

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIANS BOOK I

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

It is my purpose to write a record of the successions of the consecrated emissaries,¹ as well as of the times which have elapsed from the days of our Savior Jesus² the Anointed-One down to our own; and to relate the many important events which have occurred in the history of the assembly of the Anointed-One.

2 Therefore, indeed others, when making historical narratives, have handed down in writing exclusively victories of wars and trophies won from enemies, both *the* excellences of generals and *the* manly-deeds of heavy-armed *men*, stained with blood and tens-of-thousands of murders for the sake of little-ones and fatherland and the other surpluses. 3 But yet, this narrative of the politics of God, is an account of those who have acted like men in the most peaceful wars waged in behalf of the peace of *the* soul, and in doing these *things* for truth rather than for fatherland, and for piety rather than for the dearest-of-friends, publicly-engraved on perpetual monuments, proclaiming for a perpetual memorial: 4 *the* struggles and the much-tried manliness of the athletes of the pieties, both trophies won from the demons and victories over the invisible rivals, and the crowns placed on *the heads* of all of them.

5 Now it was during the reign of King Héródés (the first *man* of a foreign race to rule over *the earth* of Judah) when the following prophecy received its fulfillment:

A chief³ will never be lacking in Judah,
nor a leader from between his thighs,
until what has been reserved for him comes;
and he is an expectation of the nations.

(Genesis 49:10)

6 This foreknowledge remained unfulfilled as long as it was permitted for the Judeans to live under chiefs from their own nation. 7 And under the reign of Caesar Augustus, Héródés (the first foreign *ruler*, a half-Edomite, half-Arabian) was entrusted with the principality of the Judeans by the Roman Senate and Caesar Augustus. 8 And at this time, Jesus the Anointed-One, born of a virgin, Miriam,⁴ appeared in bodily-shape, in order to bring this prophecy to fulfillment. 9 From this time *onward*, since both the chiefs and leaders of the race of Judah ceased, naturally *the* affairs of *the* chief-priesthood, which had passed on steadily from generation to generation, were immediately thrown into confusion. 10 For when Héródés was made king by the Romans, he no longer appointed a chief-priest from the ancient race of Aaron; instead, he assigned the honor to *men* who were without distinction. 11 But this same policy was followed by Héródés' son Archelaos, and after him by the Romans, who took the principality of the Judeans.

12 Now during the days of the leadership of Tiberius Caesar (who was the emperor of the Romans after Caesar Augustus had reigned for 56 years and 6 months),⁵ the teaching of Jesus the Anointed-One made its entry into the world. 13 For after he was immersed in water and after God had anointed him with a holy spirit and power, he went forth throughout *the earth* of Judah doing good and healing all those who were oppressed by the Slanderer. 14 And this happened in accordance with the prophecy of Daniel, who clearly mentioned a certain number of weeks of *years* from the rebuilding of Jerusalem (following the Babelian captivity) until the coming of the Anointed-One:

From the utterance of the word
to restore and to build Jerusalem
until an anointed prince,
there will be 7 weeks and 62 weeks.

(Daniel 9:25)

15 And not long after the beginning of Jesus the Anointed-One's preaching of the Good-Message, he called together twelve of his learners, whom he named emissaries.⁶

CHAPTER 2: LETTERS OF ABGAR AND JESUS

¹ Traditionally transliterated to "apostles" (Greek "apostolois" / Latin "apostolis")

² Hebrew equivalent "Jeshua"

³ following LXX / Hebrew MT "scepter"

⁴ Greek "Maria" (traditionally incorrectly translated to "Mary")

⁵ Chronicon(Jerome) / Hippolytus(Chronicon), Eusebios "57 years" / Cassius "sole rule for 44 years lacking 13 days" / Chronography354 "56 years, 4 months, 1 day"

⁶ According to Clemens of Alexandria:Hypotyposes(Bk5—as quoted by Moschos:Spiritual Meadow(Bk5.176)) "The Anointed-One is said to have immersed Petros alone, and Petros Andreas, and Andreas Johanan, and they immersed Jacob and the rest."

And *while the* divinity of our Lord and Savior Jesus *the* Anointed-One was crying *out* among⁷ all humans on account of his wonder-working power, he attracted tens-of-thousands from foreign *countries*, even from the *ones* which were the furthest-away from *the earth* of Judah; for they were having a hope of *finding* a treatment of *their* sicknesses and of all-sorts of sufferings.

2 One of these *was* the king, Abgar, *who* was holding-power most-famously over the nations beyond the Euphrates. *At this time*, he *was* being destroyed by a terrible suffering in his body; and *the suffering* was too great that it was not treatable by *any* human power. 3 And as he enquired of the name of Jesus and of his powers which were being harmoniously testified by everyone, he sent a letter-carrier to him, begging him to deliver him from his sickness which came-upon him.

4 A copy of a letter written by Abgar the district-chief to Jesus *the Anointed-One*, and which was sent to him through Hanan⁸ the courier into Jerusalem.⁹

5 Abgar *the* black,¹⁰ district-chief, to Jesus *the* good savior, who has been made-to-appear in *the* place of Jerusalem, greetings.

6 *The things* about you and your healings have been heard *by* me, as coming-to-be by you without drugs or plants. 7 For as an account *states*, you are making blind *men* to be seeing-again,¹¹ and lame *men* to be walking-around; 8 and you are cleansing leprous *men*; 9 and you are throwing-out unclean spirits and demons; 10 and you are treating the *ones who are* being tortured in lingering-sickness; 11 and you are arising corpses.

12 And after I heard all these *things* about you, I placed in *my* mind that either one of two *things must be true*: either that **you** are God, and, after you descended from the heaven, are doing these *things*; or, *that* you are a son of God *who is* doing these *things*.¹²

13 Moreover, due to this *reason*, I wrote, to beg you to be hastening to me and to treat the suffering which I have. 14 For even I heard that *the* Judeans are also murmuring against you and are wishing to do-evil to you. 15 But with me is a small and beautiful¹³ city which is sufficient for both of *us*.

16 But at that time, *Jesus* did not listen to the calling. 17 Accordingly, he was deeming him worthy of a private letter in which he said, that he would send-off one of his learners both to treat his sickness, simultaneously promising salvation to him and to **all** the *ones* belonging to *his family*.

18 The written-reply by Jesus to Abgar *the* district-chief through *the* courier Hanan:

19 Happy is the *one who* has-faith¹⁴ in me, having not seeing me. 20 For it has been written about me, that the *ones who* have seen me will not have-faith in me, and in order that the *ones who* have not seen me will themselves have-faith in me and will live for themselves. 20 But about what **you** wrote to me, for me to come to you: It is necessary for me to fulfill here everything which I was commissioned to fulfill, and, after these *things* are fulfilled in this way, to be taken-up to the *One who* commissioned me. 21 And whenever I might be taken-up, I will commission a certain *one* of my learners to you, in order that he might heal your suffering and might afford life to you and to the *ones who are with you*.¹⁵

22 But this thing-which-was-professed would not be fulfilled until after Jesus had stood-up from his burial-place and had ascended into the heavens.

CHAPTER 3: DEATH & RISING OF JESUS / ABGAR'S CONVERSION

In the last days of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, Pontius Pilatus, the Roman prefect over the earth of Judah, at the charge of the principal men of the Judeans, condemned Jesus the Anointed-One to be crucified on a cross. 2 *But the ones who* had first loved Jesus did not cease to do so. 3 For after his crucifixion and burial, he stood-up out of dead *humans* and he appeared to them on the third day. 4 He

⁷ literally "into"

⁸ Syr (also supported by Moses Chorene) / Eusebios "Hananiah (Gk "Hanania") [throughout this section]

⁹ Eusebios (325AD) states. "And you have the written attestation of these *things which* were taken out of the public-record-box (lit. "document-guarding-place") according to Edessa (which was at-that-time a reigning city). Accordingly, in the public papers on-the-spot (the *ones which* include the old *things* and the *things on-both-sides* of the *things* Abgar acted), these *things* out of that box were found still guarded even into the present. But favorably-hear the letters... *which we* took up from the archives and which were translated out of the Syriac language (lit. "voice")..." To introduce the narrative, Eusebios writes, "But still to these letters, this [narrative] had also been joined-together in the Syriac language (lit. "voice")." It should be noted, that while Eusebios translated these materials into Greek for his history, Syriac fragments of the letters are still extant, and most of the Syriac narrative may still be found (though interpolated and falsely expanded) elsewhere.

¹⁰ Eusebios "Ukkama" (which is a transliteration of the Syriac word which means 'black')

¹¹ literally "looking-again"

¹² Eusebios / Syr "that you were one of the crowned(?) who had descended from God from the heaven, and you do these things; or that you certainly were of God, and you do these things."

¹³ Syr / Eusebios "solemn"

¹⁴ Syr / Eusebios "Happy are you who have-faith"

¹⁵ Syr / Eusebios add

gathered together his learners (the *ones* whom the fear of his arrest had put to flight). And he stayed with them for 40 days.

5 And during this time, the Lord Jesus imparted knowledge to three of his emissaries: Jacob¹ and Johanan² and Petros.³ 6 This was the Jacob whom the ancients surnamed ‘*the Righteous*’ on account of the excellence of his virtue, and who was being said *to be* the brother of the Lord, because this *man* had been named a boy of Joseph (the man of Miriam *who was* the mother of Jesus). 7 Jesus opened their hearts and interpreted holy writings for them, which, up to that time, were obscured and wrapped up. 8 He ordained them and instructed them for the preaching of *his* decree and *his* teaching, setting down the solemn discipline of his new covenant. 9 These three passed this knowledge on to the remaining emissaries, and the remaining emissaries to the *other* seventy⁴ learners.

10 Now when this work was completed, a storm cloud enveloped Jesus and took him out of the sight of humans into the heavens. 11 These things happened in fulfillment of the prophecy spoken by Daniel:

70 weeks have been determined
for your people and for your holy city:
to finish the transgression,
and to make an end of sins,
and to purge iniquity,
and to bring in everlasting righteousness,
and to seal up vision and prophet,
and to anoint the holy of holies.

(Daniel 9:24)

12 And:

And after 62 weeks,
an anointed-one will be cut off, and will be nothing.
And for one week, he will make
a prevailing covenant with many;
and in the middle of the week,
he will abolish sacrifice and offering.

(Daniel 9:26-27)

13 For when Jesus began the preaching of his Good-Message, it was the beginning of the 69th week; 14 and in the middle of that week, he was crucified by the Judeans. 15 And, through the new covenant which he made with many and the sacrifice of himself and the tearing of the veil in the temple, he abolished the necessity for *any* temple sacrifice and offering 16 (although the profitless efforts of the mere performance of these now useless sacrifices continued until the actual destruction of the temple).

17 Now, as if preferred by Jesus, Jacob and Johanan and Petros did not struggle for glory, but they chose Jacob the Righteous to be the overseer of the assembly of Jerusalem. 18 So the oversight of this assembly passed to him, together with the emissaries; and he oversaw the assembly in Jerusalem for about 30 years.

19 The learners also added Maththijah⁵ to their number in place of the betrayer Judah⁶ of Kerioth. 20 Therefore, after they became-fully-convinced⁷ due to the standing-up of our Lord Jesus *the* Anointed-One, and after they were caused-to-have-faith in the account of God, with plenitude⁸ of a holy spirit by which they had been filled with, 21 they came-out throughout countries and cities of the earth of Judah, proclaiming-a-good-message, that the kingdom of God was going to be coming, and teaching the good-message, exactly as their master had commanded them.

22 While these things were happening, the thing-which-was-professed of Jesus the Anointed-One to Abgar, the king of Orhai, was fulfilling. 23 Accordingly, one of the twelve emissaries named Judah (indeed, not the Judah of Kerioth, but the *one who* was also called Toma),⁹ commissioned Taddai¹⁰ (an emissary and in the number of the seventy learners) to Edessa as a preacher and good-messenger of the teaching about the Anointed-One. 24 Taddai, after he came *there*, lodged with Tobiah the son of Tobiah.

25 But as they heard about him and he had become manifest by the wonders performed by him,¹¹ it was informed to Abgar, that “An emissary of Jesus has come here, exactly-as he sent to you by letter.”

26 Therefore, Taddai began, in a power of a god, to treat every sickness and malady, so-that everyone was marveling.¹² 27 But as Abgar heard about the magnificent *things* and the marvelous *deeds* which he was doing, and how he was

¹ traditionally incorrectly translated to “James”

² Greek “Joannes” (traditionally incorrectly translated to “John”)

³ traditionally incorrectly translated to “Peter”

⁴ other Greek manuscripts (supported by a Pseudo-Teaching of Taddai) read “seventy-two”

⁵ Greek “Maththias”

⁶ Greek “Judas”

⁷ literally “were brought-to-fullness”

⁸ more literally “full-bearing”

⁹ Greek “Thomas”

¹⁰ Aramaic equivalent of Gk / Greek “Thaddaios” / Syr “Addai” [also elsewhere within this section]

¹¹ some Eusebios add

¹² literally “so-as for all to be marveling”

treating *various* sicknesses, he had a preconception that,¹³ “This *man* is he about whom Jesus sent-by-letter, saying, 28 ‘Whenever I might be taken-up, I will commission a certain *one* of my learners to you, who will heal your suffering.’”

29 Therefore, after calling-to-himself Tobiah, whom Taddai was lodging with, he said, “I heard that a certain man of power, after he came, is lodged in your house. And that he is working many treatments in the name of Jesus.”

And he said, “Yes, lord. A certain stranger came and is lodging with me, and is working many marvels.”

And Abgar said, “Lead him up to me.”¹⁴

30 Now after Tobiah went to Taddai, he spoke to him, “The district-chief Abgar, after he called me to himself, spoke to me to lead you up to him, in order that you might treat him.”

31 And Taddai was declaring, “I will go-up, since I have been commissioned to him with power.”

32 Therefore, Tobiah, after he rose-early-in-the-morning, and after he took Taddai along with him, came to Abgar. 33 Now as he went-up, the great-men were present and were standing *around* Abgar. 34 Immediately upon entering, a great vision was made to appear to Abgar on the face of the emissary Taddai. 35 After Abgar saw it, he bowed-down-to Taddai, *while* all the *ones* having stood-around him marveled; for they did not see the vision, which was made-to-appear to Abgar alone.

36 And he¹⁵ wanted-to-learn-by-inquiry from Taddai, “Are you, in truth, a learner of Jesus the son of God, who had stated to me, 37 ‘I will commission to you a certain *one* of my learners who will heal you and will afford you life’?”

38 And Taddai was declaring, “Since you have greatly put-faith into the *man who* commissioned me, due to this *reason*, I was commissioned to you. 39 And again, if-at-any-time you might have-faith in him, to the extent in which you might have-faith, the requests of your heart will be *given* to you.”

40 And Abgar declared to him, “I had-faith in him to such an extent, that I wished to take a force along with me *and* to cut down the Judeans, the *ones who* crucified him. If *only* I was not obstructed from *doing* this by the kingdom of the Romans.”

41 And Taddai was saying to him, “Our Lord has fulfilled the will of his father. And, after he fulfilled it, he was taken-up to his father.”

42 Abgar said to him, “And I have put-faith into him and into his father.”

43 And Taddai declared, “Due to this, I put my hand upon you in his name.”¹⁶

And after he acted this *out*, he was immediately treated of the sickness of¹⁷ the suffering which he was having for a long time.¹⁸

44 Abgar was also astonished and¹⁹ marveled, that exactly as he had heard about Jesus how he had worked and healed,²⁰ in the same way he received the works from *him* through his learner Taddai, who treated him without drugs and plants;²¹ 45 and not *him* alone, instead he even treated Abdu the son of Abdu, who was having gout in his feet. 46 And bringing his feet to him, Taddai laid his hands upon them *and* treated them²² and he had no longer had the gout in his feet.²³ 47 Taddai also healed many of their fellow-citizens, *while* he was doing marvelous and great works and preaching the account of God.

48 But after these *things*, Abgar was declaring, “You, Taddai,²⁴ are doing these *things* by-means-of a power of God,²⁵ and we marveled at your works.²⁶ 49 Instead, in addition to these *things*, I am beseeching you to describe to me about the coming of Jesus,²⁷ how it happened, and about his glorious²⁸ power, and in what kind of power he was doing these *things* which I have heard about.”²⁹

50 And Taddai was declaring, “Now, indeed, I will not keep-silent from declaring this.³⁰ But since I was commissioned to preach the account,³¹ tomorrow assemble all your citizens³² to me, and I will preach at them, 51 and I will sow in them the account of his life: both about his coming, exactly-as it happened; and about the *one who* commissioned him,³³ and why and how³⁴ he was commissioned

¹³ literally “he has become in preconception as that”

¹⁴ some Eusebios add the underlined text

¹⁵ literally “who”

¹⁶ Eusebios / Syr “Because you have put faith in *him* in this way, I lay my hand upon you in the name of him in whom you have put your faith.”

¹⁷ Syr / Eusebios “and”

¹⁸ Eusebios / Syr add

¹⁹ Eusebios / Syr add

²⁰ Eusebios / Syr add

²¹ Eusebios / Syr “so Taddai also, without any drugs, was treating in the name of Jesus.” [“drugs” may also be translated to “sorceries” or “poisons”]

²² Syr / Eusebios “And after he came-to him, he fell at his feet; after he also received a prayer at his hands, he was treated.”

²³ Eusebios / Syr add

²⁴ Eusebios / Syr omit “Taddai”

²⁵ Eusebios / Syr “of Jesus the Anointed-One”

²⁶ Eusebios / Syr add

²⁷ Eusebios / Syr “of the Anointed-One”

²⁸ Eusebios / Syr add

²⁹ Eusebios / Syr “and about the miracles which we have heard that he did, which you have yourself seen, together with your fellow-learners”

³⁰ Syr / Eusebios “I will be silent”

³¹ Eusebios / Syr “been sent off here, in order to speak and teach everyone who is willing to put their faith in *him*, even as you *do*”

³² Eusebios / Syr “all of the city”

³³ Syr / Eusebios “about his mission”

³⁴ Eusebios / Syr add

by the Father;¹ **52** and about his power and his marvelous² works, and glorious mysteries of his coming which he uttered in *the* world,³ and by what kind of power he was doing these *things*; **53** and about the certainty of his preaching;⁴ and about his smallness and about his humiliation; **54** and how he humbled himself, and laid-aside and belittled his divinity,⁵ and was crucified, and descended into the Netherworld, and split-through a hedge which was not split since the *first* age,⁶ and arose corpses by being killed himself;⁷ **55** and he descended alone, but he ascended with a vast crowd to his glorious⁸ father.”⁹

56 Therefore, Abgar directed his citizens to congregate in the morning, and to hear the preaching of Taddai. **57** And after these *things*, he ordered gold and unmarked *silver* to be given to him. But the *man* did not accept, after he spoke, **58** “If we have left-behind our own *possessions*, how will we take the *things* of others?”

59 These *things* were performed in the 340th year of the *Edessenes*.

60 So after Taddai healed Abgar by the account of the Anointed-One, and after he astounded all of them on the spot with the incredible *natures* of the marvels, and after he adequately disposed them by his works, and after he led them to a reverential-awe of the power of the Anointed-One, he appointed learners of the saving teaching. **61** From that time, even into the reign of Emperor Constantinus,¹⁰ the whole city of the Edessenes was devoted to the appellation of the Anointed-One, displaying no casual sample of the good-work of our Savior even among¹¹ them.

CHAPTER 4: SIMON THE MAGICIAN

Meanwhile, back in Jerusalem, the first *harmful* pursuit of the assembly in Jerusalem took place at the hands of the Judeans themselves, in which a distinguished minister of the assembly, Stephanos, testified of Jesus, even to death. **2** Now all the learners, with an exception of the twelve, were dispersed¹² throughout both Judah and Samaria, some going as far as Phoiniké and Kypros and Antiocheia. **3** And at that time, a Pharisee named Saul (also known as Paulus) was ruining the assembly. Entering throughout the houses of the faithful-ones, also dragging out both men and women, he was delivering *them* into a guardhouse.

4 Instead, a Christian named Philippos (who was also among those who were dispersed abroad), went down into the¹³ city of Samaria. **5** Now the Slanderer (the *spiritual* foe of the humans’ salvation), contrived a *plan* for snatching the royal city of Roma for himself ahead of time. **6** So the demons put forward certain humans who claimed that they themselves were gods, as if to make them mighty antagonists of the great emissaries of our Savior. **7** Not only were these *men* not prosecuted by the Romans, instead they were even deemed worthy of honors. They deceived many, *while* keeping themselves still deceived.

8 One of these, for example, was Simon the magician, from whom all sorts of sects derive their origin. **9** This Samaritan was a native of the village of Gittho. **10** He had deluded the Samaritans, partly by deceiving them according to the art of trickery, and partly by catching them with magical powers, for his villainy was perpetrated by the assistance of demons. **11** And he had the hardihood to feign himself to be the Supreme Power, that is, the Supreme God, and, that he had descended from on high in quest of an erring demon, which was Wisdom. To the Samaritans he called himself ‘The Father.’

12 And as divine favor worked so mightily through Philippos, even Simon the magician, along with many others, were attracted by his accounts of *Jesus*. **13** Now Simon and many others were immersed by Philippos, but a holy spirit had not yet fallen on any of them. **14** However, this particular newly-turned faithful-one was still addicted to sordid covetousness and fondness-of-silver, and was certainly not ready to abandon his evil practice.

15 Therefore, after the emissaries, Petros and Johanan, arrived, and after Simon saw that those on whom they laid their hands got¹⁴ a holy spirit, he supposed that they had themselves performed their cures by the art of magic, and not by the power of God. **16** Desiring to know how to harness what he supposed was a kind of greater knowledge of magic, he offered money to the emissaries, so that he too might get¹⁵ this power of bestowing a holy spirit on whomever he wished to lay his hands. **17** For he had counted on spending a little money, and

amassing a huge fortune and more in return for a small investment, by giving a holy spirit to others.

18 But he was cursed by the emissaries, and ejected from the faith, Petros addressing him in these words, “I wish that your¹⁶ silver-piece would be *consigned* into a state-of-loss along with you, because you¹⁷ concluded *that it was possible* to be obtaining the gift of God through monies. **19** There is not a part for¹⁸ you, not-even a lot in this account. For¹⁹ your heart is not straight before²⁰ God. **20** Therefore, change-your-mind from this evil of yours, and beseech the Lord,²¹ if whether the intention of your heart will be forgiven to you. **21** For I am seeing *that* you are *coming* into gall of bitterness and²² a ligation of unrighteousness.”

22 After receiving this condemnation, and refusing to put any faith at all in God, Simon set himself eagerly to contend against the emissaries, applying his energies to the destruction of the truth, as if to console himself with revenge. **22** In order that he himself might seem to be a wonderful being, he applied himself with still greater zeal to the study of the whole magic art, so that he might bewilder and overpower multitudes of humans with even greater fortitude. **23** For his mind was deranged and deluded by the slanderous deceit²³ in magic, and he was always ready to display the barbarous deeds of his own wickedness and the wickedness of demons through his magic arts.

24 Besides the support with which his own magic arts furnished him, he had recourse to imposture. He came out in the open, and, under the appearance of the Anointed-One’s name, induced death in his converts by slipping a poison into the dignity of the Anointed-One’s name as though he were mixing hellebore with honey for those whom he had trapped in his baneful error.

25 And using the same money which he had offered for a holy spirit, the lecherous Simon redeemed a certain woman by the name of Helena from bondage at a brothel in Zor, a city of Phoiniké. After having redeemed her in this way, Simon was in the habit of carrying her about with him, without letting his relationship with her be known—for having become enamored of this miserable woman, he had enjoyed her person. **26** And while privately having an unnatural relationship with his paramour, the charlatan was teaching his learners stories for their amusement and calling himself the Supreme Power of God. And he deceived many by calling the whore who was his partner ‘The Holy Spirit’, and fabricated all sorts of false things about her.

27 Now first, Simon both foolishly and knavishly corrupted the law of Moses, introducing all sorts of interpretations and allegories. And not only did he nonsensically interpret the writings of Moses in whatever way he wished, but even the Hellenic poets, furnishing fictitious explanations of them. **28** Moreover, he claimed that the law of Moses is not God’s, but the law of the left-hand power. And he taught that the prophets were not from a good god either, having uttered their predictions under the inspiration of evil messengers whom he claimed had formed the world.

29 Simon also taught, that he *himself* came to confer salvation upon humans through his own peculiar intelligence, by making himself known to them, in order to gratify his spleen by liberating them from these powers of *heavenly* messengers; **30** and that whoever placed their trust in him and Helena should no longer regard the prophets and the law, but, as being free, should live however they please. **31** He alleged, that humans are saved through his favor, and not on account of their own righteous actions, and that there is no reason for punishment, even if one acts wickedly; **32** and, that one cannot be saved unless he learns how to offer strange sacrifices to principalities and authorities and other heavenly powers, all of which have outlandish names, and which he teaches are wicked and have defectively constructed the world.

33 And he taught, that it was he himself who descended and appeared among the Judeans as ‘The Son’, saying that he had, in a phantasmal semblance of God, suffered in the earth of Judah when he had not suffered, but had instead suffered only in appearance; but descended in Samaria as ‘The Father,’ while he came to other nations in the character of ‘The Holy Spirit’. **34** He represented himself as being the loftiest of all powers, that is, the being who is the father over all. And he allowed himself to be called by whatever title humans were pleased to address him.

35 Again, those who became followers of this imposter, indulged in similar practices, irrationally alleging the necessity of promiscuous intercourse, stating that it is a matter of moral indifference. For he instituted profane mysteries of all sorts of unclean practices. And his followers were expressing themselves in the following manner, “All earth is earth, and there is no difference where any one sows, provided he does sow.” **36** But even they congratulated themselves on account of this indiscriminate intercourse, asserting that this is perfect love and *the true* “*holy-places* of *holy-places*” and the means of making one another holy.

¹ Eusebios / Syr “by him”

² Eusebios / Syr add

³ Eusebios / Syr “glorious mysterious of his coming which he spoke of in *the* world”

⁴ Syr / Eusebios “and about his new preaching”

⁵ Eusebios / Syr “and how and for what reason he lowered himself, and humbled his exalted divinity by the manhood which he took”

⁶ Eusebios / Syr omit “since...age”

⁷ Eusebios / Syr “and gave life to corpses by being killed himself”

⁸ Eusebios / Syr add

⁹ most Eusebios / some Eusebios add here “; and how he is seated at the right hand of God and the Father with glory in the heavens; and how he will come again with power to judge the living and the dead.” / Syr instead add here “whom he had been with since the *beginning of the age* in one exalted divinity.”

¹⁰ traditionally translated “Constantine”

¹¹ literally “in”

¹² literally “thoroughly-sowed(seeded)”

¹³ [Acts8:5] NU, Gk(ASV) / M, TR, Gk(BE) “a”

¹⁴ literally “took”

¹⁵ literally “take”

¹⁶ [Acts8:20] NU, M, TR, Vul, Gk(AESV,B2) / Gk(B1) “a”

¹⁷ [Acts8:20] NU, M, TR, Vul, Gk(AESV,B2) / Gk(B1) “they”

¹⁸ literally “to”

¹⁹ [Acts8:21] NU, M, TR, Vul, Gk(AESV,B2) / Gk(B1) omit “For”

²⁰ literally “opposite”

²¹ [Acts8:22] NU, Gk(ABESV) / M, TR, Vul “God”

²² [Acts8:23] NU, M, TR, Vul, Gk(AESV,B2) / Gk(B1) “that they are with gall of bitterness and with”

²³ may also possibly be translated “the deceit of the Slanderer”

For they wanted the Christians to believe, that they were not overcome by the supposed vice, but that they have been redeemed.

37 But for anyone to whom the true God has given understanding: knowledge declares, that these things are rather an abomination, and death rather than life.

38 He also rejected the standing-up of bodies of *dead humans*. But he taught that there is a decay and destruction of flesh, and a purification only of souls and of these only if they are established in their initiation through his erroneous knowledge. **39** And this is how the imposture of the so-called Knowledgeable-Ones (*Gnostics*) began.

40 Now also about this time, Paulus the Judean, formerly a *harmful* pursuer of the assembly of the Anointed-One, was appointed an emissary, being made worthy of the call by a vision and by Jesus the Anointed-One himself who spoke to him in it. **41** And with the 70th week of Daniel now having, about this time, come to its end, the God of the heavens began to bestow a greater mercy on the nations, sending off Paulus to be his emissary to them. (These things are recorded more fully in the book of the Acts of the Emissaries.)

CHAPTER 5: PONTIUS PILATUS' REPORT TO EMPEROR TIBERIUS / SPREAD OF THE GOOD-MESSAGE

Now some time after Pontius Pilatus had crucified Jesus the Anointed-One, he sent a message to Tiberius, King of the Romans, regarding the news which was being spread abroad throughout all Judah concerning the standing-up of Jesus the Anointed-One from *among dead humans*. **2** He also gave an account of other wonders which he had learned about him, and how, after his death, he had stood-up from *among dead humans*, and was now having-faith-put into him by many to be a god.

3 Now when Tiberius Caesar brought the matter before the *Roman* senate, his own decision was in favor of the Anointed-One. **4** But the senate, indeed because it had not first examined into the matter, rejected his proposal. **5** (For an ancient law prevailed that no one should be made a god by the Romans, even by a king, until the senate had expressed its approval by vote and decree.) **6** But although the senate had rejected this proposition made in regard to Jesus the Anointed-One, Tiberius still held to his original opinion, and made no wicked plans against the teaching of the Anointed-One; in fact, he threatened death to everyone who accused the Christians.

7 This was how Christianity was enabled to be taught with all clearness and publicity. For heavenly foresight had designed putting this into his mind in order that the account of the Good-Message might have an unimpeded beginning, and, through the good-messengers and emissaries, run throughout every *plot* of earth in every direction. **8** And announcing a good-message of the good things *sent* to them from God, and proclaiming the peace of the heaven to humans, assemblies were quickly established in both every city and village, filled with vast crowded multitudes, like a multiplying plantation.

9 And all those whose souls were bound, both by the succession of their ancestors, and by an old sickness of idols *arising from their terror-of-demons*,¹ were, by the power of the Anointed-One, through both the teaching and wonderful-works of his emissaries, set free from terrible *demonic* masters, and loosed from most difficult imprisonments. **10** Indeed, they were spitting upon all demonic polytheism, but were confessing *there* to be only one God, the crafter of the all-things-together. And they were honoring and bowing-down-to him in spirit and in truth.

11 Now after the emissaries had proved various individuals by-means-of a spirit, they were appointing the first-fruits into *being* overseers and ministers of the *ones who were* going to be having-faith. And this was not something-new.² **12** For surely from³ many times *ago*, it had been written about overseers and ministers:

I will appoint their overseers in righteousness,
and their ministers in faith.

(Isaiah 60:17)

13 And our emissaries knew, through our Lord Jesus the Anointed-One, that there would be quarrelling over the name of the oversight. **14** Therefore, due to this cause, they, having received complete foreknowledge, appointed overseers and ministers, and in-the-meantime have given an over-pasture⁴ to them, so-that, if-at-any-time they might fall-asleep, different men *who* have been proved might receive their public-service in-turn.

15 And so, until the beginning of the leadership of Nerō (who would soon become the Emperor of the Romans), the emissaries laid the foundation of the assembly throughout all provinces and cities.

CHAPTER 6: DEATH OF PONTIUS PILATUS / HUNT BY THE JUDEANS

¹ as in, they made idols because they feared to displease the particular demon of which they made an idol

² literally "not newly"

³ literally "out-of"

⁴ Clemens (A, Lat) / (C) "over-building" / (S) "over-proof" / (K) "gave to those who were after them"

Therefore, indeed, Tiberius Caesar died after having reigned 22 years and 7 months and 7 days,⁵ but Gaius succeeded him as the leader of the Romans and straightaway bestowed the diadem of the principality of the Judeans on Hērōdēs Agrippa. **2** Now Gaius soared to such a pitch of utter insanity that he publicly-proclaimed himself a god, and perpetrated innumerable acts of insolence while he governed, and, in particular, greatly afflicted the whole nation of the Judeans, including those who dwelled in Alexandria. **3** For beginning with the time of Pontius Pilatus, innumerable and terrible misfortunes had begun to fall upon the whole Judean nation, indeed, a divine rightful-punishment, in consequence of their daring crimes against the Anointed-One; **4** and, from that time, seditions and wars and mischievous plots followed each other in quick succession, and would never cease in the city and in all the earth of Judah until Vespasianus' siege of Jerusalem would finally overwhelm them.

5 But in the 3rd year of the reign of Emperor Gaius, Pontius Pilatus himself, fell into such misfortunes under Gaius, that he was forced to become his own murderer and took-vengeance on himself with his own hand. This was how a divine rightful-punishment pursued him after no long *while*.

6 Now the divine vengeance which the Judeans suffered for the crimes which they dared to commit against the Anointed-One, under both Pontius Pilatus and Emperor Gaius, and the penalty of assassination which Gaius received for his excessive impieties against the Judeans, are recorded in the histories written by Joseph the Judean.

7 Now after Gaius, emperor of the Romans, had held the principality for 3 years and 10 months and 8 days,⁶ and had been assassinated by his own people, he was succeeded by Claudius as emperor of Roma. **8** In the beginning of his reign, since the Judeans were making constant disturbances at the instigation of the Anointed-One, he commanded and expelled all the Judeans from Roma. And among these were two Judeans: Aquila, and his woman, Priscilla.

9 Now in the 4th year of the reign of Emperor Claudius, King Hērōdēs Agrippa laid his hands upon some members of the assembly of God to afflict them. Now Jacob (son of Zabdi and brother of Johanan) was one of these. **10** After he was led-in into a court-of-justice and testified, the *man who* led him in, after he saw *this and* after he was moved *by it*, confessed that he himself was also a Christian. Therefore, they were both led away together.

11 And on the way, this *man* begged to be forgiven by Jacob. But *Jacob*, having looked at him for a little *while*, said, "Peace be to you," and kissed him.

12 And this was how Hērōdēs Agrippa had both of them beheaded together. But after Hērōdēs saw that the doing away with of Jacob was⁷ pleasing to the Judeans, he added-to himself to also lay *his hand* on the emissary Petros, after he also confined him in bonds. **13** But on that night, when Hērōdēs Agrippa was going to lead⁸ him forward before the people, God commissioned a *heavenly* messenger, who released *Petros* from his bonds in prison, liberating him for the ministry of his preaching.

14 But the consequences of King Hērōdēs Agrippa's attempt against the emissaries was no longer delayed, but the avenging minister of the righteous *punishment* of God overtook him immediately after he had plotted against them, and a messenger of the Lord struck him in-requital; and, after he was worm-feedable, he released-*his*-soul. **15** (And the rest of the acts and the details of the death of King Hērōdēs Agrippa are recorded in the histories written by Joseph the Judean, and are also briefly mentioned in the Acts of the Emissaries.)⁹

CHAPTER 7: SIMON THE MAGICIAN AND PETROS IN ROMA

Now during the reign of Claudius Caesar, emperor of the Romans, Simon the magician performed mighty acts of witchcraft in the royal city of Roma. These he performed by virtue of the arts of the demons operating in him. Leading many of the inhabitants of Roma astray, the Slanderer brought them into his own power through this magician.

And so greatly did Simon astonish the sacred senate and the Romans on account of his magical power, that he was considered a god; and as a god, was honored like the others with a human-image. This human-image was erected on the River Tiber between the two bridges. It bore this inscription, in Latin:

"To Simon a Holy God."

Truly, *Simon's fame* did not last long. For meantime, the emissary Petros set out from Antiocheia on a very long journey overseas from east to west.¹⁰ However, prior to his departure, Euodios was ordained by him as the first overseer of the assembly in that city. And finally, the absolutely-good and philanthropic foresight of *God*, which is over everything, led Petros by his hand to

⁵ Cassius / Hippolytus(Chronicon) "22 years, 7 months, 22 days" / Chronography354 "22 years, 7 months, 28 days" / Chronicon(Jerome) "23 years" / Eusebios "about 22 years" / Suetonius, Eutropius "in the 23rd year"

⁶ Suetonius, Eutropius / Cassius "3 years, 9 months, 28 days" / Hippolytus(Chronicon) "3 years, 9 months" / Chronography354 "3 years, 8 months, 12 days" / Chronicon(Jerome) "3 years and 10 months" / Eusebios

"not quite 4 years"

⁷ literally "is"

⁸ Acts12:6 NU / TR "to be leading"

⁹ Greek "apostles"

¹⁰ literally "from *sun* rise to *sun* set"

the city of the Romans, as if against a great corrupter of life. So Petros, like a noble general of God, armed with divine weapons, carried the highly-valued merchandise of the light of the understanding from the east to those who dwelled in the west,¹ preaching the light itself, and the account which brings salvation to souls, and announcing the good-message of the kingdom of the heaven. And he was finally led to the city of the Romans against Simon. And because many were being misled by means of his magics, Petros stood-firmly-against² him much.

And finally, being almost discredited, Simon, in order to gain time, was claiming, that if he were buried while living, he would stand-up on the third day. And after he surely directed for a ditch to be excavated by his learners, he directed them to bury him. Therefore, they indeed did what he ordered. But there he remains until now, for he was not the Anointed-One.

For this imposter had only assumed the appearance of the name, like the snake-like filth of the aborted issue hatched from infertile eggs of asps and of other vipers. As the prophet says:

They ripped open eggs of asps;
and the one who is going to eat their eggs,
has found a putrid³ egg, and in it a basilisk.

(Isaiah 59:5)

Although Simon's poisonous fangs were crushed sufficiently, the power of the Slanderer did not continue dormant. For because almost all the Samaritans, and even a few belonging to other nations, confessed and worshipped Simon as the first and highest god, the mystic priests belonging to this sect remained for a time, leading both profligate lives and practicing magical arts, each one to the extent of his ability. They used out-adjurations and incantations, as well as love-potions and charms. And also, those beings which are called familiars and dream-senders, and whatever other curious arts one is able to resort to, are eagerly pressed into their service.

Simon's dupes also embraced the superstitions of idols, falling down before pictures and images which Simon had given to them of himself and of his companion Helena; and they ventured to worship them with incense and sacrifices and libations. In fact, they have a name derived from Simon (the author of these most impious teachings), being called Simonians. And from them, knowledge, falsely so-called, received its beginning. But before the completion of no more than two centuries, one would be unable to find even thirty, and his name is now known nowhere else in all the world.

The successor of Simon, the father of all sectarians, was Menandros, also a Samaritan by birth; and he, too, was a perfect adept in the practice of magic.

CHAPTER 8: MARCUS' GOOD-MESSAGE / MARCUS TO EGYPT

Therefore, when the divine word had made its home among the Romans through the public preaching of Petros, and the power of Simon the magician was quenched and was immediately destroyed along with the man himself, so vast a gleam of pity shone-upon the thoughts of the numerous hearers of Petros, that after Petros had departed, some of Caesar's knights were not adequately sufficed to be having the hearing merely once, nor-even the unwritten teaching of the divine proclamation. But, with all-sorts of exhortations, they importuned Marcus (a learner and interpreter of Petros), that he would also leave to them, through writing, a memorandum of the teaching which was delivered to them through a verbal account. They also did not desist until before⁴ prevailing⁵ with the man. And they became the causes of this writing of the Good-Message being said to be 'According-to Marcus'.

Marcus wrote precisely as-much-as he remembered of the things which were said or were performed by the Anointed-One—however not in chronological order. For neither did he hear Lord himself, nor did he closely-follow him. But afterward he closely-followed Petros (who was making the teachings adaptable to the needs of his hearers, but instead not as-though making an ordering-together of the sayings-of-the-Lord), so-that Marcus sinned in nothing in-this-manner after he wrote some things as he remembered them from him rather than in chronological order. For he made for himself one provision: To leave-aside nothing of the things which he heard or to lie about something in them.

Now after Petros knew about the thing which was performed (after it was revealed to him by-means-of the spirit), he was pleased with the eagerness of the men. He also validated the writing into being used as a source of petition to the assemblies.

Now taking the record of the Good-Message which he himself had composed, Marcus went to Egypt and was the first to preach there. After preaching the Anointed-One at Alexandria, he was also the first to establish assemblies there. Now in the past, hardly one Egyptian came to have-faith in God; but at that time, many converts among the Egyptians and the Edomites received faith in God. That is why the writing says:

You will not detest the Egyptians, because you were strangers in the earth of Egypt. Nor will you despise the Edomite, because he is your brother. If sons are born to them, they will enter the assembly of God in the third generation.

(Deuteronomy 23:7-8)

In this way, some from every nation became converts; and nations of faithful-ones continue to come to faith in Jesus; and assemblies of Christians come together throughout the whole world.

CHAPTER 9: TESTIMONY OF JACOB THE RIGHTEOUS

Now after Claudius Caesar had been the leader of the Romans for 13 years and 8 months⁶ and 20 days,⁷ he came-to-his-end in the 64th year of his life, leaving Nerō as his successor in the principality. Now at this time, Félix was the procurator of the earth of Judah. But after Félix, Nerō sent Porcius Féstus to be his successor in the procuratorship. Under Féstus, the emissary Paulus, having made his defense, was sent bound to Roma, with Aristarchos as his fellow-prisoner. But when Paulus entered Roma, he was permitted to live by himself, with the soldier who was guarding him. Now he spent a whole two-year-period at Roma in his-own rented-house, where he preached the account of God without-prevention.

Now sometime after Paulus had been taken to Roma in consequence of his appeal to Emperor Nerō, the Judeans at Jerusalem, being frustrated in their hope of entrapping Paulus in their snares, turned against Jacob, the brother of the Lord, who had been entrusted as the overseer of Jerusalem by the emissaries of our Lord.

For from the time of the Lord, even to our own times, he was called 'the Righteous' by everyone, since there were many who were called Jacob. But this Jacob was holy from his mother's womb. He drank neither wine nor intoxicant, nor did he eat any animal;⁸ no razor passed over his head; he did not anoint himself with olive-oil, and he did not use a bathhouse. This one alone was permitted to enter the holy place; for he did not wear anything made of wool, instead of linen. And he would enter the inner-sanctum alone, where he was found both resting on his knees and begging for forgiveness for the people, so that his knees became as hard as those of a camel because he was always bending forward on either knee to bow down to God and begging for forgiveness for the people. Yet, because of his excessive righteousness he was called 'The Righteous' and 'The Enclosure of the People'.

Therefore, some of the seven sects among the Judeans inquired-of him, "What is the door of Jesus?"

And he said, that this was the Savior.

Because of these words some had-faith, that Jesus was the Anointed-One. But these particular sects did not have-faith in a standing-up of dead humans, nor in a judge coming to pay each man according to his works. But even as many as had-faith, did so because of Jacob. Therefore, since many, even of the chiefs, had-faith, there was a commotion among the Judeans and the scribes and the Pharisees, who said, that the whole people was in danger of looking for Jesus as the Anointed-One.

Now Hanan son of Hanan, who had been appointed to the chief-priesthood, was bold in his temper, and unusually daring. But he followed the sect of the Zadokim, who are certainly more coarse than any of the other Judeans when they sit in judgment. Therefore, having this disposition, Hanan sought to put Jacob to death. Indeed, in the 7th year of Nerō (emperor of the Romans), he thought that he had a favorable opportunity to accomplish this. For Féstus, the current procurator of the earth of Judah, had died. And so, Judah was without a Roman procurator. And when Nerō learned of Féstus' death, he proceeded to send Luceius Albinus as procurator of Judah. And while Albinus was still on his way, Hanan the chief-priest convened the judges of the congress.

Therefore, having come together, they brought before the council Jacob and some others; and they publicly demanded of Jacob that he should renounce his faith in the Anointed-One in the presence of all the people. They also said to him, "We demand that you restrain the people, since they have strayed to Jesus, as if he were the Anointed-One. We demand that you persuade everyone who has come for the day of the Passover about Jesus, for everyone obeys you. For we and all the people testify to you that you are righteous and that you are not a respecter of persons.⁹ Therefore, persuade the crowd not to be led astray about Jesus, for even all the people and all of us obey you. Therefore, stand upon the pinnacle of the temple,¹⁰ so that from that elevated spot,¹¹ you might be clearly seen, and your words might be easily heard by all the people. For because of the Passover, all tribes and the nations have come together."

Therefore, the previously-mentioned scribes and Pharisees made Jacob stand on the pinnacle of the inner-sanctum. And they cried out to him and said, "O righteous one (to whom we all owe obedience)—since the people are straying

⁶ Cassius, Eusebios, Chronography354, Chronicon(Jerome) / Hippolytus(Chronicon) "1 month"

⁷ Cassius / Hippolytus(Chronicon), Chronicon(Jerome) "28 days" / Chronography354 "27 days" / Eusebios omit altogether

⁸ literally "thing-with-a-soul-in-it"

⁹ literally "faces/countenances"

¹⁰ some Eusebios / other Eusebios "the inner-sanctum"

¹¹ literally "from on high"

¹ literally "from sun rise to those who dwelled in the sun set"

² literally "stood-down-against"

³ literally "a fair-winded" (as in left to be blown by the wind?)

⁴ usually translated "former"

⁵ literally "working-down"

after Jesus the crucified, announce: What is the door of Jesus who was crucified?¹

And, contrary to the opinion of all, with a clear voice, and with greater boldness than they had anticipated, he spoke out before the whole multitude and confessed, that our Savior and Lord Jesus is the son of God, saying with a loud voice, “Why do you ask me about the son of man?² And he is sitting in the heaven on the right hand of the great power, and he will come upon the clouds of the heaven.”

And many were fully satisfied and glorified in the attestation of Jacob and said, “Grant salvation to the son of David!”

But they were unable to continue bearing the attestation of the man, who, on account of the excellence of both fondness-of-wisdom and worship-of-God (*both of which he exhibited in his lifestyle*) was believed by all to be the most-righteous.

Because of this, the same scribes and Pharisees said to one another, “We have done evilly by affording Jesus with such an attestation. Instead, after we ascend, may we throw him down, in order that they, after they are filled-with-fear, might not put-faith in him.”

And they cried out saying, “Oh! Oh! Even the righteous *one* has gone astray!”

Therefore, after they went up, they threw down the righteous *one*. But, although he had been thrown down, he did not die. And they said to one another, “May we stone Jacob the Righteous.” And they began to stone him.

Instead, after he turned, he, with his knees on the ground, said, “I beseech you, Lord, God, Father, forgive them, for they have not come-to-know what they are doing.”

Now *while they were* throwing stones at him in this manner, one of the priests of the sons of Rechab, a son of *the Rechabites*³ (*the ones who are testified-to by Jeremiah the prophet*), cried out, saying, “Stop! What are you doing? The righteous *one* is praying in-behalf of you*!” (*Jeremiah 35:1-19*)

And one among them, one of the laundrymen, grasping a club which he was accustomed to use to wring out clothes, struck the righteous *one* upon the head. And this was how he, *after he testified about Jesus*, was struck to death, slain as if he was a victim at the altar. And they buried him at the place near the inner-sanctum. In-this-manner, this *man* become a true testifier, both to Judeans and to Hellenes, that Jesus is the Anointed-One.

But the citizens who were considered the most-equitable, and who were the most-precise in the laws, were weighed-down by this. So they secretly sent to the king, urging him to order Hanan the chief-priest to desist from doing anything else like this; for this was not the first time that he had acted crookedly.

Now some of them also went to meet Albinus, the Roman procurator, who was on his way from Alexandria. And they informed him, that Hanan the chief-priest was not allowed to convene the congress without his consent. But Albinus, persuaded by their words, angrily wrote to Hanan, threatening to wreak vengeance upon him. And because of this, King Agrippa deposed him from the chief-priesthood, which he had held for three months, replacing him with Jeshua son of Damnai.

Jacob was so marvelous and had such a *great* reputation among everyone for his righteousness, that even the more-sensible of the Judeans were of the opinion that the cause of the future siege and downfall of Jerusalem was a result of his death. Yet *even* Joseph the Judean historian did not hesitate to testify to this in his writings, stating:

Now these things happened to *the* Judeans in-accordance-with a vindication of Jacob the Righteous, who was a brother of Jesus (the *one* being called⁴ an anointed-*one*), since the Judeans killed-off him *who* is most-righteous.

(*Joseph(us): unknown quotation*)

CHAPTER 10: PAULUS' FIRST DEFENSE BEFORE EMPEROR NERŌ / TWO ACCOUNTS OF THE GOOD-MESSAGE

Now during the 6th year⁵ of the reign of Emperor Nerō, the sun was suddenly darkened, and the fourteen districts of the city of Roma were struck by lightning. And also, during the following year,⁶ while Nerō was reclining at dinner in his house, the table with the banquet was struck with lightning and shattered, striking him with alarm.

Now during the 7th year⁷ of the reign of Nerō, three cities of Asia collapsed by an earthquake: Laodikeia, and Hierapolis, and Kolossai. And, indeed, Laodikeia, without any relief from the Roman principality, recovered itself by its own resources.

¹ most Eusebios. Nicephorus / some Eusebios, Rufinus add

² literally “of the human”

³ emended slightly / Eusebios “son of Rechabeim” / Epiphanius (Panarion #58/78 14:6) claims that this man

was “Simeon, his cousin, but the son of Cleopas”

⁴ literally “said”

⁵ Jerome(Chronicon) “3rd year”

⁶ Tacitus / Chronicon puts this event in the 8th year

⁷ Tacitus / Chronicon “10th year”

Now during the 8th year of the reign of Nerō, Annianos was the first after Marcus the good-messenger to succeed to the public-service of the sojourn in Alexandria, as the first overseer of this assembly. Some say that Marcus died a testifier at Baukalis, but it is impossible to ascertain both the record of his suffering as a testifier (if he was in fact killed by impious men), and the location of such an event.

Now about this time, in Roma, the emissary Paulus made his first verbal-defense before Emperor Nerō. Not-one *person* came-to-be-beside him, instead, all forsook him. But the Lord stood-beside him and empowered him, in order that, through **him**, the proclamation might be brought-to-fulfillment and all the nations might hear. And he was rescued out of a mouth of a lion,⁸ that is, Nerō. Then the emissary Paulus was once more sent upon the ministry of preaching, going from the city of Roma to Spania.

Now there were two other written accounts of the life and teachings of Jesus the Anointed-One: the Good-Message according to Maththai, and that according to Loukas.

Indeed, while Petros and Paulus were announcing a good-message at Roma and laying the foundations of the assembly, Maththai, who had first preached to the Hebrews, when he was about to go among others, wrote the Good-Message according to himself to the converts from the Judeans. For they laid particular stress upon the fact that the Anointed-One *should be* of the seed of David. Maththai also, who had a still greater desire to *establish this point*, took particular pains to afford them convincing proof that Jesus the Anointed-One is of the seed of David; and therefore he commences with the genealogy of Jesus. Therefore, indeed, the sayings which he had written among the Hebrews he put-in-order together in *the* Hebraic dialect, his native language, but each *individual* interpreted them as he was able.

Now Loukas, the follower of Paulus, recorded in a book a good-message as preached by him, on behalf of those who were from the *non-Judean* nations. For even Loukas' form of the Good-Message is usually ascribed to Paulus; for Loukas himself had not seen the Lord Jesus in the flesh. And he also wrote an account of the history of the assembly up until the time of Paulus' first imprisonment.

CHAPTER 11: FIRE IN ROMA

Now while the Roman principality was being strengthened by Emperor Nerō, he, running aground in unsacred pursuits, began to arm himself against Christianity. For he, being defiled by every natural and unnatural lust, left no abomination in reserve with which to crown his vicious existence. Under the bizarreness of this man's estranged madness, he accomplished the destruction of tens-of-thousands, quite without reason. And he reached to such a height of bloodthirstiness that he spared neither his family nor those most dear to him, bringing death to *his* mother, and brothers, and wife, along with others of his race, as if they were enemies and foes. But in addition to all these crimes, he became the first emperor to be a foe of the divine religion.

Now Emperor Nerō longed to accomplish what had always been his desire, namely, to make an end of both the whole city of Roma and the kingdom during his *lifetime*. Accordingly, he was considering Priamos, king of Troia, to be happy, because he had seen his fatherland and his principality destroyed together. In fact, when someone in a common conversation spoke (in Hellenic), “When I am dead—land, be consumed by a fire,” Nerō said, “While I am alive.”

So in the 10th year of his reign, on the 14th day before the Kalends of August,⁹ on the anniversary of the capture and burning of the city of Roma by the Senones, there followed a disaster which was more dreadful than any other which had befallen the city of Roma up to this time by the violence of fire. For Nerō, as if he had had displeasure at the ugliness of the old buildings and the narrownesses of the bending streets, set fire to the city. For he stealthily commissioned *men* in different directions, who pretended to be intoxicated or engaged in other kinds of evil. Indeed, he first caused them to set fire to one or two or *even* more buildings in different places, so that all the humans of the city would be perplexed, nor would be able to discover the source of the evil, nor to put an end to it, though they were constantly aware, indeed, of many sights, but *also* of many strange sounds. For there was nothing to be seen but the many fires, like those in an encampment, nor was anything said, except, “This and that is afire,” “Where?” “How?” “Who did it?” “Help!”

Now this disaster had its beginning in the part of the circus which adjoins the Palatium and Caelian Mountains, where the flame, nourished by the merchandise, simultaneously began to ignite, steadily becoming so fierce and so rapid from a wind, that it seized in its grasp the *entire* length of the circus. For the houses were not hedged in by solid masonry, or temples surrounded by walls, or any other obstacle to cause it delay. The conflagration, in its attack, first overran the level regions. Then, it rose to the heights, and turned back to devastate the lower regions, outstripping all counter remedies—so rapid was the mischief. And the

⁸ “lion” is slang for a cruel king (see Josephus:Ant(18:228) [or History of Judah(110:5)] & Esther 4B:24
⁹ (64)-07-19 AD

city was completely enslaved to it, due to its narrow roads and curves, and its irregular streets, which were typical of old Roma.

Therefore, excessive uproar seized hold of everyone everywhere. They ran throughout *the city*, indeed, here, but, there, as if stupefied. And *people*, while helping others, would learn that their own houses were on fire. And *others*, even before they could hear that their own things were aflame, would learn that they were *already* destroyed. Now those who were inside their houses, would run out into the narrow *alleys* and *think* that they could find assistance on the outside; and those in the roads would run inside, and *hope* to accomplish something within.

And in addition to this, both the screaming and wailings of little-ones (in *their* inexperience of childhood), terror-stricken women, men, old *men* (in *their* feebleness of age), *all* united together, was incessant. As a result, no one was able to see, nor perceive anything *being said*, due to the smoke and the screaming. And this caused some to be seen standing speechless as if they were dumb.

Each one was seeking to save himself or others, dragging out *the* infirm or waiting for them—part of them delayed, part of them made haste, impeding everyone. And often, while they looked back to their rear, they were circumvented on their side or in their face. All this *time*, indeed, many were carrying out their own *possessions*, but also many were snatching what belonged to others, both kept colliding with one another and falling over their pieces of baggage. And it was not possible to advance anywhere, nor to stand still; instead, *people* pushed *and* were pushed, knocked down *and* were knocked down.

And indeed, lots of *them* were suffocated, but lots of *them* were crushed. They were not able to escape anywhere easily; and if they did find refuge in their proximity, this too was seized by the fire. Even *the places* which they had imagined were remote, were involved in *the* same calamity. And if anyone did *manage* to save himself from the immediate danger, he, falling into another, would be destroyed. At last, uncertain what to avoid or what to seek, they crowded into the roads or flung themselves down into *the* fields. Some, who had lost everything, even their daily bread, as well as others, who, out of love for their own *relatives*, whom they had been unable to rescue, were lost, even though escape was open to them.

And indeed, many houses were destroyed, because *the city* was desolate of anyone *able* to help *save* them, but many others were even burned to ashes by those who *presumably* came to help. For no one dared to ward off *the fire*, because there were incessant threats from a number of persons who prohibited *it* from being extinguished; and because there were others (even including the soldiers and the night-watchmen), who were openly hurling firebrands and kept shouting out, that they had been given authority *to do so* (*they were* either seeking to plunder more freely, or *actually* obeying orders). In fact, it was so obvious that this *calamity* had been contrived by Nerō, that even several consuls did not venture to lay hands on Nerō's chamberlains, although they caught them on their own estates with tow *and* torches; and some granaries near *the* Golden House (whose space he particularly desired), were demolished by war machines before being set aflame, because their walls were constructed of stone.

While such things were happening simultaneously elsewhere, and as the wind carried the fire over everything which remained, indeed, no one was any longer concerned about their goods or houses, but all the survivors standing anywhere they thought was safe, saw what appeared to be many islands and cities burning at the same time. And indeed, there was no longer *any* grieving over their own *possessions*, but there were public lamentations, as they also remembered how once before, in this way, most of the city had been utterly-destroyed by the Galatians.

At this time, Nerō, who was at Antium, did not return to *the* city until *the* fire was approaching his house, which he had built to connect *the* Palatium and the pleasure-gardens of Maecenas. Nevertheless, it could not be stopped, and it devoured *the* Palatium, and *the* house, and everything around it.

Instead, in order to relieve *the* people, driven out homeless as they were, he opened to them *the* ground of Martius, and *the* monuments of Agrippa, and even his own pleasure-gardens, and he raised up temporary structures to receive *the* destitute multitude. Supplies of food were brought from Ostia and *the* neighboring free-towns. *The* price of grain was reduced to three sesterii a peck.

These measures, though popular, failed to have *any* effect; because a rumor had spread, that at *the* very time when *the* city was ablaze, and while everyone was in this state and many, crazed by the disaster, were leaping into the fire, Nerō had entered his personal stage;¹ and having ascended to the summit of the Palatium (from which there was the best general view of the greater part of the conflagration), and rejoicing, as he said, in "*the* beauty of *the* flames", sang *the* entire 'Destruction' of Troia² in his regular harpist attire,³ simulating *the* present misfortunes with *the* disasters of antiquity (but to the spectators, it was that of Roma).

At last, after six days and seven nights, an end was brought to *the* conflagration at *the* foot of *the* Esquiline Hill, by *the* destruction of buildings over

¹ Tacitus (may also be translated "domestic stage") / Suetonius "the Tower of Maecenas"

² Tacitus / Suetonius "Storming" / Cassius "Capture"

³ Tacitus (traditionally incorrectly translated to "Troy") / Suetonius, Cassius "Ilium" (which is an alternate name for "Troia")

⁴ Cassius ("harpist attire") / Suetonius "stage costume"

a vast *area*, so that *the* violence of *the* fire was met by clear ground and an open heaven.

But before *the* people had laid aside their anxieties, nor yet had hope, *the* fire resumed its rage, especially in *the* spacious locales of *the* city. Though *the* destruction of humans was minor, *the* shrines of their gods and their porticoes dedicated to pleasantness, fell down on a broader scale. This *second* conflagration was a greater infamy, because it had broken out on *the* Aemilian property of Tigellinus, and it appeared that Nerō was seeking *the* glory of founding a new city and calling it by his name. Indeed, Roma was divided into fourteen regions, four of which remained uninjured. Three were leveled to *the* ground. In seven, only a few shattered houses survived: mutilated and half-burnt. However, there was no curse which the populace did not pray upon Nerō—indeed, they did not say his name, but simply cursed those who had set the city on fire.

Now afterwards, Nerō availed himself of *the* ruins of his fatherland by building a house, in which *the* jewels and gold were not as luxurious as *the* fields and lakes, and with woods on one side to resemble a wilderness, and, on *the* other, open spaces and lookouts. And he even honored his own egotistical nature by having an obscene 119⁵ foot colossal-statue of himself built and erected at its entrance. He even planned to reroute a canal into this property (*a* plan which was too difficult, even for a man of his infamous magnitude, to complete).

Meanwhile, *the* rest of *the parts* of the city which were not occupied by his house, were rebuilt, not without distinction or at random (as after *the* Gallic conflagrations), but instead with measured rows of streets and with broad roads, with a restriction on *the* height of buildings, with open areas, and *the* further addition of porticoes in order to protect *the* front of *the* tenements. Nerō promised to erect these porticoes at his own expense; and, when *the* open areas were cleansed of debris, to hand them over to *the* landlords. *The* new buildings were to be solidly constructed, without wooden beams, but with stone which was impervious to fire. There were to be no joint walls *between* buildings, but each was to be enclosed by its own walls. Water was made available for public purposes in greater quantities and at more points. Everyone was to have *the* means for stopping a fire out in *the* open. Although these changes added beauty to *the* new city, *the* lower elevation of the roofs caused *the* narrow streets to be left unsheltered by any shade, and scorched by a more grievous heat. And these, indeed, were *the* precautions of human wisdom.

Nevertheless, Nerō sought to gain all *the* plunder and spoil possible from this calamity. And although he promised *the* removal of *the* debris and dead bodies free of cost, he allowed no one to approach *the* ruins of his own property. And using the conflagration as his motive, he began to collect vast sums from the private-citizens and *from* the populace—indeed, sometimes using compulsion, but sometimes obtaining it by voluntary contributions (as they were made to appear). And from the Romans themselves, he wrested away their allowance of grain. *In the end*, from *the* contributions which he not only received, but even demanded, he nearly bankrupted *the* provinces and almost exhausted *the* resources of private-individuals.

CHAPTER 12: PURSUIT OF CHRISTIANS BY EMPEROR NERŌ

Soon, *the* Romans sought means of appeasing their so-called gods, to whom they offered public supplication in various locations. And religious banquets and all-night vigils were celebrated by married women. Instead, neither human efforts, nor lavish gifts of the emperor, nor all *the* means of *trying* to appease their so-called gods, were able to banish *the* infamous belief that *the* conflagration had been ordered.

Therefore, in order to abolish *the* rumor, Emperor Nerō fastened *the* guilt to and inflicted the Christians, whom he loathed for their alleged crimes. *For* the Christ was *the* founder of *the* name ('Christ' is the Hellenic word for 'Anointed-One'). *Jesus the Anointed-One* had been condemned to death by the procurator Pontius Pilatus. Repressed for a moment, *this sect* had again broken out, not only in the earth of Judah, but even in Roma. For through the emissary Petros' performance of miracles, which he worked by *the* power of God, which had been given to him, he had converted many to *the* way of righteousness and set up a firm and faithful *spiritual* temple to God.⁶ When Nerō heard about these things, and he noticed that, not only at Roma but everywhere, a great multitude was daily turning aside from *the* cult of idols and passing over to *the* new religion in

⁵ Plinius / Suetonius "120"

⁶ Lactantius:DivineInstitutes(4.21) preserves an account (possibly from an apocryphal writing), which is not preserved elsewhere: "Instead, he [God] also opened to them everything which was going-to-be-in-the-future, which Petros and Paulus preached at Roma. And this preaching, having been written down in memory, became permanent, in which there are many other wonderful things. They then said it was still to be-in-the-future: that after a short time, God was going to send-in a king, who would be subduing the Judeans and would be leveling their cities alone. However, he would besiege them themselves, who were exhausted with hunger and thirst. Then it would come-to-be that they would be made-to-feed on the bodies of their own relatives and would be consuming themselves one-after-another. Finally, that they, having been captured, would be coming in the hands of their enemies, and, in their own sight, would be looking at their spouses being harshly vexed, virgins being violated and prostituted, boys being torn-in-pieces, children being beaten, all things thereafter being devastated by fire and iron, captives being exterminated in their own perpetual lands—these things, because they were exulting over the most-loved and most-approved son of God. In-this-manner, after the death of those emissaries, after Nerō had done-away-with them, Vespasianus extinguished the name and nation of the Judeans, and did all things which those men had predicted would come-to-be-in-the-future."

condemnation of *the old one*, he, being a hateful and harmful tyrant, strove to tear down *the heavenly temple* and destroy righteousness.

Accordingly, those who were first arrested were those who confessed *that they were Christians*. Next, upon their information, an immense multitude was convicted—not so much on account of *the crime of the conflagration*, as of hatred of humans. And mockery of every sort was added to their ends: Covered with *the skins of beasts*, they, being torn in pieces by dogs, were *lost to death*; or they were affixed to crosses; or, they were inflamed, and when *the daylight diminished*, were burned to be used for *a light at night*. Nerō offered his own pleasure-gardens for *the spectacle*, and his circus, mixing with *the commoners in the habit of a charioteer*, or mounted on his car. For this reason, even for these alleged criminals, whom they themselves believed deserved this extreme and exemplary punishment, there arose *a feeling of compassion*, due to *the fact*, that it seemed *they were being destroyed*, not for *the public welfare*, but instead to glut one man's savageness.

Accordingly, during this *harmful* pursuit, Nerō assailed many prominent Christians, sowing the seed of their blood with the cruel imperial sword. Indeed, one of these was the emissary Petros' woman. Accordingly, after Petros beheld his-own woman being led off to the death, he indeed rejoiced at *the favor of her* calling and her conveyance into a *spiritual house*; but he loudly-voiced² to her very propellingly and exhortingly, after he spoke to her by³ name, "Remember the Lord!"

Now afterwards, Nerō was raised up to slaughter the emissaries Petros and Paulus. For Paulus, having come a second time to the city of Roma, was taken prisoner by Nerō. But nevertheless, he believed that the Lord would rescue him from every wicked work, and would save him into his heavenly kingdom. Therefore, after testifying of Jesus the Anointed-One under the leaders at Roma itself, he had his head cut off. And dying as a testifier, he was delivered from the world, and was conveyed to the holy place, proving himself a great model of endurance.

Also in Roma, at the same time, Petros, *while* testifying to Jesus the Anointed-One, was condemned to death. And being girt by another, he was fastened to a cross. However, he was crucified with his head downwards and his feet raised on high, asserting that he was unworthy to suffer crucifixion in the same way as his Lord. And after enduring a suffering like the Lord's, he was conveyed to the due place of the glories.

Now his suffering was in fulfillment of the prophecy spoken by Jesus, "But whenever you might grow-old, you will stretch-out your hands, and another will gird you and bring *you* to-where you are you wanting to go." (John 21:18)

And this was how the emissaries Petros and Paulus, who had planted assemblies both at Roma and in Korinthos (among many other places), conjointly poured forth all their teaching and *the Good-Message*, sealing it with their own blood. And the trophies of these emissaries, *who* situated the assembly at Roma *in its place*, could be found upon the Vatican or upon the Ostian way.⁴ Nevertheless, Emperor Nerō would not get away with these things, for God looked upon the ill-treatment of his people.

For soon afterward, Roma was gulfed by disasters pressing in upon her from every side. Indeed, there was a pestilence, which, in a single autumn, caused the deaths of no less than 30,000. But there was also a disaster in Britannicus, where two important towns were sacked, and great numbers of Roman citizens and allies were slaughtered. But there was also a shameful defeat for the Romans in the East, in consequence of which the legions of Armenia were sent under the yoke, and Syria was only retained *by them* with great difficulty.

Now after the emissaries Petros and Paulus had suffered for their testimony of Jesus, Linos was the first to succeed to the oversight of the Roman assembly, who had been entrusted to this position by the emissaries themselves.⁵ Yet truly, Timotheos, a learner of Paulus the emissary, was the first to receive the oversight of the sojourn in Ephesos, as also was Titus of the assemblies in Krété. And in addition to these, Dionysios (who received the faith when Paulus had preached to the Athénians at the Areios Crag) was the first overseer of the Athénian assembly. Now the emissaries left behind these men as their successors, desiring that they should be very perfect and blameless in all *things*.

CHAPTER 13: BEGINNING OF THE JUDEAN WAR / THE EMISSARIES OF JESUS SPREAD

Now while all these things were going on, many tens-of-thousands of honored Judeans were being tortured with whips in Jerusalem itself *and* were being crucified by Gessius Florus, who was the Roman procurator of Judah. For in response to his avarice and cruelty, the Judeans had begun rebelling against the Roman rule. So in the 12th year of Nerō's reign, the beginning of the war between the Judeans and the Romans was kindled.

Now throughout all Syria a terrible commotion arose because of the secession of the Judeans. *For* everywhere the *individuals* from the nation of Judah were

mercilessly attacked by the *ones who were dwelling-in* each city⁶ as if they were foes, so that the cities could be seen full of unburied bodies; and old men together with infants were thrown out as corpses, as well as women, who lacked *even* a covering for their nakedness. And indeed, the whole province was full of indescribable calamities, but the strain of what was threatened was greater than what was actually being endured. So in the 14th year of his reign, Nerō sent out Vespasianus, to be his general against the Judeans, along with three legions (one of which included Vespasianus' eldest boy, Titus); and Vespasianus captured many cities of the earth of Judah. (These things are recorded in detail in the histories written by Joseph the Judean.)

Now throughout an indeterminate period of time from the ascension of Jesus the Anointed-One into the heavens until this time, the rest of both the emissaries and learners of Jesus, having been plotted against in ten thousand ways, indeed had been and were driven from the earth of Judah and were sown-over the inhabited *earth*, but they preached and taught among all the nations, supported by the power of Jesus. Indeed, Toma was allotted Parthia, but Andreas, Skythia; but the emissary Bar-Tolmai,⁷ bringing with him the writing of the Good-Message of Maththai written in Hebrew, went to India.

And truly, the people of the Christian assembly in Jerusalem were directed by an oracle (which, before the war, had been given out through a revelation to esteemed *men*) to migrate from the city, and to inhabit a city of Peraia which they call Pella. Those who had faith in the Anointed-One emigrated to this city from Jerusalem, so that, when holy men had entirely left behind both the royal metropolis of the Judeans and the entire earth of Judah, the righteous-punishment of God might soon overtake the Judeans for breaking-the-law and their many sins against both the Anointed-One and his emissaries, and might eliminate that race of the impious-ones from-among⁸ humans, and might fulfill the prophecies which Yahweh God had spoken by Jesus the Anointed-One.

CHAPTER 14: DEATH OF EMPEROR NERŌ

Now in the 4th year of his reign, Emperor Nerō had killed his mother Agrippina and his father's sister; and in the 13th year, he had done away with his wife Octavia and other notable men. And afterwards, he was troubled and frightened by manifest portents from dreams, although he had never before been in *the habit of dreaming*. Indeed, in one of these, as he was steering a ship, *the helm* was wrenched from his hands, and he was dragged by his wife Octavia into *the thickest darkness*. But in another, he was covered with *a swarm*⁹ of winged ants, and was surrounded by *the statues* which obstructed him. But in another, *the posterior part of the body of a steed* in which he greatly delighted, transformed into an ape; and its head, which alone remained unaltered, emitted melodious neighs. But in another, *the doors of the mausoleum* flung open of their own accord, and *a voice* was heard from within, summoning him by name.

Now at this present time, a Galatian named Gaius Julius Vindex, gathered together those who were still suffering from Emperor Nerō's impieties. And ascending a tribunal, he delivered a long and detailed speech against Nerō, declaring, "We should both revolt from the emperor and join in making an attack upon him—because he has deprived the entire Roman inhabited *earth*, because he has utterly-destroyed the flower of the council, because he has even disfigured and killed his *own* mother, and does not preserve *even* the semblance of the leadership. For indeed, many slaughters, and robberies, and outrages, had often been committed by others, but as for the other deeds committed by him, how can one find words worthy to describe them? Therefore, rise up against him. Indeed, assist yourselves, but assist the Romans, but liberate the entire inhabited *earth*!"

These words met with the approval of everyone. And Vindex selected Servius Sulpicius Galba to take over the principality, and this man was proclaimed emperor by the soldiers. In the first battle, great numbers of Vindex's force were cut down. But on seeing the peril of his soldiers, Vindex was so overcome by grief that he slaughtered himself.

Now some time afterwards, while Nerō was dining, it was announced that *the rest of the armies* had also revolted. Tearing up *the letters*, and realizing that he had been abandoned by everyone alike, he took some poison and put it into a golden box. And he crossed over into *the Servilius Gardens*, where he took counsel with *the tribunes and the centurions of the bodyguard* to plan on a flight. Indeed, he began taking counsel, both to kill the councilors and to burn the city to ashes, and also to sail to Alexandria. But some gave evasive answers, and some openly refused, and one even cried, "Is it such *a dreadful thing to die*?" For this reason, *Nerō*, contemplating *these various plans* in his mind, postponed until *the following day*.

In *the middle of the night*, he awoke. And he found that *the garrison of soldiers* had left. (For the council had recalled the bodyguards which *normally* surrounded him, and had entered the encampment, where they indeed declared *Nerō* a foe, but chose Galba as emperor in his place.) *So* he jumped out of bed and sent for all his friends. And since he received no reply, he himself went to their

¹ literally "the" (also in next occurrence)

² literally "voiced-over"

³ literally "out of"

⁴ literally "upon the way, the Ostian way"

⁵ Eus-Chronicon(Jerome.Syr) give Petros' oversight a length of 25 years / Eus-Chronicon(Arm) 20 years

⁶ literally "dwelling-in throughout city" (less literal "dwelling-in city by city")

⁷ Greek "Bartholomaios" (traditionally incorrectly translated to "Bartholomew")

⁸ literally ("from-among") "out of"

⁹ literally "multitude"

rooms with a few followers. But finding that all *the* doors were closed and that there was no reply, he returned to his own room, from where even *the* custodians had fled, taking with them even *the* blankets and *the* box of poison. Then he immediately called for someone, at whose hand he might perish. And when no one appeared, he said, "Therefore, do I have neither friend nor foe?" And he ran out as if to throw himself into *the* Tiber River.

But changing his purpose again, he *instead* sought for a hideout where he could collect his soul. And his freedman, Phaōn, offered his own *house* in the suburbs between Salaria and Nomentana Highway, near *the* fourth milestone. So Nerō, barefooted and in his tunic, put on a cloak of faded color and covered his head. And holding a handkerchief before his eyes, he mounted a horse with only four attendants, which included Phaōn himself, along with both Epaphroditos (who was his private secretary), and Sporus (a man whose testicles Nerō had removed in an attempt to make a woman out of him and whom he had actually married and treated as his wife).

Immediately, he was frightened by *an* excessive trembling of *the* earth and *a* flash of lightning before him. He heard *the* clamor of *the* soldiers from *the* neighboring encampment, portending destruction for him and success for Galba. One of *the* travelers whom he met spoke, "They are in pursuit of Nerō." And another asked, "Is there anything new in *the* city about Nerō?" However, his horse was startled at the scent of *a* cadaver which had been thrown out into *the* road, and his face was exposed. A retired soldier of *the* bodyguard recognized Nerō and saluted him.

Because of this, when he came to *a* side-road, they dismissed *the* horses and he made his way through *the* thickets and thorn-bushes along *a* path through *a* jungle of reeds to *the* villa wall with great difficulty. Here, Phaōn urged, to, in *the* meantime, hide in *a* pit, from which sand had been removed.

But Nerō refused, "I will not go underground while I am still alive."

And after he had waited *a* while, *a* secret entrance into *the* villa was made. Then, since his cloak had been torn by thorns, he pulled out *the* twigs which had pierced it, and, crawling on all fours through *a* narrow *passage* which had been dug, he entered *the* villa. And in *the* first room which he reached, he lay down on *a* bed with *a* common mattress, over which *an* old mantle had been thrown. Though suffering from hunger and renewed thirst, he refused some coarse bread which was offered to him. However, he drank *a* little lukewarm water.

Finally, while all his companions urged him to save himself as soon as possible from *the* threatening insults, he directed them to dig *a* ditch in his presence, proportionate to *the* size of his own body, and, at *the* same time, to bring water and timber for presently disposing of his cadaver. As each of these things were done, he wept, and spoke again and again, "What an artist is coming-to-his-end!"

During *the* delay, *a* note was brought to Phaōn by one of his couriers. Snatching it from his hand, Nerō read that he had been pronounced *a* public enemy by *the* senate, and that they were seeking him in order to have him punished in *the* traditional fashion. He asked, "What manner of punishment is that?"

When he learned that *the* criminal was stripped naked, had his neck inserted into *a* fork, and then had his body beaten to death with rods, Nerō, subdued by terror, seized two daggers which he had brought with him. And then, after trying *the* point of each *one*, put them up again, pretending that *the* fatal hour was not yet at hand.

And now he prayed that someone would help bring about his death, and he rebuked himself for his own cowardice, *saying*, "To live is disgraceful and repulsive," then in *Greek*, "This is not becoming of Nerō, this is not becoming of him. One should be sober at *times* such as this. Come on, rouse yourself!"

Now when the senate finally learned of Nerō's hideout, they sent horsemen against him, who had orders to take him alive. And when he sensed that they were at hand, he was seized with trepidation, and he *said*, "The trampling of swift-footed horses strikes my ear!" And he ordered his companions to kill him. But when they did not obey, he both moaned and declared, "I alone have neither friend nor enemy."

And when the horsemen were drawing near, he killed himself by driving *a* dagger into his throat. And as he was dying a lingering death, Epaphroditos finished him off. He was still half-alive when *a* centurion rushed in. And as he placed *a* cloak to *the* wound (pretending that he had come to aid him), Nerō merely gasped, "Too late!" and "This is *your* faith!" And his voice failed, with eyes so jutting from their sockets that everyone who saw him shuddered with horror. And his companions made sure that, at his own request, he was completely cremated.

This indeed was how Nerō came-to-his-end in the 32nd year¹ of his life, after having ruled the Roman principality for 13 years and 7 months and 28 days.² (The acts he performed, and the sins he committed, which are many, are written in the histories which have been composed by the secular historians.) And with the end of this impotent tyrant, the race of the Caesars ended, and Galba reigned in his place as emperor of the Romans. And shortly afterward, the temple of the Caesars

was struck by lightning, and simultaneously all the heads fell from the statues, and Nerō's scepter was wrenched from its hands.

CHAPTER 15: THREE NERŌ IMPOSTERS

There was such public rejoicing on *the* day of *the* death of Nerō, that *the* commoners put on liberty-caps and ran about all over the city. Although his death had at first been welcomed with outbursts of joy, these sentiments only remained among *the* senators and *the* elite; for *the* commoners, who were addicted to *the* circus and *the* theater, along with *the* lowest slaves, and those who had wasted their property (who were dependent on Nerō to sustain them) were despondent and eagerly longed for every *favorable* rumor that he was in fact still alive.

For since there had been a variety of rumors regarding his death, and because he had been cremated and not received a customary burial, and because many astrologers³ had promised him that he would have domination of *the* east (*the* kingdom of Jerusalem in particular) along with the restitution of his former fortunes, many imagined and believed that he was still alive and would shortly return to deal destruction to his enemies. And there were some who, for a long time, decorated his tomb with spring and summer flowers, and produced images of him along with his edicts. Now this rumor was not constrained merely to the Romans, but even many of the Christians, who, having an extravagant imagination, believed that Nerō had merely been conveyed to a distant region, where he is still reserved alive, and would be the precursor of the Anti-Anointed-One and the forerunner of the Slanderer, when he comes to devastate the earth and overthrow humans. (And this rumor found a placehold among some of the Christians for well over 400 hundred years.)

In fact, about a year after Nerō's death, Achaia and Asia were terrified by a false rumor of Nerō's arrival. A man, who was skilled in *the* harp and in singing, gained faith in him due to these accomplishments and his resemblance to Nerō, and even managed to deceive some of the soldiery. But in the end, he was killed.

But later, during the reign of Emperor Titus, another false-Nerō also appeared, an Asian named Terentius Maximus. Now he resembled Nerō in his appearance and in his voice, for he also sang to *the* accompaniment of *the* harp. Now he gained a few followers in Asia, and, in his advance to the Euphrates, attached many more to *himself*, and finally fled for refuge with Ardavan, the Parthian chief, who, because of his anger against Emperor Titus, received him and set about making preparations to restore him to Roma. However, when he was discovered as being an imposter, he was killed.

Moreover, during the reign of Domitianus (about 20 years after Nerō's death), a person of obscure origin appeared, who also claimed that he was Nerō. And since his name was still so favorable among *the* Parthians, they vigorously supported him, and were almost roused to arms through his trickery; and it was only with great reluctance that they surrendered this false Nerō.

CHAPTER 16: REIGN OF THE FOUR EMPERORS

Now during the reign of Emperor Galba, Vespasianus, general of the Romans, deferred his expedition against Jerusalem until he received further instructions concerning the war. But Vespasianus also dispatched his son Titus from the war in the earth of Judah to *the* new emperor both to pay his respects and to receive his instructions concerning the Judeans. Now Agrippa, king of the Judeans, also embarked with Titus to Galba on the same errand. And Emperor Galba, in the seventh month of his reign,⁴ was beheaded in the middle of the forum in Roma. And he was succeeded by Otho. Now it was when Titus was at Korinthos that he was informed of Galba's death and that a man named Vitellius had taken up arms and begun *a* war against the Romans. So Titus, after deliberating on what course of action to take, decided to turn back to join his father, Vespasianus, in the earth of Judah, while King Agrippa went on ahead to Roma. Some supposed that Titus turned back due to his desire for Queen Bereniké, King Agrippa's sister. Yet *the* juvenile's soul was not averse to Bereniké, but his feelings toward her were no impediment to action.

Now Titus' arrival in *the* earth of Judah increased *the* confidence of *the* provincials and *the* soldiers of *the* three legions under his father's leadership. For his father, Vespasianus, had almost put an end to the Judean War, but *the* siege of Jerusalem remained, an operation which was rendered hard and arduous due to the nature of the mountain citadel and to the obstinate Judeans, who continued to rely on their god, rather than on any adequate resources in order to tolerate the inevitable hardships of *a* siege.

Now Emperor Otho, on the 95th day of his reign,⁵ killed himself with his own hands, and was succeeded by Vitellius.

Now during the reign of Emperor Vitellius, Vespasianus, who had distinguished himself by his pitched-battles against the Judeans in Judah, was made king over Judah itself, having been publicly-proclaimed emperor by his encampments there, in opposition to Vitellius, in accordance with the prophecy which God had spoken by Joseph the Judean. And because of the accuracy of this

³ may also be translated "mathematicians"

⁴ Suetonius, Chronicon(Jerome), Eutropius / Hippolytus gives the length of his reign as "5 months, 26 days" / Cassius gives "9 months, 13 days" / Chronography354 gives "8 months, 12 days"

⁵ Suetonius, Eutropius / Chronicon(Jerome) "in the 3rd month" / Hippolytus incorrectly gives the length of his reign as "8 months, 12 days" / Cassius, Chronography354 gives "90 days"

¹ Suetonius, Chronicon "32nd year" / Cassius "30th year"

² Hippolytus(Chronicon), Chronicon(Jerome) / Chronography354 "14 years, 5 months, 28 days" / Suetonius "nearly 14 years" / Cassius "13 years, 8 months" / Eusebios "13 years" / Eutropius "in the 14th year"

prophecy, Joseph, after the Judean War had ended, was so celebrated among the Romans, that he was deemed worthy—indeed, of the erection of a human-image in the city of Roma, but *also* by the inclusion of the works which he later composed in its library.

Now between *the* earth of Judah and Syria lies Mount Carmel, on which the prophet Elijah had long ago built *an* altar to Yahweh God (for Yahweh God, in accordance with *the* rules handed down to them, does not have any image or temple, but there is only *an* altar and the worship of him). When Vespasianus was sacrificing there, and thinking over his secret hopes in his soul, *the* priest Basileidés, after repeated inspections of the entrails, said, “Whatever you are planning, Vespasianus, whether to build a house, or to enlarge your holdings, or to increase *the* number of your slaves, *the* God grants you *a* mighty home, vast bounds, and *a* multitude of humans.” Therefore, Emperor Vespasianus set out at once for Roma to oppose Vitellius, entrusting the war against the Judeans to his boy Titus.

Now joining Vespasianus, in addition to many others, was King Agrippa, who had been summoned from Roma by private messages from his friends. There was also Queen Bereniké, King Agrippa’s sister, *a woman* who was flowering in her years and figure, and had charmed even the old Vespasianus by the magnificence of her presents; and she displayed no small soul in aiding him. Now in the 8th month of the reign of Vitellius,¹ while Vespasianus was still in Egypt, other Roman soldiers who were not presently with him, entered Roma and killed Vitellius. And Vespasianus was officially made emperor of the Romans.

CHAPTER 17: THE SIEGE OF JERUSALEM

Now Titus returned to Jerusalem and encamped before the walls of Jerusalem, where he displayed his legions in battle array. Now this happened during the days of the Festival of the Passover, when those all over the earth of Judah, to the number of 3,000,000, had come to Jerusalem to celebrate the festival. For it was previously, during this same annual festival, that the Judeans had arranged the suffering of their savior, Jesus the Anointed-One, in which they had cried out:

“His blood *is* on us and on our children.”

(Matthew 27:25)

And this was fulfilled in accordance with the prophecy of Jesus the Anointed-One, who said:

All the righteous blood of all the prophets *which* has been *and is* being poured-out on the earth from *the* founding of *the* world, might be sought-out from this generation – from the blood of Habel the righteous-one till the blood of Zechariah son of Berechiah (the *one* whom you* murdered *and* who was-lost between the inner-sanctum (*that is*, the house) and the sacrificial-altar). Yes, truly, I am saying to *all* of you* that.² All these *things* will be sought-out from,³ and be there on, this generation.

(Matthew 23:34~36/Luke 11:49~51)

And in answer, the inhabitants of the earth of Judah began to receive their due-punishment for their murder of Jesus the Anointed-One and for the rest of their crimes. Yet, the all-good foresight of God had, for forty years after the Judeans’ crime against the Anointed-One, held off their ruin. However, he, in his mercy, had not failed to warn them, uttering these words by Jesus the Anointed-One:

But whenever you* might see Jerusalem being encircled by military-encampments, then know that its desolation has drawn-near. Then let the *ones* in Judah be fleeing into the mountains, and let the *ones* in the middle of her be going-out, and let the *ones* in the countries not be entering into her. Do not let the *one* on the housetop descend⁴ nor let him enter in order to pick-up any of the *things*⁵ out of his house, and do not let the *one* in the field turn-back into the *things* *which* are behind him to pick-up his robe.⁶ Because these are days of avenging of all the *things* *which* have been written to be fulfilled.⁷

But woe to the women having a *child* in *their* belly and the *women* who are breastfeeding in those days! But be praying for yourselves, in order that your* flight might not be in a winter, nor in⁸ a sabbath. For then those days will be a great constraint on the earth and anger on⁹ this people *and* a great tribulation, such as has not been from the beginning of the world, from the beginning of the creation which God created till the present, but might never even be *again*.

¹ Suetonius, Chronicon(Jerome) / Eutropius “in the 8th month and 1st day” / Hippolytus gives the length of his reign as “9 months, 15 days” / Cassius gives “a year lacking 10 days” / Chronography354 “8 months, 11 days”

² [Matt23:36] NU, TR, Vul, Gk(BSV,X4405+2683) / M, Gk(EWS) add

³ [Luke11:51] NU, M, TR, Vul, Gk(AESVWS) / Gk(B) “till”

⁴ [Matt24:17] NU / TR “be descending”

⁵ [Matt24:17] NU / TR “-up what”

⁶ [Matt24:18] NU, Vul, Gk(BSV) / M, TR, Gk(WS) “robes”

⁷ [Luke21:22] NU, M, Gk(ABSVW) / TR, Gk(ES) “to be filled” // Gk(S) also omit “are”

⁸ [Matt24:20] NU, Vul, M, Gk(BSVWS) / TR add

⁹ [Luke21:23] NU, Vul, Gk(ABESV) / M, TR, Gk(WS) “in/amid”

(Matthew 24:15~25/Mark 13:14~23/Luke 21:20~24)

But even those who failed to heed this warning were not overlooked by the mercy of God. For throughout the entire length of this siege by the Romans, the divine visitation continued to be longsuffering, in order that the Judeans might finally change-their-mind of their deeds, receiving forgiveness and salvation. And in addition to such longsuffering, foresight furnished incredible signs from God of what would happen to them if they did not come to terms with him.

For indeed, of the manifest portents which foretold the coming desolation of Jerusalem, there was a star resembling a long-sword, which stood over the city; and a comet, which continued for an *entire* year. But during the Festival of the Unleavened, at the ninth hour of the night, so brilliant a light shone around the altar and the inner-sanctum that it seemed to be broad daylight; and this continued for half an hour. But the eastern gate of the interior inner-sanctum, which could scarcely be moved by twenty humans, opened of its own accord at the sixth hour of the night. And a few days after the festival, there appeared a demonic *and* greatly incredible apparition. For before the sun had set, throughout all the surrounding countryside, chariots were seen in the air, and armed phalanxes were darting through the clouds and encircling the cities. But at the Festival of the Fiftieth *Day*, as the priests were entering the inner temple by night, they indeed declared that they were conscious, first of a commotion and a crash; but after that, they heard a voice as of *people* amassed together, “We are departing from here.”¹⁰ (Now these signs were indeed attested, not only by the Judeans, but even by the Romans themselves, who also have them recorded in their own contemporary histories.)

And although God, in his mercy, by these premonitory signs and various other ancient prophecies, showed to the race of Judeans mercy and the way of their salvation, they duped themselves into believing that these things were the most beautiful of portents and that the prophecies themselves were promising them victory; for only a few of them were fearful of these *portents*. So the Judeans refused to surrender, either their bodies to the Romans, or their souls to God. Therefore, they resisted the siege. And under the assaults of the Romans, they were driven to an extremity of misfortunes: many tens-of-thousands of youths, together with women and little-ones, fell by short-sword and famine and tens-of-thousands of other forms of death, including mass crucifixions.

For even Moses had warned this people, that if they did not obey the voice of Yahweh, their God, and were not careful to observe his commandments, that many curses would come upon them and overwhelm them:

Yahweh will raise up against you a nation from afar, from the end of the earth, which flies like an eagle; a nation whose language you do not understand; a nation with a stern countenance, which neither respects elders nor is merciful to youths. And *this* nation will consume the offspring of your cattle and the fruit of your earth, until you are destroyed; *it* will leave you no grain, wine or oil, no issue of your oxen or young of your flocks, until they have ruined you.

(Deuteronomy 28:49~51)

Now in the course of this siege, after having captured two of the walls of Jerusalem, Titus, having continually implored the Judeans to surrender, enclosed the entire city with a wall in order to block every exit. But with all egress cut off, the famine devoured the entire Judean populace by *entire* houses and families. And indeed, the roofs were filled with women and infants completely exhausted, but the narrow-alleys *were* congested with the corpses of the aged. But little-ones and youths, with figures swollen *with* the *famine*, roamed like phantoms through the marketplaces, collapsing wherever their calamity overtook them.

These things indeed happened in fulfillment of the words prophesied to the city of Jerusalem by Jesus the Anointed-One:

Because days will be-there upon you,¹¹ and your enemies will throw up a palisade alongside¹² you, and they will encircle you, and they will oppress¹³ you from-all-directions.

(Luke 19:43)

Despite all of this, those within Jerusalem did not change their mind. And as Titus continued his assault, driving back the Judeans into the temple, the famine reached to such a pitch, that women even ate the fruit of their own womb. These things happened in fulfillment of the curse spoken by Moses, in consequence of their disobedience to God:

And in the siege, and in the affliction with which your enemies will afflict you, you will eat the fruit of your womb, the flesh of your sons and your daughters, which Yahweh your God has given to you. *Even* the most tender and delicate man among you—his eye will be evil against his brother, and against the woman whom he embraces, and against his surviving children. *For* in the afflictions of the siege, to which your

¹⁰ Some Josephus, Tacitus / variant “Let us depart from here.”

¹¹ [Luke19:43] NU, M, TR, Vul, Gk(AESVWS) / Gk(B) omit “upon you”

¹² [Luke19:43] translated elsewhere “encamp” (will encamp a palisade you) (“throw-up-alongside” is the literal meaning) NU, M, TR, Vul, Gk(AESVWS) / Gk(B) “may throw a palisade upon you”

¹³ literally “hold-together”

enemy will subject you in all your gates, when nothing else is left for him, he will not give to any of them any of the flesh of his sons whom he is eating. The most tender and delicate woman among you, who, on account of her delicateness and on account of her tenderness, would not venture to set the sole of her foot on the ground—her eye will be evil against the man whom she embraces, and against her son, and against her daughter, and against her offspring which issues from between her feet, even against her *own* sons whom she bears; for she eats them in secret, because she lacks everything in the siege and in the affliction to which your enemy will subject you in your gates.

(Deuteronomy 28:53~57)

Now about this time, due to a lack of men, the perpetual *sacrifice* in the temple of God had ceased being offered to God. And although Titus endeavored to save the temple of God, when his Roman soldiers finally reached the temple, they, having been possessed by some demon, set the temple on fire despite his orders. Now this *destruction* happened on the tenth *day* of the month Lōios—on the very month and day on which long ago the inner-sanctum had been burned by the Babelians under the authority of Nebuchadnezzar. While the inner-sanctum was blazing, the Romans plundered everything which fell in *their path*, showing no pity for age, nor reverence for rank. Instead, even boys and old men, even uninitiated and priests, were done away with in the same way. And every class was pursued *and* encompassed in the grasp of the war, both suppliants for mercy, and those offering resistance.

Now at this period, there were indeed many *false* prophets who were sent out in order to prevent the Judeans from deserting to the Romans, and, as a result, many of the Judeans were-lost by following false signs of salvation. Yet God had even warned them of this through Jesus the Anointed-One:

For false-anointed-ones and false-prophets will be arisen, and they will give great signs and portents with the *intention* to be misleading-away, if possible, even the elect-ones. But *all of you**, be looking out. Behold, I have stated all *things* to you* *beforehand*.

(Matthew 24:24~25/Mark 13:22~23)

But while the inner-sanctum itself and everything around it was ablaze, the Romans carried their ensigns into the temple court and set them up opposite the eastern gate, and offered sacrifices to them.

Now when Titus had entered the city of Jerusalem, having passed through walls which had fallen either by his own forces or by powers beyond his control, he greatly marveled, not only at its strength, but at the towers, which the Judean tyrants, in their mad-folly, had abandoned. Accordingly, he beheld both their solid height, and the magnitude of each rock as well as the exactness of their joinings, and he indeed remarked how great was their breadth, and how extensive their height, declaring, “A god has yet been warring along with us, and it was a god who ejected the Judeans from these fortifications. *For* what power have human hands or machines against these towers?”

Again, these things were in fulfillment of the curse uttered by God through Moses, when he said:

And this nation will besiege you in each of your gates, until your walls come down, the high and the unscalable ones in which you are trusting, in all of your earth. Yes, it will besiege you in all your gates, in all your earth, which Yahweh your god has given to you.

(Deuteronomy 28:52)

Now after the Roman soldiers had grown weary of murdering the Judeans, Titus directed them to kill only those who were found in arms and opposing them with *hand-to-hand combat*, as well as to capture the rest of the multitude. So the soldiers did away with both the aged and the feeble; but those who were in the prime of life and serviceable, they drove together into the temple, shutting them up in the court of the women. Now they indeed killed all the insurgents and brigands, who indicted each other, but selected the tallest and most handsome of the youths, reserving them for the triumph. Now as for the remaining multitude: those older than seventeen were sent in chains to the works in Egypt; but Titus sent a great number as presents to various provinces, to be destroyed in the theaters by iron *weapons* or by beasts. But those who were under seventeen were sold. However, many women and children were each sold for a trifling price *per head*, due to both the glut of the market and the lack of purchasers. Therefore indeed, the total number of prisoners taken throughout the entire war amounted to 97,000. But *the number* of those who were-lost during the entire siege *amounted* to 1,100,000.

All these things were in fulfillment of the curse uttered by God through Moses, when he said:

And exactly as Yahweh rejoiced over you to do good to you and to multiply you, so will Yahweh rejoice in ruining and destroying you, and you will be plucked from the ground. And Yahweh will scatter you among all the nations from one end of the earth to the *other* end of the

earth. And there you will serve other gods which you have not known. And among those nations, you will not rest; yes, there will be no resting-place for the sole of your foot. And there, Yahweh will give to you a trembling heart, and failing eyes, and a grieving soul.

And Yahweh will take you back to Egypt by ships. And there you will offer yourselves for sale to your enemies as male and female slaves, but there will be no buyer.

(Deuteronomy 28:63~68)

And again:

And I will scatter you* among the nations, and I will draw out a sword after you*, and your* earth will become desolate and your* cities will become a waste. Then the earth will enjoy its sabbaths all the days of the desolation, while you* are in *the* earth of your* enemies; then the earth will rest and it will enjoy its sabbaths. All the days of its desolation it will observe the rest which it did not observe in your sabbaths, while you were dwelling on it.

(Leviticus 26:33~35)

Now after these things, Titus directed both the entire city and the inner-sanctum to be demolished, indeed, leaving only the greatest of the towers (Fazael, Hippikos, *and* Miriam), but *also* the portion of the wall enclosing the city on the west. But all the rest of the wall which enclosed the city was so completely leveled to the ground that nothing was left for *future* visitors to believe that the spot had ever been inhabited. These things were in fulfillment of the words prophesied to Jerusalem by Jesus the Anointed-One:

And they will raze you and your children in you¹ to-the-ground, and they will not leave a stone upon a stone in you² – *things* of which *are* inequal-for *the fact that* you did not know the³ season of your oversight.⁴

(Luke 19:44)

And when the learners of Jesus had been pointing out to him the stones and the buildings of the temple, he had said to them:

*Are all of you** not seeing all these great buildings? Truly, I say to *all of you**, *there* might never be left here a stone upon a stone which might never be torn-down.

(Matthew 24:2/Mark 13:2/Luke 21:6)

And he also said:

The king (that is, the Lord) was angered. And after he sent his troops,⁵ he caused those murderers to lose *their lives*, and he set their city on fire.

(Matthew 22:7)

And he also said:

And this people will fall for themselves by-means-of⁶ a mouth of a saber.⁷ And they will be captivated into all the nations. And Jerusalem will be being walked *on* by nations up-to *the time* which seasons of nations⁸ might be *fulfilled*.

(Luke 21:24)

This was indeed how, in the 2nd year of the leadership of Vespasianus, Jerusalem was taken, and the Judeans received *the* wages of both their lawlessness and impiety against the Anointed-One of God. These things happened both in accordance with the foreknowledge of Jesus *the* Anointed-One (who, by divine power, foresaw these events as if already present, both weeping and mourning over them), and in accordance with the words of the prophets, especially Daniel, who wrote about the Roman leadership, and that Jerusalem would be taken by them and the temple made desolate.

For Daniel wrote about these things, saying:

And the people of the prince who is to come will destroy the city and the holy-place.

And its end *will come* with a flood; and until the end *there will be* war, desolations *have been* determined.

And on the wing will be the desolating abomination, even until the consummation and what has been determined is poured out on the desolation.

(Daniel 9:26~27)

¹ [Luke 19:44] NU, M, TR, Vul, Gk(AESVW) / Gk(B) omit “in you” / Gk(S) omit “and your children in you”

² [Luke 19:44] NU, M, TR, Vul, Gk(AESVWS) / Gk(B) “in whole to you”

³ [Luke 19:44] NU, M, TR, Vul, Gk(ASVWS) / Gk(B) “one” / Gk(E) “a”

⁴ [Luke 19:44] NU, M, TR, Gk(AESVWS) (lit. “the oversight of you”) / Gk(B) “an oversight of you”

⁵ [Matthew 22:7] NU, M, TR, Vul, Gk(ESVWS) / Gk(B) “troop”

⁶ [Luke 21:24] NU, M, TR, Gk(AESVW) / Vul, Gk(BS) “in/amid”

⁷ [Luke 21:24] NU, M, TR, Vul, Gk(AESVWS) / Gk(B) “long-sword”

⁸ [Luke 21:24] NU, Gk(ES) / M, TR, Vul?, Gk(AWS) “up-to seasons of nations might be fulfilled” / Gk(B) “up-to the time which they might be fulfilled” / Gk(V) “up-to the time which they might be fulfilled and seasons of nations will be”

Now the confidence of the Judeans in their rebellion was further bolstered by this prophecy of Daniel, which foretold that, at this period, an anointed-one would come, delivering them from the Roman oppression. And because of this, there had already spread all over the East¹ the belief that it was fated, at that time, that the East would grow powerful: that *men* coming from Judah would rule the world. But the Romans, misinterpreting this prophecy (yet only in part), believed that either Vespasianus or Titus were the anointed-one (though Titus was in fact the one who was foretold to destroy the city and the holy-place). But in reality, the anointed-one was Jesus of Nazareth, who came precisely at the period foretold, in order to fulfill the prophecy spoken by Daniel, though the majority of the Judeans rejected him, despite that he was announced by multiple clear signs and many prophecies. For even defeat could not convince them of the truth.

Now after Jerusalem had been captured, Titus returned to Italia, where both he and his father, along with Titus' brother Domitianus, celebrated their victory over the Judeans with great renown. In consequence of this success, and because Titus had so delighted the soldiers and won their devotion, both Vespasianus and Titus were each named emperor by the Romans, but neither received the *title of* Judaicus, although all the other *honors* of such a magnificent victory, including triumphal arches, were voted to them. (One such arch still remains to this day in the city of Roma, nearly 2000 years later.)

Now the terrible divine vengeance, which the Judeans suffered for the crimes that they dared to commit against the Anointed-One, and which was poured out upon them by the Romans, and how the prophecies and curses of God, spoken by his prophets and his son, were precisely fulfilled, are recorded in great detail in the histories written by Joseph the Judean.

Therefore, among the Judeans, from the time when their race began, until this time, there had always been a prophet (who was a lord, and a leader, and a chief of their people), even when they had previously been carried off captive to Babel, and when their earth was ravaged by war, and their consecrated utensils had been carried out. But after the manifestation and death of Jesus *the* Anointed-One, and after the desolation of Jerusalem and its temple, no prophet was again seen among the Judeans anywhere. Instead, the prophetic favors of his spirit's power, which had formerly been among the race of Judeans, were transferred to the those who have faith in Jesus *the* Anointed-One. And having ceased from among the Judeans, *these favors* are bestowed to the members of his assembly accordingly as he deems each human worthy of them. Therefore, it is now possible to see among the assembly of God, females and males who possess the favors of the spirit of God.

Instead, from this time forth, the majority of the Judeans, even with their cities burned with fire, and their earth desolated, and Jerusalem captured and its holy-place destroyed (so that they are unable to keep their decreed festivals), did not change their mind; instead, they even cursed the Anointed-One and rejected everyone who put their faith in him. Despite these things, the Christians did not hate them in return; instead, they prayed, that even now, all of them would change their mind and obtain mercy from God, the compassionate and longsuffering Father of all.

CHAPTER 18: REST OF THE REIGN OF EMPEROR VESPASIANUS

Now after *the* capture of Jerusalem, those of the emissaries and of the learners of the Lord who still remained in this life, came together from all sides, along with those of the race of the Lord according to *the* flesh (for even at that time, the majority of these remained in this life), to all take counsel together in order to decide who was worthy to succeed Jacob. There was a man named Simeon son of Hilfai,² who was a cousin of Jacob the righteous. Since *Simeon* was another cousin of the Lord Jesus, everyone unanimously resolved that *Simeon son of Hilfai* was worthy to be appointed overseer of the sojourn there. He was the second to hold the public-service of the assembly of *Christians* in Jerusalem (Jacob the righteous being the first). But Thebouthis, since he did not become overseer, began to destroy the assembly.

Also after the capture of Jerusalem, Emperor Vespasianus, directed, that, from that time forth, the Judeans who still wanted to follow the *customs of their* fathers, wherever they resided, should pay an annual tribute of two drachmas to Zeus Capitolinus, as they had formerly contributed to the Jerusalem inner-sanctum. But yet, he also ordered, that all those who were of the race of David should be sought out, in order that none of the royal tribe might be left among *the* Judeans. But for this reason, a great *harmful* pursuit hung over them.

Now in the 6th year of the leadership of Emperor Vespasianus, and the 4th *imperial* year of Titus, Queen Bereniké, who was blooming in her power, came to Roma along with her brother Agrippa, king of the Judeans. And indeed, Agrippa was deemed worthy of the honor of generalship, but Bereniké dwelled in the Palatium and cohabited with Titus.

Now in the 9th year of the leadership of Vespasianus, three cities in Kypros were destroyed all together in a great earthquake and tsunami: those of Salamis, and of Paphos, and of Larnaka. And in the same year, a massive plague happened

at Roma, so that, for many days, about 10,000 humans were listed in the daily register of the dead.

Now also in his ninth consulship, Vespasianus, having received a slight illness in Campania, went to the waters of Cutilia among the Sabines. There, in addition to *an* increase in his illness, he, by using *the* cold waters too freely, was infected in his intestines. Nevertheless, he continued to *perform* his duties as emperor, even receiving legates as he was lying down. Suddenly, one day, while he was in his own villa, he was attacked with such a loosening of his bowels that he all but fainted, *and* declared, "An emperor ought to die standing." And while he was struggling to get on his feet, he died in the arms of those who tried to help him, on the 9th day before the Kalends of July,³ at the age of 69 years and 7⁴ months and 7 days. He had reigned for 9 years and 11 months and 22 days.⁵ And his boy Titus succeeded him as the emperor of the Romans.

CHAPTER 19: REIGN OF EMPEROR TITUS / MT. VESUVIUS ERUPTS

Now Queen Bereniké was expected to marry Titus, and was already behaving in every respect as if she was *already* his wife. But there was both much babble about his notorious passion for Bereniké, and certain wise-men managed to somehow creep in as well: Indeed, *a man named* Diogenes entered the theater when it was full of men, and insulted *both of them*, for which he was whipped; but Héras, convinced that he would receive no more *harsh punishment than* *Diogenes*, cried out like a dog many times, and for this his head was severed. So when *Titus* sensed that the Romans were displeased with this situation, he sent *Bereniké* away from Roma at once, against her will and against his own.

Now in the 1st year of the reign of Emperor Titus, a remarkable and frightful occurrence took place. For a great fire from Mount Vesuvius in Campania suddenly flared up at the very end of summer. This mountain stands facing Neapolis near the sea, and it has inexhaustible fountains of fire, and often, it throws up smoke and ashes. And the tremors caused by it were a common occurrence in Campania and no cause for panic.

But at this particular time, men *who were* many and great (having surpassed every human nature),⁶ appeared: indeed, on the mountain, but *also* around the country; also in the cities, wandering day and night over the earth and through the air. And after this, both terrible and sudden violent quakings occurred, growing much stronger, so that even the entire plain all around seethed, and the summits leaped up *into the air*. But there were indeed frequent sounds, indeed, *some were* subterranean, like thunderings, but some were also on the surface, like bellowings. And both the sea roared, and the heaven resounded it. Then suddenly, an excessive crash was heard, as if the mountains were falling against one another. And first, enormous stones leaped up *into the air*, so that they rose even as high as the very summits. After this came lots of fire and endless smoke, so that, indeed, the entire air was overshadowed, but the sun was entirely covered up, as if it had been eclipsed. Therefore, both day was turned into night, and light into a darkness which was darker and thicker than any night.

And indeed, some thought that the giants were rising up again (for at this time, many of their apparitions⁷ shown through the smoke, and above all, a sound like a trumpet was also heard); but others even believed that the entire world was being consumed into chaos and fire. And for this reason, they fled; indeed, some from the houses into the roads, but others from outside inside; both from the sea to the land, and from there to the sea. *For* in their excitement, they regarded any place where they were not as safer than where they were.

While this was happening, an unspeakable *amount of* ashes puffed out of the mountain. These dark and horrible clouds, rent by twisted *and* quivering fiery spirits, opened into long figures of flames, like lightning, but bigger. And the ashes covered both the land and the sea like a flood, and filled all the air. And indeed, they wrought many and various kinds of injury, even to humans and countries and fattened-animals; but it utterly-destroyed all of both the fishes and the birds. For not only the smoke, but the trembling of the earth caused the sea to be sucked backwards. And with the shoreline receding, many sea-creatures were left on dry sand. And the ash was so thick, that the one who did not continuously shake it off, was crushed by the weight.

The darkness was not like a moonless or cloudy night, but more like the black of closed and unlit rooms. There was *the* wailing of women, *the* cries of infants, the clamor of men, the calling of relatives. They could only be recognized by their voices. Some, who were so afraid of death, prayed for death. Many raised their hands to whatever they considered a god, and even more believed that no god existed anywhere, and that this was the last night of the world.

And above all this, two entire cities were buried in ash like snow, both Herculaneum (which used to be called Herakleion) and Pompeii, the latter while the throng was seated in a theater. (And even until this day, nearly 2,000 years later, these cities have not been rebuilt.)

³ June 23rd

⁴ Suetonius / Cassius "8"

⁵ Chronicon(Jerome) / Cassius "for 10 years lacking 6 days" / Eusebios "for 10 years" / Eutropius "in the 9th year, on the 7th day" / Chronography354 "12 years, 8 months, 28 days"

⁶ Literally "having surpassed all the human nature"

⁷ may also be translated to "idols" (this Greek word is usually translated to "idol")

¹ or "Orient"

² Greek "Klōpas"

For the amount of all *the* dust was so great that, indeed, some even reached Africa and Syria and Egypt, but it also reached Roma, and both filled the air overhead and overshadowed the sun. And here there was no little anxiety, which lasted for several days, since the humans did not know *and* could not imagine what had happened. Instead, they believed that everything was being turned upside-down, and, indeed, that the sun was disappearing into the earth, but that the earth was going up into the heaven.

Therefore, indeed, these ashes did no great evil *to the Romans* at this time, though later, they brought down upon them a terrible pestilential sickness, the like of which had hardly been known before.

Now in the 2nd year of the reign of Emperor Titus, a second conflagration spread over very large sections of Roma while Titus was absent from the city. And lasting for three days and three nights, it especially consumed many of the idol-temples of the nations, causing even many individuals among the Romans to believe that this conflagration was not of human, but of demonic origin.

Now also in Titus' 2nd year, Linos, *the first overseer of the assembly of Christians* in Roma, handed over *his position* to Anenkletos,¹ who would hold it for 12 years.

But Emperor Titus, after having reigned for 2 years² and 2³ months and 20 days,⁴ died at the age of 42 from a sickness at the same farmhouse⁵ where his father Vespasianus had died. He committed no acts of murder or passionate-desire, but, in comparison with many of the previous emperors, he showed himself relatively upright and self-restrained for a king of the nations (even despite the fact that Bereniké, daughter of Agrippa the Great, had come to Roma again). Now the rest of his deeds are recorded in the histories written by the secular historians. And he was succeeded by his younger brother, Domitianus, whom many believed had treacherously done away with his own brother Titus, whom he had greatly envied and showed heavy disdain toward. For when Titus was dying, Domitianus ordered, that he be left for dead before he had actually drawn his last breath, and paid no honors to him after his death, and often assailed him in his speeches and edicts.

CHAPTER 20: REIGN OF EMPEROR DOMITIANUS / CLÉMÉNS BECOMES OVERSEER OF ROMA

Now at the beginning of his reign, Domitianus, emperor of the Romans, would spend hours in seclusion every day, doing nothing but catch flies and stab them with a keenly-sharpened stylus. Consequently when someone once asked whether anyone was in there with Caesar, Vibius Crispus made the witty reply, "Not even a fly."

At this time, Domitianus was equally free from any horrific suspicions of covetousness or avarice, both in his former private life and for some time after he had become emperor, giving strong proofs of his relative integrity, and treating all of his intimates more generously. But he did not continue this course of mercy or integrity. Although he turned to cruelty somewhat more speedily than to avarice, he finally turned all of his virtues into vices. He was also excessively lustful, constantly with his concubines, depilating them with his own hand, and swimming with common whores.

Now Domitianus was indeed not only bold and quick to anger, but also treacherous and keeping his thoughts hidden. In this way, he would often attack people with the sudden violence of a thunderbolt, but again, would often injure them as the result of careful deliberation. Now there was no human for whom he felt any genuine affection, except for a few women; but he always pretended to have love for the person whom, at the moment, he most desired to slaughter. For he was even so faithless toward those who showed to him some favor or helped him in his most revolting crimes, that, whenever some individual provided him with lots of money, or dealt out false information against large numbers of humans, he was certain to destroy them, being especially careful to do so in the case of slaves who had given information against their masters. And by these, and various other means, he put to death many senators on trivial charges.

Now, indeed, in the 4th year of the reign of Domitianus, Annianos, the first overseer of the sojourn *of the Christians* in Alexandria died. And he was succeeded by Abilius as the second; and he would hold this position for 13 years.

Now in the 6th year of Domitianus, the emperor, with no less arrogance than he began, was the first to deem himself worthy of being regarded as a god, and exalted himself in being called "God" and "Master", not merely in speech, but also in writing. And in his 7th year, this man was so pompous and egotistical, that he renamed two months after himself.

Now in the 8th year of his reign, Domitianus sent many of the Roman nobility into exile and killed many of them, even tormenting and torturing them in all sorts of new forms of inquisition. He even chastised women for adultery, some of whom he had debauched himself.

Now in his 10th year, his arrogance reached to such a height, that he commanded golden and silver statues of himself to be placed on the Capitolium. And he restored many buildings which had been destroyed by fire, including the Capitolium and many shrines in honor of false gods, but marked them all with his name only, without any respect for the original builder. Likewise, he built a temple to the Flavian family, and many structures for impure games.

* * * * *

Now in the 12th year of the leadership of Emperor Domitianus, Anenkletos, after having overseen the assembly *of the Christians* at Roma for 12 years, was succeeded by the emissary Cléméns. Being allotted the oversight (third in succession from the emissaries), he would hold this position for 9 years. And this Cléméns had seen the happy emissaries, and had engaged with them, and had been ordained *as an elder* by the emissary Petros himself. And he still had the preaching of the emissaries fresh in his mind, and their tradition before his eyes. He was not alone in this, for, at this time, there were still many alive who had received instructions *directly* from the emissaries.

Therefore, in the time of Cléméns, no small sedition arose among the brothers of the assembly sojourning in Korinthos. And the assembly at Roma, under the oversight of Cléméns, wrote and dispatched a powerful letter to the Korinthians. For up until that time, the Christians of Korinthos had been marveled-at on account of their sound-minded and gentle piety, and their unbounded fondness-of-strangers, and their complete and secure knowledge, and their absence of respect-of-persons; and they were being subjected to the *ones* leading them and rendering-due honor which is proper to the elders among them, and were being-humble-minded, not making-pretensions for anything, being subjected rather than subjecting *others*, sweetly giving rather than receiving, and having an insatiable yearning for good-doing; and they were pristine and unmixed, and not-remembering-of-past-evils *done* to⁶ one-another, and every sedition⁷ and every split was abominable to them; and they were mourning over the trespasses of *their* neighbors (their things-which-were-lacking they were judging *to be* their-own), and were ready to⁸ *do* every good work; and they had obeyed all the instructions of the emissary Paulus, including the veiling of both women and virgins as they had been taught (a practice which they, and almost all the assemblies, even those of the most barbarous regions, retained for at least 200 years; for what the emissaries taught, the learners of the emissaries confirmed). And because of these *things*, a full outpouring of a holy spirit had been upon them all.

But out-of this *came* jealousy⁹ and envy, *and*¹⁰ quarrelling and sedition,¹¹ *harmful* pursuit and insurrection, war and captivity. This-is-how the unhonored-ones rose over the honored-ones, the inglorious-ones over the glorious-ones, the senseless-ones over sensible-ones, the youths over the elders. And they left-off the fear of God, and became-dim-sighted in their faith, and no longer were going in the lawful *things* of his ordinances, nor-even to be acting-as-a-citizen according-to what is-proper to the Anointed-One, *but* instead, for each one to be stepping according-to the desires of his heart, the wicked *heart*, having taken-up an unrighteous and impious jealousy.¹² Due-to this, the righteousness and peace departed from the assembly at Korinthos, and their previously solemn and renowned name was greatly reviled.

Now this letter, which was sent to *the Korinthians* by Cléméns and the assembly of Roma, exhorted them to peace, and to a renewing of their faith, and to the tradition which they had recently received from the emissaries, proclaiming one God, *the Omnipotent, the Maker of the heaven and the earth, the Creator of humans, the one who brought the flood and called Abraham, the one who led the people from the earth of Egypt, who spoke with Moses, who set forth the law and sent the prophets, and who has prepared fire for the Slanderer and his messengers.*

And afterward, the assembly of the Korinthians remained in the correct account, at least until Primus would be made overseer of Korinthos.

CHAPTER 21: PURSUIT OF CHRISTIANS BY EMPEROR DOMITIANUS / THE GRANDSONS OF JUDAH

Yet truly, Emperor Domitianus exhibited a great cruelty toward many, killing and exiling, without fair trial, both no small multitude of both noble and distinguished men at Roma, but condemning tens-of-thousands of other faultless eminent men by banishments and by confiscation of their property. This was how he established himself as a successor to Emperor Nerō in both enmity toward God and in a battle against God. In fact, in the 14th year of his reign, he was the second to stir up a pursuit against the Christians, although his father Vespasianus had not contrived anything unusual against them.

At this time, the emissary and good-messenger, Johanan, who was still alive, on account of his testimony to the divine account, received a due punishment by

¹ Eusebios / Irenaeus(Latin) "Anacletus" (his name means "blameless" in Greek) / Chronicon "Cletus" / Unknown-ReplytoMarcion has both a "Cletus" and an "Anacletus"

² Suetonius, Cassius, Eusebios, Chronicon(Jerome) / Hippolytus(Chronicon) "3 years"

³ Suetonius, Cassius, Hippolytus(Chronicon) / Eutropius "8"

⁴ Suetonius, Cassius / Hippolytus(Chronicon) "and 2 days" / Eusebios, Jerome(Chronicon) omit altogether

⁵ Suetonius / Cassius "watering-place"

⁶ literally "into"

⁷ literally "standing"

⁸ literally "into"

⁹ may also be translated "zeal"

¹⁰ [Clem] some add

¹¹ literally "standing"

¹² may also be translated "zeal"

Domitianus. He was first plunged, unhurt, into boiling oil. And from there, he was banished to dwell on the island Patmos, condemned to *the* mines there.

And Emperor Domitianus, in the 15th year of his *reign*, slaughtered, along with many others, Flavius Cléméns a consul at Roma at this time, although he was a cousin; and his wife was¹ Flavia Domitilla, who was also a relative of Domitianus. Now the charge brought against both of *them* was atheism, a *charge* on which many others who adopted Judaism and Christianity received a due punishment because they refused to acknowledge the emperor and the rest of their gods. And indeed, some of these *individuals* died, but the rest, at a minimum, were deprived of their property. Now Domitilla, on account of her testimony of Jesus *the* Anointed-One, was merely banished to Pandateria.² And many others were banished along with her. And it was by this deed in particular that *Emperor Domitianus* hastened his own destruction.

For eight successive months so many flashes of lightning occurred and were reported, that at last *Domitianus* cried, "Let him now strike whom he will." *The* Capitolium was struck from *the* heaven along with the temple of the Flavian family, as well as the Palatium and *the* emperor's own bedroom. The inscription too on the base of a triumphal statue of his was torn off in a violent tempest and fell upon a neighboring tomb.

Now in the 16th year of his reign, Emperor Domitianus ordered those of the race of David to be done away with, so that no one might remain of the royal family of the Judeans. For besides other taxes, *the* one on *the* Judeans was levied with utmost severity. And those who did not profess *their* religion, yet lived like Judeans, were prosecuted, as well as those who concealed their origin and did not pay *the* tribute levied upon their people. *Even* a *man* of 90 years old was examined before *the* procurator and a very crowded court, to see whether he was circumcised.

Now at this time, there still remained of the race of the Lord Jesus, grandsons of Judah.³ Now this Judah was a brother of Jesus *the* Anointed-One, according to *the* flesh. Some of the sectarians issued information against these descendants of Judah, accusing them of being of the race of David. A volunteer-veteran⁴ brought these *individuals* before Domitianus Caesar. For he, like *former* King Héródés, feared the coming of the Anointed-One.

And he inquired, "Are you* from out of the race of David?"

And they confessed.

Then he asked them, "How many properties do you* own, or how much money do you* possess?"

But the *men* spoke, "Between both of us, we have only 9,000 denarii, half belonging to each of us." And they asserted repeatedly, "We do not have this in silver, *but* instead in a piece of land of only 39 plethras, on which we also pay taxes, and from which we support ourselves by doing personal-labor." Now they also showed their hands to him, testifying to their personal-labor with the hardness of their body and the calluses impressed on their own hands from incessant work.

But when they were asked about the Anointed-One, and his kingdom, of what nature it was, and where, and when it would appear, they gave an account, "It is, indeed, neither worldly nor earthly, but heavenly and of *the* messengers. It will come at the end of the age, when he will come in glory to judge *the* living and *the* dead *humans*, and to give to everyone according to his practices."

Domitianus did not pass sentence against them for this; instead, he even looked down upon them as frugal *individuals*. Indeed, he sent them away free. But since he had some conscience, he, through an ordinance, put a stop to a pursuit against the assembly of God, and even recalled some of those whom he had banished. Now when the grandsons of Judah were released, they led the assemblies, since they were testifiers of and of *the* race of the Lord Jesus. They also remained alive until the *lifetime* of Emperor Trajanus of the Romans.

CHAPTER 22: SECTARIANS: MENANDROS & NIKOLAOS / A REVELATION OF JOHANAN THE EMISSARY

Now about this time, there arose several sects. One of these was founded by Menandros, who was a learner and successor of Simon the magician. He, displaying a conduct no less inferior to that of his predecessor, was another instrument of the slanderous operation.⁵ Now he, like Simon, was also a Samaritan by birth, but from the village of Kaparattaia, and who, frenzied by the demons, had advanced to a summit of witchcraft no less than his teacher.

And he came to Antiocheia, where he deceived many by *his* magical art and abounded in great marvelous-tales. Indeed, he said that he himself was the savior commissioned from above for *the* salvation of the humans. But he taught that no one, not even the messengers who made the world (for he asserted that the world was not made by God but by messengers), could survive unless they were first led

through the magical craft imparted by him and through an immersion dispensed by him in his own name; *and* that those who were deemed-worthy of this would be able to overcome the messengers who made the world, and, partaking of everlasting immortality in this life itself (no longer dying, but abiding here), they would always be ageless and immortal. Now Menandros himself eventually died, thereby manifesting the falsity of his assertions; and within less than 300 years this entire sect would almost entirely vanish. However, Menandros would begat a kind of serpentine power with two mouths and two heads, which came forth *and* established the chiefs of two different sects: Saturnilius⁶ and Basileidés.

Now another sect was founded by Nikolaos, one of the seven ministers who had previously been chosen by the emissaries, together with Stephanos, and Prochoros, and Parmenas, and the others. He was a good man from Antiocheia and had become a convert to Christianity. But after he had received the account of the preaching of *the* Anointed-One, he joined the learners himself, and *was* at first ranked among the foremost. And in this way, he was included among the ones who were chosen at that time to care for the widows. But afterwards, he was deceived and proved to be evil, and counted as a sect-chief.

For he had a good-looking and blooming wife, and he had refrained from having *sexual* intercourse with her, as though in imitation of those whom he saw were practicing self-restraint. He persevered for *only* a while; truly, he was not able to bear to control his lack-of-self-restraint until the end. Instead, he kept searching for no good excuses, inventing them in defense of his own intemperate passion. Then, failing of his purpose, he simply began having *sexual* intercourse with his wife. But because he was ashamed of his defeat and suspected that he had been found out, he dared to speak, "Unless one has sex every day, he is not able to partake of the eternal life." For he had shifted from one pretense to another.

For seeing that his spouse was, indeed unusually beautiful, but yet bore herself with modesty, he was jealous of her. And, supposing that everyone had as much licentiousness as he, he, indeed, first acted offensively to his wife constantly, and made certain slanderous charges against her in *his* discourses. But, finally, he degraded himself, not only to fleshly intimacy,⁷ but to a reviling opinion, and *the* harm of maliciousness, and *the* deceit of the covert introduction of wickedness. And when he was reproached before the emissaries of jealousy, he brought *his* wife into *their* midst and gave permission to anyone who wished to take her for *his* wife.

Now although Nikolaos had nothing to do with any other women besides the one whom he married, the Nikolaitans, his followers, lead lives of practicing sexual-immorality without restraint. But of Nikolaos' own children: indeed, his daughters grew old as virgins, but his son remained uncorrupted.

And from a conglomeration of cues from both Nikolaos and his predecessors (that is, Simon the magician and the others), the *founders* of what is falsely termed 'Knowledge' began their evil sprouting in the world, that is, those who are called Knowledgeable-Ones (*Gnostics*), from which would flow *the* Phibionites, and *the* Stratiotics, and *the* Levities, and *the* Borborites, and the rest. For each of these, growing from Nikolaos like fruit from a dunghill, have each, after they attracted his own sect with his own passions, invented countless ways of doing evil, teaching both the practice of promiscuity with women and unnatural acts of intolerable perversity which are shameful even to speak about. And, like scorpions or asps hatched from infertile serpent eggs, they introduced the worship of various different perverse spiritual beings and forged nonsensical books of sexual-immorality.

Now while Johanan was on the island Patmos, he received a revelation of Jesus *the* Anointed-One from God, who sent his messenger to him toward the end of the reign of Emperor Domitianus. And Johanan was instructed to send this revelation to seven different assemblies: that of Ephesos, and of Smyrna, and of Pergamos, and of Thuateira, and of Sardeis, and of Philadelpheia, and of Laodikeia, in order to rebuke their sins and to direct them in the righteous way. Now among the sects which he rebuked, in particular, was that of the Nikolaitans, which was condemned with the weightiest authority of the Lord himself.

CHAPTER 23: END OF EMPEROR DOMITIANUS / REIGN OF EMPEROR NERVA

Now because of his crimes, Emperor Domitianus of the Romans became an object of terror and hatred to everyone. But in the 16th year of his reign, he was finally overthrown, assassinated in his own bedroom by a conspiracy of his friends and favorite freedmen, of which his wife Domitia was also a part.

Now various omens foretold his death. For among other things, on one occasion, he himself dreamed that Rusticus, a man whom he had killed, approached him with a short-sword. And on another, he dreamed that Minerva,

¹ Cassius / Eusebios "and was t

² Cassius / Eusebios "Pontia"

³ Greek "Judas" (traditionally incorrectly translated to "Jude")

⁴ Latin "evocatus"

⁵ may also be translated "energy"

⁶ Hegesippus, Justin, Hippolytus, Epiphanius, Theodoret / Irenaeus, Tertullian, Eusebios "Saturninus"

⁷ literally "the intimacy of the flesh"

the abominable god whom he worshipped, whose statue he kept in his bedroom, came forth from her so-called holy-place; and, throwing away her weapons, declared that she could no longer protect him, and, mounted upon a chariot drawn by black horses, was falling into a yawning-chasm. And even some of the astrologers, though their predictions are derived from demons, also foretold to him the exact day and manner of his death.

Therefore, Emperor Domitianus, after having reigned 15 years and 5 days,¹ was assassinated on the 14th day before the Kalends of October,² at the age of 44 years, and 10 months, and 26 days. And after him, the Romans appointed Nerva Cocceius as emperor.

Now at one point, while Domitianus was still alive, he would have slaughtered Nerva, had not one of his astrologers declared that Nerva would come-to-his-end within a few days. For since Domitianus had put faith *into* this false prediction, he did not murder him, since he would soon die anyways.

Now even *the* memory of Domitianus' name was erased. For the people received the news of his death with indifference. And although *the* soldiers were greatly grieved, *the* senators, on the contrary, were overjoyed. But although he had materialized many marvels (when he built *the* Capitolium and other noble monuments), because of the hatred Emperor Nerva felt for Domitianus, the Roman senate council voted that the honors of Domitianus be cancelled. Therefore, his images (indeed, there were many of silver, but also many of gold), were melted down; and the arches, of which a very great number were being erected to Domitianus, were torn down. In this way, the senate so tracked-down³ his name, that it left no traces of him anywhere.

And Nerva also both discharged everyone who was on trial for impiety, and restored the exiles who had been unrighteously banished to their own homes. He killed all of both the slaves and the freedmen who had plotted against their *own* masters. And no one was permitted to incriminate anyone of impiety or of adopting the Judean way of life. Now Nerva also forbade the making of gold or silver human-images in his own honor. But those who had been deprived of their property without cause under *Emperor* Domitianus, he gave back everything which was still to be found in the royal treasury, even selling his own possessions and those of the royal *residence* when he ran short of money.

CHAPTER 24: JOHANAN THE EMISSARY ESTABLISHES ASSEMBLIES IN ASIA

Now after the emissary and good-messenger Johanan had grown old on the island Patmos, he thought that he would finally depart *this life* by suffering. But when *Emperor* Domitianus was killed, all the emperor's judgments, on account of his excessive cruelty, were discharged by Emperor Nerva, and Pertinax and the senate. Therefore, with the acts of this tyrant being rescinded, *the* assembly of God was not only restored to its former state, but shone forth much more clearly and flourishingly. For after the tyrant had come-to-his-end, Johanan was dismissed from his banishment *which was* to the mines on the island Patmos. And he came⁴ upon the assembly at Ephesos in Asia, which had been founded by the emissary Paulus. And while he was in Ephesos, Johanan himself, by a divine power, raised a corpse *to life*.

And remaining in Ephesos, he passed his time conversing with the neighboring assemblies and engaging with their elders, until the times of Emperor Trajanus. Indeed, throughout all Asia, in some places he established overseers, but in some places he fit together entire assemblies, but in some places he yet⁵ allotted certain *men* of the *ones who were* being signified *to him* by the spirit *to be* allotted-ones.

But the most notable of his learners were, indeed Papias, overseer of the assembly of Hierapolis; but also Polykarpos, *who* not only become-a-learner by emissaries and been associated with many of the *ones who* had seen the Lord, but whom the emissaries⁶ had appointed⁷ into the oversight of the assembly in Smyrna; but also Ignatios, who had previously been appointed as the second overseer of Antiocheia in succession from Petros the emissary.

Now during his sojourn *at Ephesos*, Johanan was away from *there*, being called to the side and onto the neighboring-countries of the nations, whereat he founded and built assemblies throughout all Asia. Therefore, on one occasion, Johanan also came to a certain *one* of the cities *which was* not far away. And after he rested-up the brothers in the other⁸ *matters*, he, in the presence of everyone, looked at the established overseer. *And* he saw a youth, robust⁹ in body, and urban¹⁰ in appearance, and warm *in* his-own soul.

And Johanan was declaring, "This *one* I am setting before¹¹ you with all diligence¹² in the presence of the assembly and of the Anointed-One for a witness."¹³

Now *the overseer*, receiving *the youth* and promising everything, was even again dialoguing the same *words*, and he was thoroughly-testifying *to this*.

Next, indeed, *the emissary Johanan* was lifted-away-from *there* onto Ephesos. But after the elder took-up the youth *who was* delivered *to him* to his house, he nourished *him*, held *him* together, fostered¹⁴ *him*, and enlightened¹⁵ *him* to the last. And after this, he lowered his stricter¹⁶ care and guardianship *over him*, as *if* the seal of *the Lord which* he stood-upon *him* was the final safeguard for him.

But after *the youth* took premature¹⁷ freedom¹⁸ for himself, certain *youths* of his same age, idle¹⁹ and reprobate,²⁰ accustomed to evil *things*, corrupted *him* for themselves. And indeed, they first led *him* upon *their ways* with very-expensive feastings. Next, *while* they *were* also being-out anywhere nightly upon highway-robbery, they led *him* upon *their exploits* along with them. Next, they deemed *him* worthy to be performing some even greater *crime* with them. But *little* by little, he became-accustomed *to this*, and due to *his* greatness of nature, he, even-as a hard-mouthed and vigorous horse *which* went aside from the straight way and bit-into the bit *between his teeth*, was greatly bringing himself down the gulfs of *perdition*. But after he finally despaired of the salvation in a god, he no longer still thoroughly-comprehended *what was* small. Instead, after he performed some great *crime* (since he had become-lost once-and-for-all), he deemed it worthy to suffer an equal *fate* as the others. After he surely took-up these *youths* and after he welded-together a band-of-brigands, he was a ready brigand-chief—most violent, most blood-stained, most harsh.

In *the* meantime,²¹ and, after some need fell-upon *the assembly*, they again called-up Johanan. But after *the emissary* settled²² the other *matters* for which he was being there, he was declaring, "O overseer, surely be leading *forth* the deposit which both **I** and the Savior²³ put down beside you in the presence of the assembly *over* which you are sitting-down for a witness."²⁴

But indeed, at the first, *the overseer* became-astonished, supposing that he was being blackmailed *regarding* monies **which** he did not take. And he was neither having *any ability* to be showing his faithfulness in-behalf of what he did not have, nor *any reason* to be refusing-to-have-faith in what Johanan said.

But as *Johanan* spoke, "I am requesting *to have* back the youth, and the soul of the brother," the elder, after he groaned deeply²⁵ and after he shed-tears-over *him*, was declaring, "That *man* has become-dead."

"How and what *kind* of death?"

"He has become-dead to a god," he spoke. "For he stepped away, *becoming* wicked and utterly-annihilated, and summarily²⁶ *became* a brigand. And now, instead of the assembly, he has overtaken the mountain with soldiers like himself."

The emissary, after he ripped-down his²⁷ clothing and after he smote his²⁸ head with a great wail, was declaring, "Yet a beautiful guard did I leave-behind for the soul of a brother! Instead, let a horse be being present for me already, and let someone become a leader for me of the way *to him*."

He was driving, even-as he was,²⁹ on-the-spot from the assembly. But after he came into the site, he was conquered by the advanced-guard of the brigands, he neither fleeing nor refusing, *but* instead crying *out*, "On-the-basis-of this I have come! *All of you**, lead me onto your* chief!"

For-a-while, the *chief*,³⁰ even has he had been armed, was awaiting *him*. But as he *was* approaching, *the youth* recognized³¹ Johanan. After he felt-regard *for Johanan*, he veered himself into flight.

But *the emissary*, forgetting his own stature, was pursuing *him* with *all his* might, having shouted, "Why, *O* child, is someone fleeing from me, your-own father, the naked *one*, the old-man? Have-mercy-on me, child. Do not be filling yourself with-fear. You still have hopes of life. **I** will give an account to *the Anointed-One* on your behalf. If it would be necessary, I will voluntarily endure **your** death, as the Lord *did* on our behalf. On your behalf, I will give **my** soul³² in your place. Stand, have-faith; *the Anointed-One* commissioned me."

¹ Clemens / Eusebios, Maximus "I am putting-down-beside" (less lit. "depositing")

² literally "effort"

³ literally "testifier"

⁴ literally "imparted-warm" (in the figurative sense of fostering someone)

⁵ literally "illuminated"

⁶ literally "more"

⁷ literally "pre-hourly"

⁸ literally "relaxing"

⁹ literally "non-working"

¹⁰ literally "having been ripped-off"

¹¹ literally "Time in the midst"

¹² literally "stood-down"

¹³ Clemens / Eusebios "Anointed-One"

¹⁴ literally "testifier"

¹⁵ literally "from-below"

¹⁶ literally "headily"

¹⁷ literally "the"

¹⁸ literally "the"

¹⁹ literally "he was having"

²⁰ literally "who"

²¹ literally "made-known"

²² literally "the soul, the **mine** soul"

¹ Cassius / Chronicon(Jerome) "15 years, 5 months" / Eusebios "15 years" / Suetonius & Eutropius state that he was killed in the 15th year of his reign / Chronography354 "17 years, 5 months, 5 days"

² September 19th

³ literally "pursued"

⁴ literally "he came-after"

⁵ Eusebios, Maximus / Clemens "but/both"

⁶ Irenaeus / Tertullian, Jerome "whom Johanan"

⁷ literally "assigned-down"

⁸ Clemens / Eusebios "in other"

⁹ literally "adequate"

¹⁰ may also be translated in the sense of "elegant", "polite"

But after the *youth* heard, he indeed first stood, looking down. Next, he cast down the weapons. Next, trembling, he was weeping bitterly. But after the old-man came to *him*, he embraced *him*, apologizing with his¹ wails as he was being-able and immersing himself a second² time with his³ own tears, hiding only his⁴ right-hand from *him*.

But the *emissary*, pledging, swearing-on-top of *this* as if he has found forgiveness for him from the Savior, beseeching, falling-on-his-knees, kissing his right hand as if it had *now* been cleaned by the change-of-mind, lead *him* back onto the assembly.

And indeed, *while* he was requesting-for his *pardon* by-means-of abundant prayers, but contending-along with *him* by-means-of contiguous fasts, but soothing his resolve by-means-of various binding⁵ discourses, *Johan*an did not come-away prior for him to bring-in⁶ the *youth* to the assembly, giving a great public-show of a true changed-mind, and a great token of a birth-again, a trophy of a standing-up *which* is being looked at.

CHAPTER 25: SECTS: KERINTHOS & NAZORAIANS & EBION

During this time, Kerinthos had become the author of another sect. For he was a man who had been disciplined in the wisdom of the Egyptians; but living in Asia, he, having become acquainted with the Christian teaching, began his preaching there. Now he taught, that the world was not made by the primary God, but instead by a certain power of a *heavenly* messenger which is far separated and distant from the All-sovereign—a *power* which is ignorant of the God who is above all; and, that it was through these *heavenly* messengers that the law and the prophets were given. But he asserted, that Jesus was not born of a virgin, but was merely a son of Joseph and Miriam according to the ordinary method of human reproduction, and that, nevertheless, *Jesus*, possessing righteousness, and a sound-mind, and understanding, was more righteous and wise *than all other men*. He also *taught*, that Jesus himself was not the Anointed-One, but that after Jesus was immersed, it was the Anointed-One who descended upon him in the form of a dove from the All-sovereign, and that then he proclaimed the father who was previously unknown to him, and discharged powers. But that finally, the Anointed-One departed from Jesus before he suffered on the cross and stood-up *out of dead humans*, while the Anointed-One, being solely spiritual,⁷ flew away and remained free from suffering.

And once while *Johan*an the learner of the Lord was in Ephesus, he proceeded⁸ into a *bathhouse in order*⁹ to wash *himself*. And¹⁰ when he saw Kerinthos¹¹ within,¹² he *both* leapt out of the bathhouse¹³ without washing, and *fled out the doors*,¹⁴ instead, spoke in addition,¹⁵ “Let us flee, lest even the bathhouse fall *down*! Kerinthos, the enemy of truth, is within!” In this way, he demonstrated the discretion he had even against holding verbal communication with anyone who restandardized¹⁶ the truth. (This history has been handed down to us from Polykarpos, *Johan*an’s own learner.)

Now not all Kerinthos’ opinions were contrary to those of the emissary, but because *Johan*an had rebuked him, some future teachers not only discarded his teachings which were erroneous, but, failing to properly discern truth from falsehood, became an enemy to all his teachings, regardless of their nature, thereby rejecting even what was officially standardized.

* * * * *

Now there was another sect, that of the Nazoraians, which arose after the learners had removed from Jerusalem before its siege and destruction by the Romans, and which had settled in Peraia and lived their lives there. This sect had its origin in Beroia, around Coelesyria, and in the Dekapolis around Pella, and in Bashan at the place called Kokabe (Chochabe in Hebraic).

Now its members are Judeans, but they are different from Judeans and different from Christians in only the following ways: Indeed, they only disagree with *the* Judeans because they profess themselves to be faithful-ones in the Anointed-One, but not only use the writings of the Old Covenant, but also those of the New Covenant, including the Good-Message according to Maththai in its original Hebraic form. And because of these things, especially because they preach that Jesus is *the* Anointed-One, they are hated by the other Judeans.

¹ literally “the”

² literally “himself out of a second”

³ literally “the”

⁴ literally “the”

⁵ literally “cording”

⁶ some Eusebios / others “firmly-fix” / others “establish” / others “reestablish”

⁷ Irenaeus, Hippolytus(7) “spiritual” / Hippolytus(10) “a spirit of the lord”

⁸ Irenaeus / Eusebios “entered”

⁹ Irenaeus / Eusebios add

¹⁰ Irenaeus / Eusebios “But”

¹¹ Irenaeus, Eusebios / Epiphanius “Ebion”

¹² Irenaeus / Eusebios “when he learned that Kerinthos was within”

¹³ Irenaeus / Eusebios “he both leapt off of the place”

¹⁴ Irenaeus / Eusebios add & omit “without washing”

¹⁵ Irenaeus (“instead, speaking in addition”) / Eusebios “declaring”

¹⁶ literally “restamped” (as in, someone stamping their stamp on top of a coin which had already been previous stamped); could also be translated to “reminted”

But they are not in accord with Christians because they are still fettered by the law: both circumcision and sabbath, and the *rest of its commands*. However, they acknowledge both the standing-up-of dead *humans* and that everything has been created by God—that he is one, and that his son is Jesus the Anointed-One.

* * * * *

Now after the fall of Jerusalem, there was even another sect, that of the Ebionites. For since a majority of the Judeans who had come to faith in the Anointed-One had settled in Peraia, in Pella (a town in the Dekapolis which is near Bashan), this provided an opportunity for Ebion to found a new teaching. He first lived in a village called Kokabe in the district of Karnaim, also called Ashtaroth, in Bashan. There, in the same region which bred the Nazoraians, he shared with them, and they with them. Each also indeed differed from the other to some extent, but they imitated each other in their teachings.

In addition, Ebion also became the successor of Kerinthos, though he did not agree with him on every point. For Ebion affirmed that the world was made by the one true God, not by messengers; but his opinions in respect to the nature and origin of Jesus the Anointed-One was similar to Kerinthos. Now the Ebionites believe that the law is still binding and allege that they are made righteous according to it; and, because of this, they strongly continue to adhere to Judaic customs, on the ground that they are not able to be saved by faith in the Anointed-One alone and a life lived in accordance with it. For they even practice circumcision, and preserve in the observance of those customs which are commanded by the law—indeed, such as the observance of the sabbath and the *rest of its commands*—but on the Lord’s day, they perform ceremonies in remembrance of the saving standing-up *out of dead humans*. However, they are so Judaic in their style of life, that they even adore Jerusalem as if it were the house of God, and they even proceed beyond the restrictions of the law by completely forbidding all types of meat to be eaten.

They also deny that Jesus was born of a virgin and of a holy spirit, but believe that he was merely a plain and ordinary human, having been born from the *sexual* communion of Joseph and Miriam, and that he only became the Anointed-One because he had completely observed the law; and, had anyone else done this, they too would have become the Anointed-One. And they believe, that when they also fulfill *the law*, they too are able to become anointed-ones. Now indeed, the Ebionites use the Good-Message according to the Hebrews only (which they say is Maththai’s version of the Good-Message, but it has in fact been emasculated), but they repudiate the emissary Paulus, maintaining that he was an apostate from the law, and, for this reason, they reject his letters entirely.

Now because these people were called Ebionites, their opponents criticized them, saying, that their name was fitting, since it was because they held poor and base opinions about the Anointed-One. For ‘Ebion’ in Hebrew means ‘poor man’. Now later, after Ebion had come-to-his-end, his followers would become associated with a false-prophet known as Helkesai.

CHAPTER 26: JOHANAN’S GOOD-MESSAGE AND DEATH

Now during *Johan*an’s residence at Ephesus in Asia, while terrible sects, such as Kerinthos and the then-arising teaching of Ebion, were being scattered abroad, saying that Jesus the Anointed-One was merely a human, all the overseers from the neighboring provinces gathered together to *Johan*an, entreating him to write down his testimony. Now *Johan*an was compelled by these intimate friends of his; and his learner Papias, overseer of Hierapolis, wrote-down his version of the Good-Message correctly *while* *Johan*an was dictating. Once finished, this writing was published in the assemblies in Asia.

For by *the* proclamation of this Good-Message, *Johan*an, a learner of the Lord, sought to remove *the* error which Kerinthos had disseminated among humans, and which had, for a long time previously, been promulgated by the Nikolaitans, in order to confound them, and to persuade them, that God made everything by his ‘account’, and not, as those sectarians assert: that there was an anointed-one from above, who, continuing unchangeable, descended upon Jesus (*the* son of the Creator) and returned back, and that this creation was not made by the primary God, but by some power or *heavenly* messenger lying far below him. Therefore, *Johan*an desired to put an end to all such teachings, and to establish *the* rule of truth in *the* assembly, that there is one Almighty God, who made all things by his ‘account’, both visible and invisible, and, that, by the ‘account’ (by whom God made the creation) he also bestowed salvation on humans who were made by *the* Creator.

Now after composing his Good-Message, *Johan*an, while dwelling at Ephesus, was even, in extreme old age, being carried with difficulty in *the* hands of his learners into the assembly. He did not have the strength to *speak* many words, yet he was in *the* habit of saying nothing in each of his prayers but this, “Little children, love one another.”

Finally, *the* learners and brothers who were present, becoming irritated at always hearing *the* same thing, said, “Master, why do you keep saying this?”

At this, *Johan*an gave an answer becoming of him, “Because this is an instruction of *the* Lord; and if it alone were *kept*, it would be enough.”

Now even Johanan was deemed-worthy of suffering for his attestation of Jesus *the* Anointed-One, although an ungrounded expectation had prevailed about him that he would remain alive until the coming of the Lord. For at the beginning of the reign¹ of Emperor Trajanus (who succeeded Nerva), he was done-away-with by Judeans in Ephesos, and he was buried near the same city. In this way, he, together with his brother (who had been previously killed by Héródés Agrippa), quite-clearly fulfilled the predicting² of the Anointed-One about them and their own confession about this and consensus.³ For the Lord spoke to them, “Are you* being able to drink the cup which **I** am drinking?” And after they nodded-down eagerly and after they synthesized-together, *the Lord* declared, “You* will drink my cup and you* will be immersed with the immersion with which **I** am being immersed.”

(Mark 10:38-39)

Also among those who fell asleep in Asia were Philippos, who sleeps in Hierapolis. And of his four daughters who were prophetesses, two of them, aged virgins, also have their tomb there along with that of their father. And one of his other daughters, who was a citizen of a holy spirit, now rests at Ephesos.

Now Johanan the emissary and learner of the Lord, and Philippos and his daughters, and Polykarpos overseer of Smyrna, and most of the sojourns in Asia, had all observed the Festival of the Savior’s Passover on the 14th day of the month of Nisan (which was the same day on which the Judeans had formerly been commanded to sacrifice the lamb, regardless of which day of the week it happened to fall on). In fact, Polykarpos always observed this festival along with Johanan and the other emissaries with whom he had associated. However, in many of the assemblies in other regions of the inhabited *earth*, such as in Roma, the Christians observed a different tradition, which had been handed down by different emissaries, that is, to observe the Festival of the Savior’s Passover on the first Lord’s day (that is, Sunday) following the 14th day of Nisan. And there were even some who did not observe this festival at all, since it had not been handed down to them to do so. Yet, nevertheless, all these *assemblies* lived in peace *with one another*.⁴

CHAPTER 27: DEATH OF EMPEROR NERVA / START OF THE REIGN OF EMPEROR TRAJANUS

Now prior to the death of Johanan the emissary, Emperor Nerva of the Romans was both of such an old age and such weakness, that he lacked strength. (For example, he always had to vomit up his food.) Now despite that many of the Romans welcomed Nerva’s rule, some of the bodyguards disliked certain principalial decisions of his, and thought that he was not able to bear the burden and care of the Roman leadership, due to both his old age and his lack of experience.

In fact, some of the bodyguard formed a plot against him, and incited some of the soldiers to form a sedition against him. *But* Nerva resisted them stoutly, even to the point of baring his collar-bone and presenting his throat to them. For Nerva was certain that he had done nothing which would prevent him from laying down the imperial office and returning to a private life in safety. Instead, this accomplished nothing. For this reason, Nerva, finding himself held in such contempt on account of his old age, adopted Marcus Ulpius Nerva Trajanus as his son, and appointed him as Caesar. Now soon after this change, he passed away from a sickness, having ruled the Romans for 1 year, and 4 months, and 9 days;⁵ but his life prior to the time had comprised of 65 years, and 10 months, and 10 days. And he was succeeded by Trajanus as Emperor of the Romans.

Now Trajanus was 42 years old when he began to rule the Romans. Now before he had become emperor, he had the following sleeping-vision: He thought he saw an elderly man *dressed* in a purple-bordered cloak and clothing, but who was also wearing a crown, as the body-of-seniors is represented in drawings, impress a seal upon him with a ring, both on the left side of his neck and then on the right. Now when Trajanus became emperor, he sent a letter to the counsel, written with his own hand, in which he declared, among other things, that he would not slaughter nor dishonor any good man, and he confirmed these things by oaths, not only at that time, *but* instead also later.

* * * * *

Now in the 1st year of *Emperor Trajanus*.⁶ Kerdōn succeeded Abilius, who had led the sojourn of the *Christians* at Alexandria for 13 years. He was the third who presided over it as *overseer* (after Annianos, who was the first).

Now at this time, Simeon held the public-service of the assembly in Jerusalem.

Yet truly, at this time, Polykarpos, a companion of the emissaries, was prominent in Asia, having been entrusted with the oversight of the assembly in Smyrna by eyewitnesses and servants of the Lord.

Also at this time, Papias, a man skilled in all manner of learning and well acquainted with the writings,⁷ became known, he himself being *the* overseer of the sojourn in Hierapolis. Indeed, he was a self-hearer of Johanan and Aristiōn, but a comrade of Polykarpos. And Ignatios, who had sometime previously been allotted as second in succession of the oversight of the assembly at Antiocheia (Euodios having been the first to be stationed there after Petros the emissary), was made famous.

And Cléméns still led the *assembly* at Roma. He also was the third who held the oversight there after Petros and Paulus. (Now Línos was the first, and after him was Anenketos.) But in the 3rd year of King Trajanus, Cléméns, after he gave-over the public-service of the oversight of the assembly in Roma to Euarestos,⁸ was released from this life. *Cléméns* oversaw the assembly and presided-over the teaching of the divine account for 9 years⁹ in all.

Now also among those who were celebrated in these times was Quadratus, who was prominent, like the daughters of Philippos, by a prophetic gift.¹⁰ Now shortly before or after this period, there was also a woman *named* Ammia in Philadelphiea who had a prophetic gift.

Now there were also many more Christians who were known at this time, who are in first rank in the succession of the emissaries. And these, being godly learners of such great *men*, built in every place upon the foundations of the assemblies which had already been established everywhere by the emissaries, increasing the preaching more and more, and sowing the saving seeds of the kingdom of the heaven far and wide throughout the inhabited *earth*.

For even most of the learners at that time, struck in the soul by the divine account with an ardent passionate-desire of a fondness-of-wisdom, first fulfilled the Lord Jesus’ exhorting: *They* dispensed their property to those who were in need, but then, entering upon long journeys, performed the work of good-messengers, being ambitious¹¹ to preach the account of the faith everywhere to those who had not yet heard *it*, and to transmit the writing of the divine good-messages.

Now as soon as they had only laid down the foundations of the faith in some alien regions, they also established others as shepherds, *and* also entrusted to them the tillage of those who had recently been brought in *to the faith*. *But they* themselves went on to both other countries and nations, with the favor and cooperation of God, since, also, a great many incredible powers of the divine spirit were in operation through them at that time, so that at the first hearing, masses of multitudes, men and all, eagerly received within their souls the piety of the Creator of all.

* * * * *

Now after spending some time in Roma, Emperor Trajanus, in the 4th year of his reign, advanced with an army against the Dacians. For he had both taken into account their past deeds, and was depressed by the amount of money which they were receiving annually; he also observed that their power and their mind were increasing. Now Trajanus engaged the Dacians, and defeated them in a bloody battle. And in the 5th year of the reign of Trajanus, Dekebal, king of Dacia, who had formerly defeated Emperor Domitianus, surrendered, agreeing to every demand made by Trajanus, although he did not intend to abide by his agreement. And Trajanus, after stationing guards throughout the country, returned to Italia.

But sometime after this, a message was brought to Trajanus, that King Dekebal was acting contrary to the agreement in many ways, *including* furnishing *his men* with weapons and receiving the deserters, also repairing the fortifications, also sending elders to his neighbors, and injuring those who had previously been opposite minded. *Therefore*, the *Roman* council voted him a foe, and Trajanus once more became general in a war against him, instead of entrusting it to others. Now in the course of the war, Trajanus, after constructing a stone bridge over the Istros, crossed over, and, after a hard struggle, vanquished the Dacians. But when Dekebal *saw* that his royal *palace* and all his country had been occupied, and that he himself was in danger of being captured, he committed suicide, and his head was brought to Roma. And this was how Dacia became subjected to the Romans, and *how* Trajanus founded cities there. Now on Trajanus’ return to Roma, he gave spectacles for 123 days, in which beasts were slain and gladiators contended.

CHAPTER 28: PURSUIT OF CHRISTIANS UNDER EMPEROR TRAJANUS / TESTIMONY OF IGNATIOS

Now under Emperor Trajanus, a pursuit was also raised against us *Christians* individually among *various* cities as a result of an insurrection among the populaces. Sometime during this prolonged and widespread *pursuit*, while Atticus was consul, Simeon (son of the Lord Jesus’ uncle Hilfai, and the second overseer

¹ Jerome stated that this happened in the “3rd year of Traianus”

² literally “fore-saying”

³ literally “down-positioning-together”

⁴ An additional possible fact about Johanan is given by Tertullian (On Monogamy 17.1). Whether this is based on a mere conjecture, a tradition, or a fact, is unknown “Johanan, a sexually-impotent-individual of the Anointed-One” (the Greek word here means someone who is sexually-impotent due either to castration or to nature)

⁵ Cassius / Eutropius “for 1 year and 4 months and 8 days” / Chronicon(Jerome) “1 year and 4 months” / Eusebios “a little more than 1 year” / Chronography354 “5 years, 4 months, 1 day”

⁶ Eusebios (Traianus is implied by the narrative) / Chronicon “of Nerva”

⁷ some Eusebios / some Eusebios add

⁸ Eusebios, Chronicon(Jerome) / others “Euarestos” / Chronography354 “Aristus”

⁹ Eusebios, Chronicon(Jerome) / Chronography354 “9 years, 11 months, 12 days”

¹⁰ literally “favor” (also in next sentence)

¹¹ literally “having a fondness-of-honor”

of the assembly at Jerusalem) released his life due to *his testimony of Jesus*. For certain sectarians at this time spoke-evilly of Simeon, bringing accusations and accounts against him before the consul Atticus, that he was a *descendant* of David and a Christian. And Simeon was tormented in many ways for a great many days, striking both the consul¹ and those around him with great astonishment, who greatly marveled how, at the age of 120, he had endured. And Simeon was directed to be crucified, thereby *suffering while testifying about Jesus the Anointed-One*. And a certain Judean named Justus,² who was one of tens-of-thousands of the circumcision who put their faith in *Jesus the Anointed-One* at that time, succeeded to the oversight of the assembly in Jerusalem.

Now the other descendants of Judah (one of the brothers of Jesus the Anointed-One), who had previously testified of their faith in Jesus the Anointed-One in the time of Emperor Domitianus, also lived until the reign of Emperor Trajanus, until this same time, in which Simeon had been defamed and accused by the *sectarian* factions which had arisen after the emissaries had left.

* * * * *

Now Emperor Trajanus, in the 9th year³ of his reign, after he was lifted-up⁴ over the victory against the Skythians and Dacians⁵ and many different⁶ nations, and after he⁷ concluded that the god-revering composition⁸ of the Christians was the *only thing* still to be left to him *in order* to subject everything to himself, **10** threatened to be enduring⁹ a pursuit *against them*, and¹⁰ if they might not choose¹¹ for themselves to be under the worship of the demons¹² with all the nations. *This*¹³ would have been forcing all the *ones who were* living piously¹⁴ either to sacrifice or to come-to-their-end.

Now at this time, Ignatios (a learner of Johanan the emissary) was *carefully*¹⁵ piloting the assembly of Antiocheia. He had just-barely been led-past the former¹⁶ storms of the many pursuits *against the Christians* under¹⁷ Emperor Domitianus. He, as a good pilot (by means of the helm of the prayer-to God and the fast, and¹⁸ by means of the contiguousness of the teaching, and¹⁹ by means of the strain,²⁰ the spiritual *strain*)²¹ was holding-out-against the squall of the power *which was* opposing him,²² having become-anxious, lest it might throw-off some of the *ones who were* faint-of-soul or more-unminded.

For-consequently, indeed, after the pursuit abated²³ for a little, he was gladdening over the unshakable *state* of the assembly. **5** But he was being-vexed at²⁴ himself how²⁵ he *had* not-yet laid-hold-of²⁶ the real²⁷ love into the Anointed-One, nor-even the complete rank of ‘the learner’. **6** For he was comprehending-in *his thoughts*, that the confession coming-to-be²⁸ through *means of giving* a testimony, might make him dwell more *closely* to the Lord. **7** For-this-reason, he, remaining still a few years longer beside the assembly, and,²⁹ after-the-manner-of a divine lamp, illuminating the thought of each *person* through his³⁰ expositions of the *divine*³¹ writings, was attaining the *object* according-to his prayer.

For, for some time, Emperor Trajanus, out of a desire *to win* glory, had been looking for an excuse to conquer the Armenians and Parthians. And on one of the emperor’s preliminary journeys to the East, during the time when Sura and Senecio were the consuls of the Romans,³² he, making-every-effort against³³ Armenia and the Parthians, was at that season spending *time* throughout Antiocheia.

Now Ignatios, after he was filled-with-fear in-behalf of the assembly of the Antiocheians, was voluntarily being-led to Emperor Trajanus. Now as he was

forced-to-stand before the face of the King³⁴ Trajanus, he testified that he was a follower of Jesus the Anointed-One, and, in consequence, received his sentence: to be being-led to Roma to become solid-food of beasts, for³⁵ a seeing and for a delighting³⁶ of the populace.

And *while he was* being conducted through Asia under the strictest surveillance of guards, he strengthened the sojourns in each city where he stayed by saying both sermons and exhortations, especially advising them above all to be on their guard beforehand against the factions, which then, for the first time, were coming to the surface. He also urged them to hold fast to the tradition of the emissaries.

Now Ignatios, with much labor, came-to³⁷ the city of Smyrna. And there, he briefly met with Polykarpos (the overseer of the Smyrneans, his³⁸ fellow-hearer; **3** for they had, long-ago, became learners of the emissary Johanan). And Ignatios, after he communed spiritual bestowed-favors to him, and after he exhorted *him* to be-an-athlete-together³⁹ with *him* for the same proposition, was led-up from Smyrna in-this-manner.

Now on his conveyance to Roma, Ignatios also exhorted and advised other assemblies through letters which he wrote. In particular, prior to his arrival in Roma, he wrote, on the 9th day before the Kalends of September,⁴⁰ to the Roman assembly, even extending a request, that they should not deprive him of the hope for which he longed by them begging the Roman officials to abrogate his testimony.

Now when Ignatios was finally led to Roma, there, on the 13th day before the Kalends of January,⁴¹ he was led-away into the amphitheater. And the godless men threw *him* beside raw beasts, which left behind only the rougher parts of his remains.⁴² (Now the details of his trial before Trajanus, and his voyage to Roma, and his death in consequence of his testimony of Jesus the Anointed-One, are written in the ‘Testimony of Ignatios’.)

Now Hérōs succeeded Ignatios in the oversight of Antiocheia.

* * * * *

Now in approximately the 12th year⁴³ of Emperor Trajanus, Kerdōn, the overseer of the sojourn of Alexandria was transferred from this life, *having been* overseer for about 11 years. But Primus, the fourth from the emissaries, was allotted its public-service. Also about this time,⁴⁴ Alexandros, the fifth in succession from Petros and Paulus, received the oversight at Roma, after Euarestos had completed his 8th year.⁴⁵

* * * * *

Now throughout the time of these pursuits *against the Christians* which took place under the reign of Emperor Trajanus, the Golden House, which Emperor Nerō had built, burned down in a fire. And shortly afterward, four cities of Asia were overthrown in an earthquake: Elaia, and Murina, and Pitané, and Kumé; as well as the cities of⁴⁶ Opountis and Oritos⁴⁷ in Hellas. Now after this, three cities of Galatia were wiped out by another earthquake, and the Pantheon in Roma was burned down by lightning.

CHAPTER 29A: CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PLINIUS AND EMPEROR TRAJANUS

Yet truly, in about the 15th year of the reign of Emperor Trajanus, such a great pursuit was opened against the Christians in many regions, that Plinius Secundus (who governed the province of Bithynia, and who had barely survived being utterly-destroyed by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in the reign of Emperor Titus), condemned some Christians and drove some from their steadfastness. **2** Nevertheless, he, being perturbed by the multitude of their testifiers, consulted Emperor⁴⁸ Trajanus concerning the multitude of those who were being done away with for their faith. **3** Now Plinius wrote the following letter to the emperor:

Gaius Plinius to Emperor Trajanus.

It is my regular custom, my lord, to be referring to you all matters which cause me doubt. For who is better able to be guiding my uncertainty or to be instructing my ignorance? I have never attended trials concerning Christians. For that reason, I am unaware of what *offenses* are usually punished or investigated, and to what extent. **4(2)** And I more than a little

¹ Eusebios, in his summary of Hegesippus, also calls him “judge”

² Eusebios / Epiphanius “Judah”

³ [1:8] GAB / L “fourth” / L* “after four” / S “after nine” / possible emendation “nineteenth”

⁴ literally “lifted-on”

⁵ [1:8] GSB / L “Thrakians” / A “Dacians and Thrakians”

⁶ [1:8] GS(M) / L “other multiple and diverse” / B “diverse”

⁷ [1:9] GLA[B] / S add “it was becoming for him and”

⁸ literally “stand-together”

⁹ [1:10] G / L omit “to be enduring”

¹⁰ [1:10] LSAB / G add

¹¹ [1:10] G / LSA “collect” / B “incline”

¹² [1:10] G / A “his demons” / L “demonic thing”

¹³ [1:10] LSAB / G “The fear”

¹⁴ [1:10] G / L “all who were themselves being pious” / B “being cultivators” / A “Christians” / S “holy ones”

¹⁵ [1:2] L[S][A]B / G add

¹⁶ literally “long-ago”

¹⁷ literally “on”

¹⁸ [1:3] LS / G[B] add / [A] add “and who”

¹⁹ [1:3] GLS / AB add

²⁰ [1:3] G / L “robustness” / AB “exertion” / S “exertions”

²¹ [1:3] LAB / G “the spirit” / S “of spiritual things”

²² [1:3] LSB / G omit “of the power” / A omit “of the power which was opposing him”

²³ [1:4] G “crested/ridged”

²⁴ literally “according-to”

²⁵ literally “as”

²⁶ literally “touched-on”

²⁷ [1:5] GSL (“the real”) / [B] “in full” / A omit

²⁸ [1:6] G / B “made” / S “if touched and come-forth above himself” / L[A] omit

²⁹ [1:6] GLA / S[B] omit “and”

³⁰ literally “the”

³¹ [1:7] LSB / G add / A instead add “sacred”

³² i.e. the tenth year of Traianus (107AD) / Chronicon & Jerome (Illustrious Men) says he was killed in the eleventh year of Traianus

³³ literally “on”

³⁴ [1:12] S[A] / GLB add

³⁵ literally “into” (also in next instance)

³⁶ [1:21] A(S) / L “for a seeing” / G[M] “for a delighting” / B “for a distracting”

³⁷ literally “had-to”

³⁸ literally “the”

³⁹ [2:4] GLSA / B “to come-together”

⁴⁰ August 24th

⁴¹ December 20th

⁴² literally “leftovers”

⁴³ Eusebios / Chronicon “9th year”

⁴⁴ Chronicon dates this to the eleventh year of Traianus

⁴⁵ Eusebios / Chronicon (Jerome) gives no length of his oversight / Chronography 354 “13 years, 7 months, 2 days”

⁴⁶ Chronicon (Gk) / Chronicon (Arm) add / Chronicon (Lat) instead add “two of” / Orosius instead add “two cities of”

⁴⁷ Chronicon (Gk, Lat) / Chronicon (Arm), Orosius “of the Opuntii and the Oriti”

⁴⁸ Tertullian / Eusebios “king”

hesitated whether there should be any discrimination of ages, or if *the* youthful should be treated no differently than *the* more-robust; or whether pardon should be granted to a change-of-mind; or whether a *man*, who has once been a Christian, if it does him any benefit in having ceased to be one; or whether *the* name of *Christian* itself, even when not involved in a crime, or only *the* crimes which cling to *the* name, should be punished.

In *the* meantime, this is *the* procedure I have followed, in *the* cases of those brought before me as Christians: 5(3) I interrogated them whether they might have been Christians. If they confessed, I interrogated them a second and a third time, threatening them with execution. Those who remained obdurate I ordered to be executed. For I was in no doubt, whatever it was which they were confessing, that their obstinacy and their inflexible stubbornness should at any rate be punished. 6(4) There were others possessed with this same senselessness; but because they were Roman citizens, I registered them as due to be transferred to Roma.

Later in *the* course of *the* hearings, as usually happens, *the* crime diffused, and more examples appeared. 7(5) An anonymous document was published containing *the* names of many persons. I decided to acquit anyone who denied that they were, or had been Christians, but only if they repeated my invocations to *the* gods, and made an offering with incense and wine to your image, which I had ordered to be brought in together with statues of *the* gods for this very purpose, and if they moreover cursed Christ. (For those who are truly Christians, it is said, cannot be forced to do any of these things.)

8(6) Others, whose names were given by an informer, had stated that they were Christians, but later denied it, asserting that they had been Christians, but had abandoned their allegiance—some three years ago, some many years ago, some even twenty years ago. All of these worshipped your image and *the* statues of *the* gods, and cursed Christ. 9(7) However, they affirmed that *the* total sum of their guilt or error had been that they were accustomed to assemble at dawn on a stated day; and to sing an oracular-response to Christ as to a god; and to bind themselves by oath, not for *the* commission of some crimes, but not to commit any theft, or robbery, or adultery, not to break faith,¹ and not to withhold money deposited with them when asked for it. After these rites were completed, it was their custom to depart, and then to reassemble to partake of food, which was but ordinary and harmless. But they affirmed that, after my edict had been issued (which, in accordance with your instructions, I had outlawed *the* existence of secret brotherhoods), they had ceased even this. 10(8) Accordingly, I thought it all the more necessary to ascertain *the* truth from two maidservants, who were called mistresses, even by employing torture. I discovered nothing else but a depraved and boundless superstition.

11(9) Therefore, I postponed *the* investigation, and hastened to consult you. For this issue seemed to me to warrant consultation, especially because of *the* number indicated. For there are many of every age, of every class, and of both genders who are summoned and will be summoned to confront danger. For *the* infection of this superstition has spread not merely through cities, but also to villages and country-areas. But it seems likely that it can be halted and cured. 12(10) At any rate, it is certain that temples which were nearly already desolated, have begun to be refilled, and *the* solemn rites, long suspended, are being restored. And *the* flesh of sacrificial victims, for which up to now only a very occasional buyer could be found, is now on sale in many places. This leads me to easily imagine that if opportunity for a change-of-mind is offered, a large crowd of people can be reformed.

13(1) Now in reply to this, Emperor Trajanus wrote the following decree:

Trajanus to Plinius.

You have followed *the* proper procedure, my Secundus, in examining *the* cases of those who had been brought before you as Christians. For there is no universal rule which can be laid down which would establish a fixed routine. 14(2) Christians are not to be sought out. But if they are denounced before you and proved guilty, they must be punished, but in such a way, that whoever denies that he is a Christians and really proves it, that is, by worshipping our gods, may obtain pardon through a change-of-mind, even if he was under suspicion in *the* past. 15 But pamphlets published anonymously must have a place in no crime, for they are *the* worst examples, and are even *foreign* to our age.

CHAPTER 29B: DISPUTE BETWEEN THE JUDEANS AND HELLENES OF ALEXANDREIA

Now also about this time, a dispute arose between the Judeans and the Hellenes in the city of Alexandria, which caused the Hellenes to send delegates from Alexandria to Roma in order to present their cause before Emperor Trajanus. Indeed, the party of the Hellenes consisted of: [Dion]ysios (the *one who* became in many procuratorships), Julius Salvius, Teimagenés, Pastor (a naked-athletics-chief), Julius Phanias, Philoxenos (having been proclaimed² a naked-athletics-chief), Sôtiôn (a naked-athletics-chief), Theôn, Athénodôros, Paulus (a Zorite by race,³ *who*, of-his-own-choice, was an advocate in-behalf of *the* Alexandreians). After the Judeans learned of these things, they themselves also pre-handpicked⁴ elderly-men of *their* own nation. But they voted-by-raise-of-hands⁵: Simon, Glaukôn, Theudés, Honijah, Kolôn, Jacomb, and Sôpatros (an Antiocheian by race,⁴ an advocate in-behalf of *the* Judeans.) Therefore, they indeed put themselves out into *the* sea from the city, each group carrying *their* own gods: *The* Alexandreians [a bust of Sarapis.]⁶ And after the winter⁶ quit, they were moored into Roma.

The emperor learned that *the* Judean and Alexandreian elderly-men were-present⁷. And he assigned the day when he would hear both *parties* for himself. But Plotina, wife of Trajanus, urged all the senators to come-by against *the* Alexandreians and to help the Judeans.

And after the Judeans entered first, they greeted⁸ the emperor Trajanus. But Caesar greeted them most-well-disposedly, he himself also having already been persuaded-beforehand by Plotina.

After them, some Alexandreian elderly-men entered,⁹ and they greeted⁹ the emperor. But the emperor did not meet them for himself. Instead, he spoke, “Are you* saying ‘rejoice’ to me as though you* are worthy to obtain the ‘rejoice’, after you* dared to do such harsh things to these Judeans?”

[After Hermaiskos gave a brief response, Caesar said, “You must have!” cares for the act to be-dead since you despised the death so-as to answer even-me stubbornly.”

Hermaiskos spoke, “Instead, we are being grieved that your congress was filled-up with the unsacred Judeans.”

Caesar spoke, “See, I am saying to you for a second time, Hermaiskos: You are answering me stubbornly, having been-confident about your own race.”

Hermaiskos spoke, “In what way am I answering stubbornly, greatest emperor? Teach me.”

Caesar spoke, “Because you make my congress of Judeans.”

Hermaiskos spoke, “Doubtless the name of the Judeans is harsh? Therefore, you are indebted to again be helping your own people, and not to be advocating the unsacred Judeans.”

While Hermaiskos was saying these things, the bust of Sarapis which the elderly-men were carrying suddenly sweated. But after Trajanus beheld this, he marveled-much. And after a little time, a concourse⁸ came-to-be into Roma. All-multitudinous outcries were also crying-out, and all were fleeing into the high parts of the crests of *the* hills. And this is what happened at that time at the start of the conflict between the Judeans and the Hellenes of Alexandria.

CHAPTER 30: EMPEROR TRAJANUS' WAR AGAINST PARTHIA

Now after all of his preparations had been made, Emperor Trajanus, having finally acquired an excuse, advanced with his army against the Armenians and Parthians, indeed on the pretext that the Armenian king had obtained his diadem, not at *the* emperor's hands, but instead from the Parthian king.

When Trajanus had advanced with his army against the Parthians and reached as far as Athênai, Khusraw⁹ sent an elder to meet him, asking for peace and proffering gifts, and imploring Trajanus not to make war upon him, and also to give the diadem of Armenia to Partamasir son of Pakor. Trajanus neither accepted the gifts nor returned any answer, except that, “Friendship is determined by deeds and not by words. And whenever I reach Syria, I will do everything that is proper.” And with this intention, he proceeded through both Asia and Lukia, as well as the adjoining nations of Seleukeia.

Now when he arrived in Antiocheia, Abgar of Orhai (not the previous Abgar who had accepted the testimony of Jesus the Anointed-One, but a successor), indeed sent gifts, but also an account of friendship, but he did not appear in person. For since he feared both Trajanus and the Parthians alike, he was trying to be neutral, and, because of this, did not want to meet with him.

But eventually Trajanus won a bloodless victory, accepting the diadem which Partamasir wore, and capturing the whole country of *the* Armenians, and winning over many of the kings; indeed, some submitted voluntarily, but others, though

² literally “shown-off”

³ literally “by the race”

⁴ literally “by the race”

⁵ Several lines are damaged in the parchment here. Before resuming, it reads, “...sharing the accounts along with them.”

⁶ literally “storm” (which is what the Greek also call Winter)

⁷ Several lines are damaged in the parchment here. All that remains is “Instead, to be going and [...] Judeans [...]

⁸ literally “a running-together”

⁹ [Cassius] some “Orhai”

¹ may also be translated “not to break their word”

disobedient, were subdued without *it coming to sword-strokes*. And he captured Nisibin and Batnan.

Leaving garrisons at opportune points, Trajanus came to Edessa, where he saw Abgar for the first time. For indeed, Abgar had previously often sent elders and gifts to the king, but he himself, with one excuse and then another, had failed to appear before him. But at this time, indeed, induced by the persuasions of his son Arband, who was handsome and blooming (and, because of this, in favor with Trajanus), but also by his fear of Trajanus' presence, encountered him, and defended himself and obtained pardon. For the boy was a radiant intercessor. And, indeed he became Trajanus' friend and also entertained him; also, during the meal, he brought in his boy to perform some barbaric dance or other.

When Trajanus came into Mesopotamia, some of the rulers of the countries made peace with him; and afterward he advanced with his army against Hadyab, while Lusius Quietus, a Roman official under Trajanus, occupied various places without *it coming to sword-strokes*.

CHAPTER 31: EARTHQUAKE AT ANTIOCHEIA

Now while *Trajanus* was spending time in Antiocheia, an extraordinary quaking occurred; and, indeed many cities met with disaster, but Antiocheia was the most unfortunate *of all*. For since Trajanus was passing *the winter there*, and since, indeed many soldiers, but many commoners had come together there from all directions for both courts-of-justice and elders, both commerce and sightseeing, there was no nation, nor populace, that went unharmed. And this was how, in Antiocheia, all of the inhabited *earth* under Roman sway was overthrown.¹ Therefore, there had, indeed been many thunderbolts and unusual winds, *but* instead, those present had never expected so many evils to result from them. For, indeed, at first, there suddenly came a great bellowing roar. Then, after this, came a violent shaking; and, indeed the whole earth was thrown up, but also the buildings leaped upwards. And, indeed some were lifted up above, only to collapse and be broken in pieces, but others were even wildly-driven here and there, as if tossed around by *the rolling swell of the sea*. And many were even overtaken² in the open *country*. Also, the crash of shattering and breaking timbers, together with tiles *and* stones, was most astounding. And a huge amount of dust arose, so that it was not possible to see anything, nor to speak or hear *a word*. But as for the humans, indeed many who were outside the houses were afflicted; for they were both thrown up and violently tossed about, then dashed against *the ground* as if falling from a cliff. And indeed, some were mutilated, but others died. And even trees leaped *into the air*, roots and all. But the number of those who were destroyed by being trapped in the houses was past finding out; for, indeed groups were even utterly-destroyed by the force of the falling *debris*, but others even suffocated in the heaps of rubbish. But those who lay with a part of their body buried under stones or timbers suffered terribly, able neither to live any longer, nor able to die immediately.

For, nevertheless, even many of these were also saved, which was also to be expected in such a countless multitude. *However*, not all of these escaped without injury. For, indeed many lost legs, but *also* arms, *but*³ others broke⁴ their heads, others vomited blood. And Pedro the consul was one of these; for⁵ he even died straightaway. And indeed, God continued the quaking for many days and nights, and the humans were in dire straits and helpless. Indeed, some were buried by falling buildings and were destroyed, but others even were-lost by famine, whenever it chanced that they were saved in a hollow *space* (the timbers propped in this way), or even in a vaulted intercolumniation.

But when the evil had subsided, someone, who had *the confidence* to mount what had fallen down, noticed a woman who was still alive. But she was not alone; instead, she also had an infant, and she had even held out by nursing herself and her little-one with her milk. Therefore, they also dug her out, rescuing her together with her child. And after this, they investigated other *heaps*. Indeed, they were not able to find anyone who was still living, except for a little-one suckling its mother's breasts, *but she* was dead. But as they dragged out the corpses, they no longer rejoiced *even* at their own salvations. Indeed, so great were the calamities which overtook Antiocheia at this time.

Now Trajanus indeed escaped through a window in his room. Some being, *of greater size* than a human, had come to him and led him out, so that he escaped with only a few slight injuries. But as the quake continued for more days, he lived outside in the open in the hippodrome. But even *Mount Kasion*⁶ itself was so shaken, that summits even seemed to lean over and break-off and fall into the city itself. Other mountains also settled, and, indeed, much water which had not previously *been seen*, came to light, but even many streams disappeared.

CHAPTER 32: EMPEROR TRAJANUS' EXPEDITIONS CONTINUE

Now at the beginning of spring, Trajanus hastened into the country of his foes, and the Romans gained possession of all of Hadyab. And after this, *the Romans*

advanced as far as Babel itself. For the Parthian power, having been destroyed by a war among their own kinsmen and still a *subject of* sedition at this time, did not hinder the Romans. However, here, Trajanus saw the asphalt out of which the walls of Babel had been built. For when used in connection with baked bricks or tiny stones, this material affords such a great security that it makes them stronger than every rock and iron *implement*. And he gazed at the *birdless*⁷ opening from which issues a terrible vapor,⁸ which indeed utterly-destroys every terrestrial animal⁹ but *also every creature* able to fly¹⁰ which so much as catches scent of it. But since the vapor does not extend far above ground or disperse all around, but only circles about within itself and remains in *one spot*, both the *creatures* which fly high enough above it and those which graze all around it are saved.¹¹ Now Trajanus *also* offered a detestable sacrifice to the dead Alexandros *the Great*, in the *very chamber* where he had come-to-his-end *decades ago*.

Now after Trajanus had crossed the Tigris and entered Tizfon, and had taken possession of it, they saluted him as emperor. Now after seizing Tizfon, *Trajanus* won over Meshan, an island in the Tigris. But as the result of a winter-storm,¹² combined with both the rapidity of the Tigris and the tide of the ocean, he was in serious danger *and had to return to Babel*. But *also*, during this time, while he was sailing down to the ocean and returning from there again, all *of the districts* which *he* had conquered, were thrown into turmoil and deserted, and the garrisons placed among each *district* were either expelled or killed.

Now when *Trajanus* learned about this, he sent Lusius and Maximus against the deserters. And indeed, *Maximus* perished after being defeated in a battle, but Lusius, in addition to many other successes, recovered Nisibin; *he* also besieged Edessa until he forced it to surrender, and utterly-destroyed and burned it. But Seleukeia was also captured and set on fire. But Trajanus, fearing that the Parthians might also make revolts, gave to them a king of their own.

CHAPTER 33: TESTIMONIES OF SHARBIL & BARSAMYA IN EDESSA¹³

Now about this time (either a few years before or afterward, but certainly after the ninth year of Emperor Trajanus, when he had threatened the Christians with a pursuit *against them* unless they would agree to worship the demons, as all the other nations did, and after the Romans had exerted their authority in some measure over the kingdom of Orhai, and during the kingship of King Abgar the Seventh), Trajanus led the leaders of the countries under his dominion that sacrifices and libations should be increased in all the cities of their administration, and that those who did not sacrifice should be seized and delivered over to stripes, and to combs, and to bitter inflictions of all *kinds of* tortures, and should afterwards receive the punishment of the sword.

Now, when *Trajanus'* edict arrived at the city of Edessa of the Parthians, there was a great festival, on the eighth *day* of Nisan, on the third day of the week. The whole city was gathered together by the great altar which was in the middle of the city, opposite the record-office, all the gods having been brought together, and decorated, and sitting in honor, both Nebo and Bel together with their fellows. And all the priests were offering incense of spices and libations, and an odor of sweetness was diffusing itself around, and sheep and oxen were being slaughtered, and the sound of the harp and the drum was heard throughout the whole city.

And Sharbil was chief and ruler of all the priests; and he was honored above all his fellows, and was clad in splendid and magnificent vestments; and a headband embossed with figures of gold was set upon his head; and at the bidding of his word everything which he ordered was done. And King Abgar was standing at the head of the people. And they obeyed Sharbil, because they assumed both, that he drew nearer to all the gods than any of his fellows, and, as being the one who, according to what he had allegedly heard from the gods, returned an answer to every man.

And, while these things were being done by the command of the king, Barsamya, the overseer of the assembly of Christians in Edessa, along with Tiridat the elder and Shalula the minister, went up to Sharbil. And he said to Sharbil the chief-priest, "The Anointed King, to whom belongs the heaven and the earth, will demand an account at your hands of all these souls whom you are sinning against, and whom you are misleading and turning away from the God of verity and of truth to idols—which *are* made and deceitful, which are not able to do anything with their hands. Moreover, you also have no pity on your own soul, which is destitute of the true life of God. And you declare to this people, that the mute idols talk with you; and, as if you were listening to something from them, you put your ear next to one and another of them, and say to this people: 'The god Nebo directed me to say to you*', "On account of your* sacrifices and oblations, I cause peace in this country of yours*"; and 'Bel says, "I cause great plenty in your* land.'" And those who hear *this* from you do not discern that you are greatly deceiving them, because these *idols* have a mouth but do not speak, and they have eyes but do not see with them. It is *all of you** who bear them up, and

¹ [Cassius] C / V "slaughtered"

² [Cassius] Bk / *wC "overtaken in advance"

³ [Cassius] V add

⁴ [Cassius] Bk / others omit "broke"

⁵ [Cassius] others "and"

⁶ [Cassius] Reim / C "Kassion" / V "Korasion"

⁷ [Cassius] some add

⁸ literally "invisible-power" (usually translated to "spirit")

⁹ more literally "living-creature"

¹⁰ [Cassius] others "every flying creature"

¹¹ [Cassius] some omit "both the creatures...are saved."

¹² may also be translated to "winter"

¹³ Not my translation; but revised and compared with two different translations.

not they who bear you* up, as *all of you** suppose. And it is *all of you** who set tables before them, and not they who feed you*. And now, be persuaded by what I say to you and advise you. If you are willing to listen to me: Abandon *manmade* idols, and worship God the Maker of all things, and his son Jesus the Anointed-One.”

And Barsamya went on to describe the nature of God, and how Abgar the black had believed in the Anointed King, and how, it is forbidden to Christians to worship anything that is made, and is a creature, and in its nature is not God. “For I know that this entire population is looking to you, and I am well assured that, if you are persuaded, many will also be persuaded along with you.”

Sharbil said to him, “Your words which you have spoken before me are very acceptable to me. Yes, they are exceedingly acceptable to me. But, as for me, I know that I am destitute of everything which I have heard from you, and there is no longer any remedy for me. And, now that hope is cut off from me, why are you wearying yourself about a buried¹ dead man, for whose death there is no hope of resuscitation? For I am slain by paganism, and have become a dead man, *the property* of the Evil-One: in sacrifices and libations of imposture have I consumed all the days of my life.”

And, when Barsamya the overseer heard these things from Sharbil, his tears flowed and he wept, and² he fell down before his feet, and said to him, “There is hope for those who turn, and healing for those who are wounded. I myself will be surety to you for the abundant mercies of the Son Anointed: that he will pardon you of all the sins which you have committed against him, in that you have worshipped and honored his creatures instead of himself. For that Gracious-One, who extended himself on the cross of death, will not withhold his grace from the souls which comply *with his commands*, and take refuge in his kindness which has been *displayed* toward us. Exactly what he did to the thief, so he is able to do to you, and also to those who are like you.”

Sharbil said to him, “You, like a skillful healer, who suffers pain from the pain of the afflicted, have done well by being concerned about me. But at present, because today is the festival of this people, of every one *of them*, I cannot go down with you today to the assembly. Depart from me, and go down with honor; and tomorrow at night I will come down to you: I too, from now on, renounce for myself the gods made *with hands*, confessing the Lord Anointed, the Maker of all humans.”

And the next day, Sharbil went down to Barsamya by night—he and his sister Babai. And he, being received by the whole assembly, said to them, “Offer prayer and supplication for me, that the Anointed-One may forgive me of all the sins which I have committed against him in all this long course of years.”

And, because they were in dread of the pursuers, they arose and gave the seal *of salvation* to him, immersing him³ while he confessed the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

And when the entire city had heard that he had gone down to the assembly, there began to be a consternation among the multitude. And they arose and went down to him, and saw him clad in the fashion of the Christians. And he sat and listened to the writings of the assembly, and to the testimonies which are spoken in them, touching the birth, and the suffering, and the standing-up out of dead humans, and the ascension of the Anointed-One.

And when he saw those who came down to him,⁴ he said to them, “May the Son Anointed forgive me of all the sins which I have committed against *all of you**, and for everything in which I made you* think that the gods talked with me, whereas they did not talk; and, forasmuch as I have been to you* a cause of abomination, may I now be to you* a cause of good: instead of worshipping, as formerly, idols made *with hands*, may *all of you**, from now on, worship God the Maker.”

And, when they had heard these things, there remained with him a great congregation of men and of women; and Labu also, and Hafsai, and Barkalba, and Avida, chief persons of the city. They all said to Sharbil, “From now on, we also renounce what you have renounced, and we confess the King Anointed, whom you have confessed.”

But Lusantias, the judge of the country, when he heard⁵ that Sharbil had done this, he sent by night and carried him off from the assembly. And many Christians went up there with him. And he sat down, to hear him and to judge him, before the altar which is in the middle of the city, where he would sacrifice to the gods. And he said to him, “Why have you renounced the gods, whom you used to worship, and to whom you *used to sacrifice*, and to whom you were made chief of the priests, and, behold, today now confess the Anointed-One, whom you formerly used to deny?”

Sharbil said, “When my mind was blinded, I worshipped what I did not know. But today, inasmuch as I have obtained clear eyes of the mind, it is from now on impossible that I should stumble at carved stones, or that I should any longer be a stumbling-block to others. For it is a great disgrace for him whose eyes are open, if he goes and falls into the pit of destruction.”

And after Sharbil had testified, and manfully resisted the wicked persuasions which Lusantias used in an attempt to turn him back to worshipping mute idols, he was handed over to endure the most excruciating tortures. Now, indeed, he was first scourged with thongs; but, then, was hung up and torn on his sides and face with combs; and then, was bent backward and bound hand and foot with straps, and scourged on the belly while in this position, and then cast into a dark dungeon until the second *day* of Elul (on the third day of the week); and then, was hung up by his right arm until it was dislocated; and then, was burned with fire between his eyes and on his cheeks, until the stench of the cautery rose in smoke; and then, was indeed hung up, and torn with combs on his former wounds, while salt and vinegar was being rubbed in; and then, was burned again with lit candles which passed around his face and the sides of his wounds; and then, was hung head downward and beaten with whips; and then, was thrown into an iron chest and scourged with thongs, until there did not remain a wholesome place anywhere on him; and then, had pieces of wood placed between his fingers and pressed until the blood spouted out; and then, had nails driven into him between his eyes; and, altogether, suffered even more tortures of this kind. And even despite all of these tortures, Sharbil patiently-endured, both denying the manmade idols which cannot speak, and testifying to Jesus the Anointed-One.

But finally, when Lusantias’ patience had run dry, he sentenced him to be “sawn with a wood-cutting saw, and that, when he is near to die, then his head be taken off with the sword of the headsman.”

Now while this was about to happen, Sharbil lifted up his voice and said, “Forgive me, Anointed-One, of all the sins which I have committed against you, and *all the times* in which I have provoked you to anger by the polluted sacrifices of dead idols. And have pity on my salvation, and deliver me from the judgment to come. And be merciful to me, as you were merciful to the thief; and receive me like the penitents who have been converted and have turned to you, as you also have turned to them. And, whereas I have entered into your vineyard, at the eleventh hour—instead of judgment, deliver me from a rightful-punishment. Let your death, which was for the sake of sinners, restore my slain body to life again in the day of your coming.”

Then, after squeezing him down into a wooden vice, they began to saw him in two with an iron saw. And when he was about to die, because the saw had reached to his mouth, they struck him with the sword and took off his head.

And Sharbil’s sister, Babai, drew near and spread out her skirt and caught his blood. And she said to him, “May my spirit be united with your spirit in the presence of the Anointed-One, whom you have known and believed.”

And when the judge learned about these things, he gave orders for the executioners to, on the *exact* spot where she had caught the blood of her brother, to also receive the punishment of death. And the executioners laid hold on her, and each one of them severally put her to torture. And, with her brother’s blood upon her, her soul took its flight from her, and they mingled her blood with his. And the brothers laid *both of them* in the burial-place of the father of Abshelama the overseer. These things happened on the eve of the fifth *day* of Elul.

Now on the day of the fifth *day* of Elul, the day after Lusantias,⁶ the judge of the country, had heard Sharbil, the confidants of the city came before Lusantias and accused Barsamya of having turned Sharbil away from worshipping their gods. And when the judge heard these things, he had Barsamya brought up from the assembly to the judgment-hall of the judge. And many Christians also went up with him, ready to die along with Barsamya. Now, indeed, at first, Barsamya was thrown into prison; but after a few days, he was brought before the judge. And Barsamya did not deny, instead, he indeed boldly confessed that he was the one who had turned Sharbil away from the worship of mute idols and to the Anointed-One, but testified to the Anointed-One. And because Barsamya refused Lusantias’ order to sacrifice to the gods, the judge ordered him to be hanged up and torn with combs.

However, at that *very moment*, letters arrived from Lusius Quietus, the chief proconsul. So Lusantias gave *the command*, and they took down Barsamya, and he was not torn with combs; and they took him outside of the hall of judgment. The letter sent by Lusius Quietus is as follows:

Since our Majesty commanded that there should be a pursuit against the people of the Christians, we have heard and learned, from the confidants whom we have in the countries under the dominion of our Majesty, that the people of the Christians are persons who avoid murder, and sorcery, and adultery, and theft, and bribery and fraud, and those things for which even the laws of our Majesty exact punishment from those who commit them.

Therefore, we, in our impartial justice, have commanded that on account of these things the pursuit of the sword shall cease from them, and that there shall be rest and quietness in all our dominions, they continuing to minister according to their custom and without any man hindering them. However, it is not toward them that we show clemency, but toward their laws, which are in agreement with the laws of our

¹ literally “hidden”

² B add

³ B “seal of immersion, immersing him”

⁴ B add

⁵ B add here “from the Sharirs of the city”

⁶ Emendation (he is called “Lusantias” above – it has been vowelized differently in each source) / all “Lysinas” (also in all other instances until the end of this chapter)

Majesty. And, if any man hinders them after this decree of ours, that sword which is ordered by us to descend upon those who despise our decree, the same *sword* is commanded to descend upon those who despise this decree of our clemency.

And, when this command of the king's clemency was read, the whole city rejoiced that there was quietness and rest for every human. And the judge ordered for them to release Barsamya, that he might return to his assembly, where the Christians rejoiced and praised God for the deliverance which he had wrought for them and for the assembly. And the day after Lusania, the judge of the country, had done these things, he was dismissed from his authority.

CHAPTER 34: END OF THE REIGN OF EMPEROR TRAJANUS / JUDEAN REVOLT REKINDLED

Now *Emperor Trajanus* came into Arabia, and set his hand against the *Hatreneans*,¹ since they had also deserted *from him*. Now Trajanus sent the cavalry forward against the wall, *but* they were overthrown,² and with the result, that they were driven back³ into the encampment. And *Trajanus*, as he was riding past, barely fell short of being wounded, despite the fact that he had taken off his royal robe to avoid being recognized. But *the Hatreneans*, seeing his splendid gray-hair and solemn-looking countenance, suspected that it was him, and they shot at him and killed a cavalryman who was among his comrades. But there were thunderbolts, and rainbows appeared; both lightnings and rainstorms, hail and thunderbolts, fell upon the Romans as often as they assaulted *the Hatreneans*. And whenever they made meals, flies settled on their foods and their drinks,⁴ causing discomfort everywhere. And, indeed, Trajanus departed from there, and not long afterward began to grow sick.

Now when the emperor was advancing into the 18th year of his reign, another Judean revolt broke out, utterly-destroying a great multitude of them. For in both Alexandria, and the rest of Egypt, and in Kyréné, and the Thébais, as if rekindled by some terrible and seditious spirit, *the Judeans* rushed to form a sedition against their fellow-inhabitants, the Hellenes. Now as the sedition increased greatly, in the following year, while Rutilius Lupus was leader of all Egypt, it developed into no small war.

And in the first engagement, it happened that *the Judeans* prevailed over the Hellenes, who fled to Alexandria. But afterward, the Romans both captured and killed the Judeans who were in that city, and, by the 16th of Phaophi (in the 19th year of Trajanus),⁵ the battle there was over. Now while the Judeans were being exterminated, the sacred-precinct of Nemesis (a detestable god of the Alexandrians) was wrecked-down *to the ground* by the Judeans for the need of the war.

But the Judeans of Kyréné, though deprived of their auxiliary, continued to plunder the country of Egypt and to destroy its districts and completely desolate its cultivators, under *the* leadership of Loukouas. For *these Judeans*, having set over them a man named Andreas,⁶ slaughtered both the Romans and the Hellenes. And they would both eat the flesh of their victims, and make belts for themselves from their intestines, both smear themselves with their blood and wear their skins. But they also sawed many in two, from the head downwards. They gave others to beasts, and others they forced to fight as gladiators.⁷ As a result, 220,000 were lost in all. Of the edifices destroyed by the Judeans, these included: The road from Kyréné to the port of Apollōnia, and the entire Caesareum and other temples of the detestable gods of the Romans, and many other public structures.

Also, *the Judeans* accomplished many similar things in Egypt, and in Kypros, under the leadership of a certain Artemionos. And there 240,000 were-lost. For the Judeans, after having killed everyone *who were* of nations *different than theirs* in Salamis, a city of Kypros, destroyed it. The Judeans also engaged in hostilities against those in Arabia Petraea, capturing their boats and assaulting their bodies.

Now when the hostilities broke out in Egypt, the citizens were overpowered by the Judeans and many buildings were set-on-fire by them. One hope and anticipation which remained for the Egyptians, under the command of the general Apollōnios, was the thrust of the amassed villagers from their district against the Judeans. But the contrary occurred.⁸ For on the 20th day, after they threw their forces together against the Judeans, they were worsted and many of them were pulverized. However, they soon partook of a message that another legion of Rutilius, after it came into Memphis on the 22nd, was anticipated to lend them support, which would eventually result in a victory over the Judeans.

Now against *the Judeans*, the emperor sent Marcus Turbo, with a force, of both infantry and naval power, but also of cavalry. Now he carried on a war against *the Judeans* which lasted for no short time, fighting many battles and doing away with tens-of-thousands of Judeans, not only those of Kyréné, but *instead*, even those who dwelled in Egypt, *who* had come to the assistance of their

king Loukouas. And for this reason, not one Judean is allowed to set foot on *Kypros*; instead, even if one of them is driven on⁹ the island by a *current* of wind, he is put to death. Now the inhabitants of the Oxyrhynchite district in Egypt not only exhibited their goodwill and faith and friendship toward the Romans by being-an-auxiliary in the war against the Judeans, but they afterward continued to celebrate the day of the victory of the Judeans as a national-festival each year.

But Emperor Trajanus, suspicious that the Judeans in Mesopotamia would also make an attack upon the inhabitants *of that country*, ordered Lusius Quintus to clear them out of the province. And having drawn up *his forces* into battle-array, he murdered a huge multitude of those who dwelled there. Indeed, as a result of his success in subduing the Judeans, he was made leader of Judah by the emperor.

Now Trajanus was indeed preparing to make a fresh expedition into Mesopotamia; but, while his disease began to press hard on him, he indeed set out, intending to sail to Italia, but he left Publius Aelius Hadrianus with the army in Syria. Now although the precise cause of *Trajanus'* sickness was unknown, he was also disabled by a stroke, so that even a portion of his body was paralyzed, but he was entirely *infected* with dropsy. And on coming to Selinous in Kilikia (which is also called *the City of Trajanus*), he suddenly expired, at the age of 63 and 9 months and 4 days, after reigning 19 years and 6 months and 15 days.¹⁰ And Aelius Hadrianus succeeded to the *Roman* leadership.

CHAPTER 35: START OF THE REIGN OF HADRIANUS / QUADRATUS & ARISTEIDÉS DEFEND THE CHRISTIANS

Now in Emperor Hadrianus' first year as emperor of the Romans, he, envious of Trajanus' glory, recalled the army from the provinces which had been created by the former emperor, namely Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia. Afterwards, Hadrianus made captives of the Judeans, who had been rebelling against Roma for a second time.

Now in the 3rd year of the leadership of Emperor Hadrianus, Alexandros, overseer of Roma, came-to-his-end, after completing the tenth year¹¹ of his *position* of management. His successor was Xustos.¹² Now about the same time, Primus, who departed from the sojourn of the Alexandrians in the twelfth year of his dignity, was succeeded by Justus in its protection.

Now in the 4th year of the leadership of Emperor Hadrianus, an earthquake happened, after which Nikomédeia lay in ruins, and many things were overturned in the city of Nikaia, for whose reconstruction Emperor Hadrianus generously gave funds from the public treasury.

* * * * *

Now throughout this period, the faithful Christians lived lives of outstanding conduct. Indeed, bowing-down to no other god than the Creator of everything, they observe the commands of his son, the Lord Jesus *the Anointed-One*, as they look forward to a standing-up of dead *humans* and life in the future age. They do not commit adultery, nor sexual-immorality, nor bear false-testimony, nor desire what belongs to others. They honor *their* father and mother, and they love their neighbors. They judge righteously. They never do to others what they would not want done to themselves. They petition those who act unrighteously to them, and try to win them as friends. They are eager to do good to their enemies. *They* are meek and gentle. They abstain from unlawful intercourse¹³ and from all uncleannesses. They do not despise a widow, nor grieve an orphan. What he has, he supplies ungrudgingly to the one who does not have. If they see a stranger, they bring him under their roof, and rejoice over him as over a genuine brother; for they do not call themselves brothers after the flesh, *but* instead after the spirit. They are ready to give up their souls for the sake of *the Anointed-One*. For they observe his commands without faltering, living sacred and righteous lives, as *the Lord God* ordered them. They offer-thanks to him every hour, for every *piece* of food and drink and the rest of *their* good-things.

Now however, despite this righteous conduct of the Christians, in about the 9th year of the leadership of Emperor Hadrianus, while *the* emperor was passing *the* winter at Athénai in order to witness *the* Eleusinian mysteries, and was initiated into almost all *the* mysteries of Greece (that is, Hellas), certain wicked men who hated the Christians took an opportunity, without instructions from *the* emperor, in attempt to trouble *the* faithful-ones.

Because of this, Quadratus, a Christian man, addressed and delivered an account which he had composed as a defense for *the Christian* religion. Now Quadratus was aware that there were many who had been treated *and* who had been stood-up out of dead *humans* by Jesus the Anointed-One while he was on earth, some of whom, after the Savior had departed, survived even to his own time (that is, even until the time of Emperor Hadrianus). Now there was also the philosopher Marcianus Aristeidés of Athénai, who, although retaining his

¹ [Cassius] others "Hagareneans" (the city where these people are from, is called in their own language "Hadr")

² [Cassius] w2C2 / w1C1 "slaughtered"

³ [Cassius] wC "they snarled"

⁴ [Cassius] wC "draughts"

⁵ 115-10-13

⁶ [Cassius] wC "Andrias"

⁷ [Cassius] C / V "and they forced them to fight as gladiators against one another"

⁸ literally "stepped-out"

⁹ [Cassius] wC "them falls upon"

¹⁰ Cassius, Eutropius / Hippolytus(Chronicon) "18 years, 8 months, 6 days" / Chronography354 "19 years, 4 months, 27 days" / Chronicon(Jerome) "19 years, 6 months" / Eusebios "19 and a half years"

¹¹ Eusebios / Chronicon(Jerome) gives the length of his oversight as "10 years" / Chronography "11 years, 2 months, 1 day"

¹² Greek / Latin "Sixtus"

¹³ Greek is vague – it may refer to general conversation, or it may refer to sexual activity

philosopher's garb, was a Christian man of faith and motivated by piety. *He*, like Quadratus, composed a defense of the faith addressed to Emperor Hadrianus.¹

And so great was *the* admiration caused in everyone by Quadratus' eminent ability, that it stilled a most severe persecution *against the Christians*. For also about this time, the legate, Serenius Granianus,² a distinguished leader,³ sent documents⁴ on behalf of *the Christians* to Emperor Hadrianus, saying, that it was not right⁵ to kill them without any charge and trial, and that the blood of humans who were innocent and guilty of no crime should not be *shed* merely for the sake of appeasing the outcries of *the populace*, and to be prosecuted merely because of a name and a sect.

And when Emperor Hadrianus had received this letter, he sent a copy to Minucius Fundanus the proconsul, who was also leader of Asia, ordering him to judge no one without a charge and a reasonable accusation. Now this is a copy of Hadrianus' letter:

To Minucius Fundanus,

I have received a letter, written to me by Serenius Granianus, a most distinguished man, whom you have succeeded. It does not seem well to me to let the matter go without investigation, so that these humans may not be agitated and that no opportunity for malice may be given to informers. Therefore, if *the provincials* can clearly back up this opinion against the Christians, so as to also answer these charges at *the platform*, let them pursue this course alone, rather than follow opinions and outcries. For it was far more fitting, if anyone wished to accuse *them*, for you to precisely examine this *charge*.

Therefore, if anyone accuses them and brings to light anything which they are doing contrary to the laws, decide *the case* according to the proportion⁶ of the sin. *But*, by Hercules, if anyone brings forth *an accusation* through defamation, be taking-hold of *the case* in-behalf of *the accuser's* terribleness; be thinking-seriously-about how you would wish to rightfully-punish *them*.

* * * * *

Now in 12th year of the leadership of Emperor Hadrianus, Xustos, having completed *the tenth year*⁷ of his oversight at Roma, was succeeded by Telesphoros (who was *the seventh* in succession from the emissaries). And also about this time,⁸ Cornélius became *the fourth* overseer of the assembly in Antiocheia, having been appointed after Hérôs.

Now in about the 13th year of Hadrianus' reign, Antinous (a slave of Hadrianus Caesar who was noted for his exceptional handsomeness, and a boy who had been both a favorite of his and the one whom he passionately-desired), died in Egypt. Afterward, Hadrianus attentively carried out his funeral rites, and declared him to be among the gods. And shortly afterward, he also founded an inner-sanctum and a city near the place where he died and named *the city* after Antinous and *appointed* prophets; and everyone was driven by fear to worship *him* as a god, although they knew both who he was and from where he came.

Now in about the 14th year of Hadrianus, Eumenés succeeded to the protection of the Alexandreian sojourn. He was *the sixth* to receive *this* allotment, after his predecessor, Justus, had continued in it for eleven years.

Also about this time, Nikopolis and Caesarea were ruined in an earthquake.

Now in about the 15th year of Hadrianus' reign, he built the temple of Roma and their abominable god Venus.

CHAPTER 36: JUDEAN REVOLT UNDER SIMEON SON OF KOSEVAH

Now at Jerusalem, Emperor Hadrianus founded a city in place of the one which had been thrown down to the ground, and named it Aelia Capitolina after himself. And on the site of the inner-sanctum, he raised a new inner-sanctum to Zeus. This brought on a war of no small importance, nor of brief duration. For *the Judeans* considered it terrible that foreign-tribes should be settled in their city and that foreign consecrations be planted there. A further cause of disturbance was a prohibition issued by Hadrianus, in which he made both castration and circumcision illegal practices throughout the entire Roman empire. Despite this, many Judeans continued to maintain their custom of circumcising.

Indeed, as long as Hadrianus was close by in Egypt and again at Syria, *the Judeans* remained quiet, except, that the weapons which they were called upon by *the Romans* to furnish, they made of poor quality, with the intention that the Romans would reject *the weapons*, and that they themselves might be able to use them. But when *the Romans* went farther away, *the Judeans* openly deserted in

the 16th year of the reign of Emperor Hadrianus, while Tineius Rufus was in control of the province of Judah. And indeed, *the Judeans* did not dare to make a desperate attempt against the Romans in the open *field*, but they occupied advantageous-positions in the country and strengthened these *places* with underground-passages and walls, in order that they might both have places of retreat whenever they should be constrained, and might meet together unobserved underground. They pierced these subterranean roads from above at intervals, and, *by doing so*, let in wind and light.

And indeed, at first, the Romans took no account of them. But soon, both all of Judah was stirred up, and the Judeans everywhere in *the land* were showing signs of disturbance and were gathering together, and were giving evidence of great hostility to the Romans—indeed, *partly* by secret, but also by open acts. Also, many other foreign-tribes were also gathering to them, through eagerness for gain; and all the inhabited *earth* was being stirred up over this *situation*.

Then at that time, as the Judean insurrection grew much more serious, Emperor Hadrianus sent against them his best generals. First of these was Julius Sevérus, who was dispatched from Britannia (where he was chief) against the Judeans. Indeed, when this auxiliary military *force* had been sent by King *Hadrianus* to Rufus, who was then *the* prefect of Judah, he set out against them, treating their senselessness without mercy, utterly-destroying in masses tens-of-thousands of men and little-ones and women alike, and, in accordance with the law, reducing their country to slavery. But *Sevérus*, in view of both their *large* multitude and their desperation, did not dare to engage his opponents in the open at any one position, but by intercepting small groups (due to the *available* number of his soldiers and his subordinate-chiefs), and by depriving them of food and shutting them up, he was able (indeed *rather* slowly, to be sure, but with comparatively little danger) to crush and exhaust and cut them down. Accordingly, *only* a few of them survived.

Now the general of the insurrection of the Judeans at this time was a man named Simeon son of Kosevah⁹ (which in Aramaic means "son of a star"). Indeed, among his other *characteristics*, he was murderous and brigandic. But relying on his name, as if dealing with slaves, he talked-marvels, *saying* that he was a star which had come down from *the heaven* to shed light upon them in their *time* of evils. Now in the 17th year of the reign of Emperor Hadrianus, Simeon, because the Christians were not willing to help him in *his insurrection* against the Romans, also directed that Christians alone should be brought to terrible retributions unless they would deny and revile Jesus the Anointed-One. And so, he murdered them with every sort of torture.

Now when the war was at full-bloom in the 18th year of the leadership of *Emperor Hadrianus*, the Romans besieged Bethar¹⁰ (a small-city which was very strong, located not far from Jerusalem). And the siege lasted for a long time, and the revolutionaries in *that city* were driven to the last extremity of destruction by both famine and thirst, and Simeon son of Kosevah, the chief-leader and one responsible for their senselessness, paid his deserved rightful-punishment.

And indeed, *in the end*, 50 of their most noteworthy fortresses, but 985 of their most famous villages were thrown down to the ground. But 580,000 men were slaughtered in both the various raids and the battles; for the multitude of those who were-lost by both famine, and sickness and fire was past finding out. So all *but* a small part of Judah was desolated, exactly as they had been forewarned before the war. For the memorial of Solomon, which *the Judeans* regard as an object of piety, both fell to pieces on its own accord and collapsed, and both many wolves and hyenas rushed howling into their cities.

However, many Romans also were-lost in this war. And for this reason, Emperor Hadrianus, in writing to the council, did not state the introduction which is commonly used by the emperors: "If both yourselves and our little-boys-and-girls are in *good* health, it is well. **I** and the troops are in *good* health."

Therefore, this indeed was the end of the war with the Judeans. And afterward, in the 20th year of Emperor Hadrianus, by a legal decree and by commands, he altogether prohibited the entire nation of *Judeans* from now on from going up to the land around Jerusalem, directing, that they should not see the home of their fathers even from a distance. And in order that none of them would dwell within it, he had the region guarded, and decreed death against any Judean who was apprehended entering it. And this was in accordance with the foresight of God, who had foretold these *events* through his prophets. And due to this and the previous rebellions, the tribute of the bodies *on* all Judeans was heavier than the surplus of other *nations*, and it was the fee they paid to *the Roman* people for *the right* to celebrate *the sabbath*.

So when the city had been deserted of the Judean nation in this manner, *and had* also suffered the total destruction of its ancient inhabitants, it was colonized by a foreign race in the 20th year of Emperor Hadrianus. *The Roman* city which arose after this, changed its name *from Jerusalem* and was called Aelia in honor of the ruling Aelius Hadrianus. And on the front of that gate, which leads to Beth-Lehem, a sow was sculpted in marble, denoting that the Judeans were now subjected to the Romans. Now also about this time, the provinces of Judah and

¹ Armenian (supported by Eusebios and Jerome) / Syr "Titus Hadrianus Antoninus"

² Gk(JustinMartyr), Latin(Eusebios/Rufinus) / Gk(Eusebios) "Serenius Granianus" / Latin(Jerome Chronicon) "Serenus Granianus"

³ Gk(Eusebios) / Latin(Jerome Chronicon) "a most noble man"

⁴ Gk(Eusebios) / Latin(Jerome Chronicon) "letters"

⁵ Gk(Eusebios) / Latin(Jerome Chronicon) "unfair"

⁶ literally "power"

⁷ Eusebios / Chronicon(Jerome) gives the length of his oversight as "10 years" / Chronography354 "10 years, 3 months, 21 days"

⁸ Chronicon dates it to the 12th year of Hadrianus, but Eusebios' Church History does not mention a date

⁹ Aramaic / Eusebios Greek "Chochebas"

¹⁰ Hebrew equivalent / Gk "Beththera"

Galilee and Paralia were combined into a single province named Palaestina (after the place known as “Peleseth” to the Hebrews, but “Philistia” to some others).

Now up until this point, the entire assembly in Jerusalem had consisted of Hebrews who had persevered as faithful, but now it was composed of *other* nations. For until the siege of the Judeans by Emperor Hadrianus, the successions of the overseers of the assembly in Jerusalem were fifteen in number, all of whom were Hebrews in origin. Since they had genuinely received the knowledge of the Anointed-One, they had been approved as being worthy of the overseeing public-service by those who had had the power to judge such matters.

Now, therefore, this is a list of the overseers of the circumcision from the beginning until this time:

First:	Jacob, who was called a brother of the Lord.
The second:	Simeon.
Third:	Justus. ¹
Fourth:	Zakkai. ²
Fifth:	Tobiah.
Sixth:	Benjamin.
Seventh:	Johanán.
Eighth:	Matthijah
Ninth:	Philippos.
10th:	Seneca.
11th:	Justus.
12th:	Levi.
13th:	Ephraim.
14th:	Joseph.
15th:	Judah.

These are indeed the overseers of the circumcision. Now the first one to be entrusted with the public-service of the assembly after the overseers of the circumcision was Marcus, *who*, in the 19th year of Emperor Hadrianus, *was the 16th who had obtained this position.*

Now after Marcus, in the course of time, these following men would be successors of the oversight of Jerusalem up into the reign of the Roman Emperor Commodus:

17th:	Cassianus.
18th:	Publius.
19th:	Maximus. ³
20th:	Julianus.
21st:	Gaius. ⁴
22nd:	Summachos.
23rd:	Gaius.
24th:	Julianus.
25th:	Capito. ⁵
26th:	Maximus.
27th:	Antoninus. ⁶
28th:	Valens.
29th:	Dolichianus.
30th:	Narkissos, who was an overseer in the reign of Emperor Commodus.

CHAPTER 37: SECTARIANS: SATURNILIUS & BASILEIDÉS & KARPOKRATÉS

Now as the name of our Savior and Lord Jesus *the* Anointed-One was advancing throughout all the race of the humans, certain charlatans and ministers of destruction, wearing the name of Christianity as merely a mask to cover up the promulgation of their own wicked teachings, were instruments of the good-hating demon for the ruin of the souls of any of the faithful whom they were able to turn away from the path of the truth.

Accordingly, from Menandros (the successor of Simon the magician) there proceeded a certain serpentine power, having two mouths and two heads, which established the chiefs of two different sects: both Saturnilius⁷ and Basileidés.

Now Saturnilius was from a city in Syria, Antiocheia, which is near Dafneh. And he established teaching-places of God-hating sects throughout this region. Therefore, for the most part, Saturnilius decreed false-accounts like those of Menandros. For he slandered and debased Yahweh (the god of the Judeans, the god who is the authentic creator of the heavens and of the earth) by asserting, that he was merely one of seven rebellious *heavenly* messengers who created the world and the *first* human, and that the prophets were merely speaking the

messages of these apostate messengers and of the Adversary. This charlatan also asserted, that Jesus the Anointed-One was uncreated and bodiless and formless, but that he came only in the form and semblance of a human, doing everything *merely* in appearance—being created, walking about, being visible, suffering; but that Jesus came to overthrow the God of the Judeans. Saturnilius also falsely declared, that each human has been created inherently either good or wicked, but that marriage and procreation are from the Adversary. Now the majority of those who belong to this sect abstain *entirely* from animal food; and, by this type of feigned self-restraint, they drew away many.

Now Basileidés, the other learner of *the sectarian* Menandros, after making his way into the country of Egypt, spent some time there, before going to Prosopitis and Atrib, and then to the districts around Sais and Alexandria.⁸ Accordingly, this vagabond spent his entire life infusing his venomous teachings in these regions. Now Basileidés issued slanderous decrees which were similar to those of Saturnilius, in respect to the nature of Yahweh God and the creation of the world and of the *first* human, and that Jesus the Anointed-One came *only* in appearance, but that he is not a human and has not taken flesh.

However, Basileidés did not restrict himself to these false teachings. Instead, he and Isidōros, Basileidés’ genuine boy and learner, under the pretext of secret accounts which they asserted were delivered to them by the emissary Maththai,⁹ and Glaukias (an alleged interpreter of the emissary Petros), as well as by Bar-Cabbah and Bar-Coph and others (who were prophets which never existed).

For Basileidés additionally asserted, that Jesus the Anointed-One transformed Simon of Kyréné into his own form while he was bearing the cross, while he himself *transformed* into *the form of* Simon, and handed Simon over to be crucified in his place, and Jesus returned to the heavenly-places without suffering. And because of this, he denies that there will be a standing-up of flesh.

Now Basileidés also deceitfully instructed, that the following: the eating of meats sacrificed to idols (which he was making use of without hesitation), and every sort of sexual-intercourse and licentiousness, and the unguarded renunciation of the faith in seasons of pursuit, are matters of indifference. He also commanded upon his followers a silence of five years. And he also practiced magic, and used images, and incantations, and invocations, and every other kind of curious arts, by which they attempted to invoke the barbarous names of various *heavenly* messengers.

Therefore, at this season, there were many men of the assemblies who were fighting rationally for the truth. These included Agrippa Castor, who brought forth a most sufficient refutation against Basileidés. But despite being stung by these irremediable refutes, followers of this wicked sect would remain for at least two hundred years.

Now Karpokratés, a contemporary of these *false teachers*, was the father of another sect, called that of the Knowledgeable-Ones (*Gnostics*). And they did not desire, like *Basileidés*, to transmit the magical *arts* and incantations and sorceries¹⁰ of Simon secretly any longer; instead, *they* did so openly, boasting, as of something great, of love-charms and thank-offerings which they carefully instructed, and of certain demons which both sent dreams to them and gave magical aid to them, and of certain other similar evil-performances. Also, in accordance with these things, they taught, that it was necessary for those who wanted an initiation into their mysteries (or rather, abominations), to perform all the most obscene and unspeakable deeds. For example, they performed homosexual unions and carnal intercourse with women, and thought that their women should be common property *among them*. For Karpokratés asserted, that there was no other way by which they might escape the cosmic chiefs (as they called them), except by having fulfilled their obligation to all of them through mysteries such as these.

For like the other two deceivers, Karpokratés indeed maintained a similar teaching on the creation of the world, but that Jesus *the Anointed-One* was not born from a virgin, *but* was instead begotten of Joseph, and was like *all* the other humans, with the exception that his soul was vigorous and clean; and, that anyone else who embraces the same condition can become as he is. And this false teacher, like many others before him, denied *a* standing-up of *the* body.

Now these deceivers also commit idolatry. For they possess images, some of them painted, and others formed from different kinds of material (such as gold and silver), including a likeness of *the* Anointed-One, which they ridiculously assert was made by Pontius Pilatus at the time when Jesus lived among them. And they crown these images, and set them up along with *the* images of the lovers-of-wisdom (philosophers) of *the* world. And they have other modes of esteeming these *images*, similar to the *practices* of the nations. Now Karpokratés had a son named Epiphanés, who inherited in his impious practices.

This is how it happened that the demon who rejoices in evil, by making use of these ministers, enslaved to destruction those who were deceived by them, but how he furnished the unbelieving nations with a great abundance of ill-words

¹ Eusebios / Epiphanius “Judah”

² Eusebios / Epiphanius “Zechariah”

³ Eusebios, Chronicon(Jerome), Epiphanius / Chronicon(Arm) “Maximinus”

⁴ Chronicon(Arm, Jerome), Epiphanius / Eusebios, Syncellus “Gaius”

⁵ Eusebios, Epiphanius, Chronicon(Jerome) / Chronicon(Arm) “Apion” / Syncellus “Apion, but Capito”

⁶ some Eusebios, Chronicon(Arm, Jerome), Epiphanius / some Eusebios omit the names “Maximus” and “Antoninus”

⁷ Hegesippus, Justin, Hippolytus, Epiphanius, Theodoret / Irenaeus, Tertullian, Eusebios “Saturninus”

⁸ Chronicon states that it was the 16th year of Hadrianus that Basileidés was in Alexandria

⁹ traditionally translated in English to “Matthew”

¹⁰ may also be translated to “use of drugs” or “poisons”

against the divine account. For since these sects assumed the name of Christian, the rightful declarations against them were unfortunately poured forth to the slander of the entire nation of the Christians. So an impious and absurd suspicion about us Christians was circulated, namely, that we practiced illegal *sexual* commerce with mothers and sisters, *and* also enjoyed unsacred foods. Yet truly, the Slanderer did not succeed in this for long, *for* the truth established itself, and, as time went on, shone with a great light. *For* as the truth brought forth for itself more champions who advanced *like* an army against the godless sects in unwritten arguments and written demonstrations, the slander which had been brought against all the *holy* decrees of the assembly was extinguished. Among these champions of the faith was Hégésippus.

CHAPTER 38: DEATH OF EMPEROR HADRIANUS / BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF ANTONINUS THE PIOUS

Now after the war with the Judeans, Emperor Hadrianus of the Romans began to grow sick. For even before this, he indeed was accustomed to have blood running from his nose, but at this time it became distinctly even stronger. And as his sickness increased, he often prayed that he would cease to exist, but often desired to kill himself. But due to the great flow of blood, Hadrianus began to waste-away, and this led to dropsy. *And knowing that he would soon pass away*, Hadrianus appointed Antoninus as emperor. But since Antoninus was childless with no male little-ones, Hadrianus adopted for him: Commodus and Marcus Annus Verus (also later known as Marcus Aurelius). Now indeed, by the use of certain magical arts and witchcrafts, Hadrianus was emptied of the fluid, but he was quickly filled *again*. And his sickness grew so severe, that he was not *even* able to do away with himself. So indulging in unsuitable foods and drinks, he came-to-his-end at Baiae.

Now Hadrianus lived 62 years, and 5 months, and 19 days, and was a monarch for 20 years and 10 months and 28 days.¹ And Antoninus, called the Pious, succeeded to the principality of the Romans.

Now regarding the Judeans, Antoninus granted one favor to them, in which he granted them amnesty from the Roman law in regards to the circumcision of their sons:

Rescript of the Divine Pius:

The Judeans are being permitted to be circumcising their-own sons. Anyone who might do this in *those* not of *that* same religion, will incur the penalty for castration.

Now in the 1st year of the reign of Emperor Antoninus of the Romans, Telesphoros, overseer of the Roman assembly, ceased from this life in the eleventh year² of his public-service. Yet truly, Telesphoros' end was eminent because *it was on account* of his faithful testimony. And after the death of this excellent testifier, Huginos received the lot of the oversight of the Romans; he was the ninth overseer in succession from the emissaries.

CHAPTER 39: SECTARIANS: VALENTINUS & KERDŌN & MARCUS

Now about this time, there was a certain man named Valentinus, who at first was a follower of the Christian faith. Now he originally preached in Egypt: in Atrib, and Prosopitis, and Arsinoé and Thébaïs; and in Lower Egypt: in Paralia, and Alexandria. But in the time of Huginos (overseer of Roma), Valentinus came to Roma where he preached. (But *later*, he bloomed under Huginos' successor Pius, and remained until the oversight of Anikétos.)

Now at first, Valentinus had expected to become *an* overseer, because he was an able *man* both in cleverness and eloquence. But another, because he had suffered for his testimony, gained this dignity *instead* of him. So Valentinus broke away from the authentic assembly. But on reaching Kypros, he abandoned the faith and became perverted in mind. For being roused by the ambition of revenge, he applied himself with all his might to abolish the truth. And after discovering the trail of a certain old Hellenic opinion, he followed the same path, which was full of all sorts of absurdities and confusing intricate nonsense which was in no way connected to the Anointed-One. Now Valentinus, indeed wrongly asserted that Jesus the Anointed-One was not born from Miriam, but merely 'passed-through' her, but *also* denied a standing-up of dead humans. And he asserted that no matter what *he and his followers* do according to the flesh, be it wicked and profane, they will be saved in any case, because they themselves are spiritual and all such deeds are merely fleshly and of a nature which will one day be-lost.

Now there was a certain Kerdōn, who had grasped his starting-point from both the party of Simon the magician and from the sectarian Saturnilius. He was an immigrant from Syria, and who came to Roma under the oversight of Huginos. Now this false teacher taught, that the God preached by Moses and the law and prophets was not the father of our Lord Jesus the Anointed-One, and that the Anointed-One was not begotten of Miriam and has not appeared in flesh, *but*

instead, that he *merely* did everything in appearance. Now Kerdōn also rejected a standing-up of the flesh. He also renounced the Old Covenant (which was given by Moses and the prophets) as being foreign to God, and that Jesus the Anointed-One had come to put an end to the principality and tyranny of this God. However, he also rejected most of the New Covenant writings, using only the Good-Message according to Loukas, which he possessed in a mutilated form.

Now at first, this wasp entered the assembly and made *public* confession, yet continued in this way: indeed, sometimes he taught secretly, but sometimes he made *public* confession again; but he was convicted for teaching evil *things* and withdrew from the company of the *genuine* brothers. However, in his short stay in Roma, he managed to impart his venom—indeed one of Kerdōn's primary learners was Loukianos; but the other was Markiōn of Pontos, who, succeeding Kerdōn, augmented this teaching-place of falsehood, reviling shamelessly.

Also during this *period*, there was a man whose name was Marcus, whose teacher was Valentinus, and who was experienced in magical sleight-of-hand³ and in demons. For indeed, apart from the fact that he asserted, that Jesus the Anointed-One did not come in the flesh, and that there will not be a standing-up of the flesh, he deceived many through tricks. For indeed he pretended to turn liquids into the blood of some demon whom he summoned; but he also corrupted many by both appearing to prophesy himself and by causing any women whom he considered worthy of his favor to prophesy. For he occupied himself with women, and the ones who were the best-dressed and edged with purple and the most wealthiest of these. In an effort to get them into his power, he often flattered them, and saying things such as these, "First receive the favor from me and through me. Prepare yourself as a bride awaiting her bridegroom, so that you may be what I am, and I what you are. Plant the seed of the light in your bridal chamber. Receive the bridegroom from me; and contain him and be contained in him. Behold, the favor has descended upon you; open your mouth and prophesy!"

But if the woman answered, "I have never prophesied, and I do not know how to prophesy," he would give a second set of invocations to astound her, declaring, "Open your mouth; utter any old thing, and you will be prophesying!"

But she, conceited and puffed-up by these *words*, fevered in soul with the expectation that she was going to prophesy, with her heart beating more than it should, would venture to utter things which were frivolous and random—all vainly and recklessly, since she had been made feverish by a vain spirit. And from then on, she would think that she was a prophet and would be thankful to Marcus for bestowing his own favor on her, and would attempt to repay him, not only with the giving of her possessions (and he amassed considerable money in this way), *but* instead, also with a communion of their bodies.⁴ For she would be eager to be altogether united with him, in order to be restored to his false god with him. But Marcus also administered love-charms and love-potions to the women in order to outrage and corrupt their body and to cause them to love him with passionate-desire.

Now although he tried, like he had done with the rest, to pursue some of the more faithful women (who feared God and were not fooled) by directing them to prophesy, they snorted and cursed at him, separating from such an *impious* company as this. For they knew, that prophecy is not engendered in the humans by Marcus the magician; instead, it is *only* those, to whom the *true* God sends his favor from above, who have the god-given *gift* of prophecy, and who utter *things* where and when God wishes, but not when Marcus directs. For the one who directs is greater than the thing which is being directed. Therefore, if Marcus or anyone else, who are but mere humans, are able to direct *prophecy*, and at their dinners, make a regular game of directing each other to prophesy *by* lot, and divine for them as their desires dictate, then it is obvious that these spirits which are at their bidding and which speak when *Marcus and his companions* choose, are earthly and feeble, but are reckless and ruthless, sent by the Adversary for the deception and ruin of those who fail to maintain the vigorous faith which they received through the assembly at the beginning.

Now one of the ministers of the authentic assembly in Asia had the following misfortune, because he welcomed Marcus into his house: His wife was well-shaped, and she was utterly-destroyed in *both* her thought and her body by this magician, and she followed him for a long time. Then, when the brothers had managed to turn her back with great difficulty, she spent the rest of her time in confession, mourning and lamenting her ruin by the magician.

Now also certain learners of his, who wandered about in the same region, deceived and utterly-destroyed many women, proclaiming themselves so perfect that no one was able to equal the greatness of their knowledge, and that they were higher than any power, *and that*, for this reason, they were able to do everything freely and have no fear in anything and had become untouchable and invisible to Yahweh God the Judge.

Now by saying and doing such things, they completely beguiled many women in Rhodanousias. Branded in their conscience, indeed *some* of these women even made open confession, but *others*, ashamed to do this, quietly *withdrew*

¹ Hippolytus(Chronicon) / Cassius "20 years, 11 months" / Eusebios, Chronicon(Jerome) "21 years" / Eutropius "in the 21st year, 10th month, 29th day" / Chronography354 "20 years, 10 months, 14 days"

² Eusebios / Chronicon(Jerome) gives the length of his oversight as "11 years" / Chronography354 "11 years, 3months, 3 days"

³ may also be translated to "dice-playing"

⁴ literally "a communion of a body"

themselves, despaired of the life of God, and indeed in some cases, entirely forsook it.

CHAPTER 40: SECTARIAN: KOLARBAS & HÉRAKLEŌN & SECUNDUS & PTOLEMAIOS / OPHITES & KAINITES & SHETHITES

Now about this time and shortly afterwards, many additional sect-chiefs and their duped learners were spawned in various localities and whose precise date of birth is obscured. Indeed, the first set of these arose from the school of Valentinus. For one of his successors was Kolarbas,¹ who was a fellow-student of Marcus and drew on Marcus' witchcraft. And indeed, he was formerly a subordinate-chief of Marcus, having the same resolve as him, their sect being like a two-headed serpent. But later, like a head cut off a creeper's body and still breathing, he committed deadly unrighteous-things against many, by showing to them something which was supposedly greater and more experienced than what his contemporaries and predecessors had *obtained*. And in addition to his nauseating vomit, he, like Marcus, asserted that Jesus *the Anointed-One* did not come in *the flesh*, and that there will not be a standing-up of *the flesh*.

Now Hérakleōn was a successor of the sectarian Kolarbas, and was a man who was well-known by the sect-chief Valentinus and held the same opinions as him. But he wished to exceed his predecessors by supposedly devising further nonsense for the sake of making his own unique gathering of dupes. Indeed, he additionally asserted, that the Father was merely a genderless human.

Now also after Valentinus, arose the sectarians Secundus and Ptolemaios, who agreed entirely with Valentinus and expounded everything in his way, except that they expanded his impious teachings. Now there was a certain Epiphanés, who was a son of the sect-chief Karpokratés, and his mother was Alexandria. Indeed, on his father's side he was an Alexandrian, but on his mother's, a Kephallénian. Now Epiphanés, being taught in the teachings of his own father and being the *student* of Isidōros (son of the sectarian Basileidés), associated with the sect of Secundus. Now *Epiphanés* only lived 17 years, and at Samé in Kephallénia he was honored as a god for over 200 years. There a temple of quarried stones was both erected and dedicated to him, with altars, sacred-precincts, and a museum. And the Kephallénians gathered together at the temple every new moon in order to celebrate with sacrifices the day, which they asserted, that Epiphanés became a god. They both poured libations to him and feasted in his honor, and they sang his praises. But Ptolemaios also received his teaching from Isidōros and Valentinus, and his suppositions varied little from those of his teachers.

Now the second set of these sect-chiefs took their designation from the individuals whom they honored. Indeed, those who are called Ophites, or Nakashites, glorified the serpent to such an extent that they even regarded him as the Anointed-One and rejected the true Anointed-One, Jesus. (For serpent in the Hellenic tongue is 'ophis' and in Hebrew 'nakash'.) Now they did this, because the serpent was the one who had conferred the knowledge of good and of evil on humans. They, taking their cue from the sects of Nikolaos and *the* so-called Knowledgeable-Ones, also asserted that the Anointed-One did not exist in substance of flesh, and that a salvation of *the flesh* is not to be hoped for. And they did not admit anyone into their congress until he had brought imprecations against Jesus. And they had a real serpent which they kept in a basket in order bring out to perform some profane rites.

But the Kainites are followers of Kain the son of Adam, whom they praise and count as their father. And in addition to Esau, and Korah and his companions, and the Sodomites, they praise Judah of-Kerioth (the Judah who delivered up Jesus to the Judeans). For they asserted, that Judah the traitor alone knew the truth about Jesus. And indeed they have all sorts of profane mysteries, through which, they asserted, no one can receive salvation unless they perform, (which are nothing but obscenities and the committing of every sin there is), but that these mysteries would have been hindered had not Judah betrayed Jesus. But in order to promulgate their assertions, they even forged a fictitious history about the virtues of Judah and about his betrayal of Jesus the Anointed-One, which they named 'The Good-Message according to Judah'. They similarly reject the law and the one who spoke in the law, and deny a standing-up of *the flesh*.

But the Shethians proudly trace their race to Sheth the son of Adam, whom they glorify, and whom they even call the Anointed-One and maintain that he himself is actually Jesus. But they also asserted, that everything is the work of *heavenly* messengers and not of God. And indeed, they preached all sorts of strange babblings which seemed to be harmonious in spirit with all the rest of the so-called Knowledgeable-Ones. But they also forged fictitious revelations in the names of various holy men, including Abraham and Moses, which are full of evil.

CHAPTER 41: VARIOUS OVERSEERS / SECTARIAN: MARKIŌN

In the 5th year of Emperor Antoninus of the Romans, after Huginos, overseer of the sojourn in Roma, came-to-his-end at the close of the fourth year² of his

¹ Hippolytus, Tertullian / Irenaeus, Epiphanius, Theodoret "Kolarbas"

² Eusebios / Chronicon (Jerome) gives the length of his oversight as "4 years" / Chronography 354 "12 years, 3 months, 6 days"

oversight, Pius was entrusted with the public-service of *the assembly* in Roma. Now while Pius was overseer, his brother, Hermas, wrote 'The Shepherd' in the city of Roma. Also during the emperor's 5th year, Erōs was appointed after Cornélius to be the fifth overseer of *the assembly* in Antiocheia.

Yet truly, in the 6th year of Emperor Antoninus, in the assembly in Alexandria, after Eumenés had completed thirteen full years of the oversight, Marcus (not the magician) was appointed to be a shepherd in *his place*.

* * * * *

Now about the 7th year of Emperor Antoninus of the Romans, following the death of Huginos, there arose a sectarian named Markiōn. He was a native³ of Pontos (which was later known as Helenopontos), but of *the* city of Sinōpé. Now in his early lifetime, he supposedly practiced virginity, for he was a monk and son of an overseer of the assembly of God. But in time, he became acquainted with a virgin, and seduced the virgin from her hope, degrading both her and himself through his violation of her. And for seducing her, he was ejected from the assembly by his own father. For his father, due to his extreme piety, was an illustrious *man* and one who took great care of the assembly, and who was distinguished in the public-service of the oversight. But Markiōn earnestly-pleaded and requested many times for a change-of-mind, *but* he could not obtain it from his own father. For the old-man and overseer was not only distressed because Markiōn had fallen, *but* instead because he was bringing the disgrace on him as well. Since *Markiōn* was unable to get what he wanted from him by fawning, he, unable to bear the jest of the majority, ran away from the city, and arrived at Roma itself after the end of Huginos, overseer of Roma. And he, meeting the elders who were still alive and who had been taught by the learners of the emissaries, asked for admission to gather-together *with them* at *their* engagement, and no one would gather-together with him. Finally, seized with jealousy, since he was not able to obtain both the privilege of a high office⁴ and the entry into the assembly, he thought *about it* and took refuge in the sect of that cheat and swindler Kerdōn. And afterward, Markiōn, being roused to great fury and arrogance against the assembly, founded his own sect with the intention to destroy the assembly of God.

Now Markiōn reviled the true God, asserting, that Yahweh God is the evil god who created the heavens and the earth; but that the Slanderer is the neutral god; but that the third god, which he himself invented, is the good god and the enemy to Yahweh God, but who did not make any of the things in the world. But he also fabricated, that Jesus the son of God was sent, not by Yahweh God, but by his so-called good god in order to deliver humans from the anger of Yahweh God. Now because of these things, he threw out the law and all *the* prophets, saying that *the prophets* prophesied in accordance with Yahweh God, whom he falsely deems as the evil god; and he asserted that everyone who has opposed Yahweh God, such as Kain and Esau and the Sodomites, were saved by Jesus, but that the righteous humans, such as Cench and Noah and Abraham, did not partake of salvation because they trusted in Yahweh God.

But furthermore, he even rejected many other writings, using only the Good-Message according to Loukas and several of the emissary Paulus' letters (versions of which he himself had mutilated, extracting everything which was contrary to his own opinion, both everything which was said respecting Yahweh God who made the world, and the quotations of the prophets which proclaim the coming of the Lord Jesus).

Now Markiōn also chose to deny the birth of Jesus the Anointed-One, believing that he did not come in the flesh, but was merely a phantasm, having underwent neither his birth or his suffering except in appearance. And he also denied the standing-up of the flesh, saying that it is of the soul alone, and claimed that there are reincarnations of souls and transmigrations from *one* body to *another* body. But furthermore, Markiōn asserted, that everything made or appointed by Yahweh God should be abstained from, including marriage, which he declared to be nothing but destruction.

Now his two primary learners would be Lucanus⁵ and Apellés. And, through these successors and their other dupes, this sect would endure for over two hundred years, sowing its illegitimate seeds throughout Roma and Italia, Egypt and Palaestina, Arabia and Syria, Kypros and Thébais in Persia, and in other places.

CHAPTER 42: THE CHRISTIAN LIFE

Now Christians are distinguished from the rest of humans, *but* not by land, nor voice, nor customs. For they neither dwell in cities of their own, nor use a unique form of dialect, nor practice a peculiar lifestyle. No truly, this lesson of theirs had not been discovered by human intent and thought,⁶ nor are they devoted to a human decree as some are. But dwelling in both Hellenic and barbarian cities (as each has been allotted), and following *the* customs of the countries (both in clothing and abode and the rest of *their* lifestyle), they demonstrate a marvelous and confessedly remarkable *character* of the constitution of their own citizenship.

³ literally "was of the race"

⁴ literally "the privilege of the front seats"

⁵ Tertullian, Origen / Epiphanius "Lucianus"

⁶ literally "an intent and thought of humans"

They dwell in their own fatherlands, *but* instead as if they were sojourners. As if they were citizens, they share everything with each other, and yet endure everything as if they were strangers. Every strange land is a fatherland to them, and every fatherland is a strange land. They marry like all humans do; they beget children. (In fact, at this time, there were even those who married solely for the purpose of bringing up little-ones.) Instead, they do not hurl out their offspring and become man-murderers. And anyone who refused to get married would be self-restrained, not giving way to unrestrained intercourse. (In fact, one individual, to prove that sexual-immorality is not a practice among the Christians, even went so far as to present a petition to Félix (who was the leader in Alexandria), so that a physician might be allowed to remove his testicles. For the physicians said that they were forbidden to do this without the leader's permission. And when Félix absolutely did not wish to sign his consent, the youth remained by himself, satisfied with the approval of his own conscience and of those who were like-minded.)

They offer a common table, *but* instead not a common bed. They experience things in the flesh, *but* instead they do not live after the flesh. They spend their time on earth, *but* instead, live as citizens of the heaven. They obey the designated laws, and they have victory over the laws by their own lifestyle. They love everyone, and are pursued harmfully by everyone. They are not understood, and judgment is pronounced on them. They are put to death, and they receive life. They are poor, and they make many rich. They lack everything, and they are abundant in everything. They are dishonored, and they are glorified in their dishonor. They are reviled, and they are made righteous. They are abused, and yet they bless. They have outrages committed on them, and they render honor. When they do good, they are chastised as evil men. When they are chastised, they rejoice like men who are receiving life. They are warred against by the Judeans like foreigners, and are pursued harmfully by the Hellenes. And those who hate them cannot state the cause of their enmity.

For even up till that time, the Judeans, allowing no Christian to live, continued in their evil, even cursing at their congregations all of those who had become Christians, and who had proved to them that the Jesus who was crucified is the Anointed-One. And the other nations put the Judeans' curses into effect. And when they could find no fault in the Christians, they brought against them slanders of being cannibals and other such unfounded and ridiculous calumnies. But whenever the Christians surrendered their money, the impious-ones plotted against their bodies and their souls, pouring upon them crowds of charges of which they were not guilty, even in thought, and doing away with those who merely confessed that they were Christians. And when either party refused to listen to the Christians, instead contending to force them to deny the name of the Anointed-One, the Christians (who are among every race of humans) even endured and were enduring all kinds of suffering.

But the Christians, even though they had among themselves commoners and artisans and old-women who were unable in speech to defend the benefit of the religion, yet by their works, they exhibited the benefit of its character. For they did not rehearse speeches, *but* instead exhibited good practices. For instead of hating their enemies, the Christians have been taught to return even the hatred of their enemies with love. When struck, the Christians do not hit back and return blow for blow; and when plundered, they do not bring those who ravaged and plundered them before a court-of-justice. Instead, they have been taught, indeed to those who throw dirt on one side of the forehead, to even offer the other side of the head as well; but to those who take away their tunic to even give their cloak. For they give to those who ask, and love their neighbors as themselves.

In fact, there are many humans throughout all the earth, having formerly delighted in war and murder of one another, and in all evil, having become Christians, have converted their weapons of war into implements of peace; and not only do they no longer wage war against their enemies, *but* instead, do not even lie nor deceive their examiners, and prefer to be put to death rather than deny him, confident that, by confessing the Anointed-One, God will give to them the good-things which he promised through the Anointed-One. For they even rejoice as they die for the name of that beautiful Rock.

And in addition to this, the Christians not only did not speak evil of those who had brought these railings against them, *but* blessed them. And they prayed for the Judeans and for the rest of those who were plotting against their lives, that the Anointed-One would have mercy on them.

Although they were beheaded, and crucified, and thrown to beasts and chains and fire and every other torture, the Christians would not forsake their confession of the faith. Instead, the more they were pursued harmfully, the more did others in ever-increasing numbers embrace faith and worship God through the name of Jesus.

For in those days, these Christian brothers would gather together as one. But the day on which all of them held their common gathering was Sunday, because it is both the first day on which God made the world, and the day on which Jesus the Anointed-One stood-up out of dead humans. (For he was crucified on the day before Saturday, and on Sunday he appeared to his emissaries and learners.) Therefore, on this day, all of the Christians who were living in cities or fields would gather-together to one place, and the memoirs of the emissaries or the writings of the prophets were publicly-read as long as possible. Next, after the

public-reader had ceased, the one who is presiding-over them would verbally issue the warning and challenge for each individual to make an imitation in their own life of these beautiful things.

Next, they would all rise together and pray, offering prayers in common for both themselves and for any of the illuminated-ones (that is, those who had been recently illuminated with the truth of the teaching of the Anointed-One), and for all others everywhere, that they might be deemed worthy (now that they had learned the truth), and also, that by their works, might be found to be good citizens and keepers of the commandments of God, so that they might be saved with the perpetual salvation. Having ended the prayers, they would greet one another with a kiss.

Next, bread and a cup of wine mixed with water would be brought before the one who is presiding-over the brothers. And he, grasping them, would give praise and glory to the Father of everything, through the name of the son and of the spirit, the holy spirit, and would offer prayers and thanksgivings (as he was able and at considerable length) for being counted worthy to receive these things from God. And after he had concluded the prayers and the thanksgivings, all the people who were present would shout their assent, saying, "May it be!"

Now when the one who is presiding-over them had given thanks, and all the people had shouted their assent, the ministers would give to each of those who were present, a portion of the bread and wine mixed with water over which the thanksgiving was pronounced; and the ministers would carry back a portion to those who were not present. And this food was called a thank-offering, of which no one was allowed to have a portion but the one who had faith that the things which are taught by the Christians are truthful, and who has been immersed, and whose lifestyle is in accordance with what the Anointed-One has imparted to us.

Now those who were wealthy and plentiful among them, and who wished to do so, would each give whatever they wished. And what was collected was deposited with the one who is presiding-over them. And with it, he helps both orphans and widows, and those who, through a sickness or any other cause, were lacking anything, and those who are in chains, and the sojourners who were among them. So in this way, he would take care of all of those who were in need. And the Christians were always staying together. For everything which they were being supplied with, they would bless the Maker of everything through his son Jesus the Anointed-One and through a spirit, the holy spirit.

And the demons tremble at the strength of the name of Jesus the Anointed-One (who was crucified under Pontius Pilatus (who was procurator of the Judeans)). And even then, all the demons and wicked spirits which were adjured-out in the name of this very son of God were conquered and subjected to the Christians. But if anyone among the Judeans would attempt to adjure them out in the name of anyone born among them, or kings, or righteous men, or prophets, or fatherland-chiefs, not one of the demons would be subjected to them. (Instead, if the Judeans adjured them out in the name of the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, they would probably be subjected to them. However, some of their out-adjurers were able to adjure-out the demons by using the art of the nations, using incenses and bands.)

CHAPTER 43: JUSTINUS THE ONE-FOND-OF-WISDOM (PHILOSOPHER)

Now during the reign of Emperor Antoninus the Pious, a Christian named Justinus, son of Priscus, son of Bakcheios, from Flavia Neapolis in the Syrian Palaestina became known. 2 Now sometime before this period, this Samaritan had been converted to the teachings of Christianity in the following way:

3 Now in order to satisfy his fondness-of-wisdom, Justinus, as he submitted to various so-called wise-men and men-fond-of-wisdom (philosophers) in various locales, he, after delighting in the teaching of Platōn,¹ supposed that he had become a wise-man. 4(1) And while he was in this state, when he wanted to be filled with much quietness and to avoid the pathway used by humans,² he would go into a place which was not far from the sea. 5 But one day, after he came-to-be near that place, with the intention that he was going to be being there by himself, an old elderly-man, who was not contemptible, exhibiting a meek and solemn appearance, followed him at a short distance. But as Justinus halted, he, after he turned around, stared at him sharply.

6(2) And he³ declared, "Do you know me?"

Justinus said, "I do not."⁴

"Then why are you staring at me like that?" the elder declared.

"Because," Justinus declared, "I am surprised⁵ that you happened to be here. For I did not expect to see any men here."

"I am concerned," he declared, "about some members of my house. But they have gone away from me. And therefore, I have come to search around for them, if perhaps they might show up somewhere. But why are you here?"

"I take joy in such pastimes," Justinus declared. "For my dialogue with myself is uninterrupted, because there is nothing to distract my attention. Places like this are most effective for a fondness-of-reasoning."

¹ commonly known in English as "Plato"

² literally "the pathway of the humans"

³ literally "who"

⁴ literally "I deny"

⁵ literally "marveling"

“You are fond-of-reasoning, but not fond-of-works nor fond-of-truth,” he declared, “nor striving to be a practical *man* rather than a wise-man?”

“But what greater good could one work,” *Justinus* declared, “than to indeed prove that the reason is leading everything, but that the one who seizes *this reason* and rides it, can look down on the errors of the others and their pursuits, seeing that they are doing nothing which is healthy nor dear to God. But without a fondness-of-wisdom (philosophy) and correct reasoning, a *man* does not have sensibleness. For this reason, every human should be someone-fond-of-wisdom, and should deem this to be *the* greatest and most honorable work. But the rest should be second and third. And, indeed, *if* these *things* depend on a fondness-of-wisdom (philosophy), then they are of moderate *value*, and worthy of acceptance; but *if* they are deprived of it and are not connected with it *in any way*, they are base and coarse to those who pursue them.”

“Therefore,” he declared, interrupting, “does a fondness-of-wisdom make prosperity?”

“Yes, above all,” *Justinus* declared, “and it alone.”

“For tell me,” he declared, “what is a fondness-of-wisdom? And what is the prosperity which it makes? Unless something prevents you from telling *me*.”

“Indeed, a fondness-of-wisdom,” *Justinus* explained, “is experience of what exists, and full-knowledge of the truth. But prosperity is a reward of this experience and this wisdom.”

“But what are **you** calling ‘God’?” he declared.

“That which always has the same nature and *the same* manner, and is the cause of all other *things*. This is God.” This was how *Justinus* answered him.

And that *elder* listened to *Justinus* with pleasure, but *once* again asked, “Is not ‘experience’ a term commonly *applied* to different matters? For whoever is experienced in any of the arts, *such as* of generalship, or of steering, or of healing, is called experienced. But this is not so of the divine and human *matters*. Is there an experience which furnishes us with knowledge of the human and the divine *things*, and, then, a full-knowledge of the divinity and the righteousness of them?”

“Yes, above all,” *Justinus* declared.

“What then? Do we know humans and God in the same way that *we know* music and arithmetic and astronomy, or anything such as this?”

“Not at all,” *Justinus* declared.

“Your answer has not been correct then,” he declared. “For indeed, we acquire the experience of some of *these* through a lesson or by some pastime, but others by seeing them. Yet if someone were to say to you, that in India there exists an animal¹ which does not have the same genius as all the others, *but* instead is of such and such a *species*, multiform and various-colored, you would not know it unless you saw it. Instead, you could not give² an account of it unless you had heard *about it* from the one who had seen it.”

“For certainly not,” *Justinus* declared.

“How then,” he declared, “can the ones-fond-of-wisdom (philosophers) be correctly minded about a god, or speak truthfully *about one*, when they have no experience of him, having neither seen him at any time nor heard him?”

“But, father,” *Justinus* explained, “instead, the Deity cannot be seen by the same eyes as the other animals³ are *seen*. Instead, he is grasped by *the* mind alone, as Platōn declares; and I have faith in him.”

“Does our mind then,” he declared, “have such and so vast a power? Or does it not perceive what exists through the senses? Or will a human mind see God at any time, if not ornamented by a holy spirit?”

“For Platōn declares,” *Justinus* explained, “that the eye of the mind has a *nature* such as this and has been given to us, in order that we may be able to see with it, when it is clean, the very being who is the cause of everything which the mind perceives—who has neither color, nor form, nor size, nor anything which an eye can see, who instead, he declares, is beyond all essence, not expressible, not describable, *but* instead is alone beautiful and good, who comes at once into those souls which are well-disposed because of their affinity to and passionate-desire of seeing him.”

“What affinity then,” he said, “do we have with God? Is the soul also divine and immortal and a part of the royal mind itself? But as this *royal mind* sees God, is it also attainable for us to comprehend the Deity in our mind and thereby be prosperous *even now*?”

“Yes, indeed, by all means,” *Justinus* declared.

“But do all the souls of all the animals⁴ perceive him? Or indeed, is *the soul* of a human one kind, but *that* of a horse and of a donkey another?”

“No. Instead, those which are in all are similar,” *Justinus* answered.

“Then,” he declared, “will horses and donkeys see God, or have they ever seen God at any time?”

“No,” *Justinus* declared. “For not *even* the majority of the humans do; only those who live righteously, who have been cleansed through righteousness and by every other excellence.”

“Then,” he declared, “*you would believe that* it is not because of his affinity that a *man* sees God, nor because he has a mind, *but* instead because he is sound-minded and righteous?”

“Yes,” *Justinus* declared, “and because he has the *ability* to be minded about God.”

“Then what? Do goats or sheep do *anything* unrighteous to anyone?”

“Not one, not one,” *Justinus* explained.

“According to your reasoning,” he declared, “these animals⁵ will see *God*?”

“No. For their body, being of such *nature*, fetters them.”

“If these animals could receive a voice, you can be sure that it would be more reasonable for them to ridicule our body. But now, let us leave *alone* this *topic*, and let us agree with what you are saying. But tell me this: Does the soul see God while it is in the body, or after it has been released from it?”

“Even indeed while it appears in a human,” *Justinus* declared, “it can be possible to *see God* through the mind; but especially after it has been released from the body and exists of itself, does it reach the one whom it passionately-desired all the time.”

“And does it remember this *sight of God* when it comes back into a human?”

“It does not seem so to me,” *Justinus* declared.

“Then what is the advantage of those who have seen *God*? Or what does *the man* have who has seen more than he who has not seen, unless he remembers this fact that he has seen him?”

“I cannot say,” *Justinus* explained.

“But what will the judgment be for those who are deemed unworthy of this *sight*?” he declared.

“They are imprisoned in bodies of beasts, and this is their chastising.”

“Do they know then, that this is the reason that they are in such bodies, and that they have sinned?”

“I do not think *so*.”

“It would seem that they gain no advantage *from* their chastising. Instead, I would say that they are not chastised unless they apprehend the chastising.”

“For no.”

“Therefore, souls neither see God nor transmigrate into different bodies. For *otherwise* they would know that they were being chastised, and they would be fearful to afterward sin even the slightest. But I do agree with you, that they are able to perceive that there is a god, and that righteousness and piety are beautiful,” he declared.

“You are correct,” *Justinus* spoke.

“Therefore, the ones-fond-of-wisdom (philosophers) know nothing about these things. For they cannot even tell what a soul is.”

“It does not seem so.”

“Nor-even should it be called immortal. Because if it is immortal, it would also clearly be unbegotten.”

“But it is unbegotten and immortal, according to some Platōnists.”

“Do **you** also say that the world is unbegotten?”

“The *ones* say so. Yet however, **I** do not agree with them.”⁶

“You are correct. For what reason would one have to think that a body, being so solid, and having hardness, and composite, and changeable, and decaying, and is renewed every day, has not originated from some cause? But if the world is begotten, it is necessary that the souls are also begotten. And perhaps there is a *time* when they did not exist. For they were created for the sake of humans and the other animals (if you will say that they have been begotten separately by themselves and not together with their own bodies).”

“That seems to be correct.”

“Are they, then, not immortal?”

“No, since it also appears that the world itself was begotten.”

“Instead, **I** do not declare that all the souls are dying. For this would truly be a gift to the evil *men*.”

“Instead, what *happens to them*?”

“Indeed, the souls of the pious *men* are to remain in a better place, but *the souls* of the unrighteous and wicked *men* in a worse *place*, waiting for the time of the judgment then. In this way, the *ones* indeed *who* were made-to-appear worthy of God are not ever⁷ dying-off. But the *others* are chastised as long as God allows them to exist and *as long as* he might be wanting them to be being chastised.”

“As-a-result, is what you are saying agree with what Platōn hinted at in his Timaios about the world, saying that it is indeed perishable since it is a begotten thing, but that it will not be released nor destined to death through the will of God?”

“Does it seem to you that the same thing could be said about the soul and about everything? For whatever exists after God or will exist, has a perishable nature, and may be both blotted-out and cease to exist. For God alone is unbegotten and incorruptible. And because of this, he is a god, but everything else after him is begotten and corruptible. For this reason, even the souls die and are chastised. If they were unbegotten, they would not have sinned, nor have become so senseless, nor so cowardly and again bold; instead, they would not purposely

¹ literally “a living-creature”

² literally “speak”

³ literally “other living-creatures”

⁴ literally “living-creatures”

⁵ literally “living-creatures”

⁶ literally “whom”

⁷ literally “still”

room inside swine, and serpents, and dogs; nor, if they were unbegotten, would it be proper to compel them. For the one who is unbegotten is similar and equal to another one who is unbegotten, and he is to be preferred to the other, neither in power nor in honor. For this *very* reason, there are not many things which are unbegotten. For if there was some difference between them, you would not, *even* if you searched for it, find the cause of the difference. Instead, after sending the thought always to infinity, you would finally grow weary and take a stand on one Unbegotten, and declare that he is *the* cause of everything.”

“Do you think,” *Justinus* declared, “that these things escaped the notice of these wise men, Platōn and Pythagoras, who have been like a wall and a prop of fondness-of-wisdom (philosophy) to us?”

“It does not matter to me,” he declared, “whether Platōn nor Pythagoras nor anyone else had such opinions. For this is the truth. But here is how you may learn it. The soul itself either is life or it has life. If then, indeed, it is life, it would cause something else to live, not itself, even as motion causes something other than itself to move. But no one would contradict that the soul lives. But if it lives, it does not live as life itself, instead, as an assimilator of the life. But *whatever* partakes of anything is different from what it partakes of. But the soul partakes of life, since God wills it to live. In this way, then, it will not even partake of life when God does not want it to live. For the power to live is not its own attribute, as it is of God. Instead, even-as a human is not *living* through everything, but-neither is the soul always conjoined with the body (instead, whenever this joining must be released, the soul leaves the body and the human no longer exists), even so, whenever the soul must cease to live, the life-giving spirit is taken from it, and there is no more soul, instead, it also goes back to the place from where it was taken.”

“Therefore,” *Justinus* declared, “should anyone consult a teacher? Or from where might anyone be helped, if the truth is not *even* in them?”

“A long time ago, there were *men* who are older than all of those who are deemed men-fond-of-wisdom (philosophers), *men who were* happy and righteous and friends-of-God, who uttered *things* by a divine spirit and predicted *events* which would happen *in the future*, *events* which are now happening. Now we call them prophets. They alone also saw the truth and declared it to humans, of whom they were neither wary of nor ashamed to *speak in front* of, not overcome by a *desire for glory*; instead, they spoke only the things which they heard and the things which they saw, being fully-filled with a holy spirit.

“Now their written-compositions still remain even now, and he who has read them is very much helped, even *in his knowledge* about the beginning and about the end of things, and matters which the ones-fond-of-wisdom (philosophers) should know, provided that he has put faith in them. For they gave no proof at that time of their accounts, since, being trustworthy testifiers of the truth, they were above all proof. But the events which have taken place and are now taking place, force you to be assenting to the truth of the things which they are uttering through themselves.

“Yet furthermore, they may be rightly believed because of the powers which they discharged, since they also glorified the Maker of everything, God and Father, and sent out messages about his son, the Anointed-One, who was sent by him. This the false-prophets, who are filled with the misleading and unclean spirit, have never done nor are doing; instead, they dare to energize powers for amazing the humans,¹ and they glorify the spirits and demons which mislead men. But above all, pray that gates of light might be opened to you. For these things are not made visible nor comprehended by everyone, unless God and his Anointed-One might give comprehension to him.”

After that elder had spoken these things and still many other things, he went his way, after he directed *Justinus* to be pursuing them. And *Justinus* never saw him again. But immediately, a fire was kindled in his soul; and a passionate-desire for the prophets and those men, the ones who are friends of the Anointed-One, took hold of him. While also rationalizing these accounts, *Justinus* found this fondness-of-wisdom (philosophy) alone to be both immovable and useful.

And at the same time, *Justinus*, hearing the Christians being slandered, but seeing that they were also² fearless of death and of everything else which is ordinarily fearsome, concluded that it was not possible that they could *actually* be living in evil and fondness-of-pleasure. For what person-fond-of-pleasure or man without self-restraint, and one who counts it good to eat human flesh, was able to welcome death so that he might be deprived of his desires, but instead would not always want to live in this present life and attempt to escape being noticed by the chiefs; yet would, much less denounce himself when the consequence would be being murdered?

And this was how *Justinus* became someone-fond-of-wisdom (philosopher).

Now at this particular time, *Justinus* was especially in full-bloom. Still wearing the garb of someone-fond-of-wisdom (philosopher), he negotiated with his opponents on the subject the divine account, and contended for the faith—especially, indeed against the sectarian Markiōn; but also against the Judeans, including a dialogue which he held in the city of Ephesos with Truphōn a distinguished man among the Hebrews, proving to them from the prophets that

Jesus was the Anointed-One. Now one of *Justinus*’ more well-known learners was Tatianus.

CHAPTER 44: EARTHQUAKE IN BITHYNIA / TESTIMONIES OF PTOLEMAIOS & LUCIUS

Now about the 14th year of Emperor Antoninus of the Romans, a most fearsome earthquake occurred in the region of Bithynia and the Helléspontos (when translated this is, the Sea of Hellé). 2 And various cities either met with serious disaster or fell down entirely, and in particular Kuzikos, whose abominable inner-sanctum, which was said by the nations to be both the greatest and the most beautiful of all the inner-sanctums, was overthrown. 3 And, in the interior of the country, a mountain peak was rent, causing a surge of sea-water to pour out. 4 And the spray of pure and translucent sea-water, being blown about, was driven a great distance over the earth.

* * * * *

5(1) Now about the 15th year of Emperor Antoninus of the Romans, there was a certain woman who lived with an unchaste man, she herself³ having also formerly been unchaste. 6(2) But when she came to the teachings of the Anointed-One, she was recalled to her senses,⁴ and attempted to persuade her man to come to his senses,⁵ referring him to this teaching and bringing him a message, that there will be a chastising in a perpetual fire for those who do not live both sound-mindedly and with a correct rationalization. 7(3) But he, because he continued in the same acts of licentiousness, alienated his spouse from him. 8(4) For she, considering it an impiety to live any longer as the woman of a man, who, contrary to the law of nature and what is righteous, was seeking to try every means of pleasure, wanted to separate their union.⁶ 9(5) And when she was shamed by her friends, who counseled her to remain with him in the hope that at some time in the future the man might have a change, she forced herself to stay. 10(6) But after this man went into Alexandria, a message was brought to her that his conduct was worse than ever. So in order that she might not become a partner with him in his⁷ unrighteous-deeds and impieties by continuing in their union⁸ and by living with him and sharing a bed, she, after she gave a bill-of-divorce⁹ to him, was separated from him.

11(7) But this man ought to have been rejoicing, that she had indeed put an end to those actions (which had she had formerly indifferently committed with the servants and the hirelings, when she rejoiced in bouts of drunkenness and every evil), and, that she wished for him to put an end to them too. However, when she had been freed from him against his wish, he made an accusation against her, saying, that she was a Christian.

12(8) And indeed, she issued a little-book to the emperor, asking, that, first, she might be permitted to set her house in order, then, after the affairs of her house had been set in order, to defend herself against the accusation. And the emperor permitted this.

13(9) But this former man of hers, indeed, since he was no longer able to say anything against her, turned his attacks against a certain Ptolemaios, who had been a teacher of hers in the Christian lessons. 14(10) For he persuaded a centurion, a friend of his, who had thrown Ptolemaios in chains, to seize Ptolemaios and inquire one thing: was he a Christian? 15(11) And Ptolemaios, being fond-of-truth and not of a deceptive nor a false-spoken disposition, confessed that he was a Christian. So he was put in chains by the centurion, and was chastised in the prison over a long time.

16(12) But at-last, when Ptolemaios was brought before Urbicus the prefect of Roma, he was similarly examined only with this question: if he were Christian. 17(13) And again, being conscious of the beautiful things which he had gained from the teaching of the Anointed-One, he confessed that he was a member of the teaching-place of the divine excellence. 18(14) (For the man who denies anything, either does so because he condemns the thing itself, or he avoids the confession because he is conscious that he is unworthy and is foreign to the deed; neither of which applies to the true Christian.)

19(15) And after Urbicus directed him to be led-away to punishment, a certain Lucius, who himself was also a Christian, seeing how irrational the judgment was, declared to Urbicus, 20(16) “What is the reason for this? Why have you chastised this human, who is not an adulterer, nor a sexually-immoral individual, nor a man-murderer, nor a clothes-stealer, nor a robber, nor been convicted of any unrighteous-deed at all, but only because he confesses that he bears the name of a Christian? You, O Urbicus, are not judging in a manner befitting the Pious¹⁰ emperor, nor the one-fond-of-wisdom (a boy of Caesar), nor the consecrated senate.”

³ Justin / Eusebios omit “herself”

⁴ more literally “she returned to a sound-mind”

⁵ more literally “to come to a sound-mind”

⁶ literally “joining”

⁷ literally “the”

⁸ literally “the joining”

⁹ Latin “repudium” / equal to the Greek “apostasion”

¹⁰ a slight pun on the name, since the Emperor’s Latin name “Pius”, is translated here in Greek to ‘eusebei’ the actual word which means “Pious”.

¹ Literally “powers to the amazement of the humans”

² Justin / Eusebios add

21(17) And, without any other answer, he declared to Lucius, “You also seem to me to be such.”

22(18) And after Lucius declared, “Most certainly,” *Urbicus* directed that he also be led away to *punishment*. 23(19) But *Lucius* confessed his thanks. For he knew that he would *soon* be delivered from such wicked masters and would be going to a good father and king of the heavens.¹ 24(20) But another, a third, who also came forward, was further penalized by being chastised.

CHAPTER 45: JUSTINUS' DEFENSE TO EMPEROR ANTONINUS

Now about the 15th year of the reign of Emperor Antoninus (at a time when Félix had *Roman* leadership over *Alexandria*),² Justinus, who had also labored most sufficiently for the faith against the Hellenes, was also spending his time in Roma. And he, in behalf of the Christians who were being unrighteously hated and abused, addressed accounts containing a defense for *the Christian* faith to Emperor Antoninus *the Pious*; and to his son *Verissimus* (that is, *Marcus Aurelius*); and to *Lucius Verus* (someone-who-was-fond-of-wisdom), a natural son³ of *Caesar* and adopted by *the Pious-One*; also to the consecrated senate and to *the whole populace of the Romans*. Now in this document, Justinus defended the Christians against the slanders of cannibalism, and sexual-immorality, and atheism (for because of the Christians' refusal to bow-down to any god except the one true God, they had been accused of this), and opposition to the Roman leadership, and he even urged the Romans to destroy the statue of *Simon the magician*.

Now Emperor Antoninus, having also been entreated by other *Christian* brothers in Asia who were being crushed by all sorts of outrages at the hands of the local populaces, eventually thought it fit to address the Commonalty of Asia with the following constitution:

Emperor *Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus, the August-One, the Pious*,⁴ great chief-priest, of tribunician authority for the fifteenth *time*, consul for the third *time*, father of *the fatherland*,⁵ to the Commonalty of Asia, greetings.

I indeed know,⁶ that the gods are also careful that *humans* such as this do not escape *their* notice. For, if *the gods* were able, they would rather⁷ chastise the *ones who are* not wishing to bow-down to them than *all of you**. It is *these individuals* whom you* are throwing into disorder, accusing them of being atheists and with other things which we cannot prove.⁸ Now it would be to their advantage to have the reputation of dying for *their own God than to live*⁹ due to the *things which you* are* accusing *them of*. For this reason, they are even victorious, giving up their souls rather than to comply with your demands.

Nor is it not reasonable¹⁰ for you* to remind me about the quakings which have taken place, and are still taking place, since you* who are despondent when they do occur should compare¹¹ your* conduct with theirs, who have become much well-outspoken in the god *than you* are in yours**. And indeed during this time, you* have apparent ignorance of the gods, and neglect the temples, but have no experience of the religious-rites of the god. And you* are so envious of those who are religious-observers of him, that you* beat and prosecute them *even* to death.¹²

But on behalf of such *individuals*, even certain other¹³ leaders of the provinces have also already¹⁴ written to our deified father, and who wrote in reply, that they should not trouble any such *individuals*, unless they were shown to be making some attempt on¹⁵ the Roman leadership. But many have also pointed out such *men*, to whom I have also written in reply in accordance with my father's opinion.

But if anyone takes¹⁶ action¹⁷ against any such *individual merely* because he is such an *individual*, let *that individual*, against whom the charge is brought, be released, even if a *charge* such as this is brought to light. But let *the man* who brings the charge be liable to a rightful-punishment.

Published in Ephesos in the Commonalty of Asia.

Now this letter was, in particular, written to the Larissians, and to the Thessalonians (of which Gaius came-to-be *the* first overseer), and the Athénians, and to all the Hellenes.

CHAPTER 46: POLYKARPOS AT ROMA / TESTIMONY OF POLYKARPOS / EIRÉNAIOS' BOYHOOD

Now in the 16th year¹⁸ of Emperor Antoninus, Marcus, after ten years, rested from the public-service, and *Keladiōn* took over the public-service of the assembly of the Alexandreians.

Now in the 18th year¹⁹ of Emperor Antoninus, in the city of the Romans, Pius ceased *this life* in the fifteenth year²⁰ of his oversight, and *Anikétos* was presiding-over *the Christians* there. *Hégéssippos* was in Roma at this time, and he would remain there until the oversight of *Eleutheros*.

But throughout this time, the sectarian *Markiōn* continued to sow the seeds of his wicked teaching. But also, one of the learners of the sectarian *Karpokratés*, a deceived woman named *Marcellina*, came to Roma, and, spewing forth the corruption of the teachings of *Karpokratés*, she led multitudes astray in *the time of Anikétos*.

* * * * *

Now about this time, while *Anikétos* was leading the Roman assembly, *Polykarpos* was at Roma. *Polykarpos* always taught the things which he had learned from the emissaries, and which the assembly of *God* had also handed down. When he was staying at Roma, he turned away many from the sectarians *Valentinus* and *Markiōn* to the assembly of *God*, preaching that he had received from the emissaries this one and only system of truth which had been transmitted by the assembly. But on one occasion, when *Markiōn* met him and declared, “Recognize us,” *Polykarpos* himself, taking caution not to communicate²¹ with any of those who would restandardize²² the truth, answered, “I am recognizing you. I am recognizing the firstborn of the Adversary.”

And also while the happy *Polykarpos* was at Roma, he had a discussion with *Anikétos* on an inquiry concerning the *proper day to celebrate* the Passover. For indeed, *Polykarpos* had always observed the Passover on the 14th day of the month of *Nisan* (which was the same day on which the *Judeans* had formerly been commanded to sacrifice the lamb, regardless of which day of the week it happened to fall on) with *Johanán* the learner of our Lord and with the other emissaries whom he had spent time with. But *Anikétos* observed a different tradition, which had been handed down by different emissaries, that is, to observe the Festival of the Savior's Passover on the first Lord's day (that is, Sunday) following the 14th day of *Nisan*. But there were also some who did not observe this festival at all, since it had not been handed down to them to do so.

But truly, *Polykarpos* was unable to persuade *Anikétos* to observe the Passover on the 14th day. For *Anikétos* said, that he should hold to the customs of the elders who had proceeded him. But neither was *Anikétos* able to persuade *Polykarpos* not to observe *this tradition*. So while they disagreed a little about other *matters*, they straightaway made peace *with each other*, not wanting to be lovers-of-strife on this topic. And although these things were like this, they communed together; and in the assembly *Anikétos* conceded the thank-offering to *Polykarpos* out of respect for *him*. And they departed from each other in peace, maintaining *the peace* of the entire assembly (both of those who observed *it* and of those who did not).

* * * * *

Now at this *time*, when *Philippos* of *Tralleis* was chief-priest and *Staius Quadratus* proconsul, and while *the* greatest pursuits *against the Christians* were disturbing Asia, *Polykarpos*, overseer of *Smyrna*, having survived a long time, was now a very aged *man*. And he was arrested by *Hérōdés* the police-chief and brought to a stadium where he gave his testimony of *Jesus the Anointed-One* before *Philippos* the Asia-chief. And after being condemned to death, *Polykarpos*, testifying under the hands of both the nations and the *Judeans*, departed this lifetime gloriously and most illustriously on the second *day* of the month *Xanthikos*, seven *days* before the *Kalends* of *March* at the eighth hour.²³ (Now the rest of the acts and the details of the testimony of *Polykarpos* are recorded in the *Testimony of Polykarpos*, which was written by some members of the assembly of *God* sojourning at *Smyrna*.) And at the *very day and hour in which* *Polykarpos*

¹ Justin / Eusebios “king: God”

² Chronicon(Jerome) dates this event to the 4th year of Emperor Antoninus, but this is much too early, since Félix was not a leader in *Alexandria* till much later.

³ literally “a son by nature”

⁴ Justin Martyr / Eusebios “Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Sebastos Armenicus”

⁵ Justin Martyr / Eusebios omit “father of the fatherland”

⁶ Eusebios / Justin Martyr “should have thought”

⁷ Justin Martyr / Eusebios “For they would be much more likely”

⁸ Justin Martyr / Eusebios “disorder, having confirmed them in their knowledge, which they hold by accusing them of being atheists”

⁹ Justin Martyr / Eusebios add

¹⁰ Justin Martyr / Eusebios “Now it is not amiss”

¹¹ Justin Martyr / Eusebios “place, indeed you are despondent when they do occur, but are yet comparing”

¹² Justin Martyr / Eusebios “theirs. Therefore indeed, they have much more well-outspoken in the god *than you are*, while *all of you**, during the whole time of your* apparent ignorance, both neglect the other gods and the religious-rites of the Undying-One, whose religious-observers, *that is* the Christians, you* beat and prosecute *even* to death.”

¹³ Justin Martyr / Eusebios “, even many”

¹⁴ Justin Martyr / Eusebios add

¹⁵ Justin Martyr / Eusebios “concerning/regarding”

¹⁶ Justin Martyr / Eusebios “anyone persists in”

¹⁷ Justin Martyr / Eusebios “actions”

¹⁸ Chronicon(Latin Jerome) / Chronicon(Arm) “18th”

¹⁹ Chronicon(Latin Jerome), supported by Eusebios / Chronicon(Arm) “15th”

²⁰ Eusebios / Chronicon(Jerome) gives the length of his oversight as “15 years” / Chronography354 “20 years, 4 months, 21days”

²¹ literally “to partake in (or ‘to commune with’) an account (or ‘discourse/speech’)”

²² literally “restamp” (as in, someone stamping their stamp on top of a coin which had already been previous stamped); could also be translated to “reminted”

²³ February 23, ~2:00PM

testified in Smyrna, one of his learners, Eirénaïos, existing *far away* in the city of Roma, heard a voice like a trumpet, saying, "Polykarpos testified!"

For some time prior to this event, Eirénaïos, in his early manhood, had previously seen Polykarpos in lower Asia and heard the lectures which he gave to the multitude, and how he brought messages *about* his association with Johanan and with the rest of those who had seen the Lord, and how he related from memory their accounts, and the things which he had heard from them about the Lord, and about *the Lord's* power and about his¹ teaching, how Polykarpos received these things from the eyewitnesses of the account of the life, and brought forth all these messages in harmony with the writings. And through the mercy of God, Eirénaïos had listened to these things, recording them not on paper *but* instead in his heart, and for the rest of his life he would ruminate on them.

And on certain occasions, when Polykarpos had been confronted with the corrupted discourses of sectarians, he would cry out and stuff his ears, and according to his custom, would say, "O beautiful God, to what seasons have you preserved me, that I should bear these things?" He would even flee from the place in which he was sitting or standing when he heard such *erroneous* accounts. And Polykarpos had even sent letters to the neighboring assemblies, to support them, or to some of the brothers, to admonish them and impel them.

But also while Eirénaïos was still a boy, he had seen Florinus (a man who would later become a sectarian) in lower Asia, moving in splendor in the royal court and trying to win a good-reputation with Polykarpos.

* * * * *

Indeed, in the 23rd year of his reign, the Roman Emperor Antoninus, called the Pious, consumed by a fever, died at the age of 77, after having completed 22 years and 3 months² of the principality. And his son, Marcus Aurelius Verus, who was also *called* Antoninus, succeeded him, together with his brother Lucius.

CHAPTER 47: TESTIMONY OF JUSTINUS

Now about this *time*, Justinus the one-fond-of-wisdom (philosopher), addressed a second book in behalf of the Christian decrees to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius, concerning the wicked pursuits *against the Christians* committed under Urbicus and the slanders and revilements gushing forth from Créscéns the Kunik³ and the other pursuers.

For accordingly, this Créscéns, who had made his nest in Roma, indeed, for *gaining* the favor and pleasure of the many who had been led astray, publicly testified against the Christians, that they were atheistic and impious, although he himself surpassed everyone in pedophilia, but was altogether addicted to a fondness-of-silver. Now Justinus confronted him, proposing and asking him certain questions, and learned and proved that Créscéns indeed knew nothing about the teachings of *the Anointed-One*. And when Justinus, by preaching the truth, had frequently refuted him in dialogues in the presence of an audience,⁴ and was convicting the ones-fond-of-wisdom (philosophers) of being gluttons and cheats, he feared that either Créscéns, or some of those involved in the pursuit of Ptolemaïos and Lucius, would now attempt to form a plot against him. Therefore, he had written a defense of the Christian faith to the emperor Marcus Aurelius.

However, Créscéns, a man who, emulating the lifestyle and manners of the Kuniks, *professed* to despise death, was so terrified of death, that in the end he endeavored to bring about Justinus' death and that of Justinus' learner Tatianus, as though it was an evil *thing*!

So, in this season of the lawless defenders of idolatry, while Marcus Aurelius was emperor of the Romans, impious ordinances had been published against the pious Christians in city and country, in order to force them to offer libations to vain idols. Therefore,⁵ while Junius Rusticus was the urban prefect of Roma (he held this position from about the 2nd to the 7th years of the reign of Marcus Aurelius), the holy testifiers⁶ Justinus, Charitōn, Charitō, Euelpistos, Hierax, Païōn, and Liberianus⁷ were arrested *and* brought in before Rusticus. Now Rusticus was the most influential in leading the emperor astray into the so-called philosophy known as Stoicism.

Now after *the holy testifiers* had been brought in before the platform, Rusticus *the prefect*⁸ spoke to Justinus, "First, obey the gods and obey the kings."⁹

Justinus spoke, "The *act* to be being-compliant to the orders of our savior Jesus *the Anointed-One* is blameless and without-condemnation."¹⁰

Rusticus *the prefect* spoke, "What kind of reasonings do you pursue?"

Justinus spoke, "Indeed,¹¹ I have tried to learn all *types of* reasonings, but I have committed myself to the true reasonings of the Christians, even though these *things* may not be pleasing to those who hold to the false-opinions."

Rusticus *the prefect* spoke, "Therefore,¹² Are these the reasonings which are pleasing to you, *you* entirely-miserable person?"¹³

Justinus spoke, "Yes, I follow them with their correct¹⁴ decree."

Rusticus *the prefect* spoke, "What decree do you mean?"

Justinus spoke, "The one which we piously hold regarding the God of the Christians, whom we alone hold to have been the maker and¹⁵ crafter of the entire creation¹⁶ from *the* beginning, both visible and invisible;¹⁷ and *the* Lord Jesus *the Anointed-One*, *the* boy of God,¹⁸ who was preached beforehand by the prophets as one who was to come down to the humans as a preacher of salvation and a teacher of beautiful lessons.¹⁹ And-**I**, being *but* a human, suppose that what²⁰ I say is insignificant in comparison to his infinite²¹ divinity; *but* I confess *the existence* of a prophetic power, because a proclamation has been made beforehand about this *man*, whom I have *just* now declared to be a son of God. For you have come-to-know that in earlier times, the prophets foretold about this coming presence among²² humans."

Rusticus *the prefect* spoke, "Where do *all of you** meet?"

Justinus spoke, "Wherever each one chooses and is able. For do you suppose that we *are able to*²³ all meet in *the* same place? But not so, since the God of the Christians is not circumscribed by place, instead, being invisible, he fills the heavens and the earth, and he is bowed-down to and glorified by the faithful-ones everywhere."²⁴

Rusticus *the prefect* spoke, "Tell me, where do *all of you** meet, or at what place do you gather together your learners?"²⁵

Justinus spoke, "**I** have been staying above the bathhouse of Martinus the *son* of Timiotinus,²⁶ and for all the time of my residing at Roma (this is my second *time*), I²⁷ have known no other gathering but the one there. And if anyone wished, they could come to my *place*, and I would share with him the accounts of the truth."

Rusticus *the prefect*²⁸ spoke, "Well then,²⁹ doubtless you are a Christian?"

Justinus spoke, "Yes, I am a Christian."

Rusticus *the prefect* spoke to Charitōn, "Yet tell me,³⁰ Charitōn, are **you** also a Christian?"

Charitōn spoke, "I am a Christian, by a directive of a **god**."

Rusticus *the prefect* turned to Charitō, speaking, "**But**³¹ What do **you** say, Charitō?"

Charitō spoke, "I am a Christian by the gift of God."

Rusticus *the prefect* spoke to Euelpistos, "But³² what are **you**, Euelpistos?"³³

Euelpistos, a slave of Caesar, answered,³⁴ "And-**I** am a Christian, after I was freed by *the Anointed-One*. And, by-means-of favor of *the Anointed-One*,³⁵ I partake of the same hope."

Rusticus *the prefect* spoke to Hierax, "And **you**³⁶ are a Christian?"

Hierax spoke, "Yes, I am a Christian. For I both worship and bow-down to the same God."

Rusticus *the prefect* spoke, "Did Justinus make *all of you** Christians?"

Hierax spoke, "I was a Christian, and will be."³⁷

But³⁸ Païōn stood *up*, speaking, "And-**I** am a Christian."

Rusticus spoke, "Who is the one who taught you?"³⁹

Païōn spoke, "I received this beautiful confession⁴⁰ from my parents."

Euelpistos spoke, "I indeed pleasantly listened to the reasonings of Justinus, but I received my *teaching about how to be* a Christian from my parents too."⁴¹

Rusticus *the prefect*¹ spoke, "Where are your parents?"

¹ B / A omit "Indeed"

² B / A add

³ B / A omit "you completely-miserable"

⁴ B / A omit "correct"

⁵ B / A omit "maker and"

⁶ B / A "of the making of the entire world"

⁷ B / A omit "both visible and invisible"

⁸ B / A "and *the* boy of God, Jesus *the Anointed-One*"

⁹ B(C), A / B(HV) "learners"

¹⁰ B / A " ". But what"

¹¹ B / A omit "infinite"

¹² literally "in"

¹³ B / A add

¹⁴ B / A omit "But no so...everywhere."

¹⁵ B / A omit "do you gather together your learners"

¹⁶ B / A "of Murtinus"

¹⁷ B / A "(Murtinus) for all the time of my residing at Roma (this is my second *time*), but I"

¹⁸ B / A omit "the prefect"

¹⁹ B(V) / B(CH), A omit "well then"

²⁰ B / A omit "Yet tell me"

²¹ B / A add

²² B / A "And"

²³ B(HV) / B(C), A omit "Euelpistos"

²⁴ B / A "Euelpistos spoke"

²⁵ B / A omit "I have been freed by *the Anointed-One*" & "by the favor of *the Anointed-One*"

²⁶ B / A "you" (non-emphatic)

²⁷ B / A "I have been a Christian for a long time."

²⁸ B / A omit "But"

²⁹ B / A "Who taught you?"

³⁰ B / A "received it"

³¹ B / A "too"

¹ literally "the"

² Chronicon(Jerome) / Cassius "24 years" / Hippolytus(Chronicon) "<?? years>, 8 months, 22 days" / Chronography354 "22 years, 8 months, 28 days" / AureliusVictor(Liber) "in the 22nd year of his reign less a month" / AureliusVictor(Epitome) "after 23 years of leadership" / Eutropius "in the 23rd year"

³ more commonly known from the Latin transliteration "Cynic"

⁴ literally "of hearers"

⁵ B / A "the lawless ordinances of idolatry"

⁶ B / A omit "testifiers"

⁷ B / A "Païōn, Liberianus, and their companions" (a late romance version of this account has "Païōn, and Valerianus")

⁸ B / A "brought in, the prefect"

⁹ B / A " ". What *sort* of lifestyle do you live?"

¹⁰ B / A " ". One which is blameless and without condemnation before all humans."

Euelpistos spoke, "In Kappadokia."

Rusticus *the* prefect said to Hierax, "Where are your parents?"

But he answered, saying, "The Anointed-One is our true father, and our faith in him is our mother. But my earthly parents have come-to-their-end.² And after I was dragged-off from Ikonion in Phrygia, I came here."³

Rusticus *the* prefect spoke to Liberianus, "And what do **you** say? Are you a Christian, but not *willing* to act piously *toward the gods*?"⁴

Liberianus spoke, "And **I** am a Christian. For I act piously toward and bow-down to the only true God."⁵

The prefect turned to Justinus, saying,⁶ "Listen, you who are said to be reasonable and *who* suppose that you know true reasonings:⁷ If you are whipped *and* beheaded are you convinced that you will ascend to the heaven?"

Justinus spoke, "I am hoping to have his decrees in the future,⁸ if-at-any-time I might endure these *things*. But I have also come-to-know, that, to all who have lived in this manner,⁹ there remains the divine favor *even* until the conflagration¹⁰ of the entire world."¹¹

Rusticus *the* prefect spoke, "Therefore, you preconceive that you will ascend into the heavens to receive certain recompenses?"¹²

Justinus spoke, "I am not preconceiving, instead, I know with certainty, and I am fully assured *of it*."¹³

Rusticus *the* prefect spoke, "Well then, may we come to the remaining *matter*, the necessary and pressing affair. Therefore, since¹⁴ *all of you** have come-together: Offer sacrifice with one accord to the gods."

Justinus spoke, "No one who is sensible changes from piety into impiety."¹⁵

Rusticus *the* prefect spoke, "If *all of you** do not become-compliant, you* will be mercilessly¹⁶ punished."

Justinus spoke, "We have a prayer, that *if* we are punished because of our Lord *the* Anointed-One,¹⁷ we will be saved, since this is *the* salvation and outspokenness which we will have at the fearsome and world-wide platform of our master and savior."

But the rest of the testifiers also similarly spoke, "Do what you want. For **we** are Christians and we do not offer sacrifice to idols."¹⁸

Rusticus *the* prefect gave his decision, saying,¹⁹ "Those who have not wanted to sacrifice to the gods and to yield to the emperor's ordinance are to be led away to be whipped *and* to suffer the rightful-punishment of being beheaded²⁰ in conformity of the laws."

Now the holy testifiers, glorifying God, having gone out to the customary place, had their heads cut off, and they²¹ fulfilled their testimony in their confession of our savior. But some of the faithful-ones, having secretly taken their bodies, laid them in a suitable place.²²

CHAPTER 48: TATIANUS' CONVERSION / THE ENKRATITES AND SEVÉRUS

Now Justinus' learner, Tatianus, who had also been plotted against by Crésceus, was preserved from the present pursuit *against the Christians*. Now this was how he had converted to the Christian faith:

At first, Tatianus had participated in the mysteries of the so-called gods of the Romans, and had examined the religious-rituals being composed by effeminate-ones and lesbians, but indeed found one of their gods delighting in human gore²³ and the blood of slaughtered men, but another not far away from Roma sanctioning acts of the same kind, one demon here, another there, instigating the perpetration of evil. Therefore, he *retired* by himself, and sought how he might be able to discover the truth.

But while he was doing this, he happened to fall upon the writings of the prophets, which he indeed found to be older than the Hellenic decrees but too divine to contain their errors. And by both the not-puffed-up sayings, and the inartificial speaking *of the writers*, and *by the fact that* the entire production was easy to apprehend, and *by the foreknowledge of the future-events*, and *by the extraordinary quality of the transmitted-messages*, and *by the fact that the entire universe was a monarchy*, he was led to put his faith in these *writings*. But with

¹ B / A omit "*the* prefect"

² B ("But...come-to-their-end.") / A "Hierax spoke, "They have come-to-their-end."

³ B (And after...here.) / A "But it has been a considerable time since I was dragged-off from Phrygia."

⁴ B (And what...*toward the gods*?) / A "You, are you also a Christian?"

⁵ B / A "I too am a pious Christian."

⁶ B / A "The prefect said"

⁷ B / A omit "Listen, you...reasonings."

⁸ B (possible emendation "hope...mansions") / A "hope of my endurance"

⁹ B / A "have lived correctly"

¹⁰ B(H), A / B(CV) "completion/fulfillment"

¹¹ B / A omit "the divine favor" & "of the entire world"

¹² B / A omit "to the heavens to receive certain recompenses"

¹³ B / A "I am persuaded with certainty"

¹⁴ usually "after"

¹⁵ B / A omit "Rusticus *the* prefect spoke, "Well then, let us...to impiety."

¹⁶ B / A omit "mercilessly"

¹⁷ B / A omit "because of our Lord *the* Anointed-One"

¹⁸ B / A omit "since this is the...to idols."

¹⁹ B / A omit "saying"

²⁰ B / A omit "*and* to suffer the rightful-punishment of being beheaded"

²¹ B / A omit "had their heads cut off and they"

²² B (H has "distinguished" instead of "suitable") / A omit "But some of the...suitable place."

²³ literally "gore of humans"

his soul being taught of God, he indeed discerned that the first ones brought about a rightful-punishment, but that the *divine writings* put an end to the slavery which is *in the world*, and indeed detached *humans* from a plurality of chiefs and ten-thousand tyrants, but gave *to them*, not what they had not previously received, *but* instead what they had received but were prevented by the error from retaining.

Therefore, seizing these *truths*, Tatianus wished to strip off his former errors as the childish *things* of a baby; and, due to his Hellenic background and his Hellenic discipline, had become a hearer and learner of Justinus the one-fond-of-wisdom (philosopher).

Now at first, while Tatianus was blooming with Justinus, he bore himself beautifully and was sound in the faith. But after the testimony of Justinus, Tatianus began to cherish different opinions from his, and he left the assembly. Becoming elated with an opinion of *himself* being a teacher, and puffed-up with *the idea* of being superior to the rest, he became an engraver of his own teaching-place which he composed, inventing a system similar to Valentinus, while, like Markiōn and Saturninus, he promoted perpetual abstinence and pronounced marriage to be both destruction and sexual-immorality. But he was also the first to deny that salvation was possible for the first human, Adam, on account of the fact that he was the originator of disobedience.

Now Tatianus first founded his teaching-place in Mesopotamia,²⁴ but he established his teaching mostly between Antiocheia by Dafneh and Kilikia, but even more in Pisidia. But Tatianus' school, within less than 300 years from its founding, would be completely quenched *and* terminated. However, the so-called Enkratites (which means 'Self-Restrained-Ones' in the Hellenic tongue), having gotten their share of this *poison* from him in person, were his successors.

Now while the so-called Enkratites indeed hold some teachings about God and the Anointed-One in similar manner with the assembly of God (such as a standing-up out of dead *humans*), nevertheless, in addition to holding the same sectarian decrees as their founder Tatianus (in particular, their forbidding to marry, from which the name of their sect was derived), they glorify themselves by adding further customs. *These include*, refraining from *the meats*²⁵ of animals, being water-drinkers (not drinking wine at all), and devoting the remainder of their lifestyle to being dry *like a eunuch*.

Therefore, Tatianus and his followers were rebuked by the prophecy of the emissary Paulus, when he spoke:

But the spirit explicitly says, that in later seasons, certain *persons* will stand themselves away from the faith, paying-attention to misleading spirits and to taught-*materials* of demons, in hypocrisy of false-accounts, whose own conscience has been cauterized. *They are* preventing *individuals* to be marrying; to be keeping themselves distant *from* solid-foods, which God created for²⁶ sharing with thanksgiving to the *ones who are* faithful and have recognized the truth. Because every creature of a god *is* beautiful; and not-one *is* thrown-away,²⁷ *while it is* being taken with thanksgiving. For it is being made-holy through an account of a god and petitions.

(1 Timothy 4:1-4)

In fact, these sectarians do not even receive Paulus' letters, but revile him by calling him an intoxicated-person. Instead, they assert that the Slanderer is not subjected to God, and that marriage and the drinking of anything like wine are plainly works of the Slanderer. Now the Christian Mousanos wrote against some brothers who had gone over to this sect.

But a little later, a certain *man* named Sevérus added might to the sect of Tatianus. Therefore, he and his followers indeed used *the* law and prophets and good-messages, *but* interpreted the ideas of the consecrated writings in their own way. But they reviled Paulus the emissary, rejecting his letters, nor accepted the Acts of the Emissaries. Now Sevérus additionally impiously taught, that the vine was produced by the seed of the Slanderer and therefore wine should be rejected; and that a woman is the work of the Adversary, and that those who have marital intercourse are doing the work of the Adversary. But he also rejected a standing-up *of the flesh*. Now the sectarian followers of this party, called Sevérians, would remain for at least two centuries.

CHAPTER 49: TESTIMONIES OF KARPOS & PAPULOS & AGATHONIKÉ

Now also sometime during the reign of Emperor Marcus Aurelius, while the proconsul was residing in Pergamon (a city in Asia) the happy Karpos and Papulos, testifiers of the Anointed-One, were brought before him. Now the proconsul took his seat, declaring, "What is your name?"²⁸

But the happy-one declared, "My first and most distinctive name is Christian, but if you are inquiring-of my *name* in the world, it is Karpos."

The proconsul spoke, "The ordinances of the August-One regarding the obligation of revering the gods (*the ones who are* administering all the *things*),

²⁴ literally "in the Middle of the Rivers" / Epiphanius (who is not fully reliable in this period) states that these assemblies were formed in about the 12th year of Antoninus (which he takes to be Pius, but it should be Marcus Aurelius Antoninus). However, the year cannot be firmly established.

²⁵ literally "foods"

²⁶ literally "into"

²⁷ literally "thrown-off"

²⁸ literally "What are you called?"

have been made-known to you. I counsel *all of you** to come forward and to sacrifice."

Karpos spoke, "I am a Christian. I revere *the* Anointed-One, the son of God, who has come in *these* latter times for our salvation, and has delivered us from the misleading of the Slanderer. But I will not sacrifice to idols such as these. Do what you want. For I am unable to sacrifice to fraudulent phantoms of demons. For those who sacrifice to them are like them.

"For the true ones who bow-down, according to the divine reminder of the Lord (those who bow-down to God in spirit and in truth), take on the likeness of the glory of God and become immortal with him, sharing in the perpetual life through the account of God. So those who serve these *gods*, take on the likeness of the vanity of the demons, and they are-lost along with them in Gehenna. For they should rightly receive a rightful-punishment with the misleader of the humans (which are the most-special creation of God). I am speaking *about* the Slanderer *here*, who, out of his own wickedness, jealously-provoked *the humans*. For this reason, know, proconsul, that I will not sacrifice to them."

But the proconsul became furious, declaring, "Sacrifice to the gods, and not act foolishly."

Karpos, smiling gently, spoke, "May the gods be destroyed who have not made the heaven and the earth."

The proconsul spoke, "It is necessary for you to sacrifice. For this is what the emperor directs."

Karpos spoke, "The living-ones do not sacrifice to the dead-ones."

The proconsul spoke, "Are the gods seeming to you to be dead?"

Karpos spoke, "Do you want to listen? These *gods*, which are *derived* out of humans, never lived at-any-time, in order that they might also die-off. But do you want to learn that this is true? Take away the honor which you are thinking that you are offering to them, and you will know that they are nothing. They have originated from earth's sediment, and are destroyed by the time. For our God, who is timeless and has made the ages, remains incorruptible and perpetual; always the same, he is not susceptible to increment nor diminution. But these *gods* even come from humans, and, as I declared, are destroyed by the time.

"But do not marvel at their bringing forth of oracles and deceit. For the Slanderer, having, in *the* beginning, fallen from his glorious rank because of his own depravity, wages war on God's affection for the humans; and pressed-down by the holy *ones*, he struggles against them and prepares *his* wars beforehand, and, anticipating, brings a message to his own *allies*.

"And similarly, by *his experience* of the daily events of our *lives*, he, being older than the time, ventures to foretell the *future* events which are *the evil things* which he himself intends to do. For by the decision of God, he knows this unrighteousness (and God allows him to try the humans), *while* he *is* seeking to mislead them from piety. Therefore, be persuaded by me, consul, that you are in no little vanity."

The proconsul spoke, "By allowing for you to talk so much nonsense, I have led *you* into revilement of the gods and the August-Ones. Therefore, in order that we might not let you progress-forward any more: Are you sacrificing, or what are you saying?"

Karpos spoke, "I am unable to sacrifice. For I have not at-any-time sacrificed to idols."

Therefore, *the proconsul* straightaway directed him to be hung up and scraped. But *Karpos* kept shouting, "I am a Christian!" But after being scraped many *times*, he was strained and was no longer strong enough to utter *anything*.

And the proconsul, leaving Karpos alone, turned to Papulos, saying to him, "Are you a councilor?"

But he said, "I am a citizen."

The proconsul spoke, "Of what city?"

Papulos spoke, "Of Thuateira."

The proconsul spoke, "Do you have any children?"

Papulos spoke, "Yes, many through God."

But one of the populace cried-out, saying, "He is saying that he has children from his faith as one of the Christians."

The proconsul spoke, "Why did you lie by saying that you have children?"

Papulos spoke, "Are you wanting to learn that I am not lying, *but* instead am speaking truthfully? I have children of mine from God in every province and city."

The proconsul spoke, "Will you sacrifice, or what do you have to say?"

Papulos spoke, "I have been enslaved to a god from my youth, and I have never sacrificed to idols. Instead, I am a Christian, and you are not having to hear any more from me than this. But-neither am I *going* to speak of something greater or more beautiful than this."

But he was also hung-up and scraped, changed three yokes,¹ and did not raise *his* voice. Instead, like a noble athlete, he received the fury of the Opposer. But when the proconsul observed their surpassing endurance, he directed them to be burned alive. And going down, both of them hastened to the amphitheater, so that they might all the more quickly be released from the world. And first, Papulos

was nailed to the *piece* of wood which was *then* set up straight. And after the fire was brought near, he calmly prayed, giving up his soul.

And after him, Karpos, as he was being nailed to *the wood*, smiled-approvingly, but the bystanders were amazed, saying to him, "What are you laughing at?"

But the happy-one spoke, "I saw the glory of *the* Lord and I was made-to-rejoice. But simultaneously, I am also released of *all of you** and I am not a partaker of your* evil-deeds."

But as the soldier laid *down* the *pieces* of wood, he was setting them on fire from underneath. The holy Karpos, *while* he was being hanged, spoke, "We were also born from the same mother, Eva, and we have the same flesh. Instead, let us endure everything, looking forward to the court-of-justice which is the true *one*."

After he had spoken these things and the fire drew near, he prayed, saying, "Blessed are you, Lord Jesus *the* Anointed-One, son of God, because you deemed me worthy, and me the sinner, of having this portion in you." And with these sayings, he gave up his soul.

Now Agathoniké was standing there, and she saw the glory of the Lord as Karpos had declared that he had seen it. And coming to know that *this* was the heavenly call, she straightaway raised up her voice, "Here is the meal which has been prepared for me. Therefore, I must partake of *and* eat of this glorious meal!"

But the populace cried-out, saying, "Have mercy on your son!"

But the happy Agathoniké spoke, "He has a god who has the power to have mercy on him, because he is the supervisor over everything. But let me do what I have come for." And stripping off her cloak, she threw herself gladly on the *piece* of wood.

But those who saw *this*, sung a dirge, saying, "It is a terrible judgment, and these are unrighteous ordinances!"

But she was raised up, and, as soon as she was touched by the fire, she cried-out three *times*, speaking, "Lord, Lord, Lord, help me! For you are my place of refuge!"

And this was how she gave up her spirit and came-to-her-end together with the holy *ones*. *Afterward*, the Christians covertly collected their remains *and* carefully-guarded them.

CHAPTER 50: SECTARIANS: LUCANUS & APELLÉS & HERMOGENÉS

Now at some point, the sectarian Markiōn finally professed a change-of-mind, and he agreed to the conditions which were granted to him by the assembly of God, that he should receive reconciliation if he restored to the assembly all the others whom he had been training for perdition.² However, he was prevented *from doing so* by death, and this sect was divided into different *offshoots* of knowledge.

And among these were both Potitos and Basilikos, and also Suneros. But one of the most prominent who arose was one of his followers and learners, Lucanus.³ Now he indeed taught the same kinds of revilement as Markiōn and Kerđōn had taught, including the full rejection of marriage. But, detaching from *his master* and forming a society by himself, *Lucanus* founded his own sect, by which he additionally asserted that there was neither a standing-up of soul nor of flesh, but of a third nature which he himself fabricated, and other such fantastical nonsense. But this sect was quickly snuffed out.

Now the other prominent learner of Markiōn was Apellés, who was also a schoolmate of Lucanus. Now he, like his superintendent, asserted that there is not a standing-up of dead *humans*, and, rejecting the law and the prophets, attempted to abolish *their authenticity* as if they had spoken falsehoods and had not known God. But he, being displeased at what was being stated by his teacher, began to teach differently for the following reason.

For he, deserting the self-restraint of Markiōn, lapsed into *the company* of a female and withdrew to Alexandria, out of sight of his master. But in the meantime, he stumbled on another virgin, Philoumené, who afterward became *an* enormous whore. And having been encircled by her efficacy, he, considering her to be a prophetess, committed to writing the so-called manifestations which he had learned from this girl, who was in fact possessed by a demon. Because of her, he ceased following Markiōn by no longer asserting that the Anointed-One had come merely in appearance; *but* instead, that the Anointed-One did come in the flesh, but he asserted, that this flesh was not received from Miriam the virgin but that he himself wove it together from the adjacent substance of the world; and, that after his standing-up *out of dead humans* and having shown that very flesh to his own learners, he again destroyed the body of flesh from himself by dissolving *the* borrowed elements back into *the earth* from which his body had been *derived*, and soared away to the heaven from where he had come. After being corrupted by these teachings for some years, he returned from Alexandria, no longer a Markiōnite.

However, Apellés did further elaborate on some of Markiōn's nonsense, by falsely asserting, that there were five gods—the first of these which he *alleged* is a good god, whom the prophets did not know; and that one of these gods, who

¹ may also be translated to "pairs"

² literally "loss"

³ Tertullian, Origen / Epiphanius "Lucianus"

turned out not to be good, was the creator of everything—which, due to his inefficient faculty, was badly created.

Now later, in the reign of Commodus (who would succeed Marcus Aurelius as emperor of the Romans), Rhodōn, of the race of Asia, who had been a learner of Tatianus at Roma, and who contended against the sect of Markiōn, would converse with Apellēs *in person*, reproving him to *his face*.

Now about this time, there also arose a certain Hermogenés (also known as Hermogenous), who, erroneously reasoning that it was impossible that God could make the generated *things* out of things which are not, asserted that the ungenerated eternal God made everything out of a coeval and second equally preexistent, equally ungenerated, equally eternal substance known as ‘material’,¹ but which, unlike God, is evil and impure; and that, likewise, a soul was formed from this material rather than from a breath of God. But he did correctly confess that the Anointed-One is the son of the god who created everything, and was born of a virgin and of a spirit, and, that after his suffering, was raised up in a body and appeared to his learners and proceeded to the Father. However, he asserted, that as the Anointed-One was going up into the heavens, he left his body in the sun.

CHAPTER 51: NOTEWORTHY CHRISTIANS OF THESE DAYS

Now in the 6th year of the leadership of Emperor Marcus Aurelius, after Keladiōn had been presiding-over the Alexandreian sojourn for fourteen years, Agrippinus took up the succession as its overseer.

And instead, in the 8th year² of Emperor Marcus Aurelius, Sōtēr succeeded Anikétos as the overseer of the Roman assembly, after *Anikétos* had completed 11 years³ in all. For from *the beginning*, it was a custom of *the Roman assembly* to indeed be a benefactor to all *the brothers* in various ways, also sending supplies to many assemblies in every city, thereby indeed refreshing the poverty of the needy, but taking the initiative to provide for *the brothers in the mines*, by *the supplies* which he sent. The overseer Sōtēr did not only maintain *this custom*, but instead he even increased it: indeed providing the transmission of *the abundance* to the holy *ones*, but encouraging the brothers who went up to *Roma* with happy accounts as an affectionate father *would* his children.

But also about this time, in the Antiocheian assembly, Theophilus was known as its sixth overseer from the emissaries.⁴ (Indeed, Cornélius was the fourth, having been established after Hērōs; but after him, in the fifth place, Erōs had succeeded to the oversight.) Now Theophilus contended against both the sect of Hermogenés and that of Markiōn. Therefore indeed, Maximinus,⁵ the seventh from the emissaries, would eventually succeed him *as overseer* of the Antiocheian assembly.

Now Dionysios, who had the oversight of the sojourn in Korinthos handed over to him, was encouraging and admonishing the brothers in various localities. Indeed, he admonished the Lakedaimōnians to both peace and unity. But he stimulated the Athénians to faith and to the citizenship of the Good-Message, of which he reproached them of having esteemed-lightly, as if they had almost seceded from the account of *Jesus* since Publius had testified for *his faith in the Anointed-One* during the pursuits of that time *against the Christians*. For indeed Publius had been the one who was presiding-over the assembly in Athénai, but after the testimony of Publius, Quadratus had been established as overseer; and through his effort they were brought together again and were allotted a rekindling of the faith.

Now *Dionysios* also defended the Nikomédeians from the sect of Markiōn, by waging war against it by means of the truth. And he encouraged many of the other brothers in other assemblies (such as Gortuna (whose overseer was Philippos, a man who also opposed Markiōn), and Amastris, and Pontos, whose overseer was Palmas; and Knōsos, whose overseer was Pinutos; and Roma, whose overseer was Sōtēr).

Now Modestus also contended against the sectarian Markiōn, exposing the error of this man more clearly to everyone than any of the other brothers had done.

CHAPTER 52: A PLAGUE BREAKS OUT / MELITŌN & APOLINARIOS DEFEND THE CHRISTIANS

Now by about the 8th year of the reign of emperor Marcus Aurelius, a plague began to overtake numerous Roman provinces, and a great pestilence began to devastate all of Italia, so that everywhere villages, fields, and towns were left without cultivation or inhabitant, and all that was left were deserted ruins and forests.

And in the 9th year, the emperor Lucius Verus, while sitting with his brother Marcus Aurelius in a carriage, died of apoplexy. Now on the death of Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius became the sole ruler of the state, and the pursuit of the Christians did not cease.

Now after the death of Lucius Verus,⁶ Melitōn the Eunuch, *the overseer* in the assembly of Sardeis and whom many considered to be a prophet (and who later died at Sardeis), was well-known at the time. And he addressed a defense to Emperor Marcus Aurelius on behalf of the *Christian* faith. For about this time, many Christians were being pursued. Among these was *the overseer* Sagaris, who testified during the season when Servilius Paulus was proconsul of Asia, and fell asleep in Laodikeia.

Now while Melitōn was urging the emperor to show favor to the Christians, he also explained to him:

Nerō and Domitianus, alone of all *the emperors*, persuaded by certain bewitching humans, have wanted to establish a slander against our *school of reasoning*; and, in consequence of an unreasonable habit of bringing defamations against *the Christians*, it has come to pass that a falsehood has gushed forth from them. Instead, your* pious fathers corrected their ignorance, having reproved them many *times* in writing, whenever they dared to revolt against *the Christians*. Indeed, among them, your grandfather Hadrianus indeed evidently wrote even to many others, but also to Fundanus the proconsul and general of Asia. But your father, when you were also administrating with him, wrote to the cities about not revolting against us. Among these writings are those to *the Larissians*, and to *the Thessalonians* and Athénians, and to all *the Hellenes*. But since **you** also have the same knowledge about the *Christians* as they do, and, yet, are much more philanthropic and fond-of-wisdom, we are persuaded that you will be doing everything—as-much-as we are beseeching of you.

Also in the days of this emperor,⁷ Apolinarios,⁸ overseer of the sojourn in Hierapolis in Asia, addressed a defense on behalf of the faith to Marcus Aurelius, emperor of the Romans. But later, he contended against the sect of the Phrygians, which, yet truly at that time,⁹ was beginning to sprout.

CHAPTER 53: SECTARIAN: MONTANUS & HIS FALSE-PROPHETESSES (PHRYGIANS)

For at that time,¹⁰ Montanus, with his false-prophetesses Priscilla (also known as Prisca) and Maximilla, were making *the beginnings* of their deviation. Now there is a certain village in Musia near Phrygia which is called Ardebav. There, when Gratus was proconsul of Asia, a newcomer of the faith whose name was Montanus, in an immoderate desire of soul of a love-for-the-first-rank, gave the Opposer an access into him. *After this caused him* to become both borne-by-a-spirit and suddenly fall into a kind of possession and ecstasy, he begin to both utter and be disconcerted by strange expression, prophesying contrary to the custom of the assembly according to its tradition and its succession from the beginning.

Now at that time, some of those who were within hearing of the bastard utterances¹¹ indeed were burdened, and they rebuked him as being efficacious, and being possessed by a demon and in a spirit of misleading, and troubling the crowd. They, remembering the distinction made by the Lord and his warning about the coming of the false-prophets, censured him and prevented him from uttering *anything*. But others were elated as *if* by a holy spirit and a prophetic favor, and were not a little conceited; and they, forgetting the distinction of the Lord, encouraged the maddening and diminutive and people-misleading spirit, and were beguiled and misled by it until it was no longer prevented so as to keep silence.

But the Slanderer, being honored by them unworthily, both awakened and inflamed their understanding which had been lulled to sleep away from the faith according to truth, so that he even roused two more women, Priscilla and Maximilla, and filled them with the bastard spirit, so that they even uttered out-of-their-mind and unseasonably and strangely, *exactly* like *Montanus*. And indeed the spirit pronounced them happy as they rejoiced and were conceited over it, and puffed them up by the greatness of its announcements. But sometimes it even condemned them openly in a sagacious and trustworthy manner, so that it might even appear to be critical. Now Priscilla and Maximilla, as soon as they were filled with the spirit, left their husbands,¹² although they were falsely called virgins by their followers.

Now Montanus and his prophetesses, through the false spirit, taught, in direct contradiction to the emissary Paulus, that all second marriages, even if a spouse from the first marriage had died, were nothing but adultery; and they expelled anyone who had contracted a second marriage. They also ordained laws for

⁶ Chronicon(Jerome) dates this to the 10th year of Marcus Aurelius

⁷ Chronicon(Jerome) dates this to the 10th year of Marcus Aurelius

⁸ Eusebios / Jerome(IllustriousCh26; Chronicon) “Apollinaris” / Jerome(IllustriousCh40) “Apollōnios”

(Apolinarios, whom Eusebios refers to as the same individual, Jerome incorrectly considers to be two distinct individuals named “Apollinaris” and “Apollōnios”)

⁹ Chronicon(Jerome) dates the start of Montanus to the 11th year of Marcus Aurelius

¹⁰ Chronicon(Jerome) dates this to the 11th year of Marcus Aurelius

¹¹ literally “voices”

¹² literally “men”

¹ sometimes rendered in English as “matter”

² Eusebios / Chronicon(Jerome) “9th year” / Chronicon(Armenian) would place it between the 4th to 7th years

³ Eusebios / Chronicon(Jerome) “10 years” / Chronography354 neglects his oversight entirely

⁴ Chronicon(Jerome) dates this event to the 9th year of Marcus Aurelius.

⁵ Eusebios / Chronicon “Maximus” (which places this event in the 17th year of the reign of Marcus Aurelius)

fasting, and introduced new fasts, and festivals, and meals-of-parched-food, and meals-of-radishes.

They, expecting the new heavenly Jerusalem to descend in the table-land of Pepouza and Tumiön, named these small deserted cities in Phrygia 'Jerusalem', and they wanted to gather-together *people* there from everywhere. There they celebrated certain mysteries and supposed that they were making *themselves* holy. For one of their prophets asserted that while she slept in Pepouza, the Anointed-One came to her dressed in a white robe and assuming the form of a woman, and slept beside her and imbued her with the wisdom, and revealed to her that this place was holy, and that Jerusalem would descend from the heaven to there.

Now they also established money collectors. They contrived the taking of gifts under the name of offerings. They provided salaries for those who preached his *doctrinal* reasoning, that its teaching might prevail through gluttony. They were also accused of dying *their hair*, and using mascara, and being fond-of-ornamentation, and playing with tables and dice, and lending *money* at usury, and receiving gifts. Maximilla also falsely-prophesied, that there would be no more prophets after her, but instead the consummation. And the rest of their prophecies, which they collected in heaps of texts, were ambiguous and irrational, in direct contrast to the authentic prophets who were before them. And even though Maximilla claimed she was prophesying, she, unlike the authentic prophets, told her listeners not to listen to her but to the Anointed-One, thereby admitting the spuriousness of her own discourses even against her own will.

Now there were many other authentic works of the divine favor still being accomplished in different assemblies at that time, which furnished a belief among many that these individuals were also prophets. But even so, those of the Phrygians who were deceived were few. For after the faithful-ones in Asia often came-together in many places throughout Asia to consider the matter, and after they had scrutinized the fresh utterances of Montanus and his prophetesses, they pronounced them profane and rejected the sect, both expelling them from the assembly and debarring them from the community. And because the audacious-speaking spirit received neither honor from nor an access into the entire universal assembly under the heaven, it taught *these false-prophets* to revile *the assembly*, calling all of its members by way of reproach 'soulish-ones'.

Now esteemed men and consecrated overseers of that time, Zōtikos from Cumane village, and Julianus from Apameia, indeed attempted to refute the spirit which was operating in Maximilla while she was pretending to prophesy in Pepouza. But they were prevented by Themisōn's party (who quite-clearly were of one-mind with her and cooperated with the spirit), who muzzled their mouths, not permitting the false and people-misleading spirit to be refuted by them. However, later, when this Themisōn did not bear the sign of the confession of *the Anointed-One*, but instead threw aside the chains for much money, he even boasted that he was a testifier. Now Sotas in Anchialos wanted to throw the demon out of Priscilla, and the hypocrites did not allow him.

Now later, when Montanus and Maximilla had died, rumors of their deaths quickly spread throughout the countries, telling how they, incited by a maddening spirit, hung themselves at different times. But the followers of Montanus, Alkibiadēs and Theodotos in Phrygia continued to promulgate their assumption regarding this prophesy. But eventually another rumor spread, which stated that this Theodotos, the first procurator of their so-called prophesy, was sometimes lifted up and taken up into *the heavens*, both becoming ecstatic and entrusting himself to the spirit of the deceit, and was pitched and came-to-his-end evilly. Instead, no one was able to verify the truth of the rumors of their deaths.

And whenever those of the assembly of *God* who were called to testify for the faith according to the truth met with some of the so-called testifiers who were following the sect of Montanus (who were also known as Phrygians or Kataphrygians), they both separated from them and were murdered without communing with them, because of their unwillingness to agree with the spirit which was in Montanus and the women. Among those who would later disassociate with them, included Gaius and Alexandros from Eumeneia who testified in Apameia on the Maiandros.

Now later, the followers of these false-prophets were called Quintillianists, or Pepouzians, or Priscillianists, for under the direction of Quintilla and Priscilla they initiated both men and women at Pepouza. Yes, these sects even ordained women as allotted-ones, as overseers and elders and the rest. But in their assembly, seven virgins with lamps often came in, dressed in white, to falsely prophesy to the people. But they deceived them with a show of some sort of enthusiasm, also making them all weep by shedding tears and pretending to mourn for the lifestyle of the humans, as though to lead them to pity of a change-of-mind. They also gave thanks to Eva because she was the first to eat from the Tree of the Sensibleness. Now at least one of the deviations of this sect even eventually went so far as to hold a certain festival, in which they pierced an innocent little-one, merely a little infant, all over its body with bronze needles to get its blood for sacrifice, pretending that this was a mystery in the name of *the Anointed-One*. Now one of these offshoots, being later influenced by the sect of Noētos, also asserted that the Father himself is the Son, and came under generation and suffering and death.

CHAPTER 54: THE RAIN MIRACLE

Now in the 12th year of Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Caesar, not only did Mount Vesuvius erupt again, but the pestilence throughout the entire orb was so great, that the Roman army and all the legions which were stationed far and near in winter quarters were slaughtered almost to extinction, so that they were unable to carry on the wars which immediately sprang up without *having acquired* a new levy of soldiers.

Now Emperor Marcus Aurelius often personally participated in many of the wars which arose against him; and when he did so, he often appointed very noble leaders. Among them was Pertinax, whom he had appointed over the first legion Adiutrix (which means 'Rescuer' in the language of the Romans).

Now in about the 13th year¹ of the emperor's reign, during his expedition in Germania, after he had subdued *the Marcomanni* and *the lazyges*, he also engaged in a great war with those who were called *the Quadi*. Now he came to Cotinum, which was in the very core of Germania and far within *their enemies'* borders. Now with him was a mixed army composed of *the first legion Adiutrix*, and *the tenth (both Gemina and Fretensis (which, in the Roman language, mean 'Twins' and 'of the Strait' respectively))*, and the so-called twelfth legion of Meliténé. And while he was at Cotinum, arraying himself for a battle against *the Germans* and *the Sarmatians*, he was overtaken on the frontier by seventy-four *regiments of 1,000 men each, which are called 'dragons'*,² from nine miles away.

Now when the Quadi had encircled them in regions which were convenient for *their purpose*, the Romans were eagerly contending with their round-shields locked together. And the barbarians, indeed were shut out of the battle, but were expecting to easily take them due to both the heat and due to the thirst of *the Romans*; but *the barbarians* posted *themselves* all around *them* at intervals to fence them in, preventing them from getting water from anywhere. For *the barbarians* were many and were superior in number. Therefore, the Romans were in an entirely bad³ *situation*, from their weariness, and from their wounds, and both *the sun* and their thirst; and so, they could neither fight them nor retreat. And because the army was oppressed by thirst for five days, the emperor was in a *state of helplessness*, since all of them were on the point of being utterly-destroyed from *their condition*.

Therefore, when the emperor compared himself and his multitude with the greatness of the barbarians and foes, he slipped down to pray to the gods of *his fathers*. But being neglected by them, and looking at the confines to which his power was reduced, he called to the Christians, who were soldiers of the twelfth legion. Now on account of a faith in their God, whom they bear in their conscience, the Christians, being at enmity with physical warfare, did not begin the battle with weapons, even though they were drawn up in *battle* array before their foes. Instead, after they put *one knee* down on *the ground* (as was the *Christian* custom of prayer at that time), they turned to supplications to God. But when the emperor discovered the multitude and greatness of the Christians in *the legion*, he scolded them. (For he had been led to assume that all Christians courted death out of mere obstinacy.)

Now although such a spectacle of *prayer* appeared to be incredible to their foes, something else even more incredible immediately overtook them: For the Romans were standing in both their battle array and their positions, and were completely-burning *in the heat*, when suddenly many masses-of-clouds rushed together; and much heavy-rain, not without the aid of God, burst down on the *Roman* army.

Now when the *rainshower* burst down on *them*, indeed, first, all of *them* threw their heads back and received it in their mouths. Then, indeed some held out their round-shields, but some also their helmets, to catch it, both quaffing it themselves with yawning *mouths*, and giving it to the horses to drink. And when the barbarians rushed upon them, *the Romans* both drank and fought simultaneously. And yet some, who were becoming wounded, gulped-down both the blood which poured into their helmets and the water at the same time. And most of them were so occupied with drinking, that they would have suffered a terrible *defeat* under their foes, had not a strong hail-storm and no few thunderbolts fallen upon their foes.

Therefore, in the one place, *one* saw both water and fire being borne simultaneously from the heaven. And indeed, *the Romans* had been both wetted and drinking, but their foes, being driven by a thunderstroke into flight and destruction, had been set on fire and dying. And the fire did not reach the Romans, instead, if it even reached any of them, it was straightaway extinguished; nor did the heavy-rain help the barbarians, instead it, even like excessive *amounts* of oil, actually roused the flame against them. So they had to search for water even while it was raining. And indeed some wounded themselves and extinguished the fire down with their *own* blood, but others even ran over to the side of the Romans, and were *certain* that they alone had saving water. Accordingly, Emperor Marcus Aurelius even had mercy on them.

Now he was hailed by the soldiers as emperor for the seventh *time*. Now although he was not accustomed to accept *anything* such as this before the council voted it, nevertheless, he both took it himself and received it as if from a god.

¹ Chronicon(Jerome) / Chronicon(Armenian, Syriac) "12th year" / Chronicon(Paschale) "11th year" / Cassius is not specific, but in its chronological placement, it would either be in the 13th or 14th year

² in this context, a dragon is a troop of 1000 men, each of which had a standard in the form of a dragon over it

³ literally "evil"

This was both how Emperor Marcus Aurelius won an unexpected victory *against the Germans and the Sarmatians*, but it had been given to him by God (for the Deity had unexpectedly preserved them when they had been endangered in the battle); and how the twelfth legion, by the performance of this incredibility by prayer, demonstrated that it was worthy of its title, having been called 'Fulminata' (which means 'Thunderbolt-Thrower' in the language¹ of the Romans).

And *Marcus Aurelius* sent a letter to the Senate, in which he testified, that Christians were responsible for their victory:

Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Germanicus, Parthicus, Sarmaticus,
To the Roman populace and to the consecrated Senate, greetings.

I made manifest to *all of you** the greatness of my goal, of what I did in Germania after a crisis, in which I was hemmed in² on the frontier in much toil and sufferings,³ while I was being overtaken in Cotinum by seventy-four 'dragons' from nine miles away. But after they came-to-be near us, our scouts informed us; and Pompeianus, our war-chief, made clear to whatever *things we had already* saw. (But I had been overtaken by the greatness of an unmingled multitude, and I had with me an army, a mingling composed of the first legion, and the tenth (*both Gemina and Fretensis*). For we had seen that there was an all-mingled multitude of a crowd, numbering 97,000.⁴

Therefore, when I compared myself and my multitude with the greatness of the barbarians and foes, I slipped down to pray to the gods of *our fathers*. But being neglected by them, and looking at the confines to which my power was reduced, I called to those whom we say are Christians. And by inquiry, I discovered their multitude and greatness. And I scolded them, which was not proper, for afterwards I recognized their power.

They began *the battle* like this: with no equipment of missiles, nor weapons, nor trumpets, since they are at enmity with this *practice*, on account of the god which they bear in their conscience. Therefore, it is likely, that those whom we supposed to be atheists, have a self-acting god enwalled in their⁵ conscience. For having hurled themselves on the ground,⁶ they did not only beg *their God* on behalf of me, but instead even on behalf of the whole army, that he would alleviate our present thirst and famine. For, for a *period* of five days, we had not taken *any* water, because there was none to be had; for we were in the very core of Germania and far within *our enemies'* borders. But as soon as they had hurled themselves on the ground and prayed to a god of whom I was ignorant, straightaway water came *down* from the heaven. Indeed, the coldest *fell* on us, but a fiery hail on those who plot against *the Romans*. Instead, as they prayed, even we, straightaway, recognized an arrival of a god, as of *one who is* insurpassable and indestructible.

Therefore, on the spot, let us begin by allowing such persons to be Christians, lest by requesting *anything of their god*, they may obtain such a weapon to *use* against us. But I counsel, that no person such as this be prosecuted for being a Christian. But if anyone is found prosecuting the Christian for being a Christian: indeed, I wish it to be made clear, that a Christian who is brought to *trial* should be *acquitted*, if he confesses himself to be one (*as long as* he is not being prosecuted for anything else, except that he is a Christian), but, that the one who brings him to *trial is* to be being burned alive. But, that the Christian who has confessed that *he is one* and is verified to be such, should not be compelled, by the *one who is* being entrusted with the province, into a change-of-mind and to be deprived of his freedom.⁷

But I also wish, that these *things* be ratified by a decree of the Senate. And I direct, that this edict of mine be published in the Forum of Trajanus, in order that *this decision* may be able to be known with certainty. The prefect Vitrasius Pollio will see to it that *this edict* is sent throughout the provinces. But anyone who wishes to make use of it and to have it *brought to them* by him, must not be prevented from obtaining a copy of *our edict* which has been published.

And although Emperor Marcus Aurelius did not openly remove *the punishment from the Christians*, yet in another way, he openly dispersed it by adding a sentence of condemnation, and a more severe one, against their accusers.

Now the victory of this particular battle was so influential to the emperor, that afterwards, when a massive column was erected, on which was engraved a story

of the events of the wars which he waged against the Germans, this rain miracle was depicted as one of the scenes. And this column still exists to this day.

CHAPTER 55: TESTIMONIES OF THE CHRISTIANS OF LUGDUNUM & VIENNA (PART 1)

Now therefore, in the 17th year of the reign of Emperor Marcus Aurelius, while his son Commodus was co-emperor, Sôtér, overseer of the Roman assembly, came-to-his-end from this *present* life in the eighth year⁸ of *his* leading of *the assembly*. Yet truly, Eleutheros (who had been appointed a minister of the former overseer Anikétos) succeeded Sôtér in *the* lot of the oversight, being the twelfth *one* from the emissaries.

Now in the same year,⁹ the pursuit of the Christians was rekindled more vehemently in certain parts of the earth, as a result of an attack of the populaces in *the cities*; in consequence, tens-of-thousands were made resplendent by testifying. Therefore indeed, one country in which a stadium was prepared for them, was Gallia, whose metropolises, distinguished and surpassing the others of *the country*, are Lugdunum and Vienna. The Rhodanos River passes through both of them, flowing in an ample stream about the entire country.

Therefore, in *this region*, *certain men*, who were no more than *servants* of the Opposer, not only shut *the Christians* out of houses and bathhouses and marketplaces, but instead, they even forbade any of them from universally appearing in any place whatever.

And first, indeed, *the Christians* nobly endured whatever the crowd heaped on them in a mass: shouts and blows and draggings and plunderings and throws of stones and confinements, and everything else which a multitude made savage loved to inflict on their enemies and foes. And being led into the marketplace by both the tribune and the authorities who were presiding-over the city, they were examined before all the multitude. And after they confessed, they were locked-together into an enclosure until the arrival of the leader.

But afterwards, they were led before the leader who treated them with the utmost cruelty. And Vettius Epagathos, one of the *Christian* brothers, who, although young, was filled with a love for God and his neighbor. Accordingly, he walked in all the commandments and righteous-deeds of the Lord blamelessly, and performed all his duties to his neighbor without hesitation, having much zeal for God and fervor in the spirit. Being of such *character*, he could not bear *the judgment* which was being made so irrationally against *the Christians*; instead, he became exceedingly-indignant, and even requested, that he be heard in order to defend his brothers, that there was nothing atheistic nor impious among them.

But even though he was a distinguished *individual*, those who were around the platform shouted him down. And the leader refused to tolerate his righteous request. Instead, he merely *wanted* to learn whether he was also a Christian. But he, confessing this with the clearest voice, was also taken away into the lot of the testifiers, being referred to as an intercessor of Christians. By this, he indicated the fullness of his love, being well-pleased even to lay down his soul in the defense of the brothers.

From then on, the rest of *the Christians* were thoroughly-judged and separated into *two groups*, and some were even clearly ready to become the first-testifiers, and completed the confession of *their* attestation with all eagerness. But there were also others who appeared to be unready and untrained and without strength, who were unable to bear *the strain of such* a great contest. And about ten of these in number were aborted¹⁰ from the faith; and this caused the rest of *the Christians* great grief and immeasurable mourning, and blunted the eagerness of the rest who had not yet been arrested: for although they had suffered all the terrors, they nevertheless continued to stand by the testifiers and did not leave them.

But at that time, all *the Christians* were greatly scared because of the uncertainty of the confession of *the testifiers*, not because *the Christians* feared the chastisings which were being applied, but instead, because they looked to the end, and were terrified that some of *the testifiers* might fall away. However, those who were worthy were arrested each day, filling up the number of *the testifiers*, so that from the two assemblies all the earnest-ones and those by whom *the Christians'* affairs were especially held together were collected.

But some of *the national household-slaves of the Christians* were also arrested, since the leader had publicly directed, that all *the Christians* should be examined. And these (who were being ensnared by the Adversary, after they were filled-with-fear of the tortures which they beheld the holy *ones* suffering, urged-on by the soldiers), lied-against the Christians, saying that they engaged in *cannibalistic* Thuesteian meals and *incestuous* Oidipodeian intercourse, and in as-much-as is not fitting either to utter nor to think *about*. But when these *accusations* were uttered, everyone raged like beasts against *the Christians*, so that, even if any had previously been moderate on account of cordialness, they became greatly harsh and gnashed *their teeth* against *the Christians*.

¹ literally "voice"

² literally "crisis of the covering"

³ Emendation (Greek "pathon") / Manuscripts (Gk "spathon")

⁴ emendation from an obvious textual corruption / manuscript "977,000" (the minimum would have been 74,000, based on 74 'dragons' each with 1000 men, which would make the number 97,000 much more realistic)

⁵ literally "the"

⁶ literally "earth" (also in next occurrence)

⁷ literally "to be transferred to a state of illiberality"

⁸ Eusebios / Chronicon(Jerome) gives the length of his oversight as "8 years" / Chronography354, due to a scribal in the text, accidentally omit Eleutheros entirely and gives Sôtér an oversight of "9 years, 3 months, 2 days"

⁹ Eusebios "in the 17th year" / Chronicon(Jerome) "7th" (possibly by scribal error)

¹⁰ some Eusebios / other Eusebios, Rufinus "these fell away"

From then on, the holy testifiers endured chastisings beyond all description, the Adversary being ambitious¹ that the reviling words might be stated even by them. But all the anger of crowd and of leader and of soldiers beyond all measure fell upon Sanctus, the minister from Vienna; and upon Maturus, indeed, a new-convert, but instead a noble competitor; and upon Attalos, of the race of Pergamon, where he had always been a pillar and stanchion; and upon Blandina, through whom the Anointed-One exhibited that things which appear shabby and ugly and contemptible to humans, are deemed worthy of great glory with God, because of the love for him shown forth in power and not boasted of in appearance.

For while all the Christians were terrified, Blandina's fleshly mistress, who was herself also one of the competitors among the testifiers, was struggling, lest because of the weakness² of her body, she would not be able to freely-speak the confession. Because of this, Blandina was filled with so much power, that she was released and those who were taking turns torturing her in every way from morning to evening grew exhausted, and they confessed that they were conquered, unable to do anything further to her. And they marveled at the fact that she was still breathing, since all her body was broken and torn open. And they testified, that merely one form of torturing was sufficient to draw out the soul of a human, yet not even one such as these and especially of so many. Instead, the happy woman, like a noble athlete, renewed her youth in her confession; and what she was saying, "I am a Christian, and nothing we do is bad," brought her refreshment and rest and insensibility from what was happening to her.

But Sanctus also nobly endured (beyond all measure and above that of every human) every torment known to humans. When the lawless men hoped, through the continuance and the greatness of the tortures, that they would hear something from him which was not proper to be said by Christians, he resisted them with such determination that he would not even tell them his own name, nor his nation, nor what city he was from, nor whether he was a slave or free. Instead, he answered to all their inquiries in the Roman language,³ "I am a Christian." And he confessed this instead of a name and instead of a city and instead of a race and instead of everything else; but those of the nations did not hear any other word⁴ from him.

As a result, he even aroused a great fondness-of-strife of both the leader and of the torturers against him, so that, when they could not conceive of anything further to do to him, they, in the end, stuck red-hot copper plates to the most delicate limbs of his body. And indeed these burned, but he himself remained unbending and unyielding, firm in his confession, bedewed and empowered by the heavenly spring of the water of the life which comes forth from the bowels of the Anointed-One.

But the poor-body was a testifier of what happened to him, being one whole wound and bruise, and shriveled and having lost the shape of a human. But the Anointed-One suffering within him, perfected great glory, rendering the Opposer ineffective, and setting an example to all the rest that nothing is to be feared where the Father's love is, nor anything painful where we find the Anointed-One's glory. For some days later, the lawless men racked the testifier again. And they deemed, that with his body swollen and inflamed, if they would apply the same instruments-of-chastisement, they would overcome him (since he could not even bear the touch of the hand), or that if he should die in the tortures he would produce fear in the rest of the Christians. Not only did this not happen, but instead, even contrary to all of the human's expectation, he lifted up his head; and his body straightened during the subsequent tortures, and regained its former form and the use of its limbs, so that, by the favor of the Anointed-One, the second racking became for him not a chastising but instead a healing.

But the Slanderer thought, that he had already also consumed Biblis, who was one of the ones who had denied the Anointed-One. But he, wanting to also condemn her by revilement, led her to a chastising, in order to compel her, as if she was already injured and lacking manliness, to speak ungodly things about the Christians. But she returned to sobriety under the racking; and, as if awaking from a deep sleep, she was reminded through this temporary retribution of the perpetual chastising in Gehenna. And contradicting the revilers, she spoke-against them, declaring, "How would people such as this eat little-ones, when they are not even allowed to eat blood of irrational animals?"⁵ And from then on, she confessed herself to be a Christian, and was added to the lot of the testifiers.

But as the tyrannical instruments-of-chastisement were rendered ineffective by the Anointed-One through the endurance of the happy ones, the Slanderer invented other contrivances: confinements in the cells in the darkest and the most harsh parts of the enclosure, and the stretching of the feet in the stocks,⁶ being stretched as far as the fifth hole, and the rest of the torments which his servants, when angered and filled with a slanderous spirit,⁷ are accustomed to inflict upon those who were confined. This happened, so-as to cause the majority to be

suffocated in the enclosure, yet only as-many-as the Lord wanted to come-out of this life in this manner—he exhibiting his glory.

For indeed, although some of them were tortured so bitterly, that it seemed impossible for them to live, even if they received every sort of treatment, they survived in the enclosure—indeed, desolate of the attention of humans, but being invigorated-afresh under the Lord and empowered even in body and soul. And they were urging-on and consoled the rest. But the ones who were youthful and recently arrested, whose bodies had not been previously tormented, could not bear the burden of the confinement; instead, they died within.

But the happy Potheinos, who had been entrusted with the ministry of the oversight in Lugdunum, was over ninety years old and altogether weak⁸ in his body, indeed, scarcely able to breathe because of a bodily weakness. But he was invigorated-afresh by an eagerness of spirit through the urgent desire which he had for his attestation of the Anointed-One. He was also dragged to the platform. Indeed, his body was even worn-out⁹ under his old-age and under his sickness, but his soul was preserved in him, that through it the Anointed-One might triumph.

When he was conveyed by the soldiers to the platform, escorted by the civic authorities and all the multitude, who made all sorts of shouts against him as if he were the Anointed-One himself, he gave the beautiful attestation. But when he was interrogated by the leader, "Who is the God of the Christians?" he declared, "If-at-any-time you are worthy, you will know."

But at this, he was dragged about unsparingly and suffered manifold blows. Indeed, those who were nearby outraged him in every way with their hands and feet, nor were they ashamed of his age; but those who were at a distance, hurled at him whatever each of them had in his hands. But all of them deemed it to be a great offense and impiety to omit any licentiousness against him. For they even imagined that in this way they would be avenging their own gods. And straining to breathe, he was hurled in the enclosure, and his soul departed after two days.

Then a great arrangement of God occurred, and the immeasurable mercy of Jesus was displayed, indeed, in a manner rarely occurring among the brotherhood, but not beyond the art of the Anointed-One. For those who had been deniers of the Anointed-One at the first arrest were confined with the others, and also shared in the terrors. For at this season, their denial was of no advantage to them. Instead, indeed, those who confessed what they were were confined as Christians, no other incrimination being brought against them; but the rest were held as man-murderers and stained individuals, being chastised twice as much as the rest. For indeed, the joy of the attestation and the hope of what was announced, and the love toward the Anointed-One and the spirit of the Father lightened the burden of the first group; but the conscience of those of the second group greatly punished them, so that, even as they passed, their appearances were distinguished from the others.

For indeed, the first group advanced cheerfully, glory and much favor blended with their appearances, so that even their fetters invested them like attractive ornamentation, and they were simultaneously sweetly-perfumed with the scent of the Anointed-One, so that some supposed that they had even been anointed with a worldly perfume. But the others were downcast and humble and ugly, and quite-full of every kind of disgrace. But even besides this, they were reproached by those of the nations as ignoble and lacking-manliness, indeed, receiving charges of man-murderers, but having slain the all-honorable and glorious and life-making name. When the rest of them observed this, they became fixed; and those who were arrested unhesitatingly confessed, nor gave a thought to any slanderous rationalization.¹⁰

CHAPTER 56: TESTIMONIES OF THE CHRISTIANS OF LUGDUNUM & VIENNA (PART 2)

After these things, the attestations of their departure from this life finally divided into every form:

Therefore indeed, Maturus and Sanctus and Blandina and Attalos were led in to the beasts for a public and common spectacle of the inhumanity of the nations, the day for the fight with the beasts having been designated for their sake. And indeed, Maturus and Sanctus again passed-through every chastising in the amphitheater, as if they had suffered nothing at all before, but rather as though they had dislodged their rival in several lots and were now holding the contest for the crown. They again bore the gauntlet of the whips (according to the local custom), and the violences from the beasts, and everything which the mad populace (some here, others there) invoked and demanded—above all the iron chair, on which their bodies were fried, satiating the populace with a burning-scent.

Not even with this did the impious-ones cease, instead, they were driven still madder, wishing to be victorious over the testifiers' endurance. And they did not hear anything else from Sanctus except a voice of the confession which he had been accustomed to say from the beginning. Therefore indeed, these testifiers, after their soul had survived long through a great contest, were at last sacrificed, they themselves having been a spectacle for the world throughout that day in place of all the usual variety of the gladiatorial-battles.

¹ literally "with-fondness-of-honor"

² literally "strengthlessness"

³ literally "voice"

⁴ literally "voice"

⁵ literally "living-creature"

⁶ literally "wood"

⁷ may also be translated "with a spirit of the Slanderer"

⁸ literally "strengthless/without strength"

⁹ literally "released"

¹⁰ may also be translated "to a rationalization of the Slanderer"

But Blandina was hung-up on a *piece of wood*, exposed as food for the beasts which were thrown in to *devour* her. And because she looked as if she was hanging-up in the form of a cross *and* because of her dynamic prayer, she produced much eagerness within those who were competing, as they saw her during the contest and with their outward eyes *saw* through their sister Him who had been crucified for them. And after none of the beasts at that time touched her, she was taken down from the *piece of wood and* cast back into the enclosure.

But Attalos was also greatly demanded by the crowd, for he was also famous. He entered, a ready competitor on account of a clear conscience, having been genuinely trained in Christian exercises and having always been a testifier of truth among *the Christians*. And he was led around the amphitheater, a board being led before him on which was written in Roman: "This is Attalos the Christian." And the populace was bursting with vehemence against him. When the leader learned that he was a Roman, he directed for him to be taken and put with the rest of those who were in the enclosure; *for he had* sent a letter to Caesar concerning *those in prison*, and was waiting for his decision.

But the intervening season was not idle nor fruitless for them. Instead, in one instance, there was a certain Alkibiadés who was among them, who was living a very ascetic lifestyle. And at first, he partook of nothing at all, instead using only bread and water. But when he tried to continue *to live this way* even in prison, it was revealed to Attalos, after his first contest which he had accomplished in the amphitheater, that Alkibiadés was not doing well¹ in not using the creatures of God and leaving behind an impression of a stumbling-block for others. But Alkibiadés was persuaded to partake of every *creature* without restraint, and he returned thanks to God.

But most importantly, through the endurance of *the testifiers*, the immeasurable mercy of the Anointed-One was displayed. For through those who were living in *the Anointed-One*, the dead in *the faith* were made alive, and the testifiers showed favor to those who were not testifiers. For through them, most of those who had denied retraced their steps and were reconceived and rekindled and learned to confess. And now living and accentuated, they approached the platform to again be questioned by the leader. For Caesar had sent a letter *stating* that indeed they should be beaten-to-death, but if any of *them* should deny then those should be released from *the prison*.

As the national-festival was beginning here (but which was *packed* with many-humans who had gathered-together for it from out of all the nations), he led-up the happy-ones to the platform, making a theatrical-display and a procession for the crowds. For this reason, he even interrogated them again, and indeed as many as seemed to possess Roman citizenship he cut-off their head, but the rest he sent to beasts. But the Anointed-One was greatly glorified by those who, though they had previously denied him, now, contrary to the conjectures of the nations, confessed. For they were even interrogated privately as if they were really going to be released from *prison*, and, confessing, were added to the lot of the testifiers. But some, being the sons of the destruction, reviled the Way. But all of the rest were added to the assembly of *God*.

And while these *individuals* were being interrogated, *there was* a certain Alexandros, indeed Phrygian by race, but a healer by profession,² who had spent time in Gallia for many years and was known to nearly everyone by his love for God and outspokenness of his reasonings. *This Alexandros*, standing by the platform and by a nod impelling them to *make* their confession, it was clear to those who were around the platform that he *looked* like a woman who was in labor. But the crowds became indignant, because those who had previously denied were now confessing again; and they shouted Alexandros down as if he was the cause of this. And the leader had him set near him and interrogated *him*, asking who he was. But when *Alexandros* declared that he was a Christian, *the leader*, becoming angered, condemned him to beasts.

And on the next day, *Alexandros* entered along with Attalos. For even to also gratify the crowd, the leader had again given Attalos to beasts. And in the amphitheater, they passed through all the implements which had been invented for chastising; and having endured a greatest contest, they were finally also sacrificed. Indeed, Alexandros neither moaned nor growled at all, instead he conversed with God in his heart. But Attalos, when he was placed on the iron chair and was scorched, as the burning-scent arose from his body, declared to the multitude in the Roman language,³ "Behold! This, what **you*** are doing, is eating humans, but we do not eat humans, nor perform any other wicked *act*!"

But when he was asked, "What name does the god have?" he answered, "God does not have a name like a human does."

But after all these things, on the last day of the gladiatorial-battles, Blandina was again brought in, along with Pontikos, a boy of about fifteen years *old*. And they had been led in daily to see the chastisings of the rest, and had been compelled to swear by their idols. And due to the *fact that* they remained steadfast and despised them, the multitude grew savage, so that they had no pity on the age of the boy, nor were ashamed because she was a woman. But they exposed them to all the terrible *torments*, and drew them in turn through every chastising,⁴

repeatedly compelling them to swear, *but* instead were not able to manage this. For indeed, Pontikos, urged-on by his sister (so that even the nations saw that she was urging him on and fixing him), having nobly endured every chastising, gave up the spirit.

But the happy Blandina, last of all, herself also retracing *the other testifier's* steps through all the same contests, hastened after them, rejoicing-exceedingly in her departure, as if being called to a bridal dinner instead of being thrown to beasts. And after the whips, after the beasts, after the frying-pan, she was finally thrown into a net *and* thrown beside a bull. And having been thrown-upward by the animal,⁵ she did not sense what was happening to her, because of the hope and possession of what she had faith in, and because of her intercourse with the Anointed-One. She was also sacrificed. And the nations themselves confessed, that never yet among them had a woman suffered so many and such *tortures* as these.

Instead, not *even* this was enough to bring satiety to their madness and their cruelty of the holy *ones*. For incited by a savage beast, savage and barbarous tribes are difficult to appease, and their outrage found another peculiar opportunity in the bodies. For, because they did not have a human rationalization, the fact that they had been conquered did not make them abashed, but it even enkindled their anger *even more* exactly like a beast, and the leader and the populace displayed a similar unrighteous hatred for *the Christians*. For even those who had been suffocated in the enclosure, they threw-beside dogs, carefully guarding them by night and day, lest any of them should be buried by *the Christians*. And then they exposed their remains both to the beasts and to the fire, indeed torn-to-pieces, but some charred, and the head of *each* of the rest along with whatever *else* had been severed, they left unburied in like manner, strictly guarding them with soldiers for many days.

And some indeed snorted and gritted their teeth against them, seeking to take further excessive vengeance on them. But others laughed and jeered, magnifying their own idols and attributing the punishment of the Christians to them. But *even* those who were more gentle and who sympathized with them to some extent, reproached *them* many *times*, saying, "Where is their god? And how did their religion profit them, which they preferred *even* to their own soul?" And indeed, this was how variegated *their attitudes* were toward *the Christians*. But *the rest of the Christians* had a great mourning because they were not able to conceal the bodies in the earth. For neither did night come to *help them*, nor did *pieces of silver* persuade, nor did an entreaty cause them to be abashed. But they watched in every way, as if they would derive *some* great gain if *the bodies* would not receive a burial-place.

Therefore, the bodies of the testifiers, after being exhibited and exposed in every way for six days and afterward burned and reduced to soot, were swept into the Rhodanos River (which flowed nearby) by the lawless *men*, so that no remnant of them might appear on the earth. And they did this, as if they were able to be victorious over God and bereave them of the regeneration, in order, as they said, "that they may have no hope of a standing-up, of which being convinced of, they introduced among us a strange and new religion, and despised the terrors, prepared even to go to the death with joy. Now let us behold if they will stand-up, and if their god is able to help them and to take them out of our hands."

Throughout the time of their torments and confinements, the testifiers had humbled themselves under the mighty hand of *God*. But indeed, they made a defense for everyone, but accused no one. They released everyone, but fettered no one. And they prayed for those who had inflicted terrible *things* on them. For even through the genuineness of their love, they did not boast over the fallen-ones, instead they supplied those who were lacking, having *the affections*⁶ of a mother; and, shedding many tears on their behalf before the Father, they requested life. And he gave it to them, and they distributed it among their neighbors, having departed to God bringing *with them* victory in everything. Always loving peace, and commending peace to *the Christians*,⁷ they went in peace to God, leaving behind no toil to the assembly of *God*, nor sedition and war to the brothers, *but* instead joy and peace and harmony and love.

CHAPTER 57: EIRÉNAIOS / DEATH OF EMPEROR MARCUS AURELIUS

Now while the previously-mentioned testifiers were still in chains, Eirénaios (a learner of Polykarpos and of Papias, and *one* who spent his time among the Kelts,⁸ and an elder of the sojourn in Lugdunum) was sent by the brothers in Gallia to Eleutheros, overseer of Roma, with letters. For because discord had arisen among them concerning the Montanists, the brothers in Gallia had set forth their own discreet and most orthodox judgment in the matter, also publishing several letters from the testifiers who had been murdered among them. But also included with these letters, was the account of their testimonies. Now these letters were not only sent to Roma, but also to the brothers throughout Asia and Phrygia, *enabling these brothers* to act as elders for the peace of the assemblies.

¹ literally "beautiful"

² literally "experience"

³ literally "voice"

⁴ may possibly be translated "drew them through *the* entire circle of chastising"

⁵ literally "living-creature"

⁶ literally "bowels"

⁷ four Eusebios, Rufinus, Nicephorus (literally "and commending peace to us") / most Eusebios "and always commending peace"

⁸ others, Latin / Epiphanius "Delphi"

But after Potheinos, who, *living* a full life of 90 years, had come-to-his-end with the other testifiers in Gallia, Eirénaïos succeeded to the oversight of the sojourn in Lugdunum, of which Potheinos had been the leader. Now Eirénaïos contended against the sects both of Markiōn and of the Valentinians. For after acquainting himself with the knowledge of learners of Valentinus by engaging with some of them, he vigorously unfolded the boundless depth of Valentinus' many-errors, stripping-bare his evil.

Now during these days, there were countless examples of the divine and incredible power in certain assemblies everywhere who put their faith in Jesus the Anointed-One and were calling on his name. For although *the* followers of Simon and Karpokratés were deceiving many with their magic, performing things through means of angelic invocations and incantations and other wicked curious arts, these sectarians were not able to confer sight on *the* blind, nor hearing on *the* deaf, nor put to flight all sorts of demons (except, perhaps, for those which they themselves were sending into others), nor cure *the* weak or *the* lame or *the* paralytic or those who were distressed in any other part of *the* body (as was often being done by *the* Christians), nor furnish effective remedies for *any* external accidents which might have occurred; nor were they able to arise the dead *humans* (for denying *a* standing-up of dead *humans*, they did not even believe that such things were possible).

Whereas the true learners of Jesus the Anointed-One, in his name, were receiving the favor from him, accomplishing good-works for *the* benefit of the rest of the humans, even as each one had received the gift from him. For indeed, some certainly and truly drive out demons, so that those who were cleansed from the wicked spirits even often put their faith *in God* and *enter* into the assembly. But *others* even have a foreknowledge of the future *events*, and visions, and prophetic sayings. But many brothers in the assembly had prophetic favors and, through the spirit, were uttering all kinds of tongues, and leading the secrets of the humans into the open for their benefit, and describing the mysteries of God.

But others were healing the sick by the laying on of the hands and restoring them to health. And often in the brotherhood of *Christians*, through the constraint and the requesting of an entire assembly of a region, with fasting and much entreaty to the Lord, the spirit of the one who had come-to-an-end returned and the human was favored by the prayers of the holy *ones*. For in the assembly, sympathy and compassion and steadfastness and truth, for *the* aid and encouragement of humans, were not only being displayed without fee or reward, but *the Christians* were laying out their own means for *the* benefit of others. And so, while those who were cured very frequently did not possess the things which they required, they received them from *the Christians*. For as the assembly has received freely from God, it also freely ministers.

Now in consequence of all the murders of Christians which were taking place, Athénagoras, a Christian, but who had been tainted by the same sentiments as Montanus in his opinion of all second marriages being adulterous, addressed a plea for the Christians to the emperors Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus, in which he refuted the false charge of cannibalism against the Christians, explaining that Christians detest all cruelty and murder, even refusing to attend contests of gladiators and beasts, and knowing that the use of drugs to bring on an abortion was nothing but murder.

Now in the 18th year of Emperor Marcus Aurelius, Smyrna, a city of Asia, where Polykarpos had been murdered on account of his faith in God, was terribly wiped-out by a fire and both earthquakes and chasms. And indeed, streets and schools for naked-athletics were destroyed; but some inner-sanctums of their abominable gods indeed were laid *down*, but others were sunk, leaving behind a knoll of ruins and corpses, a desolate *land*.

Now at the start of the 20th year of his reign, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, at the age of 58 years and 10 months and 22 days, died on the 17th day of March after suffering from an illness at Vindobona in Pannonia, after having been emperor for 19 years and 11 days.¹ And his son, Lucius Aurelius Commodus, received the leadership *in his stead*.

CHAPTER 58: SCILLITAN TESTIFIERS

Now in the 1st year of Emperor Commodus,² Julianus was entrusted with the oversight of the Alexandreian assemblies, after Agrippinus had fulfilled the public-service for twelve years.

2 Now at this time, Vigellius Saturninus *the* proconsul was *the* first to use *the* sword against *the* Christians in Africa. 3(1) And during *the* consulship of Praesens (for the second time) and Claudianus, on the 16th day before the Kalends of August³ at Scillium in Carthage, *the* following *Christians* were arraigned in *the* council-chamber: Speratus, Nartzalus, and Cittinus, Donata, Secunda, and Vestia. 4 Saturninus *the* proconsul said, "*All of you** are able to be earning *the* indulgence of our lord *the* emperor, if you* might be returning⁴ to a sound⁵ mind."

5(2) Speratus said, "We have never done evil. We have never lent work to iniquity. We have never spoken *anything* evil. Instead, after we accepted evil *done to us*, we gave⁶ thanks, on account of which we are observing our own emperor."

6(3) Saturninus *the* proconsul said, "**We** are also religious, and our religion is simple; and we swear by *the* fortune of our lord *the* emperor, and we pray for his salvation, which **you*** too are being-indebted to be doing."

7(4) Speratus said, "If you may tranquilly lend me your* ears, I will speak *the* mystery of simplicity."

8(5) Saturninus said, "I will not lend ears to you *who* are initiating evil against our sacred rites. Instead, be rather⁷ swearing by *the* fortune of our lord *the* emperor."

9(6) Speratus said, "**I** am not recognizing *the* empire of this age. Instead, I am more-greatly serving that God, whom not-one human has seen, nor is able to be seeing with these eyes. 10 I have done no theft. Instead, if I have bought anything, I give-back *the* tax, because I recognize my Lord, *who is the* emperor of kings and of all nations."

11(7) Saturninus *the* proconsul said to *the* rest, "*All of you**, be ceasing⁸ to be of *this* persuasion."

12 Speratus said, "It is *an* evil persuasion to be doing murder, to be speaking *a* false testimony."

13(8) Saturninus *the* proconsul said, "*All of you**, be unwilling to be participants of *this* dementia."

14 Cittinus said, "**We** have no one else whom we might be fearing, except only our Lord God,⁹ who is in *the* heavens."

15(9) Donata said, "Honor to Caesar as-if Caesar, however fear to God."

16 Vestia said, "I am *a* Christian."

17 Secunda said, "What I am, I wish to be."

18(10) Saturninus *the* proconsul said to Speratus, "Are you persevering *in being a* Christian?"

19 Speratus said, "I am *a* Christian."

And they all consented with him.

20(11) Saturninus *the* proconsul said, "Are *all of you** wanting to have *a* space to deliberate?"

21 Speratus said, "In *a* matter so righteous, there is no deliberating."¹⁰

22(12) Saturninus *the* proconsul said, "What are *the* things in your case?"

23 Speratus said, "Books and letters of Paulus, *a* righteous *man*."

24(13) Saturninus *the* proconsul said, "*All of you**, be having *a* delay of thirty days and be thinking *it* over."

25 Speratus again said, "I am *a* Christian."

And they all consented with him.

26(14) Saturninus *the* proconsul read out *the* decree from *the* tablet:

Speratus, Nartzalus, Cittinus, Donata, Vestia, Secunda and *the* rest, having confessed that they are living in accordance with *the* Christian rite, since after opportunity was offered to them of returning to *the* custom of *the* Romans they have obstinately persisted, it is determined that they are to be put to *the* sword.

27(15) Speratus said, "We give¹¹ thanks to God."

Nartzalus said, "Today we are testifiers in *the* heaven. Thanks be to God."

28(16) Saturninus *the* proconsul ordered *it* to be being declared by *the* herald, "Speratus, Nartzalus, Cittinus, Veturius, Félix, Aquilinus, Laetantius, Januararia, Generosa, Vestia, Donata and Secunda, I have directed to be being led to *death*."

29(17) They all said, "Thanks be to God."

30 And all of them were presently beheaded for *the* name of *the* Anointed-One.¹² 31 And not long afterward, Vigellius Saturninus *the* proconsul lost his eyesight.

CHAPTER 59: PANTAINOS / MARCIA'S FAVORING OF THE CHRISTIANS / TESTIMONY OF APOLLŌNIUS

Now about that time, there was a man who was very glorious for his discipline, whose name was Pantainos. He had charge of the lecturing of the faithful-ones in *Alexandrea*. For a teaching-place of the consecrated accounts was established among them in *the* past, and continued *even* into the reign of the Roman emperor Constantinus. And it was composed of powerful *men* who had earnestness about the divine *things*. But at this time, *Pantainos* was especially conspicuous, having been *previously* influenced in *the* philosophical system of those who are called Stoics.

Therefore, in his very ardent disposition, he displayed such an eagerness for the divine account that he was even appointed to be a preacher of the Good-

⁵ literally "good"

⁶ literally "moved"

⁷ literally "be more-able"

⁸ literally "desisting"

⁹ BC / A "our Lord Jesus *the* Anointed-One"

¹⁰ BC / A "changing"

¹¹ literally "move"

¹² BC / A "And so all of them together were crowned with *a* testimony."

¹ Cassius / Hippolytus(Chronicon) "19 years, 5 months, 12 days" / Chronography³⁵⁴ "18 years, 11 months, 14 days" (but this document also erroneously includes an emperor "Verus" before "Marcus Antoninus, of which it gives a reign of "7 years, 8 months, 12 days") / Chronicon(Jerome) "19 years, 1 month" / Eusebios "19 years" / Eutropius "in the 18th year"

² Eusebios / Chronicon(Armenian) "2nd year of Commodus" / Chronicon(Jerome) "19th year of Marcus Aurelius"

³ July 17th

⁴ literally "go-back"

Message of the Anointed-One to the nations of the East, being dispatched by Démétrios overseer of Alexandria¹ even as far as the earth of the Indians. And when Pantainos had arrived in India, he discovered among some of those there who already knew the Anointed-One, the Good-Message according to Matthai, which had anticipated his arrival. For Bar-Tolmai, one of the twelve emissaries, had preached to them, also leaving with them the writing of Matthai which had been written in Hebrew characters, which they had saved until that time. Yet truly, after many successes, Pantainos would lead the teaching-place at Alexandria until he came-to-his-end.² At this time, Titus Flavius Clémens was being trained at Alexandria with Pantainos to be his teacher.

Now in the 2nd year of the reign of Emperor Commodus, the temple of Sarapis³ (one of the detestable gods of the Egyptians) in the city of the Alexandreians was burned down by a fire.

Now Emperor Commodus was indeed guilty of many unseemly deeds, but murdered many people. As a result, indeed many plots were formed against him by various individuals, but he also murdered many men and women, indeed some openly, but some secretly by drugs.

Now there was a certain Marcia, the concubine of Quadratus (a man who was murdered in the 3rd year of Commodus' reign). And Marcia saw those who had plotted against Commodus violently perish. But after Quadratus' death, she became the concubine of Commodus. Now she both made-every-effort on-behalf of the Christians and became-a-benefactor to them many times, inasmuch-as she was also able to do everything in-the-presence-of Commodus.

Because of this, the attitude toward the Christians turned quickly milder, as peace by a favor of the Deity came upon the assemblies throughout the whole inhabited earth. And the account of salvation was leading every soul of every race of humans to the pious religion of the God of everything, so that even at Roma many who were distinct because of riches and race, made room, together with their entire house and with their entire race, for salvation.

Now, despite the favors being bestowed on the Christians, in about the 6th year of the reign of Emperor⁴ Commodus, a pursuit was again prepared against the Christians. Accordingly, there was a man named Apollônios, of the city of Roma, who was proclaimed abroad among the faithful-ones for discipline and fondness-of-wisdom. Yet, the beautiful-hating demon aroused one of his ministers, who was suitable for his purpose, to bring an accusation against Apollônios. And so he was led to a court-of-justice. Instead, this terrible man indeed entered the lawsuit at a wrong time, because by a royal standard it was not permissible for informers of such things to live. So immediately the informer's legs were broken, Perennius the dealer-of-justice having carried out this vote against him.

But yet the dealer-of-justice earnestly besought and requested Apollônios to give an account of himself before the summoned council. So he presented before all of them an eloquent defense of the faith for which he was testifying. And he was chastised by being beheaded, as if by a decree from the senate, since there was a mighty law among them which required, that those who were once brought to a court-of-justice and did not change their supposition should not be discharged. (Now the rest of the acts and the details of the testimony of Apollônios—the words⁵ which he spoke in the presence of the dealer-of-justice, and the answers which he gave to the questions of Perennius, and his entire defense before the Senate—are recorded in the Acts of Apollônios.)⁶

CHAPTER 60: CAPITOLIUM DESTROYED / CRIMES OF KALLISTOS

Now in the 9th year of the reign of Emperor Commodus, lightning destroyed the Capitolium in Roma, wrapping it in flames. And with a great fire having been caused, the library, and also nearby buildings, were consumed.

Now also about this time, there happened to be a certain man of faith from out of the house of Caesar, a household-slave of Karpophoros. Inasmuch as Kallistos⁷ was surely of faith, Karpophoros entrusted no small amount of money to him, after he professed that he would bring in gain out of a banking business. After he⁸ received a bank-table, he set-his-hand to it in the place said to be the Piscina Publica (which means 'Public Pool' in the Roman tongue). In time, no small amount of deposits were entrusted to him by widows and brothers under the pretext of giving it to Karpophoros. But after the man made-away with⁹ the entire amount, Karpophoros was being-at-a-loss. After he practiced this, there was not one left who did not bring-a-message to Karpophoros about these things. But Karpophoros declared, that accounts would be being demanded¹⁰ from him.

After Kallistos saw these things and was suspecting danger from his master, he ran-away, making his flight alongside the sea. After he¹¹ found a boat in Portus

ready for putting out to sea, he went on board, intending to sail to wherever it happened to be bound. Instead, he was not able to escape being noticed. For there was not one left who did not bring-a-message to Karpophoros about what had happened.

But Karpophoros, in accordance with this information, went to the harbor, attempting to rush onto the boat. But the boat was already standing in the middle of the harbor. But while the ferryman was being-slow, Kallistos, who was in the boat, after he saw his master from afar, and after he knew that he himself was going to be arrested, despaired of his life. And after he rationalized that these affairs had finally come to an end, he cast himself into the sea. But after the shipmen leaped-down into the skiffs, they took him up involuntarily. But the ones from the earth greatly cried out. And this was how Kallistos, after he was delivered to his master, was brought back to Roma. His¹² master deposited him into a pistrinum (which means 'bakery' in the Roman tongue).

But after some time passed,¹³ brothers came before Karpophoros. They were exhorting him, how he might lead the fugitive out of the chastisement, asserting that Kallistos had confessed to having money laid-away in-the-presence of some individuals. But Karpophoros, being a devout man, was saying that, he indeed did not care about¹⁴ his own money, but was thinking-seriously-about the deposits. For many were weeping to him as they said, that they had entrusted their money to Kallistos, under the pretext that they had entrusted it to Karpophoros. And after Karpophoros was persuaded by them, he directed for him to be led-out.

But Kallistos, having nothing to pay and not being able to run away (since he was being watched), contrived an artifice by which he hoped to die. And on a sabbath, he, pretending that he was going to his debtors, went to the congregation of the Judeans, who were gathered-together. And after he stood, he seditiously-opposed them. But after the Judeans were seditiously-opposed by him, they, after they outraged him and inflicted blows on him, were dragging him before Fuscianus, who was the prefect of the city of Roma.

But this-is-what the Judeans answered, "The Romans have acknowledged that we may come-together to be publicly reading-aloud the paternal laws. But after this man entered-upon our meeting, he was preventing us from doing so, by seditiously-opposing us, asserting himself to be a Christian."

Now Fuscianus happened to be before a platform. And due to what was being said by the Judeans, he was indignant with Kallistos. And there was not one left who did not bring-a-message to Karpophoros about what was occurring.¹⁵

But after the man hastened upon the platform of the prefect, he cried out, "I beg you, lord Fuscianus, do be putting-faith-in this man; for he¹⁶ is not a Christian. But he was seeking death, after he made-away¹⁷ with much money of mine, as I will prove."¹⁸

But after the Judeans concluded this to be a fraud, as if Karpophoros was seeking to use this excuse to acquit¹⁹ Kallistos for himself, they cried-out-against him with greater hostility before the prefect. But after the prefect was moved by these Judeans, he, after he whipped Kallistos, gave him to be sent into a mine in Sardonias,²⁰ where he would remain for a time. And this was the occasion of his so-called testimony.

CHAPTER 61: PLAGUE IN ITALIA / EVIL PASSOVER DISPUTE

Now in the 10th year of the reign of Emperor Commodus, a great pestilential sickness spread over Italia, but the suffering was most severe in Roma, since the city was both filled with many humans and was receiving people from every quarter, causing the ruin of many beasts-of-burden and humans. Accordingly, 2,000 humans often came-to-their-end in Roma in a single day. Then, on the counsels of the healers, Commodus left Roma. And both the emperor and those in the city, following the directing of the healers, filled both their nostrils and ears with both incenses and aromatic-herbs. However despite this, the sickness was at its prime, causing the ruin of many humans and every animal²¹ which came into contact with the humans.

But also, many others, not only in the town, but instead also throughout almost the whole principality, died at the hands of villainous men; for on hire, they pricked people with tiny needles which were smeared with some poisonous drugs. And no account was made for those who were being-lost to death, for Commodus was harsher to the Romans than every disease and act of villainy.

Yet truly, in the 10th year of the reign of Emperor Commodus,²² Eleutheros, after having performed the public-service of the oversight of the assembly in Roma for thirteen years,²³ was succeeded by Victor.

¹ Jerome add this information of uncertain authenticity

² Jerome states that he "taught in the reigns of the Emperor Sévérus and Antoninus surnamed Caracalla."

³ Clemens Alexandria / Jerome "Serapis"

⁴ Eusebios "king"

⁵ literally "voice"

⁶ The current documents called 'Acts of Apollônios' which survive (in this case, in Greek and Armenian), due to their serious divergences from the account presented by Eusebios, are not authentic, and are definitely not the ones which were known to him.

⁷ literally "whom"

⁸ literally "who"

⁹ literally "the man disappeared-out"

¹⁰ literally "declared, for accounts to be being demanded"

¹¹ literally "who"

¹² literally "whose"

¹³ literally "came-through"

¹⁴ literally "indeed was unsparing of"

¹⁵ literally "performing"

¹⁶ literally "who"

¹⁷ literally "disappeared-out"

¹⁸ literally "show-off"

¹⁹ literally "to take-out"

²⁰ Greek / Latin "Sardinia"

²¹ more literally "living-creature"

²² Eusebios / Chronicon(Armenian) "7th of Commodus" / Chronicon(Jerome) "1st year of Sévérus"

²³ Eusebios / Chronicon(Jerome) "15 years" / Chronography354 omit his oversight entirely, due to a scribal error. Due to this, some of the data may still be present as part of Sôtér's "9 years, 3 months, 2 days"

Also in *the* same year, after Julianus had completed his tenth year *as overseer of the Christians* in Alexandria, Démétrios was entrusted with the public-service of the sojourns *there*.

Now at this time, the following were also overseers of various assemblies: Serapiōn of Antiocheia (who had succeeded Maximinus),¹ and Theophilos of Caesarea in Palaestina, and Narkissos of Jerusalem (the fifteenth in succession from the siege of the Judeans under Emperor Hadrianus), and Bakchullos of Korinthos in Hellas, and Polykratēs of Ephesos (who was about 65 years old in the Lord), and Eirénaios of Gallia, and others in Orhai.

Now about this time,² many of the overseers from the various above-mentioned assemblies, including Victor of Roma, held meetings and engagements on the subject of the celebration of the Passover. And without the instruction of God or any present revelation of a prophet or a spirit, and in opposition to the teachings of the emissaries (who taught against mandating such things), they, through mutual correspondence, formulated a decree for the Christians everywhere, that the Passover be celebrated on no other day than Sunday.

But at this time, the sojourns in Asia were continuing to follow the practice of Johanan the emissary and Polykarpos of Smyrna and Thraseas (also an overseer and a testifier from Eumeneia who fell asleep in Smyrna) and Melitōn, and many others, by celebrating the Passover on the fourteenth day of the month, regardless of which day of the week it fell on. (And still others did not celebrate this festival at all.) So the overseers of Asia, led by Polykratēs of Ephesos, opposed this decision of celebrating the festival only on Sunday, deciding to continue to observe it according to their own custom.

Indeed, when Victor, who was presiding-over the Roman *Christians*, learned about this opposition, he suddenly attempted to cut-off the sojourns of all Asia, along with the adjacent assemblies, from the common unity, since he believed that they were holding an erroneous opinion. And yet he inscribed documents and preached that all the brothers *in Asia* were absolutely not to be communed with.³

Instead, this did not yet please all the overseers. They issued counter requests to Victor to be sensible toward the *matters* of the peace and of both the unity and love toward one's neighbors; but they also rebuked him sharply. And among them was Eirénaios. Yet truly, although Eirénaios personally celebrated the Passover only on Sunday, he sent letters in *the name* of the brothers whom he was leading in Gallia, fittingly exhorting Victor not to cut-off entire assemblies of God because they kept a different tradition. Eirénaios reminded Victor of the previous dispute between Polykarpos and Anikétos over the Passover, how they were unable to persuade the other to celebrate a custom other than what had been handed down to them, but yet made peace and communed together; and not only this, but how many other previous overseers of Roma had done the same. And he also recalled how, in the past, many assemblies everywhere, celebrating many various differing traditions regarding the Passover celebration, all continued to live in peace with one another and *even* sent a thank-offering to other sojourns who observed it differently than them.

And indeed, Eirénaios was a peacemaker in this matter, both exhorting in this way for the peace of the assemblies and being an elder. But he did not only confer on this matter with letters to Victor, but also with most of *the* different chiefs of *the* assemblies.

CHAPTER 62: SECTARIANS: FLORINUS & THEODOTOS

Now while Victor was overseer of the Roman assembly, several different sectarians arose. One of these was Florinus (who in the past had been moving in splendor in the royal court and was trying to win a good-reputation with Polykarpos, learner of Johanan the emissary). He fell away from the body-of-elders of the assembly, and dragged away many of the assembly *and* led them to his own opinion, which had never been taught, either by the learners of the emissaries, nor by the elders after them. For Florinus asserted that God was the maker of evils. And *this false-teacher* had also been drawn down by the misleading of the sect-chief Valentinus. And once again, Eirénaios, overseer of Lugdunum, both contended directly against Florinus, and also rose up, urging Victor to expel Florinus and his teachings from among the assembly.

Now another of these sectarians was Theodotos, who indeed was from Byzantion (which was later called Constantinopolis, and is now called Istanbul). He was a leather-worker by craft,⁴ but was learned in the account of *Jesus*. In a season of a pursuit *against the Christians*, he was arrested by the chief of the city along with *some* more men, and was probed with the others on account of *the Anointed-One*. Indeed, all the other slaves of God won a victory *and* attained heavenly prizes by testifying of *the Anointed-One*. But *Theodotos* digressed by denying *the Anointed-One* and by falling-away from the mark of the truth. And he, much ashamed because many reproved him, fled his fatherland and went up to Roma where he passed *his time*.

But being recognized by the *Christians* in Roma, he once again incurred the same reproof there; *for* those who knew him for his extensive-learning charged him, of being an excessively-learned man who had fallen from the truth.

But for a bad defense for himself, he invented a new opinion, declaring, "I did not deny God, *but* instead I denied a human."

Next they asked, "Which human?"

He answered, saying, "I denied a human, *the Anointed-One*."

After this, he formed an opinion, asserting that Jesus is a bare human, and lived a common life *like* all *other* humans, and had *merely* become pious; but that he surpasses them in this respect: that, according to *the* counsel of the Father, he was born from a virgin, and the holy spirit overshadowed her. But *this false-teacher* asserted, that *the Anointed-One* had not been made of flesh in the womb of the virgin, but that afterwards he descended upon Jesus at his immersion in the Jordan, who, coming from on high, descended on *Jesus* in a form of a dove. And *Theodotos*' followers sowed various deviations of this teaching.

Next, as a bad defense for himself, *Theodotos* collected whatever *verses from the holy writings* which he found useful to formulate a ridiculous excuse for his secession, twisting their interpretation to suit his purpose. And indeed Theodotos maintained that he had not sinned by denying the Anointed-One, declaring, "For the Anointed-One himself has spoken, 'Every revilement will be forgiven to the humans, and whosoever might speak an account against the son of man,'⁵ will be forgiven. But whoever might revile the spirit, the holy *spirit*, will not be forgiven."⁶ (*Matthew 12:31-32*)

But Jesus himself has rebuked this excuse himself, saying, "But whichever *man* might deny me in-front of the humans, I will also deny in-front of my Father, the *one* in the heavens."⁷ (*Matthew 10:33*)

Now Victor, the overseer of the assembly in Roma, banished Theodotos from the community; and he was the first person thrown out of the community on account of this senselessness.

For Theodotos the leather-worker had two primary learners, Asklepiodotos⁸ and another Theodotos the banker. Now this second Theodotos additionally asserted, that Melchizedek is a chief of all powers, and that he is greater *even* than the Anointed-One. But they even brought offerings in Melchizedek's name as if they would attain life through him, and asserted, that it is he who brings cases to God's *court*. But some of them even deny both the law and the prophets.

And in these days, there arose many more sectarian teachers of the so-called Knowledgeable-Ones (*Gnostics*), including the Docketai, and Mun'im the Arabian, and Beron (who forsook the delusion of Valentinus), all of which fabricated further profane teachings.

CHAPTER 63: FIRE IN ROMA

Now the wicked deeds of Emperor Commodus continued to multiply. And in the 11th year of his reign, he killed many of *the* nobles, and provided *the* Roman populace with notable games. And in the 12th year of his reign, a conflagration happened at Roma. For although there was no preceding *rain* shower, nor mustering of masses-of-clouds, but only a small preliminary quaking of *the* earth, a fire broke out as a result of the *earthquake* *and* all of the abominable sacred-precinct of Peace was incinerated, *the* greatest and most-beautiful of *all* the works in the city, and *the* richest of all temples, being ornamented with both gold and silver, and which everyone used as a deposit for his possessions; and many rich *men* were reduced to day-laborers.

But after the fire had incinerated both the inner-sanctum and all the enclosure, it also spread to the majority of the city, incinerating many beautiful works in the city as the fire was fed for days. *These works* included the inner-sanctum of one of their abominable gods who was called Hestia or Vesta, and the Palatium. *Now the fire*, not able to be extinguished by humans hands, did not finally diminish until *rain* showers barred its raging. And because of this, the entire incident, both its beginning and end, was regarded by the Romans as being of divine origin.

And as a result of so many terrors being heaped upon the city one after another, the populace no longer looked upon *Emperor* Commodus with goodwill, instead they believed that the cause of these things were the murders which he had ordered without trial, and the rest of the sins which he had committed in his lifetime. For in addition to the spontaneous murders of anyone who disagreed with him and countless acts of sexual-immorality and acts of excessive drunkenness, he personally engaged in gladiatorial-battles, and was so egotistical that he renamed months after himself and erected human-images of himself all over the city, causing even those who were not Christians to deem him grossly impious.

CHAPTER 64: CHRISTIANS RELEASED FROM MINES OF SARDONIA

Now after Kallistos had been in a mine in Sardonias⁷ for a time, *and* since there were other testifiers in that place as well, Marcia (a concubine of Emperor Commodus, who was considered to be a God-loving *woman*), wanted to work a good work. *So* after she called to herself the happy Victor (*who* at that time was *the* overseer of the assembly *in Roma*), she inquired of *him* which testifiers were in Sardonias. Now after the *man* gave-up all *their* names, he did not give the *name* of Kallistos, having come-to-know the *things* which he had dared to do.⁸

¹ Chronicon(Jerome) dates this to the 11th year of Commodus

² Chronicon(Jerome) dates this event to the 4th year of Sevérus

³ Literally "absolutely incommunicable"

⁴ Literally "art"

⁵ Literally "against the son of the human"

⁶ most Eusebios / one Eusebios, Nicephorus, Theodoret "Asklepiados"

⁷ Greek / Latin "Sardinia"

⁸ Literally "the things having been dared from him"

Therefore, after Marcia obtained her request from Commodus, she gave the letter of-release to Hyakinthos, a certain elderly eunuch. After he received it, he sailed-through into Sardonian. And after he gave it up to the *person* who at that season was the procurator of the country, he released the testifiers, with-an-exception of Kallistos.

But *Kallistos*, falling-on-his-knees and shedding-tears, was supplicating for himself to also obtain a release-from the mines. Therefore, after Hyakinthos became-ashamed, he made a request before the procurator, asserting that Marcia had provided *permission for him to release Kallistos*, and that he would make the arrangements for the procurator to be free-from-danger. Now after the procurator was persuaded, he also released Kallistos from imprisonment.

After *Kallistos* came-to-be-present at Roma, Victor was altogether being caused to have hatred over the *event* having come-to-be. Instead, since he was tenderly-compassionate, he kept-tranquil. But guarding against the reproach made by many (for the things having been dared to be done by *Kallistos* were not a long-ways-away), but also because Karpophoros was still falling-against him, Victor sent *Kallistos* to be remaining-down in Antium, after he ordained some monthly provisions¹ to him.

Now throughout the reign of Emperor Commodus, there were also other presidents who favored the Christians, *officials* who, despite being resolute and cruel, made allowances to dismiss themselves of cases which were being made against the Christians. For example, Cincius Severus, proconsul of Africa, gave a remedy to the Christians at Thysdrus, telling them how to respond so that they could be dismissed. And there was Vespronius Candidus, another proconsul of Africa, who dismissed a Christian, instead of satisfying the tumultuous citizens.²

And earlier, when Arrius Antoninus, proconsul of Asia, was vigorously pursuing the Christians there, all the Christian citizens, in one united body, brought themselves before his tribunal. After he had ordered a few to be led away to execution, he said to the others, "O terrible men, if you* want to die, you* have cliffs or nooses."

CHAPTER 65: DEATH OF EMPEROR COMMODUS

Now in the 13th year of his reign, on the 31st of December, Emperor Commodus deliberated commemorating a festival to one of the Romans' abominable gods, which was to take place on the 1st of January, by making his public appearance before the Romans, not from the royal house according to custom, but from the gladiatorial barracks, clad like a gladiator and accompanied by the rest of the gladiators. Now Emperor Commodus reported these intentions to Marcia, the concubine whom he held in highest honor, for he did not keep anything from this woman, as if she were his spouse; instead, he allowed her to do everything, as if she were an August-Woman, with an exception of some of the impious rituals of the Romans.

When she learned about Commodus' irrational and unseemly deliberation, she first importuned him, and fell down before him with tears, begging him not to outrage the Roman principality, and not to risk giving himself to gladiators and desperate humans. But after multiple pleadings, she did not achieve anything. Indeed, she left him, still shedding-tears.

But after Emperor Commodus sent for both Laetus, the prefect of the encampment, and Eklektos, the foremost man of his chamber, he directed them to prepare the gladiatorial barracks in accordance with his intentions. But they tried to plead with him and to persuade him not to do anything unworthy of the kingdom.

But Commodus, vexed at this, indeed commissioned them, but he returned to his bedroom, where he wrote down on a writing-tablet the names of those who were to be murdered that night. Indeed, first was Marcia, but followed by Laetus and Eklektos, but then a large multitude of the prime senators. For indeed, he wanted to make away with the elders and the rest of his father's friends, since he was ashamed to have solemn witnesses of his disgraceful works; but he wanted to freely-hand-out the property of the ones who had many-possessions by distributing it both to the soldiers and to the gladiators—indeed, so that the soldiers would guard him, but that the gladiators would entertain him.

After writing on the writing-tablet, he left it on the couch, thinking that no one would go into his bedroom. But he completely forgot about the infant boy whom Commodus, out of affection for, named Philocommodus (indeed, one of those who went about naked of clothing, but was ornamented with gold and highly-valued stones, and whom the effeminate of the Romans always took joy in). Now Commodus, who exceedingly-loved him, would often sleep with him.

Now after Commodus had left his dwelling, this boy ran into the chamber as he usually did, and picked up the writing-tablet to play with, and left the house. But he met Marcia. But after hugging and showing friendly-affection to him (for she also had affection for the boy), she took the writing-tablet away from him, afraid that in his infancy he might ignorantly utterly-destroy something essential in his play. But when she read the writing-tablet, she found that it was a death-

warrant, and that she was destined to die before all of them, followed by both Laetus and Eklektos, and also the rest who were to be murdered in this way.

So she wailed-aloud, also saying to herself, "O Commodus, this is my thanks for both my goodwill and my affection, after having put up with both your outrage and your drunken-behavior for so many years? Instead, you drunk, you shall not outwit a sober woman!"

After speaking these things, she sent for Eklektos. (Now it was a custom to have him come to her as the chamber guard; yet still, he was slandered of having sexual intercourse with her.) Now she gave the writing-tablet to him, declaring, "See what a kind of festival we are destined to celebrate tonight?"

Now Eklektos both read it and was panic-stricken. Therefore, sealing-up the writing-tablet, he sent it by one of his faithful messengers for Laetus to read. Now he, being troubled, also came to Marcia. And they concluded, that they must strike first or suffer the consequences, nor was there a season for procrastination or postponement. And they resolved to give a poisonous drug to Commodus. But Marcia assured them, that it would be easy for her to give it to him. For she was accustomed to both mixing and giving him the first drink, so that he could have the pleasure of drinking from the hand of one whom he passionately-desired.

Now when Commodus came back, Marcia threw in the drug into the cup, and, mixing it with a fragrant wine, gave it to him to drink. Now straightaway he fell into drowsiness and fell asleep. But since this frequently happened to Commodus on other occasions after he had been intoxicated, Eklektos and Marcia directed everyone to return home.

Therefore, indeed for a little time, he lay quiet; but as the drug spread around his stomach and bowels, he began to vomit violently. Yet, after much vomiting, they feared that Commodus would recover by getting rid of the drug and cause all of them to lose their lives. So after they found a youth named Narkissos (not the one who was an overseer of the assembly in Jerusalem), who was both noble and mighty, they persuaded him to go in and strangle Commodus in return for great prizes. Now as Commodus was laying there overcome by the drug and drunkenness, Narkissos ran into the bedroom, murdering him by squeezing his neck. This indeed was the end of the lifetime of Commodus, who died at the age of 31 years and 4 months, after he had reigned for 12 years and 9 months and 14 days³ from the date of the end of his father. And Laetus and Eklektos and Marcia declared that Commodus' sudden death was due to apoplexy, while Laetus and Eklektos and the rest of the soldiers proclaimed Pertinax as the next emperor of the Romans. And immediately after Pertinax's ascension, Marcia became the wife of Eklektos.

CHAPTER 66: REIGNS OF EMPERORS PERTINAX & JULIANUS

Now Emperor Pertinax refused to allow the Roman soldiers to plunder any longer or the Caesariani to behave licentiously; because of this, they both hated him terribly, and sought for an emperor who would give to them the complete authority to be uncontrollable and unchaste. Now Laetus first utterly-destroyed many of the soldiers, pretending that Emperor Pertinax had directed it. And the rest of them, fearing that they too would also be-lost, made an uproar, and 200 of them invaded the Palatium with drawn short-shorts, and slaughtered the emperor together with Eklektos. Now this was how Emperor Pertinax, at the age of about 67, after having governed the Romans for 87 days,⁴ died. And Julianus succeeded him as emperor of the Romans.

Therefore, emperor Julianus indeed slaughtered Laetus and Marcia, so that those who had plotted against Commodus were destroyed all together. (And later, Severus, the emperor who would succeed Julianus, gave Narkissos, the one who had strangled Commodus, to beasts.) But Julianus, in addition to his luxuriating and inebriating and other acts of wickedness, also killed many boys as part of magic-rites, as if he could also divert the destined misfortunes which were coming against him if he was able to learn about them beforehand.

For a man named Severus, persuaded by sleeping-visions and dreams, had a steadfast hope of obtaining the leadership of the Romans and of avenging the death of Emperor Pertinax. Now when Severus' army had both advanced to Roma and had infiltrated the city without any resistance, the senate, seceding to Severus' side, voted, that indeed Julianus should be done away with, but that Severus should be proclaimed as sole emperor. So at their direction, Julianus was murdered at the age of 60, after having reigned for 66 days.⁵ And Severus succeeded him as emperor of the Romans.

CHAPTER 67: EMPEROR SEVERUS ATTACKS HIS ENEMIES

Now on establishing himself in power, Emperor Severus of the Romans furnished a heroic-shrine to the former Emperor Pertinax, and ordered that his name should be said in connection with all the prayers and all the oaths, and that a golden image of him should be led into the hippodrome.

¹ Literally "nourishments"

² may also be translated "dismissed a Christian as a tumultuous person, who must satisfy the matter with his fellow citizens"

³ Cassius / Hippolytus "12 years, 8 months, 24 days / Eutropius "12 years, 8 months" / Eusebios, Chronicon(Jerome), Aurelius(Epitome) "13 years" / Chronography354 "16 years, 8 months, 12 days"

⁴ Cassius / Aurelius(Epitome) "85 days" / Eutropius "on the 80th day" / Hippolytus(Chronicon) "7 months" / Chronography354 "75 days" / Chronicon(Jerome) "6 months" / Eusebios "less than 6 months" [both Jerome and Eusebios completely ignore the short reign of Julianus, emperor after Pertinax]

⁵ Cassius / Hippolytus "2 months and 2 days" / Aurelius(Epitome) (in error) "7 months" / Eutropius (in error) "8 months" / Chronography354 "65 days"

Now Emperor Sévérus lost no time in sending his forces to march out against Niger, one of his rival claimants. Now when he and his forces were constrained from their advance by Niger's forces at the fortification *blocking the pass* through the Taurus Mountains known as the Kilikian Gates, Niger's *forces* finally proved distinctly superior, due to their multitude and the nature of the place. They would have completely prevailed *over them*, had not masses-of-clouds fallen upon their face out of clear-weather and a wind out of still-air, followed by both hard thunders and sharp flashes-of-lightning, a turbulent heavy-rain¹ and much snow. For indeed, since these *things* were at the backs of Sévérus' *soldiers*, they did not grieve them, but, *believing* that they were being helped by the Deity, they gained boldness; while Niger's *soldiers* were strongly troubled, since it was falling directly against them, and they, *believing* that *the Deity* was warring against them, were *beset with anxiety*. A great and severe torrential *stream* rushed-down; *and* since the normal course was dammed *up* and the fortification was holding-back the flow, *the stream* became much and violent. But since the wall was not able to hold-back the stream, the water,² little-by-little, separated the joinings, but finally the foundations gave-way under the flow, exposing everything, while the torrential *stream*, leveling the place, opened a way for itself. And so *Niger's force* fled in fear, and about 20,000 of Niger's *men* were-lost. And not long after this, Niger was beheaded, and Emperor Sévérus proceeded to rightfully-punish those who had been of the *same mind* as Niger.

And one of Sévérus' expeditions was a three-year siege against the city of Byzantion. Now in Byzantion there was a certain Caecilius Capella, a former Roman proconsul of Africa under Emperor Commodus, who, during his procuratorship, had condemned the Christian Mavilus of Hadrumentum to the beasts.³ Indeed, God did not punish him immediately for his crimes, but granted him a time to change his mind. However, he did not desist from his wickedness. And when the Romans finally captured Byzantion as a result of a famine, they killed all the soldiers and the magistrates. And Caecilius Capella, immediately before his death, could not help exclaiming, "Christians, rejoice!"

Now while the Romans were besieging the city, Emperor Sévérus, out of a desire for glory, advanced with his army against the barbarians, both the Orhites, and the Hadyabians, because they had seceded and were besieging Nisibin; and they were defeated by Sévérus. *But* now, after the death of Niger, they sent elders to him, not to beg his pardon, as if they had acted-unrighteously, but instead to even demand a good-deed *from him* in return, and had made *it appear* as if they had been under him. For they had been saying, that it was on his account that they have destroyed the soldiers who were of the *same mind* as Niger. And they also sent him some gifts, *and* promised to give-up both the captives and the spoils which were still around. However, they had not been wanting to forsake the walls which they had seized, nor to receive guards; instead, they had also been begging that the remaining *ones* be led out of the country. It was through these *things* that the war was put together.

Now after Emperor Sévérus crossed the Euphrates, throwing himself into his enemies' *territory*, he reached Nisibin. Now he commissioned his generals among the barbarians, and they were proceeding to both ravage the country of the barbarians, and to take their cities. Now at this time, a certain brigand named Claudius, who was overrunning Judah and Syria and who was being very hastily sought for in consequence, both came to *Sevérus* some *day* with some horsemen and as if he was some tribune, and greeted him and regarded him with affection; and he was not discovered straightaway, nor caught later.

Now at that season, the Skythians were desiring to wage-war. *And* while they were taking-counsel *together*, both thunders and flashes-of-lightning, *along* with a shower and thunderbolts fell upon them, and killed their three principal *men*, *and* restrained them. Now Emperor Sévérus sent out his army against the principality, and they were subduing it; but Sévérus gave *some* worthiness to Nisibin, *and* turned the city over to a horseman.

Now in about the 5th year of Emperor Sévérus, the Judeans and the Samaritans were trying to rebel *and* a war happened. *But* Sévérus restrained them with iron.

Now *Emperor Sévérus* spent a sufficient *amount* of time in Roma, and appointed his sons Antoninus (also called Caracalla and Bassianus) and Geta to be companions in the kingdom and emperors. *But* wishing to win glory for himself by raising trophies against the barbarians, he, using the friendship which the king of Hatra had shown for Niger as a pretext, advanced with his army to the east. Now *Sevérus* also planned to attack Armenia, but the Armenian king made peace with him, and the emperor pressed on to Hatra. Now at this time, Abgar, the king of Orhai (that is, the city of Edessa), fled beforehand to *Emperor Sévérus*. He also gave his boys over to him as hostages for an assurance of his faith. He also led most of *his* archers to be auxiliaries *of the Romans*.

Now after *Emperor Sévérus* crossed Mesopotamia and Hadyab, and ravaged many villages and cities in Arabia Félix, he besieged the city of Hatra on a summit of a mountain in the country of the Hatreneans. And even though he brought every kind of machine and technique against the walls, his army, like Emperor Trajanus before him, was unable to capture Hatra, and he retired from the siege.

CHAPTER 68: BARDAISAN & KING ABGAR / FLOOD IN EDESSA

Now about this time,⁴ as the sects were abounding in the land between the rivers (that is, Mesopotamia), there was a certain Bardaisan, a Parthian, who was both a most-capable man *and* most-dialectical in the Syrian language,⁵ and who was one of the most skilled of archers, able to shoot 'pictures' merely with bow and arrow, composing extremely precise outlines by shooting a series of arrows into whatever representation he wished upon the target, even at a distance. Now he composed dialogues against the followers of the sectarian Markiōn, and against certain others who were authors of various different opinions. And because he was very powerful at rationalizing *with others*, there were many who were well-known by him. At first, *Bardaisan* had belonged to the school according-to the sectarian Valentinus, but afterwards, having passed-sentence against it and having refuted most of his myths, he indeed thought that he had transferred to the more correct knowledge *of Christianity*; and yet truly, he did not entirely wash-off the filth of the old sect *of Valentinus*. And on one day, which is the first *day* of the week, the Christians would assemble themselves together; and on the appointed days they would abstain from sustenance.

At first, Bardaisan assimilated King Abgar, the ruler of Orhai, a most-sacred and most-eloquent man, and collaborated with him while also having had a share in his discipline. *Now* in Syria and in Orhai, many would cut-off *their genitals* for their detestable goddess Tharatha.⁶ And after King Abgar had faith *in the Anointed-One*, he⁷ directed, that everyone who was cutting-off his genitals should also have his hand cut-off. And from then on, no one cut-off *their genitals* in Orhai.

Now in the year 513 *of the Hellenes*, in the reign of Emperor Sévérus and in the reign of King Abgar, son of King Ma'nu, in the month of Second Tishrin,⁸ the fountain of water, which proceeded from the great palace of King Abgar the Great, increased, and it prevailed, and it rose up according to its former manner, and it overflowed and ran out on all sides, so that the courts and the porticoes and the royal houses began to be filled with water. And when King Abgar saw it, he went up to the level ground on the mountain which was above his palace, where the servants of his kingdom sat and where they dwelled. And while the wise men were calculating how so much water was being added *and* heaped up, it happened that there was a great and violent rain during the night. And the river came, but not on its *usual* day, and not in its *usual* month, but strange waters came. And the *water* found the river-locks which were closed *both* with great pieces of iron which were overlaid on them, and with bars of iron which supported them. But not prevailing against them, the waters rose like a great sea beyond the walls of the city. And the waters began to come down over the parapets of the wall of the city.

And King Abgar stood on the great tower which was called "of the Persians"; and, by the light of torches, he saw the water. And he commanded, and they took away the gates and the eight river-locks of the western wall of the city from where the river flowed out. But at that very hour, the waters broke down the western wall of the city, and entered the city, and overthrew the great and beautiful palace of the king. And *the waters* carried away everything which was found before them: the desirable and beautiful buildings of the city, whatever was near the river, on the south and on the north of it. And the *waters* destroyed the temple of the assembly of the Christians. And more than 2,000 humans were killed by this event, many of them while they slept in the night; the waters came suddenly, and they were drowned. And the city was filled with the sound of lamentation.

And when King Abgar saw this destruction which had befallen *the city*, he commanded that all the artisans of the city should remove their arches from *being* near the river, and that no man should build their arches near the river. And by the wisdom of measurers and those who were skilled, arches were placed, so that the breadth of the river would be increased, and *these arches* increased its former measurement. For if the waters were many and strong, the width of the river was too small to receive the water of twenty-five brooks when they conflux from all sides.

And King Abgar commanded everyone who sat in the portico, that they were to labor against the river. From the First Tishrin until Nisan, they were not to lodge in their arches, except for the islanders who guarded the city. *For* all the time of winter, five of them were to lodge on the wall above the place where the waters entered the city. And when they perceived by night and heard the sound of strange waters beginning to enter the city, and *if* anyone heard the sound and neglected it and did not promulgate, "Behold the waters!", the contempt of the *man* who despised the command of the king would be required. And this command was decreed from this time, and it was to be like this *even* to the day of the ages.

King Abgar commanded, and a building for his royal house was built for him, a winter house at Tabara. And there he dwelled all the time of winter. And in

⁴ Jerome dates this to the 12th year of Marcus Aurelius, but this is doubtful, as both Eusebios and Jerome seem to have confused Marcus Aurelius Antoninus with Antoninus 'Caracalla'

⁵ literally "voice"

⁶ Bardaisan (original Syriac "TRT") / Eusebios (Greek translation) "Rhea"

⁷ Bardaisan (original Syriac) / Eusebios (Greek translation) "And in a single decisive-moment, King Abgar" or "And in a single turn, King Abgar"

⁸ which is estimated to be November 201AD

¹ Cassius / Hérōdian "shower"

² Hérōdiōn(P) omit "the water"

³ Tertullian(manuscript N) / other manuscripts (in error) attribute the condemning of Mavilius to Scapula

summer, he came down to the new palace which was built for him at the fountain head. And his nobles also built buildings for themselves to live in, in the same neighborhood where the king was, in the high street which was called “Beth-Sahraya”, which in Aramaic means “Lunar House”.¹ And in order to restore the former welfare of the city, King Abgar commanded, and the tributes due from those who were within the city, and from those who were dwelling in the towns and in the villages, were remitted. And tribute was not demanded from them for five years, until the city was enriched with humans, and was crowned with buildings. And at the command of King Abgar and the confidants of Edessa, this event was recorded; and it was received and deposited with the prefects, who are over the archives of Edessa.

And later, in the year 517 of the Hellenes,² Abgar would build a palace in his own citadel.

CHAPTER 69: OVERVIEW OF THE OVERSIGHT OF ZEPHURINOS / SECT OF NOÉTOS & KALLISTOS

Now after Victor, the overseer of the assembly in Roma, had been presiding-over the public-service of the assembly for 10 years,³ Zephurinos was appointed as his successor in about the 9th year of the reign of Emperor Sévêrus.

Now during the time of Zephurinos, there was a certain confessor named Natalius. He had been deluded by the sectarians Asklepiodotos and Theodotos the banker. Now Natalius was persuaded by them to be called an overseer of this sect, with a salary, so that he received from them 150 denarii per month. Therefore, when he had become one of them, he was often warned by the Lord through visions. For the compassionate God and our Lord Jesus the Anointed-One, did not wish that a man who had been a testifier to his own sufferings should be-lost outside an assembly. But since he paid indifferent attention to the visions (being entrapped both by the first-seat among them and by that shameful-gain which causes most men to be-lost), he was finally whipped by holy messengers through the whole night, being not a little tormented. So arising in the morning and dressing in sackcloth and sprinkling himself with ashes, he, with much effort and tears, fell down before Zephurinos the overseer, rolling at the feet of not only the body-of-allotted-ones, but instead even the laity.⁴ But with his tears, he scarcely moved the compassionate assembly of the merciful Anointed-One (after he also employed much beseeching and after he also showed the welts of the blows which he received) to commune with him.

Now about this time, there was a certain man whose name was Noétos, an Asian of the race of the Smyrneans.⁵ Now this diverse man, by means of his mere fleshly reasoning, conceived many assumptions concerning the nature of the incomprehensible and incorruptible God, as if his constrained human mind was capable of conceiving such unattainable ideas on its own. And by means of his impaired reasoning and confused babbling, he was the first who brought forth the teaching, that the Father is himself the Anointed-One, is himself the Son, is himself the holy spirit, and that the Son himself is the Father, and so forth, so that when it pleased the unbegotten Father of the universe (who made everything) to be begotten, the Father of the universe himself, being himself begotten from a virgin, became his own son, and that the Father himself suffered, and that he committed his spirit to himself, dying and not dying, and that he raised himself up on the third day after being wounded by a lance and being speckled with nails, and that he himself is sitting at his own right hand. Noétos also said that he himself was Moses, and his brother was Aaron.

When the happy elders heard these things, they, after they summoned him before the assembly, were probing him. But at the beginning, he was denying that he had such sentiments. But afterward, after concealing himself among some individuals, and organizing some others, who had embraced the same error, he afterward wished to uphold his opinion as if it were clean. So the happy elders summoned him again before them, and were reproving him.

But he was withstanding them, saying, “What evil, then, am I doing in glorifying the Anointed-One?”

But the elders answered him back, “We also truly know one God. We know the Anointed-One. We know that the son suffered exactly as he suffered, died exactly as he died, and stood-up on the third day, and is at the right hand of the Father, and is coming to judge living and dead humans. And we say these things which we have learned.”

Then, after reproving him, they drove him out of the assembly. And he carried such a puffed-up-attitude, that he organized a school. Therefore, a man named Epigonos became Noétos’ minister and learner. And Epigonos, during his visit at Roma, sowed his godless opinion there, and made Kleomenés his learner. And along with him, there was another partisan of this sect at Roma, Praxeas, who also came from Asia. However, it was primarily Kleomenés, who, being foreign to the assembly in both his lifestyle and conduct, made the opinion of Noétos mighty during the season of Zephurinos, the overseer of Roma. For Zephurinos was in fact a man who was an idiot and of shameful-gain, and illiterate, and one inept in

things pertaining to the assembly, and was only imagining that he was managing the affairs of the assembly. Now Sabellius was one of the first who was misled by Kleomenés, but, afterward, Zephurinos himself was corrupted by these false teachings of Noétos in the following way:

After Victor, the overseer of Roma, had fallen asleep, Zephurinos, having collaborated-together with Kallistos in the institution of the body-of-allotted-ones, honored Kallistos to his own harm.⁶ And he transferred Kallistos from Antium, establishing him in the cemetery⁷ which is on the Appian Way in Roma. Now Kallistos, who was a man crafty in evil and subtle⁸ in misleading others, had one purpose: to hunt after the throne of the oversight of the assembly in Roma. And he, who was always associating with Zephurinos and paying him hypocritical service, made it clear to others that Zephurinos was not able to properly judge things which were being said, nor to comprehend the plot of Kallistos; for everything which Kallistos was conversing with him about were things in which Zephurinos took delight.

Now through the means of Sabellius, Kallistos was inducing the sect of Noétos. And since Zephurinos was a receiver-of-bribes and fond-of-silver, Kallistos, by offering him gain, was persuading Zephurinos to the opinions of this sect, and, as a compensation, was leading him to renounce whatever he wished. Now at first Zephurinos merely assented to those who were present who wanted to be learners of Kleomenés, but in the course of time, Zephurinos, having Kallistos as his counselor and fellow-competitor in the evils, was dragged under him, and rushed-impulsively into the same error. And in the end, Kallistos was able to persuade Zephurinos into always throwing seditions between the brothers, while Kallistos himself, with knavish⁹ rationalizations, was afterward furnishing himself with a friendship from both sides in order to be voted by the majority as the future overseer. And indeed, he was saying to those of the truth, when they were in private, that they were like minded with himself, thereby having deluded those who were like minded; but again, he was acting similarly toward those of Sabellius’ persuasion, whom Kallistos also displaced, though he was capable of correcting him.

Now there was a certain man named Hippolytos, who had been presiding-over an assembly of Christians, and who had been a learner of Eirénaïos. Now Eirénaïos had previously refuted the Noétians in his conversations with him. So at this time, Hippolytos, and others who shared his serious concerns about the sect, exhorted Sabellius, and he did not harden himself. But whenever Sabellius continued alone with Kallistos, he was incited into turning back to the opinion of Kleomenés by Kallistos, who asserted, that he was like minded with Kleomenés. But, indeed, at that time, Sabellius did not comprehend the craftiness of Kallistos, but later he would come to know.

Now Kallistos himself led Zephurinos forward to publicly say, “I know one God, the Anointed-One, Jesus, and I know no one except him who is begotten and able-to-suffer.” But then he would say, “The Father did not die, but instead the Son.” In this way, Kallistos kept up an unstoppable sedition among the people.

After Hippolytos’ party knew Kallistos’ designs, they were not assenting to him, convicting him and standing-firmly-against him in-behalf of the truth. Now due to the fact that everyone, except for Hippolytos’ party, were assenting to his¹⁰ hypocrisy, Kallistos, withdrawing into desperation,¹¹ was calling them ‘ditheists’ (because they believed that there was a distinction between the Father and the Son), violently¹² vomiting upon them the poison lurking within him. Furthermore, Hippolytos’ party never assented to them, instead, they very-often set themselves against them, and utterly-refuted them, and forced them to unwillingly confess the truth. They, indeed, being abashed and collecting together under the truth, were confessing for but an hour, but after not much time, were again rolling in the same mire. So under the succession of these two men, the teaching-place of Noétos continued to become mighty and to increase, due to the fact that Zephurinos and Kallistos helped them to prevail.¹³

CHAPTER 70: CHRISTIANITY & SECTS CONTINUE TO SPREAD, ESPECIALLY IN AFRICA

Now while all these things were transpiring, the teachings of the Good-Message of the Anointed-One continued to spread, and some of those who were dwelling within many nations put their faith in Yahweh God: Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites; and those inhabiting Mesopotamia, Armenia, Phrygia, Kappadokia; those dwelling in Pontos, and Asia, Pamphylia; those lingering in Egypt and inhabitants of the regions of Africa beyond Kyréné, Romans and dwellers; and then Judeans in Jerusalem, and other races; and the varieties of the Gaetuli, and the confines of the Mauri; all the limits of the Hispanians, and the diverse nations of the Galatians and the Britons—inaccessible to Romans but a true subject of the Anointed-One; and of the Sarmatians, and the Dacians, and the Germans, and the

⁶ literally “evil”

⁷ more literally “sleeping-place”

⁸ may also be translated to “diverse”

⁹ literally “man-monkeying” (an idiom for a knavish individual)

¹⁰ literally “the”

¹¹ literally “into a loss-of-mind”

¹² literally “, from force”

¹³ literally “settled them” (as in, to settle accounts with someone)

¹ Emendation / Chronicle “Beth-Sahroye”, which means “Vagrancy House”

² which is estimated to be 205AD

³ Eusebios, Chronicon(Jerome) / Chronography354 “9 years, 2 months, 10 days”

⁴ literally “people”

⁵ Hippolytos (twice in Refutation, once in Against Noétos) / Epiphanius “Ephesians” (definitely in error)

Skythians; and of many remote nations, and of many unknown provinces and islands.

Now among the Christians in Africa, there was a powerful preacher in Carthage, a married man named Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus, an influential man who did much by exhorting and reproving the assembly of the Christians in truth, and even writing a verbal-defense to the emperors on behalf of the Christians who were being falsely accused and maltreated.

Now the Christians are not distinguished by a mark on the body, but by a sign of innocence and modesty. For the ones in Africa saw themselves as a body of humans united by a joint-consciousness of religion, by a unity of discipline, and by a league of a common hope. They met together as a gathering and congregation, in order to pray to God. They also prayed for the emperors, for the ministers and for those in power, for the condition of this age, for the occurrence of peace, for the delay of the finale. They met to reiterate out of the divine literatures, whatever the present times made it necessary to read, either forewarning them or causing previous things to be remembered. For by the sacred words, they nourished their faith, they erected their hope, affixed their confidence, condensed their discipline by the inculcations of God's commands. In that place, there were also exhortations, reproofs and divine censures. And they made judgments with great gravity, being made by men who were certain they that are being seen by God; and those who sinned grievously were severed from the rest of the community of the Christians, from prayer and the gathering and all holy commerce.

The proved men of their seniors presided over them, obtaining that honor, not by a monetary price, but instead by a good testimony. For there is nothing of God which has a monetary price. Though they had a treasure chest, it was not made up of a sum of money, as if the religion could be purchased. Each man, on one day a month, or whenever he wished, put in a little, but only if he wished, and only if he was able. For no one was compelled to do so, instead, it was voluntary. These gifts were deposits of piety. For they were not dispensed on sumptuous-meals, nor prolonged conviviality with wine and drinking-bouts, nor unacceptable eating-houses; instead they were used for supporting and burying the poor, and for boys and girls destitute of property and of parents, for seniors now confined to the house, likewise for those who had been shipwrecked, and for those in the mines, and if anyone of them were on islands or in prisons. Provided that the cause for being there was that they belonged to the sect of God, they were nurslings of their confession.

And even in regards to family possessions, which, due to disputes in conjunction with these things, usually dissolves the brotherhood between the non-Christians, instead created brotherhood among the Christians. Accordingly, being one in mind and soul, they did not waver in making everything a common-lot. Every possession was without distinction among them, except for their wives.

Now these Christians partook of a supper, which they called 'Agapé' (which is the Greek word for 'love') in which they benefited poor men. And since it was a service of religion, it did not permit any vileness nor immodesty, but sobriety, tempering their merriment with gravity and with chaste conversation, with a body even more chaste, so that to some, even the mention of chaste intercourse raised a blush. Now before reclining, they would first taste of a prayer to God. They ate only what satisfied hunger, drunk as is befitting one who is moderate. It was enough, as those who remembered, that even during the night they must worship God; they talked as those who know that the Lord is listening. After the water for washing the hands and lights were brought in, each was called to sing to God, either from the holy writings or from his own aptness. As the feast commenced with a prayer, so it ended.

They left from it, not to form into mobs of violence, nor into divisions of men who run-about from place to place, nor into eruptions of lasciviousness, but instead to have as much care of our modesty and chastity as if they had been dining at a school of discipline rather than a dinner. And so much did they shrink from human blood, that they did not even find it lawful to see or to hear of homicide, and did not even use the blood of eatable animals in their food. For they were the same in their congregation as they were when dispersed from one another. They were universally, what they were also singly. They injured no one, they afflicted no one. They did not make marriage into adultery. They treated their orphans piously. They gave aid to those who were in need. They, not knowing how to hate, did not render anyone evil for evil.

Yet, they continued to be hated by those who were not Christians. They were despised by those who were offended because they rejected the pleasures of the rest of humanity: the insanity of the circus, the immodesty of the theater, the atrocity of the arena, the vanity of the athletic-compounds. They were cried out against by those who were envious that the Christians were abiding in the city, in the fields, in the castles, in the islands, that both genders, every age and condition, even high rank, were passing over to the name of the Anointed-One. They were slandered of being adulterous and cross-worshippers (for although the Christians were reminded of the death of the Anointed-One when they saw the image of a cross in something such as the mast of a ship, they neither worshipped them nor wished to have them). They were falsely accused of being the cause of every public disaster, of every detriment with which the people were visited (for if the Tiber River rose as high as the city walls, if the Nile did not rise over the fields, if

the heaven stood still, if the earth moved, if a famine, if a pestilence, straightaway the cry was, "Christians to the lion!"). Every day they were invested by their enemies, every day they were betrayed, often surprised in their gatherings and their congregations. They were tempted with sausages of blood in order to force them to transgress what they held to be unlawful. They were hung on crosses and stakes, and their sides were torn by claws. And yet, every day, the number of the Christians continued to increase.

However, throughout this time and throughout the future pursuit of the Christians, the sects, both that of Noétos and that of Montanus, were spreading within Africa and were especially abounding in Carthage. Now an overseer of Roma had been on the point of acknowledging the prophecies of the false-prophets Montanus, and Prisca, and Maximilla, and, in consequence of the acknowledgement, was offering peace to the assemblies of Asia and Phrygia, who had succumbed to their spuriousness. Now at some point, Praxeas had been temporarily imprisoned for his confessing of the faith, and, when he had come to Roma from Asia, he, by insisting on the authority of that overseer's predecessors in defense, was rightly able to compel that overseer of Roma both to revoke the letters of peace which had already been discharged, and to desist from his purpose of acknowledging the spurious gifts of Montanus' party. However, Praxeas was corrupted by the false-teaching of Noétos. Therefore, when Praxeas eventually arrived at Carthage in Africa, he would sow the seed of Noétos while many of the Christians there were asleep in their simplicity of doctrine.

Now while Praxeas was present in Africa, Tertullianus confronted the sectarian and was able to successfully persuade him into renouncing the teaching of Noétos; and, after Praxeas had written down his recant in his own handwriting, it was given to the rest of the assembly. However, at this time, Tertullianus, driven by the envy and abuse of the allotted-ones of the Roman assembly, was attracted to the sect of Montanus. Indeed, correctly refusing to outright reject any new prophecy, but failing to properly discern the spuriousness of the false-prophecies of Montanus and Prisca and Maximilla, he fell prey to the enticement of the false spirits which were operating through them; and, due to his acknowledgement and defense of this deception into which he was misled, he would subsequently separate himself from the rest of the assembly and adhere to the sect of Montanus.

CHAPTER 71: A PURSUIT BEGINS UNDER EMPEROR SEVÉRUS / TESTIMONY OF LEÓNIDÉS

Now at first, Emperor Sevérus, father of Antoninus, was remembering of the Christians. For he searched for Proculus (a Christian surnamed Torpacion, a procurator of Euodia) who had once cured him by means of olive-oil, and he kept him in his palace until his death. And his son Antoninus, knowing this man very well, was educated with Christian milk. But even prominent women and prominent men, whom Sevérus well knew were Christians, were not only not injured by him, but he even bore a genuine testimony in their favor and openly resisted the populace when they were raging against the Christians.

But now, about this time, while the generous-gift of the emperors was being distributed at the camp, the soldiers, laurel-crowned, were approaching. There was a certain one of them, more a soldier of God and more steadfast than the rest of his brothers (who were presuming that they could be enslaved to two lords). He alone stood out, having a bare head, with the crown hanging idle in his hand—being recognized by everyone as a Christian because of this discipline. Finally, everyone began to single him out. Those at a distance made sport of him, those close up gnashed their teeth at him. Constantly murmuring, the news was carried to the tribune, and that the person had now departed from the order.

Immediately, the tribune said, "Why is your attire so different from the others?"

He said, that he was not permitted to act with the rest.

When he was demanded to give his reasons for doing so, he responded, "I am a Christian."

From the votes which were taken, the case was referred to a higher-court, and the defendant was led to the prefects. At once, he relieved himself of his heavy cloak. He took off from his feet, the uncomfortable heavy-military-boot. He gave up the short-sword, which was not necessary for the defense of the Lord. And the laurel-crown dropped from his hand. And there in prison, he expected to receive the generous-gift of the Anointed-One.

From then on, some of those who called themselves Christians, began to state their sentiments, "Why must he be so abrupt and headlong and desirous to die? Because in his interrogation over a mere matter of dress, he has brought trouble on the Christian name, as if he was the only brave man among so many brothers and comrades, as if he was the only Christian!" And like those still belonging to the faithless nations, they muttered, that such a good and long peace had been endangered.

Therefore, in the 10th year of his reign, Emperor Sevérus, indeed while Laetus (not the Laetus who murdered the emperor Commodus and who was killed by the previous emperor Julianus) was leader of Alexandria and the rest of Egypt, but while Démétrios had recently received the oversight of the sojourns of the Christians there, also set in motion a pursuit against the assemblies of the Christians. And so vehemently did the pursuit disturb the thought of many, that

many were babbling that the arrival of the anti-anointed-one was nearing. *Yet* indeed, in every place, bright attestations of the athletes of piety were performed; but these especially multiplied in Alexandria, to where, as to a greatest stadium, athletes of God were brought from Egypt and all Thébais. *These athletes*, through both their most-patient endurance in various tortures and methods of death, were wreathed with crowns laid up with God. And among these, was Leōnīdēs (the *one* who was said to be *the* father of Ōrigenēs).

Therefore, when the pyre of the pursuit had been greatly kindled, and tens-of-thousands were being wreathed with the crowns of their testimony, such a passionate-desire for a testimony seized the soul of Ōrigenēs, that, although still being a boy, he, in his eagerness, went close to the dangers, both springing-forward and rushing into the contest. Yet, it was *merely* a little *step* and the discharge from this *present* lifetime was near, *but* his eagerness was prevented through the interference of his mother. Accordingly, indeed, at first, she begged him with rationalizations, imploring him to spare her motherly disposition toward him. But when she saw, that he, having come to know that his father *Leōnīdēs* had been caught *and* was being guarded in a prison, was augmented *even* more vehemently *and* had been entirely carried away with his rush concerning the testimony, she hid all his clothing from him in order to force him to remain at home.¹

But since there was nothing else which he could do, *and* an eagerness stretching beyond his age would not allow him to keep quiet, he sent an encouraging letter to his father *Leōnīdēs* about testimony, in which he advised him in this style, saying, “Be hold-fasting, that you might not be otherwise minded due to us.”

Now Ōrigenēs was Egyptian by race, and he had been trained in the divine writings from *the time* that he was still a boy. Accordingly, it was not moderately that he busied himself with them, for his father, besides giving him the general education,² made these *divine writings* a matter of no secondary importance. Accordingly, *his father* kept urging him before *beginning* his Hellenistic lessons, to train himself in the consecrated disciplines, each day exacting from him *things* out of learning and by recital. But the boy did not do this indeliberately, instead, he was even very much eager to busy himself with them.

But because he was engaged with the writings of the so-called Hellenistic ones-*who-were-fond-of-wisdom* (philosophers), he came to know the figurative interpretation employed by them in the Hellenistic mysteries. And due to their deceptive allegorizing of ancient narratives, which had already been inherited in part by some of the Christians in Alexandria, Ōrigenēs, not content with the simple and obvious instructions of the consecrated accounts, began to apply figurative interpretations to the holy writings, and began to fabricate all sorts of speculations about their so-called “deeper meaning”, which indeed were not derived from God, but from his own imagination. But *his father* would sharply-rebuke him to his face, advising him not to seek anything beyond the clear meaning.

But after his father *Leōnīdēs* had had his head cut-off *on account of his* testimony, he left behind him his boy *Ōrigenēs*. And *Ōrigenēs*, who was still young, not quite seventeen *years old*, was left destitute with his mother and his smaller brothers, six in number. Yet truly, the wealth of his father was confiscated for the royal treasuries, *and Ōrigenēs* found himself, along with his relatives, in want of the necessities of this *present* lifetime. *However*, he happened to receive both *the right-hand* and rest from a woman who, indeed, was rich in *this* lifetime, and notable in other *respects*. Yet truly, at that time, she was tendering a famous man named Paulus, one of the sectarians, at Alexandria. *This man* was of the race of *the* Antiocheians, but she both, had him as her adopted son, and *treated him* exceptionally.

Instead, although it was still necessary for Ōrigenēs to associate with *Paulus*, he was giving distinct samples of his correct-opinion in the faith; because, on account of the supposed sufficiency Paulus had in rationalizing, a multitude of ten-thousand *in number* were collected together with him, not only sectarian *individuals*, but instead even Christians. *Yet Ōrigenēs* could never at any time be impelled to unite with him in his prayer; for he, although a boy, observed a rule of the assembly, abhorring the teachings of the sects. But having been led forward by his father in the lessons of the Hellenes, *Ōrigenēs*, after his *father's* end, applied himself both more ardently and wholly to the study of these accounts, so that he even had a moderate preparation in the grammatical *arts*. And not long after his father's end, by giving himself up to these *things*, he excessively thrived (as a person of his age), with the necessities of *life*.

CHAPTER 72: THE SCHOOL AT ALEXANDREIA / PURSUITS IN EGYPT AND AFRICA

Now during this season, Titus Flavius Cléméns, who was combating the teachings of Basileidēs and Valentinus and many other sectarians through his discourses, was leading the way of the oral-instruction *of the Christians at the school in* Alexandria, so that Ōrigenēs, while still a boy,³ was also one of his regular-attenders. However, Cléméns, having adopted the same figurative interpretation

of narratives and other writings from the Hellenistic ones-*who-were-fond-of-wisdom* (philosophers), and the deceived Philo (a Judean of Alexandria who followed in their suit), and even Simon the magician, and the rest of the so-called knowledgeable-ones, began to allegorize the consecrated writings and to introduce numerology into them, thereby interpreting them to mean whatever he wished, as if he could derive some hidden meaning from them by his own fleshly reasoning—however (unlike the case with many of his successors), these speculative interpretations of his never led into impious teachings. Nevertheless, he nursed the impure egg which his pupil Ōrigenēs was already hatching.

Now every day, Cléméns and the rest of the Christians were observing before their eyes, plentiful springs of testifiers who were being half-roasted, being impaled, having their heads cut off. But eventually, everyone was driven-away from the school in Alexandria by the threat of the pursuit *of the Christians*. And *while Ōrigenēs* was being-schooled by-means-of the lectures there, and there was no one there dedicated to orally-instruct, some of *those of the* nations approached him in order to hear the account of God: The first of *these* was Ploutarchos; the second was Ploutarchos' brother, Héraklas. So *Ōrigenēs* was in his eighteenth year when he began to be presiding-over the oral-instruction of the teaching-place.

Now also about this time, the pursuit was underway in Carthage, under Hilarianus, *the procurator*. And in about the 11th year of Emperor Sevérus, a large number of Christians were apprehended. Now the most well-known of these were: Vibia Perpetua, and Saturus, and Felicitas; and along with them, were Revocatus, and Saturninus, and Secundulus. And all of these who survived the tortments of the prison gave their testimony at the camp game on *the birthday* of Caesar Geta and were murdered on *the Nones* of March.⁴ There were also others who had been-lost before them: Jocundus and Artaxius and another Saturninus, who *all* were blazed alive *in the* same persecution; and also Quintus, who himself also being a testifier, had died in the prison. (Now the rest of the acts and the visions and the details of the testimony of Perpetua and her companions, are recorded in *the* Suffering of Perpetua and Felicitas.)

And also while Hilarianus was presiding, *the unfaithful-ones* exclaimed concerning the areas of the sepultures *of the Christians*, “*There will not be any areas for them!*” But the result was, that they themselves had no areas *for threshing*,⁵ for they did not gather *any* harvests *that year*. For shortly after the persecution against the Christians had begun, on Mount Vesuvius, both *the* largest fire burst-forth, and there were *the* greatest of bellowings, which *could be heard* even into Capua, which is in Italia.

Now also about this time, as the pursuit *of the Christians* was augmenting under Aquila, the leader of Alexandria, *Ōrigenēs* was also prominent, when he acquired an especially famous name among all of those who were of the faith, by both *the offer* of his right hand and *the eagerness* which he was displaying to all the holy testifiers, both unknown and well-known *to him*. For not only was he with them while they were in bonds, nor *only* while they were being examined up to *their* last sentence. Instead, even when the holy testifiers were being led-away to death, he was using much outspokenness and was drawing near to the same danger *as them*; so that, when he was courageously approaching and, with much outspokenness, greeting the testifiers with a kiss, a populace of the nations in a circle *around him*, often became maniacal and almost stoned him to death. *But* he would happen to incredibly escape from *them*. And again and again, at that time, when *Ōrigenēs* was being plotted against on account of both his very great eagerness and outspokenness concerning the account of *the Anointed-One*, he would be carefully-guarded. But so extensive was the war of the unfaithful-ones against him, that they even stationed soldiers, made into bands, around the house where he was staying, because of the multitude of those who were being orally-instructed by him in the consecrated faith.

But day-by-day, the pursuit *of the Christians* was burning-forth against him, so that the entire city could no longer contain him. Indeed, *Ōrigenēs* went from house to house, but was driven from every-side, on account of the multitude who were approaching the divine teaching through his *effort*, since even the works of *his daily* activity encompassed marvelous correct-actions of a most-genuine fondness-of-knowledge. Accordingly, he led tens-of-thousands into his own zeal.

But when *Ōrigenēs* saw still more regular-attenders approaching him (*for* the oral-instructing of the lecturing had been committed to him alone by Démétrios, the *man* who was presiding-over the assembly), he regarded the teaching of the grammatical reasonings to be inharmonious with the training in the divine disciplines. *So* he, without delay, broke-off the oral-instruction of the grammatical reasonings as *being* unprofitable and contrary to the consecrated lessons.

Next, with a fitting rationalization, *so* that he might not have need of assistance from others, he distributed as many written-compositions as he had of ancient reasonings, although he had cherished them fondly,⁶ being content with having four oboli a⁷ day brought to him by the *man* who had purchased them.

⁴ March 7

⁵ There is a play on words here, since Lat ‘area’ (which in general is nearly equivalent to the English word ‘area’), also can be used to have a more specific meaning, both a ‘burial area,’ and a ‘threshing area’ (that is, a threshing-floor).

⁶ Literally “with-fondness-of-beauty”

⁷ Literally “the”

¹ Literally “in order to bring him a necessary/force of remaining at home”

² Literally “discipline”

³ most Eusebios, Nikephoros / two Eusebios, Eusebios(Rufinus) omit “while still a boy”

Also, for many years, he continued to live in this manner like someone-fond-of-wisdom (philosopher), stripping himself of every sediment of youthful desires. And indeed, throughout an entire day, he was carrying-on labors of no small amount of training; but even for the greater portion¹ of the night, he dedicated himself to the study of the divine writings.

Origenés also was especially persevering in a lifestyle of someone-fond-of-wisdom (philosopher); indeed, sometimes by the exercises of abstinences-of-food, but sometimes by having limited the time² of his slumber, which he made an effort never to take on a bedding, but instead on the ground. But most of all, he thought that the voice of the Savior in the Good-Message must especially be observed, in which he both exhorts us about not having two tunics nor to use sandals, nor to be worn-out by the cares of what is going to happen in the future.³

(Matthew 10:10; 6:34)

Instead, Origenés, employing an eagerness even greater than his age, was persevering-to-the-end in cold and nakedness. Also, driving to the summit of surpassing poverty, he was especially striking those around him with astonishment. Indeed, he was grieving tens-of-thousands of his subordinate-chiefs who were vowing to share all things in common with him, on account of the labors which they had been seeing him contribute concerning the divine teaching. Yet, he did not give-up his perseverance. Accordingly, he even tread the earth for many years without ever using a sandal; instead, even for most of his years, he abstained from the use of wine and the other things which are beyond necessary food, so that he fell into danger of being an upsetter and corrupter of his own chest.⁴

Now in contrast, in many of the well-known assemblies, especially in the larger cities, some of the overseers of this time were having more pride than the princes of the nations, giving themselves all but bodyguards, like kings. They were terrifying people and making themselves inaccessible, especially if those persons were poor. If anyone would come and would ask one of these overseers to do something for him, they would act more insolent to that individual than the cruelest tyrants and princes would to their petitioners. But other overseers tried to fill the body-of-elders of their assembly with members of their own families, instead of with men who were fit to occupy them.

So Origenés, by heaping up such examples of a lifestyle of someone-fond-of-wisdom (philosopher) alongside those who were observing him, naturally was stimulating many of his regular-attenders to the same zeal as himself, so that even at present no ordinary persons of the unfaithful nations, as well as of those from the interests of both discipline and fondness-of-wisdom, were being led-over to his teaching. And some of these individuals, after they received from him, in the depth of their soul, a genuine faith in the divine account, were becoming prominent in the season of the pursuit of that time against the Christians. And after certain ones among them were captured, they died on account of their testimony of Jesus the Anointed-One.

CHAPTER 73: TESTIMONIES OF PLOUTARCHOS & SERENUS, HÉRAKLEIDÉS & SERENUS & HÉRAIS, AND OF POTAMIAINA & BASILEIDÉS

Now indeed, the first of Origenés' regular-attenders who died on account of his testimony of Jesus the Anointed-One was Ploutarchos, a man who lived beautifully and was ornamented with a divine testimony. For as he was being led-away to his death, Origenés, who was present with him to the very end of his lifetime, was almost done away with by his fellow citizens, as if he was clearly responsible for his death. But Origenés was preserved.

But after Ploutarchos, the second of Origenés' regular-attenders to be displayed as a testifier was Serenus, who, through a fire, gave the proof of a faith which he had received.

The third testifier of the same lecturing was Hérakleidés, who was still an oral-student; but after him, the fourth was Hérōs, who was a new-convert. Both of them had their head cut-off.

Still, besides these, the fifth from the same school, being acclaimed⁵ as an athlete of piety, was a different Serenus. He, after a greatest endurance of tortures, was chastised by losing his head.

But also a woman, Herais, still an oral-student, received the immersion through the fire, going out of this present lifetime.

The seventh among these is Basileidés. He led-away Potamiaina, who was famous, even after her death, among those of her country. Indeed, she contended in tens-of-thousands of ways against those who passionately-desired her on behalf of both the purity and chastity of her body (in which she appeared-prominent). For therefore, even her soul and the ripeness of her body were flowering in bloom. But bearing-up-against tens-of-thousands of things, and finally, after tortures (too terrible and horrible to speak about), she was done away with through a fire, along with her mother Marcella. Yet the dispenser-of-justice, whose name was Aquila, laid harsh torments on all her body, and finally

threatened to give her over to gladiators for them to inflict an outrage on her body. But after she reviewed the situation for a short moment, she was asked what she had decided. And she gave such a reply, which, according to their opinion, rang-out as being impious.

Now at once, as she received the terms of her sentence, Basileidés, one of those who was enlisted in an army, received Potamiaina, and was leading her away to the death. But as the multitude was trying to annoy her and to pierce her with unchaste words, indeed, he was restraining and driving away the outragers, demonstrating the greatest mercy and philanthropy toward her. But she accepted the sympathy which he had concerning her, recommending that the man be of good-courage. For after she departed this life, she would make a request to the Lord for him, and it would not be long before he would be repaid with a recompense for what he had done for her. But having spoken this, she nobly withstood the issue, fiery pitch being poured slowly and in small drops on different parts of her body, from the tips of the feet, even as far as the head. And this indeed was the conflict which this famous maiden struggled-against.

But not a long time passed before Basileidés, being requested by his fellow-soldiers to take an oath for a certain reason, strongly-maintained that it was absolutely not possible for him to be swearing; for he was a Christian, and he was confessing this openly. Therefore indeed, at the first, they were thinking that he was only playing-around; but when he was persistently affirming it, he was led to the dispenser-of-justice. On confessing his opposition, he was given over to bonds.

But when the brothers in God were coming to him, and were inquiring-of him about the reason for this sudden and incredible impulse, he spoke, "Potamiaina, for three days after her testimony, appeared before me by night, and placed a crown on my head. She also declared, that she had been invoking favor from the Lord and had been obtaining her claim, also that it would not be long before she would take me with her."

At this, the brothers distributed to him the seal in the Lord. On the next day, he, appearing-prominent in his testimony of the Lord, was having his head cut-off.

But many others in Alexandria also suddenly came-over to the account of the Anointed-One in those times; for many claimed that Potamiaina appeared to them in their slumbers and invoked them.

However, Origenés himself did not altogether escape suffering for the holy account of the faith and name of the Anointed-One: indeed, he was often being dragged throughout the city, being reproached, being thrown-under irremediable tortures. For even also at one season, the Hellenes shaved him, and set him on the ascent of the sacred-precinct of their idol, which is called Sarapeion. And they ordered him to give-out palm branches to those who were going-up for the unlawful-act and bowing-down before the idol. (For the priests of their idols take this posture.) But after he took the branches, he cried-out with a great voice and a bold purpose, not terrified nor having hesitated, saying, "Come here! Do not take the branch of the idol, but instead, the branch of the Anointed-One!"

Now at this time, while Origenés was accomplishing the work of the oral-instruction at Alexandria, he committed a deed, which, indeed, was the result of an immature and youthful way-of-thinking,⁶ yet truly at the same time, was including a greatest sample of a faith and a soundness-of-mind. For he took the words, "There are eunuchs—whichever ones made themselves eunuchs due to the kingdom of the heavens" (Matthew 19:12) too simply and too youthfully. At the same time, he imagined that he was fulfilling the directive of the saving voice. But at the same time, he shut-out all suspicion of shameful slander in the minds of the unfaithful-ones. For although he was youthful in age, he held intercourse on divine subjects, not only with men alone, but also with women. Because of these things, he was impelled to accomplish a work of the saving voice, and considered that it would escape the notice of the majority of those who were well-known to him. But it was not possible to conceal such a work, even though he was wishing to.

In fact, when Démétrios (for he was presiding-over the sojourn there) later came to know about this, he indeed, especially marveled-much at the reckless-act, but yet he approved the eagerness and the genuineness of his faith, exhorting him to be of good-courage. And he was urging him on to apply himself now, even more, to the work of the oral-instruction. Yet truly, without precaution,⁷ Origenés was accomplishing the work of the divine teaching at Alexandria for all who were present, by night and by day, dedicating all of his leisure, untiringly, to the divine lessons and to his regular-attenders.

CHAPTER 74: VARIOUS INCIDENTS THROUGHOUT THE PURSUIT

Now while the pursuit against the Christians raged throughout the inhabited earth, there were many more noteworthy incidents among the Christians, which included the following:

In Kappadokia, Claudius Lucius Hieronymianus,⁸ indignant that his wife had become a Christian, had treated the Christians with cruelty. Left alone in his

¹ literally "time"

² literally "by having measured the season"

³ literally "time"

⁴ Eusebios(Gk), Epiphanius / Eusebios(Lat: Rufinus, Christophorosonos) "stomach"

⁵ literally "preached-loudly"

⁶ literally "diaphragm" (similar to how in English the word "heart" has both a literal and an emotional sense)

⁷ literally "unguarded"

⁸ Emendation / Tertullian "Herminianus"

praetorium, wasted by pestilence, breaking out with living worms, he said, "Let no one know, lest *the* Christians rejoice and Christian wives have hope." Afterwards, he recognized his error in having caused some to fall away from their resolution due to *the* torments which he had inflicted on them; and he died, almost a Christian.

Now Asper, a proconsul of Africa, when a human was slightly abused and immediately fell away from *the* faith, did not compel him to sacrifice, having previously professed in the presence of the advocates and the assessors, that it pained him that such a case should have fallen upon him.

Pudéns, another proconsul of Africa, also dismissed a Christian who had been sent to him. For understanding that *the* indictment against him was merely a vexation, he tore up *that* same indictment, refusing, in accordance with his imperial mandate, to hear a human without an accuser.

And *the* notary of one of them, when he was thrown headlong by a demon, was liberated from it by a Christian. And others had a relative and a little-boy healed. And many honorable men, apart from the commoners, were remedied from demons and infirmities. For while the Judeans no longer had prophets or prodigious signs, still saved among the Christians were considerable traces and remnants of that holy spirit, by which they alone were dispelling *the* assaults of demons and were dispelling demons from *the* bodies of humans by both *the* torments of words and *the* conflagration of prayer, without any reward and without pay.

For it is not by invocations, or making use of *the* practice of spells, or by works of either magic or of drugs that Christians seem to be strong over demons, driving them out of the souls of humans. Instead, it is by *the* simplest out-adjurations: "in the name of Jesus", and sometimes by *the* recital of histories which are about him according to the divine writings, especially by those who have faith in these things and are speaking in a sound and genuinely trusting state. For by these means, many were released from harsh occurrences, and distractions, and madness, and ten-thousand other things which could not be treated by humans nor demons. For when demons and other invisible powers are adjured-out by the true and only God, the miserable beings in obedience to the mere mention of the name of Jesus, fearing that name as of a being mightier than them, unwillingly shiver in *the* bodies of the humans whom they are waging-war against, and either leap out at once, or vanish gradually, according to *the* faith of the sufferer or *the* grace imparted by *the* healer. And everywhere those who were escaping from the demons, after they had been freed from this enslavement, were dedicating themselves to God, and were daily plunging themselves into a clean life of piety. But sometimes, demons were even driven out of the animals;¹ for many-times even they suffer the injury and the things such as this by the operation of certain demons.

But yet genuinely faithful Christians also accomplished many healings by calling-on the mere name of Jesus, which can remove distractions from purposes of humans, but even sicknesses in those whom God wishes. And even beasts, such as scorpions and snakes, are unable to injure humans where faith is present, provided that they are not struck by distrust, but are immediately signing and adjuring, and treading upon the beast. In fact, *the* Christians, having been endowed by God with *the* same power as *the* emissaries, even aided those of the nations who were inflicted by these types of beasts.

But *this* name can make in someone a certain marvelous meekness and a subjugation of character, and a philanthropy, and a goodness, and a serenity in those who do not pretend to be Christians for the sake of the common life or certain human wants, but instead have genuinely received the account about God and *the* Anointed-One and the coming judgment.

But the Christians were also foreseeing certain things which were going to happen, according to the intention of the account of God. And certain other manifestations, which are not easily-contemptible, were being accomplished.

Now at *this* time, there was also a certain Christian brother, who, because his slaves had crowned his door with wreathes after *the* public joys had been announced, was severely chastised in a vision that same night. However, he himself had not crowned them or commanded them to be crowned; for he had gone out before, and, after his return, had reprehended *the* fact that this had been done. To such a degree are Christians appraised by God in such matters, even on account of *the* discipline of their family.

Now there was a certain woman who went to a theater, and returned home from there with a demon. Therefore, during *the* adjuring, when *the* unclean spirit was burdened because he was being accused that he had dared to attack a believer, he firmly said, "And indeed I did it most righteously, for I found her in my own domain."

And there was another woman, who, on the very night of the day on which she had heard a tragic-actor, was shown in a dream: a linen-cloth, which was upbraiding her by naming that tragic-actor. And at the end of five days,² that woman was no longer in *this* age. These two incidents demonstrate, that those who enter *the* spectacles and *the* theaters, are not only able to be penetrated by

demons, but, by communing with *the* Slanderer through these means, fall-away from *the* Lord.

Now Rutilius, a holy testifier, after having so often fled from pursuit from place to place, even buying security from danger with money (as he thought), was, despite *the* complete security which he had procured for himself, at last unexpectedly apprehended. And after he was brought to *the* president, he was broken down by torments. Then he was thrown into a fire, and repaid to *the* mercy of God a suffering which he had avoided.

There was also a certain Domnus, who, in the season of the pursuit, fell-out of the faith in *the* Anointed-One to the Judean self-imposed-religion.

CHAPTER 75: DEATH OF EMPEROR SEVÉRUS / MURDER OF EMPEROR GETA

Now when the inhabitants of the island of Caledonia (that is, Scotland), deserted the Romans, Emperor Sevérus, after his soldiers had invaded their country and killed everyone whom they met, was preparing to wage-war against them himself. And while he was doing these things, an extensive sickness carried him off on the fourth day of February in Eboracum (that is, York) in Britannia. However, Sevérus' son, Antoninus, even while his father was alive, wanted to be the monarch. And so, since his father was slow to die, he was trying to persuade both healers and servants to work-evil around their treatment of the old-man. Now Emperor Sevérus lived 65 years, and 9 months, and 25 days; and he ruled-over the principality of the Romans for 17 years, and 8 months, and 3 days.³ And Sevérus was succeeded by his boys Antoninus and Geta, but the pursuit of the Christians did not abate.

Now Antoninus and Geta, even long before their father's death, while still striplings, were being utterly-destroyed by luxury and way-of-life in Roma, as well as an excessive effort to indulge in both the theater as well as chariot-driving and dancing. They were also embezzling money—indeed, vying with one another in the similarity of their works, but being at odds with one another in their efforts against each other. For if the one attached himself to a certain faction, the other would assuredly be choosing the opposite side. But both their flatters and their attendants were flattering them and drawing them into the pleasures of their young age. For the two brothers were dishonoring⁴ women and outraging boys.

But after the death of their father, the hatred and the sedition were increasing. For if a leader or chief was to be appointed, they would choose their own friends. If dealing justice, they were opposite minded, often to the ruin of those to whom they were dealing justice. Also in the shows, they were making efforts to choose opposite factions. They also were trying to persuade both cupbearers and cooks to throw a noxious drug into each other's drinks.

But finally, Antoninus (a man who never regarded anyone with affection, but who hated everyone who was excelling) was not able to bear *this* any longer. Instead, being driven by the desire of a monarchy, he, in December in the 1st year of their reign, had his brother Geta killed in his own mother's arms, at the age of 22.⁵ But his mother was not permitted to mourn nor to lament for her son. Instead, she was being compelled to be rejoicing and laughing as though at some great good-fortune. But of both the Caesariani and the soldiers who had been with Geta, he killed⁶ 20,000 on the spot, men and women together, not even sparing the infants, nor athletes and charioteers and dancers whom Geta had enjoyed. But every night humans of every kind were being brought to be slaughtered. And as he continued to commit countless other atrocities, he even reached such a level of depravity that he actually believed that he was Alexandros the Great reincarnated, and married his own stepmother; and, although he himself was *the* most-adulterous of men, he bore enmity toward and even murdered those who did the same thing.

CHAPTER 76: NARKISSOS

Now during the 1st year of Emperor Antoninus, after Serapiōn (overseer of the assembly of the Antiocheians) rested from *this* present life, Asklepiadés (who himself also appeared-prominent on account of his confessions under the pursuit of *the* Christians), succeeded to the oversight of the assembly at Antiocheia. Now Serapiōn, before he had come-to-his-end, thoroughly-refuted the so-called Good-Message according to Petros, which had been forged and ascribed to Petros by some of the sectarians, and by which some in the sojourn of Rhossus had run-aground into teachings which were different-in-opinion from *the* truth.

And also during this time, Alexandros (who was a pupil of his lords Pantainos and Cléméns, through whom he was aided and became acquainted with Ōrigenés; and who was still imprisoned since his confession of *the* Anointed-One which he had made under Emperor Sevérus), sent Cléméns the elder to congratulate Asklepiadés. For even though Alexandros was in prison, he knew that his imprisonment was in accordance with the foresight and oversight of Yahweh God.

³ Cassius / Hippolytus(Chronicon) "...for 14 years" / Hérōdian, Chronicon(Jerome), Eusebios, Aurelius(Epitome) "...for 18 years" / Chronography354 "for 17 years, 11 months, 28 days" / Eutropius "died in the 18th year, 4th month of his reign" / Aurelius(Liber) "in the 18th year of his reign"

⁴ Literally "shaming", but in the context of raping women

⁵ Chronography354 states that he reigned "10 months, 12 days" (but its dates are often very erroneous and untrustworthy)

⁶ Cassius / Hérōdian "slaughtered"

¹ more literally "living-creatures"

² literally "of the fifth day"

Now while all these pursuits *against the Christians* were going on throughout the reigns of Emperor Sévérus and his son Antoninus, Narkissos, the overseer of the assembly in Jerusalem, was performing incredible *things*:

During *one* of the great all-night Passover watches, the olive-oil ran-out on the ministers. At this, as a terrible despondency seized the entire multitude, Narkissos ordered those who were preparing the lights, to draw water in order to have it brought back to him. But after this was performed simultaneously at *his* word,¹ he, after he prayed-over the water with faith (the genuine *faith* into the Lord), encouraged them to pour it down the lamps. Now after they also did this, the nature changed² from out of water into a quality of olive-oil. And the brothers guarded a small portion of it as a sample³ of the marvel.

Now on another occasion, certain foul manikins, unable to bear *Narkissos'* vigorous and firm lifestyle, who were anxious of being caught *and* submitted to a court-of-justice because of the ten-thousand evils which they had been conscious of, sought to take him beforehand by stitching-together a plot, and they sounded-out a certain terrible slander against him. Next, in order to gain the faith of those who were listening to it, they were confirming their accusation by oaths: and indeed, the *one* was swearing, that truly he might be destroyed by a fire; but the *other*, that truly his body might be consumed by a foul sickness; but the third, that truly that his vision might be incapacitated. Instead, even though they were swearing in this manner, the mind of the faithful-ones paid no attention to them, because all of both the sound-mindedness and virtuous conduct of Narkissos were shining before everyone. Yet truly, *Narkissos* himself, not able to endure the depravity of what had been said *by them*, and, besides, having followed the lifestyle of someone-fond-of-wisdom for a long *time*, escaped from the entire multitude of the assembly, escaping-notice by spending most of *his* years in deserts and obscure fields.

Instead, the great eye of rightful-punishment was not unmoved by the things which were taking-place, but was swiftly pursuing these impious *men* with the imprecations with which they bound themselves by forswearing. Therefore indeed, the first, together with his whole race, was incinerated, when, for no other reason than having a small spark fall upon it, the house in which he was staying had been entirely set on fire from underneath during the night. But the body of *the second*, was suddenly being filled from the tips of *his* feet to his head with a sickness which he had punished himself with.

But the third, seeing what had happened to those who were before him, and dreading the inevitable rightful-punishment of the God who is observing all, indeed confessed to everyone what they themselves had contrived in common. But while changing his mind, he was so worn-out by his lengthy wailings, also leaving behind so many tears, that the vision *in both of his eyes* was utterly-destroyed. And these indeed were the punishments which these *men* received for their false-account.

Now since Narkissos had departed, and no one knew where he happened to be, those who were presiding-over the bordering assemblies, supposed that they would seek a different overseer by a *vote* of a show of hands. His name was Dios. He, having been presiding-over *them* for not a long time, was succeeded by Germanion. And *Germanion* was succeeded by Gordios.⁴ In his *time*, Narkissos reappeared from somewhere. The brothers called him back to the superintendence, all greatly admiring him still *even* more on account of both his retirement and his fondness-of-wisdom, and above all *because* God deemed it worthy to avenge him.

Now at this time, Alexandros, who had displayed manliness during the pursuit of *the Christians*, and, after their struggles in *their* confessions, had been guarded by *the* foresight of God, was no longer in his imprisonment. And since *Narkissos*, because of his shining old-age, was also no longer able to perform his duties, the stewardship of God was calling Alexandros (who was *at that time* an overseer of a different sojourn) to the public-service simultaneously with Narkissos, by a revelation which appeared to him by night in a vision.

Now therefore, in this way, *Alexandros*, as if following a divine-oracle, had made the journey from the earth of Kappadokia (where he was the first who had been deemed-worthy of the oversight) to Jerusalem, on account of a vow and an investigation of the holy places. They received him in a friendly *manner*, no longer permitting him to return home because of a different revelation which they also saw by night, which also proclaimed *the* clearest voice to those who were especially effortful among them. For it was making-clear, *that* they, after they came-before *the place* outside the gates, *were* to receive the overseer having been foreordained for them *from out of a god*. Now after they performed this, with *the* common resolve of the overseers *who were* managing surrounding assemblies, they were constraining him by necessity to remain. Therefore, in the 2nd year⁵ of the reign of Emperor Antoninus, and when Narkissos was about 116 years old, Alexandros became the 35th overseer⁶ of the assembly in Jerusalem, while

Narkissos, his predecessor, was still remaining in this *temporal* lifetime, and oversaw along with him.

CHAPTER 77: FURTHER PURSUIT OF CHRISTIANS IN AFRICA

Now as the pursuit of the Christians continued to rage throughout Africa, there were massive floods throughout the earth for at least a year. And these were accompanied by fires which hung all night over *the* walls of Carthage, and preceding thunders. And even in the 2nd year of the reign of Emperor Antoninus, on the 14th day of the month of August, during *the* convent of Utica, *the* light of *the* sun was almost *entirely* extinguished due to an eclipse.

But despite these threatenings and signs of God's imminent wrath, *the* persecutors hardened themselves against these portents, while the Christians prayed that they would only be local. For even then, the Christians, under Scapula, *the* proconsul of Africa, were being persecuted with *the* short-sword by *the* president of Legionis and *the* president of Mauritania. But the Christians knew, that greater *the* contests, greater *their* rewards.

Yet despite this persecution, Tertullianus (who had unfortunately been seduced by the false-teachings of Montanus and his false-prophetesses), wrote a defense to Scapula the proconsul. Now he did not do this because he was dismayed or greatly disturbed by the persecutions which they were suffering from the ignorant unfaithful-ones, but because he loved his enemies. And being saddened by Scapula's ignorance, he had compassion on his human error. Tertullianus shared with him the peaceful and righteous lifestyle performed by the Christians. And he reminded him of the terrible divine retributions which had befallen many of the Roman officials who had dared to persecute the Christians throughout the recent persecutions, also indicating to him that God, not striking them down immediately for their crimes, had had exceptional patience with them, desiring that they too might change their mind from fighting God and might receive forgiveness from him for their sins. Therefore, Tertullianus urged Scapula to consider these things, and to change his mind before God's imminent retribution overtook him as well.

CHAPTER 78: EMPEROR ANTONINUS' EXPEDITIONS AGAINST ORHAI & THE SURROUNDING NATIONS

Now in about the 2nd year of the reign of Emperor Antoninus, King Abgar of the Orhites died and was succeeded by his son Abgar. However, the Christian Bardaisan survived after the eldest Abgar's end, until the time of Antoninus Caesar, to whom he addressed his most-capable dialogue, along with other works which he wrote due to the pursuit of *the Christians* which arose at that time. But *Bardaisan* also rose-against Antoninus' companion Apollonios, by refusing to say that he denied that he was the Christian. But he was nearly appointed to present a confession; and, defending himself like a man with an intelligent account of piety, he answered. "I do not fear death," he declared, "which is necessary to come, even if I do not speak-against the king."

Now after Abgar son of Abgar, king of the Orhites, had gained the might over his fellow-tribesmen, there was not one of the superior *men* whom he did not perform the most terrible *things* upon. Indeed, he was giving an account that he was forcing them into changing to the Roman customs, but in fact he was insatiately indulging his authority over them. *So Emperor Antoninus*, using *this situation* as a pretext to invade Orhai, had deluded Abgar, king of the Orhites, inducing him to come to him as a friend. Then *Antoninus* seized him and bound him. And since Orhai was *now* left without a king, he subdued it. Now after this, *Emperor Antoninus* did the same to the king of the Armenians. And truly, the Armenians did not comply with him, *but* instead took up *their* weapons against him.

Now after *Emperor Antoninus* ravaged all the earth and all the sea and left nothing anywhere unharmed, the spells of some of his foes caused him to be out of his mind and stricken-sideways. For some of them declared, that they had used magical-powers to strike his diaphragm. For indeed, he was also sick in his body (indeed from visible but also from unexplainable illnesses), but even in his soul, by certain bitter phantasms; and yet often, he was even supposing that he was being struck by his father and his brother, both with short-sword in hand.

And because of these *things*, *Antoninus* indeed led up souls which had departed *this life* in order to grasp a remedy against them, including the soul of his father and that of *Emperor* Commodus. But not one of them spoke to him except Commodus, who said, "Walk nearer, rightful-punishment, which *the* gods request from you for Sévérus," and, "In secret places, *you* have a fatal sickness." But although *Emperor Antoninus* served many of the abominable gods of the nations, not one brought a healing to either his body or his soul.

CHAPTER 79: FURTHER EXPLOITS OF ŌRIGENÉS

Now while all these things were going on, Ōrigenés (who was also called Adamantios, because his rationalizations were linked together like adamantine chains), toward the beginning of the reign of Emperor Antoninus, at the time when Zephurinos was leading the assembly of *the* Romans, visited Roma. *For* he prayed to see the most-ancient assembly of the Romans. There he met many of the brothers, including the elder Hippolytos, with whom he became especially well-acquainted. After spending a not long *time* there, he was returning to

¹ literally "account"

² literally "thrown-into-a-different-position"

³ literally "example"

⁴ Eusebios, Epiphanius, Chronicon(Jerome) / Chronicon(Arm), Syncellus "Gordianos"

⁵ Chronicon(Jerome) / Chronicon(Arm) "4th year"

⁶ Chronicon(Jerome) / Chronicon(Arm) "36th overseer" (in error)

Alexandria. And there he was fulfilling the habitual work of the oral-instruction with all effort. For Démétrios, who was an overseer there at that time, was urging him on and was all but entreating him to give his assistance without hesitation to the brothers.

But when *Origenes* saw that he no longer had the leisure for the deeper *study* of the divine *things*, both for the probing and interpretation of the consecrated documents, and, in addition, for the oral-instruction of those who were coming to him, who were not *even* giving him *time* to take a breath (*for* one after another were going to and fro from his teaching-place from dawn even until evening), he divided the multitude. From among his regular-attenders, *Origenes* selected Héraklas, appointing him a companion in the oral-instruction. Indeed, *Origenes* committed to Héraklas the first preliminary of those who were just learning the elementary-principals of *Christianity*, but kept for himself the lecturing of those who were *already* trained.

Now Héraklas was a *man* who was both effortful in the divine *things* and otherwise a most-elloquent man and who was not bereft of a fondness-of-wisdom. For when *Origenes* had discovered him, Héraklas had already devoted himself for five years to the teacher of the philosophical lessons, before *Origenes* had begun to hear lectures on those accounts. And now, Héraklas held a seat in the body-of-elders of the Alexandrians.

Also at this *time*, Ambrosios, who was of the *same* mind as the sect of Valentinus,¹ was convicted by *Origenes*' negotiating of the truth. And Ambrosios, as if his mind was illuminated² by a light, was shunning the sect, and was assenting his *former* reasoning *over* to the correct-opinion of the assembly, and adopting the *true* faith of God.

But as *Origenes* dedicated himself to the account of *God*, and the *good* report³ about his ability was spreading and crying-out everywhere, many others among the disciplined also came to him to make a test of the man's proficiency in the consecrated accounts. But indeed tens-of-thousands of the sectarians, but *also* those from the Hellenistic lessons, as well as not a few of the exceptionally shining persons-fond-of-wisdom (philosophers), were coming to him. Because of this, *Origenes* imitated Pantainos (*one of his predecessors in the school at Alexandria*, and who helped many before *Origenes*' time, and who had no small preparation in *secular studies*) by supposing that he would probe both the opinions of the sectarians, and what the ones-fond-of-wisdom (philosophers) were reported⁴ to be saying about truth. Accordingly, those who were coming to *Origenes*, through their *own* effort, were attending to him, receiving a disciplining from him, not only in the divine-things, but also in the extramural fondness-of-wisdom (philosophy).

For as many as *Origenes* saw who were innately-clever *individuals*, he was leading-in and was committing them to philosophical lessons: geometry, and arithmetic, and other preparatory-lessons-of-discipline; and then, he was leading them forward to *learn about* the sects of the ones-fond-of-wisdom (philosophers) and describing their written-compositions, both commenting-on and inspecting each, so that the man was being proclaimed⁵ a great person-fond-of-wisdom (philosopher) even among the Hellenes themselves. But he was leading-on many of the amateurs to the ordinary⁶ documents, asserting that they would *receive* no little convenience from these for both the exposition and preparation of the divine writings. It was especially for this reason, that he considered training in the worldly and philosophical lessons a necessity even for himself.

Now about this time, while *Origenes* was spending his time⁷ at Alexandria, someone of the soldiery appeared and gave a letter both to Démétrios, who was the overseer of the sojourn at Alexandria, and to the prefect of Egypt at that time, which was from the leader of Arabia. He requested, that *Origenes* should be sent with all haste in order to communicate an account to him. And he arrived in Arabia. But having accomplished the purpose of his arrival in a short time, he returned back to Alexandria.

CHAPTER 80: WAR ON ALEXANDREIA / ŌRIGENÉS' RETREAT / EMPEROR MACRINUS

Now in the 6th year of the reign of Emperor Antoninus of the Romans, the emperor had heard that he himself was being slandered and mocked at by the populace of Alexandria for various reasons, not the least of which was the murder of his brother Geta. Therefore, he rushed to destroy the city of Alexandria, concealing his anger and pretending that he longed to *see* them. But when he reached the suburbs, indeed, the principal *men* came to meet him, and he greeted them with his right hand, and then he killed them. But, indeed after transmitting-a-message to all the humans of the city to stay at home, but after occupying all the roads and even the roofs beforehand, Emperor Antoninus completely-armed all the army and threw his soldiers into the city, and slaughtered innumerable amounts of persons. But of the money, indeed a *portion* was plundered, but a *part* was utterly-destroyed. But therefore, many of the

strangers of the city were destroyed-together with them. And yet not a few of those who had come with Antoninus were, in ignorance, utterly-destroyed together with them. For as both the city was great and the humans were being murdered in all parts of it both by night and by day, it was not possible to distinguish anyone. Instead, they had been dying wherever they happened to be, and their bodies had been immediately thrown into deep ditches, in order to keep the greatness of the event unseen by the rest. But so great was this murder, that the outflows of the Nile and all the shore around the city were stained red by the flows of blood through the plain.

But all the strangers were driven-out, except for the merchants, and clearly all the property of these *individuals* was plundered. And indeed, Emperor Antoninus was present for most of these *things*, looking-on and taking part, but even issuing orders from the Sarapeion; for he had been living⁸ in the sacred-precinct even during the very nights and days of the bloodsheds, which he himself called rites-of-purification. But he abolished both the spectacles and the public-messes of the Alexandrians, and directed, that Alexandria should both be divided-by-a-wall and guarded at intervals, in order that the citizens might no longer visit one another without-anxiety. After working these *things*, Emperor Antoninus left the city and came to Antiocheia. (Now the rest of the details of this invasion of Alexandria by Emperor Antoninus and his wicked deeds against its citizens, are written by the secular historians, namely Hérōdian.)

Now after this war had been kindled in the city, *Origenes* withdrew from Alexandria. Indeed, he went to Palaestina (that is Israel), but had been spending his time⁹ in Caesarea. And there, the overseers of Palaestina (including Alexandros overseer of Jerusalem and Theoktistos¹⁰ of Caesarea) asked *Origenes* to both discuss and to interpret the divine writings in public at¹¹ the assembly, although he did not yet have the laying-on-of-hands to be part of the body-of-elders.¹²

But *Origenes* stated in reply, "This has never been heard of, nor has taken place up to now, that some of the common people should preach¹³ in the presence of overseers."

For at that time, indeed, in Egypt, no one was permitted to preach in the assemblies unless he was part of the body-of-elders; but in Palaestina, whenever persons were found who were fit to help the brothers, they were summoned by the holy overseers to preach before¹⁴ the people, even if they were not part of the body-of-elders.

So when Démétrios, overseer of Alexandria, wrote to the overseers of Palaestina concerning this issue of *Origenes*' preaching while not being an elder, Alexandros and Theoktistos were defending themselves by explaining the custom of their assemblies to him. Nevertheless, Démétrios again called-back *Origenes* by documents, as well as by men who were ministers of the assembly, urging him to return to Alexandria. So after he came, he resumed his work with accustomed effort.

Now when Emperor Antoninus was about to set out of Antiocheia on his last journey, his father appeared to him in a sleeping-vision, short-sword-in-hand, saying, "As you killed your brother, so I will slaughter you." And shortly after this, while he was traveling through Syria, he was assassinated between Edessa and Haran by a certain centurion of his own bodyguard. So Antoninus, surnamed both Caracalla and Bassianus, lived 29 years and 4 days,¹⁵ and he reigned 6 years and 2 months and 2 days.¹⁶ And Macrinus succeeded him as emperor of the Romans.

⁸ may also be translated "arbitrating"

⁹ literally "was making his pastime"

¹⁰ Eusebios / Photius "Theoteknos"

¹¹ literally "at the common of" (with the meaning in Greek, as translated)

¹² Epiphanius (Panarion #64/44.2:1-8) gives some additional information about Origenes which is not contained anywhere else, including that he sacrificed at Alexandria at this time before he left, and more details about his subsequent time at Philistia. Because no other source gives these accounts, most scholars highly doubt their authenticity. Unable to reach a conclusion on their authenticity, they are included as a footnote. "Instead, Origenes did not remain worthy of the prize to the end. For he had been an object of most-extreme envy for his protruding eloquence and his preparatory-discipline, and this even more managed to sharpen the chiefs who had the authority in that season. For with slanderous mischief, the works of evil had it in their mind to treat the man with obscene-conduct and making that a retribution; so they made-ready an Ethiopian to abuse his body. But Origenes, not able to bear even the thought of this slanderous operation, his voice bursting-forth, that if he had to choose either one of these acts which were set-before-him, he would rather sacrifice. But truly, he did not accomplish this with a voluntary purpose. Instead, since he had agreed to do it at all, he threw frankincense on his hands and let it down into the fire of the altar. And this was how he was excluded¹² from the testimony by both the confessors and testifiers who judged him, and then he was expelled from the assembly. But since he had consented to this in Alexandria, and was not able to bear the jeering of those who were reproving him, he withdrew and chose to dwell in the land of Philistia, that is, in Judah. Accordingly, he went-up into Jerusalem, and would be propelled by the priesthood, as a man who was such an expounder and eloquent, to speak at the assembly. (For they assert that he had been considered-worthy of the eldership earlier, before the sacrificing.) Therefore, since those who were then managing in the priesthood of the holy assembly in Jerusalem were propelling him to speak at the assembly and were forcing him very much to do so, he arose on his feet and only spoke the verse of the 49th Psalm, bypassing all of the intervening-verses, as it says in the Psalm, "But to the sinner, God speaks, "Why do you describe my righteous-regulations and take-up my covenant in your mouth?" He closed the little-book, gave it over, and sat-down with weeping and tears, everyone weeping together with him."

¹³ literally "converse"

¹⁴ literally "to converse before"

¹⁵ CassiusDio / Aurelius(Epitome) "lived almost 30 years" / Jerome "...in the 43rd year of his life" (in error)

¹⁶ CassiusDio / Hippolytus "6 years, 9 months, 2 days" / Chronography354 "6 years, 2 months, 15 days" /

Chronicon(Jerome) "7 years" / Eusebios "7 years and 6 months" / Eutropius "died in the 6th year, 2nd month of

his reign" / Aurelius(Liber) "died in the 6th year of his reign" / Hérōdian (in error) "served as emperor

without his father and brother for 11 years"

¹ Eusebios / Epiphanius "Some say that Ambrosios was a Markiōnite, but some that he was a Sabellian"

² literally "shone-upon"

³ literally "declaration"

⁴ literally "had an appropriate-message brought"

⁵ literally "preached"

⁶ literally "circular" (as in something which is recurrent)

⁷ literally "was making his pastime"

Now during the first year of the reign of Emperor Macrinus, the theater, the hunting *theater*, was struck by thunderbolts on the very day of one of the festivals of the detestable gods of the Romans, incinerating its entire upper circuit and burning-down the entire ground of the arena; and at this, the rest of it was burned with fire *and* reduced to ruins. Human aid was not strong enough *to save it*, even though every water was flowing. Nor was the heavenly afflux, which was both extensive and severe, powerful enough *to quench it*, to such an extent, that the water from each of *the sources* had been consumed by the power of the thunderstrokes, and, in part, even caused *further* damage.

But it was not before long that Emperor Macrinus, because he began to hinder luxury and increased wages for the soldiers of the Roman army (although he himself indulged in endless luxuries), was killed by one of the disgruntled soldiers at the age of about 54 years. So after Macrinus had reigned for but 1 year and 2 months lacking 3 days,¹ a different Antoninus received the leadership of the Romans.

CHAPTER 81: THE OVERSIGHT OF KALLISTOS / FALSE-REVELATION OF HELKESAI

In the first² year of Antoninus, emperor of the Romans, the overseer of the assembly of the Romans, Zephurinos, having held the public-service for 18³ whole years, left this *present* lifetime, and was deposited in the cemetery of Kallistos which is on the Appian Way in Roma. After him, the oversight was put into the hands of Kallistos.

Now after the end of Zephurinos, Kallistos, having used Sabellius' party as part of his scheme to secure himself the oversight of the assembly in Roma, and supposing that he had obtained what he had been pursuing, rejected Sabellius as not being correctly minded. *He did this* because he was anxious of Hippolytos, and was supposing that he could brush-off the accusation against himself among the assemblies, as if he himself was not of a foreign mind.⁴ Therefore, *Kallistos* was a warlock and crafty, and, in time, seized-and-carried-off many *with him*. But also having the poison in his heart, and not being correctly⁵ minded *about* anything, but simultaneously even being ashamed to say the truth, *Kallistos* (not only due to his saying to Hippolytos' party, "All of you* are ditheists," when he publicly reproved them, *but* instead also due to being lengthily accused by Sabellius as one who had transgressed his first faith), invented a new sect.

Kallistos, following a recomposition of the teaching of the sectarian Noétos melded with that of Theodotos, taught:

The Account himself is *the Son*, and he himself is *the Father*—indeed, called a *different* name, but is one, the undivided spirit. *The Father* is not one but the *Son* another, but they are one and the same; and the entirety of *creation* is being filled of the divine spirit, both those above and those below. The spirit, which became flesh in the virgin, is not different from the Father, *but* instead is one and the same *as the Father*. *But he also* asserted, that the Father suffered together with the Son, but not that the Father himself suffered or is a different person than the Son. This warlock, venturing on such *false-notions*, composed a teaching-place contrary to the assembly, after he taught in-this-manner.

And first, he contrived assenting to the humans in regard to their pleasures, saying that all their sins were forgiven by himself. For the one who was gathering-together with anyone else *besides Kallistos* and who was said to be a Christian, if he sinned, the sin, Kallistos' party declared, is not accounted to him, if *only* he ran-up-to the school of Kallistos. Many were pleased with his rule, having been struck in conscience, as well as having also been simultaneously rejected⁶ by multiple sects. But even some, at the reprobation of Hippolytos' party, had been thrown-out of the assembly by them. *These individuals* joined the *followers of Kallistos*, and multiplied his teaching-place.

Kallistos decreed, how if an overseer sinned anything, if even a *sin* toward death, it was not necessary *for him* to be being disposed, asserting, that they were to let the darnel grow-together with the wheat. *Therefore*, his hearers, pleased with his decrees, continued with him. *But having* despised the Anointed-One, they were not hindering *any act* of sinning, asserting that they are forgiving *all* those who are well-pleased *with Kallistos' false-teachings*. For he even also permitted women, if they were both husbandless⁷ as well as burning with a passion of maturity or were not wishing to overturn their own worthiness through a lawful marriage, that they might have whomever they would take as a bedfellow, whether a household-slave or a *freeman*; and that a *woman*, though not lawfully married, might have such an *individual* instead of a husband.⁸ From this *situation*, *women*, who were said to be faithful-ones, began to cause barrenness *in themselves* with their own hands by binding-themselves-around and using drugs, in order to expel what was being conceived, because they were not wishing to

have a child from a slave, nor from any frugal *man*, for the sake of their relatives and excessive wealth. This was how great an impiety the lawless *Kallistos* gave-way for, by teaching adultery and murder at the same *time*; yet he and his followers continued to call themselves a universal assembly. *And also* during *his oversight*, they dared, for the first *time*, *to introduce* a second immersion.

Now Kallistos and Hippolytos also contended about the martial restrictions for overseers and elders and ministers. Now Kallistos allowed those who had been twice-married and thrice-married to be appointed among *the allotted-ones*; but also, that if anyone *currently* in *the allotment* might become married, to remain in the allotment, and that such an individual was not sinning. But Hippolytos was of the opinion, that anyone who was in any of these conditions should not be permitted to be among *the allotted-ones*, and that such a man was sinning.

And even later, after Kallistos' oversight would come to an end, his⁹ teaching-place would continue for some time, observing his¹⁰ customs and his tradition, not discerning with whom it is necessary to be communing with, *but* undiscernibly¹¹ bringing the communion to all *persons*. Therefore, Hippolytos' party referred to them as Kallistians.

Now at this time, even in Africa, Tertullianus, who was still corrupted by the false-prophecies and false-teachings of Montanus and his successors, also resisted the false-teachings Kallistos (although due to a belief of his, that it was impossible for those who were once faithful-ones and had subsequently sinned a sin toward death, such as adultery or sexual-immorality, to be forgiven and to be readmitted into the assembly even if they changed-their-mind from this sin, he opposed Kallistos more vehemently than Hippolytos). However, sometime after this, Tertullianus would recognize the errors of the false-teachings and false-prophecies of Montanus and the others, and throw-off every vanity of the sect of Montanus, though he would still refuse to embrace that of Kallistos. And Tertullianus would live to a decrepit old age.

With the teaching of this *Kallistos* having sounded throughout all the world, a different man who was deceitful and who was full of a loss-of-mind, looked into this *type of* activity. *He* was called Alkibiadés, *and* was dwelling in Apameia of Syria. Judging himself to be more fierce and more innately-clever in cheating than Kallistos, he came upon Roma. *And* he brought some book *with him*, asserting that a certain righteous man, Helkesai, had received it from Serae of Parthia, *and* that he gave it to a certain *man* called¹² Sobiai. This book, which claimed to be a revelation from a heavenly messenger, asserted that a new good-message of forgiveness of sins was proclaimed in the third year of *the* reign of Trajanus; and, that those who have been involved in every licentiousness and stain and lawless-deeds (including bestiality and incest and adultery and other acts of sexual-immorality), if *only* any of them is a believer, on being converted, and obeying and putting faith in this book, should receive a forgiveness of sins by being immersed in a second immersion of his, which is in addition to what Jesus the Anointed-One has given, and which is complete with so-called marvelous mysteries and with incantations and oaths to holy spirits and to messengers of prayer.

But he dared to continue an artifice of these knavish-tricks, after he received a starting-point from the previously-mentioned decree which Kallistos put himself to preside-over. For after he contemplated *that* many *were* taking-pleasure on-the-basis of such a professed-thing *as Kallistos' teaching*, he supposed that he *could* seasonably make an *attempt* with his own hands.

Helkesai also taught that faithful-ones should be circumcised and be living according to a law, and to honor the day of the sabbath on account of the authority of what he called 'wicked stars of the impiety'. But they did not confess that there is *only* one anointed-one, *but* instead that there is indeed one superior to the rest, *and* that he is often transfused in many *different* bodies, and would continue to frequently be born from other virgins; and that he was now in Jesus, who was *merely* born a common human. He also said, that to deny *Jesus the Anointed-One* is an indifferent *matter*, and that indeed he who comprehended will, under necessity, indeed deny with his mouth but not in his heart. Now the followers of this sect were strutting about astrology and mathematics and magical-arts, and pretended to have powers of foreknowledge. Now in addition to their book of falsehood, they use all of the writings of both *the* Old Covenant and *the* Good-Messages, but they entirely reject those of the emissary *Paulus*. Their successors were called either Helkesites or Sampsaeans.

But Hippolytos' party was withstanding even this *false-teaching*, *and*, to a great extent, did not permit *the rest of the assembly* to be misled by it. For Hippolytos' party convicted many of *them* that this was an operation of a bastard spirit and a notion of a heart which was puffed-up; and, that this *false-teacher*, was like a wolf raised-up to strike many wandering¹³ sheep, which Kallistos, by his misleading-away, scattered-abroad.

CHAPTER 82: REIGN OF EMPEROR ANTONINUS / START OF THE REIGN OF EMPEROR ALEXANDRUS

¹ CassiusDio / Hippolytus(Chronicon) "1 year, 2 months, 6 days" / Chronography354 "1 year, 4 months, 2 days" / Herodion, Eusebios, Chronicon(Jerome) "1 year" / Aurelius(Liber) "barely 14 months" / Aurelius(Epitome) "14 months" / Eutropius "1 year and 2 months"

² Eusebios / Chronicon(Jerome) "second"

³ Eusebios / Chronicon(Jerome) "17" / Chronography354 does not have the length of his reign (due to lacuna or scribal error)

⁴ literally "was not foreignly minded"

⁵ literally "straightly"

⁶ literally "thrown-off"

⁷ literally "manless"

⁸ literally "man"

⁹ literally "the"

¹⁰ literally "the" (also in next instance)

¹¹ literally "unjudgingly"

¹² literally "said"

¹³ usually translated elsewhere "misled"

Now Antoninus, emperor of the Romans (also called Elagabalus or Héliogabalus), did not want to privately sin, but did so publicly, and even killed many of the glorious and rich Romans who were disapproving and mocking his sinful lifestyle. Now when Antoninus was about 16 years old, he adopted Alexandrus, who was 12, as Caesar, with the intention of teaching him his own wicked practices. But Alexandrus' mother, Mamaea,¹ indeed led *him* away from Antoninus' shameful and indecent works, but secretly she sent-for teachers of every discipline as well as trained him in sound-minded lessons. Antoninus altogether was being altogether vexed at this, and changed his opinion about placing *Alexandrus* as his son and companion in the principality. Therefore, he scared-away all of *Alexandrus'* teachers from the royal-palace as well as, indeed, killed some of the glorious *men* but banished others, asserting that they would utterly-destroy his son by not allowing him to indulge in dancing and to celebrate the mysteries of Bacchus (one of the detestable gods of the Romans). But *Antoninus'* drunken-behavior ran-aground to such an extent that he appointed *actors* from the stage and public theaters, and charioteers and comedians and mimes, along with men notorious for shameful acts, to principal positions.

But with everything reduced in this way to outrage and drunken-behavior, all of *the Romans*, and especially the soldiers, were bearing enmity toward *him* and were being exasperated. So they were more favorably inclined toward Alexandrus, and had expectations of stronger *things* in a boy who was behaving well-orderly and sound-mindedly. They also kept watch-over *Alexandrus* when they saw that Antoninus was plotting-against him. *Alexandrus'* mother, Mamaea, also did not allow her boy to taste anything eatable or drink anything which was sent to him by *the emperor*, instead only those who were supposed to be most trustworthy² were chosen by his mother to handle *Alexandrus'* food. But *Mamaea* was also privately giving money to the soldiers in order to win their good-will toward Alexandrus.

After Antoninus was learning about this, he was plotting-against Alexandrus and his mother in every way. Instead, all his plots were debarred by the grandmother of them both. But since *Antoninus'* plots had not succeeded, he undertook to dismiss the boy from the honor of Caesar. But the soldiers were indignant at this action, and favored Alexandrus instead of Antoninus. But Antoninus ordered the arrest and punishment of the soldiers who openly supported Alexandrus. However, the soldiers, unwilling to obey this directive, and wanting to rid themselves of such a disgraceful king, did away with Antoninus and his mother as he was attempting to flee.

Therefore, indeed, Antoninus, at the age of 18,³ after he had reigned for 3 years and 8 months and 28 days,⁴ and had led a lifestyle too indecent to describe, the soldiers publicly-proclaimed Alexandrus emperor of the Romans and led him up into the royal-palace, while he was still a youth and still very much under the discipline of his mother and his grandmother. He immediately proclaimed his mother an August-Woman, and she grasped the stewardship of affairs.

But Mamaea, left alone with her boy, still tried to both govern and be mighty over him in the same *fashion*. Also seeing that he was already becoming a fully-ripe youth, she had been anxious, that his fully-ripe maturity, supported by both his freedom-of-terror and authority, might run him aground into the sexual sins. So the court was being watched-over from every side, nor was anyone who was slandered of having a base lifestyle being admitted to the stripling, lest his customs would be utterly-destroyed if his flatterers stretched what was becoming fully-ripe into shameful desires. Therefore, she gathered-together wise men around her son, in order that his customs might be properly-ordered by them, choosing the better *men* of the body-of-seniors as councilors, communicating to them everything which had to be done. And she was persuading him to sit as a judge continuously and for most of the day. For being occupied about the more important *matters* and the royal necessities, he would not have a season to be pursuing any of the sins. But *Alexandrus* was governed by a natural meek and tame custom, always inclined to what was philanthropic, as was made-clear as he grew more mature.⁵

Now Emperor Alexandrus' mother, Mamaea, was a most god-revering woman. Therefore, when the good report⁶ of *Ōrigenés* was crying-out everywhere and reached even as far as her ears, she held it to be of much worth to see the man, and to make a test of his intelligence about the divine-things which were being marveled at by everyone. Certainly, when she was spending-time in Antiocheia, she called him up to her with a military body-of-spearmen. After he spent-time there for a time, and after he showed to her both a great many things for the glory of the Lord and of the excellence of the divine teaching-place,⁷ he hastened back to his accustomed lecturing.⁸

¹ CassiusDio, Hérōdian / Eusebios "Mammaea"

² Literally "faithful"

³ CassiusDio, Hérōdian / Aurelius(Liber) "16"

⁴ Hippolytus(Chronicon) / Eusebios, Jerome "4 years" / Eutropius "2 years and 8 months" / Chronography354 "6 years, 8 months, 18 days" / Aurelius(Liber) "in the 30th month of his reign" / Hérōdian "more than five years" (in error)

⁵ Literally "as his maturity advanced"

⁶ Literally "declaration"

⁷ Literally "teaching-place"

⁸ may also be translated "pastime"

Now in the 1st year⁹ of Alexandrus, during *the consulate* of Antoninus, for *the 3rd time*,¹⁰ and Alexandrus, Kallistos, after holding the oversight of the assembly in Roma for 5 years and 2 months and 10 days,¹¹ suffered as a testifier. Now on *the day* before the Ides of October,¹² his body was deposited at Milestone III on *the Aurelian Way* in Roma; and the public-service was left to Urbanus, who became overseer of Roma during *the consulate* of Maximus and Elianus.¹³ Now in *this time*,¹⁴ Philéto¹⁵ also succeeded Asklépiadés in the assembly of *the Antiocheians*.

CHAPTER 83: MIGRATION OF ŌRIGENÉS FROM ALEXANDREIA TO PALAESTINA

Now at *this time*, since Ambrosios had been from a different sect and was an eloquent man and was effortful about the readings of the divine writings, he asked *Ōrigenés* to explain to him what he supposed were their hidden meanings. So *Ōrigenés*, being urged-on by Ambrosios, spoke that he would become an interpreter of all the divine writings; and he pursued expounding on them and began his commentaries on these writings. Instead, in doing this, *Ōrigenés* did not preserve his fame unquenchable to the end. For his multi-experience happened to be his great fall. For because he was wishing to leave none of the divine writings uninterpreted, he clothed himself into an allurements to a sin and dictated deadly words originating from his own imagination, interpreting-allegorically as much as he supposed he was able, and speaking with much nonsense, as he betook himself to fabricating explanations which were incompatible and incongruous with the things which are written, vaunting that the plain sayings of Moses are enigmas and regarding them as oracles full of hidden mysteries, and making them mean whatever he personally wished. *Ōrigenés* was not only rebuked by many of the Christians for his presumptuous deviations, but also by unfaithful-ones.

Now while these *things* were happening in this way, Urbanus, who oversaw the assembly of the Romans for 8 years and 11 months and 12 days,¹⁶ died during *the consulate* of Agricola and Clementinus,¹⁷ and was deposited in the cemetery of Kallistos which is on the Appian Way in Roma. And he was succeeded by Pontianus during the consulate of Pompeianus and Pelignianus.¹⁸ But Zebinos¹⁹ followed Philéto¹⁵ as overseer of the assembly of *the Antiocheians*.²⁰

In their *time*, *Ōrigenés*, due to a pressing need in assemblings, journeyed into Athénai in Hellas through Palaestina (that is Israel). And, without the knowledge of the overseer of Alexandria, who at that time was Démétrios, and contrary to a tradition held by the assembly in Alexandria, *Ōrigenés* received a laying-on-of-hands to an eldership in Caesarea in Palaestina before the overseers: Theoktistos,²¹ overseer of Caesarea in Palaestina, and Alexandros, overseer of Jerusalem, both of who approved *Ōrigenés* to be worthy of the highest honor.

Now at first, Démétrios, overseer of Alexandria, used to have praises for *Ōrigenés* and used to construe him into his *group* of most intimate-friends. This *event* turned the affection of Démétrios into hate, and his praises to criticisms. However at this time, Démétrios, in an attempt to refute *Ōrigenés'* eldership, was describing the deed of *Ōrigenés'* emasculation to the overseers throughout the inhabited-earth as being a most-deviant act. And a meeting of overseers and of some elders was being gathered against *Ōrigenés*. Nevertheless, as *Ōrigenés* advanced greatly in glory, as well as acquired no small name by humans everywhere for his excellence and wisdom, Démétrios, for lack of any other accusation against him, made a terrible slander of this action which *Ōrigenés* had committed long ago when he was a boy, and had the courage to include in these accusations those who had led him forward to the body-of-elders. But it was voted that, indeed, *Ōrigenés* would be removed from Alexandria, and not be allowed to spend his time in there, nor to teach there; however, that the honor of the eldership should in no way be removed from him. Yet instead, despite the dissent of the overseers of Palaestina (especially Alexandros), and Arabia, and Phoiniké, and Achaia, Démétrios, together with some Egyptian overseers, with the decision of those who had formerly voted on *Ōrigenés'* side, also publicly-renounced his eldership. *The assembly* in Roma also likewise gathered a senate against him.

Now it was in the 10th year²² of the reign of Alexandrus, emperor of the Romans, in which *Ōrigenés*, after having been exiled from Alexandria, made his migration from there to Caesarea in Palaestina, leaving the oral-instruction of the teaching-place²³ of *Alexandria* to Héraklas. There Theoktistos, overseer of

⁹ Eusebios, Chronography354 / Chronicon(Jerome) "3rd year"

¹⁰ 222AD

¹¹ Chronography354 "5 years, 2 months, 10 days" / Eusebios, Chronicon(Jerome) "5 years"

¹² 222-10-14

¹³ 223AD

¹⁴ Chronicon(Jerome) dates this to the 1st year of Macrinus / Chronicon(Armenian) to the 6th year of Antoninus Caracalla

¹⁵ Eusebios, Chronicon(Jerome) / Chronicon(Armenian) "Philippos" / Syncellos "Philéto or Philippos"

¹⁶ Chronography354 / Eusebios "8 years" / Chronicon(Jerome) "9 years"

¹⁷ 230AD

¹⁸ 231AD / Chronicon(Jerome) dates this to the 12th year of Alexandrus (~234AD)

¹⁹ most Eusebios / one Eusebios, Nicephorus "Zebenos" / Rufinus, Jerome, Armenian, some Eusebios

"Zebennos/Zebennus"

²⁰ Chronicon(Armenian) dates this to the 6th year of Alexandrus / Chronicon(Jerome) to the 7th year of Alexandrus

²¹ Eusebios / Photius "Theoteknos"

²² Eusebios (~232AD) / Chronicon(Jerome) "11th year" (~233AD)

²³ literally "teaching-place"

Caesarea, gladly welcomed him, *allowing* him to pass *his life* in Caesarea in Palaestina, and entrusted him with all authority to be teaching.

But not long afterward, Démétrios, overseer of the assembly of the Alexandreians, was coming-to-his-end,¹ having nourished the public-service for 43 full years. But Héraklas, who was giving excessive evidence of a philosophic and ascetic life and had also been one of Ōrigenés' regular-attenders, was esteemed worthy to succeed Démétrios in the overseeic public-service of Alexandria. And Dionysios succeeded Héraklas in the lecturing of the oral-instruction.

Now at some point, Dionysios read the compositions and the traditions of the sectarians, indeed blotching his soul for a little *time* with their totally-stained reflections, but receiving this profit from them: the ability to refute them by *himself* and to abhor them much more. And *because of this*, a certain brother among the elders was debarring *him* and was trying to make *him* anxious that *he* would be kneaded-together into the mire of their wickedness; for *he said that*, Dionysios would severely-injure *his* own soul. And Dionysios sensed that he was speaking truth.

Yet after a God-sent vision came-to *him*, it invigorated *him*; and an account given to *him* ordered *him*, saying distinctly, "Read everything whichever you might receive into *your* hands. For you are adequate to set-straight and test each; and from the beginning, this has also been a cause of your faith." And Dionysios welcomed the vision.

Now in the days of Héraklas, in Alexandria, Ōrigenés, the one called Adamantios, was *again* expounding his own sect on Wednesdays and Fridays. Therefore Héraklas separated him from the assembly and drove him from Alexandria, as a deserter of the healthy teaching and who marked the correct-opinioned faith with a false-stamp. But the banished Ōrigenés, departing into Syria, reached a city named Timai, which had a correct-opinioned overseer named Ammōnios, who even allowed Ōrigenés to speak an instructional account in his assembly. But Héraklas, having heard what he had stated, went out to Timai, and deposed Ammōnios because of this, and appointed an overseer in his place: Philippos, a certain younger man who had a great citizenship among the Christians. But later, Héraklas, being beseeched by the people of his city, again accepted Ammōnios for an overseer, and gave the oversight of Timai to both Ammōnios and Philippos. But after Héraklas withdrew from there, indeed Philippos never took the oversight, instead, when Ammōnios expounded or, accordingly, was performing the duties, he was continuously standing behind him all the days of the life of Ammōnios. But when Ammōnios had fallen asleep, then Philippos assumed the oversight, and became one of the overseers distinguished in excellence.

Now at this *time*, Firmilianus, overseer of Caesarea in Kappadokia, was being eminent, introducing such an extensive earnestness² about Ōrigenés, that indeed he was calling-out to him to *have him* come to that region in order to give help to the assemblies, but he then journeyed to him at Judah and was spending time together with him there, for the sake of his own improvement in the divine *subjects*. Truly, Alexandros, who was presiding-over the *assembly* in Jerusalem, as well as Theoktistos, the *overseer* of Caesarea, were devoting all their time to Ōrigenés as their only teacher, and were consenting to him the interpretation of the divine writings and for *him* to practice the rest of the assemblie discourse.³

CHAPTER 84: END OF THE REIGN OF EMPEROR ALEXANDRUS

Now Emperor Alexandrus entered the thirteenth⁴ year of his reign without shedding *any* blood, nor was anyone murdered by him. Furthermore, anyone who fell under the greatest incriminations, he nevertheless spared from being murdered, a practice of leniency which no other king up until that time had done. But his mother, Mamaea, did not preserve in her pious ways. For Alexandrus was incriminating his mother and was being altogether vexed at seeing her fondness-of-money and that she had been obsessively effortful about it. For she was pretending that she was collecting it in order to have it for Alexandrus to give as a favor to the soldiers without-envy and easily, *but* she was storing it up for herself. And this *deception* was causing his reign to be slandered, even though he personally both opposed and was vexed at her forcible confiscation of anyone's wealth and inheritance.

But Alexandrus' mother also led a woman to him from the patricians. Although he was dwelling-together with *her* and was loving her, she was pursued *harmfully* in the royal-palace by *his* mother. Both outraging, and wanting to be the only queen, she was also envious that her title would be going to her. An outrage proceeded to such an extent, that the father of the maiden, although Alexandrus was altogether honoring him as *his* father-in-law, was not *able* to bear Mamaea's outraging toward both him and his daughter. So he fled into the military-encampment. Indeed, he was aware of the gratitude⁵ which he owed Alexandrus for having used to honor him, but he was incriminating Mamaea on account of how she was outraging *them*. But Mamaea became indignant, and

directed him to be done away with, and threw the girl out of the royal-palace and banished *her* into Libyé. But she did this both in opposition to Alexandrus and was constraining *him to do so*. For he was exceedingly governed by his mother, and did *everything* that she was directing *him to do*. Therefore, Alexandrus, as far as he himself was concerned, indeed administered the kingdom blameless for twelve⁶ years.

But in his thirteenth⁷ year, he received letters that Artaxerxes, the Persian king, had crossed *over into* the mountains of the Roman principality and was intending to recover all of Asia for the Persian principality. When Alexandrus received a message about these things, he was not moderately disturbed, especially since, from a child, he had been brought up in peace, and always leisured in the luxury of the city. Therefore, he first decided to persuade Artaxerxes to be content with what was already his, and tried to instill fear in him by reminding him of the might of the Romans. But Artaxerxes was not considering what had been sent to him, instead he led *his soldiers forward* and began to overrun all the Romans.

But Alexandrus was deeming that these things could not be tolerated,⁸ and his leaders were calling him. So, although he was indeed vexed that *this undertaking* went against his inclination, he nevertheless gathered-together a multitudinous army and marched against the Persians, leaving the city of Roman in tears. However, during the actual battle, Alexandrus, having divided the Romans into three armies, did not lead forward his army due to his mother. For she had convinced Alexandrus, that it was necessary for others to take risks for him, *but* instead that he himself should not draw-up-into-battle-order. It was this *reluctance* which caused one part of the Roman army to be-lost by-means-of the Persians; and the hazards of the cold environment and the ensuing sicknesses destroyed almost all the rest of the Romans in the mountains after they withdrew to Antiocheia.

Now in the Roman army, there was a *man* named Maximinus, whom Alexandrus had entrusted⁹ with both *the* care of the encampment as well as *the* principality of the nations, and who had claimed the favor of the soldiers for himself with his gifts and all sorts of honors. Therefore, the youths in the army, indeed were rejoicing *over* Maximinus' manliness, but were making-fun of Alexandrus as being under his mother's governing, and because the affairs were being administered under both the authority and purpose of a woman, *and because* he had conducted the *elements* of war indifferently and unmanly. And they were reminding one another, that their missteps had been due to his hesitation, and that he had done nothing manly nor youthful during their expeditions. Therefore, the soldiers plotted, indeed to make away with Alexandrus, but to proclaim Maximinus as emperor and August-One. But even most of the rest of the soldiers who were still faithful to Alexandrus, were persuaded by Maximinus' supporters to secede to Maximinus, who was *already* being publicly-proclaimed by everyone as emperor without the authorization of the Roman senate.

But Alexandrus, trembling and failing in soul, returned into his tent. Both embracing his mother, and both bitterly-lamenting and incriminating *her* for the things which were happening to him, he was awaiting his murderer. Now a tribune as well as some centurions, being sent by Maximinus, rushed into the tent, doing away with both Alexandrus and his mother, and any of those who were supposed to be his friends or honored-ones, except for some who were able to flee or escape-notice for a brief time, *but* Maximinus soon¹⁰ apprehended them and killed them all.

This indeed was *the* end which seized Alexandrus and his mother, after he reigned 13 years and 9 days,¹¹ blamelessly and without-shedding-blood. For he was a foreigner to works of murder and cruelty as well as unrighteousness, as well as being inclined to philanthropic and benevolent *behavior*. Accordingly, his reign was tarnished only because of being slandered on account of both the fondness-of-silver and stinginess of his mother. (And the rest of the acts of Alexandrus, and the details of his expeditions against Artaxerxes and the barbarians, are written in the books of the secular historians, namely Hérōdian.) And Alexandrus was succeeded by Maximinus as emperor of the Romans.

CHAPTER 85: MAXIMINUS' CRUELTY AGAINST ALEXANDRUS' HOUSE / TESTIMONIES OF PONTIANUS & HIPPOLYTOS / THE KORINTHIAN VIRGIN & THE MAGISTRATE

Now once Emperor Maximinus had taken the principality from *his predecessor Alexandrus*, he made much change, using his authority jaggedly and with much fear. He was attempting to transfer everything from a kingdom, which was both meek and altogether tame, into a tyranny of cruelty. Also having the murderous *disposition* of his fathers and of *his* country, he made provision in order to confirm the principality through cruelty. Therefore, he straightaway carried-off all

⁶ emendation, based on Jerome and other sources / Hérōdian "thirteen"

⁷ emendation, based on Jerome and other sources / Hérōdian "fourteenth"

⁸ literally "were not endurable"

⁹ literally "put faith in"

¹⁰ literally "after not much"

¹¹ Hippolytus(Chronicon) / Chronography354 "13 years, 8 months, 9 days" / Eusebios, Chronicon(Jerome), Aurelius(Epitome), Orosius "13 years" / Hérōdian "14 years" (seemingly incorrect) / Eutropius "in 13th year and 8th day" / Aurelius(Liber) "not more than 13 years"

¹ Chronicon(Jerome) dates this to the 9th year of Alexandrus

² literally "effort"

³ elsewhere translated "account"

⁴ emendation, based on Jerome and other sources / Hérōdian "fourteenth" (which seems to be in error)

⁵ literally "favor"

the friends, the *ones who were* engaging in intercourse with Alexandrus, those who sat in congress with him who were called-together by the council. And indeed, *others* were commissioned to Roma, but *others* he shook-off from administration on some pretext. He also commissioned all the servants from the royal-palace, those who had been-together with Alexandrus for many years. But the majority of them were even killed, since he was suspicious of a plot against him, for *Maximinus* knew that they were still feeling-pain over the doing-away with of *Alexandrus*. But also, due to a grudge which *Emperor Maximinus* had toward the house of Alexandrus, most of which had been consisting of faithful-ones in God, he aroused a pursuit *against the Christians*, ordering that only the chiefs of the assemblies should be done away with as being responsible for the teaching according to the Good-Message.

Now at this time, while *Severus* and *Quintianus* were consuls,¹ *Pontianus*, overseer of Roma, and *the elder Hippolytos*, both exiles, after having testified, were deported to *Sardonia*² on the island of *Vocina*. They both died on the same island—indeed, *Pontianus* died on the 4th day before the Kalends of October³ after having been the overseer of Roma for 5 years and 2 months and 7 days.⁴ Now the two bodies would later be brought back to be deposited at Roma; and, on the Ides of August,⁵ *Hippolytos* was deposited on the *Tiburтинan Way*, but *Pontianus* was buried in the cemetery of *Kallistos* which is on the *Appian Way* in Roma.

Now sometime before these things, there was a certain most-highborn and most-seasonable virgin in the city of *the Corinthians*, who was practicing in the state of virginity.⁶ In that season, they slandered her to the dealer-of-justice there, who was a *Hellene*, during⁷ the season of the pursuers, as reviling both the seasons and the kings and speaking-ill of⁸ the idols. But those who were peddlers of such things, were drinking-to her beauty. Therefore, the *impious* dealer-of-justice, who was mad-for-women,⁹ pleasantly accepted the slander with equine ears and female-mad rationalizations. But when she was brought before this bloodstained man, he was driven even more frantic with the debauchery.¹⁰ And¹¹ when, after moving every machine down on her,¹² he¹³ was not able to persuade this human of God,¹⁴ he subjected this noble woman to various outrages. But when he also failed in these, and was not strong enough to cause her to desert from the confession of the Anointed-One, then, he went insane against her,¹⁵ and did not commit her to a punishment, nor a torture, instead he placed her¹⁶ into a brothel,¹⁷ and instructed their pimp,¹⁸ saying,¹⁹ “Take her. And²⁰ Bring me three coins daily for this woman.”²¹

But he, exacting the money from her by a shameful-affair,²² gave her up²³ to those who were wishing to have her in the hatred of that workshop.²⁴ Therefore, when the women-hunters knew about this,²⁵ they frequented²⁶ the workshop of the destruction, and,²⁷ giving the small-coin, they were consorting with her using the words of delusion.²⁸ But she was a most-solemn woman; and rationalizing with herself in order to avoid them by deluding them,²⁹ she entreated them with earnest-entreaties, saying, “I have a certain ulcer hidden inside that place which smells terribly,³⁰ and I am anxious that all of you* might come to have hatred for me, on account of that repulsive ulcer.³¹ Therefore, give a few days to me, and you* may have my³² authority and have me as a gift.” But with these rationalizations, the happy woman persuaded the debauching men, and sent them off for the meantime. Therefore, she was begging God with beseechings³³ Moreover, the God who knew her thinking, how the sounded-minded woman was

distressed in her heart for her purity, was giving attention to her; the guardian of the salvation of all humans managed, in those days, in the following manner.³⁴

For this reason, God, beholding her soundness-of-mind, also implanted into a certain youth, a magistrate, who was beautiful in his purpose and in his form, with a fire-flaming zeal for death.³⁵ And he, going-off with the appearance of unchastity,³⁶ went-in at deep evening to the one who was taking care of the women, and he gave five coins to him, and said to him, “Allow me to spend this night with her.”³⁷

Therefore, he went-in with her³⁸ into the secret house, saying to her, “Rise, save yourself.”

And undressing her³⁹ and changing her into his own robes,⁴⁰ both the shirts and the woolen-mantle and all the manly apparel,⁴¹ he said to her, “Completely-cover yourself with the top⁴² of the cloak and go-out.”

And she sealed herself in this way, and⁴³ went-out uncorrupt from that place and had been safely-brought-through absolutely⁴⁴ unstained by the favor of the Anointed-One, and by the cause of the youth, who, by his own blood, released her from the dishonored seduction.⁴⁵

Therefore, the next⁴⁶ day, the act was known. The magistrate was committed to the infuriated dealer-of-justice. But when the untamed man had examined the noble athlete of the Anointed-One, and learned everything, he directed him to be thrown to⁴⁷ beasts, so that even in this, the beautiful-hating⁴⁸ demon might be put to shame, because he became a double testifier, both for his own sake and for the sake of the happy woman.⁴⁹

CHAPTER 86: PURSUIT UNDER SERENIANUS: WOMAN WITH A DEMON & ORIGENÉS INTO HIDING / ANTERÓS AND FABIANUS BECOME OVERSEERS OF ROMA

Now during these days, many conflicts and anguishes happened which were both common to all humans and privately to Christians. Likewise, there arose many and frequent movements of the earth, so that many places were undermined throughout Kappadokia and throughout Pontos. Likewise, certain cities, dragged into the abyss, were devoured by the opening of the gaping earth. From these things, a grave persecution also arose against the Christians in those regions on account of the name. For those of the nations had been frequently blaming the Christians as the cause of a famine; they even held the assembly of the Anointed-One responsible for the causes of pestilences. So when an earthquake happened in certain places and some ruins had been produced, those who were impious (that is, outside the faith) would say, that the Christians were the cause of the earthquake. However, not only this, but those who were reputed to be prudent among the nations, were speaking such things in public, that it was on account of the Christians that a most-serious earthquake had happened. It was for this very reason that their assemblies suffered persecutions and were being burned.

Now this persecution suddenly sprang-up after a long period of peace, and, out of an unexpected and startling evil, was made more terrible for the disturbing of the Christians, including *Firmilianus*, overseer of *Caesarea* in *Kappadokia*, and *Origenés*. At that time, *Serenianus* was president of the province, a bitter and harsh persecutor. However, the faithful-ones who were placed in this perturbation were fleeing here and there for fear of persecution, and were leaving their own fatherlands and were passing-over into other parts of these regions (for there was an opportunity to pass-over, because that persecution was not yet over the whole world, but it was local).

While these things were happening, suddenly, a woman emerged, who in a state of ecstasy, presented herself as a prophet, and acted as if she was filled with a holy spirit. However, she was so carried along by the assault of principal demons, that for a long time, she troubled and deceived the brotherhood of Christians, accomplishing certain admirable and portentous things and promised that she would make the earth move. By these lies and boastings, the demon operating through her, led astray the minds of the individuals who were following her to such an extent, that they obeyed him and followed him to wherever he commanded and led. He would make that woman walk barefoot through the harsh winter snows without being the least bit troubled or harmed from that walking.

¹ 235AD

² Greek / Latin “Sardinia”

³ 235-09-28

⁴ Chronography354 / Eusebios “6 years” / Chronicon(Jerome) “5 years” /

⁵ (236)-08-13

⁶ G / A “the excellent lifestyle”

⁷ G (lit. “under”) / A (lit. “at”)

⁸ G / A omit “speaking-ill of”

⁹ G / A “her beauty before the impious dealer-of-justice, who was mad-for-women. But he received”

¹⁰ G / A add

¹¹ G / A “But”

¹² G / A add

¹³ G / A “the profane man”

¹⁴ G / A add

¹⁵ G / A “the Anointed-One, the untamed man went insane against her, then”

¹⁶ G / A “and committed her to the following retribution: he placed the sound-minded virgin”

¹⁷ literally “sexual-immorality-place

¹⁸ literally “the one who pastured them”

¹⁹ A / G “that”

²⁰ G / A add

²¹ G / A “Return to me three coins daily for her.”

²² G / A add

²³ G / A “placed her before”

²⁴ G / A add

²⁵ G / A “about something such as this”

²⁶ G / A “they used to frequent”

²⁷ G / A “the lawless workshop,” (omitting “and”)

²⁸ G / A “the lawless workshop, giving the price of their dishonored business, and were wishing to converse with her toward seduction.” (“seduction” is usually translated elsewhere to “ruin”)

²⁹ G / A add

³⁰ literally “extremely”

³¹ G / A add

³² G / A add

³³ G / A “But with most-fitting beseechings, she importuned God; and with pricked beggings, she sought to turn him to compassion.”

³⁴ G / A add “Moreover...managed” & “in the following manner”

³⁵ G / A “There was a certain youth, a magistrate, seasonable in his form, pious in his purpose, whom God implanted with such a fire-flaming spiritual zeal, that he even despised death.”

³⁶ literally “the unchastity”

³⁷ G / A “with this maiden”

³⁸ G / A add

³⁹ G / A add

⁴⁰ G / A “undressing her robes, and changing her into his own clothing”

⁴¹ G / A “manly apparels” (plural)

⁴² literally “summit”

⁴³ G / A “And she did this, and, sealing herself wholly with the mystery of the cross,”

⁴⁴ G / A add

⁴⁵ G / A add (“seduction” is usually translated elsewhere to “ruin”)

⁴⁶ G / A “But on the following”

⁴⁷ G / A add, and has “thrown-beside” instead of “thrown to”

⁴⁸ G / A add

⁴⁹ G / A “to shame. For, whereas he supposed to clothe that manly man with an unlawful retribution, he displayed him as a double testifier for the Anointed-One, both having contended nobly for the sake of his own immortal soul and having persevered athletically in pains for the sake of that famous and happy woman. For this reason, he was also deemed-worthy of a double honor with the Anointed-One, and with the famous and happy crowns by his humanity.”

She also would speak, that she was hastening into Judah and Jerusalem, feigning as if she had come from there. Here she also deceived one of the elders named Rusticus, and another minister, so that they had commingled *sexually* with that woman (*a fact* which was detected a short time afterward).

For suddenly, one of the out-adjurers appeared to her, a *man* who was approved and who always lived well in regard to religious discipline. *He*, excited by the exhortation of many of the brothers, who themselves were strong and commendable in the faith, raised himself up against the vile spirit in order to conquer it, which, by subtle fallacy, had predicted a little earlier that a certain adverse and unbelieving tempter would come. Nevertheless, *that* out-adjurer, inspired by the grace of God, strongly resisted and showed that what had formerly been supposed to be holy, was indeed a most-vile spirit.

But that woman, who earlier, through tricks and fallacies, was attempting many things for the deception of the believers (among other things by which she had deceived many), also often dared to do this: she pretended, with an invocation which was not contemptible, to make the bread holy and to celebrate the thank-offering; and she offered a sacrifice to the Lord, not without the mystery of the accustomed proclamation; and she also immersed many, usurping the usual and legitimate words of interrogation, so that nothing might seem to differ from the assembling regulation.

Now during this pursuit of the Christians, while Ōrigenés was fleeing from the uprising of the Hellenes, there was a certain virgin named¹ Juliana in Caesarea in Kappadokia, who was being said to be most-eloquent and most-faithful. She accepted him and concealed him in a house,² supporting the man at her own expense and her own³ service and was keeping him secret. However, in the pursuit, unusual hardships had taken-hold of Ambrosios, Ōrigenés' friend, and Prōtoktétos, an elder of the sojourn in Caesarea, who were in danger of being executed at Germania, where Emperor Maximinus was at that time. Now Ambrosios had a marriage partner named Marcella, and children, and brothers and sisters. *But despite this*, he, as well as Prōtoktétos, were eminent in confession. For Ōrigenés wrote to them in prison, exhorting them to not deny the faith on account of relatives, but to persist in boldly confessing Jesus the Anointed-One, even to death.

Now when the emperors were consuls, on the 11th day before the Kalends of December,⁴ after a short interim, Pontianus, overseer of Roma, was succeeded by Anterōs⁵ in the oversight of the assembly in Roma. And after Anterōs ministered the public-service for 1 month and 10 days,⁶ and died on the 3rd day before the Nones of January when Maximinus and Africanus were consuls,⁷ Fabianus⁸ succeeded him during the same consulate. For after the end of Anterōs, Fabianus, having come-together with others out of a field, was staying at Roma. While he was there, and after all the brothers had been welded-together in order to vote-by-a-show-of-hands the *man* who was to succeed to the oversight, many men who were both eminent and glorious were in the preconceptions of many. *But* Fabianus, although present, indeed, did not come into the intention of any human; but nevertheless, a dove flew-down from high in the air and perched on his head. Therefore, because all the people believed that this was an imitation of the descent of a holy spirit in the form of a dove upon Jesus the Anointed-One, they, instead of measuring him by the credentials as dictated by the emissary Paulus, with all eagerness and with one soul, cried-out that he was worthy. And without-delay, they took and placed him in the oversight of the assembly at Roma.

Also at about that time,⁹ Zebinos, the overseer of Antiocheia, departed from this present lifetime, and Babylas was succeeding him as the chief of the assembly there.

CHAPTER 87: YEAR OF SIX ROMAN EMPERORS / MORE ACTS OF ŌRIGENÉS

Now the general Roman populace were unable to continue to tolerate the cruelty of the tyranny of Emperor Maximinus, and the Roman senate proclaimed Antoninus Gordianus emperor, together with his son Gordianus in opposition to Maximinus. But during a battle against Maximinus, Gordianus, son of Emperor Gordianus, died. And when Emperor Gordianus was informed, that Maximinus was marching against him at Carthage, he hung himself,¹⁰ and Maximinus' army devastated the city. But in his place, the Roman senate elected two men: Pupiennus Maximus and Balbinus to be joint emperors. However, the people decided to chose Gordianus, son of Gordianus, son of Gordianus. And the senate, approving of this decision, appointed him Caesar, since he was not yet old enough to be an

emperor. However, while Maximinus was besieging a city, both he and his son were killed, after he had continued for no more than three years.¹¹ And with his death, the persecution of the Christians came to an end. Afterward, Pupiennus Maximus and Balbinus, while each had a desire to be a monarch, were killed on the same day,¹² and Gordianus was proclaimed emperor of the Romans.

Now while Ōrigenés was doing his customary duties at Caesarea, not only were many of the countrymen coming him, but instead even tens-of-thousands of regular-attenders from other-races-of-people who left their own fatherlands. Among these were Theodōros, also known as Grégorios, and his brother Athénodōros, whose father had previously died. Finding them terribly excited about the Hellenic and the Roman lessons, he instilled in them a passionate-desire for a fondness-of-wisdom, and urged them forward to exchange their former effort for the divine profession. But after they held intercourse with him for five whole years, they were sent back by him to their mother. *However*, they carried-away such an improvement concerning the divine-subjects, that although they were still young, both of them were deemed-worthy of an oversight in assemblies throughout Pontos. (The rest of the details of the conversion of Grégorios have been written in his Address of Thanksgiving to Ōrigenés, which is overflowing with flattery and overly-excessive praise.)

Bérullos, the overseer of Bozrah¹³ in Arabia (Bozrah was renamed Bostra by the Romans), after overseeing the assembly gloriously for a little while, was turning-aside from the assemblic rule, and was attempting to introduce strange things to¹⁴ the faith, having the courage to say, that our Savior and Lord did not preexist prior to being made into flesh and prior to his stay among humans, nor does he have a divinity of his own, but instead only the divinity of the Father was a citizen within him. Now in about the 6th year of Emperor Gordianus, a meeting was held on his account. And when many overseers were making debates and dialogues with the man on this matter, Ōrigenés, being summoned with different men, indeed went-down at first to hold an intercourse with the man, in order to try to find out what his mind was on the topic. But when Ōrigenés came to know what he was saying, he straightened what was not correctly-opinioned, as well as persuaded him with rationalization, standing him back up in truth regarding the opinion, as well as reestablishing him in his previous sound supposition.

Now Gordianus, emperor of the Romans, in the 6th year of his reign, defeated the Parthian nation. And when he was returning to his fatherland as a victor, he was killed near Tizfon, not far from Roman soil, when the soldiers were incited to a sedition by the deceit of the praetorian prefect Philippus. Therefore, Gordianus, in the 19th year of his life, finished six whole years¹⁵ as the leader of the Romans, and he was succeeded by Philippus, along with his boy Philippus, in the principality of the Romans.

CHAPTER 88: PHILIPPUS AND BABYLAS / DEATH OF HÉRAKLAS / FURTHER ACTIVITIES OF ŌRIGENÉS

Now Emperor Philippus of the Romans, who was reported by some to be a Christian, wanted, on a day of the last Passover vigil, to partake of the prayers at the assembly along with the multitude. But he was not permitted to enter by Babylas, who was presiding-over the assembly at that time, until he confessed and reckoned himself among those who were proved to be in trespasses as well as occupying the place of a change-of-mind. For otherwise, had he not done this, he would not have been received into the assembly by him on account of many incriminations against him. And yet, Philippus eagerly obeyed, having exhibited by his works, his genuine and reverent disposition concerning the divine fear.

Now the 3rd year of the reign of Emperor Philippus was the occasion of the 1000th anniversary of the founding of Roma. This year, being more august than any which had preceded it, was celebrated by the emperor with magnificent games. And in the same year, the theater of Pompeius and the Hekatonstulon burned down.

Now also in the 3rd year¹⁶ of this emperor, Héraklas, overseer of Alexandria, left this present lifetime, after a superintendence of 16 years over the assemblies of Alexandria, allowing Dionysios to take-up the oversight after him.

Now in the 4th year of his reign, Emperor Philippus constructed a city in his fatherland, Thraké, in Arabia, naming it Philippopolis after himself.

Now sometime during his reign, the emperor also constructed a reservoir on the other side of the Tiber River, because that region was being smitten by a shortage of water. He also took very honorable measures to abolish the practice of male prostitution.

Now also during the reign of Philippus, Ōrigenés, who was now more than 60 years old, wrote a letter to King Philippus himself, and another to his wife¹⁷ Sevéra, as well as various others to various persons. These included Fabianus, overseer of the assembly at Roma, who had accused Ōrigenés of having promulgated false-teachings. But Ōrigenés answered him, professing that he had

¹ G / A add

² G / A add

³ G / A add

⁴ 235-11-21 – Chronography354 / Chronicon(Jerome) “1st year of Gordianus” / Eusebios places toward the beginning of Gordianus

⁵ Eusebios, Chronicon(Jerome) / Chronography354, Augustine “Antheros”

⁶ Chronography354 / Eusebios, Chronicon(Jerome) “1 month”

⁷ 236-01-03

⁸ Chronography354(13), most Eusebios, Chronicon(Arm, Jerome), Cyprianus, Augustine / some Eusebios, Eutychiūs, Alex. Cat. “Fabianus” / Chronography354(12) “Fabius” (Chronography354 also has his oversight beginning during the times of Maximianus and Gordianus and Philippus)

⁹ Chronicon(Arm) dates this to the “1st year of Gallus” / Chronicon(Jerome) does not have a date for his death

¹⁰ Chronography354 gives the reign of the two Gordianusi as “20 days”

¹¹ Eusebios / Eutropius “reigned 3 years and a few days” / Orosius “in the 3rd year of his reign” / Chronography354 “3 years, 4 months, 2 days”

¹² Chronography354 gives the reign of Pupiennus and Balbinus as “99 days”

¹³ Eusebios, Jerome / Socrates “Philadelphiea” or “Philadelphia”

¹⁴ more literally “to bring-in strange things alongside”

¹⁵ Eusebios, Chronicon(Jerome), Aurelius(Epitome), Orosius / Chronography354 “5 years, 5 months, 5 days”

¹⁶ Eusebios / Chronicon(Jerome) “5th year”

¹⁷ literally “married-woman”

had a change-of-mind for writing such things, and made an excuse by laying the blame on the indiscretion of Ambrosios, because he had published a secret-composition of his.

But about this time, others arose in Arabia, who were introducing an opinion which was foreign to the truth. They were saying, that at the present season, the human souls die-together-with the bodies at their end and are-lost-together-with *them* in the meantime, but that, at the season of the standing-up of *dead humans*, *the souls* will return to life again with *their bodies*. And then, when a meeting of no small *size* welded-together, Ōrigenēs was summoned again. And there he also motivated public discourses¹ about the debating, bearing them in such a way, that the thoughts of those who had previously slipped were changed.

CHAPTER 89: PURSUIT OF CHRISTIANS IN ALEXANDREIA

Now in about the last year of the reign Emperor Philippus, in the city of Alexandreia, a soothsayer and maker of the evils for this city, motivated and urged-on the multitudes of the nations against the *Christians who were dwelling there*, and he rekindled among them the terror-of-demons² of their country. But *the multitudes* were fomented by *this man*; and taking every authority into their unsacred-work, they considered this religion of the demons, the thirsting for the blood of *Christians*, as the only form of piety.

Therefore, they first violently-seized an elder, whose name was Metras, and directed *him* to say ungodly words. *Since* he was not being persuaded by *them*, they were both striking his body with clubs,³ and stinging his face and his eyes with sharp reeds. And after they led *him* into the suburb, they threw-stones at *him*.

Next, they led a faithful woman, who was called Quinta, to the idol's-temple, and were compelling her to bow-down before it. But while she was turning-away and abhorring it, they, after they tied her feet, were dragging her through all the city against the jagged stone-paved *streets*, the mill stones dashing-against her; and simultaneously, they were whipping her. Then, after they led her to the same place, they stoned her to death.

Next, with one accord, they all rushed to the houses of the god-revering-ones; and whomever each one was knowing as being *one of his neighbors*, they fell-upon and were leading them *out*, both robbing and thoroughly-plundering *them*. Indeed, they were appropriating the more valuable of the treasures; but flinging-around what was worthless and as much as was made of wood and burning them up in the roads,⁴ they were affording *the city* with an appearance as if it had been conquered by foes. But the brothers were turning-aside and were gradually-withdrawing, and, with joy, accepted the plundering of their possessions. And Dionysios, overseer of Alexandreia, did not know of any of the *Christians* who, up to that *time*, had denied the Lord.

Otherwise, they then also took-hold of that most-marvelous virgin, an elderly-woman, Apollōnia. Indeed, beating her jaws, they knocked-out all her teeth. But after they heaped-up a pyre in front of the city, they were threatening, that they would burn her up alive if she would not join together with them in voicing the preachings of their impiety. But her begging was brief, and she was released; and she impetuously hopped into the fire, and was incinerated. After they also overtook Serapiōn at his own fireside at home, they, after they tormented him with hard tortures and after they broke all his joints in two, tossed him down headlong from the upper-story.

But there was not one road,⁵ not a highway,⁶ not a narrow *alley* passable for the *Christians*, not by night nor by day. Always and everywhere all were crying *out*, that if anyone was not celebrating-with-hymns their ill-reputed words, that it was necessary for him straightaway both to be dragged off and to be inflamed. And these *things*, indeed, fully-ripened in this way for many *days*. But, in turn, a sedition and war among their own tribe came upon those wretched *people*, and they turned their cruelty away from the *Christians* and toward one another. And indeed, for a short *time*, the *Christians of Alexandreia* took a breath, since the *wicked humans* did not take an opportunity to incite their fury against the *Christians*.

For at this time, there were many disturbances in the *Roman state* affairs, especially in the eastern *provinces*, which, due to the *excessive* exactions of tributes, turned toward a revolution. Now elsewhere, a man named Decius was proclaimed emperor of the Romans and rose up against Emperor Philippus. Therefore, Philippus left his son in the city of Roma, and set out in person against Decius, even though he was weak in *his* body on account of his age. Now when the two armies engaged, Philippus fell at Verona in Italia after the defeat and loss of his army. When news of this had reached Roma, his son was killed in the praetorian military-camp as he was entering the 12th year of his life. So Philippus and his son reigned for 5⁷ years, and Decius succeeded him as emperor of the Romans.

¹ literally "motivated discourses at the common"

² as in, a terror resulting if they did not do what was necessary please the demons

³ literally "woods"

⁴ literally "ways"

⁵ literally "way"

⁶ literally "people-bearing-thing"

⁷ Aurelius(Liber, Epitome), Eutropius / Chronography354 "5 years, 5 months, 29 days" / Eusebios, Chronicon(Jerome), Orosius "7"

CHAPTER 90: PURSUIT OF CHRISTIANS UNDER EMPEROR DECIUS

On account of the enmity which Emperor Decius had toward the *former emperor* Philippus, he immediately began to be infuriated against God, and he roused a pursuit against the assemblies of the *Christians*. For by the beginning of the month of June, he promulgated an ordinance throughout the entire Roman empire, that every individual was required to be making sacrifices to the demons and to be eating the sacrificial-victims which had been contaminated by their impious rituals; those who refused, were to suffer severe and cruel punishments, including tortures and death. Now in order to verify that this impious deed had been done, those who were sacrificing to the demons were required to address pamphlets to whichever Roman official had jurisdiction over them; and these pamphlets, in turn, were to be signed by that official after that individual had sacrificed to the demons and ate the sacrificial-victims in his presence.

The following is a copy of such a pamphlet:

To [those] chosen at the sacrifices at the city of Oxyrhynchos
From Aurelius Gaion son of Ammōnios and *his* mother Tæus

Indeed, I am always sacrificing and making-libations and revering gods, being accustomed to *do so* according to the directing under the divine judgment; and now before-the-face of *all of you**, I am sacrificing and making-libations, and I tasted the consecrated-victims simultaneously with *my* woman [Ta]jos, and *my* sons Ammōnios and Ammōeanos, and *my* daughter Thekla, who are acting through me. And I am begging *all of you** to record-down *my statement*.

The first year of Emperor Caesar Gaius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius, the Pious, the Good-Fortuned, the August-One.
Day 3 of the month Epeiph.⁸

I, Aurelius Gaion, have given *this declaration*.

The following is another such pamphlet:

To those chosen at the sacrifices
From Aurelia Démos, fatherless, whose mother is Helena, wife⁹ of Aurelius Eirēnaios, from the block of Hellēneion

And I have always continued sacrificing to the gods. And now in front of all of those, I, according to the ordinance, sacrificed and made-libation and tasted the consecrated-victims. And I am begging *all of you* to record-down *my statement*. Farewell.

I, Aurelia Démos, have given *this declaration*.

I, Aurelius Eirēnaios, wrote this for her, for she is illiterate.

I, Aurelius Sabinus, supreme-president, saw you sacrificing.

The first year of Emperor Caesar Gaius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius, the Pious, the Good-Fortuned, the August-One.
Day 20 of the month Pauni.

CHAPTER 91: PURSUIT OF CHRISTIANS IN ALEXANDREIA UNDER EMPEROR DECIUS

Now when the ordinance of Emperor Decius arrived in the city of Alexandreia, all the *Christians* had cowered with fear. And indeed, straightaway, many of the notorious *men*, indeed, those who had been fearing, were moving forward, but those who were in public-service were being led to *do so* under constraint of their occupations; but others were being drawn by those who were about them. Also being called by name, they went-before the impure and unconsecrated sacrifices. Indeed, some of them were pale and trembling, as if they would not sacrifice, but instead were being sacrificial-victims and slaughter-victims for the idols. Because of this, a jeering was being laid upon them by many of the populace who had been standing-around, and indeed it was clear, that they were presently terrified in every respect, either to die or to sacrifice.

But some were running-toward the altars more readily, strongly-persisting with over-boldness that they had never previously been Christians. But the rest of *them*, indeed some were following each of these, but others were fleeing. But of those who fled, some were being conquered; and of those, indeed some withdrew until they received bonds and prisons. And certain ones who had even been confined for more days, then forswore even before they came before a court-of-justice.

But some, who even persevered in tortures to some extent, finally renounced their faith. But after the stiff and happy pillars of the Lord were made-mighty

⁸ 250, June, 27

⁹ literally "woman"

under him, and after they received power and patience proportionate and worthy of the strong faith which was in them, they have become marvelous testifiers of his kingdom:

The first of these was Julianus, a human afflicted with gout, not able to stand nor to walk. He was led-forward with two different *men* who were carrying him. Indeed, one of these *two* straightaway denied; but the other, who name was Kroniōn but was surnamed the Good-Minded, and the elder Julianus himself, *both* confessed the Lord. *And they were* being carried on camels through the entire city (which was very great) and, being elevated, were whipped. Finally, after the entire populace had poured themselves around *them*, the *two men* were melted-down in an unquenchable *fire*. *There* was also a soldier who stood-beside them as they were being led-away, and *who* set himself against those who were outraging *them*. They cried-out *against* him; and this most-manly heavy-armed-fighter of God, Besas was led-before them. Although he excelled in the great war concerning the piety, they cut-off his head.

And *there* was a certain different *individual*, indeed a Libyan by race, but true to his name simultaneously with his blessing, Makar. (For in Hellenic, 'makar' means 'happy'.) Much propelling was brought upon him by the dealer-of-justice *in order to lead him* toward a denial. *But* since he was not led *to do so*, he was incinerated alive. After them, *there* was both Epimachos and Alexandros. After they remained prisoners for a long time, and bore-through tens-of-thousands of pains from scrapers and whips, they were also dissolved in an unquenchable fire.

And with them were four women: Ammōnarian, a holy virgin, whom the dealer-of-justice extensively tortured with excessive fondness-of-strife, since she revealed-beforehand that she would not vocalize anything which he was directing *her to say*. And after she truthfully-spoke what-she-had-promised, she was led-away. But the rest *included* the most-solemn elderly-woman, Mercuria. And *there* was Dionysia, who indeed was the-mother-of-many-boys-and-girls, but she did not love her¹ children above the Lord. And there was another Ammōnarian.² When the leader felt-shame to continue torturing them ineffectually and to be proven inferior by women, they died by iron, after they received no-further test of tortures. For Ammōnarian, the foremost-fighter, had taken these *tortures* upon herself in behalf of *all of them*.

But Hērōn and Atēr and Isidōros, *all* Egyptians, and with them, Dioskoros, a little-boy about fifteen-years-old, were given-over *to them*. And at first, the dealer-of-justice tried to delude the stripling with rationalizations (as if easy to allure), and to force him by tortures (as if easily yieldable). *But* Dioskoros was neither persuaded nor gave way. But the rest, he most-savagely combed-out; and after they persevered, he gave them to a fire. But after he marveled at *how* Dioskoros both gained-distinction publicly and *how* he replied wisely to his queries privately, he excused him, after he declared, that he was granting³ him a postponement for a change-of-mind due to his stature. And *for the time*, this most god-fitting Dioskoros *returned to the rest of the Christians*, where he awaited the longer conflict and the more lasting contest.

But a certain Nemesiōn, who was Egyptian, indeed, was blackmailed as dwelling in the same house with brigands. But he was released-from this slander (which was most foreign *to the truth*) before the centurion, and was pointed-out as being a Christian, and, as a prisoner, was taken before the leader. But the most-unrighteous leader caused-injury to him with double both the tortures and the whips which he *inflicted on* the brigands. *Then* he was incinerated between the brigands.

But a certain amassed contingent of soldiers, Ammōn and Zēnōn and Ptolemaios and Ingenes, and with them an elder named Theophilos, had stood before the court-of-justice. When a certain *man* was being judged as a Christian and was already inclining toward denial, they, standing-beside *him*, were grinding *their teeth*, and they were both motioning with their faces and lifting-up their hands and gesturing with their bodies. But after *the* attention of everyone was turned toward them, before anyone could otherwise seize them, they went up ahead of *time* to the scaffold, saying that they were Christians, so that both the leader and those sitting with *him* in congress became fearful. And indeed, those who were being judged were appearing to be of *the* highest good-courage in *face* of what they would be suffering, but their dealers-of-justice were terrified from *this action*. And indeed, they walked-in-procession from the court-of-justice and rejoiced-exceedingly in their attestation, God himself leading them in triumph gloriously.

Therefore, after many men and women, and youths and old-men, and maidens and elderly-women, and soldiers and commoners, and *those* of every race and every age, indeed some by whips and fire, but others by iron, were victorious in the conflict, they have received their crowns.

Instead, when the pursuit of *the Christians* under Emperor Decius was proposed, Sabinus, at that very hour, sent a frumentarius to search for *Dionysios*, overseer of the assembly in *Alexandria*. (For a frumentarius was a Roman intelligence agent, established to explore and report whatever disturbances⁴ might emerge in *the provinces*.) Indeed, he himself stayed at his house for four days,

expecting the arrival of the frumentarius. But he indeed, went-around investigating everything, the roads,⁵ the rivers, the fields, where he preconceived that *Dionysios* was keeping-secret or walking; but he was having blindness, not *able to be* finding the house. For he was not having-faith that *Dionysios*, while being pursued, would be remaining in-his-house.

And scarcely, after the fourth day, God directed *Dionysios* to discharge *himself from his house*, and made a way *for him* which was incredible. Both he, and his boys, and many of the brothers, at the same time, went out together. For indeed, about sunset, *Dionysios*, together with those who were with him, which included both Gaius and Faustus and Petros and Paulus, fell under *the hands* of the soldiers and were led away as prisoners under *the constraint* of a centurion and generals and with their soldiers and servants into Taposiris. But Timotheos, according to the foresight of God, did not happen to be present and was not overtaken. But after he came afterward, he found the house deserted and servants keeping watch over it, but *Dionysios and his companions* having been reduced to utter-slavery.

A certain countryman had encountered Timotheos as he was fleeing from under *them* and was troubled. And he enquired about the cause of hurry. But *Timotheos* told *him* the truth.

Now when that *man* heard it (for he was on his way to be entertained-sumptuously at a wedding-festival, for it was a custom of theirs to pass the entire night in such meetings), he went-in and brought-a-message to certain *men* of Mareōtēs who were reclining. But they, with a single impulse, as if at a preconcerted-signal, all stood-up-and-went-out, and, moving on *the run*, quickly came; but, raising a war-cry, they fell upon *Dionysios' party and the soldiers*. And straightaway, the soldiers who were keeping watch over *Dionysios' party* took flight, and the countrymen set themselves upon *Dionysios' party* exactly as they were, lying-down on unbedded cots.

Indeed, *Dionysios* was deeming at first that they were brigands who came for robbing and plundering. So he stayed on the bed. He was naked *except* for a linen piece-of-clothing; but the rest of his clothing, which was lying-beside him, he held out to them. But they were both directing him to stand-up-and-get-out, and sending him out quickly.

And then, after *Dionysios* gained-insight as to why they were being-present, he shouted, beseeching and begging them to dismiss *themselves* and to leave them alone; but, if they were wishing to perform something useful to them, he was begging them to anticipate those who were leading them away and to cut-off his head themselves. And when *Dionysios* was crying-out in this way and the rest of *his party* was unwilling to follow them, *these men of Mareōtēs* rose him up by force. Indeed, he let himself fall on his back upon the ground, but they took-hold of him by *his hands* and feet, dragging *him* by force, and led him out. Now the testifiers of all these *events*, who had been following *Dionysios*, were Gaius, Faustus, Petros, and Paulus, who also took him up, carrying him as they led him out of the small-city. And after they put him on a bare⁶ donkey, they led him away.

But not long afterward, *Dionysios* and Gaius and Petros were alone, orphaned from the other brothers, locked-up in a desolate and dry place in Libyé, set-at-a-distance of a three day's journey⁷ from Paraitonion. But in the city, indeed, the elders Maximus, Dioskoros, Démétrios, and Lucius, slunk-away into hiding, visiting the brothers unseen. For Faustinus and Aquila, who were more renowned⁸ in the world, were wandering in Egypt.

CHAPTER 92: PURSUIT OF CHRISTIANS IN VARIOUS REGIONS UNDER EMPEROR DECIUS

Now during this pursuit of *the Christians*, during the consulate of Decius, for the 2nd time, and Gratus, on the 12th day⁹ before the Kalends of February, Fabianus, overseer of the assembly at Roma, was killed on account of *his* testimony, after having overseen the Christians there for about 13 years,¹⁰ during which he has divided the regions among the ministers and has directed many constructions to be constructed through the cemeteries. Now he was deposited in the cemetery of Kallistos which is on the Appian Way in Roma. Therefore, the assembly at Roma was left without an overseer for some months. And after *Fabianus' suffering*, the elders Moses and Maximus and the minister Nikostratos, after confessing, were arrested and thrown in a prison.

Now at Palaestina, Alexandros, the overseer of *the* assembly of Jerusalem, was, because of *the* Anointed-One, made to stand again before the leader's court-of-justices in Caesarea. And after he appeared-eminently in a second confession, he, being tested in a prison, happily rested *from his life* and has been crowned with glistening¹¹ old-age and solemn gray-hair. But this *man*, after his bright and

⁵ literally "ways"

⁶ literally "naked"

⁷ literally "road"

⁸ literally "more seen-before"

⁹ Chronography354 gives "12th day" [250-01-21] for the date of his death" yet "13th day" for the deposit of his body [250-01-20]

¹⁰ Chronicon(Jerome) / Chronography354 "14 years, 1 month, 10 days" / Eusebios does not give a length for his oversight

¹¹ literally "oily/fatty"

¹ literally "the"

² Eusebios(Gk) / Eusebios(Rufinus) add

³ literally "adding to the measure"

⁴ literally "motions"

notorious attestation in the leader's court-of-justices, fell-asleep in that enclosure. And Mazabanes¹ was proclaimed as his successor in the oversight of Jerusalem.

Now in Antiocheia, Babylas, overseer of the assembly in that city, in a manner similar to that of Alexandros, after giving a confession, ceased *living while* in prison. And Fabius² was presiding-over the assembly there.

Therefore, indeed, at that time, while many of the faithful-ones were being warred-against by the *unfaithful-ones, the impious men* imposed themselves upon Origenés above all. And this man endured many things for the account of the Anointed-One: bonds and tortures against the body; also the punishment under iron and *within the innermost-recesses* of an enclosure, and having his feet stretched-out to four spaces under the instrument-of-chastisement, the stocks, for many days; also mightily bearing both threats of fire, and as many other things which were brought against him by his enemies, *while the dealer-of-justice was eagerly-striving*³ with all his potency not to do away with him.

Now many others in cities and villages were pulled-apart by the nations. Ischuriōn was a procurator of a certain one of the chiefs, *from whom he earned his wages*. This man's employer⁴ directed him to sacrifice. While he was not being persuaded to do so, his employer was outraging him. While Ischuriōn was remaining-in this resolution, he was abusing him foully. When he was standing-his-ground,⁵ he, after he took a very-big⁶ cane, thrust it through his intestines and his bowels, and killed him off.

There was also the multitude of those who wandered in deserts and mountains, who were utterly-destroyed under famine and thirst and icy-cold and sicknesses and brigands and beasts. But only very few of them survived. Among those who wandered in this way, was Chairémōn, an extremely-old man, who was overseer of the city called Neilos. This man fled into the Arabian mountain, simultaneously with his female-partner,⁷ and did not return; nor were the brothers able to see either them or their bodies any more, although they scrutinized many places for them. But many, on that same Arabian mountain, were reduced-to-utter-slavery under the barbarous Saracens. Indeed some of them were barely ransomed at large quantities of money, but others never were.

CHAPTER 93: TESTIMONY OF THE HOLY PIONIOS THE ELDER AND THOSE WITH HIM (PART 1)

On the second day of the sixth month, on a great sabbath,⁸ on the spiritual birthday⁹ of the happy testifier Polykarpos, under the pursuit of Decius against the Christians, the following were arrested: Pionios an elder, and Sabina a confessor, and Asklépiadés, and Makedonia, and Limnos an elder of the universal assembly. Therefore, Pionios knew before the day of Polykarpos' birthday, that they would all be arrested on that day. Therefore, while he, along with Sabina and Asklépiadés were in a fast, he knew that they were going to be arrested on the following day. After he took three woven chains, he placed them around the neck of both himself and Sabina and Asklépiadés, and he was expecting them in his¹⁰ house. Now he did this in-behalf of the ones who were going to be leading him away, lest someone might preconceive that they were being led into eating-stained-foods as the rest were doing, but instead, in order that all of them might have come-to-know that they were determined to being led off into a guardhouse straightaway.

Now it was the sabbath. And after they had prayed and received holy bread and water, Polemōn, the inner-sanctum-custodian, and those with him, stationed themselves in order to search for the Christians and to drag them off to sacrifice and to eat-stained-foods.

And the inner-sanctum-custodian declared, "You* have come-to-know the edict of the emperor, directing us to sacrifice to the gods."

And Pionios declared, "We have come-to-know the ordinances of God, which direct us to bow-down to him alone."

Polemōn spoke, "Then come to the marketplace; and-there you* will be persuaded."

And Sabina and Asklépiadés declared, "We are persuaded by a living god."

Therefore, he led them off without restraint. And as they walked along, everyone saw that they were wearing their bonds; and, as if it were an incredible sight, such a great crowd speedily rushed together, so that they thrust one another out of their way. And as they came into the marketplace, in the eastern portico, in the double-gate, all the marketplace and the upper-stories of porticoes filled with both Hellenes and Judeans and women. For they were on leisure because it was a great sabbath. But they also came up, looking at the tribunal steps and the voting arks.

¹ Eusebios / Chronicon(Jerome), Epiphanius "Mazabanos"

² Liberian Catalogue, most Eus6.41 (this is correct) / Eusebios(6.39) "Babius" / some Eus6.41, Eus6.41(Rufinus), Chronicon(Armenian, Jerome) "Fabianus" / Synceilos, Eutychius, Alexandreian Catalogue "Flabianus"

³ literally "with-fondness-of-strife"

⁴ literally "wage-giver"

⁵ literally "standing-in-place"

⁶ literally "very-great"

⁷ This late Greek word usually describes the spouse of a married individual who is currently living with them in the same house, and may be more literally rendered "one whom is living-together with"

⁸ 250, February 23

⁹ in this context, referring to the date of his death

¹⁰ literally "the"

Therefore, they stood them in the middle, and Polemōn spoke, "Pionios, it would be well¹¹ for all of you* to also obey-the-chief like everyone else, and to sacrifice, in order that you* might not be chastised."

Therefore, after Pionios stretched-out his hand with a beaming face, he verbally-defended himself, speaking, "Men, you* who boast of the beauty of Smyrna, you* who are on the Melétos who solemnize (as you* declare) in Homéros,¹² and those Judeans who are present-together among¹³ you*, hear while I make my brief disputation to all of you*."

"For I hear that you* are laughing-over and are rejoicing-over the deserters, and are deeming the failure of those who are willingly sacrificing to be but child's-play. But it was necessary for all of you*, indeed, O Hellenes, to be being persuaded by your* teacher Homéros, who counsels that it is not sacred¹⁴ to be boasting over the ones who are dying-off.

"But all of you*, O Judeans, Moses directs, 'If-at-any-time you might see the beast-of-burden of your enemy having fallen under its cargo, you will not remove yourself from it,¹⁵ instead, by standing-up, you will stand it up for him.'

(Exodus 23:5)

"Likewise, it was necessary for all of you* to also be persuaded by Solomon, 'If-at-any-time your enemy might fall,' it declares, 'may you not be made-to-rejoice-over him, but do not be lifting yourself up in his stumble.'

(Proverbs 24:17)

"For I myself, being persuaded by my teacher, prefer to die rather than transgress his accounts. And I am striving not to change from what I first learned and afterward taught. Therefore, who do the Judeans ridicule without-sympathy? For even if, as they are declaring, we are their enemies, instead, we still are humans who were treated-unrighteously. They are saying, that we have our seasons of outspokenness. Did we then treat anyone unrighteously? Did we murder anyone? Did we pursue anyone to destroy them? Did we compel anyone to commit idolatry? Or perhaps they imagine that their sins are similar to those which are now being done by humans out of fear? Instead, their sins differ as much as the voluntary sins are different from the involuntary ones.

"For who compelled the Judeans to finish rituals to Baal-Peor? (Numbers 25:3) Or to eat sacrifices of dead men? Or to commit-sexual-immorality with the daughters of those of foreign-tribes? Or to burn-up their sons and their daughters to idols? Or to murmur against God? Or to calumniate Moses? (Numbers 21:5) Or to be ungrateful to their benefactors? Or to turn-back in their hearts to Egypt? (Acts 7:39) Or, when Moses went-up to receive the law, to speak to Aaron, 'Make gods for¹⁶ us,' and to make a calf (Exodus 32:1-4), and as many as the rest of the things which they did? For they are able to be misleading all of you*. In that case, let them read to you* the book of the Judges, the Kings, the Exodus, and everything in them which reproves them.

"Instead, are they seeking to learn why it is that some, without having been forced, came to sacrifice on their own accord? And are you* pronouncing all Christians guilty due to those men? Consider the present life to be similar to a threshing-floor. Which pile is greater, chaff or the grain? For whenever the farmer might come in the process to thoroughly-clean the threshing-floor with a winnowing-fork, the chaff, being light, is easily carried away in the aerial spirit,¹⁷ but the grain stays where it was. See again, the dragnet which is thrown into a sea. Not everything which is gathers is useful, is it? This is also how is it with the present life. Therefore, how are you* wanting us to suffer these things, as righteous men or as unrighteous men? If, indeed, as unrighteous men, how will all of you* not surely also suffer the same penalty, being convicted as being unrighteous by your* own works? But if as righteous men, what hope do all of you* have when even the righteous ones are suffering? 'For if the righteous man is scarcely being saved, where will the impious and sinful person appear?' (Proverbs 11:31) For a judgment is lying over the world, which we are fully-convicted about on account of many reasons:

"Indeed, I also went-abroad and went-about all the earth of Judah. Also, passing-across the Jordan, I looked at a plot of earth which is testifying, even till now, of the anger produced from God, on account of the sins which were being done by those who dwelt there: slaying their guests, driving out their guests, constraining them. I saw a smoke, which is going-up even till now, and a plot of earth singed by a fire, bereft of every fruit and every moist substance. I also saw the Dead Sea, a body of water transformed and relaxed out its original-state by a fear which is divine, and not able to nurture a living creature. And anything which leaps into it is thrown upwards under the power of the water; and it is not able to hold down a human's body within it. For it refuses to receive a human, because it does not want to ever again be rebuked on account of a human.

"And I am speaking¹⁸ to all of you* about things which are far away. You* are seeing and are describing¹⁹ how the earth of Lydia Dekapolis is burning with a

¹¹ literally "beautiful"

¹² known to most English readers as "Homer"

¹³ literally "in"

¹⁴ literally "counsels it to not be sacred"

¹⁵ literally "not take yourselves away from beside it"

¹⁶ literally "to"

¹⁷ in this context, obviously referring to the wind (may be also be translated "unseen-force/current/power")

¹⁸ literally "saying"

¹⁹ may also be translated "All of you*, be seeing and be describing"

fire and lies-before *us* as an example of impious *acts, even to us* here. *You* know* a volcanic fire of Atné and Sicilia,¹ besides Lukia and the islands. Even if these *things* have been kept-away, far from *all of you**, contemplate the use of the hot water. I am speaking² about the *kind* which gushes up from the earth. And *try* to comprehend from where it is being kindled, from where it is being *set* on fire, if it is not coming out from an underground fire. But I also speak³ about partial conflagrations and floods, as *all of you* in the case of* Deukaliōn,⁴ as *we in the case of* Noah. *Being* partial, they occur in this way, in order that we might be made-to-know the universal *calamities* from *observing* the part.

“For this reason, we are surely testifying to *all of you** about a judgment by a fire which is going to come, under *the power of* God through his Account, Jesus the Anointed-One. And due to this, we are saying, that we do not worship your* gods, and we will not bow-down-before the image, the golden *image*.”

Now after Pionios said these *things* and many other *things*, as not to keep quiet for a long *time*,⁵ both the inner-sanctum-custodian and the *ones who were* with him, and all the crowd had their hearing set upon him, so that the calmness had become so vast that no one even⁶ growled.

But Pionios spoke again, “We do not worship your* gods, and we will not bow-down-before the image, the golden *image*.”

So they led them into the open into the middle, and the idlers-in-the-marketplace stood-around them, who, simultaneously with Polemōn, *were* earnestly-entreating Pionios and saying, “Be persuaded to us, Pionios, that we have-fondness-for you. And you are worthy to be living due to many *things*, on account of both *your* character and gentleness. It is beautiful to live and to see this light,” and further other things.

But he *said* to them, “And-I myself say, that the *act* to be living is beautiful; *but* instead that *one* which we ourselves long for is better. And the light; *but* instead that true *light*. And therefore indeed **all** these *things* are beautiful, and we are not fleeing *from them* as *though* we are eager to die or *because* we hate the works of God. Instead, we despise these *things* which are lying in wait to *ensnare* us, because of the excessiveness of those different great-*things*.”

But Alexandros, a certain idler-in-the-marketplace, a wicked man, spoke, “Hear us, Pionios.”

Pionios spoke, “**You**, be concerned with hearing me. For what **you** have-come-to-know, **I** have come-to-know; but what **I** understand, **you** are ignorant of.”

But Alexandros wanted to ridicule him, since he was also declaring with irony, “But why these things?”

Pionios spoke, “For these *reasons*: In order that, though we are passing-through your* city, it might not be supposed that we have come to eat-stained-food; and in order that you* might learn, that we do not deem it worthy *even* to be inquired-of. Instead, we decided⁷ that we are not going to depart into the Nemeseion, *but* instead into the guardhouse; and in order that the rest of you* might not, after you* *have* violently-seized us, lead us away by force, *but* instead will leave us *alone* because we are *already* bearing bonds. For possibly, not *one of* you* led us into your* idol’s-temple with bonds on.”

And this was how Alexandros was muzzled. And when they were again imploring him much, he said, “This is what we have decided.”⁸

And *while* Pionios was convicting them of many *things* and bringing-a-message to them about what is going to *come*, Alexandros spoke, “For what is the use of these discourses of yours*,” he declared, “when it is not possible for *any of* you* to live?”

Now *while* the populace was wishing to be making an assembly in the theater in order that they might hear more of this there, certain caretakers of the general, after they came-before Polemōn the inner-sanctum-custodian, spoke, “Do not allow him to utter *anything*, lest when they go in the theater there will also be a commotion and an investigation will be made about the human.”

After Polemōn heard these *things*, he said, “Pionios, if you are not wanting to sacrifice, at least go into the Nemeseion.”

But he declared, “Instead, it is not profiting your idols if we went there.”⁹

Polemōn spoke, “Be persuaded by us, Pionios.”

Pionios spoke, “I wish that **I** were able to persuade *all of* you* to become Christians.”

But after the *men* laughed greatly, they spoke, “You do not have *power* such as this in order to make us be burned alive.”

Pionios spoke, “It is much worse to be burned after you* *have* died-off.”

But *while* Sabina was smiling, the inner-sanctum-custodian and the *ones who were* with him spoke, “You are laughing?”

But she spoke, “If God wants *me to*, yes. For we are Christians. For as many as put their faith into *the* Anointed-One will laugh unhesitatingly in everlasting joy.”

They said to her, “Indeed, **you** are going to suffer something which you do not want to. For the *women who are* not sacrificing are put into a brothel.”¹⁰

But she spoke, “The holy God will take care of this.”

But Polemōn again spoke to Pionios, “Be persuaded to us, Pionios.”

Pionios spoke, “You have been directed *either* to persuade *us or* to chastise *us*. You are not persuading *us*, so be chastising *us*.”

Then Polemōn the inner-sanctum-custodian inquired, saying, “Will you sacrifice, Pionios?”

Pionios spoke, that “I am a Christian.”

Polemōn spoke, “What god are you revering?”

Pionios spoke, “The god, the almighty, the *one who* made the heaven and the earth and all the *things* in them and us all, who richly furnishes us with all *things*, whom we have known through his Account: *the* Anointed-One.”

Polemōn spoke, “Then at-least sacrifice to the emperor.”

Pionios spoke, “**I** do not sacrifice to a human. For I am a Christian.”

Next he inquired for *the sake of* a registrar, saying to him, “What are you being called?¹¹ A notary is writing *down* everything.”

He answered, “Pionios.”

Polemōn spoke, “Are you a Christian?”

Pionios spoke, “Yes.”

Polemōn the inner-sanctum-custodian spoke, “To which assembly *do you belong*?”

He answered, “The universal. For with the Anointed-One there is no other.”

Next, he came near Sabina. But Pionios had stated to her *beforehand*, that she was to call¹² herself Theodoté. *He did this* so that, on account of her name, she might not fall into the hands of the lawless Politta, the *one* who had been her mistress. For in *the* season of Gordianus, this *woman*, wishing to change the faith of Sabina, after she shackled *her*, banished her in *the* mountains, where she would stealthily receive what was necessary from the brothers. But after these *things*, an effort was made to set her free from both Politta and her bonds; and she was spending most of her time with Pionios and was apprehended in this pursuit.

Therefore, Polemōn also spoke this to her, “What are you being called?”¹³

But she spoke, “Theodoté.”

But he declared, “Are you a Christian?”

But she said, “Yes, I am a Christian.”

Polemōn spoke, “To which assembly *do you belong*?”

Sabina spoke, “The universal.”

Polemōn spoke, “Who are you revering?”

Sabina spoke, “The god, the almighty, who made the heaven and the earth and us all, whom we have known through his Account: Jesus *the* Anointed-One.”

Next, he inquired-of Asklépiadés, “What are you called?”¹⁴

But he spoke, “Asklépiadés.”

Polemōn spoke, “Are you a Christian?”

Asklépiadés spoke, “Yes.”

Polemōn spoke, “Who are you revering?”

Asklépiadés spoke, “The Anointed-One Jesus.”

Polemōn spoke, “Is this *the* same one *or* another?”

Asklépiadés spoke, “No. Instead, also the same one whom the others have stated.”

But after they said these *things*, they were led-away into the guardhouse, but a large crowd were following behind so that the marketplace was filled. And some were saying about Pionios, “He has always looked pale-green, but now *look* how fiery-red his face is.” But Sabina was holding on with *all* her might to his robe because of the jostling of the multitude, so that some were saying, jeering at *her*, “Why how fearful she is to be weaned.”

But someone cried-out, “If they do not sacrifice, they should be chastised!”

Polemōn was declaring, “Instead, the rods are not leading the way for us to have authority.”

But someone else was saying, “See, *that* manikin is going off to sacrifice.” Now he had been speaking about Asklépiadés who was with *the rest of the Christians*.

Pionios spoke, “**You** are lying. For he is not doing it.”

But others were saying, “This one and that one sacrificed.”

Pionios spoke, “Each has his own choice. Therefore, this has *nothing* to do with me. I am called Pionios.”

But others were saying, “What a vast discipline,” and, “So it is.”

Pionios spoke, “Rather, this *all of* you* have come-to-know *when* you* were tested through famines and deaths and the other blows.”

But someone spoke to him, “And you went hungry with us.”

Pionios spoke, “*I did*, with a hope in God.”

¹ Latin / Greek “Sikeila” (which is the original name and used in this speech)

² literally “saying”

³ literally “say”

⁴ The name by which the Hellenes/Greeks refer to Noah

⁵ literally “keep quiet by much/many”

⁶ literally “that not even someone”

⁷ literally “judged”

⁸ literally “judged”

⁹ literally “idols in order that we might come there”

¹⁰ literally “a place-of-sexual-immorality”

¹¹ literally “being said to be”

¹² literally “speak”

¹³ literally “being said to be”

¹⁴ literally “being said to be”

After he spoke these *things*, they, after they barely *took them* out of the crowd (which was so pressing them with the result that they were being constricted), threw them into the guardhouse after they committed *them* to the prison-guards.

CHAPTER 94: TESTIMONY OF THE HOLY PIONIOS THE ELDER AND THOSE WITH HIM (PART 2)

Now as *Pionios* and *those who were with him* went-in, they found locked-up: an elder of the universal assembly *whose name was* Limnos, and a woman of Makedonia from *the village of* Karine, and a *man* from the sect of the Phrygians *whose name was* Eutychian. Therefore when they were present together, the guards came to know that *Pionios' party* was not taking the *things* which were being brought to them by the faithful-ones.

For *Pionios* was saying, "When we were having need of much more, we were a burden to no one. And are we to take it now?"

Therefore, the prison-guards were angered, because they themselves were usually being treated-philanthropically *by being given something out of the gifts* which were coming to *any of their normal prisoners*. And angered, they threw them into the interior, because they did not have any generosity from them at all.¹ Therefore, after *the prisoners* glorified God, they became-tranquil, affording the usual-friendliness, so that the one in charge of the guards changed-his-opinion and led them back into their former *place*.

But the *prisoners* remained, after they spoke, "Glory to the Lord! For this happened to us for² our good." For they had amnesty³ to be diligently-discussing and to be praying night and day.

But therefore, nevertheless, *while they were* also in the guardhouse, many of *those of the nations* were coming, wanting to persuade them; and they were marveling at the answers which they were hearing from them. But as many of the Christian brothers as *there were* who had been dragged there by compulsion were also coming inside, making an intense weeping. For they were in great mourning each hour for them, especially those who were discreet and who came to *live* in a beautiful citizenship, so that *Pionios* was weeping. Now after *Pionios* had encouraged various Christians with many words, including warning them not to be enticed by the Judeans who were calling them into their congregations, he made *every effort* to get them to go out of the guardhouse.

But the inner-sanctum-custodian Polemōn, and the horse-chief Theophilos stood near them, with pursuers *against the Christians* and a large crowd, saying, "See! Euktēmōn, the *one presiding-over⁴ all of you**, sacrificed-at the altar. May *all of you** also be persuaded. Lepidos and Euktēmōn are asking for you* in the Nemeseion."

Pionios spoke, "It is proper that those who were thrown into the guardhouse to be waiting for the proconsul. Why are *all of you** permitting that *man's part to take place without him?*"

Therefore, they departed after they spoke much, and they came back with pursuers and a crowd. And Theophilos the horse-chief declared deceptively, "The proconsul has sent in order that you* might be led-away to Ephesos."

Pionios spoke, "Let the *one who sent word* come and take us with *him* there."

The horse-chief spoke, "Instead, a prince is worthy-of-respect! But *even if you don't want it*, I am a chief!"

And after he took-hold of *Pionios* for himself, he constricted him with a scarf around his neck *so as for him* to be nearly choked. And he gave him over to *some* pursuers. Therefore, they came into the marketplace, along with the rest of *them* and with Sabina. And they were shouting with a great voice, "We are Christians!" And when they hurled themselves on the ground so that they would not be carried-away into the idol's-temple, the pursuers were picking *Pionios* up head downwards, since they were not able to *otherwise* restrain him from kicking them in the sides with his knees and squatting on their hands and their feet.

Therefore, picking him up, they led him as he was shouting, and placed him on the ground beside the altar, by which Euktēmōn had stood performing idolatry.

And Lepidos spoke, "Due to what *reason* are *all of you** not sacrificing, *Pionios?*"

Pionios' party spoke, "Because we are Christians."

Lepidos spoke, "Which God are you* revering?"

Pionios spoke, "The *one who* made the heaven and the earth and the sea and all the *things* in them."

Lepidos spoke, "The *one who* was crucified?"

Pionios spoke, "The *one* whom God commissioned on-the-basis-of the salvation of the world."

But after the chiefs greatly cried *out*, they laughed-loudly, and Lepidos cursed him.

But *Pionios* cried, "*All of you**, have-respect for reverence-for-God. Honor righteousness. Recognize empathy.⁵ Follow-after your own laws. You* are chastising us for not being persuaded, and yet *you** yourselves are not being persuaded: you* were directed to be chastising us, not to be forcing us!"

And at this, a certain bystander, Rufinus, the *one* who seemed to be⁶ superior in the oratorical *skill*, spoke, "Cease, *Pionios*; do not be vain-opinioned."

But *Pionios* said to him, "Are these your oratories? Are these your books? *Even* Sokrates did not suffer these *things* under the Athénians. Now all are an Anutos and a Melétos. Were Sokrates and Aristeidés and Anaxarchos and the rest vain-opinioned in your* view, because they also practiced fondness-of-wisdom and righteousness and patience?"

But when Rufinus heard these *things*, he kept-quiet.

But there was a certain *man*, the *one* who *lived* in prominence and worldly glory; and with Lepidos, he spoke, "Do not shout, *Pionios*."

But he said to him, "And do not force *me*. Kindle a fire and we ourselves will go up on it."

But a certain Terentius shouted-out from the crowd, "Have *all of you** come-to-know that this *man* has even roused up the others in order that they might not sacrifice?"

Therefore, *the rest of the faithless-ones* were putting crowns on them, but the *holy ones* were pulling them apart and were tossing them down. But the public *servant* had stood, possessing what had been sacrificed-to-idols. However, he did not dare to come near anyone, instead the public *servant* ate it down facing all of *them*.

But *while Pionios' party* was shouting, "We are Christians!" *the pursuers*, not *being able* to find anything to do to them, sent them back up into the guardhouse, and the crowd was mocking and was slapping them.

And someone was saying to Sabina, "Why were *you* not able to die-off in your *own* fatherland?"

But she spoke, "What is my fatherland? I myself am a sister of *Pionios*."

But Terentius, the *one who* was then instructing the hunts, spoke to Asklépiadés, "For a due-punishment, I will request for you to *be put* into the gladiatorial ambitious-rivalry⁷ with my son."

But Asklépiadés said to him, "You are not filling me with fear in this."

And this was how they were led into the guardhouse. And *while Pionios* was going into the guardhouse into the pursuers, *one of them* knocked him greatly against the head so that *the blow* wounded him. But he kept-tranquil. But the hands and the sides of the *one who* struck him were so inflamed that *the man* was barely *able* to draw-a-breath. But after *Pionios' party* entered, they glorified God, because they remained unharmed in the name of the Anointed-One, and *because* neither the enemy, nor Euktēmōn the hypocrite, had prevailed over them. And they were finishing-through, causing each other to be supported with psalms and prayers.

But after these *things*, it was being said, "Euktēmōn deemed it worthy to compel us." And *it was being said*, that he carried away the little-lamb into the Nemeseion, and, after he roasted *it* and ate from it, he wanted to carry the whole *thing* away into his house, so that he became a laughing-stock due to his false-oath; and that he, crowned, swore by the fortune of the emperor and by Nemesis, that he was not a Christian nor, like those who remained, did he *omit* anything toward his denial.

But after these *things*, the proconsul came into Smyrna. And after *Pionios* was led-before *him*, he testified, after *the memorandums* were being taken down by the commanders, on the 4th day before the Ides of March.⁸ After he was seated before a platform, Quintillianus the proconsul inquired, "What are you called?"⁹

He answered, "Pionios."

But the proconsul spoke, "Are you sacrificing-on the altar?"

He answered, "No."

The proconsul inquired, "What religion or sect do you have?"

He answered, "The universal."

He inquired, "What is a universal?"

He answered, "I am an elder of the universal assembly."

The proconsul asked, "You are their teacher?"

He answered, "Yes, I was teaching."

He inquired, "You were a teacher of the stupidity?"

He answered, "Of the reverence-for-God."

He inquired, "What sort of reverence-for-God?"

He answered, "In God the father, the *one* who made everything."

The proconsul spoke, "Sacrifice."

He answered, "No. For it is necessary for me to be praying to God."

But he said, "We are revering all of the gods, and the heaven, and all the gods in the heaven. Do you attend to the air? Then sacrifice to it."

He answered, "I do not attend to the air, but instead to the *one* who made the air and the heaven and anything which is in them."

The proconsul spoke, "Tell me. Who made them?"

He answered, "It is not proper to tell you."

The proconsul spoke, "Surely it was God, that is Zeus, who is in the heaven. For he is a king of all the gods."

¹ literally "have the whole humanity"

² literally "into"

³ literally "freedom-from-terror"

⁴ literally "standing-over"

⁵ literally "homeopathy" (the modern English usage of this word no longer retains the sense of empathy)

⁶ possible "who was glorified as being"

⁷ literally "fondness-of-honor"

⁸ (250)-03-12

⁹ literally "you being said to be"

But Pionios was keeping-quiet, and, after he was hung up, was spoken to, "Are you sacrificing?"

He answered, "No."

After he was again tortured by his *fingernails*, he was spoken to, "Change-your-mind. Why have you lost your sense?"

He answered, "I have not lost my sense. Instead, I am filling myself with fear of a living god."

The proconsul *said*, "Many others sacrificed, and they are living and are of a sound-mind."

He answered, "I will not sacrifice."

The proconsul spoke, "Having been inquired-of,¹ rationalize within yourself and change-your-mind."

He answered, "No."

He was spoken to, "Why are you making every effort for your death?"

He answered, "Not for my death, but instead for my life."

Quintillianus the proconsul spoke, "You are not doing a great undertaking by making every-effort for your death. For even those who are enlisting to fight before the beasts for a smallest *piece* of silver despise death; and you are among these. Therefore, since you are making every-effort for your death, you will be burned alive."

And it was read-aloud in Romanic from a small-wooden-tablet, "Pionios confessed that he is a Christian. We order him to be burned alive."

But he departed from there with all effort into the stadium because of the eagerness of his faith, and he willingly stripped-off his clothes as the commentator was standing by. Next, after he contemplated the pureness and decency of his own body, he was filled with much joy. But after he looked-up into the heaven and after gave-thanks to the God who had preserved him in his way, he unfolded himself out on the wood and permitted the soldier to puncture him with the nails.

But when he had been nailed down, the public servant spoke again, "Change your mind, and your nails will be pulled-out."

But he answered, "For I sensed that they are inserted to stay." And after thinking upon it shortly, he spoke, "Because of this, I am making every effort that I might arise more quickly, making-visible the standing-up out of dead humans."

Therefore, they straightened him up again on the wood. And finally, after these things, there was also a certain elder, Métrodōros, of the sect of the Markiōnites. But it happened, that, indeed Pionios was on the right, but Métrodōros was on the left, except that both of them had been looking toward the east. But as they brought the timber before them, and heaped-up the pieces of wood in a circle around them, indeed Pionios shut his eyes so that the crowd assumed that he breathed-forth his last. But while the man was praying ineffably, he, after he came to the end of the prayer, looked-up. But the flame was lifting up as he spoke the last "may it be" with an elated countenance; and he said, "Lord, accept my soul." Then calmly and painlessly, as though he was belching, he breathed-forth his last and gave his spirit for a deposit to the Father, the one who professed that he would guard all blood and every soul which is unrighteously condemned.

Now after the fire was extinguished, the Christians who were present saw that his body was like that of an athlete who had been arranged while he was fully-ripe. For even his ears had not become distorted, and his hair lay neatly on the skin of his head; but his beard had been arranged, blooming with the first-growth-of-whiskers. But his face had been shining-forth again, so that the Christians were supported even more in the faith, but the faithless came back dismayed and having fearing consciences.

This occurred when Julius Proculus Quintillianus was proconsul of Asia, when Emperor Gaius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius the August-One was consul the second time, and Vettius Gratus was consul, on the 4th day before the Ides of March,² according to the Romans; but, according to the Asiatic calendar, on the 19th day of the 6th month, a sabbath, at the 10th hour; but, according to our calendar, the reigning of our Lord, Jesus the Anointed-One, to whom is the glory into the ages of the ages. May it be.

CHAPTER 95: START OF A PURSUIT IN AFRICA / LIFE OF CYPRIANUS PRIOR TO THE PURSUIT / VISIONS OF DISSENT AMONG THE CHRISTIANS OF CARTHAGE

Now throughout Africa, the Christians were clearly demonstrating to the unfaithful-ones that the power of a holy spirit was within them when they had adjured-out spirits through the true God, the demons, at once, withdrawing and confessing, as they were forced by means of torments of words to exit the bodies which they had possessed. For by means of a mere human voice and prayer of the Christians coupled with the divine power, the demons could be seen being struck with the spiritual whips and lashes of the hidden majesty of God, being scorched and parched with a spiritual fire, being stretched-out with the increase of a growing punishment, wailing, moaning, deprecating, confessing from where they came and the judgment which is to come, even being heard by those very

unfaithful-ones who were worshipping them, so that the demons were either springing-forth at once or vanishing gradually, in proportion to as the faith of the sufferer is assisting, or as the grace of the healer is breathing. (And this was further evidenced by the fact that, when an individual, from whom demons had been driven out, was beginning to sin again, they were shaken by the returning of an unclean spirit.) On this account, the demons were urging the commoners to hate the Christian name, so that humans began to hate the Christians even before they had known them.

Therefore, the persecution raged most severely throughout the assemblies in Africa, especially in Carthage, where, at the time of the outbreak of the persecution, a man named Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus was the overseer of the assembly in that city. Now Cyprianus came from a family of nations who were inexperienced in the teachings of Christianity; and although studies and liberal arts imbued his devout breast, they brought him no advantage except in this present age. And while he had been lying in spiritual darkness, being tossed about on the sea of this restless age, doubtful and fluctuating in his wandering steps, ignorant of his own life, alien from truth and light, he was thinking that it was a difficult and hard matter (according to his character at the time), that divine mercy was being promised for his salvation, so that anyone might be capable of being born anew and, having been animated with a new life, should be able to put-off what he had previously been; and, that, although the structure of the body remained, a human might have changed himself in soul and mind.

"How," he would relate, "is such a conversion possible, that the innate disposition which has grown hard in the corruption of natural material (or when acquired, has become inveterate by the affliction of old-age), should suddenly and swiftly be put aside? These things, deep and profound, have been thoroughly rooted within us. When does he learn thrift who was used to lavish banquets and large feasts? And when does he, who, conspicuous in precious vesture, having flashed in gold and purple, dispose himself to common and simple clothing? He who has been amused by the fasces and honors cannot have become a private and inglorious citizen. For he who has been attended by crowds of clients, who has been embellished by a frequent company of an officious train, considers it a punishment to be alone. It is inevitable, as has always been, that winebibbing allures with its tenacious enticements, that pride inflates, that irascibility inflames, that rapacity is disquieting, that cruelty stimulates, that ambition delights, that lust precipitates."

This is what he often said to himself. For as he himself was being held entangled by the very many errors of his prior life (from which he had been believing that it was not possible for him to remove) he was being disposed to give in to the vices which were adhering to him; and in despair of better-things, he indulged in his evils as if they were now proper and domestic to him.

But afterward, when the stain of his past lifetime had been wiped-away by the assistance of a generative wave, a light from above poured itself upon his serene and pure breast; afterward, when he had drawn-in a spirit from-heaven, a second birth had restored him into a new human. Marvelously, without measure, doubtful things were beginning to clarify³ themselves to him, what was closed was opening, what was dark was shining, what formerly had been perceived as difficult was affording a means of accomplishing it, what had been thought of as impossible was capable of being achieved, so that he was able to recognize, that what was formerly born fleshly and would live addicted to delinquencies was earthly, but that what a spirit of holiness had been already animating, had begun to be of God.

While Cyprianus' faith was in its first rudiments, he believed that nothing else was as dignified than the observance of self-restraint. And as a result of the reading of the holy writings, and with a desire to do what would be profitable in meriting God, he distributed his goods in order to sustain the want of poor individuals, dispensing the purchase-price of entire estates. In this way, he has united two benefits: contempt of the ambition of this age, and the conferring of mercy.

Now Cyprianus had a close-companionship with Caecilianus, a righteous man, and who was an elder both in age and in honor, and was the one who had corrected him from secular error to a knowledge of the true divinity. Cyprianus was loving Caecilianus with total honor and all observance, looking up at him with an obedient veneration, not only as his soul's friend of the same age, but as the parent of his new life. At length, Caecilianus, delighted by his attentions, had been moved to such immense love for Cyprianus, that when he was departing this age, with his summons at hand, he was commending his wife and children to his care, and afterward made him, who was a participant in the community of his way of life, the heir of his piety. And in honor of him, Cyprianus adopted the surname 'Caecilius'.

Now although the letters of the emissaries relate that new-converts should be excluded from being an elder (1 Timothy 3:6), Cyprianus, in direct opposition to these teachings, was immediately accepted into the body-of-elders and the priesthood. (For in those days, the Christians of various assemblies began to call the elders who were administering the thank-offering 'priests'.) It was by the favor of the commonalty, that he was elected for the office of the priesthood and

¹ literally "After you were inquired of"

² (250)-03-12

³ literally "confirm"

the rank of overseer while still a new-convert and considered a novice. Although he was still in the first days of his faith and the rudimentary age of his spiritual life and not yet in office, such a generous disposition was shining in him, that the people believed that he gave promise of the complete trustworthiness of the approaching priesthood.

When all the people eagerly demonstrated their love and honor for him, Cyprianus, estimating that he was undignified to claim such an honor, humbly withdrew, giving place for the older men. But the copious brotherhood had besieged the doors of his house, and throughout every access to his house, an agitated love was circulating, and it was evident that all of them were awaiting his coming with a suspenseful and anxious spirit. So when he came, the brothers received him with exceeding joy. But there were some who resisted him in his efforts. Nevertheless, he was complaisant with much meekness, very patiently, very benevolently; and he forgave them very gently, afterward, counting them among his most-friendly and most-necessary companions, to the marvel of many.

Cyprianus' countenance was grave and joyous, neither a deeply-grieved severity, nor excessive affability, but a mixed tempering of both, so that one wondered whether he deserved to be most revered or loved. But neither was his attire dissimilar from his countenance, also being moderately tempered like himself. Secular pride had not inflated him, nevertheless, neither did affected penury make him sordid.

Therefore when this persecution had broken-out, Cyprianus realized that what was happening was a heavenly chastisement from God upon the Christians, on account of their fault and of their deserving, in order to prove his family, because a long peace had corrupted the discipline which had been divinely handed down to them, and in order to arouse their sleeping faith. For on one occasion, not long before the persecution had begun, they had been reproached in a vision, because they were dormant in their beseechings and were not vigilantly praying.

And also prior to this outbreak, the Lord deemed them worthy to show and to reveal in a vision, "Make-petition, and all of you* will obtain." Then next, the commonalty who were standing there were instructed to make-petition on behalf of certain persons designated to them. However, in the petition, there were dissonant voices and dissimilar wills; and this had vehemently displeased the one who had said, "Make-petition, and all of you* will obtain," because the inequality of the commonalty was discrepant, and there was not one consensus¹ and simple and joint concord of the brothers.

And long before the tempest of this devastation arose, the Christians of Africa had been forewarned of it, having been shown the following in a vision:

A father-of-a-family was sitting, with a young-man sitting at his right-side. This young-man, anxious and somewhat-sad with a certain indignation, sat with a sad face, holding² his jaw in his hand. Truly, another, sitting on the left-side, was carrying a net, which he threatened to throw out in order³ to catch the people who were standing around.

And when the man who was seeing this vision had been marveling at what this might be, it was said to him, that the young-man who was sitting at the right-side was saddened and pained because his commands were not being observed; truly, that the one on the left-side was exulting because an occasion was being given to him by the father-of-the-family to assume the power of acting fiercely.

And as this vision had been shown, so it was brought about. And at this time, Cyprianus and the Christians in Africa saw fulfilled what had then been shown, that while⁴ they were despising⁵ the commands of the Lord; while they were not keeping the salutary mandates of the law which he has given for salvation; while everyone was eager to augment his patrimony, and, forgetful that what the believers had done before in the times of the emissaries should always have been done, with the insatiable ardor of desire, were applying themselves to amplifying their possessions; while among the priests there was no devoted religion, in their ministers no sound faith, in their works no mercy, in their manners no discipline; while among men their beard was corrupted; while among females their forms were painted, their eyes were adulterated after God's hands had completed them, their hair was colored in deception; while crafty frauds deceived the hearts of simple individuals, voluntary schemes for circumventing the brothers; while they were joining with unbelievers in the bond of marriage; while they prostituted the members of the Anointed-One to the nations; while they were not only swearing rashly, but committing perjury; while they were despising the superintendents with haughty swelling; while they were speaking-evil of one another with an envenomed mouth; while they were quarreling with one another with stubborn hatred; while many overseers, who ought to be an exhortation and an example to the others, despising their divine procurator, became procurators in secular affairs, relinquished their seat, deserted the commonalty, were wandering-about through alien provinces, hunting the markets for profitable wholesale; while their

brothers in the assembly were starving, they were wishing to possess silver in abundance; while they were seizing estates by insidious frauds; while they were augmenting interest by multiplying usuries, the enemy had been receiving the capability of doing harm to them. For with a cast of the net, he was overwhelming those who were less armed and less cautious to resist. Cyprianus truly believed, that these evils⁶ would not have come upon the brothers⁷ if the brotherhood had been animated with one soul.

CHAPTER 96: CYPRIANUS INTO EXILE / MANY CHRISTIANS ARE HUNTED DOWN

Now immediately at the first words of the threatening enemy, a very large number of the brothers at Carthage betrayed their faith, and were prostrated by the attack of the persecution. Sacrificing to the idols before the magistrates, they were prostrating themselves by their own voluntary lapse without a conflict. Many of them even ran to the marketplace of their own accord!

One of these, who, of his own accord, ascended to the Capitolium to deny, became mute after he had denied the Anointed-One. Another, a woman who had denied, afterward went to the baths, where, being taken-hold-of by an unclean spirit, she lacerated with her teeth the tongue which had either impiously eaten or uttered. For after the polluted food had been consumed, the madresses of the mouth was armed to its own destruction. She herself was her own executioner, nor did she survive long afterwards. Being racked with pains of the belly and the bowels, she died.

Now at the outbreak of the persecution, Cyprianus, overseer of Carthage, was named publicly on the renowned list of the nations; and, after the first attack of the disturbance had suddenly arisen, the people, with a violent clamor, had frequently demanded Cyprianus; and by repeated requests, he was often being demanded for the lion. Considering not so much his own salvation as the public quietness of the brothers, Cyprianus withdrew in the meantime, lest the sedition might be further provoked on account of their indiscreet presence.

Now Cyprianus did not withdraw on account of dread of testifying even to his death, but because of a rightful dread, a dread which had been fearing to offend the Lord, a dread which had been preferring to obey God's commands than to be crowned with death. His mind, which was devoted to God in everything and enslaved in this way by the divine admonitions, believed that, had he not been complying with the Lord who was then ordering him to seek a hiding-place, that he would be sinning even in suffering.

Now while Cyprianus managed to escape, unharmed through the grace of God, many of the Christians throughout Africa, being confessors of the Anointed-One, were driven into exile. (Now about this time, some assemblies began to make a distinction between a confessor and a testifier. For confessors were those who merely confessed the name of the Anointed-One, but had not been put to death on account of it; while testifiers were those who, after confessing or testifying about the Anointed-One, were put to death.) And other confessors, who were imprisoned, were not retarded from confessing by the apprehension of torments, but, by the very torments themselves, were more stimulated for the spiritual conflict. Those who were true servants of the Anointed-One, stood with a liberated voice, with an incorruptible mind, with a divine virtue, naked indeed of secular weapons, but, believing, armed with arms of faith. Those being tortured stood more powerful than the torturers; and limbs,⁸ which were being battered and mangled, conquered claws, which battered and mangled them. A daily repeated fierce flogging was not able to surmount an impregnable faith, even though the structure of their internal-organs ruptured and it was no longer the limbs, but the wounds, of the servants of God which were being tortured.

Now many African Christians were captured, and, according to the command of the emperor, were to be put to death by famine and thirst. And they were shut up in two cells in such a way that nothing happened from the hunger and thirst. But the fire from the effect of their affliction was so intolerable that almost no one was being able to bear it. Now one of these who had been taken captive was a Christian named Mappalicus. When this man was in the presence of the proconsul, he, in the midst of his own excruciations, spoke to the proconsul, "Tomorrow you will see a contest." And what he said was fulfilled. For a heavenly contest was exhibited, and this servant of God carried out this combat which he had promised, and he was crowned by the Lord in the struggle.

Now in addition to Mappalicus, who departed during his questioning, among those who were-lost at this time were: Bassus in the mine, Fortunio in the prison, Paulus after the questioning, Fortunata, Victorinus, Victor, Herennius, Credula, Hereda, Donatus, Firmus, Venustus, Fructus, Julia, Martial, and Aristo, who by God's will died of hunger in prison. And there were many other Christians throughout Africa who were either confessors or testifiers, including Lucian, who confessed the name of our Lord Jesus the Anointed-One before the magistrates of this world. Nevertheless, there were also many who lapsed by denying the Anointed-One, and had stained their hands and mouths with sacrilegious contacts, or had no less polluted their consciences with the heinous pamphlets, among who were Mappalicus' mother and sister.

¹ C "confession"

² V "sustaining"

³ Q "which he had been testifying to throw out, in order to threaten"

⁴ R "that the storm would exist as long as"

⁵ more literally "contemning" / LP "contempting" (that is "holding in contempt")

⁶ L "seas"

⁷ N omit "the brothers"

⁸ literally "members" (also in next sentence)

Now while the unusual and harsh rioting of a violent persecution had devastated God's people, the condition of that place from where Cyprianus, overseer of Carthage, had withdrawn did not now permit him to be present there. But even in his place of retreat, the divine censure was not ceasing to chastise the Christians by night nor day. Besides the nocturnal visions, also by day, the innocent age of boys among Cyprianus' party were being filled with a holy spirit, which, in ecstasy, was seeing with eyes, and was hearing, and was uttering those things by which the Lord was deigning to admonish and instruct the Christians. And yet, in his goodness toward them, he deigned to mandate to them through Cyprianus, saying, "Tell him to be secure, because a peace will come. But meanwhile, there is a brief-delay, so that some who still remain might be proved."

Nevertheless, although absent in body from the rest of the assembly, Cyprianus was not absent in spirit, nor in action, nor by his admonishing of them, so that he could counsel the brothers with moderateness according to the command of the Lord. Therefore, he sent letters of council to the body-of-allotted-ones, and of exhortation to the confessors, and of rebukes to the exiles when it was necessary, and of conciliatory-word and persuasion to the universal brotherhood for entreating the mercy of God; and he was admonishing their religious solicitude, telling them, that, in order to placate and appease God, to lament, not by voice alone, but also by fastings and tears and every kind of intercession. But afterward, when torments also came, his sermon penetrated to both their tortured brothers and to those who, as of then, were only confined to be tortured in the future, in order to strengthen and to comfort them. And while he was in his place of retreat, Cyprianus was diligently concerned about the care of the widows and the infirm and the poor and any strangers who were in want, even furnishing them with expenses from his own portion, in order that an operation for the needy would be made more abundant and prompt. And, furthermore, Cyprianus had compassion and felt severe-pain on account of the brothers who had lapsed and fallen prostrate under the severity of the persecution, as if a part of his heart had been drawn with them.

CHAPTER 97: VARIOUS CHRISTIANS THROUGHOUT THE PURSUIT

Now a certain Saturninus wrestled with the Slanderer and powerfully confessed the name of the Anointed-One, and powerfully confessed in the punishment of the claws. And after receiving various torments, Saturninus was stationed in prison; but he would survive the length of the persecution, and subsequently be released.

Now there were two Christian brothers, Cestus and Aemilius. Although they were conquered in the first encounter,¹ the Lord forgave them and he made them victorious in the second battle, so that those who had previously yielded to the fires became stronger than the fires and overcame, bloodshed flowing out of their half-burned bowels.

Now there were three Christian brothers, Ninus, Clementianus, and Florus, who were apprehended in the persecution. And having confessed the name of the Lord, they were victorious over the violence of the magistrates and the attack of the raging peoples. Afterward, when they were excruciated before the proconsul with grave punishments, they were subjugated by the force of the torments and, through the lasting excruciations, fell-away from the degree of glory to which they were tending in the full virtue of faith. Nevertheless, after this grave lapse, they would not cease demonstrating their change-of-mind for three years, before they would be admitted back to communion by the majority of the brothers, since they perceived that they had fallen away, not through an infirmity of the soul, but had been wounded through the weakness of the flesh. (But others would not allow such a person to return to the assembly.)

Now elsewhere in Africa, there were some individuals who had previously sacrificed to the demons; but when they were tried for a second time, they, demonstrating a change-of-mind and following the Anointed-One, became exiled, forsaking their possessions and homes. Therefore, Félix (who sub-ministered to the body-of-elders under Decimus and who was next to Caldonius, the overseer, in bonds), and Victoria (his wife), and Lucius, became exiled, relinquishing their possessions, which the state-treasury now had in keeping. But there was also a woman whose name was Bona, who was dragged by her spouse to sacrifice. Her conscience was not guilty; but since those who were holding her hands sacrificed, she began to speak against them, "I did not do it, **you*** did it." This was how she also became exiled. Therefore, all of these sought peace from Caldonius, saying, "We have recuperated the faith which we had lost. We have changed-our-mind and have publicly confessed the Anointed-One." And after he had consulted Cyprianus, overseer of Carthage, they were granted peace.

Now at this time, Cyprianus, overseer of Carthage, while still in retreat, added three men to the body-of-allotted-ones who had survived the torments of the persecution:

Now the first of these was a Christian man named Celerinus. His grandmother, Celerina, was long ago crowned with a testimony. Likewise, his paternal-uncle and his maternal-uncle, Laurentius and Egnatius (who themselves also were once serving-in-the-military in the encampments of this age, but later became true and spiritual soldiers of God), while casting-down the Slanderer by

their confession of the Anointed-One, deserved the palms and crowns of the Lord by their illustrious suffering.

Now at the fervent beginnings of the persecution, Celerinus, who was in Roma, had an encounter² with the very prince and author of the disturbance, Emperor Decius himself. And by the mercy of God, he bore with perseverance every one of the tortures, and, by the bodily-strength of his faith, bodily-strengthened the weakness of the flesh, and, with might, was victorious over the opposer. For 19 days in the custody of a prison, he was enclosed in cords and iron. But with his body placed in fetters, his spirit remained released and at liberty. His flesh wasted-away by a long-duration of famine and thirst, but God fed his soul with spiritual nutrients. Afterward he was released.

Now for many days, especially during the Passover Festival,³ Celerinus had been aching on account of the death of two of his sisters, Etecusa and Candida, who, in this devastation, fell from the Anointed-One. For Candida sacrificed and provoked the Lord; but the other he now addressed as 'Numeria', because she numbered out gifts in order that she would not have to have been sacrificing. But she appeared to have only ascended to the Three Fates and then to have descended. Therefore, she did not sacrifice. However, the two women demonstrated a change-of-mind by the works which they had done toward the Christians who had been exiled, ministering to the brothers and warming them in everything. But those presiding-over the assembly in Roma, ordered them to remain as they were until an overseer could be appointed. Nevertheless, because of Etecusa's impious deeds, Celerinus was weeping day and night, full of tears in sackcloth and ashes.

Now sometime following the Passover Festival, Celerinus came to the assembly at Carthage. There, being praised as glorious on account of both his virtues and for his character, he was invited to join the body-of-allotted-ones. When he had been being in doubt whether or not to consent to the assembly, he was compelled by an admonition and exhortation in a vision by night, that he should not refuse their persuasions. Therefore, he joined the body-of-allotted-ones as a reader.

But the second of these was Aurelius, an illustrious adolescent, who struggled in Africa in a double contest, twice confessed and twice glorious in the victory of his confession, both when he had been victorious in the course and was banished, and when he finally fought a more powerful struggle, being a triumpher and victor in the battle of suffering. As often as the Adversary wished to provoke the servants of God, just as often this very-prompt and very-powerful soldier both fought and was victorious. It had been a small matter for him to have previously engaged under the eyes of a few when he was made an exile; he deserved to also engage in the forum with more clear virtue, so that, after he was being victorious over the magistrates and the proconsul, he might also endure and surmount torments after his exile. Therefore, Cyprianus, recognizing him to be an example to others regarding assemblage discipline, in which the servants of God should be victorious in their confession by their virtues, Aurelius was ordained by Cyprianus and his colleagues as a reader in the assembly.

But the third of these was the elder Numidicus. For by his own exhortation, he commissioned before himself a copious number of testifiers who were killed by stones and flames. He saw, with joy, his wife clinging⁴ to his side, simultaneously being cremated-together with the others. He himself was half-singed and covered with stones and left for dead; while afterwards his daughter, with solicitous piety of fealty, sought the cadaver of her father, and found him half-animating and drawn-out and resuscitated. He unwillingly remained after the deaths of his companions whom he himself had commissioned ahead him. Therefore, Cyprianus wished to inscribe him in the number of the Carthaginian elders.

Now throughout this year, Cyprianus, overseer of Carthage, sent letters to Moses and Maximus, the elders, and to Nikostratos and Rufinus, and the other confessors who were confined with them in the prison at Roma (which included Urbanus, and Sidonius and Makarios). Through his letters they were strongly encouraged. Afterward, about the end of the year, Moses the elder died in the prison, who had been confined there for 11 months and 11 days.

CHAPTER 98: DIVISION OVER THE CONDITION OF THE LAPSED

Now throughout this persecution, there were certain brothers who had fallen-away from the faith by having sacrificed to the demons and having denied Jesus the Anointed-One. Therefore, many of these 'lapsed' members were wishing to return to the assemblies, and they became liable to give a reason for the accusations made against them of their sacrificing to the demons.

Because of this crisis, there were three general opinions, which would gradually form into three separate factions: the Lax party, and the Lenient party, and the Rigidist party.

1. The first, the Lax party, was communing indiscriminately with anyone who had called themselves a Christian, whether or not they had sacrificed to the demons and denied the Anointed-One; and they allowed the lapsed to

² literally "congress"

³ 250-04-07

⁴ literally "adhering"

¹ literally "congress"

return to the communion of the assembly even if they had shown no evidence of having had a change-of-mind.

The heads of this party would include Felicissimus a minister of Carthage, and Fortunatus.

2. The second, the Lenient party, was believing that a change-of-mind was possible for those who had denied *the Anointed-One*, but that a probationary period was required for the lapsed before being readmitted into the assembly, so that they could be observed to see whether they had made a true change-of-mind after their most-serious sin of denial. However, those of this party would not deny mercy to those who were in immediate danger or were seized with infirmities, but would require others to await the decision of the overseer and the elders after the persecution had ended. Otherwise the lapsed would obtain, by denying *the Anointed-One* and without suffering, the same reward which the confessors and testifiers had endured so much to retain. However, anyone who granted peace to the lapsed without *the examination* and consent of the overseer, was to be rejected from communion.

Most of the assemblies were of this party. And its heads would include Cyprianus overseer of Carthage, and Cornélius of Roma, and Dionysios of Alexandria, and Firmilianus *over* Caesarea of Kappadokia.

3. The third, the Rigorist party, was believing that it was impossible for someone who had denied Jesus the Anointed-One before humans to be restored to the assembly under any circumstances, even if they seemed to have had a legitimate change-of-mind. Now this party would often be referred to as the 'Kathari' (when translated, this means "the Clean-Ones").

The heads of this party would include Novatianus¹ an elder of Roma, and, for a time, Maximus an elder of Roma.

Now each party believed that their opinion alone was correct, and that only those who shared their consensus were part of the legitimate assembly of God, while those who disagreed were sectarians or schismatics and were sinning against God.

CHAPTER 99: ACCOUNT OF NOVATUS AND FELICISSIMUS

Now even before the persecution had begun, there was a certain false brother named Novatus, an elder of the assembly of Carthage, who used the present situation as a pretext to sow the fire of discord among the brothers there. He was a man always desirous for novelties, furious with *the rapacity* of an insatiable avarice, inflated with *the arrogance* and stupidity of a proud tumor, always being recognized with *evil repute* to the overseers at Carthage, always condemned by the voice of all the priests as sectarian and perfidious, always curious in order to betray, flattering in order to cause others to fall, never faithful in order to be affectionate, a torch and a fire to kindle conflagrations of sedition, a whirlwind and a tempest to make shipwrecks of faith, a man hostile to quietness, an adversary of tranquility, an enemy of peace. For orphans were despoiled by him, widows were defrauded, wealth of the assembly was also withheld. Even his father died of famine in the street and was not afterwards buried by him in death. The uterus of his wife was struck by his shoe which produced an abortion.

Now long ago Novatus used to fear the consciousness of his crimes. Because of this, he held it for certain that not only would he be cast out from the body-of-elders, but that he would be prohibited from communion. And with the brothers urging, the day of his trial was imminent, on which the case would have been put into motion, if the persecution had not come before. But he, having welcomed this with a sort of longing of evading and of profiting from his condemnation, and anticipating the judgment of the priests, voluntarily withdrew as if to evade the penalty. And he began to stir-up discord among the brothers when he saw that they were not in complete harmony regarding the situation concerning the lapsed.

Now at first, Cyprianus had been warning the brothers of Carthage, not to commune with those who had lapsed until after peace from the persecution had been given to the Christians by the Lord and after he was able to return to the assembly and discuss with the elders of his assembly and those of the neighboring assemblies what to do about the situation concerning the lapsed. However, in the meantime, despite his plea for patience, when summer was bringing with it assiduous and grave infirmities, Cyprianus had eventually allowed any of the lapsed who were in immediate danger of death, and who showed sure signs of having changed-their-mind, to receive peace. And later, he decided that if any of the lapsed had demonstrated a change-of-mind, and had undergone a probationary period, and had their situation favorably ascertained by an overseer, that they were permitted to commune with them again.

But Felicissimus, a minister of Carthage, who was of the Lax party, contended against his decision. Now Novatus, using this disharmony as a pretext for ruining the assembly, feigned to have sentiments with the Lax party and urged Felicissimus onward; and, without the permission nor the knowledge of Cyprianus, overseer of Carthage, Novatus, through his faction and ambition,

appointed Felicissimus, his satellite, as a minister of Carthage while Cyprianus was in hiding.

Now Felicissimus would make many not-good and insidious threats against Cyprianus, so that, in addition to his other frauds and rapines (including defrauding the wealth committed to him, debauching virgins, despoiling and corrupting many marriages—which Cyprianus did not find out about until later), he and the five elders of his faction (which included a man by the name of Fortunatus), tried to drive a portion of the Christians of Carthage against their overseer Cyprianus. Now Felicissimus did this by threatening the brothers with not-good power and violent terror, that those who had wished to obey Cyprianus' party would not commune with him in death; and by giving fomentations and exhortations to certain confessors not to be in concord with their overseer and not to observe the disciplines which Cyprianus prescribed concerning the lapsed.

Therefore, Cyprianus feared that the lapsed, who were not being healed by Felicissimus' party (which was not directing the lapsed to a change-of-mind or to prayers and petitions before the Anointed-One whom they had denied), would have their faith fatally injured as a result. Therefore, Cyprianus and very many of his fellow-overseers, rejected Felicissimus and the five elders from communion, along with all of those who had joined his faction, including Augendus, a confessor. In addition, Gaius, an elder from Dida, and his minister were also rejected, since they communed with the unrepentant lapsed, despite being warned again and again not to do so.

CHAPTER 100: DIVISION BETWEEN THE PARTY OF CORNÉLIUS AND THAT OF NOVATIANUS AT ROMA

Now in the meantime, the Goths and the Skythians and the Carpians, were making incursions into Roman territory and had occupied Dacia and Moesia and crept into most of Thraké. For this reason, as quickly as possible, Emperor Decius and his son Decius (whom he had made Caesar) advanced with the Roman army in order to quell these invasions. While he was absent from Roma, during the consulate of Decius, for the 4th time, and Decius, for the 2nd time, in about March,² Cornélius was chosen and ordained to receive the oversight of the Roman assembly.

For Cornélius did not attain the oversight suddenly, but being promoted through all the assemblic offices and having often deserved well of the Lord in divine administrations, he ascended to the priesthood by all the grades of religion. Not only this, but throughout the persecution he was expecting the butchers of his body and the avengers of the ferocious tyrant; for he was resisting their deadly edicts face-to-face and trampling on their threats and excruciations and torments by the vigor of his faith, but the majesty and the goodness of the Lord protected him. Next, at this time, he neither asked for the oversight itself, nor did he seize it through arrogance; but quiet and modest, he himself suffered compulsion, so as to be forced to accept the oversight. He was approved by the testimony of the laudable opinion of almost all the allotted-ones, and by sixteen fellow-overseers, and by the vote of the commonalty who were then present, and by the college of ancient priests and good men. For at this time, the assembly at Roma consisted of 1 overseer, 46 elders, 7 ministers, 7 sub-ministers, 42 attendants, but 52 out-adjurers and readers together with gatekeepers, more than 1,500 widows with persons in distress, and a very great and countless people.

Now Cornélius, overseer of Roma, was of the Lenient party. But among the elders in Roma, was Novatianus, who was of the Rigorist party. Now Novatianus had received the faith under the following circumstances: For being helped under the power of the out-adjurers, he had fallen-into a harsh sickness; and, supposing that he was all but dying, water had been poured-over him on the very bed on which he lay. But afterward, he had escaped the sickness. Later, this bright man had been deemed-worthy of the body-of-elders at Roma by the favor of the overseer who had laid his hand upon him to be received into an allotment of the body-of-elders. Now at this time, there was a tradition held by the assembly in Roma, that it was not allowed for one who had water poured-over him in bed because of a sickness to be within an allotment. Because of this, all the allotment and many of the laymen had tried to prevent this. But the overseer had deemed it worthy to consent to lay-his-hands-upon this one alone. (Cornélius would later use this circumstance as a slander against Novatianus in order to discredit him.)

Now contention arose between the overseer Cornélius and Novatianus, because Novatianus believed, that the overseer Cornélius was sinning by accepting into communion those who had sacrificed during the persecution, even though they had demonstrated a change-of-mind. In particular, there was a certain overseer, Trophimos, who had sacrificed during the persecution, and a very great part of the commonalty had withdrawn with him. When Trophimos now was returning to the assembly, and made satisfaction and confessed his error with a change-of-mind, and, with full humility and satisfaction, recalled the brotherhood which he had recently dragged-away, he and a very great number of the brothers who had been with Trophimos were admitted into the assembly of the Lord. Nevertheless, when Trophimos was admitted, he was communed with as a layman. But Novatianus was upset that Cornélius was communing with Trophimos.

¹ Novatus and Novatianus are two distinct individuals, whom many later writers confuse and incorrectly merge into a single individual, who is variously called "Noovatos" (most Eusebios) / "Noovatianus" (Dionysios) / "Navatos" (Socrates, some Eusebios)

² 251 [his ordination is limited to being in February or March] / Chronicon(Jerome) places this in 1st year of Gallus

Now previously, Novatianus had wept over *the* delinquencies of his neighbors as if they were his own, had sustained *the* burdens of *the* brothers, and had strengthened those who were slippery in *the* divine faith with consoling-words. But throughout the remainder of the persecution, when *Novatianus* was being begged and being summoned by the ministers to come out of the small-house in which he had confined himself *in order* to give aid to the brothers who were in danger and needed aid, he denied that he was an elder *of their assembly*. In fact, he departed, even acting harshly, and he declared, that he was no longer wishing to be an elder *under Cornélius*, for he was a passionate-desirer of a different fondness-of-wisdom (philosophy). (For he was of the Rigorist party.)

But at the same time, Novatus, a member of the Lax party, also sailed from Africa to Roma with the intention of overturning *the* assembly there. And observing that the contention between the two parties was an opportunity for him to sow further seeds of discord among the brothers, he disrobed his former sentiments of the Lax party, and now feigned sharing the same opinions as the Rigorist party. And in this, he was now audacious *enough* to condemn the hands of those who were sacrificing *to the demons*, although he himself was more guilty in his feet, by which *the* son who was being born *to him* was killed.

And Novatus, pretending to have sympathy with Novatianus, urged some of *the* confessors of the Rigorist party at *the* city of Roma to separate themselves from the rest of the assembly which was primarily composed of the Lenient party. And threatening things at Roma similar to what he had threatened the assembly at Carthage with, *Novatus* separated a portion of *the* commonalty from *the* body-of-allotted-ones and rent *the* concord of a brotherhood which was well-cohered in itself and affectionate toward one another.

Now in previous generations, some of *the* overseers in *various* provinces (such as in Africa), in opposition to the decisions of the majority of the assemblies, had thought that peace should not be given to adulterers and they shut off completely the opportunity for a change-of-mind in the case of adultery. Yet they did not recede from *the* college of their fellow-overseers or break *the* unity of *the* universal assembly because peace was given by some *overseers* to adulterers.

Yet in the present situation, *Novatus* urged them to elect Novatianus for a rival overseer to Cornélius. Now prior to these urgings, Novatianus had made himself trustworthy to Cornélius by some fearsome oaths that he was entirely not reaching for the oversight of *the Roman assembly*. However, despite his reluctance and his unwillingness to be led by them into this position, Novatianus finally conceded to their persuasions, and Novatus and several other overseers ordained Novatianus for overseer of Roma.

Afterward, *Novatianus* wrote to all the assemblies, that they should not accept those who had sacrificed *to the demons*; that instead, they indeed should propel them to a change-of-mind, but should leave the pardoning of their sins to God. Accepting such letters, each of the parties in the various provinces acted according to their own decisions. For he had been wishing that they would not allow anyone into communion who, after their immersion, had committed *any* sin into death. Indeed, this rule would seem to some to be bitter and ungentle, but others would accept the rule as righteous and conducive to their *Christian* citizenship. Now in the midst of this issue which was set-in-motion, documents from the overseer Cornélius followed. But each of them announced throughout the assemblies, that he himself was the rightful overseer of Roma, and that the other was in sin. But they also sent-letters in opposition to one another, and each of them was fortifying *himself with proofs* out of the divine sayings. And most of *the Christians* identified themselves with the view which was in accordance with his previous custom.

Now those of the Rigorist party who joined Novatus and Novatianus included: Maximus (confessor and elder) and Nikostratos (confessor and minister, whom Novatus ordained in Africa) and Celerinus (confessor) and Urbanus (confessor, who twice reaped the greatest¹ glory from *his* confession) and Sidonius (confessor) and Euaristos (overseer) and Augendus (minister) and Primus and Dionysios (not the overseer of Alexandria) and Longinus and Machaeus and other confessors at Roma, and later, Marcian (overseer of Arlate).

Of these, Maximus and Nikostratos and Urbanus and Sidonius and Makarios, as well as Moses, had been imprisoned together on account of their confession; at that time, all of them had been of the Rigorist party. However, Moses, before he had died in prison, had gone over to the Lenient party, and was not in communion with Novatianus and the five elders with him.

But Nikostratos was guilty of multiple crimes. And not only did he commit frauds and rapines against his secular patroness (whose accounts he managed), but he also stole no moderate amount of *the* deposits of the assembly, refusing to *give up* the deposits of widows and orphans. Truly Euaristos was an author of a schism; and after being banished from *the* seat and *the* commonalty, Zetus was stationed as overseer and successor in his place for *the* commonalty over whom he had formerly presided.

And whenever Novatianus made the *sacred* offerings and was distributing a part to each *man* in his assembly and giving it *to them*, he would compel that human to swear in place of the blessing, telling him, "Swear to me by the blood and the body of our Lord Jesus *the* Anointed-One never to leave me and turn to

¹ literally "best"

Cornélius." And he would not allow that human to taste of the bread until he would say, "I will not return to Cornélius."

Now Novatianus began to send his new emissaries throughout very many civil-communities to constitute some fresh foundations² of his own institution, and was creating overseers in each city, while the other two parties were doing the same. But when those of *Novatianus' party* reached Carthage, and were trying to muster those who were of the Rigorist party to themselves and to persuade others to join the Rigorist party, Cyprianus overseer of Carthage, and the others there belonging to the Lenient party, restrained them from their communion.

Finally, when Novatus withdrew from among the brothers at Roma, a quiet came about. And not long afterward, a great part of *the* brothers who had withdrawn from Cornélius and from the rest of *the* assembly at Novatus' inciting, broke away from the Rigorist party and wished to return to the Lenient party (of Cornélius and Cyprianus). Among them were Urbanus, and Sidonius, and Maximus the elder, and Makarios, and Celerinus. Another was one of the overseers who had ordained Novatianus as overseer of Roma; and he was communed with as a layman. And when these men's wish *to join them* had been recognized, a great concourse of *the* brotherhood at Carthage formed, giving thanks to God and embracing them; and Maximus was allowed to resume his place as an elder among them. And when those of the Roman assembly returned to Roma, they made peace with Cornélius, overseer of Roma, and with *the* universal body-of-allotted-ones. Now when any overseers seceded from the Lenient party to join another, the Lenient party laid-hands-upon new overseers, whom they commissioned to replace those who had deserted them.

Now while Cornélius was still overseer of Roma, indeed Fabius, overseer of Antiocheia, who was also inclining to Novatianus' party, fell-asleep. But Demetrianus was appointed his successor in the oversight of Antiocheia.³

CHAPTER 101: DEATH OF EMPEROR DECIVS

Now while the persecution was ensuing, at Roma, *the* amphitheater was conflagrated.

Now at first, Emperor Decius and his son confronted the barbarians and prevailed in all their battles. But while they, with the rest of the army, were pursuing the barbarians across the Danube,⁴ at first the affairs were progressing according to his mind, but his general, Gallus, turned and *decided* to revolt and sent preachers toward the barbarians, summoning them to commune with him in his plot against Decius. Now they jovially accepted what was offered to *them*.⁵ Indeed, Gallus was keeping guard on the bank of Danube, but the barbarians divided themselves into three orders in a certain place, and the first had stood in front of a swamp. But when Decius utterly-destroyed many of this *first group*, the second legion of *barbarians* came in after *them*. Now when he also turned *them back*, a little part of the third legion appeared near the swamp. But Gallus signaled Decius to rush against them through the swamp. So *Decius* proceeded-on inconsiderately in the unfamiliar⁶ place. He, simultaneously with his force, became stuck in the mud. And being shot at from every side under *the strength* the barbarians, they were utterly-destroyed, so that not one of them was able to escape. Indeed, *Decius* was not even able to be honored with a burial; but stripped and naked, he lay *exposed* as fodder for beasts and birds at Abritus.⁷ Truly, his son Decius was also extinguished in *the* war. So Decius lived 50 years, and reigned for 1 year, 11 months, and 18 days.⁸

Now after this, Gallus was made the August-One, and his son, Volusianus, was appointed as Caesar. Now when Gallus returned to Roma, he remembered Decius' reign and adopted his surviving boy, Hostilianus. So the three of them were made emperors by *the Roman* senate, and peace was restored to the assembly of the Christians.

CHAPTER 102: PLAGUE UNDER EMPEROR GALLUS

Now in the 1st year of the reign of Emperor Gallus of *the* Romans, a pestilence erupted, and an excessive devastation of a detestable disease⁹ brought such incredible sicknesses and extended to all the regions where the edicts of *Emperor* Decius for *the* destruction of *the* assemblies had been promulgated. Almost no Roman province, nor city and village, nor house, escaped being seized and made-vacant by that general pestilence, while the infirmity of this sickness seized *the Christians* equally with the nations. Now those who *lived* in iniquity, thought, that *the* pestilence was a matter of common chance and the death resulting from *the* sickness was a natural end and not a punishment; whereas *the* Christians thought, that God was now avenging *the* violence which had been done to *the* Christian name. Yet those who believed to the end and remained immune from contact with evil, were looking forward to future happiness after being liberated from *the present* age.

² literally "fundamentals"

³ Chronicon(Jerome) places this event in the 1st year of Gallus

⁴ Aurelius(Liber) / Zosimus "Tanais" (incorrectly) [also below]

⁵ literally "was stretched-out-before"

⁶ literally "ignorant"

⁷ correct spelling / Aurelius(Liber) "Bruti" / Chronicon(Jerome) "Abritto"

⁸ Chronography354 / Chronicon(Jerome) "1 year, 3 months" (incorrect) / Aurelius(Liber), Eutropius "2 years" / Aurelius(Epitome) "30 months" / Orosius "3 years"

⁹ literally "pest"

The pestilence was especially strong in Africa, where innumerable peoples were carried-away daily while sitting in their own seat by an abrupt attack; one after another, the houses of the trembling commoners were invaded. The belly, loosened into a flux, was eviscerating the strength of the body. A fire, conceived in the marrow, was fermenting into wounds of the throat. The intestines were being shaken by an assiduous vomiting. The eyes were being made ardent with the strength of blood. The feet of some, or certain parts of their members, were amputated by the contagion of sickly putridity. From the languor developing through the losses and damages of the bodies, either the gait was debilitated, or the hearing was obstructed, or the sight was blinded.

Everyone was shuddering, fleeing to evade the contagion, impiously exposing their own friends—as, if along with that person who was about to die from the disease,¹ one was still able to shut-out² death itself. Meanwhile, throughout everywhere in the civil-community, there were no longer bodies, but the cadavers of most. And, by the contemplation of a lot which would soon be theirs, they asked for the pity of those who were passing by. But no one regarded anything besides his cruel gains. No one trepidated at the recollection of a similar event. No one did to another what he wished to undergo himself.

But Cyprianus, overseer of Carthage, with all the commonalty clustered in one place, first taught³ them on the benefits of mercy. By examples from the divine reading, he made them aware of how much the offices of piety avail to be deserving of God. Then he next subjoined, “There is nothing miraculous if we cherish only our own brothers with a complaisance of love which we owed them. He is only able to become perfect if he does something more than a publican or a heathen, who, having victory over evil with good and exercising a divine likeness of clemency, values his enemies too; who would pray for the salvation of those who are persecuting him, as the Lord admonishes and exhorts. For God continuously makes his sun rise, and imparts sudden rains to nourish the seeds, exhibiting all his kindnesses, not only to his people, but even to aliens. And how should one who is professing to be a son of God, not imitate the example of the Father? It is proper for us,” he said, “to respond to our birth. And it is not congruent that those who are evidently born of God should be degenerate, but that, as his offspring, the offshoot of a good father should rather prove the emulation of his goodness.”

(Matthew 5:44)

Therefore, ministrations were continuously distributed, according to the state⁴ of the humans and their rank.⁵ Many who did not have the capability to exhibit expense for the benefits of poverty, were exhibiting much more than expenses.

Now one of Cyprianus' colleagues and fellow-priests, wearied out with an infirmity and solicitous on account of his present approaching of death, beseeched to have a furlough for himself. As he was deprecating and was now almost dying, there appeared to him a juvenile, venerable in honor and majesty, lofty in stature and shining⁶ in aspect. And as he stood before it, the human sight was scarcely able to gaze upon it with fleshly eyes.

And the juvenile, not without a certain indignation of soul and voice, bellowed and said, “All of you* fear to suffer. All of you* do not wish to depart. What shall I do with all of you*?” It was the voice of one rebuking and admonishing, who, when men are solicitous about persecution though indifferent⁷ about their summons of death, does not consent to their present desire, but consults for the future. Their dying brother and colleague did not hear this for himself, but for the very purpose that he might say it to others.

It was also often revealed to Cyprianus, how frequently and manifested it was commanded by the dignity of God, that he should assiduously contest and publicly predict that his brothers who were liberated from this age by the Lord's summons were not to be mourned for, since it is known that they are not lost, but sent-in-advance; that they should be desired, but not bewailed, for they are alive with God.

Now among the Christians at Alexandria, the ministers of the assembly there, Faustus, Eusebios, and Chairémōn, were left remaining after those who came-to-their-end in the sickness.⁸ Eusebios was one whom God had empowered from the beginning and prepared to fulfill energetically the services to the confessors who were in the guardhouses, and, without any freedom-of-danger, performed the wrapping-up of the bodies of the dead and happy testifiers. For up to that present day, indeed the leader had been cruelly doing away with those who were being led to him; but had been combing-out some with his tortures; but had been melting-away others in guardhouses and bonds, both ordering, that no one might approach them, and investigating whether anyone had been seen doing so. And, nevertheless, God, through the eagerness and persistence of the brothers, was giving relief to those who were hard-pressed.

CHAPTER 103: CYPRIANUS AND THOSE IN AFRICA DISCUSS THE SITUATION REGARDING THE LAPSED

¹ literally “pest”

² literally “to exclude”

³ literally “instituted”

⁴ literally “quality”

⁵ literally “order”

⁶ literally “clear”

⁷ literally “secure”

⁸ most Eusebios / some Eusebios, Rufinus “in an island” (in Greek, the two words are one vowel different)

Now shortly after the persecution had settled down, when an opportunity for convening had been given, Cyprianus, overseer of Carthage, and a copious number of overseers (whom their faith and the protection of the Lord kept untouched and unharmed) convened. And after scriptures had long been produced on both sides, they weighed a proportioned-mean with salutary moderation, that neither hope of communion nor of peace should be totally denied to the lapsed, lest they should fail even more through desperation, and they, with the assembly being closed to them, would live like the nations who are following after the age; nor, nevertheless, that the censure of the good-message be dissolved, lest they would rush to communion rashly, but that a change-of-mind should be protracted day by day, and that paternal clemency should be sorrowfully sought, and that genuine prayer be performed with a whole heart, and that continuous righteous and good works be performed, and that the causes and the wishes and the necessities of each one should be individually examined. And in this, they agreed with Cornélius, overseer of Roma, who himself, having previously held a council with many of their fellow-overseers, had reached the same decision, with equal gravity and salutary moderation. And both of them were also in agreement, that Novatianus and his followers should be banished. For they held that those of either of the opposing parties were to be considered adversaries and anti-anointed-ones.

Likewise, most of the brothers in Alexandria were of the Lenient party. For when they saw that any of these individuals who had lapsed from the faith by sacrificing had made a true conversion and change-of-mind which was able to be acceptable to God (who is universally not wishing for the death of the sinner but for his change-of-mind), and they had tested them, they welcomed them, and gathered them together, and stood together with them, and communed with them in prayers and feasts.

For example, among the Christians at Alexandria, there was a certain Serapiōn, a faithful old-man; indeed, he survived for a long time blamelessly, but fell in the testing. He was often beseeching, but no one paid-attention to him. For even he had sacrificed. But he fell into a sickness, and for three successive days he continued voiceless and insensate. But having recovered a little, on the fourth day he called his daughter's-son before him, and declared, “How long are you restraining me, O child? I beseech you, make every effort and release-me-from this life quickly. Call some one of the elders to me.” And after he spoke this, he was again voiceless.

The boy ran to the elder. But it was night and that elder was infirm. Indeed, he was not able to reach him. However Dionysios of Alexandria had given an instruction, that those were about to be released-from this life, if they beseeched, and especially if they had also happened to beg for it previously, should receive remission,⁹ so that they might be released-from this life in good-hope. Therefore, the elder gave to the little-boy a little portion of the thank-offering, and directed him to wet it and let it fall-in-drops into the mouth of the old-man.

The boy returned, bringing it. When he also drew near, before he went-in, Serapiōn again raised¹⁰ himself up, declaring, “You are present, child? And indeed, the elder was not able to come. But you, quickly do what was ordered and let me be released-from this life.”

The boy wet it and simultaneously also held it in his mouth. And when he had swallowed-down a little, straightaway, he gave-back his spirit.

CHAPTER 104: FELICISSIMUS AND HIS COMPANIONS APPOINT OVERSEERS [(252)-05-15]

Now at this time, a man named Privatus, a veteran sectarian, joined the Lax party. Many years ago, he had previously come to Carthage into the colony of Lambesitana and had been condemned for many and grave delinquencies by the sentence of 90 overseers. But now, he wanted to plead his cause before a council which was being held by the Lenient party at Carthage on the Ides of May.¹¹ But when he was not admitted, he made Fortunatus (one of the five elders who, along with Felicissimus, were pillars of the Lax party) an overseer of the Lax party in the assembly of Carthage.

Yet a certain Félix (whom Privatus himself, even before the council, had formerly appointed as an overseer), had come with him also. But also present with Privatus were Jovinus and Maximus (not the Maximus of Roma who had previously joined the Rigorist party), who, in a council the previous year, had been condemned by the sentence of nine members of the Lenient party on account of nefarious sacrifices and crimes which were proved against them. However, also joined with these four was Repostus, overseer of Suturmica, who not only fell himself in the persecution, but, by a sacrilegious persuasion, cast-down the greatest part of his commonalty.

Now immediately, from the first day of the persecution, when the very hands and mouths of the lapsed were still smoking from the nefarious sacrifices, these men did not cease to commune with the lapsed and to interfere with their change-of-mind. Therefore, at this time, these five, with a few of those who either had sacrificed or were conscious of evil in themselves, jointly-opted Fortunatus to be overseer of Carthage.

⁹ may also be translated “should be forgiven”

¹⁰ literally “brought”

¹¹ (252)-05-15

Now straightaway, the Lenient party at Carthage rejected these men, but representatives of the Lax party sailed from Africa and came to the assembly at Roma to announce Fortunatus' oversight. But Cornélius, overseer of Roma and a member of the Lenient party, rejected *Felicissimus* there. And when *Felicissimus* had come surrounded by a crowd and faction of desperate men, he was driven from the assembly there with the full vigor of the overseer Cornélius.

But after Fortunatus had been made overseer of the Lax party at Carthage, immediately, he was deserted by almost everyone.

Now among the things which the Lordly and Divine authority had deigned to show and to reveal to Cyprianus, overseer of Carthage, in dreams or visions, he also added this, "Whoever does not believe the Anointed-One who makes the priest, will also afterward begin to believe in the Anointed-One who avenges the priest."

CHAPTER 105: THE PURSUIT AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS IS RENEWED UNDER EMPEROR GALLUS / DEATH OF HOSTILIANUS / CRUELTY OF DEMETRIANUS / TESTIMONY OF CORNÉLIUS / LUCIUS BECOMES OVERSEER OF ROMA

Now because health was being shattered by raging sicknesses, because the race of the humans was being devastated by the ravaging of a disease, because wars were arising and continuing with greater frequency throughout the kingdom of the Romans, because sterility and famines were raging and accumulating solicitude, because long serene weather was shutting-off the heaven and suspending rains and showers, because striking hailstorms were debilitating the vines, because subverting whirlwinds were lopping-off the olives, very many of the unbelievers were deploring and saying, that all those things by which the world was now being shaken and oppressed had occurred because the gods of the nations, that is, the demons, were not being worshipped by the Christians. They were even imputing to the Christians everything which is merely diminishing as the world is growing old: in the winter, the supply of rain was not as copious for nourishing the seeds, nor was the sun having as much heat for cherishing the fruits, nor were the harvests as plentiful, nor were quantities of raw materials dug out of the disemboweled and fatigued mountains and mines as abundant; as well as the humans failing¹ in their trades, and even the lack of morals and friendships. Because of this, Demetrianus, proconsul of Africa, was railing these slanders with a sacrilegious mouth and impious words against, not only the Christians, but against the one and true God.

Now Cyprianus, overseer of Carthage, and the brothers of the assembly there, foresaw that another infestation was beginning to draw near; and they were being admonished with frequent and assiduous signs, that they were to be armed and prepared for the struggle which the foe was announcing to them. Therefore, they decided that peace must be given to those who had not withdrawn from the Lenient party and had not ceased to demonstrate their change-of-mind and to lament and to deprecate to the Lord from the first day of their fall, and that they ought to be spiritually armed and equipped for the imminent battle. For if peace was refused to be granted to those who were about to give a testimony, some would refuse to give it. Therefore, it seemed best to Cyprianus and the others of his assembly, from the suggestion of the holy spirit and the admonishing of the Lord through many and manifest visions, and because the foe was announced-beforehand and shown to be imminent, to fasten-together the soldiers of the Anointed-One within the encampment, and, after the case of each would be individually examined, to give peace to the lapsed in order to supply arms to those who were about to fight spiritually.

Now while the pestilence raved even more atrociously, Emperor Hostilianus was-lost, but Emperors Gallus and Volusianus procured favor because they anxiously and meticulously² took care of the burials of the all the poor humans. Nevertheless, despite the effects of this pestilence, Emperor Gallus neither came to know the evil deed of the former emperor Decius, nor considered-beforehand what had caused him to slip; instead, he misstepped on the same stone, though it was before his eyes. For when his kingdom was bearing well and his affairs were proceeding according to his mind, he drove off the Christians who were being ambassadors³ for him before God for his peace and his health. Therefore, along with these consecrated men, he also persecuted their prayers which were being made in his behalf. And once the persecution had begun, many of the Christians were convinced that it was the end of the age and the time of the Anti-Anointed-One.

Now Demetrianus, proconsul of Africa, in contempt⁴ of Yahweh God, and in his insatiable madness for butchery and his unfillable lust for savageness, attacked and oppressed the servants of God. Still more, he fatigued the servants of God with unrighteous persecutions. Still more, he, with a sacrilegious infestation, was persecuting those who were worshipping the true God. But because the Christians wanted Demetrianus, as well as any of their persecutors, to have a change-of-mind toward the true God, none of the Christians of Africa were resisting when they were being apprehended, nor were they avenging themselves against his

unrighteous violence, though it was excessive and copious. In fact, Cyprianus, overseer of Carthage, even wrote a heavy admonition to Demetrianus, urging him to come to a change-of-mind.

Now when the secular power suddenly broke-forth against the Christians, Cornélius, overseer and priest of the assembly of Roma, was, for a long time, protected by the assistance of God in the persecution, even though he was often petitioned for in the circus for the lion. And in the amphitheater, he was honored with the testimony of the Lord's⁵ dignity. But at the present, on account of the sacrifices (which, by the proposed edict, the people were ordered to celebrate), he was again demanded by the clamor of the peoples for the lion in the circus. But Cornélius stood forth as a leader of confession for the brothers in Roma. Because of this, the whole Roman camp of Christians, being persuaded by him, at once confessed. Among them was Lucius. And as a result, Cornélius was expelled [to]⁶ Centumcellae. There, with glory, he was also crowned with a testimony and accepted sleep during midsummer,⁷ after having overseen the assembly of the city of the Romans for 2 years, 3 months, and 10 days;⁸ and his body was deposited in the cemetery of Kallistos which is on the Appian Way in Roma.

Now Lucius succeeded this testifier in the oversight of Roma. And, at this time, he was made-ready and prompt to undergo all torment; yet, after he had made a second confession, he did not suffer punishment, but instead was exiled.

Now because of the influence of the teachings of the Lenient party (that it was possible for the lapsed to be granted peace solely on the condition that they were demonstrating a legitimate change-of-mind from their former lapse and denial of the Anointed-One), many of those who had been previously wounded in the faith during their first array under the Decian persecution, afterward, in their second battle, persevered with so much fortitude, that, despising the edicts of the secular princes, they maintained their confession unconquered. For they were not apprehensive to give-up their soul and to shed their blood, and not to shrink from any savageness of the insane tyrants.

About this time, toward the end of the reign of Emperor Gallus and Volusianus, Origenés was coming-to-his-end, after he completed 69 years⁹ of his life. He died at Zor, the city in which he was also buried.

CHAPTER 106: DEATH OF GALLUS / USURPATION OF AEMILIANUS / VALERIANUS BECOMES EMPEROR

Now Emperor Gallus was so dissonant in handling the principality of the Romans, that, in addition to the pestilences, the Skythians did not leave one nation which was subject to the Romans unsacked, and they conquered nearly every unvalled city and the majority of those having been fortified with walls. Now since the mighty-men were not able to engage-in-assisting the state affairs, but were disregarding everyone outside of Roma, the Goths, and the Carpians, and many other nations, once more carried off the cities of Europa as prey, while the Persians came-upon Asia and took both Mesopotamia and proceeded even as far as Antiocheia in Syria and grasped it, which is the metropolis of the all the east. And indeed, they slaughtered many of its inhabitants, but led-away the others as captives. After they utterly-destroyed all the buildings of the city, whatever was private or public, they returned to their homes with innumerable plunder, with no one at all withstanding them.

Accordingly, on one occasion, during a barbarian raid in Numidia, some of the brothers and sisters of the assembly there were taken into captivity. Now when Cyprianus, overseer of Carthage, and the rest of the brotherhood there, heard about this and considered it, they all promptly and willingly and generously collected a sum of money, totaling 100,000 sestertii, in order to help redeem those brothers from captivity.

Now while the Skythians were crossing-through Asia without any terror, Aemilianus, a leader of one of the ranks of Roman soldiers, did-away-with most of the barbarians and freed the Romans from their madness. Because of this, Aemilianus was chosen emperor by the soldiers, and he moved toward Italia, wishing to come into a battle with Emperor Gallus while he was unprepared. Now when Gallus learned of this, he sent General Valerianus to bring reinforcements. But when Gallus' soldiers saw that their own forces were inferior to Aemilianus' and that Gallus was dissonant, they did-away-with him and his boy, Volusianus, who, together, held the principality for 2 years, 4 months, and 9 days;¹⁰ and his soldiers defected to Aemilianus. But Aemilianus was emperor for merely 88 days¹¹ before he died. And General Valerianus was made emperor by the soldiers, and soon after was made the August-One by the common opinion; and the senate at Roma made his son, Gallienus, Caesar.

⁵ may also be translated "of lordly"

⁶ emendation / manuscripts "from"

⁷ about June 253 / Jerome gives him "18th before the Kalends of October" [258-09-14] for the date of his death, which seems to be way off]

⁸ Chronography354 / Eusebios "about 3 years" / Jerome(Illust), Chronicon(Jerome) "2 years"

⁹ literally "70 years save one"

¹⁰ Chronography354 / Chronicon(Jerome) "2 years, 4 months" / Aurelius(Liber,Epitome) "2 years" /

Eutropius "not quite 2 years" / Eusebios "less than 2 years" / Orosius "barely 2 years"

¹¹ Chronography354 / Aurelius(Liber) "3 months" / Chronicon(Jerome), Orosius "died in the 3rd month" / Aurelius(Epitome) "defeated in 4th month"

¹ may also be translated "disappearing"

² literally "studiously"

³ literally "being elders"

⁴ literally "contumely"

CHAPTER 107: STEPHANOS SUCCEEDS LUCIUS AS OVERSEER OF ROMA / LAPSED OVERSEERS

Now during the reign of Emperor Valerianus, the pursuit of the Christians ceased; and, by the will of God, Lucius, overseer of Roma, was restored unharmed from his exile to the assembly at Roma. Now after Lucius ministered the public-service of the assembly of the Romans for 8 months and 10 days,¹ he came-to-his-end on the 3rd day before the Nones of March;² and, on the same day, his body was deposited in the cemetery of Kallistos which is on the Appian Way in Roma. And shortly afterward, the lot of the oversight of Roma was imparted to Stephanos.

Now during the previous persecution, Fortunatianus, overseer of the assembly at Assurae, lapsed by sacrificing to the demons. Because of this, he was stripped of his position and Epiktétos succeeded him in the oversight. However, Fortunatianus, wishing to act as if he was sound, began to try to reclaim the oversight for himself after the persecution had ended.

Likewise, two other overseers of different assemblies, Basileidés and Martialis, were contaminated by the pamphlets of idolatry and bound by the consciousness of nefarious deeds. Moreover, in addition to this, Basileidés reviled God. And after confessing that he had reviled, he, of his own will, laid-down the oversight because of the wound on his conscience; and he turned to a change-of-mind. Therefore, by the vote of the universal brotherhood and by the judgment of the overseers who had convened in their presence, Sabinus was ordained in place of Basileidés. But Martialis, besides frequenting the repulsive and muddy social-feasts of the nations in their college for a long time, and placing his sons in the same college according to the manner of the nations, depositing them among profane sepulchers and together with aliens, also contested (by acts which were publicly taken before a duceanarian procurator), that he yielded himself to idolatry and denied the Anointed-One. Therefore, Félix succeeded him in the oversight of that assembly.

However, after the persecution had ceased, both Basileidés and Martialis managed to fraudulently deceive Stephanos, overseer of Roma, into giving each one back his oversight; but this was not permitted by the overseers of the other assemblies, since Sabinus' succession was legitimate, and Basileidés, on account of his sins of sacrificing, was no longer qualified.

Now when the persecution had abated, many of the assemblies turned-away-from the revolutionary-mind of Novatianus, the other overseer of Roma, and accepted the teachings of the Lenient party. These included Demetrianus, overseer in Antiocheia, Theoktistos in Caesarea, Mazabanes in Aelia (that is, Jerusalem), Marinus in Zor (Alexandros fell-asleep),³ Héliodóros in Laodikeia (Thelumidres rested), Helenos in Tarshish, and all the assemblies of Kilikia, Firmilianus and all Kappadokia. However, those of the Lenient party who were among the Syrians and in Arabia, as well as in Mesopotamia, both Pontos and Bithynia, were exceedingly-rejoicing in this harmony and brotherly-love, while glorifying God.

CHAPTER 108: DIVISION OVER IMMERSION BY SECTARIANS / DEATH OF STEPHANOS [(256)-08-02]

Now the Lenient party (that is, those who were willing to reaccept Christians who had fallen away from the faith provided that there was evident proof of a change-of-mind and a probationary period) did not hold Novatianus' immersions to be valid, while Novatianus did not hold the immersions of the Lenient party to be valid. So at this time, an issue arose among the Lenient party as to what should be done with those who had been immersed by a sectarian or schismatic, but, after having changed-their-mind, now wished to join their party. Therefore, the Lenient party was again divided into two factions:

1. Cyprianus overseer of Carthage, and Firmilianus overseer of Kappadokia, and Helenos overseer of Tarshish of Kilikia, and those of Numidia, and many others, were in agreement, that those who had been immersed within the true assembly (which they understood to be the Lenient party), but who had subsequently defected to a sect, were not to be immersed a second time when they changed-their-mind and returned to the true assembly but should merely receive the prayer by a laying-on of hands. However, if someone had never been part of the assembly, and had received an immersion by sectarians or schismatics, they did not hold this immersion to be valid; and they required that that individual could only be admitted after having received a legitimate immersion by a member of the true assembly. For they held that there was only one immersion appointed in the holy assembly. Now although Novatianus was not of the Lenient party and believed that his own party was the legitimate assembly, he also agreed with them on the aforementioned points.

For this was not a new practice now being introduced, but even long ago, Agrippinus, who at that time had been governing an assembly of the Lord in the province of Africa and Numidia, had, with the rest of his fellow-overseers, confirmed this with the balanced examination of the common council. And in

addition, Tertullianus also had agreed on this practice, as well as many other overseers in the most populous⁴ assemblies and in the meetings of the brothers in Ikonion and Sunnada and many others.

But despite the decisions of their forefathers of the faith, Cyprianus himself convened several common councils in Carthage, one in which 71 overseers from the province of Africa and from Numidia re-examined these matters on immersion; and in another, 87 overseers. And they unanimously confirmed this sentiment again.

However, in regards to elders or ministers who had first been ordained in the assembly and who afterwards were rebels against the assembly, or had been promoted to such a position while among sectarians or schismatics, this party decided, that when such individuals returned to the assembly, they were to be received and communed with as laymen.

Now although a few other assemblies disagreed with their consensus, Cyprianus did not apply force to anyone to receive their decisions, nor were they delivering any law on the matter, since he thought, that each individual superintendent, in the administration of each assembly, as one who will render an account of his actions to the Lord, should decide, according to the allowance of his liberty and power, what he thought best concerning this situation; and, that they should not judge one another, knowing that each one will either stand himself or fall before his own lord.

2. Now Stephanos overseer of Roma and Dionysios overseer of Alexandria agreed with them on the first issue, that those who had been immersed within the true assembly, but who had subsequently gone over to a sect, did not have to be immersed a second time. However, they differed with the others in this respect: they held that an immersion, even if done by a sectarian from any sect, provided that it was done in the name of Jesus the Anointed-One or in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, was considered a legitimate immersion, and that that individual did not have to be immersed again on their entrance into the true assembly. For Stephanos asserted, that whoever anywhere has been immersed in the name of the Anointed-One immediately gains the grace of the Anointed-One. And he accused the other party of 'reimmersing'.

Now Dionysios of Alexandria had received this rule and this model from his predecessor Héraklas. For those who had been coming over to the assembly from the sects, Héraklas would drive-away from the assembly and did not let them come back until they publicly explained-in-depth everything which they had heard from those who offered-resistance to the truth; and then he would gather-together with them without them needing a second immersion.

Now when Stephanos, overseer of Roma, learned that those of Cyprianus' party were not in agreement with his opinion, he was full-of-indignation. Therefore, Stephanos tried to exert his influence by glorying in the place of his oversight in Roma, and by contending that, through the succession of the emissary Petros, he had the seat of Petros. And he asserted that the emissaries themselves had handed down this decision on immersion to them. (Though Cyprianus was certain that this assertion was far from the truth.)

But when they refused to listen to Stephanos' audacity and insolence, he, pretending the authority of the emissaries, broke the peace against every assembly throughout the whole world which did not submit to his opinion and he cut them off from himself—a peace, which his predecessors had always kept with mutual love and honor. Indeed, Stephanos sent-letters to all those in Kilikia and Kappadokia and Galatia and the adjacent nations, that he would not commune with them for this same cause, "since," he declared, "they reimmerse the sectarians!". And he accused Cyprianus, overseer of Carthage, of being an anti-anointed-one and a false-emissary and a deceitful laborer. In fact, Stephanos reached such a height of impetuosity that when overseers of the opposing party came to him as legates, he would not even admit them to a sermon of a common conference, and would command the universal brotherhood in Roma that no one should receive them into his house.

Now at first, Dionysios (not the overseer of Alexandria) and Philémon, elders of the assembly of Roma, agreed with Stephanos' party, but were subsequently persuaded to join the opposing party.

Now Dionysios, overseer of Alexandria, although at first in agreement with Stephanos' party, nevertheless tried to reconcile both parties, insisting, that Stephanos not, by trying to overturn their councils, throw them into rivalry and fondness-of-strife. For Dionysios himself could not endure such an action. But his attempt to assuage Stephanos' arrogance was in vain. But afterwards, Dionysios consented to the teaching of Cyprianus and the African assemblies.

Now Stephanos, overseer of Roma, died after having filled the public-service for 2 years, 2 months and 22 days;⁵ and, on the 4th day before the Nones of

¹ emendation / Chronography354 actually "2 years, 8 months, 10 days", which contradicts its own dating method – but the manuscript is severely damaged and corrupted at this point / Eusebios "less than 8 months" / Chronicon(Jerome) "8 months"

² [254]-03-05

³ all Eusebios / Rufinus instead places "Alexandros fell-asleep" after "Mazabanes in Aelia"

⁴ literally "many-human"

⁵ Emendation / Chronography354 "4 years, 2 months, 22 days" (4 years is clearly a later copyist error, which is betrayed by its own consulate list – the manuscript suffers heavy damage at this point) / Eusebios, Chronicon(Armenian) "2 years" / Chronicon(Jerome) "3 years"

August,¹ his body was deposited in the cemetery of Kallistos which is on the Appian Way in Roma. And not long after his death, he was succeeded by Xustos in the oversight.

CHAPTER 109: PURSUIT OF THE CHRISTIANS BEGINS UNDER EMPEROR VALERIANUS

Now at first, Emperor Valerianus was indeed mild and friendly toward the humans of God. For none of the other kings before him treated the *Christians* so well-disposed and rightly (not *even* those who were said to have been openly Christian), as this *emperor* evidently was who was welcoming them most-domestically and most-friendly in *the* beginning, and all his house was both filled with god-revering *men* and was an assembly of God.²

But the teacher and the chief-of-the-congregation of the magicians in Egypt named *Macrianus*, won *Valerianus* over-by-persuasion to make-away-with the *Christians*, indeed directing him to begin to kill and to *harmfully* pursue the clean and sacred men as being rivals and hinderers to the all-stained and abominable incantations. (For *the Christians* even are and they were able, by being present and being seen, even by only breathing and vocalizing, to scatter-abroad the plots of the sinful demons.) But *Macrianus* also induced him to accomplish impure rites and accursed magical-powers and ill-omened consecrations: cutting the throats of wretched boys, and sacrificing children of miserable fathers, and dividing bowels of newly-birthing *infants*, and cutting-through and mincing-up the things formed by God, as if they could derive prosperity from these *things*.

Accordingly, *Macrianus*, (indeed, a *man* who, when he had previously been the king's universal accountant, was not well-rational nor universal minded), brought them thank-offerings for the kingdom of the *Romans* which he was hoping for. For he did not have insight of the universal foresight, nor did he view-from-below the judgment of God. He indeed became an enemy of the universal assembly of *God*, but became a foreigner and alienated himself from the mercy of God, and lived in exile as far away as possible from his own salvation, thereby proving the truth of his name. (For *Macrianus* in Latin means "far off".) For indeed *Emperor* Valerianus, being led-forward into these *actions* by this *man*, was given-over to outrages and reproaches.

Now at first, only limited warrants were being issued, such as the following:

From the supreme-president.

To the village-chiefs and superintendents of peace of the village of Mermerthon.

At once, send-up Petosarapin of Hōros, a Christian, or you* yourselves come-up.

Year 3 of Valerianus and Gallienus the August-Ones.

Day 3 of the month Phamenōth.³

But not long afterward, Emperor Valerianus issued documents throughout the entire kingdom of the Romans, directing, that both overseers and elders of the Christian assemblies were to be immediately apprehended; and, that they were to be compelled to perform ceremonies to the gods of the Romans; and, if they refused to perform these ceremonies, that they were to be exiled. Now the emperor also directed, that Christians were not allowed to hold meetings anywhere, nor to *even* enter into their cemeteries; and, if any of them did not observe this command, that he would suffer capital punishment.

CHAPTER 110: TRIAL & EXILE OF DIONYSIOS OF ALEXANDREIA

Now during this pursuit of the *Christians* which breathed most-vehemently, *Dionysios*, overseer of *Alexandreia*, went before *Aemilianus*, prefect of Egypt. Now he *did not go* alone, but both *his* fellow-elder *Maximus* and the ministers *Faustus*, *Eusebios*, and *Chairēmōn* followed *him*; and a certain brother who was present from *Roma* went-in-along with them.

But *Aemilianus* did not take the initiative by speaking to *Dionysios*, "Do not be congregating," for this was superfluous⁴ for him, and the last thing for him to say who was retracing *his steps* to the first thing. For his account was not about the *Christians* congregating others together, instead it was about they themselves not being Christians. And he was ordering *Dionysios* to cease from this, supposing, that if *Dionysios* turned *himself* around, the others would also follow *him*.

But *Dionysios* answered neither unsuitably nor lengthy, "We must obey-the-authority of a god, rather than a human." Instead, *Dionysios* outright fully-testified, "I revere the god, the *one who* is the only god, and none other; nor would I ever be wishing to run-after *another*, nor-even wish to cease being a Christian."

At this, *Aemilianus* directed *them* to depart to a certain village near the desert which is called *Kephro*.

After *Dionysios* and *Faustus* and *Maximus* and *Marcellus* and *Chairēmōn* were led-in, *Aemilianus*, the leader *who was* managing, spoke, "I have even dialogued with *all of you** off-the-records⁵ about the philanthropy of our lords, which they have employed toward you*. For they have given to you* authority to have salvation,⁶ if *any of you** are wishing to be being turned to what *is* according to nature⁷ and to be bowing-down-before the gods—the *ones who* are saving their kingdom—but to be forgetting what⁸ *is* contrary to nature. Therefore, what do *all of you** say⁹ to this? For I do not expect that *any of you** will be unthankful for their philanthropy, since they are propelling you* to the better *things*."

Dionysios answered, "Not all *persons* bow-down-before all gods; instead each *one before* certain *gods* whom he supposes are such. Moreover, we even revere and bow-down-before the one God and crafter of everything, the *one who* even put this kingdom into the hands of the most-god-loved *men*, *Valerianus* and *Gallienus*, the August-Ones; and we pray to him continuously for their kingdom, so-that it might continue unshaken."

Aemilianus, the leader *who was* managing, spoke to them, "For what is preventing *all of you** from also bowing-down-before this *one*, if he is a god, along with the gods according to nature? For you* all have been directed to revere gods, and gods whom we all know."

Dionysios answered, "We bow-down-before no other."

Aemilianus, the leader *who was* managing, spoke to them, "I also see that *all of you** are at once unthankful and insensate to the meekness of our August-Ones. On account of this very thing, you* will not remain in this city, instead you* will be sent-forth into the parts of *Libyē* and in a place called¹⁰ *Kephro*. For I chose this place from the directive of our August-Ones. But it will never be permitted for either you* or any others to hold meetings or to enter into the *places* being called sleeping-places.¹¹ But if anyone is observed not having gone into this place which I directed, or should be found in any congregation, he will have the danger hanging over himself; for the necessary strictness will not be lacking. Therefore, *all of you**, go away to where you* have been directed."

Even though *Dionysios* was sick, *Aemilianus* pressed him hard, nor did he give to him a postponement of a day. Therefore, although *Dionysios* did not have a *moment of* leisure for congregating or not congregating, instead, the *Christians* were not absent from the perceptible¹² assembling with the Lord. Instead, *Dionysios* indeed had, with *all* effort, been welding-together those in the city, as if he was together with *them*—indeed, absent in the body, but present in the spirit.

But in *Kephro*, a large assembly temporarily-resided-among *Dionysios'* party, indeed some of the brothers were following *them* from the city, but *others* came-together with *them* from Egypt. And there God opened-up a door to *them* to preach the account. And indeed, at first, they were pursued *harmfully*, had stonethrown-at *them*; but afterward some, not a few of *those of* the nations, left the idols and turned to God. Now *these nations* had not previously welcomed the account of *God*, and now was first time that it had been sown among them by *Dionysios'* party. And, as if for this *sole* purpose, God led *them* away to them. And after they fulfilled this ministry, he led *them* away again.

For *Aemilianus* wished to discharge *Dionysios'* party to, indeed, most-jagged (as he had been supposing) and *Libyan-like* places, and directed those who were anywhere to flow-together into *Mareōtēs*; and he set-apart villages throughout the country to each party, but arrayed *Dionysios'* party more on the road¹³ so that they would be overtaken first. For it was evident that he had been regulating and preparing things so that whenever he wished to apprehend *them*, he could have all of them easily.

But indeed when *Dionysios* had been directed to depart into *Kephro*, and had been ignorant of where the place was, nor had scarcely *even* heard the name before, nevertheless, he went-away with good-passion and undisturbed. But when he had to shift-his-tent into the parts of *Kollouthion*,¹⁴ he was, indeed at first, weighed-down and very harsh. For even if the places had happened to be more well-known and more usual to *Dionysios'* party, instead the country had been asserted to be indeed desolate of brothers and of effortful humans, but to be exposed to the annoyances of travelers and incursions of brigands.

But *Dionysios* gained consolation when the brothers reminded *him* that it was *even* more adjacent to the city, and, that indeed while *Kephro* had been leading to *them* much intercourse with the brothers from Egypt, so that they were able to assemble more broadly, but here, with the city being nearer, they would have the enjoyment of the appearance of those who were truly beloved and most-intimate and most-dear to *them*. For they would reach *them* and would rest themselves up, and, as in the more remote suburbs, congregations would be having been laid out

⁵ literally "unwritten/without writing"

⁶ literally "authority of salvation"

⁷ literally "the thing according-to nature"

⁸ literally "the thing"

⁹ literally "declare"

¹⁰ literally "saying"

¹¹ a Christian idiom for a cemetery

¹² literally "sensate"

¹³ literally "more in a way"

¹⁴ *Eusebios* / *Nicephorus* "Kolouthion" (he has "o" instead of *Eusebios'* "w" for the last 'o')

¹ (256)-08-02 [Chronography354 places the end of his oversight during the consulate "of Valerianus, for the 3rd time, and Gallienus, for the 2nd" [255AD] but the manuscript has suffered from heavy damage and later correctors at this point]

² literally "a god"

³ 256-02-28

⁴ literally "abundant"

according to *each* part. And even though *they* were alone during these days, and being pursued and put to death by everyone, even then they celebrated *the* Passover festival. And every site of each tribulation was to *them* a place of national-festivity: field, desert, ship, inn, prison.

CHAPTER 111: TRIAL & EXILE OF CYPRIANUS [(257)-08-30]

When the consuls were Emperor Valerianus for the fourth time and Gallienus for the third time, on the 3rd day before the Kalends of September¹ at Carthage, the proconsul Paternus said to Cyprianus, the overseer of Carthage, in the secret-chamber, “The most-sacred emperors, Valerianus and Gallienus, deigned to give letters to me in which they commanded that those who are not practicing the Roman religion must recognize that they are under-obligation to the Roman ceremonies. Therefore, I have sought out your name. What is your response to me?”

2 The overseer Cyprianus said, “I am a Christian and an overseer. I know no other gods but the one and true God who made the heavens and the earth, the sea and everything which is in them. This is the God whom we Christians serve-diligently; day and night we are deprecating him for all of you* and for all humans, and for the safety of the emperors.”

3 The proconsul Paternus said, “Therefore, you are persevering in this will?”

The overseer Cyprianus responded, “A good will which knew God is not able to be changed.”

4 The proconsul Paternus said, “Therefore, is it possible, in following the command of Valerianus and Gallienus, to set-out as an exile to the city of Curubitana?”

The overseer Cyprianus said, “I will set-out.”

5 The proconsul Paternus said, “They have deigned to write to me, not only concerning overseers, but even concerning elders. Therefore, what I want to be knowing from you is, who are the elders who are stationed in this civil-community?”

The overseer Cyprianus responded, “By your* laws, you have well but-also usefully censured, that men should not be informers. Accordingly, it is not possible for myself to reveal or to indict them. But they will be found in their civil-communities.”

6 The proconsul Paternus said, “I demand their names today and in this place.”

The overseer Cyprianus responded, “And when our discipline prohibits any of us from offering ourselves up voluntarily, and since it is your consensus that you are displeased with this too, it is not possible for them to offer themselves up; but if they are sought out by you*, they will be found.”

7 The proconsul Paternus said, “I will seek them out from this company today.”

The overseer Cyprianus said, “If you* search for them, they will be found.”

8 The proconsul Paternus said, “I will find them.” And he added, “They yet commanded me, that no meetings are to be held anywhere, nor are they to enter the cemeteries. If anyone does not observe this very healthy command, he will suffer capital punishment.”

The overseer Cyprianus responded, “You have commanded.”

9 Then the proconsul Paternus directed the happy overseer Cyprianus to be deported into exile;² and, Cyprianus, who had produced some good for the health of the civil-community, was exiled from that civil-community to Curubitana. 10 Although he was relegated to a hidden and concealed place, it was not possible for him to compute it as an exile, for he was admixed with the things of God. But a sunny and suitable place was divinely provided for his soul; and, in accordance with his wish, he was appointed a hidden hospice, along with everything which has been promised to be appointed to those who are seeking the kingdom and the righteousness of God. 11 There were also throngs of brothers who visited him, and the love of the citizens, who were supplying him with everything which he had been appearing to have been deprived of.

12 Meanwhile, during the persecution under Emperor Valerianus, in Numidia, Nemesianus, Félix, Lucius, another Félix, Litteus, Polianus, Victor, Jader, and Dativus, his fellow-overseers, also his fellow-elders and ministers, and other brothers were stationed in the mine of Sigua. 13 A part of them immediately led the way by the consummation of their testimony to receive the crown of their merits from the Lord. But a part was still detained in the fortresses of the prisons or in the mines and in bonds. For they were first gravely beaten with cudgels and afflicted through punishments like this; yet, they made their confession of the Anointed-One. 14 Then, their feet were shackled; and the tired members of their body, worn out by labors in the mines, when resting, did so on the ground, filthy with dust and dirt; and the hair of their half-shaved head was standing-on-end. 15 When Cyprianus heard about their plight, he sent to them a sum of money under the name of an offering, and, through a letter, comforted them and encouraged them to testify of Jesus the Anointed-One even to death.

15 Now sometime during this persecution, there were three men in Caesarea of Palaestina who, after they shone-forth on account of their confession of the

Anointed-One, were fully-ornamented by a divine testimony, after they became feed for beasts. Indeed, one of them had been called Priscus, but the other Melech,³ but the name of the third was Alexandros. 16 These men who were dwelling in a field, indeed first hid themselves as being careless and lazy, because, though the season distributed prizes on those who were longing for the heavenly yearning of testifying, they were belittling them, and did not snatch the crown of the testimony beforehand. 17 But after they took-counsel with themselves on this matter, they rushed to Caesarea, and also withdrew from the dealer-of-justice and obtained their end. 18 Besides these men, in the same persecution and in the same city, a certain woman contended in a similar conflict; but she belonged to the sect of Markiōn.

CHAPTER 112: VISION OF CYPRIANUS IN CURUBITANA [(257)-09-14]

Now while Cyprianus, overseer of Carthage, was in exile in Curubitana, Pontius the minister had been chosen to be among his domestic companions. And Cyprianus told Pontius the following vision, which he had seen on the 18th day before the Kalends of October:⁴

For on that day on which we first lingered in the place of exile, when I had not yet been lulled into the quietness of sleep, a youth of more than enormous size⁵ appeared to me. When this youth had been conducting me, as it were, to the praetorium, I had been perceiving that I was moving toward the tribunal of the proconsul who was sitting there. As he gazed at me, he immediately began to note-down a sentence on his tablet, which I had not known, for he had sought nothing from me in the accustomed manner of interrogation.

But the youth, who was standing at his back, very carefully read whatever had been⁶ annotated. And because it was not possible for him to be professing it in words, he pointed-out to me by an evident⁷ nod what might have been being contained in the letters on that tablet. For with his hand expanded and flattened like a long-sword, he imitated the stroke of the accustomed execution,⁸ thereby expressing what was wanting to be being understood in a clear image of speech.⁹

I understood my future sentence of suffering. I began to ask and to beg continuously for this to be prolonged by a delay of at least one day, while I disposed my ordinations according to legitimate¹⁰ means. And when I had frequently repeated my requests, he had begun to again annotate something I do not know on his tablet. Nevertheless, I sensed from the serenity of his countenance, that the judge's mind was moved by my petition, as if it was righteous. But also that youth, who had already produced to me the indication of my suffering by gesture rather than by speech,¹¹ hastened to signify repeatedly by a clandestine nod, that the postponement until tomorrow, which was being begged for, was granted. He indicated this by twisting his fingers one behind the other.

Although the sentence is not yet read, I was rejoicing with a very glad heart with joy at the accepted postponement. Nevertheless, I was trembling with apprehension at the uncertainty of the interpretation, so that the remains of dread, even until now, were causing my exultant heart to pulse with total terror.

However, his reason for requesting a postponement arose from his desire to arrange the matters of his ordinations and from his desire to assign the disposition of his will. But the final postponement was accepted, so that he might set-in-order whatever needed to be disposed of with regard to his final judgment concerning the care of the cherishing of the poor.

CHAPTER 113: THE SECOND EDICT OF VALERIANUS / TESTIMONY OF XUSTOS OF ROMA [(258)-08-06]

Emperor Valerianus dispatched a second rescript to the Roman senate: that overseers and elders and ministers should be immediately executed,¹² but that senators and distinguished men and Roman horsemen should have their dignity dismissed, and yet be spoiled of their goods; and if, after they were deprived of their means, they persevered as Christians, that they should lose their heads as well; but that matrons should be deprived of their goods and be relegated into exile; however, that whoever of the Caesariani had either previously confessed, or now confessed, should have their goods confiscated and should be sent in bonds, assigned to Caesar's estates. Emperor Valerianus yet subjoined to his oration a copy of the letters which he wrote¹³ concerning the Christians to the presidents of the provinces.

³ Hebrew equivalent / Greek “Malchos”

⁴ 257-09-14

⁵ literally “measure”

⁶ literally “whatever was having been”

⁷ literally “declared”

⁸ animadversionis

⁹ literally “sermon”

¹⁰ may also be translated “while I arranged my affairs/ordinances according to legal means”

¹¹ literally “sermon”

¹² animadvertantur

¹³ literally “made”

¹ 257-08-30

² some consider “Then the proconsul Paternus directed...into exile” to be an interpolation

Now a messenger had come all the way from the city from Xustos¹ (overseer of Roma, a good and peace-making priest), bringing words which reached Cyprianus, that the coming executioner had already been distinguished, who would strike the devoted necks of his most-holy victims. And in this way, while Cyprianus was standing according to the firmness of faith for the endurance² of suffering and in the daily expectation of dying, and while he was expecting the crown of eternal life from the help and mercy of the Lord, every day to him was as if the crown was being able to be ascribed to each day; and he daily expected³ that those letters from Emperor Valerianus would come.

In the meantime, many eminent persons and persons of most-illustrious rank and blood were convening, but there were also men who were well-bred by the nobility of this present age, who, on account of ancient friendship with Cyprianus, were repeatedly urging him to retire. And this was not bare persuasion. For they were offering places to which he might retire. Truly, Cyprianus, his mind having been suspended toward the heaven, had already neglected the world, and was not nodding to their flattering persuasions.

Now because the age was swelling and its princes were breathing out hatred of the name, Cyprianus was instructing God's servants, as the occasion afforded, with exhortations of the Lord; and he was animating them to trample upon the sufferings of this present time by a contemplation of the brightness to come. Indeed, so much was his desire for a sacred sermon, that he was opting that the prayers of his suffering might obtain for him an opportunity to be put to death in the very act of giving a sermon, while uttering of God. And these were the daily acts of a priest destined to be a pleasing sacrificial-victim to God.

However, Xustos, overseer of Roma, was executed⁴ in a cemetery on the 8th day before the Ides of August,⁵ and with him four ministers. Now they were buried on the Appian Way in Roma—indeed, Xustos in the cemetery of Kallistos, but Agapitus and Felicissimus in the cemetery of Praetextatus. Xustos had been presiding-over the assembly of the Romans for about 2 years,⁶ and the oversight would remain vacant until the 12th day before the Kalends of August, when Aemilianus and Bassus were consuls.⁷ So the sum of the days of Xustos' oversight and the period of vacancy would amount to 2 years, 11 months, and 6 days. But the prefects in the city were also daily insisting in this persecution, that, if any were brought to them, they were to be executed; and their goods were claimed by the state-treasury.

Now also during this persecution, Novatianus, overseer of Roma, testified. Now after his death, the Rigorist party and the Lenient party would remain divided. However, some of those from the Rigorist party would also adopt the following teaching: that if someone joins-together with a second wife⁸ after immersion for any reason whatsoever, they were not wishing to commune with him, and that individual was never again to be admitted into the assembly.

Now an offshoot of this group, who commingled with the teachings of Tatianus and the Enkratites, additionally did not accept marriage at all, and they are called the Apostolics (that is, of the emissaries). They lived in a small site around both Phrygia and Kilikia and Pamphylia, and, rejecting most of the divine writings, used only fictitious forgeries of the emissaries Andreas and Toma.⁹

CHAPTER 114: TESTIMONY OF CYPRIANUS, OVERSEER OF CARTHAGE [(258)-09-13 & 14]

While Cyprianus was daily lingering in the same place, it happened that Galerius Maximus succeeded Aspasius Paternus as proconsul. It was he who directed the holy overseer Cyprianus to be recalled from exile.¹⁰ When Cyprianus was being returned from the civil-community of Curubitana (to which he had been exiled at the command of Aspasius Paternus, who had been proconsul), he was remaining in his own orchards, and was daily expecting to be summoned from here exactly as it had been¹¹ shown to him. (For at the initiation of his faith, he had sold these orchards, but they were restored to him by God's complaisance. He would have sold them again for the use of the poor, if he had not kept them in order to have been avoiding envy from a prosecution.)¹² And from here, he wrote the following letter:

Cyprianus, to the elders and the ministers and the universal commonalty, greetings.

When news had been carried¹³ to us, beloved brothers, that the commissaries had been¹⁴ sent-forth to bring me to Utica, and I had

been¹⁵ persuaded by the council of my most-beloved friends to retire in the meantime from my orchards (since a righteous cause was intervening), I consented. I did this because it is fitting for an overseer to confess the Lord in that civil-community in which he is presiding-over an assembly of the Lord, and to glorify the universal commonalty by the confession of their superintendent in their presence. For whatever a confessor overseer utters in that very moment of confession, he, with God inspiring, utters by-means-of the mouth of everyone.

Otherwise, if I, an overseer who is superintending another assembly, having accepted the sentence from my confession in Utica, might be departing from there as a testifier to the Lord, the honor of our so glorious assembly will be mutilated. Especially since, I myself, even for me and for all of you*, deprecate with continual prayers, and long with all my vows for the opportunity to be confessing among all of you* and to be suffering there, and to be departing to the Lord from there as I ought

Therefore, here, stationed in a hidden place of retirement, we are awaiting the coming of the proconsul, who is returning to Carthage, so that I might hear from him what the emperors have mandated concerning the name of the Christian laymen and overseers, and might be saying what the Lord will want me to speak at that hour.

However, all of you*, beloved brothers, in accordance with the discipline which you* have always accepted from me concerning the mandates of the Lord, and in accordance with what you* have learned very often from my discourse: Be keeping quietness and tranquility, lest anyone of you* might be motivating some tumult among the brothers or might be offering himself up voluntarily to those of the nations. For the one who has been apprehended and has been handed-over is being indebted to be uttering, since the Lord who has been deposited within us, who might be uttering at that hour, is wanting us to be confessing rather than to be professing.

However, for the rest: it is fitting for us to observe, (even before the proconsul bears the sentence against me on account of the confession of the name of God) with the Lord instructing, what we shall decide in common.

May our Lord make all of you*, most-beloved brothers, to be remaining uninjured in his assembly, and may he be deigning to preserve all of you*. So be it through his mercy.

Now when Cyprianus was being detained there in the orchards, suddenly, on the Ides of September,¹⁶ when Tascus and Bassus were consuls, behold, at the directive of the proconsul, two princes with their soldiers appeared in the orchards and came toward him—one an equerry of the staff¹⁷ of the proconsul Galerius Maximus, and the other a horse-equerry of the custodians of the proconsul Galerius Maximus. Therefore, Cyprianus now went-forward,¹⁸ certain that what had long been retarded was being accomplished. He went-forward with a sublime and erected soul, bearing before him cheerfulness on his countenance and virtue in his heart. And they lifted him up into a wagon, and placed him between them, and brought him into the farm of Sextus, where Galerius Maximus had withdrawn in grace to recuperate his good health.

And it happened, that the proconsul Galerius Maximus commanded Cyprianus to be being reserved for him until another day. And then, since it was delayed until tomorrow, Cyprianus, after he was conducted from the praetorium, returned to the house of the prince, the same equerry of the staff of the proconsul Galerius Maximus, and withdrew in lodging with him.

And when Cyprianus was there in the village of Saturnus, between the temple of Venus and that of Salus, suddenly, a rumor which spread throughout all of Carthage prevailed, that Thascius Cyprianus had now been led-forth, a man whom no one did not know, not only because of his fame (which was celebrated by glorious renown), yet also through the commemoration of his brilliant works. From everywhere, everyone was flocking-together to see the spectacle, which, to Pontius the minister and the rest of the universal people of their brothers who had convened there, was glorious because of his devotion for the sake of the faith, but was aching to the nations. And when Cyprianus had ascertained this, he commanded that the girls should be watched-over, since everyone remained in the village before the entrance of the prince's house.

However, the one night when he was taken and placed in the house of the prince for one night, the guard in charge of him was tender, so that Pontius and the rest of Cyprianus' associates and friends were, as usual, in his company. Meanwhile, the total commonalty, being agitated that nothing should be done throughout the night without their knowledge, kept watch in front of the prince's door.

¹ Eusebios[Greek] / Cyprianus[Latin] "Xistus" / other Latin "Sixtus"

² literally "toleration"

³ literally "hoped"

⁴ animadversum (also in next sentence)

⁵ 258-08-06

⁶ Eusebios (incorrectly) "11 years" / Chronicon(Jerome) "8 years" (and puts his death in the 2nd year of Valerianus) / Chronography354 "2 years, 11 months, 6 days" (seems to give a total of the length of his reign plus the period of vacancy, see below)

⁷ 259-07-21

⁸ literally "woman"

⁹ traditionally incorrectly translated to "Andrew and Thomas"

¹⁰ some consider "While Cyprianus...from exile" to be an interpolation

¹¹ literally "it was having been"

¹² literally "persecution"

¹³ literally "borne-through"

¹⁴ literally "were having been"

¹⁵ literally "was having been"

¹⁶ 258-09-13

¹⁷ literally "office" (also next occurrence)

¹⁸ literally "proceeded" (also next sentence)

And finally, *the* next day dawned, *the* day which *the* divine dignity had predicted a year before, *the* 18th day before the Kalends of October.¹ In *the* consciousness of the future testifier, it was a joyful day. And *the* clouds, having been scattered across *the* circuit of *the* entire world, were irradiated by-means-of a bright² sun. And early in *the* morning, a great crowd convened at Sextus' house as *the* proconsul Galerius Maximus commanded. Then *the* same proconsul Galerius Maximus commanded Cyprianus to be brought before him on the same day in *the* hall which is called Sauciolum. He went-out of *the* prince's house, but Cyprianus was walled on every side³ by *the* masses of a mixed multitude. However, this was how an infinite army adhered to his escort, as if they had come with a fashioned hand to expunge death itself.

However, as he went, he passed between *the* stadium. But when he came to *the* praetorium, as *the* proconsul had not yet gone-forward,⁴ a more-secluded place was given to him. When he, after his long journey, was sitting there on a seat covered with a linen covering, *he* was soaked in excessive sweat; and a certain watchword-commander, formerly a Christian, offered him his clothes, as if he might wish to change those moist vestments of his into drier ones.

Cyprianus responded, and said, "We apply remedies to annoyances which will perhaps no longer exist after today."

Suddenly, he was announced to *the* proconsul and he was led-forward. While *the* overseer Cyprianus was being brought in, *the* same proconsul Galerius Maximus, interrogated him concerning his name, saying to him, "Are you Thascius, also called Cyprianus?"

The overseer Cyprianus responded, "I am."

And *the* proconsul said, "The most-sacred emperors directed you to perform *the* ceremonies."

The holy Cyprianus responded, "I will not."

The proconsul Galerius Maximus said, "Be considering *this* for yourself."⁵

The overseer Cyprianus responded, "Do what has been⁶ commanded to you. In a matter as righteous as this, there is no need for a consideration."

After Galerius Maximus uttered with his council, he, with difficulty and reluctance, said, "You have lived daily in *your* sacrilegious mind. And you joined many other heinous humans to yourself in a conspiracy. And you set yourself up as an enemy of the gods of *the* Romans and of our sacred religious-duties. And yet, *the* pious and most-sacred emperors, Valerianus and Gallienus, *the* August-Ones, and Valerianus *the* most-noble Caesar, have not been able to be recalling you to *the* sect of their ceremonies. And on *the* account that you have been caught as an instigator and head of a most-atrocious crime, you will be a pattern for all those whom in your wickedness you have gathered to yourself. Discipline will have its sanction in your blood."

And *the* judge recited *his* decision⁷ from a tablet (which had not been read in *the* vision), "It is determined that Thascius Cyprianus should be executed⁸ by *the* sword."

The overseer Cyprianus said, "Thanks be to God."

And after *the* sentence, when he had exited *the* doors of *the* praetorium, *the* people of his brothers spoke, "And let us be beheld with him."

Because of this, a tumult arose among *the* brothers, and he was accompanied and followed by a large crowd of soldiers; and centurions and tribunes covered his side, so that nothing might be lacking in his suffering. And Cyprianus was led through *the* farm of Sextus, behind *the* praetorium. However, *the* place itself where he was about to suffer was level, so that, dense with trees on every side,⁹ it afforded a sublime spectacle. But because *the* enormity of *the* long space denied a view to *the* excessively confused crowd, persons who favored Cyprianus had climbed up into *the* branches of *the* trees, so that *the* sight there might not be denied to them.

And there Cyprianus removed his outer-cloak, and he spread it out on *the* earth in order to put his knees on it. And he removed his dalmatica tunic, and he gave it over to *the* ministers. And he stood erect in linen and began waiting for *the* watchman. And when *the* watchman had come, Cyprianus directed his friends to give twenty-five pieces of gold to *the* watchman. His brothers were spreading many linen-cloths and napkins in front of him. And Cyprianus bound¹⁰ his eyes with his own hand, trying to urge *the* executioner's procrastination. When he was not able to tie *the* ends of *the* napkins, *the* elder Julianus, and *the* sub-minister Julianus, fastened them for him.

Now *the* executioner, whose employment was to wield *the* iron, and who, with difficulty, was clasping *the* sword in his faltering right hand with trembling fingers, held *the* sword until *the* proper¹¹ hour of glorification fortified *the* centurion's hand with vigor granted from above in order to accomplish *the* death of *the* precious man, and in *the* end supplied him with *the* permitted strength.

And this was how Cyprianus suffered on *the* 18th day before the Kalends of October,¹² exactly one year after his vision. For *the* one day was signifying *the* year which he was to live following *the* vision; and after *the* year expired, he was crowned on *the* very same day on which he had seen *the* vision *the* previous year. And his body was set-out nearby to satisfy *the* curiosity of *the* nations. However, during *the* night, his body was taken-up from there; it was led-away with tapers and torches to *the* areas of Macrobius Candidianus *the* procurator (which is on *the* Mappalian Way near *the* fishponds), and with vows and a great triumph; and it was buried there. However, after a few days, *the* proconsul Galerius Maximus died.

This was how *the* consummation of *his* suffering was accomplished, so that Cyprianus was *the* exemplar of all good men, and even yet *the* first in *the* province of Africa to dedicate *the* fruit-fruits of a testimony and who had been imbuing his priestly crown with his glorious bloodshed. However, he was a pattern for his followers, since many were about to follow in a similar manner. Yet even by his blood, discipline began to be established. But it was *the* discipline of *the* testifiers who, by emulating their teacher, in *the* imitation of a glory like his own, that they themselves also established discipline by *the* very bloodshed of their own example.

CHAPTER 115: DIONYSIOS BECOMES OVERSEER OF ROMA [259-07-22] / EMPEROR VALERIANUS BETRAYED TO THE PERSIANS / MACRIANUS' REBELLION

Now after an elapse of a temporary vacancy in the oversight of the assembly at Roma, Dionysios of Roma (a different Dionysios than the one who was the overseer of Alexandria) succeeded to the oversight on *the* 11th day before the Kalends of August when Aemilianus and Bassus were *the* consuls of *the* Romans.¹³

Now while these pursuits of Christians were going on throughout the kingdom of the Romans, various other nations, including the Skythians and the Persians, were constantly making incursions into the Roman territory, and were pillaging and burning many cities and villages to the ground. Now Emperor Valerianus and his boy Gallienus fought on separate fronts against the invaders. Indeed, before Emperor Valerianus had begun his pursuit against the Christians, he had been successful in his expeditions against the invaders; but after he had dared to issue his edicts against the Christians, a pestilence attacked the encampments and utterly-destroyed the larger part of them, at the time when Shapur, king of the Persians, was encountering the east and was overturning it.

Now Emperor Valerianus wished to have abolished the war by a giving of money, but King Shapur commissioned the elders who had been sent to him back to Valerianus, wanting the emperor¹⁴ to come in order to discourse with him about the things which were necessary. Now without any consideration, he rushed to King Shapur with a small force to dialogue with him about a truce.

But Macrianus, Emperor Valerianus' companion and the instigator of the Christian pursuit, betrayed Valerianus; and the emperor was captured by his Persian foes. So in *the* 7th year¹⁵ of his imperial-command, he lost, not only *the* imperial-command which he used so insolently, but even *the* liberty of which he had deprived others; and he wasted away while still in his robust old-age, living in *the* most disgraceful servitude. For Shapur, king of *the* Persians, who had captured him, directed *the* Roman to bend himself down and present his backside whenever it had pleased *the* king to mount his vehicle or his horse; and when he had placed his foot on Valerianus' back, he would speak to him, reproaching him with a laugh, "This is true, and not what *the* Romans depict on tablets or walls." This was how Valerianus lived for some time, most-deservedly triumphed-over, so that, day by day, *the* Roman name was becoming a mockery and derision for *the* barbarians.

Even this was added to Valerianus for a punishment, that although he had an emperor for a son, nevertheless, he found no avenger of his captivity and extreme servitude, nor was he ever demanded-back at all. Truly, after he finished this shameful life in that disgrace, his skin was ripped-off from him, and *the* hide, stained red¹⁶ with blood, was pulled-off his bowels, so that it might be placed in a temple of the gods of *the* barbarians to be a memorial of a most splendid triumph, so that he would always be proof to the legates that *the* Romans should not confide too much in their own strength, since they would be beholding *the* strippings of a captive prince before *the* gods of *the* Persians.

Now after Valerianus had been reduced to slavery, Macrianus madly-desired the kingdom of which he was not worthy. And Macrianus, being unable to slip his mutilated body into the royal ornamentation, set forward his two sons who took over their father's sins. For throwing his wicked desires (in which he had been failing)¹⁷ upon the heads of his sons, he wiped-off-from himself and upon them

¹ 258-09-14

² literally "clear"

³ literally "part"

⁴ literally "proceeded"

⁵ literally "Be considering to you"

⁶ literally "what is having been"

⁷ Acts / Life "read the sentence"

⁸ animadverti

⁹ literally "part"

¹⁰ Life / Acts "covered"

¹¹ literally "mature"

¹² 258-09-14

¹³ 259-07-22 / Chronicon (Jerome) places his ordination in the 12th year of Gallienus [265/266] /

Chronicon (Armenian) "8th year of Gallienus" [257/258]

¹⁴ literally "king"

¹⁵ Aurelius (Epitome) (which seems to be supported by Dionysios of Alexandria) / Aurelius (Liber) "6th year"

/ Chronicon (Jerome) "4th year" (clearly incorrect)

¹⁶ literally "red color"

¹⁷ three Eusebios / most Eusebios "succeeding"

his own evil and his hatred toward God. Now *Macrianus* laid an attack on Gallienus, who now had become a monarch, but he quickly disappeared with his entire race, even root-and-branch. But Gallienus was proclaimed and confessed by everyone together as *being* an old king and a new *one* simultaneously, having been far before them and coming after them.

CHAPTER 116: GALLIENUS RESTRAINS THE PURSUIT / TESTIMONY OF MARINUS / ASTURIOS

Emperor Gallienus was arranging the principality of the Romans more sound-mindedly than his father *Valerianus*, as well as unfastening the pursuit against the Christians through public-documents, and he ordered through a rescript, that those who were presiding-over the account of God were to finish-up their customary duty with freedom. This letter read as follows:

Emperor Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus, the Pious, the Fortunate, the August-One,
To Dionysios and Pinnas and Démétrios, and the remaining overseers.

I ordered for the good-work of my gift to be issued-forth¹ throughout all the world, so that they might withdraw from the places of religious-worship. And due to this reason, it is also possible for all of you* to be using the copy² of my rescript,³ so that the opportunity might not arise for anyone to be annoying you*. And this matter, which all of you* now have the power to fulfill, I have already consented long before. And due to this reason, Aurelius Quirinius, the protector of the greatest state affair, will carefully-observe the copy, the one which was given by me.

Now *Gallienus* also made another disposition for different overseers, permitting them to receive the sites of what are called sleeping-places.⁴ Therefore, after about 42 months of the pursuit of the Christians, during about the 9th year⁵ of his reign, peace came to the assemblies everywhere. Yet, in some regions, the pursuit did not immediately abate.

For in Caesarea of Palaestina, there was *Marinus*, who had been honored with the worthinesses in expeditions, and a man notorious for both his race and riches. The vine-branch is a certain mark of honor among Romans; those who obtain it, they declare, become centurions. When a place was vacant, the order of the degree called *Marinus* to this advancement. But now when he was about to hold the honor, another man passed before the platform, accusing, "Indeed, according to the old laws, it is not allowed for that man to partake of the dignity which belongs to Romans, since he is yet a Christian and does not sacrifice to the kings. But the lot is fallen-on me."

The dealer-of-justice, whose name was *Achaios*, was moved at this. Indeed, at first, he learned-by-inquiry of what opinion⁶ *Marinus* was. But when *Achaios* was seeing, that *Marinus* was persistently confessing to be a Christian, he gave him over to an interval of three hours for a consideration.

Then, when *Marinus* came out of the court-of-justice, *Theoteknos* the overseer was there. For when *Theoteknos* of Caesarea in Palaestina ceased-from this life, *Domnus* succeeded to the oversight. But after a short time had elapsed with him in this position, *Theoteknos* was appointed as his successor. Now he was also of the study⁷ of *Ōrigenés*. Now *Theoteknos*, drawing *Marinus* aside, came before him in order to have a conversation⁸ with him; and taking his hand, he led him forward onto the assembly. Also, when they were within, he stood him before the holy-place. *Theoteknos* raised-up *Marinus*' short-mantle and pointed-out the short-sword which was attached to him. He also simultaneously brought before him the writing of the divine good-messages, contrasting-and-comparing the short-sword with the writing, and directed him to chose which of the two were in accordance with his purpose.

Now without-hesitation, he, after he stretched-forth his right-hand, accepted the divine writing.

"Moreover, hold on to it," *Theoteknos* declared to him. "Hold on to God. And being strengthened by him, may you obtain what you have chosen, and walk in peace."

Straightaway, after he came-back from there, a preacher was crying out, calling him before the court-of-justice. For even already, the pre-appointed time had been fulfilled. And standing-beside the dealer-of-justice and exhibiting his greater eagerness of the faith, straightaway, as he was, he was led-away to his death and had his head cut-off due to his attestation of the Anointed-One.

There was also a certain man named *Asturius*, a Roman of senatorial-rank, both beloved by kings and well-known to everyone due to both his high-birth and surplus. He, being present while the testifier was dying, placed the body of

Marinus under his arm;⁹ and putting bright and very-expensive clothing on his body,¹⁰ he also wrapped it up in an exceptionally rich manner, committing it to the proper burial-place.

At Caesarea of Philippi (which the Phoinikians refer to as *Paneas*), on a day of a certain festival, a slaughter-victim is thrown-down among springs which are shown at the mountain-skirts of the mountain called *Paneion*, out of which the Jordan also pours-forth; and this victim becomes incredibly unseen by the power of the demon. Also, what happens is a famous marvel among those who are present.

Now therefore, while these things were then being performed, *Asturius* was present. And after he saw many having been struck with astonishment at the affair, he pitied their misleading. Thereafter, after he threw his head back and looked up into heaven, he supplicated, through the Anointed-One, for the God over all things to convict that demon, the misleader-of-the-people, and to cease the delusion of these humans. Now after he prayed these things, the consecrated-victim suddenly floated-on-the-surface of the springs. This was also how their incredible event went-away, and not even one marvel takes place any longer around this place.

Now by about this time, *Grégorios* and his brother *Athénodōros* (both well-known to *Ōrigenés*), were overseeing the assemblies along *Pontos*. Instead, also in *Jerusalem*, after *Mazabanes* rested from this life, *Hymenaios* succeeded to his seat.

CHAPTER 117: GOD'S RETRIBUTION / REBELLION OF AEMILIANUS / PESTILENCES IN ALEXANDREIA

However, despite the peace which Emperor Gallienus was granting to the Christians, he himself was a most wicked man. For at first, being made an August-One when he was an adolescent, he was making his imperial-command very happy, soon fairly, but ultimately bore it perniciously. For he soon dissolved into every form of lasciviousness and relaxed the reins of the public affair into shameful inactivity and desperation. And at the same time, the blood of the righteous-ones was clamoring to God, asking that they be vindicated in the same land where it had been shed.

As a result, a righteous judgment had not only overtaken former emperor *Valerianus* alone, but it was also beginning to additionally exact a penalty on the executors, the informers, the accusers, the spectators, and the judges, and, last of all, on all those who had favored the unrighteous cruelty. Most of these humans were being scattered throughout all the provinces, but the same avenging plague righteously seized them all.

For during this time, the race of the humans had little respite from the unusually continual and grave pestilences, as these things were spreading, not only in *Roma*, but fell-heavily-upon the cities all throughout the empire. And not only this, but simultaneously by God's permission, races which were stationed on the boundaries of the empire and left there for this purpose, were suddenly being unleashed from every side. With lax reins, the Germans and the Goths and the Parthians and many other nations, were invading and devastating all the Romans' confines.

Yet furthermore while these things were happening, Emperor *Gallienus* himself was going into taverns and eating-houses, was adhering to his friendships with pimps and winebibbers, and exposed himself to his spouse and to his profligate passionate-desire with his concubine, the daughter of the king of the Germans. For this reason, there were things which were much more atrocious: internal conspiracies were forming, civil wars were arising, and everywhere much Roman blood was being shed while Romans and barbarians were venting their fury.

* * * * *

Now when the peace not yet been taken hold of, indeed *Dionysios* of *Alexandreia* went back to *Alexandreia*. But *Aemilianus* the prefect of *Egypt* (the same prefect who had exiled *Dionysios* of *Alexandreia*) was compelled by those of *Alexandreia* to revolt against Emperor Gallienus and become emperor in his stead. So when a sedition and war and famine stood together in *Alexandreia*, the Christians bore them along with the nations—indeed, the Christians alone withstood such injuries with which the nations were mistreating them, but they also shared the fruits both of what the nations inflicted¹¹ upon one another and what the nations had suffered. And again the Christians were gladdened in the peace of the Anointed-One, which he gave to them alone.

Now it was not possible for *Dionysios* to oversee all the brothers who were in the city, since the sedition had divided each of them into a separate part. For the way through the middle of the city was impassable. And the river which flows beside the city into the placid and surgeless harbors, red from the murders among them, was dry and waterless. But once it overflowed so much that it flooded-over all the surrounding-country, both the roads¹² and the fields. But now it was

¹ literally "to be stepped-out"

² literally "type" (also later in verse)

³ literally "the rescript, the my rescript"

⁴ a Christian idiom for a cemetery

⁵ *Dionysios* of *Alexandreia* / *Chronicon*(Jerome) "6th year"

⁶ literally "purpose"

⁷ literally "pastime"

⁸ may also be translated "company"

⁹ literally "his shoulder-with-the-upper arm"

¹⁰ literally "a tent-like-structure" (referring to the body)

¹¹ literally "worked"

¹² literally "ways"

flooding-down, always stained with blood and murders and drownings. And *the* air was made-turbid by the noxious¹ exhalations *arising* from the ichor of corpses.

Now Emperor Gallienus sent his general Theodotos against Aemilianus in Alexandria. And during the siege of Piruchem at Alexandria, the wheat had failed those who were being besieged, so that the famine now became more intolerable to them than their foes outside. Since a different part of the city was allied with the Roman army and, because of this, was not besieged, Anatolios (whose race was Alexandreian), sent for Eusebios (a minister of the assembly at Alexandria), who was among those who were not besieged *and* who had both a great fame and a renowned name which had reached even the Roman's military-commander. So Anatolios was thoroughly-teaching *Eusebios* about those who were being utterly-destroyed in the siege from the famine.

Now when *Eusebios* learned *this*, he was requesting the Romans' general, as a greatest favor, to grant salvation to those who deserted from their foes. And yet, having obtained² this demand, he manifested it to Anatolios.

Now as soon as *Anatolios* accepted what was professed,³ he gathered-together a council of the Alexandreians. Indeed, at the first, he deemed it worthy, that everyone should give a friendly right-hand to *the* Romans. But when he was conscious, that they were becoming indignant at this reasoning, he declared, "Instead, I do not imagine that *all of you** will still contradict me, if I counseled you* to give-up the *ones who are* superfluous and *are* in-no-way useful to us—old-women and infants and elders—and *let them go* outside *the* gates, to walk⁴ to wheresoever they even wish. For why do we keep with us in vain, those who will at any rate soon be dead? But why do we exhaust with the famine, the *ones who are* crippled and maimed in *their* body, when we are obliged to be nourishing men and youths alone, and to be dealing-out the necessary wheat among the *ones who are* requisite for the guarding of the city."⁵

Having persuaded the congress with such rationalizations, he stood-up first and cast a vote, that that entire class⁵ who were not requisite for the army, whether of men or women, should be released-from the city, because if they stayed and passed *their* time uselessly in the city, they would never have a hope of salvation, *for* they would be utterly-destroyed by the famine.

But when all the rest of those in the council agreed-together on this, he brought-safely-through almost all of those who were being besieged. Indeed, he took-care-beforehand that first, those from the assembly, but then even the others belonging to the city of every age, should escape from *the* city—not only those who seemed to fall under the terms of the vote, but tens-of-thousands of others under this pretext, who imperceptibly clothed in a womanly gown, according to *Anatolios'* concern, went out of the gates by the night and were rushing to the Romans' army. There *Eusebios*, like a father and healer, was welcoming all of them who were suffering-evils through the long siege, and he recovered them by every *kind* of provision and treatment.

Now Aemilianus, the prefect of Egypt, was defeated by the forces of Emperor Gallienus, and was put to death. But after both *the Christians* and the *nations* obtained a very brief recovery-of-breath, a pestilential sickness rushed-down upon *them*—indeed, it did not *even* keep-away from *the Christians*, but it came-out very much against the nations. Therefore, throughout Alexandria there were contiguous pestilences, harsh sicknesses, all sorts of corruptions, the varied and multiple ruin of the humans, so that this great city no longer bore within itself such a vast multitude of inhabitants, from infant boys up to those at the summit of old-age. And although *the unbelievers* were seeing a race of humans on earth ever diminishing and wasting *away*, they did not tremble, *as* their absolute elimination was increasing and progressing.

And as the Christians of Alexandria were approaching their annual Passover Festival, yet indeed, all was dirges, and everyone was mourning, and wailings were ringing-all-around the city daily because of the multitude of the dead and those who were dying-off. Accordingly, most of *the* brothers, through their surpassing love and fondness-of-their-brothers, were unsparing of themselves and were holding one another, unguardedly overseeing those who were sick, persistently serving *them*, treating them in *the* Anointed-One. And together with them, they would be jovially delivered *from this* life, filling themselves up with the passions of others and drawing the sickness from their neighbors to themselves, and having their pains rubbed onto them. And many who tended-the-sick and bodily-strengthened others, came-to-an-end themselves, and discharged their death to themselves, going-away as their offscouring.

Accordingly, the best of the brothers went-out of this lifetime in this manner, both some elders and ministers and some from *among* the people, who were being very *much* praised, so that this form of their death, because it is generated out much piety and strong faith, seems to lack nothing *different than* suffering on account of a testimony. But they were also picking-up the bodies of the holy *ones* with upturned hands and in *their* bosoms, both closing their eyes and shutting their mouths, both bearing them away on their shoulders and arranging them *on the ground*, gluing *themselves* to them, entwining-together, fully-ornamenting

them with both baths and full-wrappings. And after a little *while*, those who were left behind were obtaining similar *treatments*, always following-after those *who went* before them.

But yet, with the nations everyone was opposite. And they were pushing-away those who were beginning to get sick, and they were fleeing-from their dearest-friends. And they were even hurling them into the roads⁶ *as* half-dead-*humans*, and were treating unburied corpses as feces, turning-aside from any participation and communion with this death, which, even with all of their machinations, was not easy *for them* to avoid. However, over the course of the next decade, *the* ire of God would begin to gradually turn toward mercy, and the Romans would again, to a limited degree, begin receiving the authority from him to drive off their enemies and gradually recover from his pestilential punishments.

CHAPTER 118: SECTARIAN: PAULUS OF SAMUSAT / MAXIMUS SUCCEEDS DIONYSIOS OF ALEXANDREIA

Now about this time, there was a man named Paulus of Samusat, which is *a place* off towards Mesopotamia and the Euphrates. He had recently, in about the 7th year of the reign of Emperor Gallienus,⁷ received the oversight of Antiocheia from Demetrianus, the previous overseer, after he had ceased from this lifetime there. But shortly afterward, he went-after counterfeit and bastard lessons. Now at first, he was poor and beggarly and did not take along with him any good-income from his fathers, nor procured anything out of an art or some enterprise. But *at this time*, he was forging surpassing riches out of acts-of-lawlessness and temple-robberies, and, as he was requesting and agitating⁸ the brothers, depriving them of the things which are right, and promising that he would help them *in exchange* for wages. But he was also lying to these *individuals*, and was producing folly from the readiness of those who are *engaged* in affairs *who* were giving to *him* in order that they might be released-from under whatever was annoying them.

He was *also* high minded, and lifted-up, plunging into worldly dignities, and was wanting to be called a ducenarius rather than an overseer. And he was strutting down the marketplaces, and was reading-aloud and dictating letters while simultaneously walking in public. And he was attended-by-spearmen, indeed some going-before him, but others following after, many in number, so that even the faith was being envied and hated because of his encumbrance and the arrogance of his heart.

He was *also* machinating talking-marvels in the assemblic meetings, courting-popularity and conceiving-vain-fancies, and astounding the soul of the more-innocent,⁹ indeed preparing for himself a platform and a high throne (not like a learner of *the* Anointed-One) as well as having a secret-place (even like the chiefs of the world) as well as even calling it such. He was *also* striking his thigh with his hand, and pounding on the platform with his feet. And he was rebuking and heaping-outrages-upon the *ones who were* not praising nor waving their handkerchiefs as-though in a theater nor both crying-out and jumping-up (exactly as both men and woman were doing who were his partisans when they were listening to him in a disorderly manner), but who, therefore, as in a house of God, were listening in a solemn and well-ordered manner. And he was, in public,¹⁰ burdensomely behaving-with-drunken-violence against¹¹ the expounders of the account of *God who have* departed out of this lifetime. And he was bragging about himself, exactly as if he was not an overseer *but* instead a wise-man and warlock.

But he, indeed, ceased psalms (the *ones* to our Lord Jesus *the* Anointed-One), as being more-modern and being written-compositions of more-modern men. But, in the middle of the assembly, on the great day of the Passover, he was making-ready women to psalm to himself, which someone would shudder to listen to. He even was letting¹² the overseers of both the bordering fields and cities (*who were* flattering him), and elders, to be dialoguing such things in their companies in front of the people.

But *Paulus of Samusat* *also* was dancing-away from the mystery of *the Anointed-One* and was trying to rejuvenate the sect of Artemas, also known as Artemōn (which had arisen sometime after Zephrinos had received the oversight of the assembly at Roma), which asserted, that the Anointed-One was a common human and that the Son of God has not come down out of *the* heaven. But *yet*, the *ones who were* psalming to¹³ him and *were* lauding him amid¹⁴ the people, *were* saying, that their impious teacher was a messenger who¹⁵ had come down out of *the* heaven; and he was not preventing such things, instead the arrogant *man* was even being present *while these things* were being said.

Now there were the 'brought-in-together *ones*,' as the Antiocheians called them, or the 'subintroductae', as the Latins called them. These were virgins who were brought in to live together with a man, but in a state of perpetual virginity; on which account many have fallen *from the faith*. He had women of this type

⁶ literally "ways"

⁷ about 259/260 AD

⁸ some Eusebios (literally "...and shaking") / five Eusebios "as still shaking-out of" / one "would still and shaking"

⁹ literally "more-uncontaminated"

¹⁰ literally "in the common"

¹¹ literally "into"

¹² literally "letting-down"

¹³ literally "into"

¹⁴ literally "in"

¹⁵ literally "the"

¹ literally "wicked"

² literally "having been appointed"

³ literally "accepted the professed-thing"

⁴ literally "step"

⁵ literally "race"

among the elders and ministers of his followers. Even though he was conscious and convicted *these men of doing this*, he was cooperating with them in concealing this and the other unhealable sins, so that he might be holding them indebted to him, *and*, because of fear for themselves, might not have the courage to accuse him about acting-unrighteously *through* his accounts and works; instead, he also rendered them rich, on which account he *was* being shown-fondness and marveled at by the *ones who were* being-zealous about such things. *Now Paulus himself* indeed sent one of the *subintroductae* away on account of sin, but still had two of them with him, who were fully-ripe and attractive in their external-appearance, and whom he carried-around-with-him even-if he might be being-away anywhere. And he *did* these *things while* luxuriating and surfeiting.

On account of these *things*, indeed, all the *brothers* were groaning and lamenting by themselves, but they so feared his tyranny and power, so-as to not be daring to be accusing *him*. And because of these things, many overseers from various assemblies were summoned to Antiocheia in order to demand an accounting from him.

Now because *Paulus of Samusat* was low and grovel minded concerning the Anointed-One, they were sending-letters to and, at the same time, were summoning many of the overseers, even from the distant *regions*, to come and *provide* the treatment from this death-bringing teaching. Indeed, *even* Dionysios of Alexandria was summoned to come to the meeting. With both old-age and an infirmity of his body as his excuse for not going, he instead gave the opinion which he had on what was being debated through *means of* a letter. But the rest of the other shepherds of the assemblies from other-places were coming-together, all of them making *every effort to reach* Antiocheia. Of these, those *who were* especially eminent were: indeed Firmilianus, the overseer of Caesarea of Kappadokia; but Grégorios and Athénodōros, brothers, *who were* shepherds of the sojourn among Pontos; and besides these, Helenos, of the sojourn in Tarshish;¹ and Nikomas, of the *sojourn* in Ikonion; yet truly, even Hymenaios of the assembly in Jerusalem; as well as Theoteknos of this bordering *assembly* of Caesarea; but in addition to these, Maximus, the *one* who was also resplendently leading the brothers in Bozrah; as well as many others, including certain elders and ministers who welded-together for the same cause in the city of *Antiocheia*.

Therefore, when all these *men* were coming-together at different seasons, and frequently, rationalizations and debates were being stirred-up at each meeting—indeed, those on the side of *Paulus* the Samusatian were trying to conceal-over and to veil-over the *facts* of his different-opinion, but others were making *every effort* to strip-bare and to lead into the open his sect and his revilement of the Anointed-One. But *in the end*, *Paulus of Samusat* professed that he would transfer *to their opinion*. So Firmilianus, putting faith *in his words* and hoping that he would do what was necessary to restore the affair without any verbal-abuse concerning the Account of God, adjourned *the meeting*. But *Paulus* was merely parrying *Firmilianus' blow*.

Now while these things were going on, in the 12th year² of the reign of Emperor Gallienus, Dionysios of Alexandria came-to-his-end, having been presiding-over the oversight at Alexandria for 17 years. But Maximus, an elder, succeeded Dionysios in the public-service of the brothers at Alexandria.

Now shortly after this,³ a final meeting of a very large *number* of overseers welded-together *against Paulus*, which included Helenos, overseer of Tarshish, and Hymenaios of Jerusalem, and Theophilos, and Theoteknos of Caesarea, and Maximus of Bozrah, Proklos, Nikomas of Ikonion, and Aelianus, and Paulus, and Bolanos, Prōtogenés, and Hierax of Egypt, and Eutuchios, and Theodōros, and Malchion, and Lucius, and many other overseers and elders and ministers who were sojourning in the neighboring cities and nations. Now Dionysios, overseer of Roma, and Maximus, *overseer* of Alexandria, were not able to attend.

Now Firmilianus, the overseer of Caesarea of Kappadokia, had already arrived *there twice before*. But now, because he had learned⁴ by testing of *Paulus' God-denying evil*, Firmilianus had been about to cross-through into Antiocheia and had come yet as far as Tarshish. For instead, while *the others* had come-together, and were calling and waiting until he came, he reached *the end* of his lifetime.

Now during the course of the meeting, as *Paulus*, the chief of the sect in Antiocheia, sought to conceal himself, he was especially corrected *and* refuted by Malchion, a man who was both otherwise eloquent and presiding-over the lecturing of wise-men of *one* of the Hellenic educational-institutions at Antiocheia; yet truly, because of the surpassing legitimacy of his faith in the Anointed-One, he was otherwise also deemed-worthy of *being part of* a body-of-elders in the sojourn there. Yet, this *man* instituted a debate *with Paulus*, which was being observed by shorthand-writers. He alone was strong enough to detect the human who dissembled and deluded the others. *Therefore Paulus of Samusat* was detected and clearly pronounced-guilty before everyone of *having* a different-opinion.

¹ Hebrew equivalent / Greek "Tarsos"

² Eusebios, Jerome(IllustriousMen) [264AD] / Chronicon(Armenian,Jerome) "11th year" [263AD]

³ Eusebios dates this to the reign of Emperor Aurelianus, but scholars are in agreement that it happened in 269 under Claudius. This may be due to some chronology errors which Eusebios seems to have experienced in trying to harmonize the lengths of various Emperors of this period.

⁴ Literally "taken"

Therefore, since *Paulus* was arraying himself against God and was not yielding, they were compelled to banish him by proclamation from the universal assembly under the heaven. And in his place, they appointed a different overseer for the universal assembly at Antiocheia: Domnus, son of the happy Demetrianus (who was formerly presiding-over the sojourn *in Antiocheia*), and whom they believed was ornamented with all the beauties suitable for an overseer.⁵ Therefore, the shepherds who had welded-together about this *matter*, by a common consent, commissioned their verdict to Dionysios of Roma and to Maximus, and to all the provinces. *However*, *Paulus of Samusat* did not want to give up possession of⁶ the house of the assembly.

Now sometime during the course of this affair of Paulus, Eusebios, a minister, had rushed from the city of Alexandria to Syria. Now *Eusebios' journey home* was stopped by those there who were making *every effort to pursue* the divine *things*. *For they found Eusebios to be* an amiable example of reverence-for-God. *Therefore*, a little later, Eusebios was appointed overseer of Laodikeia in Syria, who led the sojourns there after Sokrates.

Now Anatolios, whose race was also Alexandrian, was a good man, who, due to his accounts and discipline in the Hellenistic fondness-of-wisdom (philosophy), had been carried-off to the first place among the exceptionally esteemed men of the time, since in arithmetic and geometry, both astronomy and the other studies, dialectical or natural, theories of oratorical as well as of lessons, he had driven to the summit. Due to these things, he was deemed-worthy by the citizens of Alexandria to establish the lecturing there in the Aristotelian succession.

Theoteknos, overseer of Caesarea in Palaestina, first laid hands on *Anatolios, ordaining him* into an oversight, endeavoring to procure a successor in his own sojourn after his end. And for a short time both of them were presiding-over the same assembly. For instead, when the meeting regarding *Paulus of Samusat* called *Anatolios* to Antiocheia, as he was passing the city of the Laodikeans, he was prevailed-over by the brothers there, *now that* Eusebios fell-asleep. And Anatolios was appointed *Eusebios' successor* as overseer of the assembly at Laodikeia.⁷

CHAPTER 119: REIGNS OF GALLIENUS & CLAUDIUS & AURELIANUS / FÉLIX SUCCEEDS DIONYSIOS OF ROMA / REMOVAL OF PAULUS OF SAMUSAT FROM ANTIOCHEIA

Now Emperor Gallienus, in the 15th year of his reign, while besieging *the city of Mediolanon* (that is, Milan) with machines of every *kind*, he perished among his own *men*. For some of his men, including Claudius and Aurelianus, simulated an enemy attack. Since Gallienus was protected by none of his bodyguards (as is usual during a trepid and unexpected *crisis*), they were leading him out of his tent in *the dismal night*; he was shot-down by a missile of someone whose *identity* was uncertain *due to the darkness*. So Gallienus had an unhappy reign lasting 15⁸ years: 7 with his father Valerianus, 8⁹ alone. And Claudius, *being* elected by *the soldiers* and declared *the August-One* by *the Roman senate*, succeeded him as emperor of *the Romans*.

Now a little after this, during *the consulate* of Claudius and Paternus, on *the 7th day before the Kalends of January*,¹⁰ Dionysios, the overseer of Roma, after having passed-through 9 years,¹¹ 2 months, *and* 4 days, ended his oversight, and he was deposited, on the 6th *day before the Kalends of January*,¹² in the cemetery of Kallistos which is on the Appian Way in Roma. And he was succeeded in the public-service by Félix.¹³

Now meanwhile, Emperor Claudius had a victory over *the Goths*. However, during his expedition against the Skythians, after no few Romans had been done-away-with, and they were pursuing the barbarians, a pestilence restrained the barbarians, and they were either destroyed or received by *the Roman legions* or had lands assigned for them to cultivate. But the pestilence also touched *the Romans*. Indeed, many in the army died-from *it*; but even Claudius came-to-his-end on account of *an illness* which he received from it, after holding *the imperial-command* for 1 year *and* 9 months.¹⁴

Claudius' brother Quintillus, elected *to the position of August-One* by *the consensus of both the soldiers and the senate*, succeeded him as emperor. He died

⁵ Chronicon(Jerome,Armenian) date his ascension to the 13th year of Gallienus

⁶ may also be translated "to stand out of"

⁷ Chronicon(Jerome) places this during the 2nd year of Probus (but Jerome is often unreliable at this period)

⁸ Eusebios, Aurelius(Epitome), Chronicon(Jerome), Orosius / Chronography354 "14 years, 4 months, 28 days"

⁹ Aurelius(Epitome), Eutropius (killed in the 9th year of his reign) / Aurelius(Liber) "9" (who gives Valerianus only 6)

¹⁰ 269-12-26

¹¹ Eusebios, Chronicon(Jerome) "9 years" / Chronography354 "8 years" (a corruption of what should have been "9 years") / Chronicon(Armenian) "12 years" [due to placing his succession much earlier]

¹² (269)-12-27

¹³ Chronography354 / Chronicon(Jerome) places Félix's ordination in 1st year of Probus,

Chronicon(Armenian) in the 1st year of Aurelianus

¹⁴ Aurelius(Epitome), Chronicon(Jerome) / Chronography354 "1 year, 4 months, 14 days" / Eutropius "within 2 years" / Eusebios "2 years"

on the 17th day¹ of his imperial-command. And Aurelianus succeeded him in the imperial-command.

Now throughout the course of his reign, Emperor Aurelianus recovered much of the territory of the kingdom of the Romans which had been lost to invaders. Included among these were the Persians and the Galatians and the Goths. But the most important of these occurred in the 2nd year of his reign. For Aurelianus turned to the East against Zénobia, who, after her husband Udaynath had been struck-down, was appropriating² the recently recovered province of Syria. After a war near Antiocheia, Aurelianus drove her under his power, and, when he entered Antiocheia, he was accepted jovially by its citizens.

Now since Paulus of Samusat did not want to give up possession of³ the house of the assembly in Antiocheia, and because King Aurelianus was present in the city, the Christians (against the admonition of the holy emissary Paulus (1 Korinthians 6:1-6)) dared to go before an unrighteous man in order to make an appeal. As a result, Aurelianus ordered for the house to be dispensed to the ones to whomever the overseers of the correct tenets of the faith in Italia and in the city of Roma should command. This certainly was how Paulus of Samusat, with extreme disgrace under the power of the worldly chief, was driven-out of the assembly. And after this, Aurelianus returned to Roma, with Zénobia as his captive.

Now Emperor Aurelianus, in the 4th year of his reign, built a temple⁴ to the Sun at Roma, in which he put gold and gems, and set-down in it statues of both the Sun and Bel. After this, the first contests of the Sun were constituted by Aurelianus.

Now during the consulate of Aurelianus for the 2nd time and Capitolinus, Félix, the overseer of Roma, died, having presided-over the assembly of Roma for 5 years, 11 months, and 25 days;⁵ and on the 3rd day before the Kalends of January,⁶ he was deposited in the cemetery of Kallistos which is on the Appian Way in Roma. And he was succeeded by Eutuchianus during the consulate of Aurelianus for the 3rd time and Marcellinus.⁷

Now Emperor Aurelianus was of an insane and headlong nature. Although he might have remembered the captivity of former emperor Valerianus, he, however, after he forgot his crime against the Christians and its punishments, provoked the ire of God by his cruel deeds. For as his principality was proceeding, he was being swayed by certain councils to awaken a pursuit against the Christians. There was also much discussion among everyone about this, and, in the 5th year of his reign, he was undersigning the documents against the Christians.

But truly he was not in fact permitted to carry out what he had planned, but right-away, as he was beginning to unleash his fury, the divine righteous-punishment let-go, and he went extinct. For at first a thunderbolt fell next to him and his companions. But when he did not heed this warning, not long after, and before his bloodstained scriptures had not yet reached the more remote provinces, he himself lay bloodstained on the ground at Kaino-Fortress,⁸ a place in Thraké, between Constantinopolis and Hérakleia. For one of his own servants, fearing for his own life, formed a conspiracy against him; and, forging a list of friends whom Aurelianus allegedly wanted to murder, he showed it to them, making it appear as if he intended to strike them down. Therefore, in order to prevent him from doing so, Aurelianus was struck-down by these friends of his on account of these false suspicions.

Now Emperor Aurelianus was savage and bloodthirsty and ferocious at every time, and was even the murderer of his sister's son. He held the imperial-command for 5 years and 6 months;⁹ and for several months after his death, there was an interregnum.

Finally, in about the 6th month¹⁰ after the death of Emperor Aurelianus, the Roman senate made Tacitus emperor of the Romans. Nevertheless, Tacitus soon died at Tuwanuwa (which the Romans later called Tyana)¹¹ on the 200th day¹² of his reign, but not until after he had first tortured to death the murderers of former emperor Aurelianus.

And Tacitus' brother, Florianus, seized the imperial-command without any consultation of the senate or the soldiers, but he was supported by those at Roma. But when the majority of the soldiers chose Probus to be emperor, he marched against Florianus. But Probus, since he had undertaken the battle with far inferior

forces, prolonged the war. But at Tarshish in the summer, there was a heat, and a terrible sickness was falling-around most of Florianus' army. Shortly afterward, Florianus was destroyed at Tarshish by his own men after they had been compelled to accept Probus instead of him. Florianus had held the dominion for 88 days,¹³ and he was succeeded by Probus as emperor of the Romans.

CHAPTER 120: CHRONICLES OF MANI THE MANIAC (PART 1: FALSE-TEACHINGS OF MANI)

Now during the reign of Probus, emperor of the Romans, there was a certain false-prophet, named Mani, who was trying to beguile the Christians. Now long before this time, Mani, having derived a large portion of his teachings from the books which were handed down by his predecessors (one of which was Helkesai, and one of which was the Buddha, and two of which perished at different times by falling from a roof while attempting to practice-magic) and other supposed divine revelations which he himself allegedly received, had at first taught the following false assertions:

Mani revered two gods, both of which were unbegotten, self-grown, everlasting, and are opposed to one another, and do not commune with the other in anything. And he proposed, indeed, that the one is good, but the other is wicked and evil; naming the one 'light', and the other 'darkness'. (Though, inconsistently, he sometimes called the first a god, and the second slanderous.)¹⁴ And he taught, that indeed, the soul in humans is a part of the light, but the body is a part of the darkness and the craft of the material.¹⁵ But that God does not have a part with the world itself, nor does he rejoice in it. But he also taught, that a soul is decanted¹⁶ into different¹⁷ bodies after death. For example, if a soul has committed murder, it is transferred into bodies of lepers; but if someone eats bread, he must become bread himself and be eaten; but if one murdered a small-bird, he too will be a small-bird; but if someone plants any sort of tree and he himself has come-to-his-end, his soul is entangled¹⁸ in the branches of the trees he planted and is not able to get by them;¹⁹ but if anyone builds a house, bits of him will be put into all the bodies there are; and if someone married a woman, he becomes a woman himself so that he may also be married; and many other nonsensical things such as these. And they abstained from marriage, fearing, lest by the succession of the race of the humans, the divine virtue should dwell even more in the material.

Now when Mani had reached nearly 60²⁰ years of age, having studied and taught these things from his childhood, he acquired three learners, whose names were: Thomas, Addas,²¹ and Hermeias.²² Then he sent his learners throughout various civil-communities and villages, in order to secure followers. And Thomas determined to occupy parts of Egypt, truly Addas those of Skythia, however Hermeias alone chose to reside with Mani.

Therefore, when these men were progressing, during about the time of Emperor Valerianus, a certain agonizing-pain had fallen-upon the son of Shapur, the king of the Persians, and he had been laying-down in the royal city of Persia. Therefore the king, desiring to see him cured, proposed an edict with an invitation,²³ if anyone was able to cure him, that he should come; and he proposed a vast premium.

And Mani presented himself before the king, speaking, that he would cure the boy. When the king heard this, he received him with pliancy, and took him gladly. Accordingly, the stripping finally died in his hands. Then the king ordered Mani to be thrust-away into a prison and to be loaded with iron weighing a talent. Truly, those two learners of his, who had been sent to teach among the individual civil-communities, were also sought in order to receive a punishment. But they were fleeing, without ever ceasing.²⁴

After these events, they returned to their teacher, reporting what had befallen them, and all the sufferings which they had been enduring in each individual region. But while Mani had lain in the prison, he ordered them to get copies of the books of the law of the Christians. For the learners whom Mani had dispatched throughout the different civil-communities were held in execration by all humans, most-greatly by those whom the name of Christians was a veneration. Moreover, giving them money, he sent them into the districts where the books of the Christians were being conscribed. And simulating that they were novice Christians,²⁵ they asked that the books might be shown to them, in order that they might get copies of them. And they got the universal books of our scriptures, and brought them back to their master who was still stationed in the prison.

¹ Eutropius, Chronicon(Jerome), Orosius / Chronography354 "[reigned] 77 days" / Aurelius(Epitome)

"[reigned] a few days" / Zosimus "reigned a few months"

² literally "vindicating"

³ may also be translated "to stand out of"

⁴ Eutropius / Aurelius(Liber) "sacred-precinct"

⁵ Chronography354 / Eusebios, Chronicon(Jerome) "5 years" / Chronicon(Armenian) "19 years" (scribal error)

⁶ 274-12-30

⁷ 275

⁸ transliterated Greek "Kainofrouirion"

⁹ Aurelius(Epitome), Eutropius, Orosius, Chronicon(Jerome) / Chronography354 "5 years, 4 months, 20 days" / Eusebios "6 years"

¹⁰ Aurelius(Liber) / Eutropius "in 7 months"

¹¹ Aurelius(Liber) / Aurelius(Epitome) "Tarshish" (incorrectly, seems to have confused information with Florianus) / Chronicon(Jerome), Orosius "Pontos"

¹² Aurelius(Liber.Epitome) / Eutropius "in the 6th month" / Orosius "within 6 months" / Chronography "reigned for 8 months, 12 days" / Chronicon(Jerome), Epiphanius "reigned for 6 months"

¹³ Chronography354, Chronicon(Jerome) / Eutropius "2 months, 20 days" / Aurelius(Liber) "1 or 2 months" / Aurelius(Epitome) "on the 60th day" / Orosius "within 3 months"

¹⁴ may also be translated "of the Slanderer"

¹⁵ may also be translated "matter"

¹⁶ Gk(Epiphanius) / some Latin "transfused" / Lat(Bob) "transferred"

¹⁷ Gk(Epiphanius), Lat(Bomb) / other Lat "five"

¹⁸ literally "bound"

¹⁹ literally "to step over them"

²⁰ Lat (Cas) / Lat(Reg. Alex. Vat.) "70"

²¹ Gk(Epiphanius), Lat. Augustine / Cyril "Baddas" (Buddha) / Theodoret "Aldas"

²² Gk(Epiphanius) / Lat "Hermas" / Cyril "Hermias"

²³ Lat(Reg. Alex. Vat) / other Lat "edict in life"

²⁴ some Lat / Lat (Re. Alex. Vat.) "punishment without ceasing"

²⁵ Lat (Reg. Alex. Vat) / other Lat "were Christian messengers"

On receiving these copies, Mani himself was beginning to search for all *the* occasions in our books which seemed to favor his own *notion* of a dualism. And by accusing some things and completely-altering others in *our scriptures*, he asserted that they advanced his own teachings, only that *the name of the Anointed-One* was attached to them. On this account, he simulated to assume that *name* himself, in order that those in each of *the* individual civil-communities, hearing *the* holy and divine name of the Anointed-One, might have the least reason to execrate those learners of his and to cause them to flee.¹ However, when he came across '*the* comforter' in our scriptures, he, not observing that *the* comforter had already come, believed that he himself might be that comforter.

Therefore, at this time, having commingled his previous teachings with the Christians' scriptures, he invented the following new teachings: That the *God* who uttered with Moses, and with the Judeans, and with the priests, is the chief of the darkness, and that, since that god is not the God of the truth, he uttered with them according to his own desires. And that when the good god saw that the soul was squeezed *within* the body, he sent his son for the soul's salvation. And when the son descended to *the* humans (but not through *the* natural womb of a woman), he changed his appearance into a form of a human and was appearing to humans as a human, though he was not a human; and the humans were assuming that he had been begotten; and that when he was affixed to the cross, it was by way of appearance, and he himself did not undergo this punishment. But Mani was saying, that he himself was the spirit, the comforter; and indeed, some times he asserted that he was an emissary of the Anointed-One, but at other times, *the* spirit, *the* comforter.

Therefore, when he had made up these polluted compositions, he sent his learners to also proclaim these fictitious similitudes and errors, to announce these novel and false voices, directing each one to journey in a *different* region. And indeed, Addas obtained-by-lot the portion of the East, but Thomas was allotted Syria² and Judah, but Hermeias made a journey into Egypt.

But when Shapur, the king of *the* Persians, recognized this, he prepared to inflict a deserving punishment upon *Mani*. When Mani knew *about this*, having been admonished in his sleep, he slipped away from *the* prison and fled. For he had corrupted the guards with lots of gold. And he remained in the castle of Arabia. (Now this fortress is between Persia and between Mesopotamia.) But the guard of *the* prison who had sent *Mani* forth, was punished. Truly, the king directed, that *Mani* was to be searched-for and apprehended in whatever places he might be found.

CHAPTER 121: CHRONICLES OF MANI THE MANIAC (PART 2: THE GOOD-DEEDS OF MARCELLUS)

Now therefore, at this time, under Probus the Roman emperor, in [Kashkar],³ a city of Mesopotamia, there was a certain man, Marcellus by name, who, though esteemed for his life and studies and race along with his prudence and honesty, and, though having copious and all *the* greatest means, was fearing God most religiously, and was always giving-ear with fear to *the* things which were spoken of the Anointed-One. And because of these things, he was honored by *the* universal civil-community, while he was also helping *the* civil-community by *the* vast and frequent generosity which he showed by imparting to *the* poor, relieving *the* afflicted, and carrying assistance to those in tribulation.

At one time, when a multitude of captives, numbering 7,700, were offered to Archelaos, overseer of that city, by *the* soldiers who were serving the encampment there, Archelaos was constrained with no mediocre solicitude on account of *the* large amount of gold which was being demanded by *the* soldiers for *their* ransom. When it was not possible for him to disguise his vehemence, he hastened to Marcellus, expounding to him *the* importance of the affair.

Truly, when Marcellus heard this narration, he, without any delay, went into his house and prepared *the* price which was demanded for *the* captives. And at once, he gave *the* prices of piety to *the* soldiers, without any distinguishing of number nor of discretion, so that these *things* seemed to be presents rather than *the* prices. And those *soldiers* admired and embraced *the* man's immense piety and munificence, and they were moved into a stupor by this deed, deeply-moved⁴ by this example of mercy. *The* result was, that very many of them were added to *the* faith of our Lord Jesus the Anointed-One, relinquishing *the* belt of military-service. Truly others, taking scarcely a quarter portion of *the* prices, were withdrawing to *their* own encampment. However, all *the* rest of *them* were departing without accepting even so much as was sufficient to cover *their* traveling-expenses.

Marcellus had strong joy at this; and summoning one of *the* captives, Cortynius by name, he inquired-of him *the* cause of *the* war, and by what chance it was that they were overcome and bound with *the* bonds of captivity.

But that *man*, after he was permitted to have *the* authority to speak, began like this, "My lord, Marcellus, we believe in *the* living God alone. However, we have

a habit such as this, which descends to us by *the* tradition of our fathers, which we have observed up to this *very* day: Every year, we went-out beyond *the* outskirts of *the* city, with our spouses and children, to supplicate *the* sole and invisible God, beseeching him to send us rains for our crops and fruits.

"When we were celebrating at *this* time and in *the* accustomed manner, evening covered us while we were lingering there, hungry. And we were weighed-down by two of *the* most difficult things common to everyone: hunger and sleeplessness. Truly, about *the* middle of *the* night, sleep, enviously and inopportunistly, crept-up upon us. And, with necks weighed-down and lax, *with* *the* head sinking, *our* forehead struck *our* knees. However, this happened, because *the* time was present for us, by *the* judgment of God, to pay *the* punishment which we merited. For perhaps we were sinning in ignorance, or, knowing it, still had not desisted from it.

"Accordingly, at that hour, a multitude of soldiers are suddenly surrounding us, considering us, as I estimate, to have settled ourselves in an ambush there and to be individuals with full experience and skill in fighting⁵ battles. And without deeply exploring *the* cause of our convening there, they threatened us with a war, not by a sermon, but by *the* sword. And being humans who had never learned to do *anything* injurious to anyone, they, without any mercy, wounded us with missiles, pierced us through with spears, cut *our* throats with sword-points. And they destroyed, indeed, about 1,300 of our men. However, they wounded 500.

"Truly, when *the* day had become-clear, they conducted *the* survivors among us as captives here, and, indeed, in doing so, showed their complete lack of mercy for us. They were driving us before their horses, stimulated us by blows of spears, impelled us forward with *the* horses' foreheads. And indeed, it was only tolerated by those who had *the* strength to endure it. Truly, many collapsed before *the* mouth of their cruel lords, and had exhaled their souls. Mothers with little-ones hanging on their breasts, with arms fatigued and drooped-low under their burden, agitated by *the* threats of those who were following behind them, let *their* children fall to *the* ground. Truly, all of those who were senile of age, conquered by *their* labors and enfeebled through abstinence-of-food, were toppling to *the* earth.

"Truly, *the* arrogant soldiers were deriving-enjoyment from this bloodstained spectacle of *men* continually-slipping-away as if it was some *sort* of pleasure; while they were perceiving others who were becoming deficient stretching-out on *the* ground; were looking-upon others who were fatigued by *the* ardors of thirst, who, with *the* saliva of their tongues becoming dry, even had *the* power of their voice hindered. Truly, they were seeing others, with eyes turned-back behind their backs, groaning-over *the* ruin of their expiring little-ones, while these, again, were exclaiming to their most-unhappy mothers with *their* cries. Truly, *their* mothers themselves, agitated by the harshness of *the* pirates, were responding with groanings, which was *the* only thing they were allowed to do freely. Those of them whose bowels were most-tenderly indulged with *their* children, presumed to meet *the* same spontaneous lot of death with their children. Truly, those who were able to have some tolerance, were conducted as prisoners here with us.

"This was how, after being driven for three days, indeed, in which we had not been able to take any repose at night, we were conducted to this place. What has now happened here after these occurrences is better known to yourself."

When *the* most-pious Marcellus heard these *things*, he burst-forth in tears, and commiserated such great and various misfortunes. But without delay, he prepared food, he himself exhibiting ministrations for *those* who were fatigued. Marcellus instructed them to recline as his guests in *groups* of tens. When 700 tables were all furnished, he was refreshing *the* universal *body* of *them* with unnatural joy, so that those who had had *the* power to survive were becoming oblivious to their labors and unmindful of the totality of *the* evil.

However, when they were completing the fifteenth day, while Marcellus was still ministering everything needful for *the* captives, it pleased him that all of them should be imparted with *the* capability of returning to their own *homes*, except for those who were being retained by *the* care demanded by their wounds. Seeking to apply the proper remedy for these, he instructed the rest to depart to their own *homes*.

But Marcellus, with a multitudinous *band* of his own hands, went-forward to bury *the* bodies of those who had perished on *the* way. And all of whomsoever he was able to come-upon, he delivered to a burial-place which was deserving of them. When this service was fulfilled, he returned back to [Kashkar]. And permitting *the* wounded to go to their fatherland after their health was sufficiently recuperated, he prepared large amounts of traveling-money for them on their way.

And truly, due to his benevolent actions, *the* fame and piety of Marcellus spread universally throughout that region so unnaturally, that many belonging to various cities were inflaming with a desire to see and to come-to-know *the* man—and most-especially those who had not been having an occasion to bear penury before. To all of these, this remarkable man was ministering most indulgently, so that they all spoke, that there was no one who stood-out more in piety than this man. But even *the* universal widows who were believers in the Lord, were running-together to him. Also, *the* imbeciles were presuming to obtain a most-certain assistance for themselves. And all *the* orphans were being nurtured by him. Because of his love for paupers, Marcellus' house was being said to be

¹ Lat(Reg. Alex. Vat) / other Lat "to execrate and fatigue those learners of his"

² Gk(Epiphanius) / most Lat / Lat(Cas) omit "but Thomas was allotted Syria" (likely by scribal error)

³ The city is either Kashkar or Haran [Greek(Epiphanius [3.66.25.5; 31.5], Cyril, Socrates, Ilibelli Synod

"Kaschar" / Greek(Epiphanius [3.66.32.1]) "Kalchar" / some Lat "Charra" (Latin translation of Haran) / some Latin, Greek(Photius), Coptic "Karchar" / other Latin "Charchar"]

⁴ emendation / Lat "and were feeling the force"

⁵ literally "having"

surnamed *the hospice* for strangers and paupers. Truly, above all, he was retaining, in a remarkable and singular way, a care of *the faith*, building up his own heart upon *the immovable rock*.

CHAPTER 122: CHRONICLES OF MANI THE MANIAC (PART 3: MANI'S SCHEME)

Accordingly, when *Marcellus'* fame was becoming more often spread in various places and even passed-over the Stragga¹ River, the admirable report of his name was brought into *the region* of Persia, where Mani was delaying. When *an* opinion of this man was brought to him, *his mind* revolved very much as to how he might be able to entangle him in *the snares* of his teaching, hoping that Marcellus might be made *an asserter* of his dogma. For he was presuming, that, if he was first able to subdue a man such as him, he would be able to universally occupy *the province* of Mesopotamia. His soul was pulsing with doubt as to whether he should hasten in person to *the man*, or first attempt to assail him by letters. For he was fearing² that, by any improvised and sudden ingression of himself, some evil might perhaps befall him.

In *the end*, in obedience to more-versatile councils, he decided to write. Summoning to him one of his learners, *Adda*³ Turbo by name, who had been instructed by Addas, he delivered a letter to him, directing him to go-forth and carry it to Marcellus. He quickly accepted it and carried it to Marcellus, transacting *the entire journey* in five days. For indeed, Turbo used great speed on *his course* and bore much labor and molestation.

For whenever he arrived *towards evening*,⁴ as⁵ a sojourner, at a hospice (indeed, Marcellus had supplied these inns himself in his large hospitality), when he was being interrogated by *the keeper* of one of these hospices, where he came from and who he was or by whom he had been sent, he was relating, "Indeed, I am from Mesopotamia. However, at present, I am coming from Persia, sent by Mani, a teacher of *the Christians*."

But it did not please them to embrace a name which was unknown to them.⁶ They were even sometimes detruding *Turbo* from their hospices—indeed, they did not even concede to him *the means* of getting water for him to drink. When he was bearing things like this daily (even worse than these) by those in each individual place who were presiding over *the mansions* and *the hospices*, unless he had decided to finally show that he was conveying letters to Marcellus, Turbo would have borne *the ruins* of death in *his sojourn*. Truly, when Marcellus accepted *the letters*, he opened them and read them in the presence of Archelaos, *the overseer* of *the civil-community*. This is a copy of it:

Mani, an emissary of Jesus *the Anointed-One* and of all the holy *ones* and virgins *who are with me*, to Marcellus, a beloved child. Favor, mercy, peace from God *the Father* and our Lord Jesus *the Anointed-One*. And may the right-hand of the light keep you free from the present wicked age and its occurrences and traps of *the wicked-one*. May it be.

Indeed, I very *much* rejoiced to hear about your love which is very great, but am weighed-down that your⁷ faith is not in accordance with the correct⁸ rationalization. From-this-fact, after I was commissioned for *the correcting* of the race of the humans, I, *while* also sparing⁹ those who have given themselves over to delusion and misleading, was led by necessity to commission these documents to you. *I am writing*, indeed, first for *the salvation* of your own soul, but after-that simultaneously for the *ones who happen to be* with you, so that you might not¹⁰ be having the undiscerning rationalization, as the guides of the simple are teaching, *who are saying* that the good *thing* and the evil *thing* are being brought by the same *god* and *who* are introducing¹¹ a single beginning. As I spoke-beforehand, they¹² neither discern nor differentiate the darkness from the light, and the good *thing* from the evil and base *thing*, and the outer human from the inner; instead, they do not cease to mix and to blend the one with *the other*.

But *you*, O child, may you not equally combine¹³ the two (as the many of the humans would happen *to do*, irrationally and simply), but do not be ascribing *them* to the God of the goodness. For those *men*, whose end is near a curse, attribute the beginning and end and the father of these evils, to God. For neither do they have faith in what is stated in good-messages by our Savior and Lord Jesus *the Anointed-One* himself, "A beautiful tree is not being able to make evil fruits, but-neither, truly,

is an evil tree *able* to make beautiful fruits."¹⁴ And how they are daring to be saying, that God is the maker and crafter of the Adversary and his evil affairs, causes¹⁵ me to marvel.

And indeed, I wish that this would have been *the utmost* that their vain-effort came, and that they were not saying, that the Only-Begotten, the Anointed-One *who* descended out of the bosom of the Father, is a son of Miriam,¹⁶ a certain woman, having been birthed out of blood and flesh and the other foul-smelling-thing of the women.

And since I do not have the natural *gift* of expressiveness, and in order that I might not break your gentleness by writing much, for a long time, in these letters, I will be content with this. But you will come-to-know the whole when I come to you—if yet you are still sparing of your own salvation. For I am not-even throwing a noose on anyone, as the more-senseless *ones* of the many are doing. Comprehend the *things which* I am saying, most-honored child.

On reading this letter, Marcellus, with the kindest-consideration, was warming *the bearer* of *the letter* with hospitality. Truly, Archelaos, did not embrace *the matters* which were read very pleasantly, but he was gnashing¹⁷ his teeth like a roaring¹⁸ lion, desiring to have the author of the letter given-over to him.¹⁹ But Marcellus begged²⁰ the overseer to calm-down, promising that he himself would take care to secure *the man's* presence. Therefore, Marcellus wrote the following letter in return to what had been written to him:

Marcellus, a distinguished man; to Mani, who is made-known by his letter, greetings.

I have indeed let the letter which you have written come to me, as well as favorably-received Turbo in accordance with my friendliness. But in no way did I come to understand²¹ the mind of your documents, unless, after you come to be present, you might explain each *point* in detail, as you promised through your letter. Farewell.

He signed this letter which was written and delivered it to Turbo, in order to bear it to the person from whom he had already carried a *letter*. Truly, *Turbo* was extremely reluctant to return to *Mani*, remembering *the labors* of *the journey*, and he was asking, that another be sent instead. For he was refusing to go back to *Mani*, or to have any communication with him again. Truly, after Marcellus summoned one of his boys, Kallistos by name, he instructed him to set-out. Without any delay, he set-out for there, and after three-days he came-up to Mani, whom he found in *the castle* of Arabion, to whom he delivered *the letter*.

After *Mani* scanned it,²² he was glad to see that he had been invited by Marcellus. And without delay, he was making *the journey*. Nevertheless, he had a premonition that Turbo's failure to return was not prosperous, and he hastened on his journey to Marcellus with consultation.

Truly, Turbo was not at all thinking of parting from *the house* of Marcellus, nor was he ceasing his conversation with Archelaos *the overseer*.²³ For both *Marcellus* and *Archelaos* were studiously inquiring into *the studies* of Mani, desiring to know who he was and from where he came or what word he bore. And *Turbo* lucidly narrated *his universal teachings*, repeating and expounding *the terms* of his faith.

When Turbo had finished describing the tenets of Mani's faith, Archelaos was vehemently being kindled. Truly, Marcellus was not being moved, expecting that God would come to *the assistance* of his truth. However, Archelaos had *the care* of the people, like a shepherd before *his sheeps* when ambushes are prepared by *the wolves*.²⁴ Accordingly, Marcellus presented Turbo with many gifts and instructed him to reside in *the overseer*²⁵ Archelaos' house.

CHAPTER 123: CHRONICLES OF MANI THE MANIAC (PART 4: DISPUTATIONS WITH MANI)

However, on that very day, Mani arrived in [Kashkar], bringing-along with him certain elected juveniles and virgins, of a total of 22.²⁶ And first of all, he sought-for Turbo at *the doors* of Marcellus' *place*. When he did not find him there, he, as he was entering, saluted Marcellus. Accordingly, Marcellus immediately sent for Archelaos. When he arrived, his soul was urged to inveigh-against him at once.

¹⁴ see Matthew 7:18

¹⁵ literally "comes-up"

¹⁶ Hebrew form / Greek "Maria (traditionally incorrectly translated as "Mary")

¹⁷ Gk(Epiphanius), some Lat / Lat(Bob) "snapping/breaking-off"

¹⁸ Gk(Epiphanius) / Lat "confined"

¹⁹ Lat / Gk(Epiphanius) "lion, and taking-up zeal of a god, wanted to rush to where *Mani* was and subdue him as being a stranger out of barbarians, from where he was also rushing toward *the elimination* of the sons of the humans."

²⁰ Gk(Epiphanius) / Lat "had been persuading"

²¹ literally "know"

²² literally "which"

²³ some Lat / Lat (C) add

²⁴ Gk(Epiphanius) "He [Archelaos] had been taking-counsel to have the man committed to death at once, if possible, as though he had hunted a leopard or a wolf, or a different *kind* of beast, so that the nurslings would not be harmed by the approach of such a beast."

²⁵ Lat(Bob) / Lat (C) add

²⁶ Gk(Epiphanius), some Lat / Eusebios, Lat(Bob) "12"

¹ Gk(Epiphanius) / some Lat "Stranga" / Lat(A) "Trangan" / others "Strangum"

² literally "revering"

³ Epiphanius(Gk), some Lat / Lat(Bob) add

⁴ some Lat / Lat(Bob) add

⁵ some Lat / Lat(Bob) "in fact"

⁶ some Lat / Lat(Bob) "name of which they were ignorant"

⁷ literally "the"

⁸ literally "upright"

⁹ Gk(Epiphanius) / Lat "relieving"

¹⁰ Lat / Gk(Epiphanius) omit "not"

¹¹ literally "leading-in"

¹² literally "who"

¹³ literally "make-one"

Truly the most-prudent Marcellus, held-back all eagerness for contention, deciding to hear both of them. So he invited the first-ranking men of the civil-community. From out of them, he elected as judges, those of the religion of the nations, four in number, whose names were: Marsipos¹ (experienced in the grammatical art and the discipline of rhetoric), and Aigialeas² (a most-noble chief-healer and of the highest education of literature), and Claudius and Kleoboulos (two brothers who were distinguished rhetoricians).³

Therefore, the convent was so magnificent, that Marcellus' house, which was immense, was filled with those who had been convoked to be hearers. And when those who proposed to speak against one another had taken their places in view of everyone, then those who had been elected as judges sat-down. And Mani was assigned to speak first.

So Mani began by uttering his impious teachings, introducing himself as the Comforter, who had been sent by Jesus, and asserting that, as an elect emissary of the Anointed-One, he had brought the third testament; and, that if his words were refused, an eternal fire would consume them. And he asserted many more of his fictitious absurdities, such as the existence of two unbegottens.

And after many words were stated on each of the two sides, with both Mani throwing-forward his mythical teachings and Archelaos countering every one of his argumentations from the divine writings combined with logical assessment, and defending the impossibility of two unbegottens and the rest of Mani's tenets, Archelaos finally won. For the judges judged that the prize belonged to the truth, as preached by Archelaos, who made it manifest that Mani was a false-prophet.

Now at one point during the discussion, the audience who were present were vehemently joyful, so much, that they were almost laying hands on Mani; it was only with difficulty that Archelaos had restrained them and had repressed them, making them become quiet again. But again, at the conclusion of the discussion, after the audience had bestowed many tokens of honor on Archelaos, and after Marcellus had embraced and kissed Archelaos, truly, the infants who had chanced to convene there, began to pelt Mani and tried to make him flee. The rest followed them, crowding-together, with the intention of trying to make Mani flee.

But when Archelaos observed this, he elevated his voice like a trumpet, desiring to restrain the multitude, declaring, "Cease, my beloved brothers! Lest perhaps we be found to have the guilt of blood on us on the day of the judgment! It has been written of men like this, that it is also necessary for sects to be among all of you*, in order that the ones who are tried-and-proved might become manifest among all of you*!" (1 Corinthians 11:19)

And when he spoke these things, the crowd was sedated.

Therefore, when Mani had fled-away, he never appeared there again. Truly, his minister Turbo, was delivered by Marcellus to Archelaos. When Archelaos had ordained him as a minister, he remained⁴ in Marcellus' suite. However, Mani, in his flight, arrived into a certain village which was a long way from the city of [Kashkar], into which was called Diodoris.⁵ There, the people's elder at that season was a certain most-gentle man named Truphōn,⁶ who had good fame both for his faith and his stoutness. Mani lodged with Truphōn and began to churn him as he was boasting. For Mani grasped that the man, indeed, was good in other things and marvelous with his reverence-for-God, but was lacking in his eloquence.⁷ Instead, even in these things, Mani was not able to mock the slave of the Anointed-One as he assumed that he was strong enough to do so.

In consequence, Mani wished to debate once more with Truphōn the elder. And Truphōn spoke-against him in many things, but also wrote to Archelaos about this matter, summoning him to commission instructions to him on how to deal with him or with what accounts he should use to speak-against his evil-teaching, and even asking him, that if he deemed-it-worthy, to come himself. Now when Archelaos accepted this letter, he admired the human's audacity. But Archelaos commissioned to him two accounts for the ready grasping of Mani's teachings, but indicated to him to expect that he himself would be present.

Now when Truphōn accepted this letter, he scheduled a debate for a certain day, and began debating Mani on the night before, demonstrating before everyone, that the two testaments, being of the same God, had a mutual relationship between them. But as evening was coming, Truphōn postponed the remainder of the debate until the following day.

However, when it was early-morning, Archelaos suddenly arrived at this castle where Truphōn was awaiting, before everyone had yet proceeded into public. Truly, Mani, ignorant that Archelaos was now present, challenged Truphōn publicly to contend in a disputation with him, wishing to oppress him with his words, because he was perceiving that Truphōn was a simple human and not learned enough in questions concerning the scriptures.

Therefore, when the crowd had convened in the usual place for a disputation, and when Mani had begun to speak,⁸ suddenly, Archelaos appeared in the middle of them. And after he embraced Truphōn, he saluted him with a holy kiss. For until then, Truphōn, religious as he was, had been somewhat fearful of the conflict. However, when Mani had seen Archelaos, he immediately ceased continuing his insulting, and, with his arrogance not a little cast-down, it could be manifestly comprehended, that he wished to flee from the conflict.

Now after Archelaos had begun his defense of the truth, recounting his previous debate with Mani at [Kashkar], he stated, "It does not seem to me that he can be very dignified since he is ignorant of what is in the future. It is necessary for him to foreknow those who are on his own side. Indeed, he should have this measure of knowledge, if, indeed, the spirit of the comforter inhabits him."

But Archelaos, after speaking a series of discourses, again silenced Mani and put him to disgrace by answering his discourses, so that he was not able to open his mouth. Therefore, the crowds admired the truth of Archelaos' teaching, and they rendered immense laudations with clamors. And later, Archelaos persuaded the crowds to hear his word. Now among those who were hearing, were not only those who were with Truphōn, but also everyone who was present from his province and from the places in the vicinity. Then he told all of them about the false-teachings of Mani, and the Good-Message concerning our Lord Jesus the Anointed-One, our Savior.

On hearing these things, the crowd wished to seize Mani and deliver him over to the power⁹ of the barbarians who were in the vicinity beyond the Stragga¹⁰ river—especially since some time before this, certain men had come to search-for him, but who had dispersed without finding him, for at that time he was set in flight.

Therefore, after Archelaos had produced this information, Mani at once took himself to flight, and he was able to evade them before any were able to follow him. However some of them did closely follow him, but he again made for the roads by which he had come, crossing the river; and he returned to the castle of Arabion.¹¹

But there, he was afterward apprehended and brought before the king of Persia. Now the king was violently-moved with the strongest indignation against him, and was fired with the desire of avenging two deaths upon him (the one, the son; the other, the prison-keeper), directing, that he should be flayed with a reed¹² and hung before the gates of the civil-community, and that his pelt be dipped in certain medicaments and inflated. Truly, he directed, that his flesh be given to the birds. For this reason, the Manichaeans themselves make their beds on reeds. And after his death, his three learners were continuing to spread his impious teachings throughout the world. But from that time forward, he is still known among the Hellenes, as Mani the Maniac.

(Now the rest of the truthful speeches of Archelaos during his disputations with Mani, and the elaborate description of Mani's impious teachings as given by Turbo, and the histories of Mani's predecessors, are recorded in detail in the Acts of Archelaos.)

CHAPTER 124: REIGNS OF EMPERORS PROBUS & CARUS / GAIUS BECOMES OVERSEER OF ROMA [283-12] / DIOKLÉS BECOMES EMPEROR [284-11-20] / DEATH OF EMPEROR CARINUS [285]

Now earlier in his reign, Emperor Probus had restored the Gallic-provinces which had been occupied by the barbarians. But when it was reported that Probus stated, that in a short time soldiers would be unnecessary, the military became irritated and they cut him into pieces at Sirmium in an iron-covered turret, after he had reigned for 6 years and 4 months.¹³ And Carus succeeded him as emperor of the Romans. From then on, the power of the military gained-strength, and the right of appointing the prince was snatched-away from the Roman senate for a long time.

Now Emperor Carus the August-One, in the 1st year of his reign, immediately made his sons Carinus and Numerianus Caesars. But while he was engaged in a war against the Sarmatians, it was announced, that there was a tumult among the Persians. So he set-out for the east and took Seleukeia and Tizfon. But while he was encamped on the Tigris, he, having an unadvised avaricious glory, was conflagrated by a thunderbolt, after holding the imperial-command for 10 months and 5 days.

Now meanwhile, in about the 6th year of Probus,¹⁴ at Alexandria, Maximus, who had been overseer for 18 years after the end of Dionysios, was succeeded by Theōnas. In his time at Alexandria, Achilles, having been deemed-worthy of the body-of-elders together with Pierios, was being made-known, having the teaching-place of the consecrated faith in Alexandria put into his hands, and

¹ Gk(Epiphanius) / Lat "Manippus"

² Gk(Epiphanius), some Lat / Lat(Bob) "Aegidius"

³ some Lat / Lat(Cas) "leaders" // Epiphanius "Indeed, the one was fond-of-wisdom of the accounts/discourses, but the other a professor-of-healing" (more literally "a healer-wise-man"), but the one a teacher of the grammatical-art, but the other, a wise-man."

⁴ literally "persevered"

⁵ Gk(Epiphanius) / Lat "Diodōros"

⁶ Gk(Epiphanius) / Lat "who name was likewise Diodōros"

⁷ may also be translated "account/discourse"

⁸ literally "to make words"

⁹ some Lat / Lat(F) "powers"

¹⁰ Gk(Epiphanius) / some Lat "Stranga" / Lat(CM) "Strangu" / Lat(F) "Stracu"

¹¹ Gk(Epiphanius) most Lat / Lat(Vat) "Adrabion" (though Arabian previously)

¹² Gk(Epiphanius) / Lat omit "with a reed"

¹³ Eutropius, Chironicon(Jerome), Orosius / Chronography354 "6 years, 2 months, 12 days" / Eusebios, Aurelius(Epitome) "6 years" / Aurelius(Liber) "a little less than 6 years"

¹⁴ 282AD / Chronicon(Jerome) "6th year of Probus" / Chronicon(Armenian) "1st year of Numerianus/Carinus" (both were in 282AD)

having exhibited a very rare work in fondness-of-wisdom (philosophy), inferior to none, and a genuine citizenship in *the* manner of the Good-Message.

Now Eutuchianus held the oversight of the assembly in Roma for 8 years, 11 months, *and* 11 days,¹ until *the* 7th day *before the* Ides of December, when Carus, for *the* 2nd time, and Carinus were *the* consuls of *the* Romans.² And on *the* 6th day *before the* Ides of December,³ he was deposited in the cemetery of Kallistos which is on the Appian Way in Roma. And he left the allotment to Gaius, who received it on *the* 16th day *before the* Kalends of January when Carinus, for *the* 2nd time, and Carinus were *the* consuls of *the* Romans.⁴

Now when *Emperor* Carus had went to Persia, he had taken with him his son Numerianus. And because Numerianus was being affected with a smart in his eyes, he was being carried in a small-litter. But he was struck-down in a plot by Aper (*the* praetorian prefect and his father-in-law). And on a pretext that Numerianus' eyesight might not be troubled by *the* wind, Aper was hoping to keep his death concealed until he was able to seize the imperial-command. But the murder was only discovered several days later, when, due to *the* foul-smell produced by *the* members of *his* cadaver, *the* soldiers who were attending him opened *the* curtains of his small-litter. Therefore, Carinus was left *as* the sole emperor of the Romans.

However, after *the* crime against Numerianus had been produced, at a council of leaders and tribunes, Valerius Dioklés (later known at Diocletianus), *who was a* regent of *the* domestic forces but a man of obscure birth, was delegated emperor of the Romans because he was a man whom they believed to be of great wisdom.

For meanwhile, Emperor Carinus, while his father had set out to the war with Parthia, defiled himself by all *manner of* crimes. He struck-down many innocent persons on fictitious incriminations, ruptured *the* marriages of *the* nobles, was pernicious toward several of his fellow-learners, who had teased him in *the* auditorium with a slight banter. Because of these things, he incurred *the* grudge of all humans.

Now in *the* first gathering of *the* soldiers which was held, Dioklés drew his sword and swore, that Numerianus was not killed by any deceit on his part, and that he was never desiring *the* imperial-command. And while Aper, who had laid *the* trap for Numerianus, was standing near *him*, he was transpierced in *the* sight of *the* troops by Dioklés' own hand.

Now at this time, Sabinus Julianus, learning of Carus' death, was eager to seize the imperial-command. And when Emperor Carinus was informed of everything which was happening, *and* hoping that he might more easily sedate *the* revolts which were breaking-out, hastily made for Illyricum by making a circuit around Italia. There, he expelled Julianus and cut him down. And when Carinus reached Moesia, he straightaway joined⁵ in a battle with Dioklés near *the* Margus River. But while Carinus was avidly pressing those whom he conquered, he perished by *the* blows of his own troops, on account of his impatient yearning for many of *the* soldiers' wives. Their husbands⁶ had grown increasingly hostile. Nevertheless, they had dispersed their ire and pain to see how *the* war turned-out. Since it was going prosperous for Carinus, *the* soldiers, in apprehension that a man of such a character would become more and more insolent in *his* victory, they avenged themselves. He was massacred chiefly by *the* right-hand of his tribune, whose spouse he was said to have polluted. This was *the* finale of Carus and his children. Now Carinus had held the imperial-command for 2 years, 11 months, *and* 2 days, including the 10 months and 5 days which he ruled with his father.⁷ And Dioklés was now *the* sole emperor of the Romans.

¹ Chronography354 / Eusebios "less than 10 months" / Chronicon(Jerome) "8 months" / Chronicon(Armenian) "2 months"

² 283-12-07

³ 283-12-08

⁴ 283-12-17

⁵ literally "congressed"

⁶ literally "men"

⁷ Chronography354 / Eutropius, Aurelius(Liber), Epiphanius, Chronicon(Jerome) "[Carus & Carinus & Numerianus]...for 2 years." / Eusebios "[Carus & Carinus & Numerianus] for less than 3 years" / Aurelius(Epitome) "[Carus] for 2 years"