀλῶναι καὶ εἰς χεῖρας τῶν ἐπιβούλων ἐλθεῖν, ἄνωθεν ἐξ ὑψηλῶν δωμάτων ἐαυτοὺς κατεκρήμνισαν, τὸν θάνατον ἄρπαγμα θέμενοι τῆς τῶν δυσσεβῶν μοχθηρίας.

to long-lasting punishment? Some had their right hands burned faster than they could touch the sacrificial offerings. Some, fleeing from the danger, before being caught and falling into the hands of their attackers, threw themselves down from high buildings, considering death a quick escape from the wickedness of the ungodly.

8.12.3 | καί τις ἱερὰ καὶ θαυμασία τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετὴν, τὸ δὲ σῶμα γυνὴ, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῶν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας πλούτῳ καὶ γένει καὶ εύδοξίᾳ παρὰ πᾶσι βεβοημένη, παίδων ξυνωρίδα παρθένων, τῇ τοῦ σώματος ὥρᾳ καὶ ἀκμῇ διαπρεπουσῶν, θεσμοῖς εύσεβείας ἀναθρεψαμένη, ἐπειδὴ πολὺς ὁ περὶ αὐτὰς κινούμενος φθόνος πάντα τρόπον ἀνιχνεύων λανθανούσας περιειργάζετο, εἴτα ἐπ' ἀλλοδαπῆς αὐτὰς διατρίβειν μαθὼν πεφροντισμένως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἔκάλει, δικτύων δὲ ἥδη στρατιωτικῶν εἴσω περιβέβληντο, ἐν ἀμηχάνοις ἐαυτήν τε καὶ τὰς παῖδας θεασαμένη, καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων δεινὰ τῷ λόγῳ παραθεῖσα, τό τε πάντων δεινῶν ἀφορητότερον, πορνείας ἀπειλὴν, μηδὲ ἄκροις ὡσὶν ὑπομεῖναι δεῖν ἀκοῦσαι, ἐαυτῇ τε καὶ ταῖς κόραις παρακελευσαμένη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ προδοῦναι τὰς ψυχὰς τῇ τῶν δαιμόνων δουλείᾳ πάντων ὑπάρχειν θανάτων καὶ πάσης χεῖρον ἀπωλείας φήσασα, μίαν τούτων ἀπάντων εἶναι λύσιν ὑπετίθετο, τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον καταφυγήν·

8.12.3 | And there was a sacred and wonderful virtue of the soul, while the body was a woman, known by all in Antioch for her wealth, lineage, and reputation. She was a group of virgin children, in the prime and beauty of their bodies, raised with laws of piety. Since much envy was stirred up against them, seeking to uncover their hidden lives, she learned that they were to be taken away to a foreign place and called them to Antioch. Already wrapped in military nets, she saw herself and her children in a helpless situation, and she set before them the terrible things that were to come from men, especially the most unbearable of all evils, the threat of fornication, which they should not even have to hear with their ears. She urged both herself and her daughters not to betray their souls to the slavery of demons, saying that all deaths and every worse destruction were present. She suggested that the only escape from all these things was to take refuge in the Lord.

8.12.4 | κάπειτα ὅμοῦ τὴν γνώμην συνθέμεναι, τά τε σώματα περιστείλασαι κοσμίως τοῖς περιβλήμασιν, ἐπ' αὐτῆς μέσης γενόμεναι τῆς ὁδοῦ, βραχύ τι τοὺς φύλακας εἰς ἀναχώρησιν

8.12.4 | And then, together, they made a decision, and after dressing their bodies modestly in fine garments, they positioned themselves in the middle of the road. After briefly persuading the guards to withdraw,

ύποπαραιτησάμεναι, ἐπὶ παραρρέοντα  
ποταμὸν ἐαυτὰς ἡκόντισαν.

8.12.5 | αἵδε μὲν οὖν ἐαυτάς· ἄλλην δ' ἐπ'  
αὐτῆς Ἀντιοχείας ξυνωρίδα παρθένων τὰ  
πάντα θεοπρεπῶν καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀδελφῶν,  
ἐπιδόξων μὲν τὸ γένος, λαμπρῶν δὲ τὸν  
βίον, νέων τοὺς χρόνους, ὥραίων τὸ σῶμα,  
σεμνῶν τὴν ψυχὴν, εὔσεβῶν τὸν τρόπον,  
θαυμαστῶν τὴν σπουδὴν, ὡς ἀν μὴ  
φερούσης τῆς γῆς τὰ τοιαῦτα βαστάζειν,  
θαλάττῃ ῥίπτειν ἐκέλευον οἱ τῶν δαιμόνων  
θεραπευταί. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παρὰ τοῖσδε.

8.12.6 | τὰ φρικτὰ δὲ ἀκοαῖς κατὰ τὸν  
Πόντον ἔπασχον ἔτεροι, καλάμοις ὁξέσι  
τοῖν χεροῖν ἐξ ἄκρων ὄνύχων τοὺς  
δακτύλους διαπειρόμενοι, καὶ ἄλλοι πυρὶ<sup>1</sup>  
μολίβδου διατακέντος βρασσούσῃ καὶ  
πεπυρακτωμένῃ τῇ ὅλῃ τὰ νῶτα  
καταχεόμενοι, καὶ τὰ μάλιστα  
ἀναγκαιότατα τοῦ σώματος  
κατοπτώμενοι·

8.12.7 | διά τε τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἔτεροι  
μελῶν τε καὶ σπλάγχνων αἰσχρὰς καὶ  
ἀσυμπαθεῖς καὶ οὐδὲ λόγω ῥητὰς ὑπέμενον  
πάθας, ἃς οἱ γενναῖοι καὶ νόμιμοι δικασταὶ,  
τὴν σφῶν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι δεινότητα,  
ῶσπερ τινὰ σοφίας ἀρετὴν φιλοτιμότερον  
ἐπενόουν, ἀεὶ ταῖς καινότερον  
ἔφευρισκομέναις αἰκίαις, ὧσπερεὶ ἐν  
ἀγῶνος βραβείοις, ἀλλήλους ὑπερεξάγειν  
διαμιλλώμενοι.

8.12.8 | τὰ δ' οὖν τῶν συμφορῶν ἔσχατα,  
ὅτε δὴ λοιπὸν ἀπειρηκότες ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν  
κακῶν ὑπερβολῇ καὶ πρὸς τὸ κτείνειν

they willingly threw themselves into the  
flowing river.

8.12.5 | These women, then, were  
themselves; but there was another group of  
virgins in Antioch, all truly like sisters, with  
a noble lineage, a bright life, youthful years,  
beautiful bodies, serious souls, pious ways,  
and admirable dedication. Since the earth  
could not bear such things, the servants of  
the demons urged them to throw  
themselves into the sea. This is what  
happened among them.

8.12.6 | Others suffered terrible things by  
the sea. Some were using sharp reeds to  
pierce their fingers from the tips of their  
nails, while others were being poured over  
with burning wood and molten lead, having  
their backs scalded. They were especially  
focused on the most necessary parts of the  
body.

8.12.7 | Through the unspeakable, others  
endured shameful and heartless sufferings  
of their limbs and organs, which the brave  
and lawful judges showed as a terrible  
example of their own. They seemed to seek  
a kind of wisdom as a greater honor,  
always inventing newer tortures, as if  
competing for prizes in a contest, trying to  
outdo each other.

8.12.8 | Then, at the end of their  
misfortunes, when they were completely  
worn out by the excess of evil and tired of

άποκαμόντες, πλησμονήν τε καὶ κόρον τῆς τῶν αἰμάτων ἐκχύσεως ἐσχηκότες, ἐπὶ τὸ νομιζόμενον αὐτοῖς χρηστὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἔτρέποντο, ὡς μηδὲν μὲν ἔτι δοκεῖν δεινὸν καθ' ἡμῶν περιεργάζεσθαι·

killing, having reached a point of fullness and satisfaction from the pouring out of blood, they turned to what they thought was good and humane, as if there was nothing left that seemed terrible to them to deal with.

8.12.9 | μὴ γὰρ καθήκειν φασὶν αἴμασιν ἐμφυλίοις μιαίνειν τὰς πόλεις, μηδ' ἐπ' ὀμότητι τῇ ἀνωτάτῳ διαβάλλειν τὴν τῶν κρατούντων ἀρχὴν, εὔμενῃ τοῖς πᾶσιν ὑπάρχουσαν καὶ πραεῖαν, δεῖν δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς φιλανθρώπου καὶ βασιλικῆς ἔξουσίας εἰς πάντας ἔκτείνεσθαι τὴν εὐεργεσίαν, μηκέτι θανάτῳ κολαζομένους· λελύσθαι γὰρ αὐτῶν καθ' ἡμῶν ταύτην τὴν τιμωρίαν, διὰ τὴν τῶν κρατούντων φιλανθρωπίαν.

8.12.9 | For they say that shedding blood of fellow citizens stains the cities, and that cruelty undermines the power of those in charge, which should be kind and gentle to everyone. It is necessary for the humane and royal authority to extend its kindness to all, so that no one is punished by death anymore. For this punishment should be lifted from them because of the kindness of those in power.

8.12.10 | τηνικαῦτα ὄφθαλμοὺς ἔξορύττεσθαι καὶ τοῖν σκελοῖν πηροῦσθαι θάτερον προσετάττετο. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ φιλάνθρωπα, καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμῶν τιμωριῶν τὰ κουφότατα, ὥστε ἥδη ταύτης ἔνεκα τῆς τῶν ἀσεβῶν φιλανθρωπίας οὐκέτ' εἶναι δυνατὸν ἔξειπεῖν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὑπὲρ πάντα λόγον τοὺς μὲν δεξιοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς ξίφει πρότερον ἐκκοπτομένων, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκκέντησιν τούτους πυρὶ καυτηριαζομένων, τοὺς δὲ λαιοὺς πόδας κατὰ τῶν ἀγκυλῶν αὐθίς καυτῆριν ἀχρειούμενων, μετά τε ταῦτα τοῖς κατ' ἐπαρχίαν χαλκοῦ μετάλλοις οὐχ ὑπηρεσίας τοσοῦτον, ὅσον κακώσεως καὶ ταλαιπωρίας ἔνεκεν καταδικαζομένων, πρὸς ἄπασί τε τούτοις ἄλλων ἄλλοις ἀγῶσιν, οὓς μηδὲ καταλέγειν δυνατόν, (νικᾶ γὰρ πάντα λόγον τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀνδραγαθήματα), περιπεπτωκότων.

8.12.10 | At that time, they were ordered to have their eyes gouged out and their legs crippled. These were considered humane punishments for them, and among the lightest of the punishments we have, so that because of the kindness shown to the wicked, it was no longer possible to describe the number of those who suffered. Some had their right eyes cut out with a sword first, and after being emptied, these were cauterized with fire. Others had their crooked legs burned with hot irons, and after that, those condemned to copper mines were not sent there for service, but rather for suffering and hardship. Along with all these, there were others in different contests, whom it was not even possible to count, for the deeds of bravery against them overcame all words.

8.12.11 | ἐν δὴ τούτοις ἐφ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης διαλάμψαντες οἱ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ μάρτυρες τοὺς μὲν ἀπανταχοῦ τῆς ἀνδρείας αὐτῶν ἐπόπτας εἰκότως κατεπλήξαντο, τῆς δὲ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θείας ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ἀπορρήτου δυνάμεως ἐμφανῆ δι' ἐσυτῶν τὰ τεκμήρια παρεστήσαντο. ἐκάστου μὲν οὖν ἐπ' ὄνόματος μνημονεύειν μακρὸν ἀνεῖη, μή τι γε τῶν ἀδυνάτων,

8.12.11 | In these events, the glorious martyrs of Christ shone throughout the whole world. They amazed everyone with their bravery, and they showed clear evidence of the true and incomprehensible power of our Savior through their own actions. It would take a long time to mention each one by name, lest we overlook any of the remarkable deeds.

## Section 13

8.13.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 16] τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐπισήμους πόλεις μαρτυρησάντων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀρχόντων πρῶτος ἡμῖν ἐν εύσεβῶν στήλαις τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας ἀναγορευέσθω μάρτυρς ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Νικομηδέων πόλεως, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθεὶς, "Ἀνθίμος.

8.13.1 | Of those who witnessed in the famous cities, let the first to be declared a martyr among the pillars of the kingdom of Christ be Anthimus, the bishop of the city of Nicomedia, who had his head cut off.

8.13.2 | τῶν δ' ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας μαρτύρων τὸν πάντα βίον ἄριστος πρεσβύτερος τῆς αὐτόθι παροικίας Λουκιανὸς, ἐν τῇ Νικομηδείᾳ καὶ αὐτὸς, βασιλέως ἐπιπαρόντος, τὴν οὐράνιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείαν λόγῳ πρότερον δι' ἀπολογίας, εἴτα δὲ καὶ ἔργοις ἀνακηρύξας.

8.13.2 | Among the martyrs in Antioch, the best was Lucian, an elder of the local community. In Nicomedia, while the king was present, he first proclaimed the heavenly kingdom of Christ with words in his defense, and then he also declared it through his actions.

8.13.3 | τῶν δ' ἐπὶ Φοινίκης μαρτύρων γένοιντ' ἀν ἐπισημότατοι τὰ πάντα θεοφιλεῖς τῶν λογικῶν Χριστοῦ θρεμμάτων ποιμένες, Τυραννίων ἐπίσκοπος τῆς κατὰ Τυρὸν ἐκκλησίας, πρεσβύτερός τε τῆς κατὰ Σιδῶνα Ζηνόβιος, καὶ ἔτι Σιλβανὸς τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν "Ἐμισαν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπίσκοπος.

8.13.3 | Among the martyrs in Phoenicia, the most notable were the beloved shepherds of Christ's faithful people: Tyrannion, the bishop of the church in Tyre, Zenobius, the elder of the community in Sidon, and also Silvanus, the bishop of the churches around Emesa.

8.13.4 | ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν θηρίων βορὰ μεθ' ἑτέρων ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἐμίσης γενόμενος χοροῖς ἀνελήφθη μαρτύρων, τῶν δ' ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας ἄμφω τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον διὰ τῆς εἰς Θάνατον ὑπομονῆς ἐδοξασάτην, ὃ μὲν θαλαττίοις παραδοθεὶς βυθοῖς, ὃ ἐπίσκοπος, ὃ δὲ ἱατρῶν ἄριστος Ζηνόβιος ταῖς κατὰ τῶν πλευρῶν ἐπιτεθείσαις αὐτῷ καρτερῶς ἐναποθανὼν βασάνοις.

8.13.4 | But this one was taken up among the martyrs, having become a prey to wild beasts along with others. Both of them in Antioch glorified the word of God through their endurance unto death: the bishop was given to the depths of the sea, while the best of the doctors, Zenobius, bravely endured the tortures that were inflicted on his sides until he died.

8.13.5 | τῶν δ' ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνης μαρτύρων Σιλβανὸς, ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν Γάζαν ἐκκλησιῶν, κατὰ τὰ ἐν Φαίνοι χαλκοῦ μέταλλα σὺν ἑτέροις ἐνὸς δέουσι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τεσσαράκοντα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνεται, Αἴγυπτοι τε αὐτόθι Πήλευς καὶ Νεῖλος ἐπίσκοποι μεθ' ἑτέρων τὴν διὰ πυρὸς ὑπέμειναν τελευτήν.

8.13.5 | Among the martyrs in Palestine, Silvanus, the bishop of the churches around Gaza, was beheaded along with others, making the total number forty, according to the accounts in Phainos. There were also the Egyptian bishops, Peius and Neilos, who endured their end by fire along with others.

8.13.6 | καὶ τὸ μέγα δὲ κλέος τῆς Καισαρέων παροικίας ἐν τούτοις ἡμῖν μνημονευέσθω Πάμφιλος πρεσβύτερος, τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς θαυμασιώτατος, οὗ τῶν ἀνδραγαθημάτων τὴν ἀρετὴν κατὰ τὸν δέοντα καιρὸν ἀνεγράψαμεν.

8.13.6 | And let us remember among these the great fame of Pamphilus, the elder of the Caesareans, who is most wonderful among us. We have recorded his virtue through his great deeds at the proper time.

8.13.7 | τῶν δ' ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας καθ' ὅλης τε Αἴγυπτου καὶ Θηβαΐδος διαπρεπῶν τελειωθέντων πρῶτος Πέτρος, αὐτῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπος, θεῖόν τι χρῆμα διδασκάλων τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ θεοσεβείας, ἀναγεγράφθω, καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβυτέρων Φαῦστος καὶ Δῖος καὶ Ἀμμώνιος, τέλειοι Χριστοῦ μάρτυρες, Φιλέας τε καὶ Ἡσύχιος καὶ Παχύμιος καὶ Θεόδωρος, τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπίσκοποι, μυρίοι τε ἐπὶ τούτοις

8.13.7 | Among those who were greatly honored in Alexandria and throughout all of Egypt and Thebaid, the first was Peter, the bishop of Alexandria, a divine teacher of piety in Christ. Let us also mention the elders with him: Faustus, Dios, and Ammonius, who were perfect martyrs of Christ, along with Phileas, Hesychius, Pachomius, and Theodore, who were bishops of the churches around Egypt. Many others, shining among them, are

ἄλλοι διαφανεῖς, οὶ πρὸς τῶν κατὰ χώραν καὶ τόπον παροικιῶν μνημονεύονται, ὃν ἀνὰ τὴν πᾶσαν οἰκουμένην ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον εύσεβείας ἡγωνισμένων γραφῇ παραδιδόναι τοὺς ἄθλους, ἐπ' ἀκριβές τε ἔκαστα τῶν περὶ αὐτοὺς συμβεβηκότων ἴστορεν, οὐχ ἡμέτερον, τῶν δ' ὅψει τὰ πράγματα παρειληφότων ἕδιον ἀν γένοιτο. οἵς γε μὴν αὐτὸς παρεγενόμην, τούτους καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς γνωρίμους δι' ἑτέρας ποιήσομαι γραφῆς.

8.13.8 | κατά γε μὴν τὸν παρόντα λόγον τὴν παλινῳδίαν τῶν περὶ ἡμάς είργασμένων τοῖς είρημένοις ἐπισυνάψω, τά τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ διωγμοῦ συμβεβηκότα, χρησιμώτατα τυγχάνοντα τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις.

8.13.9 | τὰ μὲν οὖν πρὸ τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν πολέμου τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας, ἐν ὅσοις δὴ χρόνοις τὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων φίλιά τε ἡμῖν ἦν καὶ είρηναῖα, ὀπόσης ἀγαθῶν εὐφορίας καὶ εὔετηρίας ἤξιώτο, τίς ἀν ἔξαρκέσει λόγος διηγήσασθαι; ὀπότε καὶ οἱ μάλιστα τῆς καθόλου κρατοῦντες ἀρχῆς, δεκαετρίδας καὶ είκοσαετηρίδας τῆς βασιλείας ἐκπλήσαντες, ἐν ἐορταῖς καὶ πανηγύρεσι, φαιδροτάταις τε θαλίαις καὶ εύφροσύναις μετὰ πάσης εύσταθοῦς διετέλουν είρήνης.

8.13.10 | οὕτω δ' αύτοῖς ἀπαραποδίστως αύξούσης καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα δόσημέραι προιούσης τῆς ἔξουσίας, ἀθρόως τῆς πρὸς ἡμάς είρήνης μεταθέμενοι, πόλεμον ἀσπονδον ἐγείρουσιν, οὕπω δ' αύτοῖς τῆς τοιασδή κινήσεως δεύτερον ἔτος πεπλήρωτο, καί τι περὶ τὴν ὅλην ἀρχὴν νεώτερον γεγονὸς τὰ

remembered in the local communities by place and region. Their struggles for true piety are recorded throughout the whole world, detailing their achievements and accurately recounting everything that happened to them. This is not our own work, but if one were to look at the matters, it would be unique to them. Since I was present among them, I will write about these and those known to us in another account.

8.13.8 | In this present account, I will add a summary of what has been done concerning us, along with the events that happened from the beginning of the persecution, which are very useful for those who will read this.

8.13.9 | Before the war against us by the Roman rulers, during which times we had both friendship and peace with those in power, who granted us many good things and prosperity, who could fully describe it? At that time, the rulers of the whole empire, having completed ten and twenty years of reign, celebrated with the brightest festivals and gatherings, enjoying great joy and happiness with complete stability and peace.

8.13.10 | Thus, while their power was growing steadily and greatly, they suddenly changed from peace with us to an unending war. Yet, it had not even been two years since this kind of movement began, and everything was being turned upside down

πάντα πράγματα ἀνατρέπει.

in the whole empire due to recent events.

8.13.11 | νόσου γὰρ οὐκ αἰσίας τῷ πρωτοστάτῃ τῶν εἱρημένων ἐπισκηψάσης, ὑφ' ἣς δὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς διανοίας εἰς ἔκστασιν αὐτῷ παρήγετο, σὺν τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν δευτερείοις τετιμημένῳ τὸν δημάδη καὶ ἴδιωτικὸν ἀπολαμβάνει βίον· οὕπω δὲ ταύτ' αὐτῷ οὕτω πέπρακτο, καὶ διχῇ τὰ πάντα τῆς ἀρχῆς διαιρεῖται, πρᾶγμα μηδ' ἄλλοτέ πω πάλαι γεγονός μνήμη παραδεδομένον.

8.13.11 | For, when the chief of those mentioned was struck by an unfortunate illness, which caused him to lose his senses, he, along with his second-in-command, was removed from public and private life. Yet, it had not been done to him in the same way before, and everything in the empire was divided in two, a situation unlike anything that had ever been recorded in memory.

8.13.12 | χρόνου δ' οὐ πλείστου μεταξὺ γενομένου βασιλεὺς Κωνστάντιος, τὸν πάντα βίον πραότατα καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις εύνοικωτατα, τῷ τε θείῳ λόγῳ προσφιλέστατα διαθέμενος, παῖδα γνήσιον Κωνσταντῖνον αὐτοκράτορα καὶ σεβαστὸν ἀνθ' ἐαυτοῦ καταλιπών, κοινῷ φύσεως νόμῳ τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον, πρῶτος τε ἐν θεοῖς ἀνηγορεύετο παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀπάσης μετὰ θάνατον, ὅση βασιλεῖ τις ἀν ὥφείλετο, τιμῆς ἡξιωμένος, χρηστότατος καὶ ἡπιώτατος βασιλέων,

8.13.12 | After a short time, the king Constantius, who lived very gently and was very kind to his subjects, and who was most devoted to the divine word, left behind his legitimate son Constantine as emperor and honored one in his place. He ended his life according to the common law of nature, and he was the first among the gods to be proclaimed by them, receiving all the honor that any king could expect after death, being regarded as the most virtuous and mildest of kings.

8.13.13 | ὃς δὴ καὶ μόνος τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπαξίως τῆς ἡγεμονίας τὸν πάντα τῆς ἀρχῆς διατελέσας χρόνον, καὶ τἄλλα τοῖς πᾶσι δεξιώτατον καὶ εὐεργετικώτατον παρασχὼν ἐαυτὸν, τοῦ δὲ καθ' ἡμῶν πολέμου μηδαμῶς ἐπικοινωνήσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν θεοσεβεῖς ἀβλαβεῖς καὶ ἀνεπηρεάστους φυλάξας, καὶ μήτε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοὺς οἴκους καθελών, μήθ' ἔτερόν τι καθ' ἡμῶν καινουργήσας, τέλος εὐδόκιμον καὶ τρισμακάριον ἀπείληφε τοῦ βίου, μόνος ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας εὔμενῶς καὶ ἐπιδόξως ἐπὶ διαδόχῳ γνησίῳ

8.13.13 | He alone, among us, rightly held the leadership for the entire time of his rule, and he provided everything to all in the most skillful and beneficial way. He had no connection at all with the war against us, but he kept those under him who were God-fearing safe and unharmed. He neither destroyed the houses of the churches nor introduced anything new against us. In the end, he left this life in a good and blessed way, leaving behind his legitimate son as his successor, who was the most prudent

παιδὶ, πάντα σωφρονεστάτῳ τε καὶ εύσεβεστάτῳ, τελευτήσας.

8.13.14 | τούτου παῖς Κωνσταντῖνος εὐθὺς ἀρχόμενος, βασιλεὺς τελεώτατος καὶ σεβαστός πρὸς τῶν στρατοπέδων, καὶ ἔτι πολὺ τούτων πρότερον πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ παμβασιλέως θεοῦ ἀναγορευθεὶς, ζηλωτὴν ἐαυτὸν τῆς πατρικῆς περὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον εύσεβείας κατεστήσατο. καὶ οὗτος μὲν τοιοῦτος. Λικίνιος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπὸ κοινῆς ψήφου τῶν κρατούντων αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ σεβαστὸς ἀναπέφηνε.

8.13.15 | ταῦτα Μαξιμῖνον δεινῶς ἐλύπει, μόνο Καίσαρα παρὰ πάντας είσέτι τότε χρηματίζοντα, ὃ δὴ οὖν τὰ μάλιστα τυραννικὸς ὥν, παραρπάσας ἐαυτῷ τὴν ἀξίαν, σεβαστὸς ἦν, αὐτὸς ὑφ' ἐαυτοῦ γεγονὼς ἐντούτῳ δὲ Κωνσταντίνῳ μηχανὴν θανάτου συρράπτων ἀλούς ὃ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόθεσιν ἐπανηρῆσθαι δεδηλωμένος, αἰσχίστῳ καταστρέφει θανάτῳ. πρῷ του δὲ τούτου τὰς ἐπὶ τιμῇ γραφὰς, ἀνδριάντας τ' καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα ἐπ' ἀναθέσει νενόμισται, ὡς ἀνοσίο καὶ δυσσεβεστάτου καθήρουν.

## Section 14

8.14.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII. 21] Τούτου παῖς Μαξίντιος, ὃ τὴν ἐπὶ ᾧμης τυραννίδα συστησάμενος, ἀρχόμενος μὲν τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς πίστιν ἐπ' ἀρεσκείᾳ καὶ κολακείᾳ τοῦ δήμου ᾧ ωμαίων καθυπεκρίνατο, ταύτῃ τε τοῖς ὑπηκόοις τὸν κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ἀνεῖναι προστάττει διωγμὸν, εύσέβειαν ἐπιμορφάζων, ὡς ἀν δεξιὸς καὶ πολὺ πρᾶος παρὰ τοὺς προτέρους φανείη·

and most pious, having completed his life.

8.13.14 | His son Constantine immediately began to rule as a complete and honored king among the armies. Even before this, he had been proclaimed by the universal king, the god, and he made himself a zealot for his father's teachings about our piety. This is who he was. Licinius, on the other hand, was declared emperor and honored by the common vote of those in power.

8.13.15 | This greatly troubled Maximinus, who was the only Caesar still holding power at that time. He, being very tyrannical, took the honor for himself and was regarded as honored, having made himself so. However, he plotted a death trap for Constantine, intending to remove him after his deposition, leading to a most shameful death. Before this, he destroyed the writings of honor, statues, and anything else considered sacred, as if they were unholy and most impious.

8.14.1 | His son Maxentius, who established the tyranny over Rome, began to pretend to follow our faith for the sake of pleasing and flattering the Roman people. With this, he ordered his subordinates to launch a persecution against Christians, pretending to promote piety, so that he might appear more skilled and much gentler than his predecessors.

8.14.2 | οὐ μὴν οἶος ἔσεσθαι ἡλπίσθη,  
τοιοῦτος ἔργοις ἀναπέφηνεν, εἰς πάσας δ'  
ἀνοσιουργίας ὄκείλας ούδεν ὅ τι μιαρίας  
ἔργον καὶ ἀκολασίας παραλέοιπε,  
μοιχείας τε καὶ παντοίας ἐπιτελῶν φθοράς·  
διαζευγνύς γε τοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰς κατὰ  
νόμον γαμετὰς, ταύτας ἐνυβρίζων,  
ἀτιμότατα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν αὐθις ἀπέπεμπε,  
καὶ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἀσήμοις ούδ' ἀφανέσιν  
ἐγχειρῶν ἐπετίδευεν, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν δὴ  
μάλιστα τῶν τὰ πρῶτα τῆς Ρωμαίων  
συγκλήτου ἀπενηνεγμένων ἐμπαροινῶν  
τοῖς ἔξοχωτάτοις.

8.14.3 | οἱ πάντες δ' αὐτὸν ὑποπεπτηχότες  
δῆμοι καὶ ἄρχοντες, ἔνδοξοί τε καὶ ἄδοξοι,  
δεινῇ κατετρύχοντο τυραννίδι. καὶ ούδ'  
ἡρεμούντων καὶ τὴν πικρὰν φερόντων  
δουλείαν, ἀπαλλαγή τις ὅμως ἦν τῆς τοῦ  
τυράννου φονώσης ὡμότητος· ἐπὶ σμικρῷ  
γοῦν ἥδη ποτὲ προφάσει τὸν δῆμον εἰς  
φόνον τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν δορυφόροις  
ἐκδίδωσι, καὶ ἐκτείνετο μυρία τοῦ δήμου  
Ρωμαίων πλάθη ἐπὶ μέσης τῆς πόλεως, οὐ  
Σκυθῶν ούδὲ βαρβάρων, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν τῶν  
οἰκείων δόρασι καὶ πανοπλίαις.

8.14.4 | συγκλητικῶν γε μὴν φόνος ὀπόσος  
δι' ἐπιβουλὴν ἐνηργεῖτο τῆς ούσίας ούδ'  
ἔξαριθμήσασθαι δυνατὸν ἄλλοτε ἄλλαις  
πεπλασμέναις αἵτίαις μυρίων  
ἀναιρουμένων.

8.14.5 | ἡ δὲ τῶν κακῶν τῷ τυράννῳ  
κορωνὶς ἐπὶ γοητείαν ἥλαυνε, μαγικαῖς  
ἐπινοίαις τοτὲ μὲν γυναῖκας ἔγκυμονας  
ἀνασχίζοντος, τοτὲ δὲ νεογνῶν σπλάγχνα

8.14.2 | Yet he was not expected to be alone in this; he revealed himself through such deeds. He did not leave out any wicked acts, filled with filth and debauchery, including adultery and all kinds of destruction. He even separated men from their legally married wives, dishonoring them and sending them back to their husbands in the most disgraceful way. And he did this not through secret or hidden actions, but especially in front of the highest members of the Roman Senate, making it very clear.

8.14.3 | All the people, both famous and unknown, were terrified by his tyranny. And even though they were not at peace and carried the bitter burden of slavery, there was still some hope of escaping the cruel oath of the tyrant. At least at one point, he gave a pretext to the soldiers around him to kill the people, and a countless number of Roman citizens were stretched out in the middle of the city, not by Scythians or barbarians, but by their own spears and armor.

8.14.4 | Indeed, the murder of senators was carried out through plots against their lives, and it was impossible to count how many were killed for various reasons that were made up.

8.14.5 | The tyrant was driven by a desire for evil, using magic and sorcery. Sometimes he would cut open pregnant women, and at other times, he would

βρεφῶν διερευνωμένου, λέοντάς τε κατασφάττοντος, καὶ τινας ἀρρητοποιίας ἐπὶ δαιμόνων προκλήσεις καὶ ἀποτροπιασμὸν τοῦ πολέμου συνισταμένου· διὰ τούτων γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς νίκης κατορθωθήσεσθαι ἡ πᾶσα ἐτύγχανεν ἐλπίς.

examine the organs of newborns. He would also kill lions and perform certain rituals to call upon demons, while the horrors of war surrounded him. For through these acts, he believed that all hope for victory would be achieved.

8.14.6 | οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Ἐρώμης τυραννῶν οὐδ' ἔστιν εἴπειν οἵα δρῶν τοὺς ὑπηκόους κατεδουλοῦτο, ὡς ἥδη καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τροφῶν ἐν ἐσχάτῃ σπάνει καὶ ἀπορίᾳ καταστῆναι, ὅσην ἐπὶ Ἐρώμης οὐδ' ἄλλοτε οὕτως καθ' ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι μνημονεύουσιν.

8.14.6 | This tyrant in Rome was such that it is hard to say how he enslaved those under him. Already, even the necessary food was scarce and people were suffering from poverty, more than ever before in Rome or at any other time that we remember.

8.14.7 | ὁ δ' ἐπ' ἀνατολῆς τύραννος Μαξιμῖνος, ὡσὰν πρὸς ἀδελφὸν τὴν κακίαν πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ Ἐρώμης φιλίαν κρύβδην σπενδόμενος, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον λανθάνειν ἐφρόντιζε, φωραθείς γέ τοι ὑστερον δίκην τίννυσι τὴν ἀξίαν.

8.14.7 | The tyrant Maximinus in the East, while secretly plotting against the one in Rome, showed his wickedness as if he were a brother. He tried to remain hidden for a long time, but after being discovered, he faced the punishment he deserved.

8.14.8 | ἦν δὲ θαυμάσαι ὅπως καὶ οὗτος τὰ συγγενῆ καὶ ἀδελφὰ 5 μᾶλλον δὲ κακίας τὰ πρῶτα καὶ τὰ νικητήρια τῆς τοῦ κατὰ Ἐρώμην τυράννου κακοτροπίας ἀπενηγεμένος. γοήτων τε γὰρ καὶ μάγων οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς ἀνωτάτω παρ' αὐτῷ τιμῆς ἡξίωντο, ψιφοδεοῦς εἰς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ δεισιδαιμονεστάτου καθεστῶτος, τὴν τε περὶ τὰ εἴδωλα καὶ τοὺς δαίμονας περὶ πολλοῦ τιθεμένου πλάνην. μαντειῶν γοῦν δίχα καὶ χρησμῶν οὐδὲ μέχρις ὅνυχος, ὡς εἴπειν, τολμᾶν τι κινεῖν οἶός τε ἦν.

8.14.8 | It was amazing to see how this one, more than others, was related to the evil and the victories of the tyrant in Rome. The first among the sorcerers and magicians were honored by him, as he was very fearful and superstitious. He placed great importance on idols and the tricks of demons. Indeed, he did not dare to act in any way without consulting oracles and prophecies, as if he were afraid even to move a finger.

8.14.9 | οὗτος χάριν καὶ τῷ καθ' ἡμῶν σφοδρότερον ἦν οἱ πρόσθεν καὶ πυκνότερον

8.14.9 | For this reason, he attacked us more fiercely and more often than those

έπετίθετο διωγμῷ, νεώς κατὰ πάσαν πόλιν  
έγειρειν, καὶ τὰ χρόνου μῆκει καθηρημένα  
τεμένη διὰ σπουδῆς ἀνανεοῦσθαι  
προστάττων, ἵερας τε εἰδώλων κατὰ  
πάντα τόπον καὶ πόλιν· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων  
ἐκάστης ἐπαρχίας ἀρχιερέα, τῶν ἐν  
πολιτείαις ἔνα γέ τινα τὸν μάλιστα  
ἔμφανῶς διὰ πάσης ἐμπρέψαντα  
λειτουργίας, μέτα στρατιωτικοῦ στίφους  
καὶ δορυφορίας ἑκτάσων, ἀνέδην τε πάσι  
γόνησιν, ὡσὰν εὔσεβέσι καὶ θεῶν  
προσφιλέσιν, ἡγεμονίας καὶ τὰς μεγίστας  
προνομίας δωρούμενος.

before him, ordering temples to be built in every city. He commanded that the length of time set aside for worship be renewed with great urgency. He placed priests of idols in every place and city, and for each province, he appointed a high priest, choosing one who was most visible in carrying out all the rituals. Along with military forces and guards, he openly honored all sorcerers, as if they were pious and beloved by the gods, granting them leadership and the greatest privileges.

8.14.10 | ἐκ δὴ τούτων ὄρμώμενος πόλιν  
μὲν οὐ μίαν οὐδὲ χώραν, ὅλας δὲ ἄρδην τὰς  
ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐπαρχίας χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου  
καὶ χρημάτων ἀμυθήτων εἰσπράξειν,  
ἐπισκήψει τε βαρυτάταις καὶ ἄλλοτε  
ἄλλαις καταδίκαις ἡνία καὶ κατεπίεζε. τῶν  
γε μὴν εὐπόρων τὰς ἐκ προγόνων  
περιποιηθείσας ούσιας ἀφαιρούμενος,  
πλούτους ἀθρόως καὶ σωροὺς χρημάτων  
τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κόλαξιν ἐδωρεῖτο.

8.14.10 | Starting from this, he did not just attack one city or one region, but he completely drained all the provinces under him of gold, silver, and vast amounts of money through heavy taxes and other burdens. He pressed down on them with the harshest penalties and various other injustices. He took away the wealth that had been passed down from ancestors, giving large amounts of money and treasures to those around him who flattered him.

8.14.11 | παροινίας γε μὴν καὶ μέθης εἰς  
τοσαύτην ἡνέχθη φορὰν ὡς ἐν τοῖς πότοις  
παρακόπτειν καὶ τῶν φρενῶν  
παρεξίστασθαι, τοιαῦτά τε μεθύοντα  
προστάττειν οἶα ἀνανήψαντα αὐτὸν τῇ  
ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς μετάμελον ἄγειν· κραιπάλης  
δὲ καὶ ἀσωτίας μηδενὶ καταλιπὼν  
ὑπερβολὴν, κακίας διδάσκαλον τοῖς ἀμφ'  
αὐτὸν ἄρχουσί τε καὶ ἀρχομένοις ἐσυτὸν  
καθίστη, θρύπτεσθαι μὲν τὸ στρατιωτικὸν  
διὰ πάσης τρυφῆς τε καὶ ἀκολασίας  
ἐνάγων, ἡγεμόνας δὲ καὶ στρατοπεδάρχας  
δι' ἀρπαγῶν καὶ πλεονεξίας χωρεῖν κατὰ

8.14.11 | Indeed, he was carried away by drunkenness and excess to such a degree that during drinking parties, he would lose his senses and act irrationally. He would give orders while intoxicated that would lead him to regret them the next day. Leaving no one untouched by his wildness and excess, he set a bad example for those around him, both leaders and followers. He led the military into ruin through all kinds of luxury and debauchery, while commanders and army leaders engaged in plundering and greed against their

τῶν ὑπηκόων, μονονουχὶ<sup>1</sup>  
συντυραννοῦντας αὐτῷ, προκαλούμενος.

8.14.12 | τί δεῖ τὰς ἐμπαθεῖς τάνδρος  
αἰσχρουργίας μνημονεύειν; ή τῶν πρὸς  
αὐτοῦ μεμοιχευμένων ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι τὴν  
πληθύν; οὐκ ἦν γέ τοι πόλιν αὐτὸν  
παρελθεῖν, μὴ οὐχὶ ἐκ παντὸς φθορὰς  
γυναικῶν παρθένων τε ἀρπαγὰς  
είργασμένον.

8.14.13 | κατὰ πάντων γέ τοι αὐτῷ ταῦτα  
προυχώρει, μὴ δτι μόνων Χριστιανῶν, οἵ  
θανάτου καταφρονήσαντες παρ' οὐδὲν  
αὐτοῦ τὴν τοσαύτην ἔθεντο τυραννίδα. οἱ  
μὲν γάρ ἄνδρες ἀνατλάντες πῦρ καὶ  
σίδηρον καὶ προσηλώσεις, θῆράς τε  
ἀγρίους καὶ θαλάττης βυθοὺς, ἀποτομάς τε  
μελῶν καὶ καυτῆρας, καὶ ὄφθαλμῶν  
κεντήσεις τε καὶ ἔξορύξεις, καὶ τοῦ παντὸς  
σώματος ἀκρωτηριασμοὺς, λιμόν τε ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup>  
τούτοις καὶ μέταλλα καὶ δεσμὰ, ἐπὶ πάντων  
μᾶλλον ὑπομονὴν τὴν ὑπὲρ εύσεβείας  
ἐνεδείξαντο ή τὸ σέβας τὸ εἰς θεὸν  
είδώλοις ἀντικατηλάξαντο.

8.14.14 | αἴ δ' αὕ γυναικες οὐχ ἥττον τῶν  
ἀνδρῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ θείου λόγου  
διδασκαλίας ἡρρενωμέναι, αἴ μὲν τοὺς  
αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀγῶνας ὑποστᾶσαι  
ἴσα τῆς Ἀρετῆς ἀπηνέγκαντο βραβεῖα, αἱ δὲ  
ἐπὶ φθορὰν ἐλκόμεναι θᾶττον τὴν ψυχὴν  
θανάτῳ ή τὸ σῶμα τῇ φθορᾷ  
παραδεδώκασι.

8.14.15 | μόνη γοῦν τῶν ἄλλων ὑπὸ τοῦ  
τυράννου μεμοιχευμένων Χριστιανὴ τῶν  
ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισημοτάτη τε καὶ

subjects, often competing with each other  
in their tyranny.

8.14.12 | Why should we mention the  
shameful acts of this wicked man? Or  
should we count the many who committed  
adultery with him? There was no city he  
passed through without having caused the  
ruin of women, both married and virgins,  
through his actions.

8.14.13 | Indeed, all these things happened  
to him, not only to the Christians, who,  
disregarding death, endured such tyranny  
from him. For the men faced fire and iron,  
torture, wild beasts, and the depths of the  
sea. They suffered amputations of limbs,  
burning, and piercing of eyes, as well as  
mutilations of their whole bodies. They also  
faced hunger, metals, and chains, showing  
more endurance for their piety than  
exchanging their reverence for God for  
idols.

8.14.14 | Ah, but the women were no less  
strengthened by the teaching of the divine  
word than the men. Some of them faced the  
same struggles as the men and won prizes  
equal to those of virtue. Others, being  
drawn to destruction, gave their souls to  
death more quickly than they surrendered  
their bodies to decay.

8.14.15 | Indeed, among all the others, the  
Christian woman, who was most  
distinguished and glorious in Alexandria,

λαμπροτάτη τὴν ἐμπαθῆ καὶ ἀκόλαστον  
Μαξιμίνου ψυχὴν δι’ ἀνδρειοτάτου  
παραστήματος ὑπερεξενίκησεν, ἔνδοξος  
μὲν τἄλλα πλούτῳ τε καὶ γένει καὶ παιδείᾳ,  
πάντα γε μὴν δεύτερα σωφροσύνης  
τεθειμένη, ἦν καὶ πολλὰ λιπαρήσας κτεῖναι  
μὲν ἐτοίμως θνήσκειν ἔχουσαν οὐχ οἶδος τε  
ἥν, τῆς ἐπιθυμίας μᾶλλον τοῦ θυμοῦ  
κατακρατούσης αὐτοῦ, φυγῇ δὲ ζημιώσας  
πάσης ἀφείλετο τῆς ούσιας.

overcame the passionate and unrestrained soul of Maximinus with the greatest courage. Although he was famous for his wealth, lineage, and education, he placed everything second to self-control. She, having made many sacrifices, was ready to die, but he was not able to do so, as his desire was more powerful than his anger. In fleeing, he lost all his possessions.

8.14.16 | μυρίαι δ' ἄλλαι πρὸς τῶν κατ'  
ἔθνος ἀρχόντων πορνείας ἀπειλὴν μηδ'  
ἀκοῦσαι δεδυνημέναι πᾶν εἶδος βασάνων  
καὶ στρεβλώσεων καὶ θανατηφόρου  
κολάσεως ὑπέστησαν. Θαυμασταὶ μὲν οὖν  
καὶ αὗται, ὑπερφυῶς γε μὴν  
θαυμασιωτάτη ἡ ἐπὶ Ψῷμης εὐγενεστάτη  
τῷ ὄντι καὶ σωφρονεστάτη γυνὴ πασῶν,  
αἵς ἐμπαροινεῖν ὃ ἐκεῖσε τύραννος  
Μαξέντιος τὰ ὅμοια Μαξιμίνῳ δρῶν  
ἐπειρᾶτο.

8.14.16 | Many other women, facing threats of prostitution from the rulers of their nations, endured all kinds of torture, distortions, and deadly punishments without being able to hear them. These are indeed remarkable, but the most extraordinary is the most noble and self-controlled woman in Rome. She, whom the tyrant Maxentius tried to lead into the same actions as Maximinus, stood out among them all.

8.14.17 | ὡς γὰρ ἐπιστάντας τῷ οἴκῳ τοὺς  
τὰ τοιαῦτα τῷ τυράννῳ διακονουμένους  
ἐπύθετο, Χριστιανὴ δὲ καὶ αὕτη ἦν), τόν τε  
ἄνδρα τὸν αὐτῆς, καὶ ταῦτα Ψωμάίων ὄντα  
ἐπαρχον, τοῦ δέους ἔνεκα λαβόντας ἄγειν  
αὐτὴν ἐπιτρέψαντα, εἰς βραχὺν  
ὑποπαραιτησαμένη, ὡς ἂν δὴ  
κατακοσμηθεί τὸ σῶμα, εἴσεισιν ἐπὶ τοῦ  
ταμιείου, καὶ μονωθεῖσα ξίφος καθ’ ἐαυτῆς  
πήγγυνσι, θανοῦσά τε παραχρῆμα τὸν μὲν  
νεκρὸν τοῖς προαγωγοῖς καταλιμπάνει,  
ἔργοις δ’ αὐτοῖς ἀπάσης φωνῆς  
γεγωνοτέροις, ὅτι μόνον χρημάτων  
ἀήττητόν τε καὶ ἀνώλεθρον ἡ παρὰ  
Χριστιανοῖς νοῖς ἀρετὴ πέφυκεν, εἰς  
πάντας ἀνθρώπους τούς τε νῦν ὄντας καὶ  
τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα γενησομένους ἔξεφηνε.

8.14.17 | When she learned that those serving the tyrant had come to her house (and she was a Christian), she took her husband, who was a governor of the Romans, and led him to the tyrant for the sake of God. After briefly asking to prepare her body, she was brought into the treasury. Once alone, she stabbed herself with a sword. Immediately, she left her dead body to those who had brought her, and through her actions, she proclaimed with a loud voice that the virtue found among Christians is both undefeated and indestructible. This virtue was revealed to all people, both those living now and those who would come after.

8.14.18 | τοσαύτη δῆτα κακίας φορὰ ὑφ' ἔνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν συνηνέχθη καιρὸν, πρὸς τῶν δύο τυράννων ἀνατολὴν καὶ δύσιν διειληφότων κατεργασθεῖσα. τίς δ' ἂν τὴν τῶν τοσούτων διερευνώμενος αἴτιαν διστάξῃ μὴ οὐχὶ τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν διωγμὸν ἀποφήνασθαι; ὅτε γε ἀλιστὰ οὐ πρότερον τὰ τῆς τοσῆσδε πέπαυτο συγχύσεως ἥ Χριστιανοὺς τὰ τῆς παρρησίας ἀπολαβεῖν.

## Section 15

8.15.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 22] Διὰ παντός γέ τοι τοῦ κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν δεκαέτους χρόνου τῶν εἰς ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ πόλεμον τὸν κατ' ἄλλήλων οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς διαλέλοιπεν. ἄπλωτα μὲν γὰρ τὰ κατὰ θάλατταν ἦν, οὐδὲ ἔξην ποθὲν καταπλεύσαντας μὴ οὐχὶ πάσαις αἰκίαις ὑπάγεσθαι, στρεβλουμένους καὶ τὰς πλευρὰς καταξαινομένους, βασάνοις τε παντοίαις, μὴ ἄρα παρὰ τῶν δι' ἐναντίας ἔχθρῶν ἤκοιεν, ἀνακρινομένους, καὶ τέλος σταυροῖς ἥ τῇ διὰ πυρὸς ὑπαγομένους κολάσει.

8.15.2 | ἀσπίδων ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ θωράκων παρασκευαὶ, βελῶν τε καὶ δοράτων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πολεμικῆς παρατάξεως ἐτοιμασίαι, τριήρων τε καὶ τῶν πατὰ ναυμαχίαν ὅπλων, κατὰ πάντα συνεκροτοῦντο τόπον, οὐδὲ ἦν ἄλλο τι παντί τῷ προσδοκᾶν ἥ πολεμίων κατὰ πᾶσαν ἔφοδον ἡμέραν. τούτοις καὶ ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα λιμός τε καὶ λοιμὸς ἐγκατασκήπτει, περὶ ὃν κατὰ καιρὸν ἴστορήσομεν τα` δέοντα.

8.14.18 | Indeed, such a great burden of evil came together at one time, caused by the two tyrants of the East and West. Who could investigate the reason for such great troubles without pointing to the persecution against us? For it was not until the Christians stopped being confused that the disturbances ceased.

8.15.1 | For indeed, throughout the entire period of the persecution, which lasted for fifteen years, nothing was left untouched by plots and wars against each other. For the sea was wide open, and anyone sailing was subjected to all kinds of abuses, being twisted and beaten on their sides, facing all sorts of tortures, and they were brought before their enemies to be interrogated. In the end, they were punished either by crucifixion or by being led to death through fire.

8.15.2 | There were preparations of shields and armor, as well as arrangements of arrows, spears, and other military equipment. Ships and naval weapons were being gathered in every place, and there was nothing else to expect but attacks from enemies at all times of the day. Because of this, famine and plague also settled in, about which we will later recount the necessary details.

## Section 16

8.16.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 22] Τοιαῦτ’ ἦν τὰ δια` παντὸς τοῦ διωγμοῦ παρατετακότα, δεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει σὺν θεοῦ χάριτι παντελῶς πεπαυμένου, λωφᾶν γε μὴν μετ’ ὅγδοον ἔτος ἐναρξαμένου. ὡς γὰρ τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπισκοπήν εύμενη καὶ ἔλεων ἡ θεία καὶ οὐράνιος χάρις ἐνεδείκνυτο, τότε δὴ καὶ οἱ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἄρχοντες, αὐτοὶ δὴ ἐκεῖνοι δι’ ὧν πάλαι τὰ τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἐνηργεῖτο πολέμων, παραδοξότατα μεταθέμενοι τὴν γνώμην παλινωδίαν ἥδον, χρηστοῖς περὶ ἡμῶν προγράμμασι καὶ διατάγμασιν ἡμερωτάτοις τὴν ἐπὶ μέγα ἀφθεῖσαν τοῦ διωγμοῦ πυρκαϊὰν σβεννύντες.

8.16.2 | οὐκ ἀνθρώπινον δέ τι τούτου κατέστη αἴτιον, οὐδὲ οἴκτος, ὡς ἂν φαίη τις, ἡ φιλανθρωπία τῶν ἀρχόντων· πολλοῦ δεῖ πλείω γὰρ δόσημέραι καὶ χαλεπώτερα ἀρχῆθεν εἰς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ τὰ καθ’ ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπενοεῖτο, ποικιλωτέραις μηχαναῖς ἄλλοτε ἄλλως τὰς καθ’ ἡμῶν αἰκίας ἐπικαινουργούντων· ἀλλ’ αὐτῆς γε τῆς θείας προνοίας ἐμφανῆς ἡ ἐπίσκεψις, τῷ μὲν αὐτῆς καταλλαττομένης λαῷ, τῷ δ’ αὐθέντῃ τῶν κακῶν ἐπεξιούσης καὶ πρωτοστάτῃ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς διωγμοῦ κακίας ἐπιχολουμένης.

8.16.3 | καὶ γὰρ εἴ τι ταῦτ’ ἔχρην κατὰ θείαν γενέσθαι κρίσιν, ἀλλὰ οὐαὶ, φησὶν ὁ λόγος, δι’ οὗ τὸ σκάνδαλον ἔρχεται. μέτεισι γοῦν αὐτὸν θεήλατος κόλασις, ἐξ αὐτῆς αὐτοῦ καταρχαμένη σαρκὸς, καὶ μέχρι τῆς ψυχῆς προελθοῦσα.

8.16.4 | ἀθρόα μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὰ μέσα τῶν ἀπορρήτων τοῦ σώματος ἀπόστασις γίνεται αὐτῷ, εἴθ' ἔλκος ἐν βάθει

8.16.1 | Such were the events that had taken place throughout the entire persecution, which had completely ceased by the grace of God in the tenth year. However, it had begun again after eight years. For as the divine and heavenly grace showed kindness and favor towards us, then the rulers among us, those very ones who had long been the cause of wars against us, surprisingly changed their minds and sang a different tune. They issued kind decrees and orders concerning us, putting out the great fire of persecution that had flared up.

8.16.2 | No human cause was responsible for this, nor was it pity, as someone might say, or the kindness of the rulers. Far from it; for many days and even more difficult times had been planned against us from the beginning of that period, with various schemes constantly creating new forms of suffering for us. But it was clearly the divine providence that brought this change, calming the people and confronting the source of the evils, which was the main cause of the entire persecution.

8.16.3 | For if these things were to happen by divine judgment, woe to him, says the text, through whom the scandal comes. Indeed, he is met with a divine punishment, starting from his own flesh and reaching all the way to his soul.

8.16.4 | For a great separation occurs within the inner parts of his body, then a deep, ulcerous sore forms, and from this, an

συριγγῶδες, καὶ τούτων ἀνίατος νομὴ κατὰ τῶν ἐνδοτάτω σπλάγχνων, ἀφ' ὧν ἄλεκτόν τι πλήθος σκωλήκων βρύειν, θανατώδη τε ὁδμὴν ἀποπνέειν, τοῦ παντὸς ὅγκου τῶν σωμάτων ἐκ πολυτροφίας αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸ τῆς νόσου εἰς ὑπερβολὴν πλήθους πιμελῆς μεταβεβληκότος, ἥν τότε κατασαπεῖσαν ἀφόρητον καὶ φρικτοτάτην τοῖς πλησιάζουσι παρέχειν τὴν θέαν.

8.16.5 | ίατρῶν δ' οὖν οἱ μὲν ούδ' ὅλως ὑπομεῖναι τὴν τοῦ δυσώδους ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἀτοπίαν οἵοι τε κατεσφάττοντο, οἱ δὲ διωδηκότος τοῦ παντὸς ὅγκου καὶ εἰς ἀνέλπιστον σωτηρίας ἀποπεπτωκότος μηδὲν ἐπικουρεῖν δυνάμενοι ἀνηλεῶς ἔκτείνοντο.

## Section 17

8.17.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 22-23] τοσούτοις παλαίων κακοῖς συναίσθησιν τῶν κατὰ τῶν θεοσεβῶν αὐτῷ τετολμημένων ἴσχει. συναγαγών δ' οὖν εἰς ἐαυτὸν τὴν διάνοιαν πρῶτα μὲν ἀνθωμολογεῖτο τῷ τῶν ὅλων θεῷ, εἴτα τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀνακαλέσας, μηδὲν ὑπερθεμένους τὸν κατὰ ἀποπαῦσαι διωγμὸν, νόμῳ τε καὶ δόγματι βασιλικῷ τὰς ἐκκλησίας αὐτῶν οἰκοδομεῖν ἐπισπέρχειν τε καὶ τὰ συνήθῃ διαπράττεσθαι, εύχας ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλείου ποιουμένους, προστάττει.

8.17.2 | αὐτίκα γοῦν ἔργου τῷ λόγῳ παρηκολουθηκότος ἡ πλωτὸ κατὰ πόλεις βασιλικὰ διατάγματα, τὴν παλινῳδίαν τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τοῦτον περιέχοντα τὸν τρόπον· “

incurable flow affects the innermost organs, causing a terrible number of worms to breed, giving off a deadly smell. This happens because his body, once well-fed, has now become excessively bloated due to the disease, which then provides a horrible and frightening sight to those nearby.

8.16.5 | So, some doctors could not even bear the overwhelming stench and were driven away, while others, seeing the entire mass of the disease fall into hopelessness, could do nothing to help and were left helpless.

8.17.1 | He is aware of so many old evils done against the god-fearing. Therefore, gathering his thoughts, he first gives thanks to the god of all, then calls those around him, telling them not to add anything to the ongoing persecution. He commands them to build their churches according to royal law and doctrine, to continue their usual practices, and to make prayers for the kingdom.

8.17.2 | Immediately, as the word was followed by action, royal decrees were spread throughout the cities, bringing back the way of life that concerns us.

8.17.3 | Αύτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Γαλέριος  
Ούαλέριος Μαξιμῖνος, ἀνίκητος, σεβαστὸς,  
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, Γερμανικὸς μέγιστος,  
Αἴγυπτιακὸς μέγιστος, Αἴγυπτιακὸς  
μέγιστος, Θηβαικὸς μέγιστος, Σαρματὶς “κὸς  
μέγιστος πεντάκις, Περσῶν μέγιστος δὶς,  
Καρπῶν μέγιστος ἔξακις, Ἀρμενίων  
μέγιστος, Μηδῶν μέγιστος, Ἄδιαβηνῶν  
μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἔξουσίας τὸ  
εἰκοστὸν, αύτοκράτωρ τὸ ἐννεακαιδέκατον  
“ἄπατος τὸ ὅγδοον, πατὴρ πατρίδος,  
ἀνθύπατος.”

8.17.3 | Emperor Caesar Galerius Valerius Maximianus, undefeated, revered, chief priest, greatest of the Germans, greatest of the Egyptians, greatest of the Thebans, greatest of the Sarmatians five times, greatest of the Persians twice, greatest of the Carpians six times, greatest of the Armenians, greatest of the Medes, greatest of the Adiabenians, holding the twentieth of the power of the city, emperor and the eighty-ninth consul, father of the homeland, proconsul.

8.17.4 | καὶ αύτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Φλάουνιος  
Κωνσταντῖνος, εὐσεβὴς, εὐτυχὴς, ἀνίκητος,  
σεβαστὸς, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς  
ἔξουσίας “τὸ πέμπτον, αύτοκράτωρ τὸ  
πέμπτον, ὄπατος, πατὴρ ‘πατρίδος,  
ἀνθύπατος.’”

8.17.4 | And Emperor Caesar Flavius Constantine, pious, fortunate, undefeated, revered, chief priest, holding the fifth of the power of the city, emperor for the fifth time, consul, father of the homeland, proconsul.

8.17.5 | καὶ αύτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ  
“Ούαλέριος Λικιννιανὸς, εὐσεβὴς, εὐτυχὴς,  
ἀνίκητος, σεβαστὸς, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος,  
δημαρχικῆς ἔξουσίας τὸ τέταρτον,  
αύτοκράτωρ τὸ τρίτον, ὄπατος, ‘πατὴρ  
πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος, ἐπαρχιώταις ἴδιοις  
‘χαίρειν.

8.17.5 | And Emperor Caesar Valerius Licinianus, pious, fortunate, undefeated, revered, chief priest, holding the fourth of the power of the city, emperor for the third time, consul, father of the homeland, proconsul, greetings to the provincial governors.

8.17.6 | μεταξὺ τῶν λοιπῶν, ἄπερ ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
“χρησίμου καὶ λυσιτελοῦς τοῖς δημοσίοις  
διατυπού” μεθα, ἡμεῖς μὲν βεβουλήμεθα  
πρότερον κατὰ τοὺς “ἀρχαίους νόμους καὶ  
τὴν δημοσίαν ἐπιστήμην τὴν τῶν ἄπαντα  
ἐπανορθώσασθαι, καὶ τούτου πρόνοιαν  
ποιήσασθαι, ἔνα καὶ οἶ Χριστιανοί, ‘οἵτινες  
τῶν γονέων τῶν ἐαυτῶν καταλελοίπασι  
τὴν ‘αἱρεσιν, εἰς ἀγαθὴν πρόθεσιν  
ἐπανέλθοιεν’

8.17.6 | Among the rest, which we are discussing for the useful and beneficial to the public, we have decided before according to the ancient laws and the public knowledge to restore everything, and to take care of this, that one and only Christians, who have left behind the belief of their parents, may return to a good intention.

8.17.7 | ἐπεί“περ περ τινὶ λογισμῷ τοσαύτῃ αὐτοὺς πλεονεξίᾳ κατε“σχήκει καὶ ἄνοια κατειλήφει ὡς μὴ ἔπεσθαι τοῖς “ὑπὸ τῶν πάλαι καταδειχθεῖσιν, ἀπερ ἵσως πρότερον “καὶ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτῶν ἥσαν καταστήσαντες, ἀλλὰ “κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν πρόθεσιν καὶ ὡς ἔκαστος ἐβού“λετο, οὕτως ἐαυτοῖς καὶ νόμους ποιῆσαι, καὶ τού“τους παραφυλάττειν, καὶ ἐν διαφόροις διάφορα “πλήθη συνάγειν.

8.17.8 | τοιγαροῦν τοιούτου ὑφ' ἡμῶν “προστάγματος παρακολουθήσαντος, ὥστε ἐπὶ τὰ “ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων κατασταθέντα ἐαυτοὺς μεταστήσαιεν, πλεῖστοι μὲν κινδύνῳ ὑποβληθέντες, πλεῖ“στοι δὲ ταραχθέντες παντοίους θανάτους ὑπέφερον· “

8.17.9 | καὶ ἐπειδὴ τῶν πολλῶν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀπονοίᾳ διαμε“νόντων ἐωρᾶμεν μήτε τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις “τὴν ὁφειλομένην θρησκείαν προσάγειν αὐτοὺς, μήτε “τῷ τῶν Χριστιανῶν προσέχειν, ἀφορῶντες εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ τὴν διηνεκῆ συνήθειαν, “δι’ ἣς εἰώθαμεν ἀπασιν ἀνθρώποις συγγνώμην “ἀπονέμειν, προθυμότατα καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὴν συγχώ“ρησιν ḥῆσιν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπεκτεῖναι δεῖν ἐνομίσαμεν, ἵνα “αὖθις ὅσι Χριστιανοὶ, καὶ τοὺς οἴκους, ἐν οἷς συν“ήγοντο, συνθῶσιν οὕτως ὥστε μηδὲν ὑπεναντίον τῆς ἐπιστήμης αὐτοὺς πράττειν· δι’ ἐτέρας δὲ ἐπὶ“στολῆς τοῖς δικασταῖς δηλώσομεν τί αὐτοὺς παρα“φυλάξασθαι δεήσει.

8.17.7 | Since a certain reasoning has taken hold of them with such greed and madness that they do not follow those who have been pointed out long ago, which perhaps their parents had established before, but according to their own intention and as each one wished, they have made laws for themselves, and to guard these, and to gather different groups in various ways.

8.17.8 | Therefore, since they have followed such a command from us, so that many have changed themselves to what was established by the ancients, many have been exposed to danger, and many have suffered various deaths.

8.17.9 | And since many remain in the same foolishness, we see that they neither offer the owed worship to the heavenly gods, nor pay attention to the Christians. Looking to our kindness and the constant habit, through which we have been accustomed to grant forgiveness to all people, we thought it necessary to extend our pardon even more, so that they may again be Christians, and that the households in which they gathered may be arranged in such a way that nothing contrary to their knowledge happens to them. Through another message, we will inform the judges what they need to guard.

8.17.10 | ὅθεν κατὰ ταύτην τὴν “συγχώρησιν τὴν ἡμετέραν ὄφελουσι τὸν ἐαυτῶν “θεὸν ἱκετεύειν περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἡμετέρας καὶ “τῶν δημοσίων καὶ τῆς ἐαυτῶν, ἵνα κατὰ πάντα τρόπον καὶ τὰ δημόσια παρασχεθῇ ὑγῆ, καὶ ἀμέ“ριμνοι ζῆν ἐν τῇ ἐαυτῶν ἐστίᾳ δυνηθῶσι.”

8.17.11 | ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν φωνὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν μεταληφθέντα τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον. τί δὴ οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις γίνεται ἐπιθεωρῆσαι καιρός.

## Section appendix

8.appendix.1 | APPENDIX. Τὸ ὡς λεῖπον ἵν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις ἐν τῷ ὄγδόῳ λόγῳ] Ἄλλ ὁ μὲν τῆς γραφῆς αἴτιος μετὰ τὴν τοιάνδε δόμολογίαν αὐτίκα καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν τῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἀπαλλαγεὶς μεταλλάττει τὸν βίον. τοῦτον δὴ λόγος ἔχει πρῶτον αἴτιον τῆς τοῦ διωγμοῦ καταστῆναι συμφορᾶς, ἕτι πάλαι πρὸ τῆς τῶν βασιλέων κινήσεως τοὺς ἐν στρατείαις Χριστιανοὺς καὶ πρῶτ' οὓς γε ἀπάντων τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰδίου οἴκου παρατρέπειν ἐκβεβιασμένον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς στρατιωτικῆς ἀξίας ἀποκινοῦντα, τοὺς δὲ ἀτιμότατα καθυβρίζοντα, ἥδη δὲ καὶ θάνατον ἐτέροις ἐπαρτῶντα, καὶ τοῦσχατόν γε τοὺς τῆς βασιλείας κοινωνοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ πάντων ἀνακεκινηκότα διωγμόν ὃν καὶ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἄξιον τὸ τοῦ βίου τέλος παραδοῦναι σιωπῆ.

8.appendix.2 | τεττάρων οὖν τὴν κατὰ πάντων διειληχότων ἀρχὴν οἱ μὲν χρόνῳ καὶ τιμῇ προηγούμενοι, οὐδὲ ὅλοις δυοῖν

8.17.10 | Therefore, according to this pardon of ours, they ought to beseech their own god for our salvation and for their public safety and their own, so that in every way the public may be provided for in health, and they may be able to live without worry in their own homes.

8.17.11 | These things, translated into the Greek language from the speech of the Romans, have this form as much as possible. So what is the right time to examine these matters?

8.appendix.1 | APPENDIX. As for what remains to be said in the eighth discourse: But the one responsible for the writing, after such an acknowledgment, immediately changes his life, freed from the pains and not for long. This discourse has as its first cause the misfortune that led to the persecution, even before the movements of the kings, urging Christians in the armies, and first those who were driven out of their own homes, and some being removed from military rank, while others were insulted in the most disgraceful way, and already some were facing death, and lastly those who shared in the kingdom were stirred up against the persecution that had arisen against all. Among them, it is not worthy to silently give up the end of life.

8.appendix.2 | Therefore, as for the beginning of the persecution against all, some, leading in time and honor, do not last

ἔτεσιν ἐπιγενόμενοι τῷ διωγμῷ,  
μεθίστανται τῆς βασιλείας, ἢ καὶ πρόσθεν  
ἡμῖν δεδήλωται, καὶ δὴ τὸν ἐπίλοιπον τοῦ  
βίου χρόνον δημάδει καὶ ἴδιωτικῷ τρόπῳ  
διαγενόμενοι τέλος τοιόνδε τῆς ζωῆς  
εἰλήχασιν·

even two years after the persecution, and  
they are removed from the kingdom, which  
has already been declared to us before. And  
indeed, living the remaining time of life in a  
public and private manner, they have  
reached such an end of life.

8.appendix.3 | ὁ μὲν τιμῇ τε καὶ χρόνῳ τῶν  
πρωτείων ἡξιωμένος μακρῷ καὶ  
ἐπιλυποτάτῃ τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενείᾳ  
διεργασθεὶς, ὁ δὲ τὰ δεύτερα αὐτοῦ φέρων  
ἀγχόνῃ τὴν ζωὴν ἀπορρήξας, κατά τινα  
δαιμονίαν προσημείωσιν τοῦτο παθών διὰ  
πλείστας αὐτῷ τετολμημένας ῥᾳδιουργίας.

8.appendix.3 | One, honored in time and  
rank, having suffered greatly from the  
weakness of the body, has worked through  
it. The other, bearing his second rank, has  
ended his life by hanging, marked by some  
kind of madness, having experienced many  
reckless actions.

8.appendix.4 | τῶν δὲ μετὰ τούτους ὁ μὲν  
ὕστατος, δὸν δὴ καὶ ἀρχηγὸν τοῦ παντὸς  
ἔφαμεν γεγονέναι διωγμοῦ, τοιαῦτα οἴα  
καὶ προδεδηλώκαμεν πέπονθεν, ὁ δὲ  
τοῦτον προάγων χρηστότατος καὶ  
ἡπιώτατος βασιλεὺς Κωνστάντιος, ἐπαξίως  
τῆς ἡγεμονίας τὸν ἄπαντα τῆς ἀρχῆς  
διατελέσας χρόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τἄλλα τοῖς  
πᾶσι δεξιώτατον καὶ εὐεργετικώτατον  
παρασχὼν ἐαυτὸν, ἀτὰρ καὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν  
πολέμου ἔξω γενόμενος, καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν  
θεοσεβεῖς ἀβλαβεῖς καὶ ἀνεπηρεάστους  
διαφυλάξας, καὶ μήτε τοὺς οἴκους τῶν  
ἐκκλησιῶν καθελών μήθ' ἔτερόν τι μηδ'  
ὅλως καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπικαινουργήσας, τέλος  
εὔδαιμον καὶ τρισμακάριον ὅντως  
κατείληφε τοῦ βίου, μόνος ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ  
βασιλείας εύμενῶς καὶ ἐπιδόξως, ἐπὶ  
διαδόχῳ τῆς βασιλείας γνησίῳ παιδὶ τὰ  
πάντα σωφρονεστάτῳ καὶ εύσεβεστάτῳ,  
τελευτήσας·

8.appendix.4 | Among those after them, the  
last one, whom we have indeed called the  
leader of the entire persecution, has  
suffered such things as we have already  
mentioned. The one who came before him,  
the most good and gentle king Constantius,  
has rightly held the leadership for the  
entire time of his rule, and he also provided  
many good and helpful things to everyone.  
He became free from the war against us,  
and he protected those under him who  
were God-fearing, keeping them safe and  
unharmed. He neither destroyed the  
houses of the churches nor changed  
anything at all among us. Finally, he left this  
life happy and truly blessed, alone in his  
own kingdom, favorably and honorably,  
having passed on everything to his  
legitimate son, the most prudent and pious  
heir to the kingdom.

8.appendix.5 | ὃς εύθὺς ἀρχόμενος  
βασιλεὺς τελεώτατος καὶ σεβαστὸς πρός

8.appendix.5 | He, immediately becoming  
king, was declared the most complete and

τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀναγορευθεὶς ζηλωτὴν  
ἐκαυτὸν τῆς πατρικῆς περὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον  
λόγον εύσεβείας κατεστήσατο. τοιαύτη  
τῶν προαναγεγραμμένων τεττάρων ἡ τοῦ  
βίου ἔκβασις, κατὰ παρηλλαγμένους  
χρόνους γεγενημένη.

respected ruler over the camps, and he set himself as a zealot for his father's cause regarding our matter of piety. Such is the outcome of the four mentioned before, occurring over changed times.

8.appendix.6 | τούτων δὴ μόνος ἔτι λιπών ὁ  
μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἡμῖν εἰρημένος σὺν τοῖς  
μετὰ ταῦτα εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰσποιηθεῖσι τὴν  
προδεδηλωμένην ἔξομολόγησιν διὰ τοῦ  
προεκτεθέντος ἐγγράφου λόγου τοῖς πάσι  
φανερὰν κατεστήσατο.

8.appendix.6 | Of these, only the one mentioned a little earlier, along with those who came after him, has made the previously declared confession clear to everyone through the written statement that was presented.

## Book Nine (ΛΟΓΟΣ Θ.)

### Section 1

9.1.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 24] Τὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς παλινῳδίας τοῦ προτεθέντος βασιλικοῦ νεύματος ἥπλωτο τῆς Ἀσίας πάντη καὶ πανταχοῦ, κατά τε τὰς ἀμφὶ ταύτην ἐπαρχίας· ὃν τοῦτον ἐπιτελεσθέντων τὸν τρόπον Μαξιμῖνος ὁ ἐπ' ἀνατολῆς τύραννος, δυσσεβέστατος εἴ καί τις ἄλλος, καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν εύσεβείας πολεμιώτατος γεγονὼς, οὐδαμῶς τοῖς γραφεῖσιν ἀρεσθεὶς, ἀντὶ τοῦ προτεθέντος γράμματος λόγῳ προστάττει τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἄρχουσι τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν ἀνεῖναι πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ μὴ ἔξῆν ἄλλως τῇ τῶν κρειττόνων ἀντιλέγειν κρίσει, τὸν προεκτεθέντα νόμον ἐν παραβύστῳ θεὶς, καὶ ὅπως ἐν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν μέρεσι μὴ εἰς προῦπτον ἀχθείη φροντίσας, ἀγράφῳ προστάγματι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἄρχουσι τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν διωγμὸν ἀνεῖναι προστάττει. οἱ δὲ τὰ τῆς παρακελεύσεως ἀλλήλοις διὰ γραφῆς ὑποσημαίνουσιν.

9.1.1 | The matters of the recantation of the previously mentioned royal decree spread throughout all of Asia and in every region around it. When these things were accomplished, Maximinus, the tyrant of the East, who was most impious, even more than anyone else, and who had become the fiercest enemy of piety toward the God of all, was in no way pleased with the written statements. Instead of the previously mentioned letter, he ordered those under his rule to wage war against us. For since he could not oppose the judgment of the stronger in any other way, he placed the previously mentioned law in a hidden manner and, thinking that in the regions under him it would not be openly challenged, he ordered the persecution against us with an unwritten command to those under his rule. And they signal to each other about the orders through

writing.

9.1.2 | ὁ γοῦν παρ' αὐτοῖς τῷ τῶν  
έξοχωτάτων ἐπάρχων ἀξιώματι  
τετιμημένος Σαβῖνος πρὸς τοὺς κατ' ἔθνος  
ἡγουμένους τὴν βασιλέως ἐμφαίνει  
γνώμην διὰ Ψωμαϊκῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ἥς καὶ  
αὐτῆς ἡ ἐρμηνεία τοῦτον περιέχει τὸν  
τρόπον

9.1.2 | Indeed, Sabinus, who is honored among them with the rank of the highest governors, presents the king's opinion to the leaders of the nations through a Roman letter, which also contains the interpretation in this way.

9.1.3 | "Λιπαρωτάτῃ καὶ καθωσιωμένῃ  
σπουδῇ ἡ θειότης τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν  
θειοτάτων αὐτοκρατόρων πάντων τῶν  
ἀνθρώπων τὰς διανοίας πρὸς τὴν ὀσίαν καὶ  
όρθην τοῦ ζῆν ὀδὸν περιαγαγεῖν ἔτι πάλαι  
ῷρισεν, ὅπως καὶ οἱ ἄλλοτρια Ψωμαίων  
συνηθείᾳ ἀκολουθεῖν δοκοῦντες τὰς  
όφειλομένας θρησκείας τοῖς ἀθανάτοις  
θεοῖς ἐπιτελοῖεν.

9.1.3 | With the most careful and devoted effort, the divinity of our most divine rulers has long since determined to lead the minds of all people toward the holy and right way of living, so that those who seem to follow the foreign customs of the Romans may fulfill the owed worship to the immortal gods.

9.1.4 | ἀλλ' ἡ τινῶν ἔνστασις καὶ τραχυτάτη  
βουλὴ εἰς τοσοῦτον περιέστη ὡς μήτε  
λογισμῷ δικαίῳ τῆς κελεύσεως δύνα"σθαι  
ἐκ τῆς ἴδιας προθέσεως ἀναχωρεῖν, μήτε  
τὴν "ἐπικειμένην τιμωρίαν αὐτοὺς  
ἐκφοβεῖν.

9.1.4 | But the opposition of some and their harsh plan has reached such a point that neither can they retreat from their own intention through a fair reasoning of the command, nor can the punishment that is about to come frighten them.

9.1.5 | ἐπειδὴ "τοίνυν συνέβαινεν ἐκ τοῦ  
τοιούτου τρόπου πολλοὺς "εἰς κίνδυνον  
ἐσαυτοὺς περιβάλλειν, κατὰ τὴν  
προσ"οῦσαν εύγένειαν τῆς εύσεβείας ἡ  
θειότης τῶν δε"σποτῶν ἡμῶν τῶν  
δυνατωτάτων αὐτοκρατόρων, "ἄλλοτριον  
εἶναι τῆς προθέσεως τῆς θειοτάτης τῆς  
"ἴδιας δοκιμάζουσα τὸ ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης  
αἵτίας εἰς "τοσοῦτον κίνδυνον τοὺς  
ἀνθρώπους περιβάλλειν, "ἐκέλευσε διὰ τῆς  
ἐμῆς καθοσιώσεως τῇ σῇ ἀγχινοίᾳ

9.1.5 | Since it happened that many were putting themselves in danger in such a way, according to the present nobility of piety, the divinity of our most powerful rulers has ordered that it be considered foreign to their own intention to test how such a cause puts people in such danger. Through my authority, it has been commanded to mark clearly that if any of the Christians were found to change their religion from their own people, you should remove them

διαχαράξαι, ὅντες τις τῶν Χριστιανῶν τοῦ  
ἰδίου "ἔθνους τὴν θρησκείαν μετιών  
εὐρεθείη, τῆς κατ' αύτοῦ ἐνοχλήσεως καὶ  
τοῦ κινδύνου αὐτὸν ἀποστήσεις, καὶ μή  
τινα ἐκ ταύτης τῆς προφάσεως τιμωρίᾳ  
κολαστέον νομίσειας, ὥποτε τῇ τοσούτου  
χρόνου "συνελεύσει συνέστη, αύτοὺς  
μηδενὶ τρόπῳ πεπεῖσθαι "δεδυνῆσθαι,  
ὅπως ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἐνστάσεων  
"ἀναχωρήσαιεν.

from the trouble and danger that comes upon them, and you should not think to punish anyone under this pretext, whenever they gather after such a long time, so that they may not be persuaded in any way to withdraw from such situations.

9.1.6 | ἐγγράψαι τοιγαροῦν πρὸς τοὺς  
"λογιστὰς καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς  
πραιτωσί" τους τοῦ πάγου ἐκάστης πόλεως  
ἡ σὴ ἐπιστρέφεια "όφείλει, ὥνα γνοῖεν  
περαιτέρω αὐτοῖς τούτου γράμματος  
φροντίδα ποιεῖσθαι μὴ προσήκειν."

9.1.6 | Therefore, write to the accountants, the generals, and the magistrates of each city that your letter "requires them to take care that they do not pay attention to this letter any further."

9.1.7 | ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ κατ' ἐπαρχίαν, τὴν  
τῶν γραφέντων αὐτοῖς ἐπαληθεύειν  
προαίρεσιν νενομικότες, λογισταῖς καὶ  
στρατηγοῖς καὶ τοῖς κατ' ἄγροὺς  
ἐπιτεταγμένοις τὴν βασιλικὴν διὰ  
γραμμάτων ἐμφανῆ καθιστᾶσι γνώμην· οὐ  
μόνον δ' αὐτοῖς διὰ γραφῆς ταῦτα  
προυχώρει, καὶ ἔργοις δὲ πολὺ πρότερον,  
ὡσὰν νεῦμα βασιλικὸν εἰς πέρας ἄγοντες,  
οὓς εἶχον ἐν δεσμωτηρίοις καθειργμένους  
διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ θεῖον ὄμολογίαν, εἰς φανερὸν  
προάγοντες ἡλευθέρουν, ἀνιέντες τούτων  
δὴ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐν μετάλλοις ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ  
δεδομένους· τοῦτο γάρ ἐπ' ἀληθείας  
βασιλεῖ δοκεῖν ὑπειλήφασιν ἡπατημένοι.

9.1.7 | On these matters, those in the province, having established the intention of those who wrote to them, make a clear decision through letters to the accountants, generals, and those appointed in the countryside. Not only did this advance through writing, but even earlier through actions, as if leading a royal signal to completion. They were bringing out those who had been imprisoned for their confession of faith, freeing them openly, and releasing those who had been given punishment in the mines. For this truly seems to the king to have been taken up under false pretenses.

9.1.8 | καὶ δὴ τούτων οὕτως  
ἐπιτελεσθέντων, ἀθρόως οἶόν τι φῶς ἐκ  
ζοφερᾶς νυκτὸς ἐκλάμψαν κατὰ πᾶσαν  
πόλιν συγκροτουμένας παρῆν ὁρᾶν  
ἐκκλησίας, συνόδους τε παμπληθεῖς, καὶ

9.1.8 | And when these things were accomplished, a kind of light shone forth from the dark night, and in every city, there were gatherings of churches, large assemblies, and the customary meetings

τὰς ἐπὶ τούτων ἐξ ἔθους ἐπιτελουμένας συναγωγὰς, καταπέπληκτο δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐ σμικρῶς πᾶς τις τῶν ἀπίστων ἔθνῶν, τῆς τοσαύτης μεταβολῆς τὸ παράδοξον ἀποθαυμάζων, μέγαν τε καὶ μόνον ἀληθῆ τὸν Χριστιανῶν θεὸν ἐπιβοῶμενος.

9.1.9 | τῶν δ' ἡμετέρων οἱ μὲν τὸν τῶν διωγμῶν ἄγῶνα πιστῶς καὶ ἀνδρείως διηθληκότες τὴν πρὸς ἀπαντας αὖθις ἀπελάμβανον παρρησίαν, ὅσοι δὲ τὰ τῆς πίστεως νενοσηκότες τὰς ψυχὰς ἐτύγχανον κεχειμασμένοι, ἀσμένως περὶ τὴν σφῶν θεραπείαν ἔσπευδον, ἀντιβολοῦντες καὶ σωτηρίας δεξιάν τοὺς ἔρρωμένους αἴτούμενοι, τόν τε θεὸν ἐλέων αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι καθικετεύοντες.

9.1.10 | εἶτα δὲ καὶ οἱ γενναῖοι τῆς θεοσεβείας ἀθληταὶ, τῆς εἰς τὰ μέταλλα κακοπαθείας ἐλευθερούμενοι, ἐπὶ τὰς ἐαυτῶν ἐστέλλοντο, γαῦροι καὶ φαιδροὶ διὰ πάσης ἱόντες πόλεως, εύφροσύνης τε ἀλέκτου καὶ ἥν οὐδὲ λόγω δυνατὸν ἐρμηνεῦσαι παρρησίας ἔμπλεοι.

9.1.11 | στίφη δ' οὖν πολυάνθρωπα κατὰ μέσας λεωφόρους καὶ ἀγορὰς, ὡδαῖς καὶ ψαλμοῖς τὸν θεὸν ἀνυμοῦντα, τὰ τῆς πορείας ἥνυε. καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τιμωρίας ἀπηνεστάτης μικρῷ πρόσθεν δεσμίους τῶν πατρίδων ἀπεληλαμένους εἰδες ἀν ἵλαροῖς καὶ γεγηθόσι προσώποις τὰς αὐτῶν ἐστίας ἀπολαμβάνοντας, ὡς καὶ τοὺς πρότερον καθ' ἡμῶν φονῶντας, τὸ θαῦμα παρὰ πᾶσαν ὀρῶντας ἐλπίδα, συγχαίρειν τοῖς γεγενημένοις.

held for these purposes. And all the unbelieving nations were greatly astonished at this remarkable change, marveling at the wonder of it, and they cried out loudly to the one true God of the Christians.

9.1.9 | Of our people, some had faithfully and bravely fought in the struggle against persecution and again received boldness toward all. But those who had been weakened in their faith were eagerly rushing to care for themselves, asking for help and seeking salvation for the strong, pleading with God to show them mercy.

9.1.10 | Then the brave athletes of piety, freed from their suffering in the mines, were going to their own homes, proud and cheerful as they walked through the city, filled with joy and a boldness that could not be expressed in words.

9.1.11 | So crowds of many people in the main streets and markets were singing hymns and psalms to praise God as they went on their way. And you would see those who had recently been released from the harshest punishments, with cheerful and happy faces, returning to their homes, just like those who had previously killed us, witnessing the wonder and feeling hope, rejoicing with those who had been saved.

## Section 2

9.2.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 25] Ταῦτα δ' οὐκέτι οἶστε φέρειν ὁ τύραννος, μισόκαλος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἐπίβουλος ὑπάρχων, ὃν ἔφαμεν τῶν ἐπ' ἀνατολῆς ἄρχειν μερῶν, οὐδὲ ὅλους ἐπὶ μῆνας ἔξι τοῦτον ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τὸν τρόπον ἡνέσχετο· ὅσα δ' οὖν πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν τῆς εἰρήνης μηχανώμενος πρῶτον μὲν εἴργειν ἡμᾶς τῆς ἐν τοῖς κοιμητηρίοις συνόδου διὰ προφάσεως πειρᾶται, εἴτα διά τινων πονηρῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτὸς ἐστῶ καθ' ἡμῶν πρεσβεύεται, τοὺς Ἀντιοχέων πολίτας παρορμήσας ἐπὶ τῷ μηδαμῶς τινα Χριστιανῶν τὴν αὐτῶν οἰκεῖν ἐπιτρέπεσθαι πατρίδα ως ἐν μεγίστῃ δωρεῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ τυχεῖν ὀξιῶσαι, καὶ ἐτέρους δὲ ταύτῳ ὑποβαλεῖν διαπράξασθαι· ὃν πάντων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπιφύεται Θεότεκνος, δεινὸς καὶ γόγης καὶ πονηρὸς ἀνὴρ, καὶ τῆς προσωνυμίας ἀλλότριος· ἐδόκει δὲ λογιστεύειν τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν.

9.2.1 | The tyrant could no longer bear these things, being very hateful and a plotter against all good things. He, whom we said ruled over the eastern parts, did not allow this way to be completed for six whole months. Therefore, he first tried to prevent us from gathering in the cemeteries under the pretext of some excuse, and then he himself sought help from some wicked men against us. He urged the citizens of Antioch to not allow any Christians to live in their homeland, as if he were asking for a great gift from them, and he tried to convince others to do the same. The leader of all these actions was a man named Theoteknos, who appeared in Antioch, a fierce, crafty, and wicked man, and a stranger to the name. He seemed to be plotting against the city.

## Section 3

9.3.1 | Πλεῖστα δ' οὗτος καθ' ἡμῶν στρατευσάμενος, καὶ πάντα τρόπον τοὺς ἡμετέρους, ὥσπερ τινὰς φῶρας ἀνοσίους, ἐκ μυχῶν θηρεῦσαι διὰ σπουδῆς πεποιημένος, πάντα τε ἐπὶ διαβολῆ καὶ κατηγορίᾳ τῇ καθ' ἡμῶν μεμηχανημένος, καὶ θανάτου αἵτιος μυρίοις ὅσοις γεγονὼς τελευτῶν εἴδωλόν τι Διὸς φιλίου μαγγανείαις τισὶ καὶ γοητείαις ἴδρυεται, τελετάς τε ἀνάγνους αὐτῷ καὶ μυήσεις ἀκαλλιερήτους, ἔξαγίστους τε καθαρμοὺς ἐπινοήσας, μέχρι καὶ βασιλέως τὴν τερατείαν δι' ὃν ἐδόκει χρησμῶν ἐκτελεῖν ἐπεδείκνυτο· καὶ δὴ καὶ οὗτος κολακείᾳ τῇ καθ' ἡδονὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐπεγείρει

9.3.1 | This man, having waged war against us, sought to capture our people like some unholy beasts, hiding in the shadows with great eagerness. He plotted everything against us with slander and accusations, being the cause of death for countless people. He established some kind of idol of Zeus through certain magical tricks and sorceries, performing strange rituals and unholy initiations, and he invented purifications that were unclean. He even tried to show that he could fulfill prophecies through the king's monstrous acts. And indeed, he stirred up the demon of pleasure against Christians with flattery,

κατὰ Χριστιανῶν τὸν δαίμονα, καὶ τὸν θεὸν δὴ κελεῦσαί φησιν, ὑπερορίους τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀγρῶν ὡσὰν ἔχθροὺς αὐτῷ Χριστιανοὺς ἀπελάσαι.

## Section 4

9.4.1 | Κω. Η. Ε. VII, 25] Τούτῳ δὲ πρώτῳ κατὰ γνώμην πράξαντι πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει τὰς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρχὴν πόλεις οἰκοῦντες τὴν ὁμοίαν ὠρμῶντο ψῆφον ποιήσασθαι, προσφιλές δ' εἶναι τοῦτο βασιλεῖ τῶν κατ' ἐπαρχίαν ἡγεμόνων συνεωρακότων, καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ διαπράξασθαι τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ὑποβεβληκότων.

9.4.2 | ὃν δὴ καὶ αὐτῶν τοῖς ψηφίσμασι δι' ἀντιγραφῆς ἀσμενέστατα ἐπινεύσαντος τοῦ τυράννου, αὐθις ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ὁ καθ' ἡμῶν ἀνεφλέγετο διωγμός. Ιερεῖς δῆτα κατὰ πόλιν τῶν ξοάνων, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀρχιερεῖς πρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαξιμίνου οἱ μάλιστα ταῖς πολιτείαις διαπρέψαντες καὶ διὰ πασῶν ἔνδοξοι γενόμενοι καθίσταντο, οἵς καὶ πολλή τις εἰσήγετο σπουδὴ περὶ τὴν τῶν θεραπευομένων πρὸς αὐτῶν θρησκείαν.

9.4.3 | ἡ γοῦν ἔκτοπος τοῦ κρατοῦντος δεισιδαιμονίᾳ, συνελόντι φάναι, πάντας τοὺς ὅπ' αὐτὸν ἄρχοντάς τε καὶ ἀρχομένους εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ χάριν πάντα πράττειν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐνῆγε, ταύτην αὐτῷ χάριν μεγίστην ἀνθ' ὃν ἐνόμιζον πρὸς αὐτοῦ τεύξεσθαι εὔεργεσιῶν ἀντιδωρουμένων, τὸ καθ' ἡμῶν φονᾶν καὶ τινας εἰς ἡμᾶς καινοτέρας κακοηθείας ἐνδείκνυσθαι.

claiming to command the god to drive out Christians from the city and the lands around it as if they were his enemies.

9.4.1 | When this man first acted according to his own plan, all the others living in cities under the same rule were eager to make a similar vote. They thought this would be pleasing to the king and to the governors of the provinces who had seen it, and they aimed to accomplish the same thing for their subjects.

9.4.2 | When the tyrant happily approved their votes, a persecution against us was ignited again from the beginning. The priests of the idols throughout the city, along with the archpriests who had gained great influence in the cities under Maximian, stood out as the most notable. Many were eager to bring in a lot of effort regarding the religion of those they served.

9.4.3 | Indeed, the fear of the ruler, they said, led all the leaders and those under him to act in his favor against us. They believed that by doing this, they would gain great favor from him in return for the benefits they thought they would receive. Instead, they showed a desire to kill us and to reveal new kinds of wickedness against us.

## Section 5

9.5.1 | [Nic. II. E. VII, 28] Πλασάμενοι δῆτα  
Πιλάτου καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν  
ὑπομνήματα, πάσης ἔμπλεα κατὰ τοῦ  
Χριστοῦ βλασφημίας, γνώμῃ τοῦ μείζονος  
ἐπὶ πᾶσαν διαπέμπονται τὴν ὑπ' αὐτὸν  
ἀρχὴν, διὰ γραμμάτων παρακελευόμενοι,  
κατὰ πάντα τόπον, ἀγρούς τε καὶ πόλεις, ἐν  
ἐκφανεῖ ταῦτα τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐκθεῖναι, τοῖς τε  
παισὶ τοὺς γραμματοδιδασκάλους ἀντὶ<sup>τ</sup>  
μαθημάτων ταῦτα μελετᾶν καὶ διὰ μνήμης  
κατέχειν παραδιδόναι.

9.5.2 | ὃν τοῦτον ἐπιτελουμένων τὸν  
τρόπον ἔτερος στρατοπεδάρχης, ὃν δοῦκα  
Ῥωμαῖοι προσαγορεύουσιν, ἀνὰ τὴν  
Δαμασκὸν τῆς Φοινίκης ἐπίρρητά τινα  
γυναικάρια ἔξ ἀγορὰς ἀνάρπαστα ποιήσας,  
βασάνους αὐταῖς ἐπιθήσειν ἡπείλει, λέγειν  
ἔγγραφως ἐπαναγκάζων, ὡς δὴ εἴησάν  
ποτε χριστιαναὶ, συνειδεῖέν τε αὐτοῖς  
ἀθεμιτουργίας, ἐν αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς κυριακοῖς  
πράττειν αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀκόλαστα, καὶ ὅσα  
ἄλλα λέγειν αὐτὰς ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τοῦ  
δόγματος ἥθελεν· ὃν καὶ οὗτος ἐν  
ὑπομνήμασι τὰς φωνὰς ἐντεθείσας βασιλεῖ  
κοινοῦται. καὶ δὴ προστάξαντος εἰς πάντα  
τόπον καὶ πόλιν καὶ ταῦτα δημοσιοῦται τὰ  
γράμματα.

9.5.1 | They indeed made records of Pilate  
and our Savior, full of all kinds of  
blasphemy against Christ. By the decision  
of the greater authority, they sent these  
records everywhere under his rule, urging  
through letters to display these things  
openly in all places, both in fields and in  
cities. They also instructed the teachers of  
reading to have the children study these  
instead of their lessons and to memorize  
them.

9.5.2 | While this was happening, another  
military commander, whom the Romans  
call a duke, captured some women from the  
markets near Damascus in Phoenicia. He  
threatened to torture them, forcing them to  
write that they had once been Christians  
and had committed unlawful acts. He  
wanted them to confess that they had done  
wicked things on the Lord's days and to say  
other things to slander the faith. This  
commander also included these voices in  
the records he shared with the king. And  
indeed, after he ordered this to be done in  
every place and city, these letters were  
made public.

## Section 6

9.6.1 | Κα. Η. E. VII, 27] Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὐκ εἰς  
μακρὸν αὐτόχειρ ἐαυτοῦ γεγονὼς ὁ  
στρατοπεδάρχης δίκην τίννυσι τῆς  
κακοτροπίας. ἡμῶν δ' αὖ φυγαὶ πάλιν  
ἀνεκινοῦντο καὶ διωγμοὶ χαλεποὶ, τῶν τε  
κατὰ πάσας ἐπαρχίας ἡγουμένων αὗθις  
δειναὶ καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπαναστάσεις, ὡς καὶ

9.6.1 | But the military commander, who  
had become his own executioner for a short  
time, was punished for his cruelty.  
Meanwhile, our exiles were stirred up  
again, and severe persecutions arose. In all  
the provinces, terrible uprisings against us  
happened again, so that some of the well-

τινας ἀλόντας τῶν περὶ τὸν θεῖον λόγον ἐπιφανῶν ἀπαραίτητον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ψῆφον καταδέξασθαι, ὃν τρεῖς ἐν Ἐμίσῃ τῇ πόλει τῆς Φοινίκης, Χριστιανοὺς σφας ὅμοιογήσαντες, θηρίων βορᾶ παραδίδονται· ἐπίσκοπος ἦν ἐν τούτοις Σιλβανὸς, τὴν ἡλικίαν ὑπέργηρως, ἐν ὅλοις ἔτεσι τεσσαράκοντα τὴν λειτουργίαν διηνυκώς.

9.6.2 | κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ Πέτρος τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παροικιῶν προστὰς ἐπιφανέστατα, θεῖον ἐπισκόπων χρῆμα, βίου τε ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων συνασκήσεως, ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς ἀνάρπαστος γεγονὼς αἰτίας, μηδεμιᾶς προλαβούσης προσδοκίας, ἀθρόως οὕτω καὶ ἀλόγως, ὡσὰν Μαξιμίνου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνεται, σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ αἱ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἐπισκόπων ἄλλοι πλείους ταύτὸν ὑπομένουσι·

9.6.3 | Λουκιανός τε, ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ἄριστος, βίῳ τε ἐγκρατῆς καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς μαθήμασι συγκεκροτημένος, τῆς κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν παροικίας πρεσβύτερος, ἀχθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς Νικομηδέων πόλεως, ἔνθα τηνικαῦτα βασιλεὺς διατρίβων ἐτύγχανε, παρασχών τε ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τὴν ὑπὲρ ἦς προίστατο διδασκαλίας ἀπολογίαν, δεσμωτηρίῳ παραδοθεὶς κτίννυται.

9.6.4 | τοσαῦτα δῆτα ἐν βραχεῖ τῷ μισοκάλῳ Μαξιμίνῳ καθ' ἡμῶν συνεσκεύαστο, ὡς τοῦ προτέρου δοκεῖν πολλῷ χαλεπώτερον τοῦτον ἡμῖν ἐπεγηγέρθαι διωγμόν.

known defenders of the divine word were forced to accept the death sentence. Among them, three Christians who confessed in the city of Emesa in Phoenicia were handed over to wild beasts. The bishop among them was Silvanus, who was very old, having served for forty years.

9.6.2 | At the same time, Peter, who was in charge of the communities in Alexandria, was also very prominent. Because of his divine role as a bishop and his virtuous life, he was not taken by any force or unexpected cause. He was seized suddenly and without reason, just as the head of Maximian was cut off. Along with him, many other bishops from Egypt were enduring the same fate.

9.6.3 | Lucian, a man of great excellence, known for his self-control and for being well-versed in sacred teachings, was the elder of the community in Antioch. He was taken to the city of Nicomedia, where the king happened to be at that time. There, he provided a defense for the teachings he was in charge of, but after being handed over to prison, he was killed.

9.6.4 | Indeed, in a short time, so much was prepared against us by the half-witted Maximian, that it seems this persecution that has arisen is much harsher than the previous one.

## Section 7

9.7.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 9] Άνα μέσας γέ τοι τὰς πόλεις, ὃ μηδὲ ἄλλοτέ ποτε, ψηφίσματα πόλεων καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλικῶν πρὸς ταῦτα διατάξεων ἀντιγραφαὶ στήλαις ἐντετυπωμένα χαλκαῖς ἀνωρθοῦντο, οἵ τε παῖδες ἀνὰ τὰ διδασκαλεῖα Ἰησοῦν καὶ Πιλάτον καὶ τὰ ἔφ' ὅβρει πλασθέντα ὑπομνήματα διὰ στόματος κατὰ πᾶσαν ἔφερον ἡμέραν. ἐνταῦθά μοι ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι φαίνεται αὐτὴν δὴ ταύτην τὴν ἐν στήλαις ἀνατεθεῖσαν τοῦ Μαξιμίου γραφὴν ἐντάξαι (ἴν' ὁμοῦ τῆς τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς θεομισείας ἡ ἀλαζῶν καὶ ὑπερήφανος αὐθάδεια φανερὰ κατασταίη, καὶ τῆς παρὰ πόδας αὐτὸν μετελθούσης Ἱερᾶς δίκης ἡ ἀυπνος κατὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν μισοπονηρίᾳ, πρὸς ἣς ἐλαθεὶς οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν τάναντία περὶ ἡμῶν ἐβουλεύσατό τε καὶ δι' ἐγγράφων νόμων ἐδογμάτισε), τοῦτον ἐπ' αὐτῶν λέξεων ἔχουσαν τὸν τρόπον· Ἀντίγραφον ἐρμηνείας τῆς Μαξιμίου πρὸς τὰ καθ' ἡμῶν ψηφίσματα ἀντιγραφῆς, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Τυρῷ στήλης μεταληφθείσης.

9.7.2 | “Ἡδη ποτὲ ἡ ἀσθενὴς θρασύτης τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης διανοίας ἵσχυσε, πᾶσαν πλάνης ἀμαυρότητα καὶ ὄμιχλην ἀποσεισαμένη καὶ ἀνασκεδάσασα, ἥτις “πρὸ τούτου οὐ τοσοῦτον τῶν ἀσεβῶν δοσον τῶν “ἀθλίων ἀνθρώπων τὰς αἰσθήσεις ὀλεθρίω ἀγνοίας “σκότῳ ἐνειληθείσας ἐποιούρκει, ἐπιγνῶναι ὡς τῇ “τῶν ἀθανάτων θεῶν φιλαγάθῳ προνοίᾳ διοικεῖται καὶ σταθεροποιεῖται”

9.7.3 | ὅπερ πρᾶγμα ἄπιστόν ἐστιν “εἰπεῖν, ὅπως κεχαρισμένον, ὅπως τε ἥδιστον καὶ

9.7.1 | In the midst of the cities, which had never happened before, copies of city resolutions against us and royal orders were being raised on bronze pillars. The children were bringing forth every day reminders about Jesus and Pilate and the things made in mockery. Here, it seems necessary for me to include the text of the decree of Maximian that was set up on the pillars, so that the arrogance and pride of this man's hatred of God may be clearly shown, and the sleeplessness of the sacred justice that has come down against the wicked may be revealed. This was not long before he plotted against us and decreed laws through written documents. The text of the decree reads: "A copy of the interpretation of Maximian regarding the resolutions against us, taken from the pillar in Tyre."

9.7.2 | Indeed, at one time, the weak boldness of human thought gained strength, shaking off and clearing away all the darkness and fog of deception. Before this, it had surrounded the senses of wretched humans with a deadly ignorance, but now it has come to know that it is governed and established by the loving care of the immortal gods.

9.7.3 | This thing is unbelievable to say, that it has happened as a gift, as something

“προσφιλές ήμιν γέγονεν, ώς μέγιστον δεῖγμα τῆς “θεοφιλοῦς ὑμῶν προαιρέσεως δεδωκέναι·

sweetest and most dear to us, as the greatest proof of your loving choice.

9.7.4 | ὅπότε καὶ “πρὸ τούτου οὐδενὶ ἄγνωστον ἦν, ὃποίας παρατηρήσεως “καὶ θεοσεβείας πρὸς τοὺς ἀθανάτους θεοὺς “έτυγχάνετε ὄντες, οἵς οὐ ψιλῶν καὶ ὑποκένων ἥημάτων “πίστις, ἀλλὰ συνεχῆ καὶ παράδοξα ἔργων “έπισήμων γνωρίζεται.

9.7.4 | Whenever before this nothing was unknown to anyone, you were found to have such observance and reverence toward the immortal gods, which is not just a matter of mere words, but is recognized through continuous and remarkable deeds.

9.7.5 | διόπερ ἐπαξίως ἡ ὑμετέρα “πόλις θεῶν ἀθανάτων ἴδρυμά τε καὶ οἰκητήριον ἀν “ἐπικαλοῖτο· πολλοῖς γοῦν παραδείγμασι καταφαίνεται “τῇ τῶν οὐρανίων θεῶν αὐτὴν ἐπιδημίᾳ ἀνθεῖν.

9.7.5 | Therefore, your city would rightly be called a dwelling place and home of the immortal gods; it certainly appears through many examples to bloom with the presence of the heavenly gods.

9.7.6 | ίδοὺ τοίνυν ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις, πάντων τῶν ἰδίᾳ “διαφερόντων αὐτῆς ἀμελήσασα, καὶ τὰς πρότερον “τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς πραγμάτων δεήσεις παριδοῦσα, ὅτε “πάλιν ἥσθετο τοὺς τῆς ἐπαράτου ματαιότητος γεγονότας “ἔρπειν ἄρχεσθαι, καὶ ὥσπερ ἀμεληθεῖσαν “καὶ κεκοιμημένην πυρὰν ἀναζωπυρουμένων τῶν “πυρσῶν μεγίστας πυρκαιὰς ἀναπληροῦσαν, εὐθέως “πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν εύσέβειαν, ὥσπερ πρὸς μητρόπολιν “πασῶν θεοσεβεῶν, χωρίς τινος μελλήσεως “κατέφυγεν, ἵασίν τινα καὶ βοήθειαν ἀπαιτοῦσα·

9.7.6 | Behold, then, your city, having neglected all its own differences, and looking at the previous requests for things on its behalf, when it again sensed those who had come from the empty vanity, beginning to creep in, and as if it had been neglected and was asleep, the flames of the greatest fires were being filled by the rekindling torches, immediately turned to our piety, as to the mother city of all reverence, without any delay, seeking some healing and help.

9.7.7 | ἤντινα διάνοιαν σωτηριώδη διὰ τὴν πίστιν τῆς “ὑμετέρας θεοσεβείας τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν ἐμβεβληκέναι “δῆλον ἔστιν· ἐκεῖνος τοιγαροῦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ ὑψιστος “καὶ μέγιστος Ζεὺς, ὁ προκαθήμενος τῆς λαμπροτάτης “ὑμῶν πόλεως, ὁ τοὺς

9.7.7 | It is clear that a saving thought has been given to you by the faith of your reverence toward the gods. Therefore, that highest and greatest Zeus, who presides over your most glorious city, protecting your ancestral gods, women, children,

πατρώους ὑμῶν θεοὺς “καὶ γυναικας καὶ τέκνα καὶ ἐστίαν καὶ οἴκους ἀπὸ πάσης ὀλεθρίου φθορᾶς ῥύμενος, ταῖς ὑμετέραις “ψυχαῖς τὸ σωτήριον ἐνέπνευσε βούλημα, ἐπιδεικνὺς καὶ ἐμφαίνων ὅπως ἔξαίρετόν ἐστι καὶ λαμπρὸν καὶ σωτηριῶδες μετὰ τοῦ ὄφελομένου σεβάσματος τῇ θρησκείᾳ καὶ ταῖς Ἱεροθρησκείαις τῶν ἀνθανάτων θεῶν προσιέναι.

9.7.8 | τίς γάρ οὕτως ἀνόητος ἡ νοῦ παντὸς ἀλλότριος εὐρεθῆναι δύναται δῆς οὐκ “αἴσθεται τῇ φιλαγάθῳ τῶν θεῶν σπουδῇ συμβαίνειν μήτε τὴν γῆν τὰ παραδιδόμενα αὐτῇ σπέρματα ἀρνεῖσθαι, τὴν τῶν γεωργῶν ἐλπίδα κενῇ “προσδοκίᾳ σφάλλουσαν, μηδ’ αὖ ἀσεβοῦς πολέμου “πρόσοψιν ἀνεπικωλύτως ἐπὶ γῆς στηρίζεσθαι, καὶ “φθαρείσης τῆς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εὔκρασίας αὐχμῶντα “τὰ σώματα εἰς θάνατον κατασύρεσθαι, μηδὲ ἀμέτρων ἀνέμων πνεύμασι τὴν θάλασσαν κυμαίνου”σαν κορυφοῦσθαι, μηδέ γε καταιγίδας ἀπροσδοκή “τους καταρρηγνυμένας ὀλέθριον χειμῶνα “ρειν, ‘ρειν, ἔτι τοίνυν μήτε τὴν τροφὸν “μητέρα γῆν, ἀπὸ τῶν κατωτάτω λαγόνων ἐαυτῆς “ἐν φοβερῷ τρόμῳ καταδυομένην, μηδέ γε τὰ ἐπὶ “κείμενα ὅρῃ χασμάτων γινομένων καταδύεσθαι, “ἄπερ πάντα καὶ τούτων ἔτι χαλεπότερα κακὰ “τούτου πολλάκις γεγονέναι οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ.

9.7.9 | καὶ “ταῦτα σύμπαντα διὰ τὴν ὀλέθριον πλάνην τῆς ὑπὸ“κένου ματαιότητος τῶν ἀθεμίτων ἐκείνων ἀνθρώπων ἀγίνετο, ἡνίκα κατὰ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἐπεπόλαξε “λαζε “λαζε καὶ σχεδὸν εἴπειν τὰ πανταχοῦ ‘αἰσχύναις ἐπίειζε.”

hearths, and homes from all destructive harm, has inspired your souls with salvation, showing and revealing how exceptional, glorious, and saving it is to approach with the proper respect the worship and sacred rites of the immortal gods.

9.7.8 | For who is so foolish or so completely foreign to reason that he does not realize that, with the loving care of the gods, one should neither reject the seeds that the earth provides nor let the hope of farmers be dashed by empty expectations? Nor should one allow the face of impious war to stand unopposed on the earth, and when the balance of the heavens is disturbed, let bodies be dragged to death. Nor should one let the sea rise with the unmeasured winds, or let storms unexpectedly bring down a destructive winter. Furthermore, neither should the nourishing mother earth, sinking in terrible fear from her lowest depths, nor the mountains above be swallowed by yawning chasms. All these things, and even worse evils than these, have often happened, and no one is unaware of them.

9.7.9 | And all these things happened because of the destructive deception of the empty vanity of those wicked people, when shame pressed down on their souls and almost made them say everywhere, 'We are ashamed.'

9.7.10 | τούτοις μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιλέγει  
“έφοράτωσαν ἐν τοῖς πλατέσιν ἥδη πεδίοις  
ἀνθοῦντα “τὰ λήια καὶ τοῖς ἀστάχυσιν  
ἐπικυμαίνοντα, καὶ τοὺς “λειμῶνας δι'  
εύομβρίαν φυτοῖς καὶ ἄνθεσι  
λαμπόμενους, καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος  
κατάστασιν εὔκρατον “καὶ πραοτάτην  
ἀποδοθεῖσαν.

9.7.11 | χαιρέτωσαν “πὸν ἄπαντες διὰ τῆς  
ἡμετέρας εὐσεβείας, “γίας τε καὶ τιμῆς τῆς  
τοῦ δυνατωτάτου καὶ “τατοῦ Ἀρεως  
δυνάμεως ἔξευμενισθείσης, καὶ διὰ “τοῦτο  
τῆς εὐδιεινοτάτης εἰρήνης βεβαίως μεθ'  
‘χίας ἀπολαύοντες ἡδυνέσθωσαν’ καὶ ὅσοι  
τῆς τυφλῆς ἑκείνης πλάνης καὶ περιόδου  
παντάπασιν ἀποστάντες εἰς ὄρθην καὶ  
καλλίστην διάνοιαν ἐπα“νῆλθον, μειζόνως  
μὲν οὖν χαιρέτωσαν, ὡσὰν “χειμῶνος  
ἀπροσδοκήτου ἢ νόσου βαρείας σθέντες,  
καὶ ἡδεῖαν εἰς τούπιὸν ζωῆς ἀπόλαυσιν  
“καρπωσάμενοι.

9.7.12 | εἴ δὲ τῇ ἐπαράτῳ αὐτῶν  
μα“ταιότητι ἐπιμένοιεν, ἐν πολλῷ  
πόρρωθεν τῆς ὑμε“τέρας πόλεως καὶ  
περιχώρου, καθὼς ἡξιώσατε,  
“ἀποχωρισθέντες ἔξελαθήτωσαν, ἵν'  
οὕτως, κατ' ἀκολουθίαν τῆς ἀξιεπαίνου  
ὑμῶν περὶ τοῦτο σπου“δῆς, παντὸς  
μιάσματος καὶ ἀσεβείας ἢ ὑμετέρα πόλις  
κατὰ τὴν ἔμφυτον αὐτῇ πρόθεσιν ‘μετὰ τοῦ  
ὄφειλομένου σεβάσματος ταῖς τῶν  
ἀθανά“των θεῶν ἱερουργίαις ὑπακούοι.

9.7.13 | ἔνα δὲ είδῆτε ὅσῳ προσφιλῆς ἡμῖν  
γέγονεν ἢ περὶ τούτου ἀξίωσις ὑμῶν, καὶ

9.7.10 | With these things, let us also  
consider the fields already blooming with  
the harvest and the ears of grain swaying,  
and the meadows shining with plants and  
flowers due to the good rain, and the  
pleasant and mild state of the air that has  
been granted.

9.7.11 | Let everyone rejoice because of our  
piety, and because of the honor and respect  
granted to the greatest power of war, and  
for this reason, let them enjoy the most  
delightful peace. And those who have  
completely turned away from that blind  
deception and confusion and have returned  
to a right and beautiful way of thinking, let  
them rejoice even more, as if they have  
escaped from an unexpected winter or a  
heavy illness, and let them enjoy the sweet  
fruits of life.

9.7.12 | But if they persist in their empty  
vanity, let them be far away from your city  
and region, as you have deemed fit. Let  
them be forgotten, so that, following your  
worthy efforts in this matter, your city may  
be free from all pollution and wickedness,  
according to its natural purpose, and may  
obey with the proper respect the rituals of  
the immortal gods.

9.7.13 | But you see how dear your  
proposal about this matter has become to

χωρὶς ψηφισμάτων καὶ χωρὶς δεήσεως  
αύθαιρέτω βουλήσει ἡ ἡμετέρα  
προθυμοτάτη φιλα“γαθίαις ψυχὴ,  
έπιτρέπομεν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ “ὅποιαν δ’ ἀν  
βουληθῆτε μεγαλοδωρεὰν, ἀντὶ ταύτης  
ὑμῶν τῆς φιλοθέου προθέσεως αἴτησαι.

9.7.14 | καὶ “ἥδη μὲν τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ  
λαβεῖν ἀξιώσατε τεύξεσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς  
χωρίς τινος ὑπερθέσεως· ἥτις  
παρασχεθεῖσα τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ πόλει εἰς  
ἄπαντα τὸν “αἰῶνα τῆς περὶ τοὺς  
ἀθανάτους θεοὺς φιλοθέου εύσεβείας  
παρέξει μαρτυρίαν, τοῦ δὲ ὑμάς ἀξίων  
ἐπάθλων τετυχηκέναι παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας  
φιλαγα“θίας, ταύτης ὑμῶν ἔνεκεν τῆς τοῦ  
βίου “σεως. υἱοῖς τε καὶ ἐκγόνοις ὑμετέροις  
ἐπιδειχθήσεται.”

9.7.15 | ταῦτα δὴ καθ’ ὑμῶν κατὰ πάσαν  
ἀνεστηλίτευτο, πάσης ἐλπίδος, τὸ γοῦν ἐπ’  
ἀνθρώποις, ἀγαθῆς τὰ καθ’ ὑμᾶς  
ἀποκλείοντα· ὡς, κατ’ αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ Θεῖον  
ἔκεινο λόγιον, εἰ δυνατὸν, ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ  
τοὺς ἔκλεκτοὺς αὐτοὺς σκανδαλίζεσθαι.

9.7.16 | ἥδη γέ τοι σχεδὸν τῆς παρὰ τοῖς  
πλείστοις ἀποψυχούσης προσδοκίας,  
ἀθρόως καθ’ ὁδὸν ἔτι σχεδὸν τὴν πορείαν  
ἔν τισι χώραις διανυόντων τῶν τὴν  
προκειμένην γραφὴν καθ’ ὑμῶν  
διακονουμένων, ὁ τῆς ἴδιας ἐκκλησίας  
ὑπέρμαχος θεὸς, μονονουχὶ τὴν τοῦ  
τυράννου καθ’ ὑμῶν ἐπιστομίζων  
μεγαλαυχίαν, τὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν οὐράνιον  
αὐτοῦ συμμαχίαν ἐπεδείκνυτο.

us, and without any votes or requests, our eager goodwill allows us to grant you whatever great gift you wish, in exchange for your loving intention.

9.7.14 | And indeed, you have deemed it right to do and receive this; for you will achieve it without any further effort. This, when granted to your city, will provide a lasting testimony of your loving piety toward the immortal gods, and you will receive worthy rewards from our goodwill, for the sake of your life. It will be shown to your sons and descendants.

9.7.15 | These things, indeed, are completely beyond us, cutting off all hope, at least for humans, of good things concerning us. As that divine saying goes, if possible, even the chosen ones may be troubled by these matters.

9.7.16 | Indeed, almost all hope has faded away for most people. As those who are serving the upcoming writing are traveling through certain places, the god who protects our own assembly, while silencing the boastfulness of the tyrant against us, has shown his heavenly support for us.

## Section 8

9.8.1 | Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἔξ ἔθους ὅμβροι τε καὶ  
ὑετοὶ χειμαδίου τῆς ὥρας ὑπαρχούσης τὴν  
ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνεῖχον συνήθῃ φορὰν, λιμὸς δ'  
ἀδόκητος ἐπισκῆπτει, καὶ λοιμὸς ἐπὶ  
τούτῳ, καὶ τινος ἐτέρου νοσήματος —  
ἔλκος δὲ ἦν φερωνύμως τοῦ πυρώδους  
ἔνεκεν· ἄνθραξ προσαγορευόμενον —  
ἐπιφορὰ, δὲ καθ' ὅλων μὲν ἔρπον τῶν  
σωμάτων σφαλεροὺς ἐνεποίει τοῖς  
πεπονθόσι κινδύνους, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ  
κατὰ τῶν ὁφθαλμῶν διαφερόντως ἐπὶ  
πλεῖστον γινόμενον μυρίους ὅσους ἄνδρας  
ἄμα γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶ πηροὺς ἀπειργάζετο.

9.8.2 | τούτοις προσεπανίσταται τῷ  
τυράννῳ ὁ πρὸς Ἀρμενίους πόλεμος,  
ἄνδρας ἔξ ἀρχαίου φίλους τε καὶ  
συμμάχους Ρωμαίων, οὓς καὶ αὐτοὺς  
Χριστιανοὺς ὄντας τὴν εἰς τὸ θεῖον  
εὔσεβειαν διὰ σπουδῆς ποιουμένους δὲ  
θεομισῆς εἰδώλοις θύειν καὶ δαίμοσιν  
ἐπαναγκάσαι πεπειραμένος ἔχθροὺς ἀντὶ  
φίλων καὶ πολεμίους ἀντὶ συμμάχων  
κατεστήσατο.

9.8.3 | ἀθρόως δὴ ταῦτα πάντα ὑφ' ἔνα καὶ  
τὸν αὐτὸν συρρεύσαντα καιρὸν τῆς τοῦ  
τυράννου θρασύτητος τὴν κατὰ τοῦ θείου  
μεγαλαυχίαν διήλεγξεν, ὅτι δὴ τῆς περὶ τὰ  
εἴδωλα αὐτοῦ σπουδῆς καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμῶν  
ἐνεκα πολιορκίας μὴ λιμὸν μηδὲ λοιμὸν  
μηδὲ μὴν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ συμβῆναι  
καιρῶν ἔθρασύνετο. ταῦτα δ' οὖν ὄμοῦ καὶ  
κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸν ἐπελθόντα καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ  
καταστροφῆς περιειλήφει τὰ προοίμια.

9.8.1 | So, the usual rains and winter storms were bringing their regular flow to the land, but an unexpected famine struck, along with a plague, and another disease — it was an ulcer caused by the fiery fever. This plague caused great danger to all the bodies of those who suffered, not only affecting them but also making many men, along with women and children, crippled in their eyes.

9.8.2 | Along with these troubles, the war against the Armenians arose for the tyrant, men who were ancient friends and allies of the Romans. Even though they themselves were Christians, the god-hating tyrant tried to force them, through great effort, to sacrifice to idols and demons, turning friends into enemies and allies into foes.

9.8.3 | All these things came together at once, and the boldness of the tyrant was challenged by the greatness of the divine. It was clear that because of his eagerness for idols and the siege against us, neither famine nor plague nor even war would happen at the same time as his own plans. Thus, these events came together and marked the beginning of his destruction.

9.8.4 | αύτὸς μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἀρμενίους πόλεμον ἄμα τοῖς αὐτοῦ στρατοπέδοις κατεπονεῖτο, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τῶν τὰς ὑπ’ αύτὸν πόλεις οἰκούντων δεινῶς ὁ λιμός τε ἄμα καὶ λοιμὸς κατετρυχέτην, ὡς ἐνὸς μέτρου πυρῶν δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας Ἀττικὰς ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι.

9.8.5 | μυρίοι μὲν οὖν ἔτυγχανον οἱ κατὰ πόλεις Θνήσκοντες, πλείους δὲ τούτων οἱ κατ’ ἀγρούς τε καὶ κώμας, ὡς ἥδη καὶ τὰς πάλαι τῶν ἀγροίκων πολυάνδρους ἀπογραφὰς μικροῦ δεῖν παντελῆ παθεῖν ἔξαλειψιν, ἀθρόως σχεδὸν ἀπάντων ἐνδείᾳ τροφῆς καὶ λοιμώδει νόσῳ διεφθαρμένων.

9.8.6 | τινὲς μὲν οὖν τὰ ἐαυτῶν φίλτατα βραχυτάτης τροφῆς τοῖς εύπορωτέροις ἀπεμπολᾶν ἤξιον, ἄλλοι δὲ τὰς κτήσεις κατὰ βραχὺ διαπιπράσκοντες εἰς ἐσχάτην ἐνδείας ἀπορίαν ἥλαυνον· ἥδη δέ τινες σμικρὰ χόρτου διαμασώμενοι σπαράγματα, καὶ τινας ἀνέδην φθοροποιοὺς ἐσθίοντες πόας, τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἔξιν λυμαινόμενοι διώλλυντο.

9.8.7 | καὶ γυναίων δὲ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις εὐγενίδων τινὲς, εἰς ἀναίσχυντον ἀνάγκην πρὸς τῆς ἀπορίας ἐλαθεῖσαι, μεταιτεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγορῶν προεληγύθεσαν, τῆς πάλαι ἐλευθερίου ὑπόδειγμα διὰ τῆς περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αἴδοῦς καὶ τῆς ἀμφὶ τὴν περιβολὴν κοσμιότητος ὑποφαίνουσαι.

9.8.8 | καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπεσκληκότες ὕσπερ εἴδωλα νεκρὰ ὥδε κάκεῖσε  
ψυχορραγοῦντες, ἐνσειόμενοί τε καὶ

9.8.4 | While he himself was struggling with the war against the Armenians and his own camps, the famine and plague were severely troubling the others living in the cities under him, so much so that two thousand five hundred Attic measures of grain were being exchanged for one measure of wheat.

9.8.5 | Many people in the cities were dying, and even more in the countryside and villages. It was clear that the earlier large numbers of rural people were now almost completely wiped out due to a lack of food and deadly disease.

9.8.6 | Some people were willing to sell their most precious food for a little bit of money, while others were quickly selling their possessions and falling into complete poverty. Already, some were chewing on small bits of grass, and others were eating harmful plants, ruining their health and suffering greatly.

9.8.7 | Some noble women in the cities, driven by desperate need, secretly went to the markets. They had once been examples of freedom, showing their modesty through their appearance and clothing.

9.8.8 | Some people, weakened like dead bodies, were struggling to move and falling down in the streets. Lying flat, they reached

περιολισθαίνοντες ὑπ' ἀδυναμίας τοῦ στῆναι, κατέπιπτον ἐν μέσαις ταῖς πλατείαις, πρηνεῖς δ' ἡπλωμένοι ὥρξαι σφίσι μικρὸν τρύφος ἄρτου κατηντιβόλουν, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς ἐσχάταις ἔχοντες ἀναπνοαῖς πεινῆν ἐπεβόων, πρὸς μόνην ταύτην τὴν ὁδυνηροτάτην φωνὴν εὔσθενεῖς καθιστάμενοι·

9.8.9 | οἱ δὲ τὴν πληθὺν τῶν αίτούντων καταπληττόμενοι, ὅσοι τῶν εὐπορωτέρων ἐδόκουν εἶναι, μετὰ τὸ μυρία παρασχεῖν εἰς ἀπηνὴ λοιπὸν καὶ ἀτεγκτὸν ἔχώρουν διάθεσιν, τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς αἴτοῦσιν ὃσον οὕπω καὶ αὐτοὶ πείσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες, ὥστ' ἥδη κατὰ μέσας ἀγορὰς καὶ στενωποὺς νεκρὰ καὶ γυμνὰ σώματα ἐφ' ἡμέραις πλείσιν ἄταφα διερριμένα θέαν τοῖς ὀρῶσιν οἰκτροτάτην παρέχεσθαι.

9.8.10 | ἥδη γέ τοι καὶ κυνῶν τινὲς ἐγίνοντο βορὰ, δι' ἣν μάλιστα αἰτίαν οἵζωντες ἐπὶ τὴν κυνοκτονίαν ἐτράποντο, δέει τοῦ μὴ λυσσήσαντας ἀνθρωποφαγίαν ἐργάσασθαι.

9.8.11 | οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ ὁ λοιμὸς πάντας οἴκους καὶ γενεὰς ἐπεβόσκετο, μάλιστα δ' οὖς ὁ λιμὸς διὰ τὸ εὐπορεῖν τροφῶν οὐχ οἴός τε ἦν ἐκτρῆψαι. οἱ γοῦν ἐν περιουσίαις, ἀρχοντες καὶ ἡγεμόνες καὶ μυρίοι τῶν ἐν τέλει, ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες τῇ λοιμώδει νόσῳ πρὸς τοῦ λιμοῦ καταλειμμένοι, ὀξεῖαν καὶ ὠκυτάτην ὑπέμενον τελευτὴν· πάντα δ' οὖν οἰμωγῶν ἦν ἀνάπλεα, κατὰ πάντας τε στενωποὺς, ἀγοράς τε καὶ πλατείας οὐδ' ἦν ἄλλο τι θεωρεῖν ἢ θρήνους μετὰ τῶν

out for a little bit of bread, and with their souls close to leaving, they cried out in hunger, making only this painful sound as they tried to stay strong.

9.8.9 | Those who were shocked by the number of people asking for help, especially those who seemed better off, were giving a lot but then turning cold and unfeeling. They did not expect to suffer the same way as those asking for help. As a result, in the middle of the markets and narrow streets, there were dead and naked bodies lying unburied for many days, showing a very sad sight to those who saw them.

9.8.10 | By now, some were even becoming food for dogs, which was the main reason why the living turned to killing dogs. They needed to avoid becoming crazed and resorting to cannibalism.

9.8.11 | The plague was also attacking all homes and families, especially those who were not able to get enough food. The wealthy, leaders, and many in power, like those left behind by the deadly disease, faced a sharp and quick death. Everywhere, there were cries of sorrow, and in all the narrow streets, markets, and squares, there was nothing to see but mourning along with the usual sounds of wailing and

συνήθων αύτοῖς αύλῶν τε καὶ κτύπων.

beating.

9.8.12 | τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τρόπον δυσὶν ὅπλοις τοῖς προδεδηλωμένοις λοιμῷ τε ὁμοῦ καὶ λιμῷ στρατεύσας ὁ θάνατος ὅλας ἐν ὀλίγῳ γενεάς ἔνεμήθη, ὡς ὅρᾶν ἥδη δυεῖν καὶ τριῶν σώματα νεκρῶν ὑπὸ μίαν ἐκφορὰν προκομιζόμενα.

9.8.12 | In this way, death, armed with the two weapons of plague and famine, spread over the whole generation in a short time, so that now one could see two or three dead bodies being carried out at once.

9.8.13 | τοιαῦτα τῆς Μαξιμίνου μεγαλαυχίας καὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις καθ' ἡμῶν ψηφισμάτων τάπιχειρα ἦν, ὅτε καὶ τῆς Χριστιανῶν περὶ πάντα σπουδῆς τε καὶ εὔσεβείας πᾶσιν ἔθνεσιν διάδηλα κατέστη τὰ τεκμήρια.

9.8.13 | Such were the results of Maximinius's boasting and the decisions made in our cities, when the efforts and piety of Christians became clear to all nations.

9.8.14 | μόνοι γοῦν ἐν τῇ λικαύτῃ κακῶν περιστάσει τὸ συμπαθὲς καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἔργοις αύτοῖς ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, διὰ πάσης ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν τῇ τῶν θνησκόντων μυριάδες δ' ἥσαν οἵσι οὕτις ἦν ὁ ἐπιμελησόμενος) κηδείᾳ τε καὶ ταφῇ προσεκαρτέρουν, οἵ δὲ τῶν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τοῦ λιμοῦ κατατρυχομένων τὴν πληθὺν ὑπὸ μίαν σύνοψιν ἀθροίζοντες ἄρτους διένεμον τοῖς πᾶσιν, ὡς περιβόητον εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καταστῆναι τὸ πρᾶγμα, θεόν τε τῶν Χριστιανῶν δοξάζειν, εὐσεβεῖς τε καὶ μόνους θεοσεβεῖς τούτους ἀληθῶς, πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐλεγχθέντας τῶν πραγμάτων, ὅμολογεῖν.

9.8.14 | Only in such a time of great troubles did they show their compassion and kindness through their actions. Every day, while countless dying people had no one to care for their burial and graves, those who were suffering from famine throughout the city gathered together and shared bread with everyone. This made it clear to all people that the Christians were truly pious and devoted to God, and they admitted that these were the only ones who acted rightly in such matters.

9.8.15 | ἐφ' οἵς τοῦτον ἐπιτελουμένοις τὸν τρόπον ὁ μέγας καὶ οὐράνιος Χριστιανῶν ὑπέρμαχος θεός τὴν κατὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῶν δεδηλωμένων ἐπιδειξάμενος ἀπειλὴν καὶ ἀγανάκτησιν ἀνθ' ὧν εἰς ήμάς ὑπερβαλλόντως

9.8.15 | While they were doing this, the great and heavenly God of Christians showed his threat and anger against all people because they had greatly sinned against us. Again, he revealed to us the kind and joyful light of his care for us, shining

ένεδείξαντο, τὴν εύμενή καὶ φαιδρὰν τῆς αὐτοῦ περὶ ἡμᾶς προνοίας αὐθις ἡμῖν αύγην ἀπεδίδου, ὃς ἐν βαθεῖ σκότῳ παραδοξότατα φῶς ἡμῖν ἔξ αὐτοῦ καταλάμπων εἰρήνης, ἐκφανές τε τοῖς πᾶσι καθιστάς, θεὸν αὐτὸν τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπίσκοπον διὰ παντὸς γεγονέναι πραγμάτων, μαστίζοντα μὲν καὶ διὰ τῶν περιστάσεων κατὰ καιρὸν ἐπιστρέφοντα τὸν αὐτοῦ λαὸν, πάλιν δ' αὖ μετὰ τὴν αὐτάρκη παιδείαν ἔλεων καὶ εύμενή τοῖς είς αὐτὸν τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσιν ἀναφαινομενον.

## Section 9

9.9.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 29—31]. Οὕτω δὴ ὅν βασιλέα ἐκ βασιλέως, εύσεβη τε ἔξ εύσεβεστάτου καὶ πάντα σωφρονεστάτου γεγονέναι προειρήκαμεν, Λικιννίου ἦν τε τοῦ μετ' αὐτὸν, συνέσει καὶ εύσεβείᾳ τετιμημένων, πρὸς τοῦ παμβασιλέως θεοῦ τε τῶν ὅλων καὶ σωτῆρος δύο θεοφιλῶν κατὰ τῶν δύο δυσσεβεστάτων τυράννων ἀνεγγερμένων, πολέμου τε νόμῳ παραταξαμένων, θεοῦ συμμαχοῦντος αὐτοῖς, παραδοξότατα πίπτει μὲν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ὑπὸ Κωνσταντίνου Μαξέντιος, ὃ δ' ἐπ' ἀνατολῆς οὐ πολὺν ἐπιζήσας ἐκείνῳ χρόνον αἰσχίστω καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Λικιννίου, οὕπω μανέντος τότε, καταστρέφει θανάτῳ.

9.9.2 | πρότερός γε μὴν ὁ καὶ τιμῇ καὶ τάξει τῆς βασιλείας πρῶτος Κωνσταντῖνος, τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης κατατυραννουμένων φειδὼ λαβὼν, θεὸν τὸν οὐράνιον, τόν τε τούτου λόγον, αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν πάντων σωτῆρα Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν σύμμαχον δι' εύχῶν ἐπικαλεσάμενος, πρόεισι πανστρατιᾷ, Ῥωμαίοις τὰ τῆς ἐκ προγόνων ἐλευθερίας προμνώμενος.

like a strange light in deep darkness, bringing peace. He made it clear to everyone that he had become the overseer of our affairs forever, punishing and turning his people back through the troubles of the times, but also showing himself gracious and kind to those who have hope in him.

9.9.1 | Thus, we have said that the king came from a king, a pious one from the most pious, and the most sensible. After him came Licinius, honored for his wisdom and piety. With the help of the all-powerful God and the Savior, two beloved of God were raised up against the two most wicked tyrants. They prepared for war according to the law, and with God as their ally, a strange thing happened: Maxentius fell in battle against Constantine in Rome, while Licinius, after a short time, was himself defeated and killed by Maxentius, who had not yet gone mad.

9.9.2 | First, Constantine, who was the highest in honor and rank of the kingdom, took pity on those being oppressed in Rome. He called upon the heavenly God and the Savior of all, Jesus Christ, as his ally through prayers. He then advanced with all his forces, reminding the Romans of the freedom passed down from their ancestors.

9.9.3 | Μαξεντίου δῆτα μᾶλλον ταῖς κατὰ γοητείαν μηχαναῖς ἢ τῇ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐπιθαρσοῦντος εύνοιᾳ, προελθεῖν γε μὴν οὐδ' ὅσον πυλῶν τοῦ ἄστεος ἐπιτολμῶντος, ὀπλιτῶν δ' ἀνηρίθμῳ πλήθει καὶ στρατοπέδων λόχοις μυρίοις πάντα τόπον καὶ χώραν καὶ πόλιν, ὅση τις ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἰταλίας ἀπάσης ὑπ' αὐτῷ δεδούλωτο, φραξαμένου, ὁ τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ συμμαχίας ἀνημένος βασιλεὺς ἐπιών πρώτῃ καὶ δευτέρᾳ καὶ τρίτῃ τοῦ τυράννου παρατάξει, εὗ μάλα τε πάσας ἐλῶν, πρόεισιν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὅσον τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἥδη τε αὐτῆς Ῥώμης ἄγχιστα ἦν.

9.9.4 | εἴθ' ὡς μὴ τοῦ τυράννου χάριν Ῥωμαίοις πολεμεῖν ἀναγκάζοιτο, θεὸς αὐτὸς δεσμοῖς τισιν ὥσπερ τὸν τύραννον πορρωτάτῳ πυλῶν ἔξελκει, καὶ τὰ πάλαι δὴ κατὰ ἀσεβῶν ὡς ἐν μύθῳ λόγῳ παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις ἀπιστούμενα, πιστά γε μὴν πιστοῖς ἐν Ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἐστηλιτευμένα, αὐτῇ ἐναργείᾳ πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν πιστοῖς καὶ ἀπίστοις, ὁφθαλμοῖς τὰ παράδοξα παρειληφόσιν ἐπιστώσατο.

9.9.5 | ὥσπερ οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Μωυσέως καὶ τοῦ πάλαι θεοσεβοῦς Ἐβραίων γένους "ἄρματα Φαραὼ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ ἔρριψεν θάλασσαν, ἐπιλέκτους ἀναβάτας τριστάτας κατεπόντισεν ἐν θαλάσσῃ ἔρυθρᾷ, πόντω ἐκάλυψεν αὐτούς", κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὴ καὶ Μαξέντιος οὕτε ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὀπλῖται καὶ δορυφόροι "ἔδυσαν εἰς βυθὸν ὡσεὶ λίθος", ὀπηνίκα νῶτα δοὺς τῇ ἐκ θεοῦ μετὰ Κωνσταντίνου δυνάμει τὸν πρὸ τῆς πορείας διήγει ποταμὸν, ὃν αὐτὸς σκάφεσι ζεύξας καὶ εὗ μάλα γεφυρώσας μηχανὴν

9.9.3 | Maxentius, relying more on magical tricks than on the goodwill of his supporters, did not dare to approach even the city gates. With an enormous number of soldiers and countless troops, he occupied every place and land, as far as any area under Roman and all of Italy was enslaved to him. However, the king, confident in his alliance with God, advanced against the tyrant's forces in the first, second, and third encounters, capturing all of them very well. He moved forward as far as possible into Italy and was already very close to Rome itself.

9.9.4 | Then, so that the Romans would not be forced to fight for the tyrant's sake, God himself pulled the tyrant far away from the city gates with certain bonds. The things that had long been doubted by most as myths, due to the wickedness of the past, were indeed confirmed in sacred writings for the faithful. It was clear to all, both believers and non-believers, that the extraordinary events had been witnessed with their own eyes.

9.9.5 | Just as in the past, when Moses and the God-fearing Hebrews said, "The chariots of Pharaoh and his army were thrown into the sea, and the chosen riders sank like lead in the Red Sea, the deep covered them," so too did Maxentius and his soldiers sink "like a stone." This happened when they turned their backs to the power from God, while Constantine was leading them across the river, which he himself had bridged well with a deadly

όλέθρου καθ' ἐαυτοῦ συνεστήσατο.

9.9.6 | ἐφ' ὃ ἦν ἀν είπειν "λάκκον ὥρυξε  
καὶ ἀνέσκαψεν αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐμπεσεῖται εἰς  
βόθρον ὃν είργάσατο. ἐπιστρέψει ὁ πόνος  
αὐτοῦ εἰς κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ κορυφὴν  
αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀδικία αὐτοῦ καταβήσεται."

9.9.7 | ταύτη δῆτα τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
ζεύγματος διαλυθέντος ὑφιζάνει μὲν ἡ  
διάβασις, χωρεῖ δ' ἀθρόως αὔτανδρα κατὰ  
τοῦ βυθοῦ τὰ σκάφη, καὶ αὐτός γε πρῶτος  
ὁ δυσσεβέστατος, εἶτα δὲ καὶ οὗτος αὐτὸν  
ὑπασπισταὶ, ἢ τὰ θεῖα προαναφωνεῖ λόγια  
'ἔδυσαν ὡσεὶ μόλυβδος ἐν ὕδατι σφοδρῷ.'

9.9.8 | ὡστε εἰκότως εἰ μὴ λόγοις, ἔργοις δ'  
οῦν ὄμοιώς τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν μέγαν θεράποντα  
Μωυσέα, τοὺς παρὰ θεοῦ τὴν νίκην  
ἀραμένους αὐτὰ δὴ τὰ κατὰ τοῦ πάλαι  
δυσσεβοῦς τυράννου ὡδέ πως ἀνυμνεῖν  
καὶ λέγειν "ἄσωνεν τῷ κυρίῳ, ἐνδόξως γάρ  
δεδόξασται. ἵππον καὶ ἀναβάτην ἔρριψεν  
εἰς θάλασσαν· βιηθός καὶ σκεπαστής μου  
κύριος ἐγένετό μοι εἰς σωτηρίαν" καὶ "τίς  
ὅμοιός σοι ἐν θεοῖς, κύριε, τίς ὅμοιός σοι; ἐν  
ἀγίοις, θαυμαστὸς ἐν δόξαις, ποιῶν  
τέρατα."

9.9.9 | ταῦτά τε καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ἀδελφά τε  
καὶ ἐμφερῆ Κωνσταντῖνος τῷ πανηγεμόνι  
καὶ τῆς νίκης αἵτιψ θεῷ αὐτοῖς ἔργοις  
ἀνυμνήσας, ἐπὶ Ψώμης μετ' ἐπινικίων  
εἰσήλαυνε, πάντων ἀθρόως αὐτὸν ἄμα  
κομιδῇ νηπίοις καὶ γυναιξὶ, τῶν τε ἀπὸ τῆς  
συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
διασημοτάτων σὺν παντὶ δήμῳ Ψωμαίων

machine he had built.

9.9.6 | In which it could be said, "He dug a pit and hollowed it out, and he will fall into the hole that he has made. His trouble will return upon his own head, and his injustice will come down upon his own crown."

9.9.7 | Indeed, when the bridge over the river was broken, the crossing was made difficult, and the ships moved down into the depths. And the most wicked one himself first sank, and then those who were around him, as the divine words were proclaimed: "They sank like lead in the mighty waters."

9.9.8 | So it is fitting, if not in words, then in deeds, to sing praises about the great servant Moses, who, by God, brought victory over the long-ago wicked tyrant. And it is right to say, "Sing to the Lord, for he has been gloriously honored. He threw horse and rider into the sea; the Lord has become my helper and protector for salvation." And, "Who is like you among the gods, Lord? Who is like you? Among the holy ones, you are wonderful in glory, doing wonders."

9.9.9 | These things, along with those similar to them, Constantine praised in deeds to the all-gathering and victorious God. He entered Rome with celebrations, and all together, he was welcomed by children and women, along with those from the Senate and the other most notable people, with all the Roman people looking

φαιδροῖς ὅμμασιν, αύταῖς ψυχαῖς, οἵα  
λυτρωτὴν, σωτῆρά τε καὶ εὐεργέτην μετ'  
εὐφημιῶν καὶ ἀπλήστου χαρᾶς  
ὑποδεχομένων.

9.9.10 | ὁ δ' ὥσπερ ἔμφυτον τὴν εἰς θεὸν  
εύσέβειαν κεκτημένος, μηδ' ὅλως ἐπὶ ταῖς  
βοαῖς ὑποσαλευόμενος, μηδ' ἐπαιρόμενος  
τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, εῦ μάλα τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ  
συναισθόμενος βοηθείας, αὐτίκα τοῦ  
σωτηρίου τρόπαιον πάθους ὑπὸ χεῖρα  
ίδίας εἰκόνος ἀνατεθῆναι προστάττει· καὶ  
δὴ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ σταυροῦ σημεῖον ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τῇ δεξιᾷ κατέχοντα αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ μάλιστα  
τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης δεδημοσιευμένῳ τόπῳ  
στήσαντες, αὐτὴν δὴ ταύτην ὑπογραφὴν  
ἐντάξαι ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς τῇ Ῥωμαίων  
έγκελεύεται φωνῇ·

9.9.11 | “τούτῳ τῷ σωτηριώδει σημείῳ, τῷ  
ἀληθινῷ ἐλέγχῳ τῆς ἀνδρείας, τὴν πόλιν  
ὑμῶν ἀπὸ ζυγοῦ τοῦ τυράννου  
διασωθεῖσαν ἡλευθέρωσα· ἔτι μὴν καὶ τὴν  
σύγκλητον καὶ τὸν δῆμον Ῥωμαίων τῇ  
ἀρχαίᾳ ἐπιφανείᾳ καὶ τῇ λαμπρότητι  
έλευθερώσας ἀποκατέστησα.”

9.9.12 | καὶ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτός τε  
Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς  
Λικίννιος (οὕπω τότε ἐφ' ἦν ὕστερον  
ἐκπέπτωκε μανίαν τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκτραπεῖς)  
θεὸν τὸν τῶν ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς αἴτιον  
εὔμενίσαντες ἄμφω μιᾷ βουλῇ καὶ γνώμῃ  
νόμον ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν τελεώτατον  
πληρέστατα διατυποῦνται, καὶ τῶν  
πεπραγμένων εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκ θεοῦ τὰ  
παράδοξα, τά τε τῆς κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου  
νίκης, καὶ τὸν νόμον αὐτὸν Μαξιμίνῳ τῶν  
ἐπ' ἀνατολῆς ἐθνῶν ἔτι δυναστεύοντι,

on joyfully, as if he were a redeemer,  
savior, and benefactor, receiving them with  
praises and unending joy.

9.9.10 | He, having a natural piety toward  
God and not at all shaken by the cries or  
lifted up by praises, well aware of the help  
from God, immediately ordered that the  
trophy of salvation be set up under the  
image of his own likeness. And indeed,  
holding the saving sign of the cross in his  
right hand, he had it placed in the most  
public spot in Rome, and he commanded  
that this inscription be written in the voice  
of the Romans.

9.9.11 | By this saving sign, the true proof  
of courage, I have freed your city from the  
yoke of the tyrant. Moreover, I have  
restored the Senate and the Roman people  
to their ancient glory and brightness.

9.9.12 | And so, on these matters, both  
Constantine and the king Licinius (who had  
not yet fallen into the madness that later  
took hold of him) gave thanks to God, the  
cause of good things. Together, they agreed  
and decided to create a law for Christians  
that was complete and perfect. They also  
sent messages about the wonders that had  
happened to them from God, including the  
victory over the tyrant, and they sent this  
law to Maximinus, who was still ruling  
over the eastern nations, with a friendly

φιλίαν τε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑποκοριζομένω,  
διαπέμπονται.

9.9.13 | ὁ δ' οἶα τύραννος περιαλγὴς ἐφ' οἴς  
ἔγνω γεγενημένος, εἴτα μὴ δοκεῖν ἔτεροις  
εἶσαι βουλόμενος, μηδ' αὖ παρεκθέσθαι τὸ  
κελευσθὲν δέει τῶν προστεταχότων, ὡσὰν  
έξ ίδίας αὐθεντίας τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμόσι  
τοῦτο πρῶτον ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν ἐπάναγκες  
διαχαράττει τὸ γράμμα, τὰ μηδέπω ποτὲ  
πρὸς αὐτοῦ πεπραγμένα ἐπιπλάστως  
αὐτὸς καθ' ἐαυτοῦ ψευδόμενος.  
Ἀντίγραφον ἐρμηνείας ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ  
τυράννου Μαξιμίνου. "

9.9.14 | Τόβιος Μαξιμῖνος σεβαστὸς  
Σαβίνω. καὶ “παρὰ τῇ σῇ στιβαρότητι καὶ  
παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώπῳ” ποις φανερὸν εἶναι  
πέποιθα τοὺς δεσπότας ἡμῶν  
‘Διοκλητιανὸν καὶ Μαξιμιανὸν, τοὺς  
ἡμετέρους ‘τέρας 5 ἡνίκα συνεῖδον σχεδὸν  
ἄπαντας ἀνθρώπους, ‘καταλειφθείσης τῆς  
τῶν θεῶν θρησκείας, τῷ ἔθνει ‘τῶν  
Χριστιανῶν ἐαυτοὺς συμμεμιχότας,  
“διατεταχέναι, πάντας ἀνθρώπους τοὺς  
ἀπὸ ‘τῶν αὐτῶν θεῶν τῶν ἀθανάτων  
θρησκείας ‘χωρήσαντας προδήλω κολάσει  
καὶ τιμωρίᾳ εἰς τὴν ‘θρησκείαν τῶν θεῶν  
ἀνακληθῆναι.

9.9.15 | ἄλλ' ὅτε ‘έγὼ εύτυχῶς τὸ πρῶτον  
εἰς τὴν ἀνατολὴν παρεγενόμην, καὶ ἔγνω  
εῖς τινας τόπους πλείστους ἀνθρώπων τὰ  
δημόσια ὥφελεῖν δυναμένους ὑπὸ τῶν  
δικαστῶν διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἵτιαν  
έξορίζεσθαι, ἐκάστῳ τῶν δικαστῶν  
ἐντολὰς δέδωκα, ὡστε μηδένα τούτων τοῦ  
λοιποῦ προσφέρεσθαι τοῖς ‘έπαρχιώταις  
ἀπηνῶς, ἄλλὰ μᾶλλον κολακείᾳ καὶ

tone toward him.

9.9.13 | But the tyrant, full of pain from  
what he had become, did not want to seem  
to give in to others, nor did he want to  
change what had been commanded by  
those in charge. As if from his own  
authority, he first forced the writing of a  
letter against the Christians, lying to  
himself about things that had never  
happened under his rule. Copy of the letter  
from the tyrant Maximinius.

9.9.14 | To the esteemed Sabinus from the  
noble Maximinius. I am sure that, because  
of your strength and among all people, our  
masters Diocletian and Maximian have  
made it clear that when they saw almost all  
people abandoning the worship of the gods,  
mixing themselves with the Christian  
nation, they ordered that all people who  
had turned away from the worship of the  
immortal gods should be called back with  
clear punishment and retribution to the  
worship of the gods.

9.9.15 | But when I happily first arrived in  
the east, I learned that many people were  
able to benefit from public matters and  
were being exiled by the judges for the  
reason mentioned before. I gave orders to  
each of the judges so that none of them  
would harshly bring these people before  
the governors anymore, but rather to call  
them back with flattery and

“προτροπαῖς πρὸς τὴν τῶν θεῶν θρησκείαν αὐτοὺς ἀνακαλεῖν.

9.9.16 | τηνικαῦτα οὖν ὅτε ἀκολούθως τῇ κελεύσει τῇ ἐμῇ ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν ἔφυλάττετο τὰ “προστεταγμένα, συνέβαινε μηδένα ἐκ τῶν τῆς ἀνα“τολῆς μερῶν μήτε ἔξοριστον μήτε ἐνύβριστον “σθαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ μὴ βαρέως κατ’ “τι γίνεσθαι εἰς τὴν τῶν θεῶν θρησκείαν ἀνακεκλῆσκθαι.

9.9.17 | μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτε τῷ παρελθόντι “ἐνιαυτῷ εύτυχῶς ἐπέβην εἰς τὴν Νικομήδειαν κάκεῖ διετέλουν, παρεγένοντο πολῖται τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως “πρός με ἄμα μετὰ τῶν ξοάνων τῶν θεῶν, μειζόνως “δεόμενοι, ἵνα παντὶ τρόπῳ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔθνος μη“δαμῶς ἐπιτρέποιτο ἐπιτρέποιτο ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν πατρίδι οἴκεῖν. ‘

9.9.18 | ἀλλ’ ὅτε ἔγνων πλείστους τῆς αὐτῆς ἄνδρας ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς μέρεσιν οἴκεῖν, οὕτως αὐτοῖς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀπένεμον, ὅτι τῇ μὲν αἰτήσει αὐτῶν ἀσμένως χάριν ἔσχηκα, ἀλλ’ οὐ παρὰ πάντων ‘τοῦτο αἰτηθὲν κατεῖδον· εἰ μὲν οὖν τινὲς εἶνεν τῇ “αὐτῇ δεισιδαιμονίᾳ διαμένοντες, οὕτως ἔνα ἔκαστον ‘ἐν τῇ ἴδιᾳ προαιρέσει τὴν βούλησιν ἔχειν, καὶ εἰ βούλοιντο τὴν τῶν θεῶν θρησκείαν ἐπιγινώσκειν. ‘

9.9.19 | ὅμως καὶ τοῖς τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἐπιγινώσκειν. “καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς πόλεσιν, αἱ καὶ αὐτὰὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον τὴν ὁμοίαν αἴτησιν περισπουδάστως πρός με “πεποίκασιν, δηλονότι ἵνα μηδὲ εἷς τῶν Χριστια“νῶν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐνοικοίη, ἀνάγκην ἔσχον

encouragement to the worship of the gods.

9.9.16 | At that time, when according to my command the judges were enforcing the orders, it happened that none from the eastern regions were either exiled or insulted, but rather they were being gently called back to the worship of the gods without any harshness.

9.9.17 | After this, when in the past year I happily went to Nicomedia and stayed there, citizens of the same city came to me along with the statues of the gods, greatly begging that in every way such a nation should not be allowed to live in their homeland.

9.9.18 | But when I learned that many men were living in those regions, I gave them answers like this: I gladly granted their request, but I did not see this asked by everyone. If some remained in the same superstition, then each one should have the choice to decide for themselves, and if they wanted to know the worship of the gods.

9.9.19 | However, I also allowed those of the same city to know. And for the other cities, which had made such a serious request to me, clearly so that not even one of the Christians should live in their cities, I had to respond that indeed this same thing

άποκρίνασθαι, ὅτι δὴ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ  
άρχαῖοι αὐτοκράτορες πάντες  
διεφύλαξαν, καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς, δι' οὓς πάντες  
ἀνθρωποι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ τῶν δημοσίων  
διοίκησις συνίσταται, ἥρεσεν ὡστε τὴν  
τοσαύτην αἴτησιν, ἵνα ὑπὲρ τῆς θρησκείας  
“τοῦ θείου αὐτῶν ἀναφέρουσι,  
βεβαιώσαιμι.

9.9.20 | “γαροῦν εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ τῇ  
σῇ “πρὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου διὰ γραμμάτων  
ἐπέσταλται, “καὶ δι’ ἐντολῶν δημοίως  
κεκέλευσται, ἵνα μὴ “τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν τὸ  
τοιοῦτον ἔθνος ἐπιμεληθέντων μηδὲν  
τραχέως, ἀλλὰ ἀνεξικάκως “καὶ συμμέτρως  
συμπεριφέροιντο αὐτοῖς, ὅμως “μήτε ὑπὸ<sup>τῶν</sup>  
τενεφικιαλίων μήτε ὑπ’ ἄλλων  
“τυχόντων ὕβρεις μηδὲ σεισμοὺς  
ὑπομένοιεν, ἀκόδουθον ἐνόμισα καὶ  
τούτοις τοῖς γράμμασι τὴν σὴν  
“στιβαρότητα ὑπομνῆσαι, ὅπως ταῖς  
κολακείαις ‘ταῖς προτροπαῖς μᾶλλον τὴν  
τῶν θεῶν τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐπαρχιώτας  
ποιήσειας ἐπιγινώσκειν.”

9.9.21 | ὅθεν εἴ τις τῇ αὐτοῦ προαιρέσει τὴν  
“τῶν θεῶν ἐπιγνωστέον προσλάβοι,  
τούτους “δέξασθαι προσήκει, εἴ δέ τινες τῇ  
ἰδίᾳ θρησκείᾳ “ἀκολουθεῦν βούλοιντο, ἐν  
τῇ αὐτῶν ἔξουσίᾳ κατα“λίποις.

9.9.22 | διόπερ ἡ σὴ καθοσίωσις τὸ  
ἐπιτραπέν ‘σοι διαφυλάττειν ὁφεῖλει, καὶ  
μηδενὶ ἔξουσίᾳ δοθῇ ὡστε τοὺς ἡμετέρους  
ἐπαρχιώτας ὕβρεσι καὶ σει“σμοῖς  
ἐπιτρῆψαι, ὅπότε, ὥσπερ προγέγραπται,  
προτροπαῖς μᾶλλον καὶ ταῖς κολακείαις  
πρὸς τὴν “τῶν θεῶν θρησκείαν τοὺς

was preserved by all the ancient rulers, and it pleased the gods, through whom all people and the very administration of public affairs exist, that I should confirm such a request regarding their divine worship.

9.9.20 | For if indeed the most important things were sent to you before this time through letters, and similarly commanded by orders, so that the provincial leaders would take no harsh action against such a nation, but would treat them gently and fairly, I thought it fitting to remind you with these letters of your strength, so that flatteries and encouragements might lead our provincial leaders to know the gods better.

9.9.21 | Therefore, if anyone wishes to accept the knowledge of the gods according to their own choice, they should be welcomed. But if some want to follow their own religion, it is within their rights to do so.

9.9.22 | Therefore, your authority must protect what has been entrusted to you, and no one should have the power to harm our provincial leaders with insults or violence. Instead, as has been written before, it is more fitting to encourage them and flatter them towards the worship of the

ἡμετέρους προσήκει ἀνακαλεῖν. ἔνα δὲ αὐτῇ ἡμῶν ἡ κέλευσις “εἰς γνῶσιν πάντων τῶν ἐπαρχιωτῶν τῶν “ἔλθη, διατάγματι ὑπὸ σοῦ προτεθέντι τὸ κεκε“λευσμένον ὁφείλεις δηλῶσαι.”

9.9.23 | ταῦθ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐκβεβιασμένος, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ γνώμην τὴν αὐτοῦ διακελευσαμένος, ούκέτ' ἀληθῆς ούδ' ἀξιόπιστος παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἦν, τῆς πρόσθεν ἥδη μετὰ τὴν ὅμοίαν συγχώρησιν παλιμβόλου καὶ διεψευσμένης αὐτοῦ γνώμης ἔνεκα.

9.9.24 | οὕκουν ἔτόλμα τις τῶν ἡμετέρων σύνοδον συγκροτεῖν, ούδ' ἔαυτὸν ἐν φανερῷ καταστήσασθαι, ὅτι μηδὲ τοῦτ' ἥθελεν αὐτῷ τὸ γράμμα, αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ ἀνεπηρέαστον ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέπον φυλάττεσθαι, οὐ μὴν συνόδους ἐπικελεῦν ποιεῖσθαι, ούδ' οἴκους ἐκκλησιῶν οίκοδομεῖν, ούδ' ἄλλο τι τῶν συνήθων ἡμῖν διαπράττεσθαι.

9.9.25 | καίτοι γε ταῦθ' οἱ τῆς είρήνης καὶ εύσεβείας προήγοροι ἐπεστάλκεσαν καὶ Λικίννιος αὐτῷ τε ἐπιτρέπειν ἐπεστάλκεσαν καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοὺς ἄπασι διὰ προγραμμάτων καὶ νόμων συγκεχωρήκεσαν. οὐ μὴν ὁ δυσσεβέστατος ταύτῃ ἐνδοῦναι προήρητο, εἰ μὴ ὅτε πρὸς τῆς θείας συνελαθεὶς δίκης ὕστατόν γε ἄκων ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἤχθη.

## Section 10

9.10.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 37-38] Ἐκπεριῆλθε δ' αὐτὸν τοιαύτη τις αἰτία· τὸ μέγεθος τῆς οὐ

gods. And this command of ours should be made known to all the provincial leaders, as you have ordered it to be declared.

9.9.23 | Having been forced by necessity, and not acting according to his own judgment, he was no longer seen as truthful or trustworthy by anyone. This was already the case after he had previously changed his mind and was proven wrong.

9.9.24 | Therefore, none of our people dared to hold a meeting or to present themselves openly, since he did not even want this in writing. He only allowed us to protect what was unaffected, but he did not command us to hold meetings, build places of worship, or do anything else that we usually do.

9.9.25 | And yet, those who were leaders of peace and piety sent messages, and they allowed Licinius to give permission to him and to all those under him through written agreements and laws. However, the most impious one chose not to agree to this, except when he was finally forced into it against his will by the divine judgment.

9.10.1 | But a certain reason came upon him: he could no longer bear the greatness

κατ' ἀξίαν ἐπιτραπείσης ἡγεμονίας αὐτῷ μηκέθ' οἶδε τε φέρειν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀπειρίαν σώφρονος καὶ βασιλικοῦ λογισμοῦ ἀπειροκάλως τοῖς πράγμασιν ἔγχειρῶν, ἐπὶ πᾶσι τε ὑπερηφανίας μεγαλαυχίᾳ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀλόγως ἀρθεὶς, ἥδη καὶ κατὰ τῶν τῆς βασιλείας κοινωνῶν, τὰ πάντα αὐτοῦ διαφερόντων γένει καὶ τροφῇ καὶ παιδείᾳ, ἀξιώματί τε καὶ συνέσει, καὶ τῷ γε πάντων κορυφαιοτάτῳ, σωφροσύνῃ καὶ τῇ περὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ θεὸν εὔσεβείᾳ, τολμᾶν ὕρμητο θρασύνεσθαι, καὶ πρῶτον ἐαυτὸν ταῖς τιμαῖς ἀναγορεύειν.

9.10.2 | ἐπιτείνας δὲ εἰς ἀπόνοιαν τὰ τῆς μανίας, συνθήκας ἃς πρὸς Λικίννιον πεποίητο παρασπονδήσας, πόλεμον ἀσπονδον αἴρεται· εἴτ' ἐν βραχεῖ τὰ πάντα κυκήσας, πᾶσάν τε πόλιν ἐκταράξας, καὶ πᾶν στρατόπεδον μυριάδων τὸ πλῆθος ἀνηρίθμων συναγαγάων, ἔξεισιν εἰς μάχην αὐτῷ παραταξάμενος, δαιμόνων ἐλπίσιν ὃν δὴ ὅψετο θεῶν καὶ ταῖς τῶν ὄπλιτῶν μυριάσι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπηρμένος.

9.10.3 | καὶ δὴ συμβαλῶν εἰς χεῖρας ἔρημος τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ καθίσταται ἐπισκοπῆς, Λικινίω τῆς νίκης ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πάντων ἐνὸς καὶ μόνου θεοῦ πρυτανευθείσης.

9.10.4 | ἀπόλλυσι δὴ πρῶτον τὸ ἐφ' ὃ πεποίθει ὄπλιτικὸν, τῶν τε ἀμφ' αὐτὸν δορυφόρων γυμνὸν καὶ πάντων ἔρημον αὐτὸν καταλελοιπότων, καὶ τῷ τότε κρατοῦντι προσπεφευγότων, ὑπεκδὺς ὁ δείλαιος ὡς τάχιστα τὸν οὐ πρέποντα αὐτῷ βασιλικὸν κόσμον, δειλῶς καὶ δυσγενῶς καὶ ἀνάνδρως ὑποδύνει τὸ

of the leadership that was given to him without deserving it. Instead, he was recklessly handling matters with a lack of wisdom and royal judgment. He raised his spirit with pride and arrogance against all, even against those who shared in the kingdom, differing in birth, upbringing, and education, as well as in rank and understanding. He was bold enough to claim the highest honors for himself, and he began to act with audacity, especially in his piety towards the true god.

9.10.2 | And he, having pushed himself into madness, broke the treaties he had made with Licinius and chose an unbreakable war. Then, in a short time, having surrounded everything, he devastated every city and gathered an countless army of tens of thousands, preparing for battle against him, hoping for the aid of demons, which he thought were gods, and being filled with the spirit of the soldiers.

9.10.3 | And indeed, when he engaged in battle, he was left without the oversight that comes from god. Victory was granted to Licinius, who was led by the one and only god.

9.10.4 | He first destroys what he relied on for his army, left alone and abandoned by all his spear-bearers around him. Those who were strong at that time fled from him. The poor man quickly took off his royal attire, which was not fitting for him, and cowardly, shamefully, and without courage, he slipped away from the crowd. Then he

πλῆθος, κάπειτα διαδιδράσκει,  
κρυπταζόμενός τε ἀνὰ τοὺς ἄγρους καὶ τὰς  
κώμας μόλις τῶν πολεμίων τὰς χεῖρας, τὰ  
τῆς σωτηρίας αύτῷ προνοούμενος,  
διέξεισιν, ἔργοις αὐτοῖς εὗ μάλα πιστοὺς  
καὶ ἀληθεῖς τοὺς θείους ἀποφήνας  
χρησμοὺς, ἐν οἷς εἴρηται:

9.10.5 | “οὐ σώζεται βασιλεὺς διὰ δύναμιν,  
καὶ γίγας οὐ σωθήσεται ἐν πλήθει ἴσχύος  
αύτοῦ· ψευδής ἵππος εἰς σωτηρίαν, ἐν δὲ  
πλήθει δυνάμεως αύτοῦ οὐ σωθήσεται.  
ἴδοὺ οἱ ὄφθαλμοὶ κυρίου ἐπὶ τοὺς  
φοβουμένους αύτὸν, τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπὶ  
τὸ ἔλεος αύτοῦ, ῥύσασθαι ἐκ θανάτου τὰς  
ψυχὰς αύτῶν.”

9.10.6 | οὕτω δῆτα αἰσχύνης ἔμπλεως ὁ  
τύραννος ἐπὶ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐλθὼν μέρη,  
πρῶτον μὲν ἐμμανεῖ θυμῷ πολλοὺς Ἱερεῖς  
καὶ προφήτας τῶν πάλαι θαυμαζομένων  
αύτῷ θεῶν, ὃν δὴ τοῖς χρησμοῖς  
ἀναρριπισθεὶς τὸν πόλεμον ἤρατο, ὡσὰν  
γόντας καὶ ἀπατεῶντας καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι  
προδότας τῆς αύτοῦ γενομένους σωτηρίας  
ἀναιρεῖ, εἴτα δὴ δοὺς δόξαν τῷ τῶν  
Χριστιανῶν θεῷ, νόμον τε τὸν ὑπὲρ  
ἔλευθερίας αύτῶν τελεώτατα καὶ  
πληρέστατα διαταξάμενος, δυσθανατήσας  
αὐτίκα, μηδεμιᾶς αύτῷ χρόνου δοθείσης  
προθεσμίας τελευτῆς τὸν βίον. ὁ δὲ  
καταπεμφθεὶς ὑπ’ αύτοῦ νόμος τοιοῦτος  
ἦν· Ἄντιγραφον ἐρμηνείας τῆς τοῦ  
τυράννου ὑπὲρΧριστιανὸν διατάξεως, ἐκ  
Ῥωμαϊκῆς γλώττης είστην ἐλλάδα  
μεταληφθείσης.

9.10.7 | “Αύτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Γάιος  
Οὐαλέριος Μα“ξιμῖνος, Γερμανικὸς,

ran away, hiding among the fields and villages, barely escaping the hands of his enemies, thinking about his own safety. He will go on, believing firmly and truly in the divine oracles, in which it was said:

9.10.5 | A king is not saved by his power, and a giant will not be saved by the strength of his might. A false horse is for salvation, but in the abundance of his strength, he will not be saved. Look, the eyes of the lord are on those who fear him, on those who hope for his mercy, to rescue their souls from death.

9.10.6 | So indeed, filled with shame, the tyrant came to his own affairs. First, in his rage, he drove many priests and prophets of the ancient gods, who were once admired by him, into madness. He raised war against them, like a sorcerer and a fraud, and he killed all those who had become traitors to his own salvation. Then, giving honor to the god of the Christians, he established a law for their freedom in the most complete and thorough way. Immediately after, he died, without any time given to him for a deadline. The law that was sent by him was this: "A copy of the decree of the tyrant concerning the Christians, translated from the Roman language into Greek."

9.10.7 | Emperor Caesar Gaius Valerius Maximinus, Germanicus, Sarmaticus, pious,

Σαρματικὸς, εύσεβὴς, εύτυχος, ἀνίκητος, σεβαστός, κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἡμᾶς “διηνεκῶς τῶν ἐπαρχιωτῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων τοῦ χρη— “σίμου προνοεῖσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα αὐτοῖς βούλεσθαι “παρέχειν, οἷς τὰ λυσιτελῆ πάντων μάλιστα κατορθοῦσται, καὶ δόσα τῆς λυσιτελείας καὶ τῆς χρησιμότητός ἔστι τῆς κοινῆς αὐτῶν, καὶ δόποια πρὸς τὴν ‘δημοσίαν λυσιτέλειαν ἀρμόζει, καὶ ταῖς ἐκάστων ‘διανοίαις προσφύλῃ τυγχάνει, οὐδένα ἄγνοεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἔκαστον ἀνατρέχειν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τὸ γινόμενον, γινώσκειν τε ἔκαστον τόν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, “δῆλον εἶναι πιστεύομεν.

9.10.8 | ὅπότε τοίνυν πρὸ τούτου δῆλον γέγονε τῇ γνώσει τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς προφάσεως, ἐξ ἣς κεκελευσμένον ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν θειοτάτων Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν γονέων τῶν ἡμετέρων τὰς συνόδους τῶν Χριστιανῶν “έξηρησθαι, πολλοὺς σεισμοὺς καὶ ἀποστερήσεις ὑπὸ τῶν ὄφρικιαλίων γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ εἰς τούπιὸν δὲ τοῦτο προχωρεῖν κατὰ τῶν ἐπαρχιωτῶν τῶν “ἡμετέρων, ὃν μάλιστα πρόνοιαν τὴν προσήκουσαν “γίνεσθαι σπουδάζομεν, τῶν οὐσιῶν τῶν ἰδίων αὐτῶν κατατριβομένων, δοθέντων γραμμάτων πρὸς “τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐκάστης ἐπαρχίας τῷ παρελθόντι “ἐνιαυτῷ ἐνομοθετήσαμεν, ἵνα ἔάν τις βούλοιτο τῷ “τοιούτῳ ἔθει ἢ τῇ αὐτῇ φυλακῇ τῆς αὐτῆς θρητῆς σκέίας ἐπεσθαι, τοῦτον ἀνεμποδίστως ἔχεσθαι τῆς προθέσεως τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἐμποδίζεσθαι μηδὲ κωλύεσθαι, καὶ εἶναι αὐτοῖς εὐχέρειαν, “ἄνευ τινὸς φόβου καὶ ὑποψίας τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐκάστω “ἀρέσκει ποιεῖν.

9.10.9 | πλὴν οὐδὲ νῦν λαθεῖν ἡμᾶς

fortunate, unconquered, revered. In every way, he constantly takes care of our provincial matters, and he wishes to provide these things to them, which are most beneficial for all. He knows what is useful for their common good, and what fits with public benefit, and what is pleasing to each person's mind. No one is to be ignored, but each one should run to him for what happens, and each person should know and have in themselves, it is clear that we believe.

9.10.8 | Whenever, therefore, it became clear to our knowledge from this pretext, from which it was commanded by the most divine Diocletian and Maximian, our parents, to remove the gatherings of the Christians, many earthquakes and deprivations happened from the officials. And in addition to this, they advanced against our provinces, for which we strive to ensure the proper care, while their own resources were being wasted. Letters were given to the governors of each province in the past year, so that if anyone wanted to follow such a custom or the same guard of the same religion, he should be allowed to do so without hindrance, and should not be obstructed by anyone, and they should have freedom to worship, without any fear or suspicion of what each one wishes to do.

9.10.9 | But now, we could not be deceived,

“έδυνήθη, ότι τινὲς τῶν δικαστῶν παρενεθυμοῦντο “τὰς ἡμετέρας κελεύσεις, καὶ διστάζειν τοὺς ἡμετέρους ὥρους ἀνθρώπους περὶ τὰ προστάγματα τὰ ἡμέτερα “παρεσκεύασαν, καὶ ὀκνηρότερον προσιέναι ταύταις “ταῖς θρησκείαις, αἷς ἦν ἀρεστὸν αὐτοῖς, ἐποίησαν.”

9.10.10 | ἔνα τοίνυν εἰς τὸ ἔξῆς πάσα ύποψία ἀμφιβολίας “τοῦ φόβου περιαιρεθῆ, τοῦτο τὸ διάταγμα προτεθῆναι ἐνομοθετήσαμεν, ἔνα πάσι δῆλον γένηται “ἔξειναι τούτοις, οἵτινες ταύτην τὴν αἱρεσιν καὶ τὴν “θρησκείαν μετιέναι βούλονται, ἐκ ταύτης τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς ἡμετέρας, καθὼς ἔκαστος βούλεται ἢ ἡδέα “αὐτῷ ἔστιν, οὕτως προσιέναι τῇ θρησκείᾳ ταύτῃ, “ἢν ἔχους θρησκεύειν εἴλετο· καὶ τὰ κυριακὰ δὲ τὰ οἱ “κεῖα ὅπως κατασκευάζοιεν, συγχωρεῖται.

9.10.11 | ἔνα μέν “τοι καὶ μείζων γένηται ἡ ἡμετέρα δωρεὰ, καὶ τοῦτο νομοθετῆσαι κατηξιώσαμεν, ὃντας εἴ τινες οἰκίαι καὶ χωρία “τοῦ δικαίου τῶν Χριστιανῶν πρὸ τούτου ἐτύγχανον “ὄντα, ἐκ τῆς κελεύσεως τῶν γονέων τῶν ἡμετέρων “εἰς τὸ δίκαιον μετέπεσε τοῦ φίσκου, ἢ ὑπό τινος “κατελήφθη πόλεως, εἴτε διάπρασις τούτων γεγένηται, εἴτε εἰς χάρισμα δέδοται τινὶ, ταῦτα πάντα εἰς “τὸ ἀρχαῖον δίκαιον τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀνακληθῆναι “έκελεύσαμεν, ἵνα καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῆς ἡμετέρας εὔσεβείας καὶ τῆς προνοίας αἴσθησιν πάντες λάβωσιν.”

9.10.12 | αὗται τοῦ τυράννου φωναὶ, οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν ένιαυτὸν τῶν κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ἐν στήλαις ἀνατεθειμένων αὐτῷ

because some of the judges were hesitating about our commands, and they caused our people to doubt about the orders we prepared. They became more reluctant to approach those religions that were pleasing to them.

9.10.10 | Therefore, from now on, any suspicion of doubt or fear should be removed. We have decided to propose this decree, so that it is clear to all that those who wish to join this belief and religion may do so freely, as each one desires or finds pleasing. Thus, they may approach this religion, which they have chosen to practice by custom. And also, it is allowed for them to prepare their own sacred days as they see fit.

9.10.11 | Indeed, our gift has become even greater, and we have deemed it right to establish this, so that if any houses or lands that belonged to the Christians were taken away before this, either by the command of our parents or by the authority of the state, or if any of these were seized by someone, or if something was given as a gift to someone, we have ordered that all these things be returned to the original rights of the Christians. This way, everyone may feel the care and respect of our generosity.

9.10.12 | These are the words of the tyrant, who did not even spare a whole year from the decrees placed against the Christians.

διαταγμάτων ὑστερίσασαι. καὶ παρ' ᾧ γε μικρῷ πρόσθεν δυσσεβεῖς ἐδοκοῦμεν καὶ ἄθεοι καὶ παντὸς ὅλεθροι τοῦ βίου, ὡς μὴ ὅτι γε πόλιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ χώραν οὐδέ' ἔρημιαν οίκειν ἐπιτρέπεσθαι, παρὰ τούτῳ διατάξεις ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν καὶ νομοθεσίαι συνετάττοντο, καὶ οἱ πρὸ βραχέος πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ, θηρίων τε καὶ οίωνῶν βορᾶς πρὸ ὁφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ τοῦ τυράννου διαφθειρόμενοι, καὶ πᾶν εἶδος κολάσεως καὶ τιμωρίας, ἀπαλλαγῆς τε βίου οἰκτρότατα ὥσταν ἄθεοι καὶ δυσσεβεῖς ὑπομένοντες, οὗτοι νῦν πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ θρησκεύειν ὅμοιογοῦνται θρησκείαν, καὶ ἐπισκευάζειν κυριακὰ ἐπιτρέπονται, καὶ δικαίων τινῶν αὐτοῖς μετεῖναι αὐτὸς ὁ τύραννος μαρτυρεῖ καὶ ὅμοιογεῖ.

And where before we seemed to be disrespectful, godless, and deserving of every kind of destruction, so that not even a city or a region or a deserted place was allowed to be inhabited by us, now orders and laws are being made for the Christians. Those who were shortly before destroyed by fire and iron, as well as by beasts and birds of prey before the eyes of the tyrant, and who suffered the most terrible punishments and loss of life, now confess to worshiping him and are allowed to build their sacred places. The tyrant himself testifies and acknowledges that they share in certain rights.

9.10.13 | καὶ δὴ τοιαῦτα  
έξομοιογησάμενος, ὡσπερ τινὸς τυχῶν  
εὐεργεσίας, τούτων δὴ αὐτῶν ἔνεκα ἦττον  
ἡ παθεῖν αὐτὸν ἔχρην δήπου παθών, ἀθρόᾳ  
θεοῦ πληγεὶς μάστιγι ἐν δευτέρᾳ τοῦ  
πολέμου συμβολῇ καταστρέφει.

9.10.13 | And indeed, having confessed such things, as if he had received some favor, he should have suffered less because of these very things, but being struck down by God in a sudden blow during the second battle of the war, he is destroyed.

9.10.14 | γίνεται δ' αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς  
καταστροφῆς οὐχ οἴα στρατηγοῖς  
πολεμάρχαις, ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς καὶ γνωρίμων  
πολλάκις ἀνδριζομένοις ἐν πολέμῳ, τὴν  
εὐκλεῆ τελευτὴν εὐθαρσῶς ὑπομεῖναι  
συνέβη, ἀλλὰ γάρ ἄτε τις δυσσεβῆς καὶ  
θεομάχος, τῆς παρατάξεως ἔτ' αὐτῷ πρὸ<sup>τ</sup>  
τοῦ πεδίου συνεστώσης, οἵκοι μένων αὐτὸς  
καὶ κρυπταζόμενος τὴν προσήκουσαν  
τιμωρίαν ὑπέχει, ἀθρόᾳ θεοῦ πληγεὶς καθ'  
ὅλου τοῦ σώματος μάστιγι, ὡς ἀλγηδόσι  
δειναῖς καὶ περιωδυνίαις ἐλαυνόμενον  
πρηνῇ καταπεσεῖν λιμῷ φθειρόμενον, τάς  
τε σάρκας ὅλας ἀοράτω καὶ θεηλάτω πυρὶ<sup>τ</sup>  
τηκόμενον ὡς διαρρεύσαντα τὸ μὲν πάν

9.10.14 | But for him, the end of destruction was not like that of generals or commanders, who often bravely endure a glorious death in battle for their virtue and honor. Instead, as someone disrespectful and a fighter against God, he remained at home, hiding, and suffered the punishment he deserved. Struck down by God all over his body, he was tormented by terrible pains and suffering, falling face down as if being consumed by hunger. His whole body was melted away by a fiery and divine flame, so that all traces of his former shape vanished, leaving only a dry skeleton, like a long-dead figure. So that those present

εῖδος τῆς παλαιάς μορφῆς ἀφανισθῆναι,  
ξηρῶν δ' αὐτὸν μόνον ὄστέων οἴόν τι μακρῷ  
χρόνῳ κατεσκελετευμένον εἴδωλον  
ὑπολειφθῆναι· ὡς μηδ' ἄλλο τι νομίζειν  
τοὺς παρόντας ἢ τάφον αὐτῷ τῆς ψυχῆς  
γεγονέναι τὸ σῶμα, ἐν ᾧδη νεκρῷ καὶ  
παντελῶς ἀπορρεύσαντι κατορωρυγμένης.

could think of nothing else but that his body had become a grave for his soul, already dead and completely fallen apart.

9.10.15 | σφοδρότερον δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον τῆς θέρμης αὐτὸν ἐκ βάθους μυελῶν καταφλεγούσης προπηδῶσι μὲν αὐτῷ τὰ ὅμματα, καὶ τῆς ἴδιας λήξεως ἀποπεσόντα πηρὸν αὐτὸν ἀφίησιν.

9.10.15 | And even more fiercely than the heat burning from the depths of his bones, his eyes burst out, and having fallen from his own end, he let out a groan.

9.10.16 | ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔτι ἐμπνέων, ἀνθομολογούμενος τῷ κυρίῳ, θάνατον ἐπεκαλεῖτο, καὶ τὸ πανύστατον ἐνδίκως ταῦτα τῆς κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παροινίας χάριν ὀμολογήσας παθεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφίησιν.

9.10.16 | But he, still breathing, while confessing to the Lord, called for death, and justly admitting these things because of the madness against Christ, he let his soul go.

## Section 11

9.11.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 39] Οὕτω δῆτα Μαξιμίνου ἐκποδῶν γενομένου, δος μόνος ἔτι λείπων τῶν τῆς θεοσεβείας ἔχθρῶν, ἀπάντων χείριστος ἀναπέφηνε, τὰ μὲν τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀνανεώσεως ἐκ θεμελίων χάριτι θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος ἡγείρετο, ὅτε Χριστοῦ λόγος εἰς δόξαν τοῦ τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ διαλάμπων, μείζονα τῆς πρόσθεν ἀπελάμβανε παρρησίαν, τὰ δετῆς δυσσεβείας τῶν τῆς θεοσεβείας ἔχθρῶν αἰσχύνης ἐσχάτης καὶ ἀτιμίας ἐνεπίμπλατο.

9.11.1 | So indeed, when Maximian was removed, who was the last remaining enemy of piety, he revealed himself to be the worst of all. By the grace of God the Almighty, the renewal of the churches was rising from the foundations, and the word of Christ was shining in glory before God of all. He received greater boldness than before, while the shame and dishonor of the enemies of piety filled them to the brim.

9.11.2 | πρῶτος τε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος Μαξιμῖνος, ἀπάντων πολεμιώτατος ὑπὸ τῶν κρατούντων ἀναγορευθεὶς,

9.11.2 | For he, Maximian himself, was declared the most hostile of all by those in power. He was the most impious, most

δυσσεβέστατος καὶ δοσωνυμώτατος καὶ θεομισέστατος τύραννος διὰ πρὸ γραμμάτων δημοσίων ἀνεστηλίτευτο, γραφαῖ τε ὅσαι εἰς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ παίδων κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνέκειντο πόλιν, αἱ μὲν ἔξ ψους εἰς ἔδαφος ῥιπτούμεναι συνετρίβοντο, αἱ δὲ τὰς προσόψεις ἡχρειοῦντο, σκοτεινῷ χρώματι καταμελανούμεναι, ἀνδριάντων τε ὁμοίως ὀπόσοι εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ τιμὴν διανεστήκεσαν, ὡσαύτως ῥιπτούμενοι συνετρίβοντο, γέλως καὶ παιδιὰ τοῖς ἐνυβρίζειν καὶ ἐμπαροινεῖν ἔθέλουσιν ἐκκείμενοι.

9.11.3 | εἴτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῆς θεοσεβείας ἔχθρῶν πᾶσαι αἱ τιμαὶ περιηροῦντο, ἔκτείνοντο δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ τὰ Μαξιμίνου φρονοῦντες, ὅσοι μάλιστα τῶν ἐν ἀρχικοῖς ἀξιώμασιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τετιμημένοι τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν κολακείᾳ σοβαρῶς ἐνεπαρώνησαν τῷ καθ' ἡμάς λόγῳ.

9.11.4 | οὗτος ἦν ὁ παρὰ πάντας αὐτῷ τιμώτατος καὶ αἰδεσιμώτατος, ἐταίρων τε γνησιώτατος Πευκέτιος, δισύπατος καὶ τρισύπατος, καὶ τῶν καθόλου λόγων ἐπαρχος πρὸς αὐτοῦ καθεσταμένος, Κουλκιανός τε ὡσαύτως διὰ πάσης ἀρχικῆς προελθών ἔχουσίας, ὁ καὶ αὐτὸς μυρίοις τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον Χριστιανῶν ἐλλαμπρυνόμενος αἷμασιν, ἄλλοι τε ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐκ ὀλίγοι, δι' ὃν μάλιστα τὰ τῆς Μαξιμίνου τυραννίδος ἐκραταιοῦτό τε καὶ ηὔξετο.

9.11.5 | ἐκάλει δὲ ἄρα καὶ Θεότεκνον ἡ δίκη, οὐδαμῶς τὰ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα λήθη παραδιδοῦσα. ἐπὶ μὲν

infamous, and most hated tyrant. Through public writings, he was raised up, and all the inscriptions in honor of him and his children were placed in every city. Some were thrown down from high places to the ground and were shattered, while others lost their appearance, darkened with a gloomy color. Similarly, the statues that had been set up in his honor were also thrown down and destroyed. Laughter and mockery lay in wait for those who wanted to insult and ridicule.

9.11.3 | Then all the honors of the other enemies of piety were taken away, and all those who thought like Maximian were extended. Those who were most honored by him in high positions seriously encouraged flattery towards him with their words.

9.11.4 | He was the most honored and respected among all, the closest companion of Maximian, Pevketios, who was a double and triple consul. He was the governor of all matters related to him. Kulkianos, who also rose through all levels of power, was known for the blood of countless Christians in Egypt that he shed. Many others, not a few, also contributed greatly to the strength and growth of Maximian's tyranny.

9.11.5 | Then the court also called Theoteknos, not forgetting at all the actions taken against Christians. For when a statue

γὰρ τῷ κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν ἰδρυθέντι πρὸς αὐτοῦ ξοάνω δόξας εὐημερεῖν, ἥδη καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἡξίωτο παρὰ Μαξιμίνου.

9.11.6 | Λικίννιος δ' ἐπιβὰς τῆς Ἀντιοχέων πόλεως, φοράν τε γοήτων ποιησάμενος, τοὺς τοῦ νεοπαγοῦς ξοάνου προφήτας καὶ Ἱερεῖς βασάνοις ἤκιζετο, τίνι λόγῳ τὴν ἀπάτην καθυπεκρίνοντο πυνθανόμενος. ὡς δ' ἐπικρύπτεσθαι αὐτοῖς πρὸς τῶν βασάνων συνελαυνομένοις ἀδύνατον ἦν, ἐδήλουν δὲ τὸ πᾶν μυστήριον ἀπάτην τυγχάνειν τέχνῃ τῇ Θεοτέκνου μεμηχανημένην, τοῖς πᾶσι τὴν ἀξίαν ἐπιθεὶς δίκην, πρῶτον αὐτὸν Θεότεκνον, εἶτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς τῆς γοητείας κοινωνοὺς μετὰ πλείστας ὅσας αἰκίας θανάτῳ παραδίδωσι.

9.11.7 | τούτοις ἄπασι προσετίθεντο καὶ οἱ Μαξιμίνου παῖδες, οὓς ἥδη καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς τιμῆς, τῆς τε ἐν πίναξι καὶ γραφαῖς ἀναθέσεως πεποίητο κοινωνούς· καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς δὲ τοῦ τυράννου, τὸ πρὸν αὐχοῦντες καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους καταδυναστεύειν ἐπηρμένοι, τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς προδεδηλωμένοις μετὰ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀτιμίας ἔπασχον, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐδέξαντο παιδείαν, μηδὲ ἔγνωσαν μηδὲ συνῆκαν τὴν φάσκουσαν ἐν ἱεροῖς λόγοις παρακέλευσιν

9.11.8 | “μὴ πεποίθετε ἐπ' ἄρχοντας, ἐπὶ υἱοὺς ἀνθρώπων, οἵς οὐκ ἔστι σωτηρία· ἔξελεύσεται τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποστρέψει εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ· ἐν ἑκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπολοῦνται πάντες οἱ διαλογισμοὶ αὐτῶν.”

was set up in his honor in Antioch, he was already deemed worthy of a leadership position by Maximian.

9.11.6 | Licinius, having entered the city of Antioch and made a search for sorcerers, tortured the prophets and priests of the newly erected statue with various torments, asking by what trick they were deceiving people. As it was impossible for them to hide from the tortures, he revealed that the whole mystery was a trick devised by Theoteknos, and he brought charges against everyone involved in the sorcery, first against Theoteknos himself, and then against many others, handing them over to death after much torture.

9.11.7 | To all these were added the children of Maximian, who were already made partners in royal honor, both in the records and in the documents of appointment. And the relatives of the tyrant, who had previously boasted and were eager to dominate all people, suffered the same fate as those mentioned before, with the greatest disgrace, since they did not accept education, nor did they understand or comprehend the false commands in the sacred writings.

9.11.8 | Do not put your trust in rulers, in human beings, for there is no salvation in them. Their spirit will depart, and they will return to the earth. On that day, all their plans will come to nothing.

9.11.9 | οὕτω δῆτα τῶν δυσσεβῶν ἐκκαθαρθέντων, μόνοις ἐφυλάττετο τὰ τῆς προσηκούσης βασιλείας βέβαιά τε καὶ ἀνεπίφθονα Κωνσταντίνῳ καὶ Λικινίῳ· οἱ τὸ πρόσθεν ἀπάντων ἐκκαθάραντες τοῦ βίου τὴν θεοεχθρίαν, τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ πρυτανευθέντων ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς ἡσθημένοι, τὸ φιλάρετον καὶ θεοφιλές, τό τε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εύσεβες καὶ εὐχάριστον διὰ τῆς ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν ἐνεδείξαντο νομοθεσίας.

9.11.9 | Thus, after the wicked were cleansed, only the things of the present kingdom were kept safe and unenvied for Constantine and Licinius. Those who had previously purified their lives from godlessness, sensing the good things that came from God, showed their love for honor and for God, as well as their piety and gratitude toward the divine through the laws they established for Christians.

## Book Ten (ΛΟΓΟΣ Ι.)

### Section 1

10.1.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII. 40] Θεῷ δὴ χάρις ἐπὶ πᾶσι τῷ παντοκράτορι καὶ βασιλεῖ τῶν ὅλων, πλείστῃ δὲ καὶ τῷ σωτῆρι καὶ λυτρωτῇ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, δι' οὗ τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔκ τε τῶν ἔξωθεν ὄχληρῶν καὶ τῶν κατὰ διάνοιαν βέβαια καὶ ἀσάλευτα φυλάττεσθαι ἡμῖν διὰ παντὸς εὔχόμεθα.

10.1.1 | To God, then, be grace upon all, the Almighty and King of all, and especially to our Savior and Redeemer of our souls, Jesus Christ. Through him, we pray that the things of peace may be kept safe and secure for us, both from outside troubles and from the disturbances within our minds, forever.

10.1.2 | ἄμα δὲ σαῖς εὐχαῖς καὶ τὸν δέκατον ἐν τούτῳ τοῖς προδιεξοδευθεῖσι τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας ἐπιθέντες τόμον, σοὶ τοῦτον ἐπιγράψωμεν, ἵερώτατέ μοι Παυλῖνε, ὡσπερ ἐπισφράγισμά σε τῆς ὅλης ὑποθέσεως ἀναβοώμενοι.

10.1.2 | At the same time, with your prayers and by adding this tenth volume to those already prepared of the church history, let us write this for you, most holy Paul, as a seal of the whole matter, calling out in praise.

10.1.3 | εἰκότως δ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ τελείω τὸν τέλειον ἐνταῦθα καὶ πανηγυρικὸν τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀνανεώσεως λόγον κατατάξομεν, θείω πνεύματι πειθαρχοῦντες, ὥδέ πως ἐγκελευομένῳ "Ἄσατε τῷ κυρίῳ ἄσμα καινὸν, ὅτι

10.1.3 | It is fitting, then, to arrange here a complete and festive account of the renewal of the churches, obeying the divine spirit, as we are commanded in this way: "Sing to the Lord a new song, for he has done marvelous things. His right hand and

Θαυμαστὰ ἐποίησεν. ἔσωσεν αὐτὸν ἡ δεξιὰ  
αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ βραχίων ὁ ἄγιος αὐτοῦ·  
έγνωρισε κύριος τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ,  
ἐναντίον τῶν ἔθνῶν ἀπεκάλυψε τὴν  
δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ·"

his holy arm have saved him. The Lord has made known his salvation; he has revealed his righteousness in the sight of the nations."

10.1.4 | καὶ δὴ τῷ λογίῳ προστάττοντι τὸ  
καινὸν ἄσμα διὰ τοῦτο νῦν ἀκολούθως  
ἐπιφωνῶμεν, ὅτι δὴ μετὰ τὰς δεινὰς καὶ  
σκοτεινὰς ἐκείνας ὄψεις τε καὶ διηγήσεις  
τοιαῦτα νῦν ὀρᾶν καὶ τοιαῦτα  
πανηγυρίζειν ἡξιώθημεν οἴα τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν  
πολλοὶ τῷ ὄντι δίκαιοι καὶ θεοῦ μάρτυρες  
ἐπεθύμησαν ἐπὶ γῆς ἴδεῖν, καὶ οὐκ εἶδον,  
καὶ ἀκοῦσαι, καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν.

10.1.4 | And so, following the command to sing a new song, let us now proclaim that after those terrible and dark times and accounts, we are now worthy to see such things and to celebrate such things, which many righteous people and martyrs of God before us longed to see on earth, but did not see, and to hear, but did not hear.

10.1.5 | ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἦ τάχος σπεύσαντες τῶν  
πολὺ κρειττόνων ἔτυχον, ἐν τ' αὐτοῖς  
οὐρανοῖς καὶ παραδείσῳ τῆς ἐνθέου  
τρυφῆς ἀναρπασθέντες, ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τάδε  
μείζονα ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχειν  
ὅμολογοῦντες ὑπερεκπεπλήγμεθα μὲν τῆς  
τοῦ αἵτιου μεγαλοδωρεᾶς τὴν χάριν,  
θαυμάζομεν δὲ εἰκότως ὅλης ψυχῆς  
δυνάμει σέβοντες, καὶ ταῖς ἀναγράπτοις  
προρρήσεσιν ἀλήθειαν ἐπιμαρτυροῦντες 5  
δι' ᾧν εἴρηται

10.1.5 | But we, having rushed to those much greater things, having been seized in the heavens and in the paradise of divine delight, are overwhelmed by the grace of the great generosity of the cause. We marvel, as is fitting, with all our soul's strength, and we bear witness to the truth with the written prophecies through which these things have been said.

10.1.6 | "δεῦτε καὶ ἰδετε τὰ ἔργα τοῦ  
κυρίου, ἀ ἔθετο τέρατα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,  
ἀνταναιρῶν πολέμους μέχρι τῶν περάτων  
τῆς οἰκουμένης· τόξον συντρίψει καὶ  
συνθλάσει ὅπλον, καὶ θυρεοὺς κατακαύσει  
ἐν πυρί·" ἐφ' οὓς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐναργῶς  
πεπληρωμένοις χαίροντες τὸν ἐφεξῆς  
συνείρωμεν λόγον.

10.1.6 | "Come and see the works of the Lord, which he has done as wonders on the earth, bringing wars to an end to the ends of the world; he breaks the bow and shatters the spear, and he burns the shields with fire." With these things clearly fulfilled in us, let us joyfully continue with the following message.

10.1.7 | ήφάνιστο μὲν δὴ καθ' ὅν

10.1.7 | It was indeed made clear how all

δεδήλωται τρόπον πᾶν τὸ τῶν θεομισῶν γένος, καὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀθρόως ὄψεως οὕτως ἔξαλήλειπτο ὡς πάλιν ῥῆμα θεῖον τέλος ἔχειν τὸ λέγον “εἴδον ἀσεβῆ ὑπερυψούμενον καὶ ἐπαιρόμενον ὡς τὰς κέδρους τοῦ Λιβάνου· καὶ παρῆλθον, καὶ ἴδον οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ἐζήτησα τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐχ εὑρέθη·”

the race of those who hate God was removed from the sight of people, so that again the divine saying has an end: "I saw the wicked lifted up and exalted like the cedars of Lebanon. But I passed by, and behold, he was no more; I sought his place, and he could not be found."

10.1.8 | ἡμέρα δὲ λοιπὸν ἥδη φαιδρὰ καὶ διαυγὴς, μηδενὸς νέφους αύτὴν ἐπισκιάζοντος, φωτὸς οὐρανίου βολαῖς ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀπασαν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατηγαζεν, οὐδέ τις ἦν καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς θιάσου φθόνος, συναπολαύειν εἰ μὴ τῶν ἵστον, ἀπορροῆς δ' οὖν ὅμως καὶ μετουσίας τῶν θεόθεν ἡμῖν πρυτανευθέντων.

10.1.8 | But the day was bright and clear, with no cloud overshadowing it. The light from heaven shone throughout the whole world, illuminating the churches of Christ. There was no envy from those outside our group, except for those who were equal to us. Yet still, we were filled with the abundance and sharing of what was given to us from above.

## Section 2

10.2.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 40] Πᾶσι μὲν οὖν ἀνθρώποις τὰ ἐκ τῆς τῶν τυράννων καταδυναστείας ἐλεύθερα ἦν, καὶ τῶν προτέρων ἀπηλλαγμένοι κακῶν ἄλλοις ἄλλως μόνον ἀληθῆ θεὸν τὸν τῶν εὐσεβῶν ὑπέρμαχον ὡμολόγει, μάλιστα δ' ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀνηρτημένοις ἀλεκτοῖς παρῆν εὐφροσύνη, καὶ τις ἔνθεος ἀπασιν ἐπήνθει χαρὰ, πάντα τόπον τὸν πρὸ μικροῦ ταῖς τῶν τυράννων δυσσεβείαις ἡρειπωμένον ὕσπερ ἐκ μακρᾶς καὶ θανατηφόρου λύμης ἀναβιώσκοντα θεωμένοις, νεός τε αὐθις ἐκ βάθρων εἰς ὑψος ἀπειρον ἐγειρομένους, καὶ πολὺ κρείττονα τὴν ἀγλαίαν τῶν πάλαι πεπολιορκημένων ἀπολαμβάνοντας.

10.2.1 | Therefore, for all people, it was free from the tyranny of the oppressors, and having been freed from former evils, each one acknowledged the true God as the protector of the righteous. Especially for us, who have placed our hopes in Christ, there was unending joy. And a divine joy was praised by all, as if from a distance, the place that had been ruined by the wickedness of the tyrants was coming back to life, like something rising from a deadly pit. Once again, it was being lifted up from the depths to an endless height, and it was receiving a much greater glory than that of those who had long been besieged.

10.2.2 | ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖς οἱ ἀνωτάτω

10.2.2 | But also, the kings above us

συνεχέσι ταῖς ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν νομεθεσίαις τὰ τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ μεγαλοδωρεᾶς ἡμῖν εἰς μακρὸν ἔτι καὶ μεῖζον ἐκράτυνον, ἐφοίτα δὲ καὶ εἰς πρόσωπον ἐπισκόποις βασιλέως γράμματα, καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ χρημάτων δόσεις· ὃν οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου γένοιτ’ ἀν κατὰ τὸν προσήκοντα καιρὸν τοῦ λόγου, ὥσπερ ἐν ιερῷ στήλῃ, τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ τὰς φωνὰς ἐκ τῆς Ψωμαίων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν μεταληφθείσας ἐγχαράξαι, ὡς ἀν καὶ τοῖς μεθ’ ἡμάς ἅπασι φέροιντο διὰ μνήμης.

### Section 3

10.3.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 40] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τὸ πᾶσιν εὐκταῖον ἡμῖν καὶ ποθούμενον συνεκροτεῖτο θέαμα, ἐγκαινίων ἐορταὶ κατὰ πόλεις, καὶ τῶν ἄρτι νεοπαγῶν προσευκτηρίων ἀφιερώσεις ἐπισκόπων τε ἐπὶ ταύτῳ συνηλύσεις, τῶν πόρρωθεν ἔξ ἀλλοδαπῆς συνδρομαὶ, λαῶν εἰς λαοὺς φιλοφρονήσεις, τῶν Χριστοῦ σώματος μελῶν εἰς μίαν συνιόντων ἀρμονίαν ἔνωσις.

10.3.2 | συνήγετο δ' οὖν ἀκολούθως προρρήσει προφητικῇ μυστικῶς τὸ μέλλον προσημαινούσῃ "όστεόν πρὸς ὄστεόν καὶ ἀρμονίᾳ πρὸς ἀρμονίαν," καὶ ὅσα θεσπίζων δὲ λόγος δι' αἰνιγμάτων ἀψευδῶς προανετείνετο.

10.3.3 | μία τε ἦν θείου πνεύματος διὰ πάντων τῶν μελῶν χωροῦσα δύναμις, καὶ ψυχὴ τῶν πάντων μία, καὶ προθυμία πίστεως ἡ αὐτὴ, καὶ εἰς ἔξ ἀπάντων θεολογίας ὅμοιος· ναὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν προηγουμένων ἐντελεῖς θρησκεῖαι,

continued to strengthen the laws for Christians, which were given to us by God's great generosity, for a long time and even more. They also sent letters to the bishops in the presence of the king, along with honors and gifts of money. These would not be given in the usual way according to the proper time of the message, just as on a sacred pillar, this book would have the voices of the Romans engraved in the Greek language, so that they might be carried for memory to all who come after us.

10.3.1 | And on top of this, there was a wonderful sight that we all prayed for and longed for: festivals of dedication in the cities, and the consecration of newly built places of worship, where bishops gathered together. From far away, people came from different lands to join in, and there were friendly greetings between the crowds. The members of Christ's body were coming together in harmony, united as one.

10.3.2 | So, it was gathered together, following a prophetic saying that hinted at the future, "bone to bone and harmony to harmony," and all that the message declared through riddles was truly foretold.

10.3.3 | There was one power of the divine spirit moving through all the members, and one soul for all, and the same eagerness of faith, and one hymn of theology from all. Yes, indeed, there were also the complete religious practices of those before us, the

ἱερουργίαι τε τῶν Ἱερωμένων, καὶ θεοπρεπεῖς ἐκκλησίας θεσμοὶ, ὡδὲ μὲν ψαλμῳδίαις καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς τῶν θεόθεν ἡμῖν παραδοθεισῶν φωνῶν ἀκροάσεσιν, ὡδὲ δὲ θείαις καὶ μυστικαῖς ἐπιτελουμέναις διακονίαις· σωτήριον τε ἦν πάθους ἀπόρρητα σύμβολα.

10.3.4 | ὅμοῦ δὲ πᾶν γένος ἡλικίας ἄρρενός τε καὶ θήλεος φύσεως ὅλῃ διανοίας ἴσχύν· δι' εὐχῶν καὶ εὐχαριστίας γεγηθότι νῷ καὶ ψυχῇ τὸν τῶν ἀγαθῶν παραίτιον θεὸν ἐγέραιρον. ἔκινει δὲ καὶ λόγους ἅπας τῶν παρόντων ἀρχόντων πανηγυρικοὺς, ὡς ἐκάστῳ παρῆν δυνάμεως, θειάζων τὴν πανήγυριν.

## Section 4

10.4.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 40] Καί τις ἐν μέσῳ παρελθών τῶν μετρίως ἐπιεικῶν, λόγου σύνταξιν πεποιημένος, ὡς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀθροίσματι πλείστων ἐπιπαρόντων ποιμένων, ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ κόσμῳ τὴν ἀκρόασιν παρεχομένων, ἐνὸς εἰς πρόσωπον τὰ πάντα ἀρίστου καὶ θεοφιλοῦς ἐπισκόπου, οὗ διὰ σπουδῆς ὁ μάλιστα τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸ Φοινίκων ἔθνος διαπρέπων ἐν Τυρῷ νεώς φιλοτίμως ἐπεσκεύαστο, τοιόνδε παρέσχε λόγον. Πανηγυρικὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οίκοδομῇ, Παυλίνῳ Τυρίων ἐπισκόπῳ προσπεφωνημένος.

10.4.2 | Ω φίλοι θεοῦ καὶ Ἱερεῖς, οἱ τὸν ἄγιον ποδήρη καὶ τὸν οὐράνιον τῆς δόξης στέφανον τό τε χρῖσμα τὸ ἔνθεον καὶ τὴν Ἱερατικὴν τοῦ ἄγιου πνεύματος στολὴν

sacred duties of the priests, and the fitting rules of the church. Here, there were psalms and the other voices given to us from above, and there, divine and secret services were performed. It was a saving mystery with hidden symbols.

10.3.4 | Together, all kinds of people, of every age and both male and female, with full strength of mind, rejoiced in spirit and soul through prayers and thanksgivings, raising up the God who is the source of all good things. And all the leaders present stirred up festive speeches, as each one contributed their strength, celebrating the gathering.

10.4.1 | And someone, passing through the gathering of those who were moderately good, having prepared a speech, spoke in the assembly of many present shepherds, providing the listening in peace and order. He addressed everything to the best and most beloved bishop, who, with great effort, had especially built a church in Tyre for the Phoenician people. He delivered this kind of speech: A festive address on the building of the churches, addressed to Paulinus, the bishop of Tyre.

10.4.2 | O friends of God and priests, you who are clothed with the holy foot and the heavenly crown of glory, and with the divine anointing and the priestly garment

περιβεβλημένοι 5 σύ τε, ὡς νέου ἀγίου νεώθεοῦ σεμνολόγημα, γεραρᾶ μὲν φρονήσει παρὰ θεοῦ τετιμημένε, νέας δὲ καὶ ἀκμαζούσης ἀρετῆς ἔργα πολυτελῆ καὶ πράξεις ἐπιδεδειγμένε, ὡς τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς οἶκον αὐτὸς ὁ τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον περιέχων θεὸς δεῖμασθαι καὶ ἀνανεοῦν Χριστῷ τῷ μονογενεῖ καὶ πρωτογενεῖ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ, τῇ τε ἀγίᾳ καὶ θεοπρεπεῖ τούτου νύμφῃ, γέρας ἔξαίρετον δεδώρηται·

of the Holy Spirit, you, O new holy temple of God, honored by God with wise thoughts, are showing works of great value and actions of fresh and flourishing virtue. To you, whom God, who holds the entire world, has entrusted to Christ, his only-begotten and first-born Word, and to his holy and glorious bride, a special honor has been given.

10.4.3 | εἴτε τις νέον σε Βεσελεὴλ, Θείας ἀρχιτέκτονα σκηνῆς ἑθέλοι καλεῖν, εἴτε Σολομῶνα, καινῆς καὶ πολὺ κρείττονος Ἱερουσαλὴμ βασιλέα, εἴτε καὶ νέον Ζοροβάβελ, τὴν πολὺ κρείττονα δόξαν τῆς προτέρας τῷ νεῷ τοῦ θεοῦ περιτιθέντα·

10.4.3 | Whether someone wants to call you a new Bezalel, the divine architect of the tabernacle, or Solomon, the king of a new and much greater Jerusalem, or even a new Zerubbabel, who has given the much greater glory of the former to the new temple of God;

10.4.4 | ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὡς τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀγέλης Χριστοῦ θρέμματα, λόγων ἀγαθῶν ἐστία, σωφροσύνης παιδευτήριον, καὶ θεοσεβείας σεμνὸν καὶ θεοφιλές ἀκροατήριον·

10.4.4 | But you, O offspring of the holy flock of Christ, are a home of good words, a place for teaching self-control, and a serious and God-loving audience.

10.4.5 | πάλαι μὲν ἡμῖν τὰς παραδόξους θεοσημίας καὶ τόν τοῦ κυρίου θαυμάτων τὰς εἰς ἀνθρώπους εὐεργεσίας διὰ θείων ἀναγνωσμάτων ἀκοῇ παραδεχομένοις ὕμνους εἰς θεὸν καὶ ὡδὰς ἀναπέμπειν ἔξην, λέγειν παιδευομένοις "ὁ θεὸς, ἐν τοῖς ὡσὶν ἡμῶν ἡκούσαμεν, οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἀνήγγειλαν ἡμῖν ἔργον ὃ είργάσω ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτῶν, ἐν ἡμέραις ἀρχαίαις."

10.4.5 | Long ago, we were able to receive the wonderful signs of God and the blessings of the Lord that are for people through divine readings, and to send up hymns and songs to God, saying to those being taught, "God, we have heard with our ears, our fathers have told us the work he did in their days, in ancient times."

10.4.6 | ἀλλὰ νῦν γε οὐκέτ' ἀκοαῖς ούδὲ λόγων φήμαις τὸν βραχίονα τὸν ὑψηλὸν, τὴν τε οὐράνιον δεξιὰν τοῦ παναγάθου καὶ παμβασιλέως ἡμῶν θεοῦ

10.4.6 | But now, you no longer hear the words of the mighty arm, nor do you receive the heavenly right hand of our all-good and all-kingly God. Instead, as if to

παραλαμβάνουσιν, ἔργοις δ' ὡς ἔπος είπεῖν  
καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁφθαλμοῖς τὰ πάλαι μνήμῃ  
παραδεδομένα πιστὰ καὶ ἀληθῆ  
καθορωμένοις, δεύτερον ὅμονον ἐπινίκιον  
πάρεστιν ἀναμέλπειν, ἐναργῶς τε  
ἀναφωνεῖν καὶ λέγειν "καθάπερ  
ἡκούσαμεν, οὕτως καὶ εἴδομεν, ἐν πόλει  
κυρίου τῶν δυνάμεων, ἐν πόλει τοῦ θεοῦ  
ἡμῶν."

say, you see with your own eyes the faithful and true things that were handed down long ago. You are ready to sing a second victory hymn, to shout clearly and say, "Just as we have heard, so we have seen, in the city of the Lord of hosts, in the city of our God."

10.4.7 | ποίᾳ δὲ πόλει; ἡ τῇδε τῇ νεοπαγεῖ  
καὶ θεοτεύκτῳ; ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐκκλησία θεοῦ  
ζῶντος, στῦλος καὶ ἐδραίωμα τῆς ἀληθείας,  
περὶ ἣς καὶ ἄλλο τι θεῖον λόγιον ὃδέ πως  
εὔαγγελίζεται "δεδοξασμένα ἐλαλήθη περὶ  
σοῦ, ἡ πόλις τοῦ θεοῦ," ἐφ' ἣν τοῦ  
παναγάθου συγκροτήσαντος ἡμάς θεοῦ διὰ  
τῆς τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ χάριτος, τῶν  
ἀνακεκλημένων ἔκαστος ὑμνείτω  
μονονουχὶ βιῶν καὶ λέγων "εὐφράνθην ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τοῖς εἰρηκόσι μοι· εἰς οἶκον κυρίου  
πορευσόμεθα," καὶ "κύριε, ἡγάπησα  
εὐπρέπειαν οἴκου σου, καὶ τόπον  
σκηνώματος δόξης σου."

10.4.7 | In which city? Or in this new and divinely built one? This is the church of the living God, the pillar and foundation of truth, about which another divine saying is proclaimed here: "Glorious things are spoken of you, O city of God." For which, the all-good God has gathered us together by the grace of his only-begotten Son. Each of those called should sing and shout, saying, "I was glad when they said to me: 'Let us go to the house of the Lord,'" and "Lord, I love the beauty of your house and the place where your glory dwells."

10.4.8 | καὶ μὴ μόνον γε ὁ καθεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
οἱ πάντες ἀθρόως ἐνὶ πνεύματι καὶ μιᾶ  
ψυχῇ γεραίροντες ἀνευφημῶμεν, "μέγας  
κύριος," ἐπιλέγοντες, "καὶ αἰνετὸς σφόδρα,  
ἐν πόλει τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ μῶν, ἐν ὅρει ἀγίω  
αὐτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ οὖν μέγας ὡς ἀληθῶς, καὶ  
μέγας ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ, ὑψηλὸς καὶ ἐπιμήκης,  
καὶ ὠραῖος κάλλει παρὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν  
ἀνθρώπων· μέγας ὁ κύριος ὁ ποιῶν  
θαυμάσια μόνος· μέγας ὁ ποιῶν μεγάλα καὶ  
ἀνεξιχνίαστα, ἐνδοξά τε καὶ ἔξαισια, ὃν οὐκ  
ἔστιν ἀριθμός· μέγας ὁ ἀλλοιῶν καιροὺς  
καὶ χρόνους, μεθιστῶν βασιλεῖς καὶ  
καθιστῶν, ἐγείρων ἀπὸ γῆς πτωχὸν, καὶ  
ἀπὸ κοπρίας ἀνιστῶν πένητα. καθεῖλε

10.4.8 | And not only each one, but also all together, in one spirit and one soul, let us praise, saying, "Great is the Lord," adding, "and greatly to be praised, in the city of our God, on his holy mountain. For indeed, he is great as truly, and great is his house, high and long, and beautiful in splendor beyond the sons of men. Great is the Lord who alone does wonders; great is he who does great and unsearchable things, glorious and marvelous, of which there is no number. Great is he who changes times and seasons, removing kings and setting them up, raising the poor from the dust, and lifting the needy from the ash heap. He brings

δυνάστας ἀπὸ θρόνων, καὶ ὑψωσε  
ταπεινοὺς ἀπὸ γῆς, πεινῶντας ἐνέπλησεν  
ἀγαθῶν, καὶ βραχίονας ὑπερηφάνων  
συνέτριψεν,"

down the mighty from their thrones and exalts the lowly from the earth, filling the hungry with good things, and breaking the arms of the proud."

10.4.9 | οὐ πιστοῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
ἀπίστοις τῶν παλαιῶν διηγημάτων τὴν  
μνήμην πιστωσάμενος, ὁ θαυματουργὸς, ὁ  
μεγαλουργὸς, ὁ τῶν ὅλων δεσπότης, ὁ τοῦ  
σύμπαντος κόσμου δημιουργὸς, ὁ  
παντοκράτωρ, ὁ πανάγαθος, ὁ εἰς καὶ  
μόνος θεὸς, ὡς τὸ καινὸν ἄσμα μέλπωμεν,  
προσυπακούοντες τῷ ποιοῦντι θαυμάσια  
μόνω, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ, τῷ  
πατάξαντι βασιλεῖς μεγάλους καὶ  
ἀποκτείναντι βασιλεῖς κραταιοὺς, ὅτι εἰς  
τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐν τῇ  
ταπεινώσει ἡμῶν ἐμνήσθη ἡμῶν ὁ κύριος,  
καὶ ἐλυτρώσατο ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἡμῶν.

10.4.9 | Not only to the faithful, but also to the unbelievers, remembering the stories of old, the miracle worker, the great one, the master of all, the creator of the whole world, the all-powerful, the all-good, the one and only God, to whom we sing a new song, obeying the one who alone does wonders, because his mercy endures forever. He struck down great kings and killed mighty kings, for his mercy endures forever. For in our lowliness, the Lord remembered us and rescued us from our enemies.

10.4.10 | καὶ τὸν μὲν τῶν ὅλων πατέρα  
τούτοις ἀνευφημοῦντες μή ποτε  
διαλίποιμεν· τὸν δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡμῖν  
δεύτερον αἴτ' ἵον, τὸν τῆς θεογνωσίας  
εἰσηγητὴν, τὸν τῆς ἀληθοῦς θεοσεβείας  
διδάσκαλον, τὸν τῶν ἀσεβῶν ὀλετῆρα, τὸν  
τυραννοκτόνον, τὸν τοῦ βίου διορθωτὴν,  
τὸν ἡμῶν τῶν ἀπεγνωσμένων σωτῆρα  
Ἰησοῦν ἀνὰ στόμα φέροντες γεραίρωμεν,

10.4.10 | And let us praise the Father of all, that we may never be left behind; and let us ask for the second, the one who is the guide to the knowledge of God, the teacher of true piety, the destroyer of the ungodly, the killer of tyrants, the corrector of life, our savior Jesus, who helps those who are desperate, bringing him forth with our voices.

10.4.11 | ὅτι δὴ μόνος οἶα παναγάθου  
πατρὸς μονώτατος ὑπάρχων πανάγαθος  
παῖς, γνώμῃ τῆς πατρικῆς φιλανθρωπίας  
τῶν ἐν φθορᾷ κάτω που κειμένων ἡμῶν εὖ  
μάλα προθύμως ὑποδὺς τὴν φύσιν, οἵᾳ τις  
ίατρῶν ἄριστος τῆς τῶν καμόντων ἔνεκεν  
σωτηρίας ὅρῃ μὲν δεινὰ, θιγγάνει δ'  
ἀηδέων, ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίησί τε ξυμφορῆσιν  
ἰδίας καρποῦται λύπας, οὐ νοσοῦντας αὐτὸ

10.4.11 | For indeed, being the only begotten Son of the all-good Father, he is wholly good. He willingly took on our nature, those of us who are in decay, just as the best of doctors, seeing the terrible things of those who suffer, touches what is unpleasant. He suffers with us in our own troubles and bears our pains. He does not only heal those who are sick or those who

μόνον, ούδ' ἔλκεσι δεινοῖς καὶ σεσηπόσιν  
ἡδη τραύμασι πιεζομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν  
νεκροῖς κειμένους ἡμᾶς ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν  
μυχῶν τοῦ θανάτου αὐτὸς ἐστῶ  
διεσώσατο, ὅτι μηδὲ ἄλλω τῷ τῶν κατ'  
οὐρανὸν τοσοῦτον παρῆν ἴσχύος, ὡς τῇ  
τῶν τοσούτων ἀβλαβῶς διακονήσασθαι  
σωτηρίᾳ.

10.4.12 | μόνος δ' οὖν καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν  
βαρυπαθοῦς φθορᾶς ἐφαψάμενος, μόνος  
τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἀνατλὰς πόνους, μόνος τὰ  
πρόστιμα τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀσεβημάτων  
περιθέμενος, οὐχ ἡμιθνῆτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
πάμπαν ἐν μνήμασι καὶ τάφοις μυστηρίους  
ἡδη καὶ ὁδωδότας ἀναλαβὼν, πάλαι τε καὶ  
νῦν σπουδῇ τῇ φιλανθρώπῳ, παρὰ πᾶσαν  
τὴν οὐτινοσοῦν ἡμῶν τε αὐτῶν ἑλπίδα,  
σώζει τε καὶ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀγαθῶν  
ἀφθονίαν μεταδίδωσιν, ὁ ζωοποιὸς, ὁ  
φωταγωγὸς, ὁ μέγας ἡμῶν ἰατρὸς καὶ  
βασιλεὺς καὶ κύριος, ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ.

10.4.13 | ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν ἄπαξ ἐν νυκτὶ<sup>1</sup>  
ζοφερᾷ καὶ σκότῳ βαθεῖ, δαιμόνων  
ἀλιτηρίων πλάναις καὶ θεομισῶν  
πνευμάτων ἐνεργείαις πᾶν τὸ τῶν  
ἀνθρώπων γένος κατορωρυγμένον, αὐτὸ<sup>2</sup>  
μόνον ἐπιφανεὶς, ωσάν κηροῦ διατακέντος  
ταῖς αὐτοῦ βολαῖς τοῦ φωτὸς τὰς  
πολυδέτους τῶν ἀσεβημάτων ἡμῶν σειρὰς  
διελύσατο.

10.4.14 | νῦν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ τοσαύτῃ χάριτι καὶ  
εὔεργεσίᾳ τοῦ μισοκάλου φθόνου καὶ  
φιλοπονήρου δαίμονος μονονουχὶ<sup>3</sup>  
διαρρηγγυμένου, καὶ πάσας αὐτοῦ τὰς  
θανατοποιοὺς καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιστρατεύοντος  
δυνάμεις, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κυνὸς δίκην

are already pressed by terrible and rotten  
wounds, but he also saved us from the  
depths of death itself. No one else in heaven  
has such power to bring about our  
salvation without harm.

10.4.12 | He alone, having touched our  
heavy suffering, is the only one who bears  
our painful burdens. He alone takes on the  
consequences of our sins, not only the half-  
dead but also those who are completely  
filthy and decaying in graves and tombs.  
With great care, both long ago and now, he  
saves us, going beyond all our hopes. He  
shares the abundance of the good things  
from the Father. He is the life-giver, the  
light-bringer, our great healer, king, and  
lord, Christ of God.

10.4.13 | But then, once in a dark and  
gloomy night, when the whole human race  
was trapped by the actions of wandering  
demons and hateful spirits, he alone  
appeared. Just as a master of wax shapes  
the light according to his will, he broke  
apart the many chains of our sins.

10.4.14 | Now, by such grace and kindness,  
the envious and hard-working demon is  
being torn apart. All his deadly powers  
against us are being called into action. At  
first, like a rabid dog, he tries to bite those  
who are thrown against the stones, and he

λυττῶντος, τοὺς ὁδόντας ἐπὶ τοὺς  
ἀφιεμένους κατ' αὐτοῦ λίθους  
προσαράττοντος, καὶ τὸν κατὰ τῶν  
ἀμυνομένων θυμὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἄψυχα βλήματα  
καθιέντος, τοῖς τῶν προσευκτηρίων λίθοις  
καὶ ταῖς τῶν οἴκων ἀψύχοις ὅλαις τὴν  
Θηριώδη μανίαν ἐπερείσαντος, ἔρημίαν τε,  
ῶς γε δὴ αὐτὸς ἐσευτῷ φέτο, τῶν  
ἐκκλησιῶν ἀπεργασαμένου, εἴτα δὲ δεινὰ  
συρίγματα καὶ τὰς ὄφιώδεις αὐτοῦ φωνὰς,  
τοτὲ μὲν ἀσεβῶν τυράννων ἀπειλαῖς, τοτὲ  
δὲ βλασφήμοις δυσσεβῶν ἀρχόντων  
διατάξειν ἀφιέντος, καὶ προσέτι τὸν  
αὐτοῦ θάνατον ἔξερευγομένου, καὶ τοῖς  
ἰώδεσι καὶ ψυχοφθόροις δηλητηρίοις τὰς  
ἀλισκομένας πρὸς αὐτοῦ ψυχὰς  
φαρμάττοντος, καὶ μονονουχὶ νεκροῦντος  
ταῖς τῶν νεκρῶν είδώλων νεκροποιοῖς  
θυσίαις, πάντα τε ἀνθρωπόμορφον θῆρα  
καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἄγριον καθ' ἡμῶν  
ὑποσαλεύοντος,

directs his anger at lifeless objects. He stirs up the wild madness of the stones of the altars and the lifeless materials of the houses, thinking that he has made the churches desolate. Then he lets out terrible hisses and his serpent-like voices, sometimes threatening the wicked rulers and sometimes allowing the blasphemous commands of the ungodly leaders. He even seeks his own death, poisoning the souls that are caught by his deadly and soul-destroying potions, and he alone kills with the sacrifices of the dead idols. He stirs up every beast that looks like a human and every wild thing against us.

10.4.15 | αὖθις ἔξ ὑπαρχῆς ὁ τῆς μεγάλης  
βουλῆς ἄγγελος, ὁ μέγας ἀρχιστράτηγος  
τοῦ Θεοῦ, μετὰ τὴν αὐτάρκη διαγυμνασίαν,  
ἢν οἱ μέγιστοι τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας  
στρατιῶται διὰ τῆς πρὸς ἄπαντα ὑπομονῆς  
καὶ καρτερίας ἐνεδείξαντο, ἀθρόως οὕτως  
φανεῖς τὰ μὲν ἔχθρὰ καὶ πολέμια εἰς  
ἀφανὲς καὶ τὸ μηδὲν κατεστήσατο, ὡς  
μηδὲ πώποτε ὀνομάσθαι δοκεῖν, τὰ δ'  
αὐτῷ φίλα καὶ οἰκεῖα δόξης ἐπέκεινα παρὰ  
πᾶσιν οὐκ ἀνθρώποις μόνον, ἀλλ' ἥδη καὶ  
δυνάμεσιν οὐρανίοις, ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ  
καὶ ἀστροῖς καὶ τῷ σύμπαντι οὐρανῷ τε  
καὶ κόσμῳ προήγαγεν,

10.4.15 | Again, the angel of the great council, the great commander of God, after the complete preparation, which the greatest soldiers of his kingdom showed through their patience and endurance, appeared all at once. He made the enemies and foes vanish into nothing, so that they would never even be named. But he brought forth the things that were dear and familiar to him, not only among humans but also among heavenly powers, to the sun, moon, stars, and the whole universe and world.

10.4.16 | ὥστε ἥδη, ὁ μηδὲ ἄλλοτέ πω, τοὺς  
πάντων ἀνωτάτω βασιλέας, ἣς λελόγχασι  
παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμῆς συνησθημένους, νεκρῶν

10.4.16 | So now, what has never happened before, the highest king of all, who is honored by him, is trampling on the faces

μὲν είδώλων καταπτύειν προσώποις,  
πατεῖν δ' ἄθεσμα δαιμόνων θέσμια, καὶ  
παλαιᾶς ἀπάτης πατροπαραδότου  
κατεγγελᾶν, ἔνα δὲ αὐτὸν μόνον θεὸν τὸν  
κοινὸν ἀπάντων καὶ ἐαυτῶν εὔεργέτην  
γνωρίζειν, Χριστόν τε τοῦ θεοῦ παῖδα  
παμβασιλέα τῶν δλων ὄμοιογεῖν, σωτῆρά  
τε αὐτὸν ἐν στήλαις ἀναγορεύειν,  
ἀνεξαλείπτω μνήμῃ τὰ κατορθώματα καὶ  
τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν αὐτοῦ νίκας μέση τῇ  
βασιλευούσῃ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς πόλει βασιλικοῖς  
χαρακτῆρσι προσεγγράφοντας, ὡστε  
μόνον τῶν ἔξ αἰώνος Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν  
ἡμῶν σωτῆρα καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς  
ἀνωτάτῳ οὐχ οἴα κοινὸν ἔξ ἀνθρώπων  
βασιλέα γενόμενον ὄμοιογεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' οἴα  
τοῦ καθόλου θεοῦ παῖδα γνήσιον καὶ  
αὐτόθεον προσκυνεῖσθαι, καὶ είκότως.

of dead idols, stepping on the unlawful laws  
of demons, and denouncing the ancient  
deceit handed down by ancestors. He alone  
makes known the one true God, the  
common benefactor of all and of himself,  
and he acknowledges Christ, the son of God,  
as the universal king of all. He proclaims  
him as the savior in the pillars, keeping a  
lasting memory of his achievements and his  
victories over the ungodly. He writes about  
these in the royal city on earth with royal  
characters, so that only Jesus Christ, our  
savior, who has existed since the ages, is  
acknowledged as a king among humans.  
But he is recognized as the true son of the  
whole God and is worshiped as divine, and  
rightly so.

10.4.17 | τίς γὰρ τῶν πώποτε βασιλέων  
τοσοῦτον ἀρετῆς ἡνέγκατο ως πάντων τῶν  
ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀκοὴν καὶ γλῶτταν  
ἔμπλησαι τῆς αὐτοῦ προσηγορίας; τίς  
βασιλεὺς νόμους εὐσεβεῖς οὕτω καὶ  
σώφρονας διαταξάμενος, ἀπὸ περάτων γῆς  
καὶ εἰς ἄκρα τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης εἰς  
ἐπήκοον ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις  
ἀναγινώσκεσθαι διαρκῶς ἐκράτυνεν;

10.4.17 | For who among all the kings has  
shown so much virtue as to fill the ears and  
tongues of all people on earth with his  
name? Which king has established such  
pious and wise laws, making them read  
continuously from the ends of the earth to  
the farthest parts of the whole world for all  
people to hear?

10.4.18 | τίς ἀνημέρων ἔθνῶν ἔθη βάρβαρα  
καὶ ἀνήμερα τοῖς ἡμέροις αὐτοῦ καὶ  
φιλανθρωποτάτοις παρέλυσε νόμοις; τίς  
αἰώσιν ὅλοις ὑπὸ πάντων πολεμούμενος  
τὴν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπον ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείξατο, ως  
ἀνθεῖν δσημέραι καὶ νεάζειν διὰ παντὸς  
τοῦ βίου;

10.4.18 | Who has broken the barbaric and  
wild customs of the nations with his gentle  
and most loving laws? Who, throughout all  
ages, has shown the virtue of being a  
champion for humanity, so that he may  
flourish every day and renew himself  
throughout all of life?

10.4.19 | τίς ἔθνος τὸ μηδ' ἀκουσθὲν ἔξ  
αἰώνος, οὐκ ἐν γωνίᾳ ποι γῆς λεληθὸς, ἀλλὰ

10.4.19 | Which nation, never heard of  
before, has established itself not in a corner

καθ' ὅλης τῆς ὑφ' ἡλίῳ ιδρύσατο; τίς εύσεβείας ὅπλοις οὕτως ἐφράξατο τοὺς στρατιώτας ὡς ἀδάμαντος τὰς ψυχὰς κραταιοτέρους ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἀγῶσι διαφαίνεσθαι;

of the earth, but throughout the whole world under the sun? Who has so armed the soldiers with piety that their souls appear stronger than diamond in battles against their enemies?

10.4.20 | τίς βασιλέων είς τοσοῦτον κρατεῖ καὶ στρατηγεῖ γε μετὰ θάνατον, καὶ τρόπαια κατ' ἔχθρῶν ἵστησι, καὶ πάντα τόπον καὶ χώραν καὶ πόλιν, Ἑλλάδα τε καὶ βάρβαρον, βασιλικῶν οἴκων αὐτοῦ πληροῦ, καὶ θείων ναῶν ἀφιερώμασιν, οἵα τάδε τὰ τοῦδε τοῦ νεώ περικαλλῆ κοσμήματά τε καὶ ἀναθήματα, ἀ καὶ αὐτὰ σεμνὰ μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ μεγάλα, ἐκπλήξεώς τε καὶ θαύματος ἄξια, καὶ οīα τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ήμῶν βασιλείας ἐναργῆ δείγματα, ὅτι καὶ νῦν αὐτὸς εἶπε καὶ ἐγενήθησαν, αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν, — τί γάρ καὶ ἔμελλε τοῦ παμβασιλέως καὶ πανηγυρόνος καὶ αὐτοῦ θεοῦ λόγου ἐνστήσεσθαι τῷ νεύματι; — σχολῆς τε λόγων οἰκείας εἰς ἀκριβῆ θεωρίαν τε καὶ ἐρμηνείαν τυγχάνει δεόμενα·

10.4.20 | Which of the kings is so powerful and leads even after death, setting up trophies against enemies, and filling every place, land, and city, both Greece and the barbarian lands, with his royal houses? And what about the divine temples filled with offerings, like these beautiful decorations and gifts of this temple, which are truly great and worthy of awe and wonder? They are clear signs of our savior's kingdom, since he himself spoke and they came to be, he commanded and they were built. For what would the command of the all-powerful king and leader, and of the god himself, be if not by his will? Words of leisure are needed for a precise understanding and interpretation.

10.4.21 | οὐ μὴν ὅσα καὶ οīα τὰ τῆς τῶν πεπονηκότων προθυμίας κέκριται παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ θεολογουμένῳ, τὸν ἔμψυχον πάντων ήμῶν καθορῶντι ναὸν, καὶ τὸν ἐκ ζώντων λίθων καὶ βεβηκότων οīκον ἐποπτεύοντι, εῦ καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ιδρυμένων ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν, ὃντος ἀκρογωνιαίου λίθου αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν μὲν ούχ οἱ τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ μηκέτ' οὕσης ἐκείνης μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς εἰσέτι νῦν τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων οίκοδομῆς κακοὶ κακῶν ὃντες ἀρχιτέκτονες, δοκιμάσας δὲ ὁ πατήρ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας τῆσδε τῆς κοινῆς ήμῶν ἐκκλησίας

10.4.21 | Indeed, as much as and in what way the zeal of those who have worked is judged by the one who is called divine, who sees the living temple of us all, and who oversees the house made from living stones and the fallen ones, well and securely built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, with Jesus Christ himself as the cornerstone. He was rejected not only by those of the old times, which no longer exist, but also by many of today's builders who are wicked. Yet the Father has approved him and has now established him as the head of the corner of our common church.

ιδρύσατο.

10.4.22 | τοῦτον δὴ οὖν τὸν ἔξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπεσκευασμένον ζῶντος θεοῦ ζῶντα ναὸν — τὸ μέγιστον καὶ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ θεοπρεπὲς Ἱερεῖόν φημι, οὗ τὰ ἐνδοτάτω ἄδυτα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀθεώρητα καὶ ὄντως ἅγια καὶ τῶν ἀγίων ἅγια — τίς ἀν ἐποπτεύσας ἔξειπεν τολμήσειε; τίς δὲ κἄν εἰσκύψαι περιβόλων Ἱερῶν εἴσω δυνατὸς, ὅτι μὴ μόνος ὁ μέ γας τῶν ὅλων ἀρχιερεὺς, ὃ μόνω θέμις πάσης λογικῆς ψυχῆς τὰ ἀπόρρητα διερευνᾶσθαι;

10.4.22 | Therefore, who would dare to speak about this living temple made from you all, which I say is the greatest and truly fitting house of the living God, whose innermost sanctuaries are unseen by most and are truly holy and the holiest of the saints? Who would even be able to look inside the sacred enclosures, knowing that only the great high priest of all, to whom it is lawful for every rational soul to explore the hidden things?

10.4.23 | τάχα δὲ καὶ ἄλλω δευτερεύειν μετὰ τοῦτον ἐνὶ μόνῳ τῶν ἴσων ἐφικτὸν, τῷδε τῷ προκαθημένῳ τῆσδε τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνι, ὃν αὐτὸς ὁ πρῶτος καὶ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς δευτερείοις τῶν τῇδε Ἱερείων τιμήσας, ποιμένα τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐνθέου ποίμνης, ικλήρω καὶ κρίσει τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν ὑμέτερον λαχόντα λαὸν, ὡσὰν θεραπευτὴν καὶ ὑποφήτην αὐτὸς ἐαυτοῦ κατετάξατο, τὸν νέον Ἀαρὼν ἥ Μελχισεδὲκ, ἀφωμοιωμένον τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, μένοντά τε καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τηρούμενον εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς ταῖς κοιναῖς ἀπάντων ὑμῶν εύχαῖς.

10.4.23 | Perhaps it is also possible for another to serve alongside this one, who is the leader of this army, whom the first and great high priest has honored with a secondary role among the priests here. He has appointed him as the shepherd of your holy flock, having chosen your people by the lot and judgment of the Father, just as he himself has arranged for a healer and guide, the young Aaron or Melchizedek, made like the Son of God, remaining and being kept by him forever through the common prayers of you all.

10.4.24 | τούτῳ δὴ οὖν ἔξεστω μόνῳ μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον ἀρχιερέα, εἰ μὴ τὰ πρῶτα, τὰ δεύτερα γοῦν ὅμως ὄρᾶν τε καὶ ἐπισκοπεῖν τῆς ἐνδοτάτω τῶν ὑμετέρων ψυχῶν θεωρίας, πείρα μὲν καὶ χρόνου μήκει ἔκαστον ἀκριβῶς ἔξητακότι, σπουδῇ τε τῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ τοὺς πάντας ὑμᾶς ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ λόγῳ τῷ κατ' εὐσέβειαν διατεθειμένῳ, δυνατῷ τε ὄντι μᾶλλον ἀπάντων, ὃν αὐτὸς σὺν θείᾳ δυνάμει

10.4.24 | Therefore, let this one alone, along with the first and greatest high priest, be allowed to see and oversee the innermost thoughts of your souls, unless it is the first things; at least let him examine each one closely over time, with his own diligence and care for you all in a manner that is orderly and fitting for piety. He is more capable than anyone else, having been prepared by divine power, to give

κατηρτίσατο, τούτων τοῖς ἔργοις  
έφαμίλλως ἀποδοῦναι τοὺς λόγους.

10.4.25 | ὁ μὲν οὖν πρῶτος καὶ μέγας ἡμῶν ἀρχιερεὺς, ὅσα βλέπει τὸν πατέρα ποιοῦντα, ταῦτα, φησὶν, δύοιώς καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ποιεῖ· ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὡσὰν ἐπὶ διδάσκαλον τὸν πρῶτον καθαροῖς νοὸς ὄμμασιν ἀφορῶν, ὅσα βλέπει ποιοῦντα, ὡσὰν ἀρχετύποις χρώμενος παραδείγμασι, τούτων τὰς εἰκόνας, ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα δυνατὸν, εἰς τὸ δύοιούταν δημιουργῶν ἀπειργάσατο, οὐδὲν ἔκεινω καταλιπὼν τῷ Βεσελεὴλ, ὃν αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς πνεύματος ἐμπλήσας σοφίας καὶ συνέσεως καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐντέχνου καὶ ἐπιστημονικῆς γνώσεως, τῆς τῶν οὐρανίων τύπων διὰ συμβόλων ναοῦ κατασκευῆς δημιουργὸν ἀνακέκληται.

10.4.26 | ταύτῃ δ' οὖν καὶ ὅδε Χριστὸν ὅλον, τὸν λόγον, τὴν σοφίαν, τὸ φῶς, ἐν τῇ αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ἀγαλματοφορῶν ψυχῇ, οὐδ' ἔστιν εἴπειν οἵᾳ σὺν μεγαλοφροσύνῃ, πλουσίᾳ τε καὶ ἀπλήστῳ διανοίᾳ χειρὶ, καὶ σὺν οἴᾳ πάντων ὑμῶν φιλοτιμίᾳ, τῇ τῶν εἰσφορῶν μεγαλοψυχίᾳ, τῆς αὐτῆς αὐτῷ προθέσεως κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον ἀπολειφθῆναι φιλονεικότερον μεγαλοφρονούμενων, τὸν μεγαλοπρεπῆ τόνδε θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου νεών, τῷ τοῦ κρείττονος παραδείγματι ὡσὰν ὄρώμενον μὴ ὄρωμένου, τὴν φύσιν ἐμφερῆ συνεστήσατο, χῶρον μὲν τόνδε, ὅτι καὶ ἄξιον εἴπειν πρῶτον ἀπάντων, πάσης οὐ καθαρᾶς ὕλης ἔχθρῶν ἐπιβουλαῖς παραχωρήσας νον οὐ παριδῶν, οὐδὲ τῇ τῶν αἰτίων παραχωρήσας κακίᾳ, ἔξὸν ἐφ' ἔτερον ἐλθόντα, μυρίων ἄλλων εύπορουμένων τῇ πόλει, ῥαστώνην

back the words according to their works.

10.4.25 | The first and greatest high priest among us says that whatever the Father does, the Son does likewise. He himself, as a teacher, looks upon these things with a pure mind, seeing what the Father does, and using archetypal examples to create images that are as similar as possible to the Creator. He leaves nothing to Bezalel, whom God himself filled with the spirit of wisdom and understanding, as well as all other skilled and knowledgeable arts. He is called the creator of the heavenly patterns for the construction of the temple through symbols.

10.4.26 | Therefore, in this way, Christ is all: the Word, the Wisdom, the Light, in his own soul that carries glory. It is hard to express how, with great generosity, a rich and unquenchable mind, and with the ambition of all of you, he does not allow any rivalry to arise in the same intention. He has established this magnificent temple of the Most High God, using the example of what is better, as if seeing what cannot be seen. He has created a nature similar to it, making this space worthy to say that first of all, he has granted it protection from the attacks of all unclean materials, not overlooking them, nor allowing the evil of the causes to take hold. He has come to find rest from toil and to be freed from the burdens of many other things in the city.

εὔρασθαι τοῦ πόνου καὶ πραγμάτων  
ἀπηλλάχθαι.

10.4.27 | ὁ δὲ πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον  
έγείρας, εἴτα δὲ τὸν σύμπαντα λαὸν  
προθυμίᾳ ḥώσας καὶ μίαν ἔξ ἀπάντων  
μεγάλην χεῖρα συναγαγών, πρῶτον ἄθλον  
ἡγωνίζετο, αὐτὴν δὴ μάλιστα τὴν ὑπὸτῶν  
ἔχθρῶν πεπολιορκημένην, αὐτὴν τὴν  
προπονήσασαν, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν καὶ  
πρὸ ἡμῶν διωγμοὺς ὑπομείνασαν, τὴν  
μητρὸς δίκην τῶν τέκνων ἔρημωθεῖσαν  
ἐκκλησίαν συναπολαῦσαι δεῖν οἰόμενος τῆς  
τοῦ παναγάθου μεγαλοδωρεᾶς.

10.4.27 | He first raised himself to the work, then he encouraged the whole people with eagerness and gathered a great hand from all. He was the first to compete for the prize, especially for that which had been besieged by enemies, the one that had been prepared beforehand. He endured the same persecutions as us and before us, believing that the church, which had been left desolate like a mother with her children, should share in the great gifts of the all-good one.

10.4.28 | ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοὺς παῖδας αὗθις ὁ  
μέγας ποιμὴν, τοὺς θῆρας καὶ τοὺς λύκους  
καὶ πᾶν ἀπηνὲς καὶ ἄγριον γένος  
ἀποσοβήσας, καὶ τὰς μύλας τῶν λεόντων, ἥ  
φησι τὰ θεῖα λόγια, συντρίψας, ἐπὶ ταύτον  
αὗθις συνελθεῖν ἡξίωσε, δικαιότατα καὶ τῆς  
ποίμνης τὴν μάνδραν ἀνίστη, τοῦ  
καταισχῦναι ἔχθρὸν καὶ ἐκδικητὴν, καὶ ὡς  
ἄν ἔλεγχον ταῖς θεομάχοις τῶν ἀσεβῶν  
προαγάγοι τόλμαις.

10.4.28 | For when the great shepherd again gathered the children, having driven away the wild beasts, the wolves, and all fierce and savage creatures, and having crushed the jaws of the lions, as the divine words say, he deemed it right to bring them together again. He justly raised up the fold of the flock to shame the enemy and to be a punisher, so that he might confront the boldness of the ungodly who fight against God.

10.4.29 | καὶ νῦν οἱ μὲν οὐκ είσὶν, οἱ  
θεομιστεῖς, ὅτι μηδὲ ἡσαν· εἰς βραχὺ δὲ  
ταράξαντες καὶ ταραχθέντες, εῦθ'  
ὑποσχόντες τιμωρίαν οὐ μεμπτὴν τῇ δίκῃ,  
ἐκαυτοὺς καὶ φίλους καὶ οἴκους ἄρδην  
ἀναστάτους κατέστησαν, ὡς τὰς πάλαι  
στήλαις ἱεραῖς καταγραφείσας προρρήσεις  
ἔργοις πιστὰς ὁμολογεῖσθαι, δι' ὃν τά τε  
ἄλλα ὁ θεῖος ἐπαληθεύει λόγος, ἀτὰρ καὶ  
τάδε περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποφαινόμενος·

10.4.29 | And now, those who hate God are not present, as they never were. But having been disturbed and shaken for a short time, they quickly promised a punishment that is not blameworthy in justice. They completely turned their own selves, friends, and homes upside down, as if the ancient sacred pillars had been recorded in prophecies to be faithfully acknowledged by deeds, through which the divine word confirms all other things, and also these

things concerning them are revealed.

10.4.30 | “ρομφαίαν ἐσπάσαντο οἱ ἀμαρτωλοὶ, ἐνέτειναν τόξον αὐτῶν, τοῦ καταβαλεῖν πτωχὸν καὶ πένητα, τοῦ σφάξαι τοὺς εὐθεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ· ἡ ρομφαία αὐτῶν εἰσέλθοι εἰς καρδίαν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ τόξα αὐτῶν συντριβείη.” καὶ πάλιν “ἀπώλετο τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτῶν μετ’ ἥχου, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν ἔξήλειψας εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος· ὅτι δὴ καὶ ἐν κακοῖς γενόμενοι ἐκέκραξαν, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ σώζων, πρὸς κύριον, καὶ οὐκ εἰσήκουσεν αὐτῶν. ἀλλ’ οὗ μὲν συνεποδίσθησαν καὶ ἔπεσον, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνέστημεν καὶ ἀνωρθώθημεν.” καὶ τό γε ἐν τούτοις προαναφωνοῦν ‘κύριε, ἐν τῇ πόλει σου τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτῶν ἔξουδενώσεις’ ἀληθὲς ὑπ’ ὁφθαλμοῖς πάντων ἀναπέφανται.

10.4.31 | ἀλλ’ οὗ μὲν γιγάντων τρόπον θεομαχίαν ἐνστησάμενοι τοιαύτην εἰλήχασι τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφήν· τῆς δὲ ἐρήμου καὶ παρ’ ἀνθρώποις ἀπεγνωσμένης τοιαῦτα οἷα τὰ ὄρώμενα τῆς κατὰ θεὸν ὑπομονῆς τὰ τέλη, ὡς ἀναφωνεῖν αὐτῇ τὴν προφητείαν Ἡσαίου ταῦτα

10.4.32 | “εὔφράνθητι ἔρημος διψῶσα, ἀγαλλιάσθω ἔρημος, καὶ ἀνθείτω ὡς κρίνον· καὶ ἔξανθήσει καὶ ἀγαλλιάσεται τὰ ἔρημα. ἴσχύσατε χεῖρες ἀνειμέναι καὶ γόνατα παραλελυμένα· παρακαλέσατε, ὀλιγόψυχοι τῇ διανοίᾳ, ἴσχύσατε, μὴ φοβεῖσθε. ἴδού ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν κρίσιν ἀνταποδίδωσι καὶ ἀνταποδώσει, αὐτὸς ἤξει καὶ σώσει ἡμᾶς· ὅτι, φησὶν, ἔρραγη ἐν

10.4.30 | "The sinners broke their swords, they bent their bows to strike down the poor and needy, to kill the upright in heart. Let their sword enter their own hearts, and let their bows be broken." And again, "Their memory perished with a sound, and their name you have wiped out forever, and forever and ever; for indeed, even when they were in trouble, they cried out, but there was no savior. They cried to the Lord, and he did not listen to them. But they fell and were defeated, while we rose up and were restored." And indeed, in these things it is proclaimed, "Lord, in your city, you will bring their image to nothing," which has been truly revealed before the eyes of all.

10.4.31 | But they, having set themselves against God in a way like giants, have brought about such destruction of life. And in the wilderness and among people who have lost hope, such things are seen as the ends of patience according to God, so that they might cry out to her the prophecy of Isaiah.

10.4.32 | Rejoice, you thirsty wilderness; let the desert be glad and bloom like a lily. It will blossom and rejoice, the dry places will be strong. Strengthen the weak hands and steady the trembling knees; encourage the faint-hearted, be strong, do not be afraid. Look, our God will bring justice and will come to save us. For, he says, water will break forth in the wilderness, and streams

τῇ ἑρήμῳ ὕδωρ, καὶ φάραγξ ἐν γῇ διψώσῃ,  
καὶ ἡ ἄνυδρος ἔσται εἰς ἔλη, καὶ εἰς τὴν  
διψῶσαν γῆν πηγὴ ὕδατος ἔσται.”

in the thirsty land, and the dry land will become a marsh, and in the thirsty ground, there will be a spring of water.

10.4.33 | καὶ τάδε μὲν λόγοις πάλαι προθεσπισθέντα βίβλοις ἱεραῖς καταβέβλητο· τά γε μὴν ἔργα οὐκέτ’ ἀκοαῖς, ἀλλ’ ἔργοις ἡμῖν παραδέδοται. ἡ ἔρημος ἥδε, ἡ ἄνυδρος, ἡ χήρα καὶ ἀπερίστατος, ἡς ὡς ἐν δρυμῷ ξύλων ἀξίναις ἔξεκοψαν τὰς πύλας ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, ἐν πέλυκι καὶ λαξευτηρίῳ συντρίψαντες αὐτὴν, ἡς καὶ τὰς βίβλους διαφθείραντες, ἐνεπύρισαν ἐν πυρὶ τὸ ἀγιαστήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐβεβήλωσαν τὸ σκήνωμα τοῦ ὄντος αὐτοῦ, ἥν ἐτρύγγησαν πάντες οἱ παραπορευόμενοι τὴν ὁδὸν, προκαθελόντες αὐτῆς τοὺς φραγμοὺς, ἥν ἐλυμήνατο ὅς ἐκ δρυμοῦ, καὶ μονιὸς ἄγριος κατενεμήσατο, Χριστοῦ δυνάμει παραδόξων νῦν, ὅτε θέλει αὐτὸς, γέγονεν ὡς κρίνον· ἐπεὶ καὶ τότε αὐτοῦ νεύματι, ὡσὰν προκηδομένου πατρὸς, ἐπαιδεύετο· ὃν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ κύριος, παιδεύει, μαστιγοῦ δὲ πάντα σιὸν ὃν παραδέχεται.

10.4.33 | And these things have long been foretold in sacred books; but the deeds are no longer just words, they have been handed over to us as actions. This wilderness, this dry land, this widow and forsaken place, where they cut down the gates like trees with axes, and crushed it in a furnace and quarry, where they also destroyed the books, and burned the sanctuary of God with fire, and defiled the dwelling of his name on the earth. All who passed by the way have plucked it up, removing its barriers; it was trampled by swine from the forest, and a wild beast lay down in it. But now, by the strange power of Christ, when he wishes, it has become like a lily; for even then, at his command, like a beloved father, he was educating it. For whom the Lord loves, he disciplines, and he punishes every son whom he accepts.

10.4.34 | μέτρῳ δῆτα κατὰ τὸ δέον ἐπιστραφεῖσα, αὕθις ἄνωθεν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀγαλλιῶν προστάττεται, ἔξανθεῖ τε ὡς κρίνον, καὶ τῆς ἐνθέου εύωδίας εἰς πάντας ἀποπνεῖ ἀνθρώπους· ὅτι, φησὶν, ἔρραγη ἐν τῇ ἑρήμῳ ὕδωρ, τὸ νᾶμα τῆς θείας τοῦ σωτηρίου λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας· καὶ νῦν γέγονεν ἡ πρὸ μικροῦ ἔρημος εἰς ἔλη, καὶ εἰς τὴν διψῶσαν γῆν ἐβρυσε πηγὴ ὕδατος ζῶντος· ἵσχυσάν τε ὡς ἀληθῶς χεῖρες αἱ τὸ πρὶν ἀνειμέναι, καὶ τῆς τῶν χειρῶν ἴσχύος ἔργα τάδε τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἐναργῆ δείγματα· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πάλαι σεσαθρωμένα καὶ παρειμένα γόνατα τὰς οίκειας ἀπολαβόντα

10.4.34 | Indeed, having turned back as needed, it is commanded again from above to rejoice, and it will bloom like a lily, and the divine fragrance will breathe out to all people. For, he says, water will break forth in the wilderness, the stream of the divine bath of salvation and rebirth. And now, the wilderness that was before has become a marsh, and in the thirsty land, a spring of living water has burst forth. The hands that were once weak have gained strength, and these great and clear works show the power of their hands. But also, the knees that were once weak and bent have taken

βάσεις, τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς θεογνωσίας εύθυποροῦντα βαδίζει, ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ποίμνην τοῦ παναγάθου ποιμένος σπεύδοντα.

10.4.35 | εἴ δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῶν τυράννων ἀπειλαῖς τὰς ψυχάς τινες ἀπενάρκησαν, οὐδὲ τούτους ὁ σωτήριος ἀθεραπεύτους παρορᾶ λόγος· εὗ μάλα δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ίώμενος εἰς τὴν τοῦ θείου παράκλησιν παρορμᾷ λέγων·

10.4.36 | “παρακαλέσατε, οἱ ὄλιγόψυχοι τῇ διανοίᾳ, ἰσχύσατε, μὴ φοβεῖσθε.” τούτων δεῖν ἀπολαῦσαι τὴν διὰ θεὸν γενομένην ἔρημον, τοῦ λόγου προαγορεύοντος ἐπακούσας ὥξειά διανοίας ἀκοῇ οὗτος ὁ νέος ἡμῶν καὶ καλὸς Ζοροβάβελ, 5 μετὰ τὴν πικρὰν ἔκεινην αἰχμαλωσίαν καὶ τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἑρημώσεως οὐ παριδών τὸ πτῶμα νεκρὸν, πρώτιστα πάντων παρακλήσει καὶ λιταῖς ἔλεων τὸν πατέρα μετὰ τῆς κοινῆς ὑμῶν ἀπάντων ὅμοφροσύνης καταστησάμενος, καὶ τὸν μόνον νεκρῶν ζωοποιὸν σύμμαχον παραλαβὼν καὶ συνεργὸν, τὴν πεσοῦσαν ἔξήγειρε, προαποκαθάρας καὶ προθεραπεύσας τῶν κακῶν· καὶ στολὴν οὐ τὴν ἔξ ἀρχαίου παλαιὰν αὐτῇ περιτέθεικεν, ἀλλ’ ὅποιαν αὐθίς παρὰ τῶν θείων χρησμῶν ἔξεπαιδεύετο, σαφῶς ὥδε λεγόντων “καὶ ἔσται ἡ δόξα τοῦ οἴκου τούτου ἡ ἐσχάτη, ὑπὲρ τὴν προτέραν.”

10.4.37 | ταύτῃ δ’ οὖν πολὺ μείζονα τὸν χῶρον ἄπαντα περιλαβὼν, τὸν μὲν ἔξωθεν ὡχυροῦτο περίβολον τῷ τοῦ παντὸς περιτειχίσματι, ὡς ἀν ἀσφαλέστατον εἴη

their own foundations, walking steadily on the path of knowing God, rushing toward the own flock of the most good shepherd.

10.4.35 | But if some souls have been weakened by the threats of tyrants, even these are not overlooked by the saving word; indeed, it encourages them well, urging them toward the divine comfort, saying:

10.4.36 | ‘Be encouraged, you who are faint-hearted, be strong, do not be afraid.’ It is necessary to enjoy the wilderness that has come through God, listening to the word that speaks with sharpness of mind. This young and beautiful Zerubbabel, after that bitter captivity and the horror of desolation, did not overlook the dead body, but first of all, he established the father with the common unity of all of you, making pleas and prayers. And taking the only life-giving ally among the dead, he raised up the fallen, having first cleansed and healed the evils. And he did not put on the old garment from ancient times, but the one he learned again from the divine oracles, clearly saying, ‘And the glory of this house will be greater than the former.’

10.4.37 | Therefore, having taken in all this much greater space, he fortified the outer area with a wall all around, so that it would be the safest protection for everything.

τοῦ παντὸς ἔρκος.

10.4.38 | πρόπυλον δὲ μέγα καὶ εἰς ὑψος  
ἐπηρμένον πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀνίσχοντος ἥλιου  
ἀκτῖνας ἀναπετάσας, ἥδη καὶ τοῖς μακρὰν  
περιβόλων ἔξω ἱερῶν ἐστῶσι τῆς τῶν  
ἔνδον παρέσχεν ἀφθονίαν θέας, μονονούχῃ  
καὶ τῶν ἄλλοτρίων τῆς πίστεως ἐπὶ τὰς  
πρώτας εἰσόδους ἐπιστρέψων τὰς ὅψεις,  
ώς ἂν μὴ παρατρέχοι τις, ὅτι μὴ τὴν ψυχὴν  
κατανυγεῖς πρότερον μνήμῃ τῆς τε πρὶν :  
έρημίας, καὶ τῆς νῦν παραδόξου  
θαυματουργίας, ὑφ' ἣς τάχα καὶ  
ἐλκυσθήσεσθαι κατανυγέντα, καὶ πρὸς  
αὐτῆς τῆς ὅψεως ἐπὶ τὴν εἴσοδον  
προτραπήσεσθαι ἥλπισεν.

10.4.38 | And he raised a great gateway,  
lifted high to meet the rays of the sun as it  
rises. This already provided a rich view to  
those standing far outside the walls of the  
sacred places, turning their faces toward  
the first entrances, so that no one might  
rush by, feeling their soul touched by the  
memory of the earlier desolation and the  
now strange miracle, by which perhaps  
they would be drawn in, hoping to turn  
their gaze toward the entrance.

10.4.39 | εἴσω δὲ παρελθόντι πυλῶν, οὐκ  
εύθὺς ἐφῆκεν ἀνάγνοις καὶ ἀνίπτοις ποσὶ  
τῶν ἔνδον ἐπιβαίνειν ἀγίων, διαλαβὼν δὲ  
πλεῖστον ὅσον τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε νεώ καὶ  
τῶν πρώτων εἰσόδων, τέτταροι μὲν πέριξ  
έγκαρσίοις κατεκόσμησε στοαῖς, εἰς  
τετράγωνόν τι σχῆμα περιφράξας τὸν  
τόπον, κίσι πανταχόθεν ἐπαιρομέναις, ὡς  
τὰ μέσα διαφράγμασι τοῖς ἀπὸ ξύλου  
δικτυωτοῖς ἐς τὸ σύμμετρον ἥκουσι μήκους  
περικλείσας, μέσον αἴθριον ἡφίει εἰς τὴν  
τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κάτοψιν, λαμπρὸν καὶ ταῖς  
τοῦ φωτὸς ἀκτῖσιν ἀνειμένον ἀέρα  
παρέχον.

10.4.39 | Once inside the gates, he did not  
allow those who entered to walk straight  
into the holy places with bare and  
uncovered feet. Instead, he created a large  
space between the temple and the first  
entrances. He decorated it with four  
colonnades all around, enclosing the area in  
a square shape, with columns rising from  
all sides. The middle area was closed off  
with wooden screens to create a balanced  
length, opening up to the view of the sky  
above, bright and filled with the air touched  
by the rays of light.

10.4.40 | ἱερῶν δ' ἐνταῦθα καθαρσίων  
ἐτίθει σύμβολα, κρήνας ἄντικρυς εἰς  
πρόσωπον ἐπισκευάζων τοῦ νεώ, πολλῷ  
τῷ χεύματι τοῦ νάματος τοῖς περιβόλων  
ἱερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔσω προιοῦσι τὴν ἀπόρρυψιν  
παρεχομένας. καὶ πρώτη μὲν εἰσιόντων  
αὕτη διατριβὴ, κόσμον ὄμοῦ καὶ ἀγλαίαν

10.4.40 | Here, he placed symbols of  
purification for the sacred places, building  
fountains directly in front of the temple,  
providing a flow of water that offered a  
cleansing for those entering the sacred  
areas. This was the first stop for those  
coming in, bringing beauty and splendor to

τῷ παντὶ, τοῖς τε τῶν πρώτων είσαγωγῶν  
ἔτι δεομένοις κατάλληλον τὴν μονὴν  
παρεχομένη.

10.4.41 | ἀλλὰ γάρ καὶ τὴν τούτων θέαν  
παραμεψάμενος, πλείοσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον τοῖς  
ἐνδοτάτω προπύλοις τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν νεών  
παρόδους ἀναπεπταμένας ἐποίει, ὑπὸ μὲν  
ταῖς ἡλίου βολαῖς αὐθίς τρεῖς πύλας ὑφ' ἔν  
καταθεὶς πλευρὸν, ὃν τὸ πολὺ τὰς παρ'  
ἐκάτερα μεγέθει τε καὶ πλάτει πλεονεκτεῖν  
τῇ μέσῃ χαρισάμενος, παραπήγμασί τε  
χαλκοῦ σιδηροδέτοις καὶ ποικίλμασιν  
ἀναγλύφοις διαφερόντως αὐτὴν  
φαιδρύνας, ὡσὰν βασιλίδι ταύτῃ τοὺς  
δορυφόρους ὑπέζευξε.

10.4.42 | τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ ταῖς παρ'  
ἐκάτερα τοῦ παντὸς νεώ στοαῖς τὸν τῶν  
προπύλων ἀριθμὸν διατάξας, ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
ταύταις ἄλλῳ πλείονι φωτὶ διαφόρους τὰς  
ἐπὶ τὸν οἴκον είσβολας ἐπενόει, ταῖς ἀπὸ  
ξύλου λεπτουργίαις καὶ τὸν περὶ αὐτὰς  
κόσμον καταποικίλων. τὸν δὲ βασίλειον  
οἴκον πλουσιωτέραις ἥδη καὶ δαψιλέσι ταῖς  
ϋλαις ὡχύρου, ἀφθόνῳ φιλοτιμίᾳ τῶν  
ἀναλωμάτων χρώμενος.

10.4.43 | ἐνθα μοι δοκῶ περιττὸν εἶναι τοῦ  
δομῆματος μήκη τε καὶ πλάτη  
καταγράφειν, τὰ φαιδρὰ ταῦτα κάλλη, καὶ  
τὰ λόγου κρείττονα μεγέθη, τὴν τε τῶν  
ἔργων ἀποστίλβουσαν ὅψιν τῷ λόγῳ  
διεξιόντι, ὕψη τε τὰ ούρανομήκη, καὶ τὰς  
τούτων ὑπερκειμένας πολυτελεῖς τοῦ  
Λιβάνου κέδρους, ὃν ούδε τὸ θεῖον λόγιον  
τὴν μνήμην ἀπεσιώπησιν·  
“εὔφρανθήσεται” φάσκον “τὰ ξύλα τοῦ  
κυρίου, καὶ αἱ κέδροι τοῦ Λιβάνου ἄς

all, and it also provided a fitting place for  
those who were still seeking to enter.

10.4.41 | But he also, having considered  
their goddess, made the paths to the temple  
more numerous and wider at the inner  
gates. Under the rays of the sun, he placed  
three gates on one side, making the middle  
one larger in size and width. He decorated  
it differently with bronze fittings and  
colorful carvings, brightening it up, as if he  
were adorning a queen with her  
attendants.

10.4.42 | In the same way, he arranged the  
number of colonnades by the temple,  
adding more light above them for the  
entrances to the building. He decorated  
them with fine wooden work and colorful  
designs around them. He made the royal  
house richer and more lavish, using  
abundant materials with a generous spirit.

10.4.43 | Here, I think it is unnecessary to  
describe the lengths and widths of the  
building, since these beautiful features and  
the greater sizes of the words shine  
through in the work itself. The heights  
reach the sky, and the luxurious cedars of  
Lebanon rise above them, of which even  
the divine saying does not forget: 'The trees  
of the Lord will rejoice, and the cedars of  
Lebanon which he has planted.'

έφύτευσε.”

10.4.44 | τί με δεῖ νῦν τῆς πανσόφου καὶ ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς διατάξεως καὶ τοῦ κάλλους τῆς ἐφ' ἐκάστου μέρους ὑπερβολῆς ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι τὴν ὑφήγησιν, ὅτε τῆς ὄψεως τὴν διὰ τῶν ὥτων ἀποκλείει μάθησιν ἡ μαρτυρία; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὡδεὶς καὶ τὸν νεών ἐπιτελέσας, θρόνοις τε τοῖς ἀνωτάτων εἰς τὴν τῶν προέδρων τιμὴν, καὶ προσέτι βάθροις ἐν τάθει τοῖς καθ' ὅλους κατὰ τὸ πρέπον κοσμήσας, ἐφ' ἄπασί τε τὸ τῶν ἀγίων ἄγιον θυσιαστήριον ἐν μέσῳ θεὶς, αὐθις καὶ τάδε, ὡς ἂν εἴη τοῖς πολλοῖς ἄβατα, τοῖς ἀπὸ ξύλου περιέφραττε δικτύοις, εἰς ἄκρον ἐντέχνου λεπτουργίας ἔξησκημένοις, ὡς θαυμάσιον τοῖς ὁρῶσι παρέχειν τὴν θέαν.

10.4.44 | Why should I now explain in detail the wise and architectural arrangement and the beauty of each part, when the testimony blocks the understanding through sight? For, having completed the temple, he set up thrones for the highest honors of the leaders, and also decorated the bases in a fitting way. In the middle, he placed the holy altar of all the saints. Again, he made these things so that they might seem inaccessible to many, surrounding them with wooden nets, skillfully crafted to provide a wonderful sight for those who see.

10.4.45 | ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούδαφος ἄρα εἰς ἀμελὲς ἔκειτο αὐτῷ· καὶ τόδε γοῦν λίθῳ μαρμάρῳ εὗ μάλα κόσμῳ παντὶ λαμπρύνας, ἥδη λοιπὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς τοῦ νεώ μετήει, ἔξεδρας καὶ οἴκους τοὺς παρ' ἐκάτερα μεγίστους ἐπισκευάζων εὐτέχνως, ἐπὶ ταυτὸν εἰς πλευρὰ τῷ βασιλείῳ συνεζευγμένους καὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ μέσον οἴκον εἰσβολαῖς ἡνωμένους· ἀ καὶ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἔτι καθάρσεως καὶ πειρραντηρίων τῶν διὰ ὕδατος καὶ ἀγίου πνεύματος ἐγχρήζουσιν ὃ εἱρηνικώτατος ἡμῶν Σολομῶν ὃ τὸν νεών τοῦ θεοῦ δειμάμενος ἀπειργάζετο, ὡς μηκέτι λόγον, ἀλλ' ἔργον γεγονέναι τὴν ἄνω λεχθεῖσαν προφητείαν.

10.4.45 | But neither was the foundation left careless for him. And this, at least, he adorned very well with marble stone, already shining even beyond the temple. He skillfully repaired the largest porches and houses on either side, connecting them to the royal side and joining them with the entrances to the middle house. These also were for the purification and sprinkling with water and holy spirit, which our most peaceful Solomon, fearing for the temple of God, was preparing, so that it would no longer be just a saying, but a work that fulfilled the prophecy mentioned above.

10.4.46 | Γέγονε γὰρ καὶ νῦν, ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα τοῦ οἴκου τούτου ἡ ἐσχάτη ὑπὲρ τὴν προτέραν. ἔδει γὰρ καὶ ἀκόλουθον ἦν, τοῦ ποιμένος αὐτῆς καὶ

10.4.46 | For it has now happened that the glory of this house is truly greater than the former. For it was fitting that, once the shepherd and lord of it accepted death for

δεσπότου ἄπαξ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς θάνατον καταδεξαμένου, καὶ μετὰ τὸ πάθος ὃ χάριν αὐτῆς ῥυποῦν ἐνεδύσατο σῶμα, ἐπὶ τὸ λαμπρὸν καὶ ἔνδοξον μεταβεβληκότος, αὐτήν τε σάρκα τὴν λυθεῖσαν ἐκ φθορᾶς εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν ἀγαγόντος, καὶ τήνδε δομοίως τῶν τοῦ σωτῆρος οἰκονομιῶν ἐπαύρασθαι· ὅτι δὴ καὶ τούτων πολὺ κρείττονα λαβοῦσσα παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, τὴν πολὺ μείζονα δόξαν τῆς παλιγγενεσίας ἐν ἀφθάρτου σώματος ἀναστάσει μετὰ φωτὸς ἀγγέλων χορείας ἐν τοῖς οὐρανῶν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλείοις σὺν αὐτῷ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦν τῷ πανευεργέτῃ καὶ σωτῆρι διαρκῶς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔχῆς αἰῶνας ἀπολαβεῖν ποθεῖ.

it, after the suffering he took on a body that was stained for its sake, he was transformed into something bright and glorious, bringing the flesh that was freed from decay into immortality. And likewise, he was to be involved in these works of the Savior. Indeed, having received much better promises from him, she hopes to gain the much greater glory of the resurrection in an incorruptible body, with a shining choir of angels in the heavens, beyond the kingdom of God, along with Christ Jesus, the ever-benefactor and savior, to receive forever in the ages to come.

10.4.47 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ τέως ἐπὶ τού παρόντος τούτοις ἡ πάλαι χήρα καὶ ἔρημος θεοῦ χάριτι περιβληθεῖσα τοῖς ἄνθεσι γέγονεν ἀληθῶς ὡς κρίνον, ἢ φησιν ἡ προφητεία, καὶ τὴν νυμφικὴν ἀναλαβοῦσσα στολὴν, τὸν τε τῆς εὐπρεπείας περιθεμένη στέφανον, οἵα χορεύειν διὰ Ήσαίου παιδεύεται, τὰ χαριστήρια τῷ βασιλεῖ θεῷ φωναῖς εὐφήμοις γεραίρουσα, αὐτῆς λεγούσης ἐπακούσωμεν

10.4.47 | But indeed, even now, this once barren and desolate widow of God, clothed with grace, has truly become like a lily, as the prophecy says. And taking up the bridal attire, she puts on the crown of beauty, as she is taught to dance through Isaiah, offering gifts to the king God with pleasing voices, saying, 'Let us listen to her.'

10.4.48 | “ἄγαλλιάσθω ἡ ψυχή μου ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ· ἐνέδυσε γάρ με ἴμάτιον σωτηρίου καὶ χιτῶνα εὐφροσύνης· περιέθηκε μοι ὡς νυμφίῳ μίτραν, καὶ ὡς νύμφην κατεκόσμησε με κόσμῳ, καὶ ὡς γῆν αὔξουσαν τὸ ἄνθος αὐτῆς· καὶ ὡς κῆπος τὰ σπέρματα αὐτοῦ ἀνατελεῖ, οὕτως κύριος κύριος ἀνέτειλε δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀγαλλίαμα ἐνώπιον πάντων τῶν ἔθνῶν.”

10.4.48 | Let my soul rejoice in the Lord; for he has clothed me with the garment of salvation and the robe of joy. He has wrapped me like a bridegroom with a crown, and like a bride, he has adorned me with beauty, and like the earth that brings forth its flowers. And like a garden that makes its seeds grow, so the Lord has brought forth righteousness and joy before all the nations.

10.4.49 | τούτοις μὲν οὖν αὕτη χορεύει· οἵοις δὲ καὶ ὁ νυμφίος λόγος ὁ οὐράνιος, αὐτὸς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς αὐτὴν ἀμείβεται, ἀκουε λέγοντος κυρίου "μὴ φοβοῦ ὅτι κατησχύνθης, μηδὲ ἐντραπῆς ὅτι ὥνειδισθης· ὅτι αἰσχύνην αἰώνιον ἐπιλήσῃ, καὶ ὄνειδος τῆς χρείας σου οὐ μὴ μνησθήσῃ. οὐχ ὡς γυναῖκα ἐγκαταλειμμένην καὶ ὀλιγόψυχον κέκληκέ σε κύριος, οὐδὲ ὡς γυναῖκα ἔκ νεότητος μεμισημένην, εἴπεν ὁ Θεός σου. χρόνον μικρὸν ἐγκατέλιπόν σε, καὶ ἐν ἑλέῳ μεγάλῳ ἐλεήσω σε· ἐν θυμῷ μικρῷ ἀπέ στρέψα τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἀπὸ σοῦ, καὶ ἐν ἑλέῳ αἰώνιῳ ἐλεήσω σε, εἴπεν ὁ ῥυσάμενός σε κύριος.

10.4.50 | ἔξεγείρου, ἔξεγείρου ἡ πιοῦσα ἐκ χειρὸς κυρίου τὸ ποτήριον τού θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ· ποτήριον γὰρ τῆς πτώσεως, τὸ κόνδυ τοῦ θυμοῦ μου, ἔξεπιες καὶ ἔξεκένωσας, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ παρακαλῶν σε ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν τέκνων σου ὃν ἔτεκες, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἀντιλαμβανόμενος τῆς χειρός σου. ίδοὺ εἴληφα ἐκ τῆς χειρός σου τὸ ποτήριον τῆς πτώσεως, τὸ κόνδυ τοῦ θυμοῦ μου, καὶ οὐ προσθήσεις ἔτι πιεῖν αὐτό· καὶ δώσω αὐτὸς εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν ἀδικησάντων σε καὶ τῶν ταπεινωσάντων σε.

10.4.51 | ἔξεγείρου, ἔξεγείρου, ἔνδυσαι τὴν ἴσχυν, ἔνδυσαι τὴν δόξαν σου. ἐκτίναξαι τὸν χοῦν καὶ ἀνάστηθι. κάθισον, ἔκλυσαι τὸν δεσμὸν τοῦ τραχήλου σου. ἄρον κύκλω τοὺς ὄφθαλμούς σου καὶ ἵδε συνηγμένα τὰ τέκνα σου· ίδοὺ συνήχθησαν καὶ ἥλθον πρός σε· ζῶ ἐγὼ, λέγει κύριος, ὅτι πάντας αὐτοὺς ὡς κόσμον ἐνδύσῃ καὶ περιθήσῃ αὐτοὺς ὡς κόσμον νύμφης, ὅτι τὰ ἔρημά

10.4.49 | Therefore, she dances with these. And the heavenly bridegroom, Jesus Christ himself, responds to her, saying, 'Do not be afraid, for you have not been put to shame, nor should you feel embarrassed because you have been insulted; for you will forget the shame of your youth, and you will not remember the disgrace of your widowhood. The Lord has called you not as a forsaken and troubled woman, nor as one hated from her youth,' says your God. 'I left you for a little while, but with great mercy I will help you. In a moment of anger, I hid my face from you, but with everlasting kindness, I will have compassion on you,' says the Lord who has redeemed you.

10.4.50 | Awake, awake! You who have drunk from the hand of the Lord the cup of his anger; for you have drunk the cup of ruin, the bowl of my anger, and you have drained it. And there was no one to comfort you from all your children whom you bore, and there was no one to take your hand. Look, I have taken from your hand the cup of ruin, the bowl of my anger, and you will no longer drink it. I will give it into the hands of those who have wronged you and humiliated you.

10.4.51 | Awake, awake! Put on your strength, put on your glory. Shake off the dust and rise up. Sit down, free yourself from the chains around your neck. Lift up your eyes all around and see your gathered children; look, they have come to you. As I live, says the Lord, you will dress them all like a beautiful garment and adorn them like a bride, for your desolate places and

σου καὶ τὰ διεφθαρμένα καὶ τὰ  
καταπεπτωκότα νῦν στενοχωρήσει ἀπὸ  
τῶν κατοικούντων σε· καὶ μακρυνθήσονται  
ἀπὸ σοῦ οἱ καταπίνοντές σε.

your ruined lands will now be too small for  
those who live in you; and those who have  
swallowed you up will be far away from  
you.

10.4.52 | ἔροῦσι γὰρ εἰς τὰ ὡτά σου οὗτοί  
σου οὓς ἀπολώλεκας, στενός μοι ὁ τόπος,  
ποίησόν μοι τόπον ἵνα κατοικήσω. καὶ  
ἔρεῖς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου, τίς ἐγέννησέ μοι  
τούτους; ἐγὼ δὲ ἄτεκνος καὶ χήρα, τούτους  
δὲ τίς ἔξεθρεψέ μοι; ἐγὼ δὲ κατελείφθην  
μόνη, οὗτοι δέ μοι ποῦ ἥσαν;"

10.4.52 | For your sons will say to your  
ears, 'The place is too tight for me; make  
room for me to live.' And you will say in  
your heart, 'Who has given me these? I am  
childless and a widow; who has raised  
these for me? I have been left alone; where  
have these been?'

10.4.53 | ταῦτα Ἡσαΐας προεθέσπισε,  
ταῦτα πρόπαλαι περὶ ἡμῶν ἐν Ἱεραῖς  
βίβλοις καταβέβλητο, ἔχρην δέ που τούτων  
τὴν ἀψεύδειαν ἥδη ποτὲ ἔργοις  
παραλαβεῖν.

10.4.53 | These things Isaiah has foretold;  
these were written long ago about us in  
sacred books. It was necessary at some  
point to receive the truth of these things  
through actions.

10.4.54 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα τοῦ νυμφίου  
λόγου πρὸς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ νύμφην τὴν Ἱερὰν  
καὶ ἀγίαν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιφωνοῦντος,  
εἰκότως ὁ νυμφοστόλος ὅδε αὐτὴν τὴν  
ἔρημον, τὴν πτῶμα κειμένην, τὴν παρὰ  
ἀνθρώποις ἀνέλπιδα, ταῖς κοιναῖς ἀπάντων  
ἡμῶν εὐχαῖς, χεῖρας τὰς ὡμῶν αὐτῶν  
όρεξας, ἔξηγειρε καὶ ἔξανέστησε, θεοῦ τοῦ  
παμβασιλέως νεύματι καὶ τῆς Ἰησοῦ  
Χριστοῦ δυνάμεως ἐπιφανείᾳ, τοιαύτην τε  
ἀναστήσας κατεστήσατο, οἷαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν  
ἱερῶν χρησμῶν καταγραφῆς ἐδιδάσκετο.

10.4.54 | But as the bridegroom speaks to  
his holy and sacred bride, the church, it is  
fitting that this messenger raises her, who  
lies in desolation, who is without hope  
among people. With the common prayers of  
all of you, he stretches out his own hands,  
awakens her, and lifts her up, by the  
command of God the King and the power of  
the appearance of Jesus Christ, establishing  
her in such a way as she was taught from  
the records of the sacred oracles.

10.4.55 | Θαῦμα μὲν οὖν μέγιστον τοῦτο καὶ  
πέρα πάσης ἐκπλήξεως, μάλιστα τοῖς ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
μόνῃ τῇ τῶν ἔξωθεν φαντασίᾳ τὸν νοῦν  
προσανέχουσι. Θαυμάτων δὲ  
θαυμασιώτερα τά τε ἀρχέτυπα, καὶ τούτων  
τὰ πρωτότυπα νοητὰ καὶ θεοπρεπῆ

10.4.55 | This is indeed a great wonder,  
beyond all amazement, especially for those  
who only rely on the imagination from  
outside. But there are even more wonderful  
wonders, both the original patterns and the  
first examples that are spiritual and divine,

παραδείγματα, τῆς ἐνθέου φημὶ παὶ λογικῆς ἐν ψυχαῖς οἰκοδομῆς ἀνανεώματα·

which I say are renewals of the divine and rational building in souls.

10.4.56 | ἦν αὐτὸς ὁ θεόπαις κατ' εἰκόνα τὴν αὐτὸς αύτοῦ δημιουργήσας, πάντῃ τε καὶ κατὰ πάντα τὸ θεοείκελον δεδωρημένος, ἄφθαρτον φύσιν, ἀσώματον, λογικὴν, πάσης γεώδους ὕλης ἀλλοτρίαν, αὐτονοερὰν ούσιαν, ἅπαξ τὸ πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι συστησάμενος, νύμφην ἀγίαν καὶ νεών πανίερον ἐσυντῷ τε καὶ τῷ πατρὶ κατειργάσατο. ὃ καὶ σαφῶς αὐτὸς ὄμολογῶν ἐκφαίνει, λέγων “ἐνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσω, καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτῶν θεὸς, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονται μοι λαός.” καὶ τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ τελεία καὶ κεκαθαρμένη ψυχὴ, ἀρχῆθεν οὕτω γεγενημένη, οἵα τὸν οὐράνιον λόγον ἀγαλματοφορεῖν.

10.4.56 | He himself, the divine creator, made her in his own image, giving her a nature that is divine in every way. She is immortal, incorporeal, rational, and completely free from any earthly matter. He established her once from nothing into being, creating a holy bride and a most sacred temple for himself and for the Father. He clearly shows this himself, saying, 'I will dwell in them and walk among them, and I will be their God, and they will be my people.' Such is the perfect and purified soul, created from the beginning to bear the heavenly word like a statue.

10.4.57 | ἀλλὰ γὰρ φθόνῳ καὶ ζήλῳ τοῦ φιλοπονήρου δαίμόνος φιλοπαθῆς καὶ φιλοπόνηρος ἐξ αὐτεξουσίου αἰρέσεως γενομένη, ὑπαναχωρήσαντος αὐτῆς τοῦ θείου ὡσὰν ἔρημος προστάτου, εύάλωτος καὶ εἰ ἐπιβουλὴν εὐχερής τοῖς ἐκ μακροῦ διαφθονούμενοι ἀπελήγεκται, ταῖς τε τῶν ἀοράτων ἔχθρῶν καὶ νοητῶν πολεμίων ἐλεπόλεσι καὶ μηχαναῖς καταβληθεῖσα, πτῶμα ἔχαίσιον καταπέπτωκεν, εἰς ὃσον ούδ' ἐπὶ λίθῳ λίθον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐστῶτα ἐν αὐτῇ διαμεῖναι, ὅλην δὲ διόλου χαμαὶ κεῖσθαι νεκράν, τῶν περὶ θεοῦ φυσικῶν ἐννοιῶν πάμπαν ἀπεστερημένην.

10.4.57 | But because of envy and jealousy from the hardworking demon, she became passionate and eager through her own choice. When she withdrew from the divine like a deserted ruler, she became easy prey and was easily attacked by those who were being corrupted from afar. Overcome by the traps and schemes of invisible enemies and spiritual foes, she fell into a remarkable ruin, so much so that not even one stone of virtue could remain upon another within her. Instead, she lay entirely dead on the ground, completely deprived of the natural ideas about God.

10.4.58 | πεπτωκυῖαν δὴ ταύτην ἐκείνην τὴν κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ κατασκευασθεῖσαν ἐλυμήνατο οὐχ οὓς οὗτος ὃ ἐκ δρυμοῦ τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν ὄρατο, ἀλλά τις φθοροποιὸς

10.4.58 | Indeed, they defiled her, the one made in the image of God, not by this visible demon from the forest near us, but by some destructive spirit. Wild, invisible

δαίμων, καὶ θῆρες ἄγριοι νοητοὶ, οἱ καὶ τοῖς πάθεσιν οἶα πεπυρακτωμένοις τῆς σφῶν κακίας βέλεσιν αύτὴν ἔξυφάψαντες, ἐνεπύρισαν ἐν πυρὶ τὸ θεῖον ὄντως ἀγιαστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰς τὴν γῆν τε ἐβεβήλωσαν τὸ σκήνωμα τοῦ ὄνόματος αὐτοῦ· εἴτα πολλῷ τῷ προσχώματι τὴν ἀθλίαν κατορύζαντες, εἰς ἀνέλπιστον πάσης περιέτρεψαν σωτηρίας.

10.4.59 | ἀλλ' ὁ γε κηδεμῶν αὐτῆς λόγος, ὁ θεοφεγγῆς καὶ σωτήριος, τὴν κατ' ἀξίαν δίκην τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ὑποσχοῦσαν αὐθις ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀνελάμβανε, πατρὸς παναγάθου φιλανθρωπίᾳ πειθόμενος.

10.4.60 | αὐτὰς δὴ οὖν πρώτας τὰς τῶν ἀνωτάτω βασιλευόντων ψυχὰς προελόμενος, τῶν μὲν δυσσεβῶν καὶ ὀλεθρίων πάντων, αὐτῶν τε τῶν δεινῶν καὶ θεομισῶν τυράννων τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀπασαν δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων ἐκαθήρατο· εἴτα δὲ τοὺς αὐτῷ γνωρίμους ἄνδρας, τοὺς πάλαι διὰ βίου ἱερωμένους αὐτῷ, κρύβδην γε μὴν ὡς ἐν κακῶν χειμῶνι πρὸς τῆς αὐτοῦ σκέπης καλυπτομένους, εἰς φανερὸν ἀγαγών, καὶ ταῖς τοῦ πνεύματος μεγαλοδωρεαῖς ἐπαξίως τιμήσας, αὐθις καὶ διὰ τούτων τὰς μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἔρρυπωμένας ψυχὰς, ὅλης τε παντοίας καὶ χώματος ἀσεβῶν ἐπιταγμάτων συμπεφορημένας, ὅρυξι καὶ δικέλλαις ταῖς πληκτικαῖς τῶν μαθημάτων διδασκαλίαις ἐξεκάθηρέ τε καὶ ἀπέσμηξε·

10.4.61 | λαμπρόν τε καὶ διαυγῆ τῆς πάντων ὑμῶν διανοίας τὸν χῶρον ἀπειργασμένος, ἐνταῦθα λοιπὸν τῷ

beasts, who, like those burned by their own wickedness, wove their arrows into her. They set fire to the truly holy dwelling of God and polluted the body of his name on the earth. Then, having buried her deeply under much dirt, they completely turned her away from all hope of salvation.

10.4.59 | But the caring word for her, the divine and saving one, promised to take on the just punishment for the sins, and once again raised her up from what she was. He did this, trusting in the loving kindness of the all-good Father.

10.4.60 | So, he first approached the souls of those ruling from above, cleansing the whole world of the wicked and destructive, as well as the terrible tyrants who hated God. Then he brought forth his own familiar men, those who had long been dedicated to him in life, hiding them like those covered by his protection in a storm of evils. He revealed them openly and honored them with the great gifts of the spirit. Again, through these men, he cleansed the souls that had been soiled before, weighed down by all kinds of wicked commands and dirt, using the striking tools of the teachings of the disciples to purify and remove them.

10.4.61 | Having prepared a bright and clear space for all of your minds, he then entrusted it to this wise and beloved leader.

πανσόφω καὶ θεοφιλεῖ τῷδε παραδέδωκεν ἡγεμόνι, ὃς τά τε ἄλλα κριτικὸς καὶ ἐπιλογιστικὸς τυγχάνων, τὴν τῶν αὐτῷ κεκληρωμένων ψυχῶν εὐ διαγινώσκων καὶ φυλοκρινῶν διάνοιαν, ἐκ πρώτης ὡς εἰπεῖν ἡμέρας οἰκοδομῶν οὕπω καὶ εἰς δεῦρο πέπαυται, τοτὲ μὲν διαυγῇ τὸν χρυσὸν, τοτὲ δὲ δόκιμον καὶ καθαρὸν τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τοὺς τιμίους καὶ πολυτελεῖς λίθους ἐν πᾶσιν ὑπὸν ἀρμόττων, ὡς ἱερὰν αὐθίς καὶ μυστικὴν ἔργοις τοῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀποπληροῦν προφητείαν, δι' ἣς εἴρηται

This leader, being both critical and discerning, understands the thoughts of the souls that have been chosen for him. From the very first day of building, he has not stopped coming here. Sometimes he makes the gold bright, sometimes he makes the silver pure and valuable, and he arranges all the precious and costly stones among you, as if to fulfill a sacred and secret prophecy through the works directed at you, of which it has been said.

10.4.62 | “ίδοὺ ἔγὼ ἐτοιμάζω σοι ἄνθρακα τὸν λίθον σου, καὶ τὰ θεμέλιά σου σάπφειρον, καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις σου ἵασπιν, καὶ τὰς πύλας σου λίθους κρυστάλλου, καὶ τὸν περίβολόν σου λίθους ἐκλεκτούς, καὶ πάντας τοὺς υἱούς σου διδακτοὺς θεοῦ 5 καὶ ἐν πολλῇ εἰρήνῃ τὰ τέκνα σου· καὶ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ οἰκοδομηθήσῃ.”

10.4.62 | Look, I am preparing for you a stone of coal, and your foundations will be sapphire, and your battlements will be jasper, and your gates will be stones of crystal, and your surrounding wall will be precious stones. And all your children will be taught by God and your children will be in great peace. And you will be built in righteousness.

10.4.63 | δικαιοσύνῃ δῆτα οἰκοδομῶν κατ’ ἀξίαν τοῦ παντὸς λαοῦ διῆρει τὰς δυνάμεις, οἵς μὲν τὸν ἔξωθεν αὐτὸν μόνον περιφράττων περίβολον, τὴν ἀπλανῆ πίστιν περιτειχίσας, πολὺς δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ μέγας λεώς, ούδεν κρείττον φέρειν οἰκοδόμημα διαρκῶν), οἵς δὲ τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον ἐπιτρέπων εἰσόδους, θυραυλεῖν καὶ ποδηγεῖν τοὺς εἰσιόντας κατατάττων, οὐκ ἀπεικότως τοῦ νεώ πρόπυλα νενομισμένους, ἄλλους δὲ πρώτοις τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἀμφὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ἐκ τετραγώνου κίοσιν ὑπεστήριζε, ταῖς πρώταις τῶν τεττάρων εὐαγγελίων τοῦ γράμματος προβολαῖς ἐμβιβάζων, τοὺς δὲ ἡδη ἀμφὶ τὸν βασίλειον οἶκον ἐκατέρωθεν παραζεύγνυσιν, ἔτι μὲν κατηχουμένους καὶ

10.4.63 | In righteousness, he builds according to the worth of all the people, separating the powers. For some, he surrounds them with an outer wall, enclosing them with unwavering faith. This is a large and great crowd, bringing nothing less than a lasting building. For others, he allows entrances to the house, guiding and directing those who enter. He does not make the entrance of the temple look like a mere doorway, but supports others with square columns around the courtyard. He brings in the first teachings of the four gospels, and he joins those already around the royal house on both sides, still teaching those who are learning and growing. They are not far away and separated from the

έν αὕξη καὶ προκοπῇ καθεστῶτας, οὐ μὴν πόρρω που καὶ μακρὰν τῆς τῶν ἐνδοτάτω θεοπτίας τῶν πιστῶν διεζευγμένους·

10.4.64 | ἐκ δὴ τούτων τὰς ἀκηράτους ψυχὰς θείω λουτρῷ χρυσοῦ δίκην ἀποσμηθείσας παραλαβών, κάνταῦθα τοὺς μὲν κίοσι τῶν ἔξωτάτω πολὺ κρείττοιν ἐκ τῶν ἐνδοτάτω μυστικῶν τῆς γραφής δογμάτων ὑποστηρίζει, τοὺς δὲ τοῖς πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἀνοίγμασι καταυγάζει.

10.4.65 | προπύλω μὲν ἐνὶ μεγίστῳ τῆς τοῦ παμβασιλέως ἐνὸς καὶ μόνου θεοῦ δοξολογίας τὸν πάντα νεών κατακοσμῶν, Χριστοῦ δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος παρ' ἐκάτερα τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐθεντίας τὰς δευτέρας αὐγὰς τοῦ φωτὸς παρασχόμενος, τῶν τε λοιπῶν διὰ τοῦ παντὸς οἴκου ἄφθονον καὶ πολὺ διάφορον τῆς καθ' ἔκαστον ἀληθείας τὸ σαφὲς καὶ φωτεινὸν ἐνδεικνύμενος, πάντη δὲ καὶ πανταχόθεν τοὺς ζῶντας καὶ βεβηκότας καὶ εύπαγεῖς τῶν ψυχῶν λίθους ἐγκρίνας, τὸν μέγαν καὶ βασιλικὸν ἐξ ἀπάντων οἴκου ἐπισκευάζεται, λαμπρὸν καὶ φωτὸς ἔμπλεω τά τε ἔνδοθεν καὶ τὰ ἔκτὸς, ὅτι μὴ ψυχὴ μόνον καὶ διάνοια, καὶ τὸ σῶμα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀγνείας καὶ σωφροσύνης πολυανθεῖ κόσμω κατηγλάϊστο.

10.4.66 | ἔνεισι δ' ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ θρόνοι βάθρα τε μυρία καὶ καθιστήρια, ἐν ὅσαις ψυχαῖς τὰ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος ἐφιζάνει δωρήματα, οἷα καὶ πάλαι ὥφθη τοῖς ἀμφὶ τοὺς Ἱεροὺς ἀποστόλους, οἵς ἐφάνησαν διαμεριζόμεναι γλῶσσαι ὡσεὶ πυρὸς, ἐκάθισάν τε ἐφ' ἔνα ἔκαστον αὐτῶν.

deepest vision of God for the faithful.

10.4.64 | From these, he takes the pure souls, having been cleansed like gold in a divine bath. And there, he supports those pillars that are much greater than the inner mysteries of the teachings of scripture, while he illuminates those who are opened to the light.

10.4.65 | In the great entrance of the one and only God, the King of all, he decorates the entire temple with praise. He provides the second rays of light from the authority of the Father at both sides of Christ and the Holy Spirit. Throughout the whole house, he shows the abundant and diverse clarity of each truth, while he gathers the living, the defiled, and the noble stones of souls from everywhere. He repairs the great and royal house, filled with brightness and light, both inside and outside, so that not only the soul and mind, but also the body is adorned with purity and self-control, blooming with beauty.

10.4.66 | In this holy place, there are thrones and countless seats, where the gifts of the divine spirit rest upon souls. Just as it was seen long ago by those around the holy apostles, when tongues appeared divided like fire and sat upon each one of them.

10.4.67 | ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τῷ πάντων ἄρχοντι Ἰσως αὐτὸς ὅλος ἐγκάθηται Χριστὸς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν δευτερεύουσιν ἀναλόγως, καθ' ὃσον ἔκαστος χωρεῖ Χριστοῦ δυνάμεως καὶ πνεύματος ἀγίου μερισμούς. βάθρα δ' ἂν εἶν τοις καὶ ἀγγέλων καὶ αἱ τινῶν ψυχαὶ, τῶν εἰς παιδαγωγίαν καὶ φρουρὰν ἐκάστῳ παραδεδομένων.

10.4.68 | σεμνὸν δὲ καὶ μέγα καὶ μονογενὲς θυσιαστήριον ποῖον ἀν εἴη ἡ τῆς τοῦ κοινοῦ πάντων ἱερέως τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ εἱλικρινὲς καὶ ἀγίων ἄγιον; Ὡ παρεστώς ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ ὁ μέγας τῶν ὅλων ἀρχιερεὺς αὐτὸς Ἰησοῦς, ὁ μονογενὴς τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸ παρὰ πάντων εὐῶδες θυμίαμα καὶ τὰς δι' εὐχῶν ἀναίμους καὶ ἀύλους θυσίας φαιδρῷ τῷ βλέμματι καὶ ὑπτίαις ὑποδεχόμενος χερσὶ, τῷ κατ' οὐρανὸν πατρὶ καὶ θεῷ τῶν ὅλων παραπέμπεται, πρῶτος αὐτὸς προσκυνῶν, καὶ μόνος τῷ πατρὶ τὸ κατ' ἄξιαν ἀπονέμων σέβας, εἴτα δὲ καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν εὐμενῇ διαμένειν καὶ δεξιὸν εἰς ἀεὶ παραίτουμενος.

10.4.69 | τοιοῦτος ὁ μέγας νεώς, ὃν καθ' ὅλης τῆς ὑφ' ἥλιον οἰκουμένης ὁ μέγας τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸς λόγος συνεστήσατο, τῶν ἐπέκεινα οὐρανίων ἀψίδων πάλιν καὶ αὐτὸς νοερὰν ταύτην ἐπὶ γῆς εἰκόνα κατεργασάμενος, ὡς ἀν διὰ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως τῶν τε ἐπὶ γῆς λογικῶν ζώων ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ τιμῶτό τε καὶ σέβοιτο.

10.4.70 | τὸν δ' ὑπερουράνιον χῶρον καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε τῶν τῇδε παραδείγματα, τὴν τε ἄνω λεγομένην Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ τὸ Σιῶν ὄρος τὸ

10.4.67 | But in the ruler of all, Christ himself sits fully. And those who come after him serve in a way that matches how much each one receives of the power of Christ and the sharing of the Holy Spirit. There would also be thrones for angels and certain souls, given to each for guidance and protection.

10.4.68 | What kind of solemn, great, and only-begotten altar would there be for the true and holy priest of all souls? Here, the great high priest of all, Jesus, the only-begotten of God, stands on the right side. He offers the fragrant incense from everyone and the silent and spiritual sacrifices, receiving them with a joyful look and raised hands. He sends them up to the heavenly Father and God of all, first worshiping himself, and alone giving the proper honor to the Father. Then he asks for kindness to remain with all of us and to be accepted forever.

10.4.69 | Such is the great temple, which the great creator of all, the Word, has built throughout the whole world under the sun. He himself has made this spiritual image on earth, so that through all creation, the Father may be honored and worshiped by the rational creatures on earth.

10.4.70 | The heavenly place and the examples there, the so-called heavenly Jerusalem and the heavenly Mount Zion,

έπουράνιον, καὶ τὴν ὑπερκόσμιον πόλιν τοῦ ζῶντος θεοῦ, ἐν ᾧ μυριάδες ἀγγέλων πανηγύρεις καὶ ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων ποιγεγραμμένων ἀ ἐν οὐρανοῖς ταῖς ἀρρήτοις καὶ ἀνεπιλογίστοις ἡμῖν θεολογίαις τὸν σφῶν ποιητὴν καὶ πανηγεμόνα τῶν ὅλων γεραίρουσιν, οὕτις θνητὸς οὗτος τε κατ' ἀξίαν ὑμνῆσαι, ὅτι δὴ ὁ φθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε καὶ οὓς οὐκ ἤκουσε, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα ἃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.

10.4.71 | Ὡν ἥδη ἐν μέρει καταξιωθέντες ἄνδρες ἄμα παισὶ καὶ γυναιξὶ, μικροὶ καὶ μεγάλοι, πάντες ἀθρόως ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι καὶ μᾶζη ψυχῇ μὴ διαλίπωμεν ἔξομολογούμενοι, καὶ τὸν τῶν τοσούτων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν παραίτιον ἀνευφημοῦντες, "τὸν εὐλατεύοντα πάσαις ταῖς ἀνομίαις ἡμῶν, τὸν ἴώμενον πάσας τὰς νόσους ἡμῶν, τὸν λυτρούμενον ἐκ φθορᾶς τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν, τὸν στεφανοῦντα ἡμάς ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς, τὸν ἐμπιμπλῶντα ἐν ἀγαθοῖς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἡμῶν, ὅτι οὐ κατὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἐποίησεν ἡμῖν, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν ἀνταπέδωκεν ἡμῖν, ὅτι καθ' ὅσον ἀπέχουσιν ἀνατολαὶ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν, ἐμάκρυνεν ἀφ' ἡμῶν τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν· καθὼς οἰκτείρει πατὴρ υἱὸὺς αὐτοῦ, ὡκτείρησε κύριος τοὺς φοβουμένους αὐτόν."

10.4.72 | ταῦτα καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἔξῆς ἀπαντας χρόνους ταῖς μνήμαις ἀναζωπυροῦντες, ἀτὰρ καὶ τῆς παρούσης πανηγύρεως καὶ τῆς φαιδρᾶς ταύτης καὶ λαμπροτάτης ἡμέρας τὸν αἴτιον καὶ πανηγυριάρχην νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν διὰ πάσης ὥρας καὶ δι' ὅλης, ὡς είπεῖν,

and the city beyond the world of the living God, where countless angels celebrate and the assembly of the firstborn is written in heaven, with unspeakable and unimaginable teachings about their Creator and the Lord of all, are such that no mortal is worthy to praise them. For indeed, no eye has seen, nor ear heard, and it has not entered the heart of man, what God has prepared for those who love him.

10.4.71 | Let us, who have already been made worthy in part, men along with children and women, both small and great, all together in one spirit and one soul, not cease to give thanks. Let us praise the one who is the cause of so many good things for us, saying: "The one who forgives all our sins, the one who heals all our diseases, the one who redeems our life from destruction, the one who crowns us with mercy and compassion, the one who fills our desires with good things." For he has not dealt with us according to our sins, nor has he repaid us according to our iniquities. As far as the east is from the west, so far has he removed our transgressions from us. Just as a father has compassion for his children, so the Lord has compassion for those who fear him.

10.4.72 | Let us keep these things alive in our memories now and in all future times. And let us honor the cause and leader of this joyful and glorious feast, both by night and day, at every hour and in every breath, as we gather together, loving and revering with all our strength. And now, standing up,

άναπνοής ἐν νῷ προορώμενοι, στέργοντες καὶ σέβοντες ψυχῆς ὅλη δυνάμει, καὶ νῦν ἀναστάντες, μεγάλῃ διαθέσεως φωνῇ καθικετεύσωμεν, ὡς ἀν ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ μάνδραν εἰς τέλος ἡμᾶς σκεπάζων διασώζοιτο, τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ βραβεύων ἀρραγῆ καὶ ἄσειστον αἰώνιαν είρηνην, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν, δι' οὗ αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς σύμπαντας αἰώνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἄμην.

## Section 5

10.5.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 41] Φέρε δὴ λοιπὸν καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν διατάξεων Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικινίου τὰς ἐκ τῆς Ψωμαίων φωνῆς μεταληφθείσας ἐρμηνείας παραθώμεθα. Ἀντίγραφον βασιλικῶν διατάξεων ἐκ Ψωμαϊκῆγλώσσης μεταληφθεισῶν.

10.5.2 | Ὡδη μὲν πάλαι σκοποῦντες τὴν ἔλευθερίαν τῆς θρησκείας οὐκ ἀρνητέαν εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐνδὲ ἐκάστου τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ βουλήσει ἔξουσίαν δοτέον τοῦ τὰ Θεῖα πράγματα τημελεῖν κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν, ἔκαστον κεκελεύκειμεν, τοῖς τε Χριστιανοῖς, τῆς αἱρέσεως καὶ τῆς θρησκείας τῆς ἐαυτῶν τὴν πίστιν φυλάττειν.

10.5.3 | ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πολλαὶ καὶ διάφοροι αἱρέσεις ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἀντιγραφῇ, ἐν ᾧ τοῖς αὐτοῖς συνεχωρήθη ἡ τοιαύτη ἔξουσία, ἐδόκουν προστεθεῖσθαι σαφῶς, τυχὸν ἵσως τινὲς αὐτῶν μετ' ὄλιγον ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης παραφυλάξεως ἀνεκρούοντο.

let us pray with a loud voice, so that he may shelter us under his protection until the end, granting us an unshakable and everlasting peace through Christ Jesus our Savior, to whom be glory for all ages of ages. Amen.

10.5.1 | Now let us present the translations of the royal decrees of Constantine and Licinius that have been translated from the Roman language. Copy of the royal decrees translated from the Roman language.

10.5.2 | Indeed, we have long been considering that the freedom of religion should not be denied, but each person should be given the authority in their mind and will to manage divine matters according to their own choice. We command each one to keep safe the faith of their own religion and belief.

10.5.3 | But since there were many and different sects in that copy, in which the same authority was granted, it seemed clear that some of them might possibly stray a little from such protection after a while.

10.5.4 | ὅπότε εύτυχῶς ἔγώ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Αὔγουστος κάγὼ Λικίννιος ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐν τῇ Μεδιολάνῳ ἐληλύθειμεν, καὶ πάντα ὅσα πρὸς τὸ λυσιτελές καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον τῷ κοινῷ διέφερεν, ἐν ζητήσει ἔσχομεν, ταῦτα μεταξὺ τῶν λοιπῶν, ἄτινα ἐδόκει ἐν πολλοῖς ἄπασιν ἐπωφελῆ εἶναι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐν πρώτοις διατάξαι ἐδογματίσαμεν, οὓς ἡ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον αἰδώς τε καὶ τὸ σέβας ἐνείχετο, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ὅπως δῶμεν καὶ τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς καὶ πᾶσιν ἐλευθέραν αἱρεσιν τοῦ ἀκολουθεῖν τῇ θρησκείᾳ, ἥ δ' ἀν βουληθῶσιν ὅπως, ὅ τι ποτέ ἔστι θειότης καὶ οὐρανίου πράγματος, ἡμῖν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἔξουσίαν διάγουσιν εὔμενὲς εἶναι δυνηθῆ.

10.5.4 | When I, Constantine the Augustus, and I, Licinius the Augustus, happily came together in Milan, we sought everything that would be useful and beneficial for the common good. Among other things, we decided to establish first the rules that would ensure respect and reverence towards the divine. This means that we should give both Christians and everyone else the freedom to follow the religion they choose, whatever it may be. Thus, whatever is divine and heavenly may be favorable to us and to all who live under our authority.

10.5.5 | τοίνυν ταύτην τὴν βούλησιν τὴν ἡμετέραν ὑγιεινῷ καὶ ὄρθοτάτῳ λογισμῷ ἐδογματίσαμεν, ὅπως μηδενὶ παντελῶς ἔξουσία ἀρνητέα ἥ τοῦ ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ αἱρεῖσθαι τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν παραφύλαξιν ἥ θρησκείαν, ἐκάστῳ τε ἔξουσία διθείη τοῦ διδόναι ἐαυτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ θρησκείᾳ, ἦν αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ἀρμόζειν νομίζη, ὅπως ἡμῖν δυνηθῆ τὸ θεῖον ἐν πᾶσι τὴν ἔθιμον σπουδὴν καὶ καλοκάγαθίαν παρέχειν.

10.5.5 | Therefore, we established this decision of ours with healthy and correct reasoning, so that no one would be denied the right to follow and choose the protection or religion of Christians. Each person should have the authority to give their own mind to the religion that they believe suits them, so that the divine may provide us and everyone with a customary care and goodness.

10.5.6 | ἄτινα οὕτως ἀρέσκειν ἡμῖν ἀντιγράψαι ἀκόλουθον ἦν, ἐν' ἀφαιρεθεισῶν παντελῶς τῶν αἱρέσεων, αἵτινες τοῖς προτέροις ἡμῶν γράμμασι τοῖς πρὸς τὴν σὴν καθοσίωσιν ἀποσταλεῖσι περὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐνείχοντο, καὶ ἄτινα πάνυ σκαιὰ καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πραότητος ἀλλότρια εἶναι ἐδόκει, ταῦτα ὑφαιρεθῆ, καὶ νῦν ἐλευθέρως τε καὶ ἀπλανῶς ἔκαστος τῶν τὴν αὐτὴν προαιρεσιν ἔσχηκότων τοῦ φυλάττειν τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν θρησκείαν

10.5.6 | Therefore, it was fitting for us to write down this decision, completely removing the sects that had been sent before us in your name regarding Christians. These sects seemed very harsh and completely different from our gentleness. Let these be removed, and now each person who holds the same belief can freely and without disturbance keep the Christian religion.

άνευ τινὸς ὄχλήσεως τοῦτο αὐτὸν  
παραφυλάττοι.

10.5.7 | ἄτινα τῇ σῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ πληρέστατα  
δηλῶσαι ἐδογματίσαμεν, ὅπως εἰδείης  
ἡμᾶς ἔλευθέραν καὶ ἀπολελυμένην  
ἔξουσίαν τοῦ τημελεῖν τὴν ἑαυτῶν  
θρησκείαν τοῖς αὐτοῖς Χριστιανοῖς,  
δεδωκέναι.

10.5.8 | ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ ἀπολελυμένως αὐτοῖς  
ὑφ' ἡμῶν δεδωρῆσθαι, θεωρεῖ ἡ σὴ<sup>1</sup>  
καθοσίωσις, καὶ ἐτέροις δεδόσθαι ἔξουσίαν  
τοῖς βουλομένοις τοῦ μετέρχεσθαι τὴν  
παρατήρησιν καὶ θρησκείαν ἑαυτῶν· ὅπερ  
ἀκολούθως τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ τῶν ἡμετέρων  
καιρῶν γίνεσθαι φανερόν ἐστιν, ὅπως  
ἔξουσίαν ἔκαστος ἔχῃ τοῦ αἰρεῖσθαι καὶ  
τημελεῖν ὃποῖον δ' ἀν βούληται θεῖον.  
τοῦτο δὲ ὑφ' ἡμῶν γέγονεν, ὅπως μηδεμιᾶ  
τιμῇ μηδὲ θρησκείᾳ τινὶ μεμειῶσθαι τι ὑφ'  
ἡμῶν δοκοίη.

10.5.9 | καὶ τοῦτο δὲ πρὸς τοῖς λοιποῖς εἰς  
τὸ πρόσωπον τῶν Χριστιανῶν  
δογματίζομεν, ἵνα τοὺς τόπους αὐτῶν, εἰς  
οὓς τὸ πρότερον συνέρχεσθαι ἔθος ἦν  
αὐτοῖς, περὶ ᾧν καὶ τοῖς πρότερον δοθεῖσι  
πρὸς τὴν σὴν καθοσίωσιν γράμμασι τύπος  
ἐτερος ἦν ὥρισμένος τῷ προτέρῳ χρόνῳ,  
Ἱν', εἴ τινες ἢ παρὰ τοῦ ταμείου τοῦ  
ἡμετέρου, ἢ παρά τινος ἐτέρου φαίνοιντο  
ἡγορακότες τούτους, τοῖς αὐτοῖς  
Χριστιανοῖς ἄνευ ἀργυρίου καὶ ἄνευ τινὸς  
ἀπαιτήσεως τῆς τιμῆς ὑπερτεθείσης, δίχα  
πάσης ἀμελείας καὶ ἀμφιβολίας,  
ἀποκαταστήσωσι· καὶ εἴ τινες κατὰ δῶρον  
τυγχάνουσιν εἰληφότες τοὺς αὐτοὺς  
τόπους, ὅπως τοῖς αὐτοῖς Χριστιανοῖς τὴν

10.5.7 | We have decided to clearly express  
that through your care, you have given us  
the complete freedom and authority to  
practice our own religion to the same  
Christians.

10.5.8 | Since they have been given  
complete freedom by us, your authority  
sees that others have also been given the  
power to follow and practice their own  
beliefs and religion. This is clearly shown  
by the peace of our times, so that each  
person has the right to choose and practice  
whatever divine belief they wish. This has  
happened by us, so that no one should  
think they are being limited in any way by  
us in their honor or religion.

10.5.9 | And we also declare this regarding  
the other Christians, that the places where  
they used to gather should be restored to  
them. In the past, there was a different rule  
about these places given in your letters. If  
anyone appears to have bought these  
places from our treasury or from someone  
else, they should return them to the same  
Christians without any payment or demand  
for honor, without any neglect or doubt.  
And if anyone has taken these places as a  
gift, they should quickly restore them to the  
same Christians.

ταχίστην ἀποκαταστήσωσιν·

10.5.10 | οὕτως εἴ ἦ οἱ ἡγορακότες τοὺς αύτοὺς τόπους, ἢ οἵ κατὰ δωρεὰν εἰληφότες αίτωσί τι παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας καλοκάγαθίας, προσέλθωσι τῷ ἐπὶ τόπῳ ἐπάρχῳ δικάζοντι, ὅπως καὶ αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας χρηστότητος πρόνοια γένηται. ἀτινα πάντα τῷ σώματι τῷ τῶν Χριστιανῶν παρ' αὐτὰ διὰ τῆς σῆς σπουδῆς ἄνευ τινὸς παρολκῆς παραδίδοσθαι δεήσει.

10.5.11 | καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἶ αύτοὶ Χριστιανοὶ οὐ μόνον ἔκείνους, εἰς οὓς συνέρχεσθαι ἔθος εἶχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτέρους τόπους ἐσχηκέναι γινώσκονται, διαφέροντας οὐ πρὸς ἔκαστον αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον τοῦ αὐτῶν σώματος, τοῦτ' ἔστι τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ταῦτα πάντα ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ, ὃν προειρήκαμεν, δίχα παντελοῦς τινος ἀμφισβητήσεως τοῖς αὐτοῖς Χριστιανοῖς, τοῦτ' ἔστι τῷ σώματι αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ συνόδῳ, ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν ἀποκαταστῆναι κελεύσεις, τοῦ προειρημένου λογισμοῦ δηλαδὴ φυλαχθέντος, ὅπως αὐτοὶ οἵτινες τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄνευ τιμῆς, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν, ἀποκαθιστῶσι, τὸ ἀζήμιον τὸ ἐαυτῶν παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας καλοκάγαθίας ἐλπίζοιεν.

10.5.12 | ἐν οἷς πᾶσι τῷ προειρημένῳ σώματι τῶν Χριστιανῶν τὴν σπουδὴν δυνατώτατα παρασχεῖν ὄφείλεις, ὅπως τὸ ἡμέτερον κέλευσμα τὴν ταχίστην παραπληρωθῇ, ὅπως καὶ ἐν τούτῳ διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας χρηστότητος πρόνοια γένηται τῆς κοινῆς καὶ δημοσίας ἡσυχίας.

10.5.10 | Therefore, if those who bought these places or those who received them as a gift ask for something from our kindness, they should approach the governor in charge of these places, so that their needs can be taken care of through our goodwill. All of this should be handed over to the body of the Christians without any delay, as you request.

10.5.11 | And since these Christians are known not only to gather in the places they used to, but also to have other locations, which are not different for each of them but for the justice of their body, that is, of the Christians, all of this should be according to the law we mentioned, without any complete dispute for these Christians. This means that each of them should be restored to their body and assembly. They should be restored as we said, so that those who do so without any payment, as we mentioned, may hope for their own honor from our kindness.

10.5.12 | In all these matters, you must provide the greatest effort for the mentioned body of Christians, so that our command may be fulfilled as quickly as possible. This way, through our goodwill, care can be taken for the common and public peace.

10.5.13 | τούτῳ γὰρ τῷ λογισμῷ, καθὼς  
καὶ προείρηται, ἡ θεία σπουδὴ περὶ ἡμᾶς,  
ἥς ἐν πολλοῖς ἥδη πράγμασιν  
ἀπεπειράθημεν, διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου  
βεβαίως διαμενεῖ.

10.5.13 | For this reason, as has been said before, the divine effort concerning us, which we have already experienced in many matters, will surely remain throughout all time.

10.5.14 | ἵνα δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἡμετέρας  
νομοθεσίας καὶ τῆς καλοκάγαθίας ὅρος  
πρὸς γνῶσιν πάντων ἐνεχθῆναι δυνηθῇ,  
ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν γραφέντα πανταχοῦ  
προθεῖναι καὶ εἰς γνῶσιν πάντων ἀγαγεῖν  
ἀκόλουθόν ἔστιν, ὅπως ταύτης τῆς  
ἡμετέρας καλοκάγαθίας ἡ νομοθεσία  
μηδένα λαθεῖν δυνηθῇ."

10.5.14 | In order for the terms of our legislation and goodness to be known by all, it is necessary for these things written by us to be placed everywhere and brought to the knowledge of all. This way, the legislation of our goodness may not be hidden from anyone.

10.5.15 | Ἀντίγραφον ἐτέρας βασιλικῆς  
διατάξεως, ἥναῦθις πεποίηνται, μόνῃ τῇ  
καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὴνδωρεὰν δεδόσθαι  
ὑποσημηνάμενοι. "Χαῖρε Ἄνυλῖνε,  
τιμιώτατε ἡμῖν. ἔστιν ὁ τρόπος οὗτος τῆς  
φιλαγαθίας τῆς ἡμετέρας, ὥστε ἔκεινα  
ἄπερ δικαίω ἄλλοτρίω προσήκει, μὴ μόνον  
μὴ ἐνοχλεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποκαθιστᾶν  
βούλεσθαι ἡμᾶς, Ἄνυλῖνε τιμιώτατε.

10.5.15 | "Copy of another royal decree, which has been made again, noting that the gift has been given only to the universal church. Greetings, most honored Anylinus. This is the way of our kindness, so that those things which rightly belong to others may not only not be disturbed, but we also wish to restore them, most honored Anylinus."

10.5.16 | ὅθεν βουλόμεθα ἵν', ὅπόταν ταῦτα  
τὰ γράμματα κομίσῃ, εἴ τινα ἐκ τούτων τῶν  
τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ καθολικῇ τῶν Χριστιανῶν  
ἐν ἐκάσταις πόλεσιν ἥ καὶ ἄλλοις τόποις  
διέφερον, καὶ κατέχοιντο νῦν ἥ ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup>  
πολιτῶν ἥ ὑπὸ τινῶν ἄλλων, ταῦτα  
ἀποκατασταθῆναι παραχρῆμα ταῖς αὐτῶν  
ἐκκλησίαις ποιήσῃς, ἐπειδήπερ  
προηρήμεθα, ταῦτα ἄπερ αἱ αὐταὶ  
ἐκκλησίαι πρότερον ἐσχήκεσαν, τῷ δικαίῳ  
αὐτῶν ἀποκατασταθῆναι.

10.5.16 | Therefore, we wish that whenever these letters are brought, if anyone has taken anything from the universal church of the Christians in each city or in other places, and if these things are now held by citizens or by others, they should be restored immediately to their churches. Since we have decided that these things, which those churches previously possessed, should be returned to their rightful owners.

10.5.17 | ὅπότε τοίνυν συνορᾶ ἡ

10.5.17 | Whenever your holy assembly

καθοσίωσις ἡ σὴ, ταύτης ἡμῶν τῆς  
κελεύσεως σαφέστατον εἶναι τὸ  
πρόσταγμα, σπούδασον, εἴτε κῆποι, εἴτε  
οἰκίαι, εἴθ' ὅτιουνδήποτε τῷ δικαίῳ τῶν  
αὐτῶν ἐκκλησιῶν διέφερον, σύμπαντα  
αὐταῖς ἀποκατασταθῆναι ὡς τάχιστα,  
ὅπως τούτῳ ἡμῶν τῷ προστάγματι  
ἐπιμελεστάτην σε πειθάρχησιν  
παρεσληκέναι καταμάθοιμεν. ἔρρωσο,  
Ἄνυλίνε, τιμιώτατε καὶ ποθεινότατε ἡμῖν."

meets, let the command of our order be very clear. Make sure that whether it is gardens, houses, or anything else that rightly belongs to those churches, all of it should be restored as quickly as possible. This way, we may learn that you have diligently followed our command. Farewell, most honored and greatly desired Anylinus.

10.5.18 | Άντιγραφον βασιλικῆς ἐπιστολῆς δι' ἣς σύνοδον ἐπισκόπων ἐπὶ 'Ρώμης κελεύει γενέσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆςτῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐνώσεως τε καὶ ὁμονοίας. "Κωνσταντῖνος Σεβαστὸς Μιλτιάδῃ ἐπισκόπῳ 'Ρωμαίων καὶ Μάρκῳ. ἐπειδὴ τοιοῦτοι χάρται παρὰ Άνυλίνου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἀνθυπάτου τῆς Άφρικῆς πρός με πλείους ἀπεστάλησαν, ἐν οἷς ἐμφέρεται, Καικιλιανὸν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Καρταγεννησίων πόλεως παρά τινων κολλήγων αὐτοῦ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Άφρικὴν καθεστώτων ἐν πολλοῖς πράγμασιν εὐθύνεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο μοι βαρὺ σφόδρα δοκεῖ, τὸ ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις, ἃς τῇ ἐμῇ καθοσιώσει αύθαίρετος ἡ θεία πρόνοια ἐνεχείρισε, (κάκεῖσε πολὺ πλῆθος λαοῦ), ὅχλον ἐπὶ τὸ φαυλότερον ἐπιμένοντα εὐρίσκεσθαι ὡσανεὶ διχοστατοῦντα, καὶ μεταξὺ ἐπισκόπους διαφορὰς ἔχειν,

10.5.18 | "Copy of a royal letter by which a council of bishops is ordered to be held in Rome for the unity and harmony of the churches. Constantine, the most revered, to Miltiades, bishop of the Romans, and to Mark. Since such letters have been sent to me by the most illustrious Anylinus, the governor of Africa, in which it is reported that Caecilian, the bishop of the city of Carthage, is being accused by some of his fellow bishops in Africa of many matters, this seems very serious to me. In these provinces, which divine providence has entrusted to my authority, there is a large crowd of people, and they seem to be divided, with disputes among the bishops."

10.5.19 | ἔδοξέ μοι, ἵν' αὐτὸς ὁ Καικιλιανὸς μετὰ δέκα ἐπισκόπων, τῶν αὐτὸν εὐθύνειν δοκούντων, καὶ δέκα ἐτέρων οὓς αὐτὸς τῇ ἐαυτοῦ δίκῃ ἀναγκαίους ὑπολάβοι, εἰς τὴν 'Ρώμην πλῷ ἀπιέναι μὴ ἀναβάλοιτο, ἵν'  
ἐκεῖσε ὑμῶν παρόντων, ἄλλὰ μὴν καὶ  
'Ρετεκίου καὶ Ματέρνου καὶ Μαρίνου, τῶν  
κολλήγων ὑμῶν, οὓς τούτου ἔνεκεν εἰς τὴν  
'Ρώμην προσέταξα ἐπισπεῦσαι, δυνηθῆ

10.5.19 | It seemed to me that Caecilian himself, along with ten bishops who seem to support him, and ten others whom he considers necessary for his case, should not delay in sailing to Rome. There, with you present, and also with Reticius, Maternus, and Marinus, your fellow bishops, whom I have ordered to hurry to Rome for this reason, they might be heard, so that you

άκουσθηναι, ώς ἀν καταμάθοιτε τῷ  
σεβασμιωτάτῳ νόμῳ ἀρμόττειν.

10.5.20 | Ἱνα μέντοι καὶ περὶ πάντων αὐτῶν τούτων πληρεστάτην δυνηθῆτε ἔχειν γνῶσιν, τὰ ἀντίτυπα τῶν ἐγγράφων τῶν πρός με παρὰ Ἀνυλίνου ἀποσταλέντων, γράμμασιν ἐμοῖς ὑποτάξας, πρὸς τοὺς προειρημένους κολλήγας ὑμῶν ἔξεπεμψα, οἵς ἐντυχοῦσα ἡ ὑμετέρα στερρότης δοκιμάσει, ὅντινα χρὴ τρόπον τὴν προειρημένην δίκην ἐπιμελέστατα διευκρινῆσαι, καὶ κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον τερματίσαι, ὅπότε μηδὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιμέλειαν λανθάνει, τοσαύτην με αἰδῶ τῇ ἐνθέσμῳ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπονέμειν, ὡς μηδὲν καθόλου σχίσμα ἢ διχοστασίαν ἔν τινι τόπῳ βούλεσθαί με ὑμᾶς καταλιπεῖν. ἡ θειότης ὑμᾶς τού μεγάλου θεοῦ διαφυλάξοι πολλοῖς ἔτεσι, τιμιώτατε.

10.5.21 | Ἀντίγραφον βασιλικῆς ἐπιστολῆς, δι' ἣς προστάττειδευτέραν γενέσθαι σύνοδον ὑπερ τοῦ πᾶσαντῶν ἐπισκόπων περιελεῖν διχοστασίαν. "Κωνσταντῖνος σεβαστὸς Χρήστῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Συρακουσίων. ἥδη μὲν πρότερον, ὅτε φαύλως καὶ ἐνδιαστρόφως τινὲς περὶ Θρησκείας τῆς ἀγίας καὶ ἐπουρανίου δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς αἰρέσεως τῆς καθολικῆς ἀποδίστασθαι ἥρξαντο, ἐπιτέμνεσθαι βουληθεῖς τὰς τοιαύτας αὐτῶν φιλονεικίας, οὕτω διετευπώκειν ὥστε ἀποσταλέντων ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλλίας τινῶν ἐπισκόπων, ἄλλὰ μὴν καὶ τούτων κληθέντων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς τῶν ἔξ ἐναντίας μοίρας καταλλήλως ἐνστατικῶς καὶ ἐπιμόνως διαγωνιζομένων, παρόντος τε καὶ τοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπισκόπου, τοῦτο, ὅπερ ἐδόκει κεκινῆσθαι, δυνηθῇ ὑπὸ τῆς

may learn how to align with the most respected law.

10.5.20 | In order that you may have the fullest understanding of all these matters, I have sent the copies of the letters that were sent to me by Anylinus, written in my own hand, to the aforementioned bishops. By receiving these, your steadfastness will be tested, and you will need to clarify the mentioned case very carefully and conclude it justly, so that your diligence does not go unnoticed. I wish to grant such honor to the universal church that I do not want to leave you with any division or discord in any place. May the divinity protect you for many years, most honored.

10.5.21 | "Copy of a royal letter, by which a second council is ordered to be held to remove all division among the bishops. Constantine, revered, to Christ, bishop of Syracuse. Previously, when some were starting to argue poorly and in a twisted way about the holy religion and the heavenly power, and about the division of the universal church, I decided to cut off such disputes. Thus, it has been arranged that some bishops from Gaul were sent, and also those called from Africa, who were diligently and persistently contending from the opposite side. With the bishop of Rome present, it seems that what should be done can be achieved through their presence with all careful distinction."

παρουσίας αύτῶν μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελοῦς  
διακρίσεως κατορθώσεως τυχεῖν.

10.5.22 | ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ, ὡς συμβαίνει,  
ἐπιλαθόμενοί τινες καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς  
ἰδίας καὶ τοῦ σεβάσματος τοῦ ὄφελομένου  
τῇ ἀγιωτάτῃ αἱρέσει, ἔτι καὶ νῦν τὰς ιδίας  
ἔχθρας παρατείνειν οὐ παύονται, μὴ  
βουλόμενοι τῇ ἥδη ἔξενεχθείσῃ κρίσει  
συντίθεσθαι, καὶ διοριζόμενοι, ὅτι δὴ ἄρα  
όλιγοι τινὲς τὰς γνώμας καὶ τὰς ἀποφάσεις  
ἐαυτῶν ἔξήνεγκαν, ἢ καὶ μὴ πρότερον  
ἀπάντων τῶν ὄφειλόντων ζητηθῆναι  
ἀκριβῶς ἔξετασθέντων πρὸς τὸ τὴν κρίσιν  
ἔξενέγκαι πάνυ ταχέως καὶ ὀξέως  
ἔσπευσαν, ἔκ τε τούτων ἀπάντων ἔκεινα  
συμβαίνει γενέσθαι, τὸ καὶ τούτους αὐτοὺς  
ἀδελφικὴν καὶ ὁμόφρονα ὄφειλοντας ἔχειν  
δόμοψυχίαν αἰσχρῶς, μᾶλλον δὲ μυσερῶς  
ἄλλήλων ἀποδιεστάναι, καὶ τοῖς  
ἀνθρώποις τοῖς ἀλλοτρίας ἔχουσι τὰς  
ψυχὰς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγιωτάτης θρησκείας  
ταύτης πρόφασιν χλεύης διδόναι, — ὅθεν  
προνοητέον μοι ἐγένετο, ὅπως τοῦτο, ὅπερ  
ἔχρην μετὰ τὴν ἔξενεχθεῖσαν ἥδη κρίσιν  
αὐθαιρέτῳ συγκαταθέσει πεπαῦσθαι, κάν  
νῦν ποτὲ δυνηθῆ πολλῶν παρόντων τέλους  
τυχεῖν.

10.5.23 | ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν πλείστους ἔκ  
διαφόρων καὶ ἀμυθήτων τόπων  
ἐπισκόπους είς τὴν Ἀρελατησίων πόλιν  
εἴσω Καλανδῶν Αύγούστων συνελθεῖν  
ἐκελεύσαμεν, καὶ σοὶ γράψαι ἐνομίσαμεν,  
ἕνα λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου  
Λατρωνιανοῦ τοῦ κορρήκτορος Σικελίας  
δημόσιον ὅχημα, συζεύξας σεαυτῷ καὶ δύο  
γέ τινας τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου θρόνου, οὓς  
ἄν σὺ αὐτὸς ἐπιλέξασθαι κρίνῃς, ἀλλὰ μὴν  
καὶ τρεῖς παῖδας τοὺς δυνησομένους ὑμῖν

10.5.22 | But since, as it happens, some,  
forgetting their own salvation and the  
respect owed to the most holy church, still  
do not stop extending their own hostilities,  
unwilling to agree with the judgment that  
has already been made, and deciding that  
indeed only a few have expressed their  
opinions and decisions, they hurried to  
bring forth the judgment without  
thoroughly examining all those who owe it.  
From all this, it turns out that they have  
shamefully and even more disgracefully  
separated themselves from each other,  
instead of having brotherly and united  
harmony, and they give outsiders a reason  
to mock this most holy religion. Therefore,  
it has become clear to me that this matter,  
which should have ceased after the  
judgment that has already been made, must  
be resolved by a voluntary agreement, even  
if it can now achieve an end with many  
present.

10.5.23 | Since we have ordered many  
bishops from different and countless places  
to gather in the city of Arelate before the  
Kalends of August, we thought it right to  
write to you. Taking a public vehicle from  
the most distinguished Latronianus, the  
curator of Sicily, join yourself with two of  
those from the second throne, whom you  
think best to choose. Also, take three  
servants who can assist you on the way. On  
the same day, meet at the mentioned place.

κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὑπηρετήσασθαι  
παραλαβών, εἴσω τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τῷ  
προειρημένῳ τόπῳ ἀπάντησον,

10.5.24 | ὡς ἀν διά τε τῆς σῆς στερρότητος  
καὶ διὰ τῆς λοιπῆς τῶν συνιόντων  
διμοψύχου καὶ διμόφρονος συνέσεως καὶ  
τοῦτο, ὅπερ ἄχρι τοῦ δεῦρο φαύλως δι'  
αἰσχράς τινας ζυγομαχίας παραμεμένηκεν,  
ἀκουσθέντων πάντων τῶν μελλόντων  
λεχθήσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν νῦν ἀπ' ἄλλήλων  
διεστώτων, οὕστερος διμοίως παρεῖναι  
ἐκελεύσαμεν, δυνηθῆ εἰς τὴν ὄφειλομένην  
Θρησκείαν καὶ πίστιν, ἀδελφικήν τε  
διμόνοιαν καν βραδέως ἀνακληθῆναι.  
Ὕγιαίνοντά σε ὃθ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ  
διαφυλάξαι ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν."  
Ἀντίγραφον βασιλικῆς ἐπιστολῆς, δι' ἣς  
χρήματαταπῖς ἐκκλησίαις δωρεῖται.

10.5.24 | "Through your firmness and the  
united agreement of those who come  
together, this matter, which has until now  
been poorly left to shameful disputes, can  
be resolved. If all those who are now  
separated from each other come together  
as we have ordered, it may lead to the  
necessary faith and a brotherly harmony,  
even if it takes time to restore. May the  
Almighty God keep you safe for many  
years." Copy of a royal letter, by which  
money is donated to the churches.

## Section 6

10.6.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 42] "Κωνσταντῖνος  
Αὔγουστος Καικιλιανῷ ἐπισκόπῳ  
Καρταηένης. ἐπειδήπερ ἥρεσε, κατὰ πάσας  
ἐπαρχίας, τάς τε Ἀφρικὰς καὶ τὰς  
Νουμιδίας καὶ τὰς Μαυριτανίας, ὃητοῖς τισι  
τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τῆς ἐνθέσμου καὶ τὰς  
ἀγιωτάτης καθολικῆς Θρησκείας εἰς  
ἀναλώματα ἐπιχορηγηθῆναι τι, ἔδωκα  
γράμματα πρὸς Οὔρσον τὸν διασημότατον  
καθολικὸν τῆς Ἀφρικῆς, καὶ ἐδήλωσα  
αὐτῷ, ὅπως τρισχιλίους φόλλειστῇ σῇ  
στερρότητι ἀπαριθμῆσαι φροντίζῃ.

10.6.1 | Constantine Augustus to Caecilian,  
bishop of Carthage. Since it has pleased me,  
throughout all the provinces, both the  
African and the Numidian and the  
Mauritanian, to provide some funds for the  
needs of the holy Catholic faith, I have sent  
letters to Ursus, the most distinguished  
Catholic of Africa, and I have informed him  
to count three thousand follis for your  
firmness.

10.6.2 | σὺ τοίνυν, ἡνίκα τὴν  
προδηλουμένην ποσότητα τῶν χρημάτων  
ὑποδεχθῆναι ποιήσεις, ἅπασι τοῖς  
προειρημένοις κατὰ τὸ βρέουιον τὸ πρὸς

10.6.2 | Therefore, when you receive the  
mentioned amount of money, command  
that all of it be distributed to those  
previously mentioned according to the

σὲ παρὰ Ὅσίου ἀποσταλὲν ταῦτα τὰ  
χρήματα διαδοθῆναι κέ— λευσον.

instructions sent to you by Hosius.

10.6.3 | εἰ δ' ἄρα πρὸς τὸ συμπληρωθῆναι  
μου τὴν εἰς τοῦτο περὶ ἄπαντας αὐτοὺς  
προαιρέσιν ἐνδεῖν τι καταμάθοις, παρὰ  
Ἡρακλείδα τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου τῶν ἡμετέρων  
κτημάτων ἀναμφιλίκτως ὅπερ ἀναγκαῖον  
εἶναι καταμάθοις αἴτησαι ὁφείλεις, καὶ γὰρ  
παρόντι αὐτῷ προσέταξα, ὃν' εἴ τι ἄν  
χρημάτων παρ αὐτοῦ ἡ σὴ στερρότης  
αἴτησῃ, ἄνευ δισταγμοῦ τινὸς ἀπαριθμῆσαι  
φροντίζῃ.

10.6.3 | If you learn that something is  
needed to complete my intention regarding  
all of them, you must certainly ask  
Heracleidas, the steward of our properties,  
for what is necessary. For I have also  
instructed him, so that if your firmness  
requests any money from him, he should  
count it without any hesitation.

10.6.4 | καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐπυθόμην τινὰς μὴ  
καθεστώσης διανοίας τυγχάνοντας  
ἀνθρώπους τὸν λαὸν τῆς ἀγιωτάτης καὶ  
καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας φαύλῃ τινὶ<sup>ν</sup>  
ὑπονοθεύσει βούλεσθαι διαστρέψειν,  
γίνωσκε με Ἀνυλίνῳ ἀνθυπάτῳ, ἀλλὰ μὴν  
καὶ Πατρικίῳ τῷ οὐικαρίῳ τῶν ἐπάρχων  
παροῦσι ροιαύτας ἐντολὰς δεδωκέναι, ὃν'  
ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἄπασι καὶ τούτου μάλιστα  
τὴν προσήκουσαν φροντίδα ποιήσωνται,  
καὶ μὴ ἀνάσχωνται περιορᾶν τοιοῦτο  
γινόμενον.

10.6.4 | And since I learned that some  
people, not having a settled mind, want to  
mislead the people of the most holy and  
universal church with some petty  
suggestion, know that I have given orders  
to both Anulinus the governor and  
Patricius the distinguished of the prefects,  
so that in all other matters, and especially  
this one, they take the proper care and do  
not allow such things to happen.

10.6.5 | διόπερ εἴ τινας τοιούτους  
ἀνθρώπους ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μανίᾳ ἐπιμένειν  
κατίδοις, ἄνευ τινὸς ἀμφιβολίας τοῖς  
προειρημένοις δικασταῖς πρόσελθε, καὶ  
αὐτὸ τοῦτο προσανένεγκε, ὅπως αὐτοὺς  
έκεινοι, καθάπερ αὐτοῖς παροῦσιν  
ἐκέλευσα, ἐπιστρέψωσιν. ἡ θειότης τοῦ  
μεγάλου θεοῦ σε διαφυλάξοι ἐπὶ πολλοῖς  
ἔτεσιν."

10.6.5 | Therefore, if you see any such  
people persisting in that madness, go to the  
judges mentioned without any doubt, and  
bring this matter to them, so that they may  
turn them back, just as I have instructed  
them. May the divinity of the great god  
protect you for many years.

## Section 7

10.7.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 42] Ἀντίγραφον βασιλικῆς ἐπιστολῆς, δι' ἣς τοὺς προεστῶτας τῶν ἑκκλησιῶν πάσης ἀπολελύσθαι τῆς περὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ λειτουργίας προστάττει. "Χαῖρε, Ἄνυλῖνε, τιμώτατε ἡμῖν ἐπειδὴ ἐκ πλειόνων πραγμάτων φαίνεται, παρεξουθενηθεῖσαν τὴν θρησκείαν, ἐν ᾧ ἡ κορυφαία τῆς ἀγιωτάτης ἐπουρανίου αἰδὼς φυλάττεται, μεγάλους κινδύνους ἐνηνοχέναι τοῖς δημοσίοις πράγμασιν, αὐτήν τε ταύτην ἐνθέσμως ἀναληφθεῖσαν καὶ φυλαττομένην μέγιστην εύτυχίαν τῷ Ρωμαϊκῷ ὄνόματι, καὶ σύμπασι τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγμασιν ἔξαίρετον εύδαιμονίαν παρεσχηκέναι, τῶν θείων εὔεργεσιῶν τοῦτο παρεχουσῶν, ἔδοξεν ἐκείνους τοὺς ἀνδρας τοὺς τῇ ὁφειλομένην ἀγιότητι καὶ τῇ τοῦ νόμου τούτου παρεδρίᾳ τὰς ὑπηρεσίας τὰς ἐξ ἐαυτῶν τῇ τῆς θείας θρησκείας θεραπείᾳ παρ' ἔχοντ' ἄς, τῶν καμάτων τῶν ἴδιων τὰ ἔπαθλα κομίσασθαι, Ἄνυλῖνε τιμώτατε.

10.7.2 | διόπερ ἐκείνους τοὺς εἴσω τῆς ἐπαρχίας τῆς σοι πεπιστευμένης ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἑκκλησίᾳ, ἦ Καικιλιανὸς ἐφέστηκε, τὴν ἐξ ἐαυτῶν ὑπηρεσίαν τῇ ἀγίᾳ ταύτῃ θρησκείᾳ παρέχοντας, οὕσπερ κληρικοὺς ἐπονομάξειν είώθασιν, ἀπὸ πάντων ἀπαξαπλῶς τῶν λειτουργιῶν βούλομαι ἀλειτουργήτους διαφυλαχθῆναι, ὅπως μὴ διά τινος πλάνης ἢ ἔξοιλισθήσεως ἱεροσύλου ἀπὸ τῆς θεραπείας τῆς τῇ θειότητι ὁφειλομένης ἀφέλκωνται, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀνευ τινὸς ἐνοχλήσεως τῷ ἴδιῳ νόμῳ ἔχυπηρετῶνται, ὕνπερ μεγίστην περὶ τὸ θεῖον λατρείαν ποιουμένων πλεῖστον ὅσον τοῖς κοινοῖς πράγμασι συνοίσειν

10.7.1 | Copy of a royal letter, by which the leaders of all the churches are ordered to be freed from the political duties.  
'Greetings, Anulinus, most honored to us. Since it seems from many matters that religion has been disregarded, in which the highest honor of the most holy heavenly shame is protected, great dangers have arisen for public affairs. This religion, taken up and kept with great fortune for the Roman name, has provided exceptional happiness for all human affairs, offering divine blessings. It has seemed good to those men, who owe their holiness and the authority of this law, to dedicate their services to the care of divine religion, taking from their own labors the rewards. Anulinus, most honored.'

10.7.2 | Therefore, I want those inside your trusted province in the universal church, where Caecilianus is set, who provide their service to this holy religion, as they are usually called clergy, to be kept free from all duties. I want them to be protected from any deception or the falling away of a priest from the care owed to the divine, so that they may serve their own law without any disturbance. This is because they are making the greatest effort for divine worship, which seems to contribute most to public affairs. Farewell, Anulinus, most honored and most desired to us.

δοκεῖ. ἔρρωσο, Ἀνυλῖνε, τιμιώτατε καὶ ποθεινότατε ἡμῖν.”

## Section 8

10.8.1 | [Nic. H. E. VII, 44] Τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν ἡ θεία καὶ οὐράνιος τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπιφανείας ἐδωρεῖτο χάρις, τοσαύτη τε ἄπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονίᾳ διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπρυτανεύετο εἰρήνης, καὶ ὥδε μὲν τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν εὐφροσύναις καὶ πανηγύρεσιν ἐτελεῖτο.

10.8.2 | οὐκ ἦν δὲ ἄρα τῷ μισοκάλῳ φθόνῳ, τῷ τε φιλοπονήρῳ δαιμόνῳ φορητὸς ἡ τῶν ὁρωμένων θέα, ὥσπερ οὖν οὐδὲ Λικιννίῳ πρὸς σώφρονα λογισμὸν ἐτύγχανεν αὐτάρκη τὰ τοῖς πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένοις τυράννοις συμβεβηκότα· ὃς εὗ φερομένης τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ, βασιλέως τε μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου δευτερείων τιμῆς, ἐπιγαμβρίας τε καὶ συγγενείας τῆς ἀνωτάτω ἡξιωμένος, μιμήσεως μὲν τῆς τῶν καλῶν ἀπελιμπάνετο, τῆς δὲ τῶν ἀσεβῶν τυράννων μοχθηρίας ἐζήλου τὴν κακοτροπίαν, καὶ ὃν τοῦ βίου τὴν καταστροφὴν ἐπεῖδεν αὐτοῖς ὄφθαλμοῖς, τούτων ἐπεσθαι τῇ γνώμῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ τοῦ κρείττονος ἐμμένειν φιλίᾳ τε καὶ διαθέσει ἥρεῖτο.

10.8.3 | διαφθονηθείς γέ τοι τῷ πανευεργέτῃ πόλεμον δυσαγῇ καὶ δεινότατον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκφέρει, οὐ φύσεως νόμων φεισάμενος, οὐχ ὁρκωμοσιῶν, οὐχ αἴματος, οὐ συνθηκῶν μνήμην ἐν διανοίᾳ λαβών.

10.8.1 | Such things, then, the divine and heavenly grace of our Savior has granted to us, and such an abundance of good things has been provided to all people through our leadership of peace. And thus, our matters were celebrated in joy and festivals.

10.8.2 | Nor would the hateful envy, which is a hard-working demon, allow the sight of what is seen to be portable. Just as it did not happen to Licinius to have a self-sufficient mind regarding the tyrants mentioned before. He, being well-regarded by the authority given to him, and honored with a secondary rank by the great king Constantine, having connections and kinship with those in the highest positions, abandoned the imitation of the good and instead desired the wickedness of the impious tyrants. He chose to follow their way of life rather than remain loyal to the better and to friendship and disposition.

10.8.3 | Having been corrupted, he brings forth a most difficult and terrible war against the all-benefactor, not sparing the laws of nature, nor oaths, nor blood, nor remembering treaties in his mind.

10.8.4 | ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ οἶα πανάγαθος βασιλεὺς, εύνοίας παρέχων ἀληθοῦς σύμβολα, συγγενείας τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐφθόνησε, γάμων τε λαμπρῶν ἀδελφῆς μετουσίαν οὐκ ἀπήρνήσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐκ πατέρων εὐγενείας, βασιλικοῦ τε ἀνέκαθεν αἴματος κοινωνὸν γενέσθαι ἡξίωσε, τῆς τε κατὰ πάντων ἀπολαύειν ἀρχῆς οἶα κηδεστῇ καὶ συμβασιλεῖ παρεῖχε τὴν ἔξουσίαν, οὐκ ἔλαττον μέρος τῶν ὑπὸ Ἦρωμαίους ἔθνῶν διέπειν αὐτῷ καὶ διοικεῖν κεχαρισμένος.

10.8.5 | ὁ δ' ἔμπαλιν τούτοις τάναντίᾳ διεπράττετο, παντοίας ὀσημέραι κατὰ τοῦ κρείττονος μηχανᾶς ἐπιτεχνώμενος, πάντας τε ἐπινοῶν ἐπιβουλῆς τρόπους, ὡς ἂν κακοῖς τὸν εὔεργέτην ἀμείψοιτο. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα πειρώμενος τὴν συσκευὴν ἐπικρύπτειν, φίλος εἶναι προσεποιεῖτο, δόλῳ τε καὶ ἀπάτῃ πλειστάκις ἐπιθέμενος ῥᾷστα ἂν τυχεῖν τοῦ προσδοκωμένου ἥλπισε.

10.8.6 | τῷ δὲ ἄρα ὁ θεὸς ἦν φίλος, κηδεμών τε καὶ φύλαξ, δος αὐτῷ τὰς ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ καὶ σκότει μηχανωμένας ἐπιβουλὰς εἰς φῶς ἄγων διήλεγχε. τοσοῦτον ἀρετῆς τὸ μέγα τῆς θεοσεβείας ὅπλον πρὸς ἄμυναν μὲν ἔχθρῶν, οἰκείας δὲ φυλακὴν σωτηρίας ἰσχύει ὡς δὴ πεφραγμένος ὁ θεοφιλέστατος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς τὰς τοῦ δυσωνύμου πολυπλόκους ἐπιβουλὰς διεδίρασκεν.

10.8.7 | ὁ δὲ τὴν λαθραίαν συσκευὴν ὡς οὐδαμῶς ἐώρα κατὰ γνώμην αὐτῷ χωροῦσαν, τοῦ θεοῦ πάντα δόλον τε καὶ ῥᾳδιουργίαν τῷ θεοφιλεῖ βασιλεῖ

10.8.4 | For he, being a most good king, provided true signs of goodwill, did not envy the kinship with him, and did not refuse to share in the splendid marriages of his sister. He also deemed it worthy to become a partner in the noble blood from his ancestors and to enjoy authority over all, as one who is a guardian and co-ruler, having been granted the power to govern and manage no less than a part of the nations under the Romans.

10.8.5 | But he, on the contrary, was doing the opposite, constantly devising all kinds of schemes against the stronger one, thinking up ways to plot against everyone, so that he might exchange the benefactor for the wicked. At first, he tried to hide his plans, pretending to be a friend, and by using trickery and deceit, he hoped to easily achieve what he was expecting.

10.8.6 | But the god was a friend to him, both a guardian and protector, who brought to light the hidden plots made in secrecy and darkness. Such was the great power of piety as a shield against enemies and a strong protection for one's own safety, by which our most beloved king, being guarded, was able to escape the many twisted plots of the wicked.

10.8.7 | But he, seeing that his secret plans were not at all hidden from him, and with the god making all deceit and trickery clear to the beloved king, was no longer able to

κατάφωρα ποιοῦντος, οὐκέθ' οὗτος τε ὧν  
ἐπικρύπτεσθαι προφανῆ πόλεμον αἴρεται.

10.8.8 | ὅμοσε δῆτα Κωνσταντίνῳ πολεμεῖν  
διαγνοὺς, ἥδη καὶ κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ὄλων,  
ὅν ἡπίστατο σέβειν αὐτὸν, παρατάττεσθαι  
ῷρμᾶτο, κᾱπειτα τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ θεοσεβεῖς,  
μηδὲν μηδ' ὄλως πώποτε τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ  
λυπηρὸν διαθεμένους, ἡρέμα τέως καὶ  
ἡσυχῇ πολιορκεῖν ἐπεβάλλετο· καὶ τοῦτ'  
ἐπραττε, δεινῶς ἀβλεπτεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς  
ἔμφύτου κακίας ἡναγκασμένος.

10.8.9 | οὕτ' οὖν τὴν μνήμην τῶν πρὸ<sup>τ</sup>  
αύτοῦ Χριστιανοὺς ἔκδιωξάντων πρὸ<sup>τ</sup>  
όφθαλμῶν ἔθετο, οὐδ' ὧν αὐτὸς ὀλετήριος καὶ  
τιμωρὸς δι' ἀς μετῆλθον ἀσεβείας κατέστη.  
ἄλλὰ γὰρ τοῦ σώφρονος ἐκτραπεὶς  
λογισμοῦ, διαρρήδην δὲ μανεῖς τὰς φρένας,  
τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν, οἷα δὴ Κωνσταντίνου  
βοηθὸν, ἀντὶ τοῦ βοηθουμένου πολεμεῖν  
έγνώκει.

10.8.10 | καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τῆς οἰκίας τῆς  
αύτοῦ πάντα Χριστιανὸν ἀπελαύνει,  
ἔρημον αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ὁ δεῖλαιος τῆς τούτων  
καθιστάς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εύχῆς,  
ἥν ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων αὐτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι πάτριον  
μάθημα τυγχάνει· εἴτα δὲ τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν  
στρατιώτας ἐκκρίνεσθαι καὶ ἀποβάλλεσθαι  
τοῦ τῆς τιμῆς ἀξιώματος, εἰ μὴ τοῖς δαίμοσι  
θύειν αἰροῖντο, παρακελεύεται. καὶ ἔτι γε  
ταῦτα ἦν μικρὰ, τῇ τῶν μειζόνων  
συγκρινόμενα παραθέσει.

10.8.11 | τί δεῖ τούτων τὰ καθέκαστα καὶ

hide and chose to bring on an obvious war.

10.8.8 | Indeed, knowing that he was  
fighting against Constantine, and already  
against the god of all, whom he knew he  
should honor, he was eager to prepare for  
battle. Then, he quietly began to besiege  
those who were pious under him, never  
wishing to harm his rule, and at first, he  
was quietly and calmly attacking. And he  
was doing this, forced to act blindly by the  
evil that was within him.

10.8.9 | Therefore, he did not put the  
memory of those Christians who had been  
driven out before his eyes, nor of those  
whom he himself had destroyed and  
punished for their wickedness. But indeed,  
having turned away from wise thinking and  
completely mad in his mind, he knew the  
god himself, as if he were a helper of  
Constantine, to be fighting instead of being  
helped.

10.8.10 | And first, he drives out all  
Christians from his house, leaving himself  
alone. The wretched man stands before the  
god in prayer, which he happens to make  
for all of them as a family custom. Then, he  
orders the soldiers in the city to be judged  
and stripped of their honor unless they  
choose to sacrifice to the demons. And  
indeed, these things were small when  
compared to the greater ones.

10.8.11 | What need is there to mention the

κατὰ μέρος τῷ θεομισεῖ πεπραγμένα  
μνημονεύειν, ὅπως τε νόμους ἀνόμους ὁ  
παρανομώτατος ἔξηρε; τούς γέ τοι ἐν ταῖς  
εἰρκταῖς ταλαιπωρουμένους ἐνομοθέτει  
μηδένα μεταδόσει τροφῆς  
φιλανθρωπεύεσθαι, μηδ' ἐλεεῖν τοὺς ἐν  
δεσμοῖς λιμῷ διαφθειρομένους, μηδ' ἀπλῶς  
ἀγαθὸν εἶναι μηδένα, μηδ' ἀγαθόν τι  
πράττειν τοὺς καὶ πρὸς αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως  
ἐπὶ τὸ συμπαθὲς τῶν πέλας ἐλκομένους.  
καὶ ἦν γε νόμων οὗτος ἄντικρυς ἀναιδῆς  
καὶ ἀπηνέστατος, πᾶσαν ἡμερον  
ὑπερεξάγων φύσιν, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ τιμωρία  
προσέκειτο, τοὺς ἐλεοῦντας τὰ ἵσα πάσχειν  
τοῖς ἐλεουμένοις, δεσμοῖς τε καὶ φυλακαῖς  
καθείργυνσθαι, τὴν ἴσην τοῖς  
καταπονουμένοις ὑπομένοντας τιμωρίαν,  
τοὺς τὰ φιλάνθρωπα διακονουμένους.

details of these things and the actions done against the god-haters, especially how the most lawless one found unlawful laws? For those suffering in prisons, he established laws that allowed no one to share food with them in kindness, nor to have pity on those dying of hunger in chains, nor to be good to anyone at all, nor to do anything good for those who were drawn to sympathy for their neighbors. And indeed, this law was openly shameless and cruel, completely going against all natural kindness, for which punishment was attached, so that those who showed mercy would suffer the same as those who were being shown mercy, being bound and imprisoned, enduring equal punishment with those who were being crushed, while those serving kindness were punished.

10.8.12 | τοιαῦται αἱ Λικιννίου διατάξεις. τί  
χρὴ τὰς περὶ γάμων καινοτομίας  
ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι, ἢ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς τὸν βίον  
μεταλλάττουσι νεωτερισμοὺς αύτοῦ, δι' ὃν  
τοὺς παλαιοὺς Ῥωμαίων εῦ καὶ σοφῶς  
κειμένους νόμους περιγράψαι τολμήσας,  
βαρβάρους τινὰς καὶ ἀνημέρους ἀντεισῆγε  
νόμους, ἀνόμους ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ  
παρανόμους; ἐπισκήψεις τε μυρίας κατὰ  
τῶν ὑποχειρίων ἐθνῶν ἐπενόει, χρυσοῦ τε  
καὶ ἀργύρου παντοίας εἰσπράξεις,  
ἀναμετρήσεις τε γῆς, καὶ τῶν κατ' ἀγροὺς  
μηκέτ' ὄντων ἀνθρώπων, πρόπαλαι δὲ  
κατοιχομένων, ἐπιζήμιον κέρδος.

10.8.12 | Such are the laws of Licinius. What need is there to list the changes regarding marriage, or those who bring new ideas that change life itself? Through these, he dared to write over the old Roman laws that were well and wisely established, introducing some barbaric and uncivilized laws that were truly unlawful and illegal. He also thought of countless attacks against the subject nations, collecting all kinds of gold and silver, measuring land, and taking advantage of people who were no longer living in the countryside, while those who were previously settled faced harmful profit.

10.8.13 | οἵους δ' ἐφηρεύειν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ  
μισάνθρωπος κατὰ μηδὲν ἡδικηκότων  
ἔξορισμοὺς, οἴας εύπατριδῶν καὶ  
ἀξιολόγων ἀνδρῶν ἀπαγωγὰς, ὃν δὴ τὰς

10.8.13 | What kinds of exiles did the man who hates humanity find for those who had done no wrong, such as the noble and worthy men he captured? He took their

κουριδίας ἀποζευγνύς γαμετὰς μιαροῖς τισὸν οἰκέταις ἐφ' ὕβρει πράξεως αἰσχρᾶς παρεδίδου, δσαις δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ ἐσχατόγηρως γυναιξὶν ὑπάνδροις, παρθένοις τε κόραις ἐμπαροινῶν, τὴν ἀκόλαστον τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμίαν ἐπλήρου — τί χρὴ ταῦτα μηκύνειν, τῆς τῶν ἐσχάτων αὐτοῦ πράξεων ὑπερβολῆς μικρὰ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι διελεγχούσης;

wives and gave them to some filthy servants in a shameful act of arrogance, while he himself, an old man, went after married women and young girls, fulfilling the reckless desires of his own soul. Why should we prolong this, when the excesses of his final actions are much greater than the smallness of the first and the fact that there is nothing to argue about?

10.8.14 | τὸ γοῦν τέλος αὐτῷ τῆς μανίας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἔχώρει. ἥδη τε τούτους, ὡσὰν τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ θεράποντας, ἐναντίους ὑπάρχειν οἵς ἔδρα ἡγούμενος, οὕπω μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος φόβον, λάθρα δὲ αὐθις καὶ δολίως συνεσκευάζετο, ἀνήρει τε τούτων δι' ἐπιβουλῆς τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους. καὶ ὁ τρόπος δὲ τοῦ κατ' αὐτῶν φόνου ξένος τις ἦν, καὶ οὗτος οὐδεπώποτε ἡκούσθη.

10.8.14 | Indeed, the end of his madness was directed against the bishops. He already saw them as opponents, like those who serve the highest god, and he thought they were in his way. Not yet openly, because he feared the stronger, but secretly and deceitfully, he plotted against them. He removed the most respected among them through the schemes of the leaders. The way he killed them was strange and unlike anything ever heard of before.

10.8.15 | τὰ γοῦν ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἄμασειαν καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τοῦ Πόντου πόλεις κατεργασθέντα πᾶσαν ὑπερβολὴν ὡμότητος ὑπερηκόντισεν, ἐνθα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ αἱ μὲν ἐξ ὕψους εἰς ἔδαφος αὐθις κατερρίπτοντο, τὰς δὲ ἀπέκλειον, ὡς ἀν μὴ συνάγοιτο τις τῶν εἰωθότων, μηδὲ τῷ θεῷ τὰς ἐποφειλομένας ἀποδιδῷ λατρείας.

10.8.15 | Indeed, he caused great cruelty in Amaseia and the other cities of Pontus. There, the churches of God were either thrown down from above to the ground or shut off, so that no one could gather as usual, nor could they offer the worship that was due to God.

10.8.16 | συντελεῖσθαι γὰρ οὐχ ἡγεῖτο ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὰς εὔχας, συνειδότι φαύλῳ τοῦτῳ λογιξόμενος, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς βασιλέως πάντα πράττειν ἡμάς καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἱλεοῦσθαι πέπειστο· ἐνθεν ὠρμᾶτο καθ' ἡμῶν τὸν θυμὸν ἐπισκήπτειν.

10.8.16 | For he did not think that prayers were offered for him, knowing that this was a foolish idea. Instead, he believed that everything should be done for the beloved king and that we should ask God for mercy. From this, he was stirred up to attack us

with anger.

10.8.17 | καὶ δῆτα τῶν ἡγεμόνων ὅ̄ι  
κόλακες, τὰ φίλα πράττειν τῷ δυσαγεῖ  
πεπεισμένοι, τῶν ἐπισκόπων τοὺς μὲν  
συνήθως ταῖς τῶν κακούργων ἀνδρῶν  
περιέβαλλον τιμωρίαις, ἀπήγοντό τε καὶ  
έκολάζοντο ἀπροφασίστως τοῖς μιαιφόνοις  
ὅμοιώς οἵ μηδὲν ἡδικηκότες· ἥδη δέ τινες  
καινοτέραν ὑπέμενον τελευτὴν, ξίφει τὸ  
σῶμα εἰς πολλὰ τμήματα  
κατακρεουργούμενοι, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀπηνῆ  
ταύτην καὶ φρικτοτάτην θέαν τοῖς τῆς  
θαλάσσης βυθοῖς ἰχθύσι εἰς βορὰν  
ριπτούμενοι.

10.8.17 | And indeed, the leaders, those flatterers, were convinced to do what was pleasing to the one who was hard to please. They usually surrounded the bishops with punishments like those for wicked men, and they took them away and punished them without any excuse, just like the murderers, even though they had done nothing wrong. But already some were facing a new kind of death, being cut into many pieces by a sword, and after this cruel and horrifying death, they were thrown into the depths of the sea for the fish.

10.8.18 | φυγαὶ δὴ αὐθις ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν  
θεοσεβῶν ἔγίνοντο ἀνδρῶν, καὶ πάλιν  
ἀγροὶ, καὶ πάλιν ἔρημίαι, νάπαι τε καὶ ὅρη  
τοὺς Χριστοῦ θεράποντας ὑπεδέχοντο. ἐπεὶ  
δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τοῦτον προυχώρει τῷ  
δυσσεβεῖ τὸν τρόπον, λοιπὸν καὶ τὸν κατὰ  
πάντων ἀνακινεῖν διωγμὸν ἐπὶ διάνοιαν  
ἔβάλλετο.

10.8.18 | Fleeing again happened among the God-fearing men, and once more there were fields, and once more there were deserted places, and valleys and mountains welcomed the servants of Christ. But when even these were being pushed away by the wicked one, it was decided to bring about a persecution against everyone.

10.8.19 | ἔκρατει τε γνώμης καὶ ούδὲν  
έμποδὼν ἦν αὐτῷ μὴ οὐχὶ ἐν ἔργῳ χωρεῖν,  
εἴ μὴ τάχιστα τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι προλαβὼν  
ὸ τῶν οἰκείων ψυχῶν ὑπέρμαχος θεὸς ὃς  
ἐν βαθεῖ σκότῳ καὶ νυκτὶ ζοφωδεστάτῃ  
φωστῆρα μέγαν ἀθρόως καὶ σωτῆρα τοῖς  
πᾶσιν ἔξελαμψε, τὸν αὐτοῦ θεράποντα  
Κωνσταντῖνον ὑψηλῷ βραχίονι ἐπὶ τὰ τῆδε  
χειραγωγήσας.

10.8.19 | He was strong in his mind and there was nothing stopping him from acting, except for the fact that the god who protects the souls of his own quickly revealed what was to come, like a great light shining in the deep darkness and the most gloomy night, and he guided his servant Constantine with a mighty hand.

## Section 9

10.9.1 | Νώ. Η. Ε. VII, 45-46] Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ἄνωθεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καρπὸν εύσεβείας ἐπάξιον, τὰ τρόπαια τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν παρεῖχε νίκης, τὸν δ' ἀλιτήριον, αὐτοῖς συμβούλοις ἅπασι καὶ φίλοις, ὑπὸ τοῖς Κωνσταντίνου ποσὶ πρηνῇ κατέβαλεν.

10.9.2 | ὡς γὰρ εἰς ἔσχατα μανίας τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἥλαυνεν, οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτὸν εἶναι λογισάμενος βασιλεὺς ὁ τῷ θεῷ φίλος, τὸν σώφρονα συναγαγών λογισμὸν, καὶ τὸν στερρὸν τοῦ δικαίου τρόπον φιλανθρωπίᾳ κερασάμενος, ἀσμενος ἐπαμῦναι κρίνει τοῖς ὑπὸ τῷ τυράννῳ ταλαιπωρουμένοις, καὶ τό γε πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων γένος, βραχεῖς λυμεῶνας ἔκποδῶν ποιησάμενος, ἀνασώσασθαι ὀρμᾶται.

10.9.3 | μόνη γὰρ αὐτῷ χρωμένω φιλανθρωπίᾳ τὸν πρὸ τούτου χρόνον, καὶ τὸν οὐ συμπαθείας ἄξιον ἐλεοῦντι, τῷ μὲν οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο πλέον, τῆς κακίας οὐκ ἀπαλλαττομένῳ, αὔξοντι δὲ μᾶλλον τὴν κατὰ τῶν ὑποχειρίων ἔθνῶν λύτταν, τοῖς δὲ κακουμένοις οὕτις ἐλείπετο σωτηρίας ἐλπὶς, ὑπὸ δεινῷ θηρίῳ καταπονουμένοις.

10.9.4 | διὸ δὴ τῷ φιλαγάθῳ μίξας τὸ μισοπόνηρον ὁ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀρωγὸς, πρόεισιν ἄμα παιδὶ Κρίσπῳ βασιλεῖ φιλανθρωποτάτῳ, σωτήριον δεξιὰν ἅπασι τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις ἐκτείνας· εἴθ' οἶα παμβασιλεῖ θεῷ, θεοῦ παιδὶ σωτῆρι ἀπάντων ποδηγῷ καὶ συμμάχῳ χρώμενοι, πατήρ ἄμα καὶ υἱὸς, ἄμφω κύκλῳ διελόντες τὴν κατὰ τῶν θεομισῶν παράταξιν, ὥστε τὴν νίκην ἀποφέρονται, τῶν κατὰ τὴν συμβολὴν πάντων ἔξευμαρισθέντων αὐτοῖς

10.9.1 | Therefore, from above, a worthy fruit of piety was given to him, providing the trophies of victory against the wicked. But the wicked one, along with all his advisors and friends, was thrown down at the feet of Constantine.

10.9.2 | As he was driven to the very limits of madness, the king, who was a friend of God, thought it was no longer bearable. Gathering a wise plan and mixing it with the strong way of justice and kindness, he happily decided to help those suffering under the tyrant. He aimed to rescue the greatest number of people, creating quick ways to free them.

10.9.3 | For he alone, using kindness, had no compassion for those before him. Nothing changed for them, as they were not freed from evil. Instead, the suffering of the oppressed nations grew worse, and for those who were being harmed, there was no hope of rescue, as they were being crushed by a terrible beast.

10.9.4 | Therefore, the kind-hearted helper of the good mixed with the half-hearted and went to the very kind king Crispus, stretching out a saving hand to all those who were lost. Then, as if to the universal king, using the son of God as a guide and ally for all, both father and son, they easily achieved victory over the enemies of God. This was granted to them by God according to his will, as they overcame all those who were gathered against them.

ύπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ γνώμην.

10.9.5 | ἀθρόως δῆτα καὶ λόγου θάττον οἱ μὲν χθὲς καὶ πρὸ ἡμέρας θανάτου πνέοντες καὶ ἀπειλῆς οὐκέτ' ἥσαν, οὐδὲ μέχρις ὄνόματος μνημονεύμενοι· γραφαί τε αὐτῶν καὶ τιμαὶ τὴν ἀξίαν αἰσχύνην ἀπελάμβανον. καὶ ἂ τοῖς πάλαι δυσσεβέσι τυράννοις ἐνεῖδεν αὐτοῖς ὄφθαλμοῖς Λικίνιος, ταῦτα ὁμοίως καὶ αὐτὸς ἔπασχεν, ὅτι μηδ' αὐτὸς ἐδέξατο ὡς παιδείαν, μηδὲ ταῖς τῶν πέλασι ἐσωφρονίσθη μάστιξι, τὴν ὁμοίαν δὲ ἐκείνοις τῆς ἀσεβείας μετελθών ὀδὸν, ἐπὶ τὸν ἵσον αὐτοῖς ἐνδίκως περιηνέχθη κρημνόν.

10.9.6 | ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν ταύτῃ πῃ βεβλημένος ἔκειτο, ὁ δ' ἀρετῇ πάσῃ θεοσεβείας ἑκπρέπων μέγιστος νικητής Κψυνσταντῖνος σὺν παιδὶ Κρίσπῳ βασιλεῖ θεοφιλεστάτῳ καὶ κατὰ πάντα τοῦ πατρὸς ὁμοίῳ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐώαν ἀπελάμβανον, καὶ μίαν ἡνωμένην τὴν Ἦρωμαίων κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν παρεῖχον ἀρχὴν, τὴν ἀπ' ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ κατὰ θάτερα τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἄρκτον τε ὁμοῦ καὶ μεσημβρίαν, εἰς ἐσχατα δυομένης ἡμέρας ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῶν ἄγοντες εἰρήνην.

10.9.7 | ἀφήρητο δ' οὖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πᾶν δέος τῶν πρὶν αὐτοὺς πιεζόντων, λαμπρὰς δ' ἐτέλουν καὶ πανηγυρικὰς ἐορτῶν ἡμέρας· ἦν δὲ φωτὸς ἐμπλεα πάντα, καὶ μειδιῶσι προσώποις, ὅμμασί τε φαιδροῖς οἱ πρὶν κατηφεῖς ἀλλήλους ἔβλεπον, χορεῖαι δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ὕμνοι κατὰ πόλεις ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀγρούς τὸν παμβασιλέα θεὸν πρώτιστα πάντων, ὅτι δὴ τοῦτ' ἐδιδάχθησαν, κάπειτα

10.9.5 | Indeed, yesterday and the day before, those who were breathing threats of death were no longer present, nor were they remembered by name. Their writings and honors were stripped of their worth and became a shame. And what Licinius had shown to the wicked tyrants before their eyes, he himself also suffered, because he did not accept education, nor was he corrected by the punishments of his neighbors. Instead, he followed the same path of wickedness, and he was justly led to the same downfall as they were.

10.9.6 | But this one lay there, struck down, while the greatest victor in all virtue and piety, Constantine, along with the very kind king Crispus, enjoyed the same appearance as his father. They provided a united rule for the Romans, according to the ancient way, covering all the world in a circle from the rising sun to the setting sun, bringing together both the north and the south, and leading peace into the farthest ends of the day.

10.9.7 | Then all fear of those who had oppressed them was taken away from the people, and they celebrated bright and festive days of feasts. Everything was filled with light, and with smiling faces, those who had once looked downcast at each other now saw each other with bright eyes. Dances and hymns filled the cities and the countryside together. They first praised the

τὸν εύσεβη βασιλέα παισὶν ἄμα θεοφιλέσιν ἐγέραιρον.

all-kingly god, because they had learned this, and then they honored the pious king along with his beloved children.

10.9.8 | κακῶν δ' ἀμνηστία παλαιῶν ἦν, καὶ λήθη πάσης δυσσεβείας, παρόντων δ' ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσις, καὶ προσέτι μελλόντων προσδοκίαι. ἥπλωντο δ' οὖν κατὰ πάντα τόπον τοῦ νικητοῦ βασιλέως φιλανθρωπίας ἔμπλεοι διατάξεις, νόμοι τε μεγαλοδωρεᾶς καὶ ἀληθοῦς εύσεβείας γνωρίσματα περιέχοντες.

10.9.8 | There was a forgetting of old evils and a loss of all wickedness, while there was enjoyment of present goods and hopes for what was to come. Everywhere, there were arrangements filled with the kindness of the victorious king, along with laws of great generosity and true piety containing clear signs.

10.9.9 | οὕτω δῆτα πάσης τυραννίδος ἐκκαθαρθείσης, μόνοις ἐφυλάττετο τὰ τῆς προσηκούσης βασιλείας βέβαιά τε καὶ ἀνεπίφθονα Κωνσταντίνῳ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισὶν, οἱ τῶν πρόσθεν πάντων ἀποσμήξαντες τὴν θεοστυγίαν τοῦ βίου, τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ πρυτανευθέντων ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς ἡσθημένοι, τὸ φιλάρετον καὶ θεοφιλές τότε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εύσεβὲς καὶ εύχαριστον δι' ὧν εἰς προῦπτον ἄπασιν ἀνθρώποις παρέσχον ὡρᾶν ἐπεδεῖξαντο.

10.9.9 | Thus, with all tyranny cleansed away, only the firm and unenvied things of the present kingdom were guarded for Constantine and his children. They had removed the godless misery of life and, being aware of the good things granted by God, they then turned to the divine with pious and grateful hearts. Because of this, they showed all people what they had been given to see.

## Indexes

The person and place indices have been generated based on named entity recognition of the Greek text. As the text was translated, person names and place names were algorithmically identified in the text using the machine learning (ML) model UGARIT/grc-ner-xlmr.

Entries are sorted by transliteration, with the Greek form of the name in parentheses. Locations in the text are referred to using *book-section-paragraph* citations, which are standard for editions of this work. Some people or places will have more than one entry as the entries are based on forms found in the Greek text, which may be inflected or have varying accentuation. The transliterated form found in these indices may also be different than the spelling of the person or place name as it is rendered in the text. On the whole, despite these infelicities, it seemed better to be able to include person and place indices even if the names are not in complete agreement with the text of the translation.

The index of Bible references is generated based on a sentence-level semantic similarity analysis that semantically compared this translation of *Historia Ecclesiastica* to the text of the Bible. The analysis was performed using the model sentence-transformers/LaBSE. Where areas of the translation were found to be highly similar to particular Bible verses, an association was made and recorded in the index. Due to the automated nature of this index, there will be associations with references that, while similar, are not direct allusions or quotations. As with the person and place indices, it seemed better to include this index despite its shortcomings.

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