

# HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIANS BOOK II

## CHAPTER 1: BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF DIOCLÉTIANUS AND MAXIMIANUS HERCULIUS OF THE ROMANS

Now once Dioklés, Emperor of the Romans, seized *the* power of the Roman orb, he converted his name to a Roman one ‘Dioclétianus.’ For until he assumed *the* imperial-command, this Dalmatian, a freedman of the senator Anulinus, had the Greek appellation ‘Dioklés’ (from his mother and likewise from a town with the name ‘Doklea’).<sup>1</sup> Therefore, he was now known formally as ‘Gaius Aurelius Valerius Dioclétianus the August-One’.

Now Dioclétianus was shrewd moralized, besides *being* sagacious and *having* a completely subtle ingenuity. And he was willing to gratify *his* own severity in such a way as to transfer *the* envy to *others*. However, he was a most-diligent and most-skillful prince.

And he was the first to introduce into *the* Roman imperial-command *new* customs: For his clothing, he desired a supply of silk, and inserted ornaments of gems into the soles of his shoes and into his gold-brocaded clothes and vestures. For previously, *the* insignia of *the* imperial-command had only been in *the* purple short-mantle, *while the rest* was common<sup>2</sup> attire. Despite that these *things* were excessive and displayed a tumid and superfluous soul, however, they were light in view of the rest of *his enormities*.

For he was *the* first of all the Roman emperors after Caligula (that is Gaius Caesar) and Domitianus to permit himself to be called ‘Lord’ in public; and he was directing that he should be adored and addressed as a god, whereas the rest of those before him were only saluted.<sup>3</sup> Yet he led *them* like a parent.

Now after *the* departure of the former emperor Carinus, Helianus<sup>4</sup> and Amandus in Gallia (for Galatia was now beginning to be called Gallia) excited a band of rustic countrymen and brigands (whom *the* inhabitants call Bagaudae or Bacaudae). And with these two men as their leaders, they ravaged *the* fields extensively and were making attempts on very many of *the* cities.

Now when Emperor Dioclétianus learned about this tumult, he immediately directed that a faithful friend of his, Maximianus, be a Caesar, despite that he was semi-uncivilized. For he had been born and raised in Pannonia where *the* natives were always arrayed in arms and *the* females are mightier than *the* men of other races. Nevertheless, Dioclétianus believed that he was a good soldier of ingenuity. After this, Maximianus received the surname ‘Herculius’ from his worship of the abominable god Héraklés, as Dioclétianus had received that of ‘Jovius’ from his worship of the detestable god Jove. For throughout his lifetime, Maximianus Herculius honored the gods whom he worshipped with altars and likenesses and temples and donations, inscribed with his own names and ornamented with his own images.

Now Maximianus had a son named Maxentius who was begotten from Eutropia, a Syrian woman, but who was in fact not a genuine son of his. For Maxentius was a supposititious-child by-means-of *the* womanly art of *this woman* who was laboring to be grasping the soul of *her* marriage-partner, Maximianus, by-means-of an auspice of a most-gratifying delivery having been begun from a certain Syrian boy. Now Maxentius himself was dear to no-one at-any-time, not to *his* father or indeed to *his* father-in-law Maximianus Galerius. And even when Maxentius was full-grown, he was despised by many for his littleness of stature, *his* members having been twisted-out-of-shape and having been relaxed,<sup>5</sup> and many mocked that his name had been mutilated by a misapplied<sup>6</sup> appellation.

Therefore, Dioclétianus dispatched Maximianus Herculius, with *the* authority of Caesar, to subjugate *the* brigands. After a few light engagements, he subdued the inexperienced and confused countrymen and restored peace to Gallia in the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of Emperor Dioclétianus.<sup>7</sup> And shortly afterward, he did the same to various other nearby barbarian tribes.

Now meanwhile, Emperor Dioclétianus, after he had made an expedition against the Sarmatians, wintered that year in Nikomédeia. And shortly after winter, he made Maximianus Herculius advance from the office of a Caesar to an August-One.

## CHAPTER 2: ANTONIUS WITHDRAWS INTO THE DESERT

Now while all these things were going on, a certain Christian named Antonius was living in the desert. Now he had been born about the time of the earlier Christian pursuit, the one which had taken place under the impious Decius, former

emperor of the Romans.<sup>8</sup> Antonius, indeed was an Egyptian by race, but his parents were highborn and had acquired a self-sufficient surplus. And since they were Christians, he was also brought-up<sup>9</sup> in a Christian manner. And indeed, as a little-boy, he was being nourished in accordance with his parents, coming-to-know no-one else except for them and his house. But since, after he also grew, he became a boy and was progressing in his maturity, indeed he was not able to tolerate learning letters, *while* he was wishing to avoid even the companionship with the *other* boys. But all his desire was to dwell as a natural man in his house.

However, he was congregating with his parents in the Lord’s-house (for this is what the Christians were beginning to call their places of assembly). And neither was he being lazy as a boy, nor was he despising them as he was progressing in his maturity. Instead he was even being subjected to his parents, and was heaping-up what was being read-aloud, and was keeping *within* himself what was helpful out of *what he heard*. But although as a boy he was obtaining a moderate surplus, he was not troubling his parents for the sake of varied and very-expensive food, nor was he seeking the pleasure *derived* from this. But he was being content with only what he was finding, and he was seeking for nothing more.

Now after the death of his parents, he was left alone with one little sister. And he was about 18 or even 20 years old.<sup>10</sup> He was having to think-seriously about both his home and his sister.

Now six months had not yet passed after the death of his parents, and, going into the Lord’s-house according to his custom and collecting his thoughts, he was rationalizing as he walked-around: indeed, how the emissaries, after they left everything, followed the Savior; but *how* they, in the Acts of the Emissaries, selling their own possessions, were bringing *them* and putting them down at the feet of the emissaries, into *the* distribution *designated* to those having needs, as well as what and how great a hope is stored-up for them in heavens.

(Acts 4:35-37)

Pondering on these *things*, he went into the assembly. And it happened then that the good-message was being read-aloud, and he heard the Lord saying to the rich man, “If you are wanting to be complete, be going-away; sell all the *things* you are possessing, and give to destitute persons; and come-here, be following me, and you will have a treasure in heavens.”

(Matthew 19:21)

But Antonius, as though the memory of the holy ones had come from God, and the reading had been read aloud for his sake, straightaway came-out of the Lord’s-house. Indeed, he granted the following as a favor to those from the village: the acquisitions he was having from *his* ancestors (now there were 300 acres, productive and altogether beautiful), in order that both he and his sister might not in be troubled by it whatsoever. But he sold all the other *things* (as-much-as was movable) and he collected a sufficient amount of silver, which he gave to the destitute persons, *while* keeping a little for his sister’s sake.

But again, after he went into the Lord’s-house, he heard the Lord saying in the good-message, “May you not worry about the next-day.” (Matthew 6:34) So he, not able to tolerate staying *there* any longer, after he came-out, gave these *things* to those who were moderate. But he commended his sister to known and faithful virgins, as-well-as gave her into a virgin-house for nurturing. For the rest of *his* time, he was devoting himself to the exercising in front of his house, paying close attention to himself and leading himself perseveringly. For monasteries (that is, solitary-places) were not yet being contiguous in Egypt, nor had any monk (that is, a solitary-individual) at all known the far desert; but each one who was wishing to pay close attention to themselves had been exercising alone, not far from his own village.

Accordingly, there was then in the nearby village, an old-man, who exercised the lifestyle of a monk from *his* youth. When Antonius saw *this* man, he was zealous to have his beauty of discipline. And indeed, at first, he also began to stay in the places which were in front of the village. If he would hear of someone who was effortful anywhere else, he, like the wise bee, preceding from *there*, would seek him. And he would not return to his earlier place if he had not seen *that* man. And after he had taken from him a travel-supply, as it were, for the road to excellence, he would go-back. Accordingly, while spending-time there at the beginning, he was weighing his intention of how he, indeed, would not return to the place of his parents, nor remember his kinsmen; but he wanted to have his whole yearning and all his effort be restricted to the exertion of his exercising.

Accordingly, he would work with his hands, *having* heard, “But the man who is not-working, do not even let him be eating.” (2 Thessalonians 3:10) And indeed, some of *his* income he would spend on his bread, but the rest on those who were in need. But he would pray contiguously, because he learned, that it was necessary for one to privately pray unceasingly. For he even would pay such close attention to what was read-aloud, so that nothing of what was written fell from him to the ground; but he was retaining everything, and hereafter his memory was used instead of little-books.

Therefore, indeed, Antonius, *while* leading himself in this manner, was being loved by everyone. But he himself was genuinely subjecting himself to the effortful men, and was learning for himself from the effort and the exercising of each one. And he was perceiving, indeed, the graceful behavior of one, but the

<sup>8</sup> Jerome(Chronicon) dates his birth to the 1<sup>st</sup> year of Decius (about 249–251AD)

<sup>9</sup> literally “led-up”

<sup>10</sup> approximately 269 or 271 AD

<sup>1</sup> actual Greek name / Eutropius “Dioclea” (incorrectly)

<sup>2</sup> Eutropius / Chronicon(Jerome) “private”

<sup>3</sup> Chronicon(Jerome) unreliably dates this to the 11<sup>th</sup> year of Dioclétianus (295AD)

<sup>4</sup> Aurelius(Liber) / Eutropius “Aelianus”

<sup>5</sup> literally “released”

<sup>6</sup> literally “abused”

<sup>7</sup> 286AD

intense prayer<sup>1</sup> of another. And he was contemplating, indeed the lack-of-anger of another, but the philanthropy of another. And he was paying-close-attention, indeed to *one individual* as he was staying-alert, but to *another* who was fond-of-studying. And he was marveling, indeed, at *one* for his perseverance, but *another* for his fasts and sleeping-on-the-ground. And he was closely-watching, indeed, the meekness of *one*, but the longsuffering of *another*. But all together, he was denoting their piety *which they had* in the Anointed-One, and their love toward one another. And he, having been filled in this manner, was returning into his own *place*, his place-of-exercising. *There, with his remaining time*, he was bringing-together the *virtues* of each *one* into himself, and making *every* effort to show all of them in himself.

For even he was not someone-fond-of-strife toward those who were equal to him in *physical* maturity, *except in this* only, in order that he would not appear to be second to them in the better things. And he performed this in such a way as to grieve no one; instead, he caused them to rejoice over him. Therefore, indeed all those from the village and the ones-fond-of-what-is-beautiful, *those* who were having their customary-intercourse with him, seeing that he was a *man* like this, were calling him 'god-loved'. And indeed, *some* of them were greeting him as *if they were* a son, but the others as *if they were* a brother.

Now from then on, Antonius was tempted<sup>2</sup> to be led-down from his exercising by a memory of his properties, the solicitude of his sister, the domesticity of his race, fondness-of-silver, fondness-of-glory, the various pleasures of food,<sup>3</sup> and the other relaxations of this lifetime. But Antonius countered these temptations with his stiffness and his vast faith, and his contiguous prayers. Indeed, when he was being turmoiled by night and being annoyed by day by filthy reasonings and was being tickled (so that even the *ones who were* seeing him sensed the wrestling), Antonius was enwalling his body with the faith and his prayers and fasts.

And indeed *one* night, the Slanderer *himself*, taking-on-the-semblance of a woman and imitating *her* every gesture,<sup>4</sup> *did this* alone in order to delude Antonius. But he, pondering the Anointed-One, and the high-birth which is ours through *the Anointed-One*, and rationalizing the comprehensible *nature* of the soul, extinguished the charcoal of the other's delusion. And when Antonius was confronted by other similar temptations, he, like a *man* becoming-angered and grieving, was pondering on the threat of the fire and the pain of the worm *as spoken by the prophet Isaiah*. And because his thoughts were properly directed toward the things of God, he, with the Lord working-together with him, stepped-through *all these things* without-harm. (Isaiah 66:24)

Accordingly, *in the end*, as the demon was not even able to throw-down Antonius in this *way*, but instead even was seeing himself driven-out from his heart, he, gnashing his teeth and even as being amazed, also later appeared to Antonius as a black boy (his image matching<sup>5</sup> his mind). And even as fawning upon Antonius, he indeed was no longer stepping on him with rationalizations (for deceitful *as he was*, he had been thrown-out); but for *the rest of the time*, he, employing a human voice, was saying, "Indeed, I deluded many, and I threw-down a majority. But now, after I threw myself against you and your labors, as *I have done* against many, I became weak."

Next, Antonius enquired, "Who are you who are uttering such things to me?" Straightaway, he discharged a pitiful voice, "I am the friend of sexual-immorality. I undertook<sup>6</sup> the things *which led* the youths into this ambush,<sup>7</sup> and these ticklings against them. And I have been called a spirit of sexual-immorality. How many I deluded who are wanting to be of a sound-mind! How many who are self-restraining themselves I tickled into changing! I am he, on whose account the prophet *Hoshea* also, after he found-fault with the fallen-men, was saying, 'All of you\* have been misled by-means-of a spirit of sexual-immorality.' For by me, they were tripped-up. I am he who often irked you, and who was as often overturned by you." (Hoshea 4:12)

But Antonius, after he gave-thanks to the Lord and after he became confident against the *spirit*, declared to him, "Moreover, you are happening to be very easily-despicable. For you are even black in your mind, and you are as weak as a boy. Not even for *the rest of my days*, will I have concern about you. 'For *the Lord* is my helper, and I will gaze-upon my enemies.'" (Psalm 117:7)

After he heard these *things*, that black-one straightaway fled, after he covered-beneath his voice and after he became filled with fear to even still come-near the man. This was Antonius' first athletic-competition against the Slanderer.

Instead, although the demon fell-under, Antonius neither was unconcerned for *the rest of his days* and despising him, nor was the enemy (although worsted) ceasing to lie-in-wait for *him*. For again he was coming-around like a lion, seeking some pretext against him.

But Antonius, after he learned out of the writings, that the methods of the enemy are many, (*Ephesians 6:11?*) intensely-continued to employ his exercising, rationalizing that, even if the enemy was not strong *enough* to delude his heart in

a bodily pleasure,<sup>8</sup> *the enemy* would himself try in every way to lay-in-wait-for him through a different method-of-pursuit. For the demon is sin-loving.

Therefore, more and more, Antonius was drying-up the body and led-it-into-slavery, lest perhaps, after he conquered in some *matters*, he be dragged-down in others. Moreover, he *was* deliberating to accustom himself to leading a harder *way of life*. And indeed, many were marveling *at him*, but he was easily bearing the pain. For the eagerness of his soul, after it persisted for much time, was producing a good maturity in him, so that, even while he was taking *but* a little pretext from others, he *was* demonstrating much of his effort within this *matter*.

For he was going without-slumber *for* so long, that he often even went through the whole night to *the end* without-slumber. But this was not even once, instead, it was even most-often. He also was eating once *during* the day after the setting of *the sun*; but sometimes he was partaking of *food* even *one time* after two *days*, but frequently even after four. And his nourishment was bread and salt, and his drink water alone. But a rushmat was sufficient for his slumber; but most of the *time* he even was lying-down on earth alone. But he was refusing to oil himself with olive-oil, saying, "It is more proper for the younger *men* to have eagerness *derived* from their exercising and not to seek what would enervate the body. Instead, they *must* even accustom it to pain, while taking into account the words of the emissary, 'Whenever I might be being-weakened, then I am powerful.' (2 *Korinthians 12:10*) For then," he was saying, "the exertion of the soul is becoming strong, whenever the pleasures of the body might be weakening."

And he deemed-it-worthy to measure *the length* of the way of the excellence and his retirement, not by time, *but* instead by a yearning and the preference *of it*. Accordingly, he was not remembering the time which passed. Instead, day by day, as *if* having to begin his exercising *anew*, he was making<sup>9</sup> even greater pains into his progress, contiguously repeating to himself the word of the emissary Paulus:

Forgetting the *things which are* behind, but stretching-out to the *things which are* ahead.

(Philippians 3:13)

He also *was* even remembering the voice of the prophet Elijah, saying:

*The Lord* is living, before whom I stood today.

(1 *Kings 18:15*)

For according to his own personal interpretation, he concluded that, in saying 'today', *Elijah* was not measuring the time which passed; *but* instead daily, as though always beginning, he was making *every* effort to cause himself to stand as one ought to appear before God: clean *in* the heart, and ready to become-compliant to his will and none other. But Antonius was saying in himself, *that* the exerciser always ought to learn from the citizenship of the great Elijah *and to use it* as a mirror for his own life.

Therefore, after Antonius tightened his hold upon himself, he was departing into the memorials, which happened to be at a distance from the village. And after he transmitted-a-message to one of his acquaintances to convey the bread to him at *intervals* of many days, he entered into one of the memorials. And after that *man* shut the door on him, he was remaining within alone.

The enemy, not *able* to bear *him being* there, *but* instead truly even fearing, *that* even in a short *time* Antonius would fill-up the desert with this exercising, came during one night with a multitude of demons. *He* beat<sup>10</sup> Antonius so much with blows, that he even was laying on the ground, as *though* voiceless, from the tortures. For the pains had been so severe, that the blows inflicted<sup>11</sup> by humans could never *have* caused such torture.

But, by the foresight of God, his acquaintance came to be present the next *day*, conveying the *loaves-of-bread* to him. After he both opened the door and saw him lying on the ground as a corpse, he, after he carried him, was bearing him into the Lord's *house* in the village. And he placed him on the ground.<sup>12</sup> Both many of his kinsmen and those from the village, were sitting-down *beside* Antonius as *beside* a corpse. But about midnight, Antonius came to himself, and was awakened. As he saw everyone sleeping, and only his acquaintance being fully-awake, he, after he nodded for him to come to him, was begging him to carry him again and bear him away into the memorials, without arousing anyone from slumber.

Therefore, the man bore him away. And having shut the door, as was usual, Antonius was again alone within. And indeed, he was not strong *enough* to stand due to the blows. But *while* he was reclining, he was praying. And after the prayer, he was saying with an outcry, "Here am I, Antonius! I do not flee from your\* blows. For if-at-any-time you\* inflict<sup>13</sup> more, nothing will separate me from the love of the Anointed-One." Next he was even psalming, "If-at-any-time a camp might draw-up-into-battle-order against me, my heart will not be filled-

<sup>1</sup> literally "vow"

<sup>2</sup> literally "tried"

<sup>3</sup> literally "nourishment"

<sup>4</sup> literally "manner"

<sup>5</sup> literally "such as"

<sup>6</sup> literally "took-up"

<sup>7</sup> literally "this lying-in-wait-for"

<sup>8</sup> literally "in a pleasure of body"

<sup>9</sup> literally "having"

<sup>10</sup> may also be translated "cut"

<sup>11</sup> literally "blows according to"

<sup>12</sup> literally "earth"

<sup>13</sup> literally "make"

with-fear.” (Psalm 27:3) Therefore, indeed, these were *the things which* Antonius was minded *about* and was saying.

But the good-hating enemy, after he marveled, that even after the blows Antonius had been confident to come *back*, called-together his dogs. And *while* he was breaking-through, he was declaring, “You\* see, that not by a spirit of sexual-immorality, nor by blows did we make this *man* cease. Instead, he even became audacious against us. Let us come to him in another *way*.”

Therefore, at that time, during the night, indeed *the demons* were making such a din, it was seeming as *though* that entire place was shaking. But the demons, after *it seemed* as though they broke-down the four walls of the small-house, seemed to enter-on through them, after changing-their-semblance into an appearance of beasts and creepers. And the place was straightaway being filled with appearances of lions, bears, leopards, bulls, and serpents, asps, and scorpions, and wolves. And indeed, each of these were moving according to its own semblance. The lion was gnashing, wanting to come-upon *him*. The bull was seeming to gore. The serpent, *while* creeping, was not reaching *him*. And the wolf, *while* rushing, was being held-back. And *with* all of the appearing *creatures being* all together simultaneously, their noises *were* terrible, and their furies harsh.

But Antonius, *while* they were whipping and stinging him, indeed sensed more-terrible bodily pain. And he was reclining without-trembling and more fully-awake in his soul *than before*. And indeed, he was groaning due to the pain of his body, but his thought was sober. And as though jeering, he said, “If there was some power in you\*, it would have been enough for one out of *all of you\** to come. But since the Lord strained-out your\* sinews, you\* are trying to fear me out of *here* even-if by this multitude. A token of your\* weakness is that you\* are imitating the forms of irrational *beasts*.”

Accordingly, again with audacity, he said, “If you\* are being able, and you\* received authority against me, do not remain on the brink; instead, may you\* step-upon *me*. But if you\* are not able, why are you\* troubling *me* in vain? For the faith into our Lord is a seal and a wall into security.”

Moreover, after they undertook many *attempts*, they grated their teeth at him, because they were rather making sport of<sup>1</sup> themselves, and not him.

But not even in this was the Lord<sup>2</sup> forgetting the contest of Antonius. Instead, he had come to be present to take Antonius’ place. Accordingly, after he looked-up, he saw the roof as though opening, and some ray of light coming-down toward him. And indeed, the demons suddenly were disappearing.<sup>3</sup> But the pain of his body had straightaway ceased, and the house was again totally-sound.

But Antonius, sensing the assistance<sup>4</sup> and drawing-his-breath *again*, and after he was lightened of the pain, was beseeching the supernatural-sight which appeared, saying, “Where were you? Why were you not appearing from the beginning, in order to *cause* my anguishes to cease?”

And a voice came to him, “Antonius, I was here. Instead, I was awaiting to see your conflict. Therefore, since you endured, and *were* not worsted, I will always be your helper, and I will make you become named everywhere.”

After he heard these *things*, he, after he rose, was praying. And he was strengthened so much (as he sensed), that he rather had more power in his body than he was having before. Now at that time, which was about the beginning of the reign of Emperor Diocletianus of the Romans, Antonius was nearly 35 years old.<sup>5</sup>

Now on the following *day*, Antonius, after he proceeded, was still more eagerly *pressing* into the reverence-for-God. And after he went to the old-man, that old *acquaintance*, he was begging him to dwell with him in the desert. But after the *old-man* refused (due to both his maturity and due to *the fact* that there was not yet such a customary-experience *as dwelling alone in the desert*), Antonius straightaway rushed into the mountain.

Instead even again, the enemy, looking-at his effort and wanting to impede it, threw-under in his way an appearance of a great silver disk. But Antonius, after he gained-insight into the art of the beauty-hating *enemy*, stood. And he, looking-at the disk, was convicting the Slanderer in it, saying, “Where did a disk come *from* in a desert? This way is not worn-down, nor is there *any* footprint of any traveler<sup>6</sup> here. Being that big, it could not *have fallen* unnoticed. Instead, even the *one* who lost it, after he retraced *his steps* back to this point and sought it, would have found it, due to *the fact* that this place is the desert. This is an artifice<sup>7</sup> of the Slanderer. You will not impede my eagerness by<sup>8</sup> this, O Slanderer. For let it go with you into perdition.”<sup>9</sup>

And *while* Antonius was saying this, it vanished, as like smoke from *before* the face of a fire.

Next, again, *while* he was going-off, he saw true gold having *been* scattered in the way. But Antonius indeed marveled at the multitude *of it*, but, after he stepped-over *it* as if going over a fire, he passed *by* in this way as if he did not

turn-toward it. Instead, he even made *every* effort so far in a run, so as to conceal *from his mind* and to ignore<sup>10</sup> the place.

Therefore, after straining his purpose more and more, he rushed into the mountain. And after he found, on the other side of the river, a camp (which was deserted and, due to the time, full of creepers), he transferred himself there, and dwelled in it. Therefore, indeed the creepers, as though someone was pursuing them, straightaway retired. But he rebaricaded the entrance *with stones*<sup>11</sup> and laid-aside *loaves-of-bread* for six months. (Now the Thebans do this, and frequently *the loaves* remain unspoiled<sup>12</sup> even for a whole year.) After he *did these things*, he, having water within, *while* sinking-down *into the place* as though *being* in an innermost-sanctuary, was remaining within alone, neither going-forth from there, nor looking-at any of those who *were* coming to him. Therefore, indeed he engaged a long time in exercising *himself*, accepting the *loaves-of-bread* only twice a year from the housetop from above.

But those of his acquaintances who *were* coming to him (since he was not consenting them to enter), *while* spending<sup>13</sup> days and nights outside, were hearing as if *there were* crowds within causing turmoil, dinning, discharging pitiable voices, and shouting, “Drop-off from what are ours! What *do you* even *have to do with* the desert? You *cannot* bear our plots against you!”

Therefore indeed, at the beginning, some of those outside were supposing that some humans were fighting with him, and that they had entered to him by ladders. But after they stooped-down, as through a certain hole, they were looking-at no one. But at that time, after they accounted them to be demons and after they were filled with fear, they were calling Antonius.

But he was rather listening *to the humans*, not thinking-seriously-about the *demons*. And after he came near the door, he was urging the humans to be retiring and not to be fearing. “For this,” he was saying, “is how the demons are making their appearances against those who are terrified. Therefore, *all of you\**, seal yourselves, and be going-away, being confident. And let them make-sport<sup>14</sup> of themselves.”

Therefore, indeed they were going-off, having enwalled *themselves* with the sign of the cross. But Antonius was remaining, and was not being harmed in any way by *the demons*. Instead, he was not being wearied, *while* contending. For the addition of the *things* which were coming to pass, the spectacles from above,<sup>15</sup> and the weakness of the enemies, were affording him much repose from his pains, and were making him ready with<sup>16</sup> more eagerness.

For even his acquaintances were continuously throwing *themselves* beside *him*, supposing to be finding him dead. And they were hearing him psalming:

“Let God rise,  
and let his enemies be thoroughly-scattered;  
and let the *ones who are* hating him flee from his face.<sup>17</sup>  
As smoke vanishes, let them vanish.  
As wax is being melted from *the* face of a fire,  
I wish that the sinners would perish from *the* face of God.”  
(Psalm 68:1-2)

And again:

“All the nations encircled me,  
and, in the name of *the* Lord, I repelled them from myself.”  
(Psalm 118:10)

Moreover, he *would remain there* until the end of nearly twenty years,<sup>18</sup> exercising himself in this manner, neither going-forth, nor *was* anyone looking-at him contiguously.

### CHAPTER 3: HERETIC: HIERACAS

Now at about this same time, there arose a certain Hieracas<sup>19</sup> by name. He existed in Leontos at Egypt and possessed no small *experience* in preparatory-discipline. Now he claimed to be a Christian, *but* instead he did not persist in the citizenship of the Anointed-One. For he fell-away and, after he slipped, he ran-around. For indeed, he spoke *the* old and new covenants clearly from-memory, and detailed them, *but*, because of his empty-talking, he decreed whatever he supposed. For he wishes that the flesh does not rise altogether, *but* instead only the soul in the resurrection which he asserts is spiritual, and that *the* Garden is not a perceptible *place*. But he also does not accept the boys, the *ones* who pass-away<sup>20</sup> before *they reach the age of* knowledge; instead, he throws them away from the hope of *salvation*, asserting that they are not inheriting *the* kingdom of *the* heavens. But he also composed expositions of the holy writings in which he formed for himself certain myths and pompous allegories.

<sup>1</sup> literally “rather playing like a child”

<sup>2</sup> Gk / Lat “was Jesus”

<sup>3</sup> literally “suddenly have become disappearing things”

<sup>4</sup> literally “the taking-in-place-of”

<sup>5</sup> approximately 286AD

<sup>6</sup> more literally “wayfarer”

<sup>7</sup> literally “art”

<sup>8</sup> literally “in”

<sup>9</sup> literally “loss”

<sup>10</sup> literally “to escape-notice”

<sup>11</sup> Gk / Lat add

<sup>12</sup> literally “unharmd”

<sup>13</sup> literally “making”

<sup>14</sup> literally “play like a child”

<sup>15</sup> literally “the upwards spectacles”

<sup>16</sup> literally “into”

<sup>17</sup> literally “from a face of his”

<sup>18</sup> approximately 286-306AD

<sup>19</sup> Athanasius, Epiphanius / John of Damascus “Hierax” / Augustine “Hieraca”

<sup>20</sup> literally “come-to-an-end”

More-terribly, he does not favorably-receive marriage at all, asserting that engaging in the marriage has been consented in the Old Covenant, but that, from the coming of the Anointed-One, the marriage is no longer favorably-received, nor it is able to be inheriting the kingdom of *the heavens*. For he asserts, that *the Anointed-One* came to straighten only this: to preach the self-restraint of *sexual-activity* in the world and to collect for himself purity and self-restraint. But without this *self-restraint*, no-one is able to live, because he says that marriage is evil inasmuch as virginity is good. Therefore, no-one congregates with them, unless\* they are a virgin or a monk or are self-restrained *from all sexual-activity* or a widow.

But this man was amazing in his exercising and able to persuade souls *to him*. At once, many of the exercisers of the Egyptians were led-away together with him. But he would come-to-his-end at the age of more than 90 years. But since Hieracas himself was abstaining-from all *sorts of solid-foods* and even was exercising in *abstaining* from wine, many of his learners do not partake of animals<sup>1</sup> *at all*. However, they make sport of themselves, by having subintroductae women for themselves (that is, self-restrained women living together with self-restrained men in a spiritual partnership, which in many cases resulted in or was a cloak for sexual-immorality).

#### CHAPTER 4: FURTHER CONFLICTS AMONG THE ROMANS

Now toward the beginning of the reign of Emperor Diocletianus, the Romans continued to be beset by various calamities and successes. Indeed, first of all, there was a man named Carausius,<sup>2</sup> who had gained extraordinary fame for himself during Maximianus Herculeus' war against the Baguadae rebels in Gallia. Because of this, he was made prefect at Bononia in order to prepare a fleet and repulse the Franks and Saxons and Germans who were infesting the seas<sup>3</sup> along the tract of Belgica and Aremorica.<sup>4</sup> Now Carausius, frequently captured multitudes of barbarians, but he never gave-back the entire spoil which he recovered from the pirates to *those of the province* who were its *true owners* or dispatched it to *the emperors*,<sup>5</sup> but claimed it for himself alone. But in this way, he aroused *the suspicions* that the barbarians were deliberately admitted by him to be there, in order that he might seize them and their spoil as they passed, and on that occasion be enriching himself. So Maximianus Herculeus directed him *to be sentenced* to destruction. Therefore, when Carausius learned of this, he assumed the purple and seized the imperial-command, and abducted the fleet, and occupied Britannia.

Now when Maximianus Herculeus realized that he was not able to suppress Carausius, he, after crossing the Rhenos,<sup>6</sup> made an expedition against Germania instead, in which he subdued them by devastation, engagements, slaughters, iron, and fire. But afterward, Emperors Diocletianus and Maximianus Herculeus strategized a joint-expedition against the Alamanni. Indeed, Diocletianus invaded Germania through Raetia and won a victory, but Maximianus Herculeus advanced to fight against the Franks.

Now Maximianus Herculeus appointed his praetorian prefect, Constantius the Pale, to attack Carausius' Frankish allies. And in the end, the Franks were subdued, and Gennoboude, the deposed king of the Franks, recovered his kingdom after receiving it again from Maximianus Herculeus.

Now after this, Maximianus Herculeus began to prepare a fleet for an invasion of Britannia itself in order to conquer Carausius. Throughout almost the whole year, when the emperor needed serene-weather in order to construct ships, to cut beams, to encourage the souls of the artificers, almost no day was marred by rain. Winter itself imitated the temperance of spring. For the river, deprived for long of the nourishment of showers, was impatient with the ships, but could carry down only the material for the naval constructions. However behold, suddenly when it was necessary to launch the battleships, God sent rains and the ocean overflowed all the riverbanks. And the boats made their way over the waters.

However, when the Romans reached Britannia, both due to the inclemency of the sea, and because hostilities were found in vain against a man most-experienced in military, they were finally forced to convene a peace with Carausius. And he was allowed to retain the imperial-command over the island, after he had been esteemed to be more-competent to direct and defend its inhabitants against warlike races.

Now also about this time, during Emperor Diocletianus' expeditions against the Sarmatians, nearly all of that race was extinguished; while Maximianus Herculeus expunged, recovered, and transferred the fiercest peoples of Mauretania, who confided in their inaccessible mountaintops and natural fortifications.

Now around the same time, the Persians (who had recently been submitting themselves voluntarily to Emperor Diocletianus and making supplication to him through gifts), led by their king, Narseh, by pressing a war, were gravely shaking

the east. But infesting Africa were the Quinquigentiani<sup>7</sup> (which means, 'People of the Five Tribes' in Latin). But Julianus in Italia was made emperor. However, when a dagger pierced his ribs, he threw himself in a fire and perished.

#### CHAPTER 5: CONSTANTIUS AND GALERIUS APPOINTED CAESARS [293-03-01] / DIVISION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE INTO FOUR PARTS

Due to all these causes, on the Kalends of March, during the consulate of Emperor Diocletianus for the fifth time and Emperor Maximianus Herculeus for the fourth time,<sup>8</sup> these two emperors adopted two men into the kingdom as Caesars: Constantius the Pale, and Maximianus Herculeus surnamed the Herdsman.

Now Constantius the Pale was a grandson of a brother of former emperor Claudius through his daughter. At first, he would be a protector, then a tribune, later a governor<sup>9</sup> of Dalmatia. He had also been praetorian prefect under Maximianus Herculeus, fighting in various expeditions alongside him.

Now Constantius the Pale's first wife was Helena, a most-common woman, by whom he had a son named Constantinus, who was brought-up in the town of Naissos and had minute instruction in letters. But recently, when emperors Diocletianus and Maximianus Herculeus had wished to connect him to themselves by a marriage-alliance, Constantius the Pale was obliged to cast-away Helena, and subsequently accepted Theodora, the stepdaughter of Maximianus Herculeus, for a wife.<sup>10</sup> By her, he afterward would have six children, siblings of Constantinus: Dalmatius, Julius Constantius, Hannibalianus, Julia Constantia, Anastasia, Eutropia.

Now since Constantius the Pale and Maximianus Herculeus, in addition to their own harmony, had the most-beautiful communion for their boys-and-girls in mind, therefore, at this time, they privately prearranged the marriage of Constantius' son, Constantinus, and Maximianus Herculeus' daughter Fausta, who at that time was merely a very little girl, and whom he had begotten from his Syrian wife, Eutropia.

\* \* \* \* \*

Now Maximianus Herculeus, after also being obliged to relinquish his previous wife, married Valeria, daughter of Diocletianus. However, he himself was worse, not only than Diocletianus and Maximianus Herculeus, but also worse than all the evil emperors until him. Although he was possessed of an uncultivated country justice (and, therefore, was thought laudable enough by the Romans), a natural barbarity was in this beast, a savagery alien even to Roman blood. For his mother, a woman from Trans-Danubius, had taken-refuge into new Dacia by crossing the river when the Carpians had been infesting. Therefore, he had been born in Dacia not far from Serdica.

Indeed, at first, Maximianus Herculeus, being a choice and felicitous warrior, and rising from country parents, and a shepherd of herds, had a handsome body. But in time, his body grew in congruence with his manners: towering in stature, monstrous<sup>11</sup> of flesh, and diffused and inflated to a horrible magnitude. And by his words and acts and look, he was a terror and a formidable man to everyone.

\* \* \* \* \*

And since the mass of the wars was more-acutely urging, Emperor Diocletianus after he made these three men participants in his kingdom, divided the imperial-command of the orb into four parts and multiplied troops.

Now anything in upper Gallia which is across the Alpes, were committed to Constantius, because of his manly-virtue. Now these sites are difficult-to-enter and difficult-to-access. He was also made king of Western Iberia and<sup>12</sup> the islands within the ocean, primarily Britannia.

But Roma, and the rest of Italia, and Libyë,<sup>13</sup> and Sardō, and Sicilia, and Africa were committed to Maximianus Herculeus.

But the coast of Illyria as far as the strait of Pontos, which included both Hellas and lower Asia, and Thrakë, were committed to Maximianus Herculeus.

But Diocletianus, being the eldest of the others, retained the rest, including both Bithynia, and Arab, and Libyë, and Egypt (as much as is watered along the Nile).

\* \* \* \* \*

Therefore, after his acceptance of the imperial-command, Constantius the Pale was then sent off to fight against Carausius, while his son, Constantinus, was sent by him to Diocletianus in Nikomēdeia<sup>14</sup> to be disciplined. There Constantinus was held hostage by Diocletianus and Maximianus Herculeus on the pretense of his religion; and he would strongly perform-military-service under them in Asia.

<sup>1</sup> more literally "of things with souls in them"

<sup>2</sup> Eutropius, Aurelius(Liber), Orosius, Chronicon(Jerome), ancient coins & inscriptions / Aurelius(Epitome) "Carausius"

<sup>3</sup> Aurelius(Liber), Eutropius / Orosius "oceans"

<sup>4</sup> Latin "Armorica"

<sup>5</sup> Jerome(Chronicon) unreliably this entire event to the 4<sup>th</sup> year of Diocletianus (288AD), but it seems to have taken place late 286AD or early 287AD.

<sup>6</sup> usually translated "Rhine"

<sup>7</sup> Chronicon(Jerome) unreliably dates to the 4<sup>th</sup> year of Diocletianus (288AD)

<sup>8</sup> 293-03-01AD

<sup>9</sup> Latin "praeses"

<sup>10</sup> Jerome(Chronicon) unreliably dates the marriages & promotions to 5<sup>th</sup> year of Diocletianus (289AD)

<sup>11</sup> literally "beyond its kind or species"

<sup>12</sup> Praxagoras and Julianus are the only two sources for this information, which seems to be highly doubtful

<sup>13</sup> Julian adds - it is given to Diocletianus in other sources

<sup>14</sup> Praxagoras / Aurelius(Epitome) "in the city of Roma"

Now during this period, Constantinus, equaling *the* self-restraint of *his* father, ended his boyhood by surrendering himself to *the* laws of marriage with a woman named Minervina. Therefore, he was forming the soul of a married *man* at the very ingress of adolescence, so that he admitted nothing of promiscuous desires, nothing of the voluptuousnesses conceded his age, so that many of the Romans thought that *a* new miracle had appeared: a juvenile devoted to *his* wife. And by Minervina, Constantinus received *a* son, Crispus by name.

\* \* \* \* \*

Now Constantius *the* Pale straightaway conquered Gallia<sup>1</sup> by *merely* coming there, and he caught the band of pirates of Carausius off-guard. First, he shut-off<sup>2</sup> *the* fervent ocean from *the* innumerable enemy fleet. *The* enemy troop which had encamped on *the* shore of *the* town of Bononia (that is, Gesoriacum), he blockaded equally on earth and sea. For when the tide ebbed, he made *the* entire gulf of *the* port impassable to ships, after he drove beams into its access *and* after he heaped-up boulders there. Therefore, *its* inhabitants were deprived of access to *the* ocean, and were trapped within their own walls.

When Constantius captured *the* enemy troop, he spared it through his clemency. While he prepared for *the* restoration of Britannia by building fleets to cross *the* ocean, he purged the land of Batavia (as well as other lands on *that* side of *the* Rhenos) of many thousands of *their* enemies, *a* land which was occupied by diverse races of Franks under Carausius. Not content with *merely* having conquered them, he abducted and transferred *the* nations themselves into Roman territories, so that they were compelled to put aside both their arms and their ferocity.

However, in the meantime, Emperor Carausius, at *the* end of *a* seven<sup>3</sup> year reign over Britannia, was circumvented by deceit. For *a* comrade of his, named Allectus, who had been given permission by him to have charge of the finance, dreading that he would be put to death because of his shameful-acts, wrested-away *the* imperial-command by striking-down Carausius. And Allectus himself would afterward hold Britannia himself for three years.

## CHAPTER 6: ACTS OF MAXIMILIANUS [295-03-12] / GAIUS SUCCEEDED BY MARCELLINUS AS OVERSEER OF ROMA

When Tusco and Anullinus were consuls, on *the* 4<sup>th</sup> day before the Ides of March<sup>4</sup> at Thebesté,<sup>5</sup> *a* certain Fabius Victor was conducted into the forum together with Maximilianus; and Pompeianus was admitted to be *their* advocate.

He said, "Fabius Victor, recruit-tax-collector,<sup>6</sup> is standing *here* with Valerianus Quintianus, president<sup>7</sup> of Caesarea, *and* with *a* good recruit, Maximilianus, son of Victor. Since he is acceptable, I request that he be measured."

2 Dion *the* proconsul said, "What are you called?"

Maximilianus responded, "Why, however, are you wishing to know my name? I am not allowed to perform-military-service, because I am *a* Christian."

3 Dion *the* proconsul said, "Fit him."

When he was being fitted, Maximilianus responded, "It is not possible for me to perform-military-service. I am not able to do evil. I am *a* Christian."

4 Dion *the* proconsul said, "May he be measured."

When he had been measured, *an* official among *them* recited, "He is five foot, ten inches."

5 Dion said to *the* official, "May he be signed."

When Maximilianus was resisting, he responded, "I will not do *it*. It is not possible for me to perform-military-service."

6 Dion said, "Perform-military-service, or you may perish."

Maximilianus responded, "I will not perform-military-service. Cut off my head, I am not performing-military-service for *this* age, *but* instead I am only performing-military-service for my god."

7 Dion *the* proconsul said, "Who persuaded you to this?"

Maximilianus responded, "My soul, and he who has called me."

8 Dion said to Victor, his father, "Counsel your son."

Victor responded, "He himself knows, and he has his own counsel on what is expedient for himself."

9 Dion said to Maximilianus, "Perform-military-service and accept *the* sign."

He responded, "I will not accept *the* sign. I already have *the* sign of *the* Anointed-One, my god."

10 Dion said, "I will immediately dispatch you to your Anointed-One."

He responded, "I am only wishing that you would do *so*. This would be my praise."

11 Dion said to *the* official, "May he be given *the* seal."

While he was acting reluctant, he responded, "I will not accept *the* seal of *this* age. And if you sign me, I will break it, because it is worth nothing. I am *a*

Christian. I am not allowed to carry *a* piece of lead around my neck after I received *the* saving sign of my Lord Jesus *the* Anointed-One, *the* son of *the* living God. You are ignorant of him. He was made to suffer for our salvation. God traded him for our sins. He is *the* one whom all us Christians serve. We are following him as *the* prince of life, *the* author of salvation."

12 Dion said, "Perform-military-service and accept *the* sign, or you may miserably perish."

Maximilianus responded, "I will not perish. My name is already before my Lord. It is not possible for me to perform-military-service."

13 Dion said, "Have regard for<sup>8</sup> your juvenility and perform-military-service. For this is decent for a juvenile."

Maximilianus responded, "My military-service is for my Lord. It is not possible for me to perform-military-service for *this* age. I already said: I am *a* Christian."

14 Dion *the* proconsul said, "In *the* sacred company of our lords, Diocletianus and Maximianus, Constantius and Maximianus,<sup>9</sup> there are soldiers who are Christians, and they are performing-military-service."

Maximilianus responded, "They know what is expedient for themselves. Nevertheless, I am *a* Christian, and it is not possible for me to do evil."

15 Dion said, "What evil are they doing who are performing-military-service?"

Maximilianus responded, "For you know what they are doing."

16 Dion *the* proconsul said, "Perform-military-service, lest, having shown-contempt for *the* military-service, you will be badly ruined."

Maximilianus responded, "I am not perishing. And if I will depart from *this* age, my soul is living with *the* Anointed-One, my lord."

17 Dion said, "Strike-out his name."

When his name was struck-out, Dion said, "Because you have, with *a* disloyal soul, refused military-service, you will receive *a* fitting<sup>10</sup> sentence as *an* example to *the* others." And he recited *the* decree from *a* tablet, "Maximilianus, because he, with *a* disloyal soul, has refused *the* sacrament of military-service, it is decided that he be executed<sup>11</sup> by *the* sword."

18 Maximilianus responded, "Thanks to God."

He lived in *this* age, 21 years and 3 months and 18 days. And when he had been conducted to *the* spot, he related, "My dearest brothers, hasten with avid desire, with as much virtue as you\* are able, that it may befall you\* to see *the* Lord, and that he may yet reward you\* with *a* similar crown."

19 And with *a* joyful countenance, he turned to his father, saying, "Give to this executioner my new clothing, which you prepared for me for military-service. Then I will receive you with *the* hundredfold number, and we will be made to glorify *the* Lord simultaneously." And soon afterward, he suffered.

20 And *a* matron named Pompeiana obtained his body from *the* judge, and, after imposing it in her own dormitory, she later conducted it to Carthage. And there she hid it beneath *a* small-mountain near *the* body of Cyprianus *the* testifier, and *the* Palatium. And 13 days later, *the* same matron departed from *this* life, and was deposited there. 21 However, Victor, his father, returned<sup>12</sup> to his house in great gladness, thanking God that he dispatched-in-advance such *a* gift to *the* Lord, *since* he himself would follow him *a* little later.

\* \* \* \* \*

22 Now Gaius was presiding-over the assembly at Roma for 12 years, 4 months and 7 days,<sup>13</sup> until his death, during *the* consulate of Diocletianus for *the* 6<sup>th</sup> time and Constantius for *the* 2<sup>nd</sup> time, on *the* 10<sup>th</sup> day before the Kalends of May;<sup>14</sup> and, on the same day, he was deposited in the cemetery of Kallistos which is on the Appian Way in Roma.

23 Now when Diocletianus for *the* 6<sup>th</sup> time and Constantius for *the* 2<sup>nd</sup> time were consuls, on *the* day before *the* Kalends of July,<sup>15</sup> Marcellinus succeeded to the oversight of Roma.

## CHAPTER 7: FURTHER WARS FOUGHT BY THE ROMANS

Now throughout this period, Diocletianus and Maximianus Herculi carried on many ways both simultaneously and singularly in succession, subjugating *the* entire nation of *the* Carpians and *the* Basternae, and having victories over *the* Sarmatians; and the Marcomanni were cut-down. From *these* nations, Diocletianus placed an unnatural amount of captives within Roman borders,<sup>16</sup> especially in Pannonia.

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> PanLat(M) / PanLat(Bert) "straightaway made Gallia his"

<sup>2</sup> literally "excluded"

<sup>3</sup> Eutropius, Orosius / Aurelius(Liber) "six"

<sup>4</sup> 295-03-12 AD

<sup>5</sup> original Greek equivalent / Latin "Theveste"

<sup>6</sup> temonarius

<sup>7</sup> praepositus

<sup>8</sup> literally "Attend"

<sup>9</sup> emendation / text "Maximus"

<sup>10</sup> literally "congruing"

<sup>11</sup> animadverti

<sup>12</sup> literally "regressed"

<sup>13</sup> Chronography354 / Eusebius "about 15 years" / Chronicon(Jerome,Armenian) "15 years"

<sup>14</sup> 296-04-22 AD

<sup>15</sup> 296-06-30 AD

<sup>16</sup> Chronicon(Jerome) unreliably dates to the 10<sup>th</sup> year of Emperor Diocletianus (294AD)

Now after Caesar Constantius *the Pale* had finished building and preparing his fleets, he summoned Maximianus Herculeus to secure the bank of the Rhenos. And after Maximianus Herculeus had arrived, Constantius set sail from Bononia for Britannia, after dividing his fleet into two parts. *The second part*, under the command of Asclepiodotus, *the prefect of the praetors*, was sent ahead and invaded Britannia and deleted Allectus (after he *had* oppressed it for three years), while Constantius' part was delayed by bad weather.

But after Constantius arrived on Britannia, *the Britons*, exultant with gladness, came-forward with their spouses and children, having finally been liberated after so many years of miserable captivity—after the violation of their spouses, after the unseemly servitude of their children. And they pledged themselves and their children to Constantius.

Now he himself demonstrated compassion in sparing *the ones who were* conquered, justice in making-restitution to those who had been despoiled. Even those who had been made to suffer servitude rejoiced in *the recovering of their* liberty, while those who were conscious of *their* guilt were being recalled to a repentance by being granted impunity; and, by his pardon, they were mitigated. Therefore, this was how Britannia was recovered ten years after *it had been lost*, without *the* loss of almost any Roman soldiers, and how *the* force of *the* Franks was cut-down, and how *the* seas were purged.<sup>1</sup>

Now shortly afterward, Constantius Caesar fought in Gallia near Lingonas (which today is called Langres). In the first engagement, the Alamani, suddenly assailing them, crushed them; and Constantius' troop was driven-together into *the* civil-community with such headlong and necessity, so that after the gates were shut, Constantius himself, being wounded, barely managed to crawl away, being lifted-up into *the* wall by ropes. However, on that same day, when his army arrived after *an* interval of barely five hours, he cut-down almost 60,000 of *the* Alamanni within *a* few hours in *a* second engagement and won a sufficient victory.<sup>2</sup> Afterward, he defeated *his* enemies at Vindonissa (which today is called Windisch).

And at about the same time, Maximianus Herculeus *the* August-One crushed *the* war in Africa, after he tamed *the* Quinquigentiani and they were driven into making peace.

\* \* \* \* \*

Now Narseh, king of *the* Persians, incited by *the* domestic example of his grandfather Shapur, was eager to occupy *the* East with great forces, and had been guilty of *the* first offense by occupying Armenia, *a* country under Roman jurisdiction. Then Dioclérianus, who was dejected in soul and in dread at every tumult, and simultaneously fearing *the* example *which had been made of* Valerianus (former emperor of the Romans), did not dare to stretch into his way. But he dispatched Maximianus Galerius through Armenia, while he himself subsisted in *the* East and observed *the* outcome of *the* events. Maximianus Galerius had fought two engagements against Narseh. In *a* third battle, after meeting<sup>3</sup> him between Gallinicum and Haran, he was conquered by Narseh. Accordingly, after Maximianus Galerius was deprived of his forces, he took-refuge with Dioclérianus, who received him with such extreme-arrogance and insolence on *the* way, that Galerius, clad-in-purple, was forced to run before Dioclérianus' vehicle for several paces of miles. Galerius would use this insult as though it was a virtue.<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, soon, after forces from Illyria and Moesia and Dacia were contracted, Maximianus Galerius again fought with Narseh, king of *the* Persians, in Greater Armenia with unnatural successes. For suddenly arriving upon *the* encampments and ranks of *the* Persians, he, with 25,000 soldiers, cut them down in *a* massacre. After King Narseh was forced to flee, Maximianus Galerius captured his wives, and sisters, and children and *an* infinite number of *the* nobility of *the* Persians, and *a* most-copious amount of Persian treasure; and he drove Narseh into *the* most-remote solitudes of *his* kingdom.

For this reason, Maximianus Galerius returned in triumph to his father-in-law Dioclérianus (who was tarrying with *his* garrisons in Mesopotamia) with spoil and *an* unnatural amount of prize-money, adding haughtiness to himself. And although he was welcomed by Dioclérianus with great honor, Galerius' behavior was causing Dioclérianus to have *a* very great fear of him.<sup>5</sup>

For after this victory, Galerius was elevated with so much disdain, that he was now detracting *the* name of Caesar. And when he had heard that *name* in letters addressed to him, he was exclaiming with *a* stern expression and *a* terrible voice, "How long will it be 'Caesar'?" Next, he began to behave most-insolently, that he was wishing even to be seen and spoken of as if he himself was procreated out of

Mars, and, in the process, was defaming his *own* mother, Romula, with disgrace, asserting that she had conceived him after she had been embraced<sup>6</sup> by *a* dragon.

\* \* \* \* \*

Now about *the* time that Maximianus Galerius had been beginning his second expedition against *the* Persians, Dioclérianus, after having loaned his own province to Maximianus Herculeus, set-out for Alexandria in the 13<sup>th</sup> year of his reign.<sup>7</sup> For Achilles had seized Egypt; and through *this* leader, Alexandria, with all Egypt, had revolted from *the* Roman power, after they had made him emperor. Therefore, after Dioclérianus besieged him in Alexandria for eight months, he finally captured the city and killed Achilles. But acting immoderate in *his* victory, he harshly delivered Alexandria to pillage, and marred and vexed total Egypt with grave proscriptions and massacres and exiles. Nevertheless, he ordained many providings and disposings, which continued for a long time.<sup>8</sup>

## CHAPTER 8: IMPIETIES OF EMPERORS DIOCLÉRIANUS AND MAXIMIANUS HERCULIUS

Now emperor Dioclérianus, who was *an* inventor of crimes and *a* machinator of evils, had been, and was continuing, to ruin everything. He simultaneously even subverted the orb of *the* earth by avarice and timidity. For after he had divided *the* orb into four parts, *the* leader of each quadrant had been contending to have *a* greater number of soldiers than *the* prior princes had had when they were *the* sole ruler of *the* public affair.

From then on, *the* unnatural evil of tributes was introduced in *a* part of Italia. For although all Italia would have been paying *the* same moderate tax-payment to support *the* troops and *the* emperor, *a* new law for pensions was introduced in order to support each of the four. And over the next hundred years, this taxation would continue to precede into *a* pernicious-burden.

But in the days of Dioclérianus, *the* number of receivers of wages had begun to be so much greater *the* givers of taxes, so that *the* forces of *the* colonists were consumed by *the* enormity of *the* impositions, and so that fields were deserted and cultivations were being turned into woodland. And in order that everything might be filled with terror, *the* provinces too were cut-up into pieces. Many presidents and many offices were laid-down in *the* individual regions and almost in each of *the* civil-communities. Likewise, there were many accountants and masters and deputies of prefects. All their civil acts were very rare, but *there* were so many condemnations and frequent proscriptions, exactions on innumerable affairs which were not *only* repeated but perpetual. And *the* injuries in *these* exactions were not *able* to be borne.

Whatever pertained to maintaining soldiers was not able to be tolerated too. For Dioclérianus, in *his* insatiable avarice, was wishing for *the* treasury to never be diminished, but he was always collecting extraordinary means and largesses in order that he might preserve what was laid-up untouched and inviolable. Simultaneously, *the* yearly-grain-supply and *the* stipendiary incomes were being anxiously safeguarded by him. When, because of his various iniquities, he was making things have *an* immense high-price, he attempted to fix *the* prices of saleable things by *a* law. Then, due to *the* scarcity and *the* cheap grade of *these* merchandise, much blood was shed; and, because of dread, nothing saleable was appearing; and *the* high-price blazed much worse, until, after *the* destruction of many, *the* law was being dissolved by mere necessity.

To this, there was added *a* certain infinite desire for building in *the* summits of Roma and *the* rest of *the* cities, especially in Carthage, and Mediolanon, and Nikomédeia. And *there* was no minor exaction from *the* provinces for furnishing all *the* workers and artisans and freight-wagons, and whatever *else* was necessary for fabricating works. Here *there* were basilicas, here *a* circus, here *a* mint, here *a* workshop for arms, here *a* house for *a* wife, here *one* for *a* daughter. Unexpectedly, *a* great part of *the* civil-community of Nikomédeia was falling-down. They were all migrating from *the* city with their spouses and children as though *it* were *a* city captured by enemies.

And when *these* works were completed at the price of *the* decay of *the* provinces, he was relating, "They were not made right. Let them be done in another mode."

Again, it was necessary for *them* to be demolished and altered; and perhaps it would fall down again. This was how he was always being-demented, being diligent to equal Nikomédeia with Roma.

Therefore many perished for the sake of having possessions or *a* token of favor. For this was usual and entirely allowed because of *the* customariness of evils. But this was *a* peculiar quality in Dioclérianus, because whenever he had seen *a* more cultivated field or *a* more ornate building, then *a* charge of calumny and capital punishment was prepared for *the* lord, as though *the* emperor might not be able to rapine without shedding blood.

<sup>1</sup> Chronicon(Jerome) unreliably dates to the 15<sup>th</sup> year of Emperor Dioclérianus (299AD); it seems to have actually taken place in 296AD

<sup>2</sup> Chronicon(Jerome) unreliably dates to the 15<sup>th</sup> year of Emperor Dioclérianus (299AD)

<sup>3</sup> literally "congressing"

<sup>4</sup> Chronicon(Jerome) unreliably dates to the 16<sup>th</sup> year of Emperor Dioclérianus (300AD); it seems to have actually taken place in 296AD

<sup>5</sup> Chronicon(Jerome) unreliably dates the second battle with the Persians to the 17<sup>th</sup> year of Dioclérianus (301AD); it seems to have taken place in 298AD

<sup>6</sup> literally "compressed"

<sup>7</sup> about 297AD

<sup>8</sup> Chronicon(Jerome) unreliably dates the seizing of Egypt to the 5<sup>th</sup> year of Dioclérianus (289AD) and correctly dates the rebellion to his 13<sup>th</sup> year (297AD)

What of his brother, Maximianus, who was called<sup>1</sup> Herculus? He was not dissimilar from that of *Diocletianus*. For they were not able to cohere in such a faithful friendship unless there was one mind in both of them: the cogitation, a like will, equal in sentiment. They were differing solely in this respect, that there was a greater avarice but more timidity in *Diocletianus*,<sup>2</sup> but in truth *Maximianus* had lesser avarice but more soul, not for working toward good, but toward evil.

For while *Maximianus Herculus* was holding Italia (itself the seat of the imperial-command), and while the wealthiest provinces, Africa and Hispania, were subject to him, he was not so diligent in guarding the resources, the supply of which was being available. And when it was needful for this man (who was openly feral by nature and with an uncivilized ingenuity and stolid in counsels), to have more, the wealthiest senators were not lacking, who were being accused<sup>3</sup> by *suborned evidences* to have affected the imperial-command, so that the eyes of the senators might assiduously be being torn-out. The most-blood-stained imperial-treasury<sup>4</sup> was flowing with evil pieces of wealth.

Now the libidinousness in this pestilent human was aimed not only toward the corrupting of males (which is odious and detestable), but in truth even toward the violating of the daughters of the principal<sup>5</sup> men. In fact, Herculus was so driven by libidinousness that he did not even restrain the disgrace of his soul from the bodies of his hostages. For whenever he had made a journey, virgins were torn-away from out of the embrace of their parents, immediately and at his whim. He was judging himself happy because of these things, and was computing, that the felicity of his imperial-command would remain constant, as long as his libidinousness and evil desire was not being denied.

However, *Diocletianus* was having too little honest faith in his friends (due to his fear of discord), while he was computing that the enunciation of the partnership was able to be quieted by being agitated. For this reason, too, the forces of the city were truncated when the number of praetorian cohorts and people in arms were diminished by *Diocletianus*. Nevertheless, he reigned a long time with uppermost felicity, as long as he was not defiling his hands with the blood of the righteous-ones. Indeed, despite all these things, *Diocletianus* was not even able to abstain his hands from God.

## CHAPTER 9: CHRISTIANS THROUGHOUT THE ROMAN EMPIRE / PURSUIT BEGINS WITH THE SOLDIERS

Now by this time, there was much outspokenness with which the account of the piety toward the God of the universe<sup>6</sup> was being sent-out-as-a-message to this lifetime through the Anointed-One, being deemed-worthy by all humans, both Hellenes and barbarians. But the ones who were mighty gave their offers-of-their-right-hand to the Christians, as they were even putting the leadership of the nations into their hands. At the same time, due to their vast friendship which they were saving toward the Christian decree, they were relieving<sup>7</sup> the Christians from their agony about being compelled to sacrifice to demons. There were those in the royal houses, and the chiefs over all, who were consenting to have their domestics (married-women and boys and house-slaves) being-outspoken before their face on both the divine account and the divine lifestyle, while almost even permitting them to be boasting on-the-basis-of the outspokenness of the faith.

They were deeming them eminent and more welcome than their own fellow-attendants, such as that Dorotheos, both most-good-minded and most-faithful of all to them, and, on account of this, especially most-honored along with the men in principalities and leaderships. Also with him was the renowned Gorgonios, and as many as had similarly been deemed-worthy of the same honor through the account of God.

And also, the chiefs according to each assembly were deemed-worthy of a welcoming and a treatment and an offer-of-the-right-hand which they obtained<sup>8</sup> from every procurator and leader. But there were the assemblies of thousands-of-men, and the multitudes of the gatherings according to every city, as well as the famous concourses in the prayer-houses—on whose account, not being content any longer with the ancient<sup>9</sup> building-structures, they erected broad buildings for assemblies throughout all the cities from the foundations up. But while these things were advancing with the times, both increasing and growing in magnitude daily, envy was not restraining them, nor was any wicked demon bewitching them nor preventing them by plots of humans, as long as the divine and heavenly hand was both sheltering and watching-over its own people.

But out of the more abundant freedom many of the Christians were changing to porousness and sluggishness, while envying and verbally-abusing one another, and while they were all but carrying-on-a-war-against themselves with weapons. And with spears made of words,<sup>10</sup> chiefs were also dashing-against chiefs, and peoples were forming-counter-seditious against peoples, while both the

unutterable hypocrisy and the dissimulation were advancing to the largest possible degree of evil. Indeed, while the gatherings were still welding-together,<sup>11</sup> the divine judgment sparingly was quietly and moderately whisking its oversight, beginning with the brothers in the expeditions.

Now from the times of the emissaries even into those days, throughout the world, the Christian assemblies overall had, in harmony with the teachings of Jesus the Anointed-One, adopted the same overall consensus on the regulations concerning those who were being called 'brothers' in the military, such as the following:

A soldier in authority must be told not to kill men. If-at-any-time he might be ordered to do so, he will not do it. He must be told not to take an oath. If-at-any-time he refuses to do these things, he will be rejected from the assembly. If-at-any-time someone is a military governor, or a ruler of a city who wears the purple, he will cease or he will be rejected from the assembly. The oral-student or faithful-one who wishes to become a soldier is to be rejected from the assembly, because he has shown contempt for God. Likewise, a charioteer, either members or attendees of the games, or a gladiator or anyone associated with the gladiatorial shows, or a priest of or an attendant of idols, were to be rejected if they did not cease. However, not all were complying with these directives, nor following the teachings of Jesus in these matters.

Therefore, indeed, the state of the leadership of the Romans before the war against the Christians, while the times of the chiefs were both friendly and peaceful to the Christians, was deemed-worthy of fertility<sup>12</sup> and of a good-year of its good things. At that time, even the men (especially of the ones who were universally ruling<sup>13</sup> the principality, who fulfilled-out ten-years and twenty-years) were finishing-through in festivals and national-festivals,<sup>14</sup> both the most-beaming flourishings and gladnesses with every stable<sup>15</sup> peace. But while their authority was growing unfettered<sup>16</sup> in-this-manner and was going-forward<sup>17</sup> for<sup>18</sup> a great many-days, they, after they massively exchanged<sup>19</sup> the peace toward the Christians, arose<sup>20</sup> a truceless war.

For, once, when Emperor *Diocletianus* had been in parts of the East, he, being a scrutinizer of future things due to fear, was immolating cattle, and, in their livers, was seeking what would come in the future. Indeed, at that time, some of his ministers\*, who were knowing the Lord, were standing-by him while he was immolating, and they imposed the immortal sign of the cross on their foreheads. After this was done, the demons were forced-to-flee, and the sacred rites were thrown-into-turbulence.

Now the power of this sign of the cross is so great, that the entire cohort of demons is expelled and forced-to-flee straightaway from the bodies of humans which they have besieged,<sup>20</sup> when they have been adjured-out through the Anointed-One. Indeed, the unclean spirits of demons, receiving a license, have crept into bodies of many humans and are immersing in them. Now as long as there is peace among the people of God, these demons, when they are adjured-out by righteous men, are fleeing from them and are stricken-with-terror; and when they are occupying bodies of humans, harassing their souls, they are excluded from humans by the name of the true God and the sign of the suffering. For when this name is heard, the unclean spirits are trembling, exclaiming, and are being made to testify that they are being parched and beaten. And while being interrogated who they are and from where they came, and how they crept into the human, they are confessing everything and are acknowledging that they are demons, receding before<sup>21</sup> God who is whipping them. For being twisted-out and excruciated in this way by the virtue of the divine name, they are driven-out and exiled.<sup>22</sup> Therefore when these demons have later been ejected, all who have been healed-again adhere to the religion whose power they sensed.

It is these whips and threats which caused the demons to always hate holy and righteous men. And because it is not possible for them to injure these men themselves, they persecute with public hatred those whom they sense are burdensome<sup>23</sup> to them, exercising severity as violent as possible, either to diminish the faith of the Christians through pain, or, if they cannot effect that, to remove them altogether from the earth, so that no one is existing who is able to be repressing their vileness.

So at this time, the entrails-diviners were being filled-with-trepidation, and they were not yet perceiving the marks which they were accustomed to seeing<sup>24</sup> in the primary-organs. And they were repeatedly immolating, as if they had not obtained-favorable-omens. In truth, the slaughtered sacrificial-victims were repeatedly showing nothing. This kept happening, until Tages, the master of the

<sup>1</sup> literally "said"

<sup>2</sup> literally "one"

<sup>3</sup> literally "said"

<sup>4</sup> literally "fisc"

<sup>5</sup> literally "first"

<sup>6</sup> literally "whole"

<sup>7</sup> literally "releasing"

<sup>8</sup> most Eus / few Eus add

<sup>9</sup> literally "long-ago"

<sup>10</sup> literally "accounts"

<sup>11</sup> literally "clapping-together"

<sup>12</sup> literally "well-bearing"

<sup>13</sup> literally "having-might-over"

<sup>14</sup> literally "all-marketplaces"

<sup>15</sup> literally "good-standing"

<sup>16</sup> literally "without-foot-entangling"

<sup>17</sup> literally "being-before"

<sup>18</sup> literally "on"

<sup>19</sup> usually translated "transferred"

<sup>20</sup> literally "obsessed"

<sup>21</sup> literally "to"

<sup>22</sup> some / others "banished" / others "expelled" / others "leap out" (lit. exulted)

<sup>23</sup> literally "grave"

<sup>24</sup> literally "perceiving the accustomed marks"

entrails-diviners, related, “*The reason that the sacred rites are not responding, is because some profane humans are interfering with the divine things.*”

Then, *Diocletianus*, infuriating into anger, directed, that not only those who were ministering\* the sacred rites, but everyone<sup>1</sup> in the Palatium were to sacrifice. If they might refuse, they were to be executed<sup>2</sup> with whips. And by letters which were given to the presidents,<sup>3</sup> he commanded, that even the soldiers were to be collected<sup>4</sup> to the heinous sacrifices, and that those who might not have appeared might be being dissolved from the military. This was as far as his fury and anger proceeded, and he did not yet do anything more ample against the law or religion of God. Therefore, with the persecution only happening in the encampments, most of the ones who were named Christians in expeditions were seen most-jovially embracing the private lifestyle, that they might not be deniers of the things concerning the piety of the Crafter of the universe.<sup>5</sup>

But nevertheless, many of the other Christians, as if being imperceptible, were not being eager in any way to cause the Deity to be well-disposed and merciful, but some, like some sort of atheists, were deeming that the affairs of the Christians were inconsiderate and without-oversight. Therefore, they were adding one evil upon another. Also, those who were seeming to be their shepherds, after they pushed-aside the institute of the reverence-for-God, were re-inflaming the fondness-of-strife with one another, while doing nothing else but enlarging the rivalries and the threats, both the jealousy and both the enmity and hatred toward one another, while they were ardently claiming their fondness-of-governing like some sort of tyrannies.

#### CHAPTER 10: ACTS OF MARCELLUS [298-07-21 & 298-10-30]

Now {in the civil-community of Tingitana, while Fortunatus, who was procurator, was presiding, the birthday of the emperor arrived. At length, when everyone was dining at the banquet,<sup>6</sup> Marcellus, a certain one of the centurions, while refuting the profane banquets, even yet rejected his military girdle in the presence of the signs of the legion which were there at that time, having been caused to testify the following in a clear voice, “I perform-military-service for Jesus the Anointed-One, the eternal king. From this time forward, I am desisting from performing-military-service for your\* emperors; but I also condemn adoring your\* gods of wood and of stone, because they are deaf and mute idols.”

2 However, the soldiers who heard this were stupefied. And after they apprehended him, they threw him into custody and went to announce the affair to Fortunatus the president. But he, upon hearing it, directed Marcellus to be shut-up in a prison. After the dinner was finished, he, sitting in his council-chamber, commanded Marcellus to be introduced.<sup>7</sup>

3 After Marcellus, one of the centurions, was brought-in,<sup>8</sup> Anastasius Fortunatus the president said to him,<sup>9</sup> “Why did you decide to ungirdle yourself against your military discipline, and cast-down your<sup>10</sup> belt and broad-sword<sup>11</sup> and vine-staff?”<sup>12</sup>

4 Marcellus responded, “Now on the 12<sup>th</sup> day before the kalends of August,<sup>13</sup> in the presence of the signs of this<sup>14</sup> legion, when you\* were celebrating the day of the feast of your\* emperor,<sup>15</sup> I publicly and<sup>16</sup> in a clear voice responded, ‘I am a Christian, and it<sup>17</sup> is not possible for me to perform-military-service under this sacrament,<sup>18</sup> except only solely for the Lord<sup>19</sup> Jesus the Anointed-One, the son of God the Father<sup>20</sup> Almighty.’”

5 Fortunatus the president<sup>21</sup> said, “I am not able to disguise<sup>22</sup> your rashness. And, for that reason, I will refer<sup>23</sup> this to the emperors and to the Caesar.<sup>24</sup> And<sup>25</sup>

you yourself will be transmitted to the auditorium of my<sup>26</sup> lord Aurelius and<sup>27</sup> Agricolanus, the viceroy of<sup>28</sup> the prefects of the praetorium, while being escorted by the official,<sup>29</sup> Caecilius Arva.”

6 During the consulship of Faustus and Gallus,<sup>30</sup> On the 3<sup>rd</sup> day before the kalends of November,<sup>31</sup> at Tingi, when Marcellus of the centurions<sup>32</sup> was brought-in,<sup>33</sup> one of the office said the following, “Fortunatus the president transmitted Marcellus of the centurions<sup>34</sup> to your power. He is being offered to your Greatness. And<sup>35</sup> There is a letter above<sup>36</sup> his name, which, if you command, I will recite.”<sup>37</sup>

7 Agricolanus said, “May it be recited.”<sup>38</sup>

One of the office read<sup>39</sup> the following, “To you, my lord, from Fortunatus...”, and the remainder.

8 After it was recited,<sup>40</sup> Agricolanus said, “Did you utter these things, which are recited in the acts of the presidencies?”<sup>41</sup>

The holy-one<sup>42</sup> Marcellus responded,<sup>43</sup> “Yes,<sup>44</sup> I uttered them.”

Agricolanus said, “Were you performing-military-service as an ordinary centurion?”

The holy-one Marcellus responded, “I was performing-military-service.”

9 Agricolanus said, “What fury kindled you,<sup>45</sup> so that you are casting-down your sacraments<sup>46</sup> and were<sup>47</sup> uttering such things?”

The holy-one Marcellus responded, “There is no fury in those who are<sup>48</sup> fearing God.”

10 Agricolanus said, “Did you utter each of those things which are contained in the acts<sup>49</sup> of the president?”<sup>50</sup>

The holy-one Marcellus responded, “Yes,<sup>51</sup> I uttered them.”

11 Agricolanus said, “You cast-down your arms?”

The holy-one Marcellus responded, “I cast them down. For it was not decent<sup>52</sup> for a Christian human, who is performing-military-service for the Anointed-One the Lord,<sup>53</sup> to perform-military-service in secular military-services.”<sup>54</sup>

12 Agricolanus said, “Marcellus’ works are such, that they must be vindicated by being repaid with discipline. And in this way,<sup>55</sup> Marcellus, who was performing-military-service as an ordinary centurion,<sup>56</sup> who said that he polluted<sup>57</sup> himself<sup>58</sup> by having publicly renounced<sup>59</sup> the sacrament, and, above that, used words full of fury, as deposited in<sup>60</sup> the acts of the president: He should be executed<sup>61</sup> by the sword.”

13 As he was being conducted to the penalty, the same Marcellus said, “Agricolanus, may God bless you. This is how it was decent for Marcellus, the glorious testifier, to recede from this age.”

14 And after these words, he, after he was cut-down by the sword, died for the name of<sup>62</sup> our Lord Jesus the Anointed-One, who is glorious<sup>63</sup> into the ages of the ages. May it be.

\* \* \* \* \*

Now in about the 16<sup>th</sup> year<sup>1</sup> of the reign of Emperor Diocletianus, Veturius, the camp-prefect<sup>2</sup> was first laying-his-hands to the persecution against the troops,

<sup>26</sup> M / N “to the auditorium of the”

<sup>27</sup> M / N adds

<sup>28</sup> M / N omits “the viceroy of”

<sup>29</sup> M / N “soldier”

<sup>30</sup> M / N adds

<sup>31</sup> 298-10-30 AD

<sup>32</sup> M / N “of the civil-community of Astasianis”

<sup>33</sup> M / N “was introduced”

<sup>34</sup> M / N “Standing here is Marcellus, whom Fortunatus the president transmitted”

<sup>35</sup> M / N adds (literally “Magnitude”)

<sup>36</sup> M / N “under”

<sup>37</sup> N / M “am reciting”

<sup>38</sup> M / N “Recite it”

<sup>39</sup> M / N “said”

<sup>40</sup> M / most N “, ‘It has already been recited.’ / three N omit ‘One of...recited’, and instead actually insert a letter which has been judged by most to be an interpolation: “

<sup>41</sup> M / N “president”(?) (presidialia)

<sup>42</sup> M / N adds (and so forth throughout the rest of the acts)

<sup>43</sup> M / N “The holy-one Marcellus, responding, said”

<sup>44</sup> M / N omits “Yes”

<sup>45</sup> M / N “Which fury were you inflicted with”

<sup>46</sup> M / N “sacrament”

<sup>47</sup> M / N “are”

<sup>48</sup> M / N “in him who is”

<sup>49</sup> M / N “charters”

<sup>50</sup> praesidialibus (also in verse 12)

<sup>51</sup> M / N omits “Yes”

<sup>52</sup> M / N “it is not opportune”

<sup>53</sup> M / N “who is fearing the Anointed-One God”

<sup>54</sup> M / N “to perform-military-service for the molestations of this age”

<sup>55</sup> M / N “, ‘Since Marcellus’ works are such, they must be vindicated by being repaid out of discipline.’ And in this way as follows:”

<sup>56</sup> M / N “service in an election-of-centurions”

<sup>57</sup> M / N “he is polluting”

<sup>58</sup> M / N omits “himself”

<sup>59</sup> M / N “removed”

<sup>60</sup> M / N “, and such words full of furies as are deposited under”

<sup>61</sup> animaduerti

<sup>62</sup> M / N “sword, obtained the palm of his testimony which he was desiring, during the reign of”

<sup>63</sup> M / N “, who regained his testifier in peace: to him is honor and glory, virtue and power”

<sup>1</sup> literally “but the universal-ones who were”

<sup>2</sup> animadverti

<sup>3</sup> praepositus

<sup>4</sup> may also possibly be translated “forced”

<sup>5</sup> literally “whole”

<sup>6</sup> literally “convivium” (also in next occurrence)

<sup>7</sup> Because M and N have entirely different introductions, both may be viewed with suspect, although M is the better version overall (enclosed in { }). Nevertheless, it is a summary of what may be gathered from the actual trial, and serves as a decent bridge leading into the portion of the account which is certainly authentic. N instead has “The suffering of the holy-one Marcellus the testifier, who suffered at Legionem in the province of Gallecia, under Manilius Fortunatus, who was presiding, on the 3<sup>rd</sup> day before the kalends of November.” (298-10-30) “Before the day before the Ides of August,” (298-08-12?), “in the consulship of Faustus and Gallus, in the legion VII Gemina...” (and omits “When” of the next sentence) [NOTE: “Gallus” is an emendation / manuscript “Gaius”]

<sup>8</sup> M / N “was introduced”

<sup>9</sup> M (“Anastasius is an emendation for “Astasius”) / N “Lord Marcellus, of the civil-community of Astasianis, Fortunatus said”

<sup>10</sup> M / N actually adds “your”

<sup>11</sup> M / N adds

<sup>12</sup> M / N “head-band”

<sup>13</sup> 298-07-21 AD / N “, ‘I already said’

<sup>14</sup> M & N use two different forms of this word

<sup>15</sup> M / N “imperial-command”

<sup>16</sup> M / N adds

<sup>17</sup> M / N “responded and confessed that I am a Christians, and that”

<sup>18</sup> M / N “under any other sacrament”

<sup>19</sup> M / N adds “solely” & “the Lord”

<sup>20</sup> M / N omits “Father”

<sup>21</sup> M / N omits “the presider”

<sup>22</sup> literally “dissimulate”

<sup>23</sup> M / N “convey” (lit. “carry-through”)

<sup>24</sup> M / N “to the sacred ears of our lords Diocletianus and Maximianus, the most-invincible August-Ones, and Augustinus and Licinius, the most-noble Caesars.” (N is clearly an interpolation)

<sup>25</sup> M / N “Nevertheless”



while, making-distinctions-of-their-tribes and thoroughly-cleansing those *who were offering-up sacrifices*<sup>3</sup> in the encampments, was giving them a choice: either, while obeying-the-chief, to have enjoyment of honor; or, alternatively, to be deprived of it, if-at-any-time they were arraying themselves against the ordinance. *Therefore*, a great many soldiers of the kingdom of the Anointed-One, after they did not remain on the brink of *uncertainty*, undisputedly preferred to honor the confession of him rather than the seeming glory and success which they were having *as soldiers*. But already, in rare instances, one, and perhaps a second, were not only receiving the throwing-away of the worthiness in exchange for their pious objection, *but* instead even a death. *But* already at that time, the *one who* was operating this plot was daring to proceed with moderation and as far as blood *only* in some instances. *Therefore*, the persecution against the *Christians* was beginning<sup>4</sup> little-by-little from exactly that time.

#### CHAPTER 11: OVERSEERS BEFORE THE PURSUIT

Now prior to the persecution, in the assembly at Antiocheia, Timaios led the oversight of Antiocheia after Domnus.<sup>5</sup> And Kyrillos succeeded *Timaios*<sup>6</sup> as overseer.

During his *time*, there was an eloquent man named Dōrotheos, who was deemed-worthy of the privilege-of-elder in Antiocheia. Now he was such a person-fond-of-what-is-beautiful about the divine *things* and took *such care to learn* the tongue of the Hebrews, so that he was even experienced in reading the Hebrew writings. But he was not without-a-share among those who were especially liberal,<sup>7</sup> as well as in preparatory-disciplines according to the Hellenes. But otherwise he was a eunuch by his nature, having grown *up* in this way from his birth, so that, due to this, even a king (as *if it were* a certain kind of incredible *thing*) made him his own and yet honored him with a procuratorship over the sea-purple dyers at Zor.

But after Kyrillos, Tyrannus in turn received the oversight of the sojourn of the Antiocheians.<sup>8</sup> (During his time, the besieging of the assemblies fully-ripened.)

Now after Anatolios, overseer of Laodikeia, also ceased *from* this lifetime, the last *overseer* appointed over that sojourn before the persecution was Stephanos. Indeed, he was marveled-at by the many on account of a reasoning of fondness-of-wisdom (philosophy) and the other discipline from the Hellenes. Yet truly, he was not similarly disposed concerning the divine faith, as the progress of the season of the persecution thoroughly-proved,<sup>9</sup> after it disclosed the man to be more of a dissembler, both terrified and unmanly, than a true man-fond-of-wisdom (philosopher). Truly, this *situation* was not yet going to overthrow the *affairs* of the assembly, but Theodotos was restraightening them. *This man* was, on the spot, designated as the overseer of the sojourn, a man, who, by his affairs, proved-true even to his lordly name and to the *name* of overseer. For he indeed held the first *rank* of the experience in a healing *technique* of bodies, but *also* in that of a treating *technique* of souls. Nor was *any* other human happening to be such as he in philanthropy, genuineness, sympathy, and effort in *aiding* those needing his help. But he was also much exercising-together in the *things* concerning the divine lessons.

Now in Caesarea of Palaestina, after Theoteknos passed-through the oversight with *much* effort, Agapios received *it* in turn. And he wearied *himself* much, having also made a most-genuine foresight for the superintendence<sup>10</sup> of the people, especially having also cared for all poor-persons with a rich hand. During this *time*, Pamphilos (a *man* most-held-in-account, also a true man-fond-of-wisdom (philosopher) in lifestyle itself) was deemed-worthy of a privilege-of-elder of the sojourn there. He compounded a lecturing.

Now Pierios was *one* of the elders at Alexandria. He had been proved by his voluntary lifestyle of extreme lack-of-property<sup>11</sup> and his lessons of fondness-of-wisdom,<sup>12</sup> having been overgrownly equipped in the *things* concerning the perceptions and expositions about the divine *things* and in public discourses at the assembly.<sup>13</sup>

Now Meletios was overseer of the assemblies at Pontos, whom the *ones* from discipline were calling 'the honey'<sup>14</sup> of the Attic'. *He* was perfect in all *kinds* of reasonings and oratorical *skill*, and had both much-experience and much-learning, and was very-artistic and very-eloquent. But equal to *these* were the *qualities* of the excellence of his lifestyle. But during the season of the pursuit of the *Christians*, he was escaping from it in the regions of Palaestina for seven whole years.

Now after Hymenaios, overseer of the assembly in Jerusalem, Zabdas<sup>15</sup> received the public-service of that assembly.<sup>16</sup> But not long after, he slept. *And* Hermōn, the last of the *overseers* until the pursuit of the *Christians*, in turn received the oversight.<sup>17</sup> And after Hermōn, Machairous became overseer.

Now after Theonas assisted *the assembly at Alexandria* to-the-utmost for 19 years, Petros in turn received the oversight *over* those at Alexandria during the 16<sup>th</sup> year<sup>18</sup> of Emperor Diocletianus. He would also appear especially prominent among them for twelve whole years. Of these, after he led the assembly by himself for less than three whole years before the pursuit of the *Christians*, he was both leading himself to a more-vigorous training, and was taking-care of the common interest of the assemblies (*an activity which* was not unnoticed).

#### CHAPTER 12: CONSTANTINUS IN EGYPT / EDICT OF DIOCLÉTIANUS AGAINST THE MANICHAEANS

Now that Constantinus son of Constantius already stepped out of *being* the boy *and was walking upon the life* of the young-man, he was being deemed-worthy of an honor, the first *honor*, among the companions of the kingdom of the *Romans*. Now in Caesarea, there was a Christian named Eusebios (who at a later time would become overseer of the assembly of Caesarea). And while Constantinus was coming-through the nation of Palaestina (that is Israel) on his way into Egypt, in company with the elder king, Diocletianus (on whose right he stood), Eusebios saw him. For indeed, no other was to be compared to him in handsomeness of body and maturity of size; but he was having so much more strength of bodily-strength than those who were equal-in-age *with him* as even to be fearsome to them. But although *Constantinus* was not a Christian, he was priding himself in accordance with excellences of soul rather than in accordance with the body, while ornamenting his soul first of all with sound-mindedness, *and* then being remarkable by the process-of-discipline of discourses.<sup>19</sup> But while Constantinus was in Egypt, he himself saw that the pitiful city of Memphis was desolated and was left uninhabited with their father's gods—fruit which is present as a result of its *abominable* religion.

Now while Emperor Diocletianus was at Alexandria, he issued the following decree against the followers of the false-prophet Mani the Maniac:

Emperors Diocletianus and Maximianus and Constantius and Maximianus.

To the most-noble Julianus, proconsul of Africa.

Most-beloved Julianus, excessive<sup>20</sup> leisure sometimes incites humans *who are* in the condition of communion<sup>21</sup> to exceed *the* measures of the nature of humans, and persuades them to be protracting certain empty and turpid kinds of superstitious teaching, so that many others have been drawn into recognizing<sup>22</sup> *the* notion of their error.

But *the* immortal gods, in their foresight, have been deigned to ordain and dispose, that *the* things which are good and true are being approved and being stationed by the council and management of many and good and distinguished men and *those who are* most-wise and unimpaired. *It is* not proper to go against nor to resist these *principles*, nor may *the* religion of old be indebted to being seized by a new *one*. For it is *the* greatest crime to reexamine *the* things which have been stationed and defined once and for all by our ancestors, and *which* possess their acknowledged status and course *among us*. From this, we are immoderately determined to punish *the* stubbornness<sup>23</sup> of *the* depraved minds of *these* worthless humans:

For as for *these* humans, who are setting-down novel and unheard of sects *against* the older religions, so that, in order to support *their* notion, they are excluding *the* resolutions which *long* before have been divinely granted<sup>24</sup> *to us* by our forefathers (your Expertise referred *back* to our Serenity concerning them): We have at one time heard, that they, *the* Manicheans, have recently been made-to-progress or made-to-arise into *the* world from among the Persians (*a* race adverse to us) exactly like new and unexpected prodigies; and there *in the* world, they are committing multiple deeds. For they are perturbing the peoples who have kept quiet and are inserting the greatest detriment into the civil-communities. And we should be revering, that, *as* time advances, they may attempt (as is usual) to be staining humans of more innocent-natures (*the* modest and tranquil Roman race and our universal orb) with

<sup>1</sup> 300AD — Chronicon(Jerome), Pseudo-Dionysios / Theophanes, Cedrenus "13<sup>th</sup> year" (297) / Chronicon(Armenian) "14<sup>th</sup> year" (298)

<sup>2</sup> Eusebius (lit. "encampment-chief") / Chronicon(Jerome) "the master of the military-service"

<sup>3</sup> literally "bringing-up"

<sup>4</sup> Chronicon(Jerome) / possible Greek original "was smoldering moderately"

<sup>5</sup> Chronicon(Jerome) unreliably dates to the 1<sup>st</sup> year of Emperor Aurelianus / Chronicon(Arm) omits

<sup>6</sup> Chronicon(Jerome) unreliably dates to the 4<sup>th</sup> year of Emperor Probus / Chronicon(Arm) omits

<sup>7</sup> literally "free"

<sup>8</sup> Chronicon(Jerome) places the start of his oversight in the 18<sup>th</sup> year of Diocletianus (302AD)

<sup>9</sup> literally "thoroughly-convicted"

<sup>10</sup> may also be translated "protection"

<sup>11</sup> Eusebius / Jerome "poverty"

<sup>12</sup> may also be translated "philosophic lessons"

<sup>13</sup> literally "discourses at the common of the assembly"

<sup>14</sup> A partial word pun with his name. For 'honey' in Greek is "meli"

<sup>15</sup> few Eusebius, Rufinus, Chronicon(Jerome, Armenian), Nicephorus / few Eusebius "Zabadas" / most Eusebius "Zambdas"

<sup>16</sup> Chronicon(Jerome) places the start of his oversight in the 15<sup>th</sup> year of Diocletianus (299AD) / Chronicon(Armenian) places it in the 14<sup>th</sup> year of Diocletianus (298AD).

<sup>17</sup> Chronicon(Jerome) places the start of his oversight in the 18<sup>th</sup> year of Diocletianus (302AD) / Chronicon(Armenian) places it in the 16<sup>th</sup> year of Diocletianus (300AD)

<sup>18</sup> 300AD / Chronicon(Jerome) "19<sup>th</sup> year" (incorrect?) (303AD)

<sup>19</sup> literally "accounts"

<sup>20</sup> literally "the greatest"

<sup>21</sup> possible emendation "causes the inconvenient condition of humans"

<sup>22</sup> literally "seeing"

<sup>23</sup> literally "persistence"

<sup>24</sup> literally "conceded"

the execrable customs and incestuous laws of the Persians exactly like the venoms from their own malevolence. And because everything which your Prudence has explained in *your report*<sup>1</sup> about their religion, makes evident that what *our statutes see* as their wicked-deeds are generated from exquisite and invented fabrications: we have, for that reason, stationed pains and penalties *for them*, which they have been indebted to and wholly-deserving of.

For we direct, that indeed *the authors and princes of these sects* along with their abominable writings be subjected to severer penalties, that is, that they *and their writings* may be burned-up in the flames of fires. In truth, we instruct, that their followers, as long as they are contentious, to be punished with capital *punishment*; and we decree, that their goods be vindicated to our imperial-treasury.<sup>2</sup>

If any one who has been honored, or any *individual of dignity* or even more-major persons have transferred to that unheard-of till now and turpid and entirely infamous sect, or even to the teaching of the Persians, you must make sure to confiscate their patrimonies to our imperial-treasury,<sup>3</sup> and to deliver them to the Phainensian or the Proconnesian mines.

Accordingly, so that this root of vileness might be amputated root-and-branch from our most-happy age, let your Devotion quickly<sup>4</sup> comply with the directives and statutes of our Tranquility.

Given on the day before the Kalends of April at Alexandria.<sup>5</sup>

### CHAPTER 13: DIOCLÉTIANUS AND MAXIMIANUS GALERIUS DISCUSS HUNTING DOWN THE CHRISTIANS

Next, later that year, after some time had passed following the giving of his edict against the Manicheans, Emperor Dioclétianus came to Bithynia to pass-the-winter there. At that time, Caesar Maximianus *Galerius* also arrived at the same place, having been inflamed with crookedness, so that he might be instigating the vain senior to continue-to-persecute the Christians, of which he had already made a beginning. Now this has been the cause of *Maximianus Galerius' fury*:

His mother was a female-worshipper of the gods of the mountains, who was a superstitious woman to the limit. She was sacrificing solemn-feasts almost daily, and was exhibiting the dishes to her villagers. The Christians were abstaining from them; and, while she was feasting with the races, they were persisting in fasts and prayers. From this, she conceived a hatred against them, and, by womanly complaints, incited her son *Galerius* (no less superstitious than herself) to make-away-with these Christians. But *Galerius* did not undress the war against the nations and-put-it-on the Christians in-a-mass. Instead (even long before the movement of any of the remaining kings against the Christians, including Dioclétianus himself) he made-trial-of only the ones being called Christians throughout the military-encampments. For he had been imagining that the remaining Christians would be easily able to be-conquered, if he, after he first contended-with-and-put-down those men, would come-to-be-superior.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, he had been constraining<sup>7</sup> the ones in military-expeditions and first of all the ones in<sup>8</sup> his own house to be turning-aside from the faith, and indeed, moving the ones out of the glory of-soldiers, but outraging-down the others most-dishonorably, but already even hanging death over different individuals.

Therefore, throughout the whole winter, councils were held by *Dioclétianus and Maximianus Galerius*, when no one might be admitted and everyone might be led to suppose that the uppermost public affairs of state were being managed. Day by day, the senior fought-against *Galerius' fury*, while showing how pernicious it might be for the orb of the earth to be disquieted with the blood of many being shed; and that the Christians were accustomed to die willingly; and that it was satisfactory if he might prohibit only those of the palace and of the soldiers from that religion.

Nevertheless, *Dioclétianus* was not able to deflect the insanity of that precipitate human. Therefore, he resolved to have the sentiment of his friends be tested. For this was *Dioclétianus' type of malice*: When he had determined what was a good thing to do, he was doing it without counsel, so that he himself might be lauded. However, when it was something wicked, since he was knowing that he would be reprehended, he was calling many into his council, so that everything in which he himself had been delinquent might be being ascribed to the fault of others.

Therefore, after a few judges, and a few military men who were preceding in dignity, were admitted, they were interrogated. Certain ones, who were appropriating hatred against the Christians, assessed that they, being enemies of the gods and individuals who were hostile toward the public religions, should be

made-away-with. And some who were having different sentiments, after they gained-intelligence of the will of that wicked human, either fearing him or wishing for him to be gratified, concurred<sup>9</sup> in the same sentiment.

Indeed, not even in this way was Emperor *Dioclétianus* swayed, so that he would accommodate *Galerius' assent*. But he, thinking it best to consult the gods, dispatched an entrails-diviner to the Milésian Apollón.

At that time, a priestess of *Apollón*, after unfastening her locks to droop down while also driving-forward under madness,<sup>10</sup> was bitterly-lamenting that Apollón had responded and proclaimed, that it was an enemy of the divine religion, the righteous-ones on the earth, who are an impediment to his speaking the truth, and that this is why the divinations of the tripods which he was making were false.

Now at that time, Constantinus son of Constantius, while he was still a boy, was listening to Emperor *Dioclétianus*, who was meddlesomely enquiring from those who attended him as spearmen, as to who the righteous-ones on the earth were.

And one of those around him who sacrifice-victims replied, declaring, "Christians, of course."

But *Emperor Dioclétianus*, after he gulped-down the reply even as some honey, was drawn over in this way from his original proposition into receiving the impious divination of the oracles of the Pythion. And, although he was now not able to resist<sup>11</sup> his friends, nor the Caesar, nor Apollón, he actually attempted to hold such moderation, so that he was directing, that the affair be carried-through without blood, when the Caesar, *Maximianus Galerius*, was wishing for all those who had opposed the sacrifice to be cremated alive. So from this time onward, *Dioclétianus* stretched-out the short-sword (which was founded in order to be used against the unrighteous-deeds) against the irreprehensible sacredness of the Christians.

### CHAPTER 14: FIRST EDICT AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS

This was the 19<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of *Emperor Dioclétianus*, during the consulate of *Dioclétianus* for the eighth time and *Maximianus Herculus* for the seventh, when an apt and felicitous day was sought after for carrying-through the affair. And the Terminalia (which is celebrated on the seventh day before the Kalends of March)<sup>12</sup> was designated in preference to all others, so that a termination, as it were, might be imposed on the religion of the Christians.

When this day had dawned, suddenly, while it was still twilight, the prefect, together with the leaders and the tribunes and the accountants, came to the assembly-building in *Nikomédeia*, a city in Bithynia. And tearing-away the door, they were looking for an image of the god. After the writings were found, they were being burned. Plunder was being given to everyone. Everything and everyone was being seized,<sup>13</sup> was being trepidedated, was running-to-and-fro.

Truly, *Dioclétianus and Maximianus Galerius* themselves in their watchtower (for the assembly building, stationed on high ground, was able to be seen from within the Palatium) were disputing between themselves for a long time, whether it might be necessary for it to rather be subjected to fire.

*Dioclétianus*, having a cautious sentiment, was victorious, lest, with such a great conflagration having been made, some part of the civil-community might be blazed. For there were many and great houses encircling every part of the assembly building. Accordingly, the praetorians were coming, after they were structured in battle-array, with axes and other iron-implements. And being let-loose from every-side, they leveled that loftiest building to the ground in a few hours.

The next day,<sup>14</sup> the edict of the emperors and the Caesars was published to the princes and the magistrates throughout colonies and civil-communities, which was ordering, indeed, that each in his-own location should wrench the divine books out of the hands of overseers and elders and that the writings be destroyed<sup>15</sup> by fire, but that the assembly buildings be brought to the ground; and which was stated-beforehand, that the humans of that religion, who have taken-hold of honor might be dishonored by being voided of every honor and dignity, and might be subjected to torments (regardless of whatever order or grade they might come from), and that every action against them might prevail, while they might not be able to plead a case for themselves against charges<sup>16</sup> of injury, nor of adultery, nor of theft; at length, that they might not even have freedom of speech;<sup>17</sup> but which was decreeing, that the domestics, if-at-any-time they persisted in the proposition of the Christianity, to be bereaved<sup>18</sup> of freedom. And indeed, this was the power of the first writing against the Christians which went-out over all the face of the earth.

Accordingly, at once, a certain man<sup>19</sup> (of those who were not unremarkable, but who instead was even very-much most-glorious according to the prominence

<sup>1</sup> literally "relation"

<sup>2</sup> literally "fics"

<sup>3</sup> literally "fics"

<sup>4</sup> literally "maturely"

<sup>5</sup> (302)-03-31 AD

<sup>6</sup> literally "come-to-be-around"

<sup>7</sup> literally "forcing-out"

<sup>8</sup> literally "on"

<sup>9</sup> literally "became-congruous"

<sup>10</sup> may be translated "mania"

<sup>11</sup> literally "to be reluctant"

<sup>12</sup> 303-02-23 AD

<sup>13</sup> literally "rapined/raped"

<sup>14</sup> 303-02-24 AD

<sup>15</sup> literally "become unseen/unnoticed"

<sup>16</sup> literally "matters/affairs"

<sup>17</sup> literally "liberty of voice"

<sup>18</sup> Eus(8.2.4) and Eus(MartyrPal) use a different form of the same word

<sup>19</sup> He is called "Euethios" by late tradition

which has been recognized in this lifetime) at the same time that the writing against the assemblies in Nikomédeia was proposed, he (although this was not right to do, nevertheless it was with great soul) somewhat-moved by his zeal according to God as well as stirred-up by a fiery faith, ripped-down<sup>1</sup> the edict while it was being laid-down in the open and in public, as being something unsacred and impious. And he tore-it-to-pieces, while Diocletianus and Maximianus Galerius were in the same city, and while speaking with derision, “The victories of the Goths and the Sarmatians are proposed in it.”<sup>2</sup>

He was instantly conducted-through by the soldiers, and, not only had his limbs twisted-out of their sockets, but even yet he, after he was legally cooked, was finally burned-up, suffering with admirable patience, keeping himself without-grief and undisturbed to his last drawing-of-breath.

## CHAPTER 15: FIRES AND PURSUITS AT NIKOMÉDEIA

But Caesar Maximianus Galerius, not content with the laws of the edict, was preparing to accost Diocletianus in a different way. For Galerius, in order that he might impel him to the proposition of a most-cruel persecution, employed secret ministers\* to set fire to the Palatium<sup>3</sup> in Nikomédeia, which itself, along with Diocletianus’ own private-room,<sup>4</sup> were devastated.

And when some part of the Palatium had been burned, many of those who saw these things with their own eyes (of whom Constantinus son of Constantius was one) were misled into believing that it had been consumed by a thunderbolt and a heavenly burning; while others were accusing the Christians of being public enemies.<sup>5</sup> And, because of unnatural envy, the name of the Christians was blazing simultaneously with the Palatium. It was imagined, that the Christians, taking-counsel with the eunuchs, had tried to extinguish the princes of their lives, that the two emperors had been nearly combusted alive in their own house.

Truly, Diocletianus, who always was wishing for himself to be seen as shrewd and intelligent, was able to suspect nothing of Maximianus Galerius’ plan. But after he was inflamed with anger, he immediately commanded that all of those in his own house should be butchered.

Diocletianus himself was sitting and scorching innocent men with fire. Likewise, the judges universally, and, at length, all of those who were magistrates in the Palatium, were given power to be torturing them. They struggled with each other so that they might be the first to find something. Nothing was discovered at all. Of course, no-one would be torturing the family of Caesar Maximianus Galerius. He himself was present, and was pressing him, and was not yet allowing the anger of the inconsiderable senior, Diocletianus, to burn-out.

But after an interjection of fifteen days, Maximianus Galerius again endeavored to do another burning. But attention was given<sup>6</sup> to this one more-quickly. And yet, nevertheless, its author was not apparent. Then Caesar Galerius, whose going-away had been prepared since the middle of winter, rushed-out that same day, contesting that he was fleeing so that he might not be burned alive.

Therefore, on account of the false preconception against the Christians, Emperor Diocletianus was now infuriated, not only against his own domestics, but against all the pious persons who were there. And first of all, he compelled his daughter Valeria, and his mate Prisca, to be polluted by a sacrifice. Those who were once the most-powerful eunuchs, who were constant before the Palatium and himself, were put-to-death. Elders and ministers, after they were condemned without any approbation or confession in court against them, were led-away with all their own families.

Every gender<sup>7</sup> and age of humans were seized by entire-families and in piles. And, by a royal nod, indeed, some were being entirely-slaughtered by a short-sword; but others were completing their life by being burned-up through a fire.<sup>8</sup> Since they were such a great multitude, they were not burned-up singularly, but they, in herds, after being encircled by the fire, were very-eager. For men, simultaneously with women, with a certain divine and unstateable eagerness, leaped-down on the pyre. But the public-executioners, after they bound a multitude of domestics on seacrafts, were casting them, with millstones being tied to their necks, off into the depths of the sea and they were submerged.

But yet the royal boys, after they were delivered to earth after death with the befitting funerals, those who were supposed to be their masters, beginning afresh, were imagining it was necessary, after they excavated-up their bodies, to also cast them off into a sea, lest anyone (as they were yet imaging), may surely be bowing-down-before them as gods while they were laying-away in tombs.

Now during the days of the pursuits of the Christians in Nikomédeia, there were certain Christians who were distinguished by name. The royal boys who were around Dorotheos (even though they were deemed-worthy of the topmost honor alongside their masters while also not lacking a disposition as though being treated as their genuine children), they deemed both the reproaches and labors for

piety and the many-mannered deaths which have been newly-devised against them, to be greater riches than the glory and luxury of this lifetime. And both Dorotheos and Gorgonios, simultaneously with still more different men of the royal domestics, after the many-mannered conflicts, ceased this life by a noose.

Now a certain Christian named Petros, one of the royal boys, was led into the middle of the same city to the chiefs, Diocletianus and Maximianus Galerius. Therefore, after he was ordered to be sacrificing, as he was resisting, he was directed to be picked-up high-in-the-air naked, as-well-as to have all his body combed-out with whips, until the time when, after he was worsted, he would do what was ordered even if he was unwilling. But as he was also not-turned-aside while suffering these things, they, after they mixed vinegar and salt, were even pouring it where the bones were already appearing-from-underneath the parts of the body which were putrefied. But as he was also treading down<sup>9</sup> these pains, henceforth a hearth and a fire were being drawing into the middle; and, like an eatable piece-of-meat, the remnants of his body were consumed under the fire, not in heaps, as not to be released from life quickly,<sup>10</sup> but little by little, while the ones who put him on the pyre were not granted-permission to desist (even after so many sufferings) prior to him nodding-in-consent to what was being ordered. But, while holding tight to his proposition, he victoriously delivered up his soul while in his tortures.

In this time, Anthimos (who, as overseer, was then presiding-over the assembly at the city of Nikomédeia) had his head cut-off due to his attestation-in-regards-to the Anointed-One.

## CHAPTER 16: ARNOBIUS & LACTANTIUS & EVIL PHILOSOPHERS

Now also at this time in Nikomédeia, there was a certain rhetorician named Lactantius (also known as Firmianus), who was a disciple of a certain Arnobius.

Now not long before the persecution, this Arnobius had at first been an unbeliever,<sup>11</sup> a rhetorician at Sicca in Africa under Prince Diocletianus, where he was educating the juveniles to declaim. For he used to reverence likenesses manifest out of furnaces, gods fabricated on anvils and out of mallets, bones of elephants, pictures, ribbons on old trees. Whenever he had spied a lubricated stone and one having been dirtied from olive ointment, as if some virtue was present in it, he was fawning-upon it. He was addressing himself to it and was asking for benefits from a block which was not able to sense anything.

But he had been being compelled by dreams to believe in Jesus the Anointed-One, and was being led into the ways of the truth by such a great teacher. And although Arnobius was not yet obtaining any instruction from the overseer in Sicca of the faith which he had always fought against, once the persecution had broken out, he composed the most-lucent books against his original religion, writing against the nations. And finally, as if with these books as certain pledges, he obtained the league of the piety of the Christians.

Now Lactantius, who had become a learner of Arnobius prior to the persecution, had been previously summoned along with Flavius the Grammarian from Africa to Nikomédeia in Bithynia so that he might be teaching the oratory letters and rhetoric there. And due to his lack of disciples (since it was evidently a Greek civil-community), he, although being one of the most-elocquent men of his time, was in fact a pauper in this life, as he for the most-part lacked even the necessities of life.

Now presently, at the same time that the temple of God in Nikomédeia was being overturned, two impious men stood-forth in-that-very-place, who were insulting the truth which was laying prostrate and was having been cast-away:

One of them<sup>12</sup> was professing himself an antistes<sup>13</sup> of fondness-of-wisdom (philosophy). But in-this-way, this “teacher of self-restraint” was so full-of-faults, that he was blazing no less with avarice than with acts-of-libidinousness; this “assertor of virtue in school”, this “praiser of parsimony and poverty” was so sumptuous in his lifestyle, that he was dining worse in the palace than at his house. Nevertheless, he was covering-over his vices by the hairs-of-his-head and a mantle and riches. And, so that he might have been augmenting these<sup>14</sup> riches, he was penetrating, with marvelous ambulence, to the friendships of judges, abruptly obligating them to himself by the authoring of the false name of philosopher. He did this, not only so that he might have been selling their sentiments, but also so that he might, by means of this power, have been retarding his neighbors (whom he was propelling from their thrones and fields) from taking-back their-own property.

But this man (who was destroying his disputations by his manner of life, or who was convicting his manner of life by his disputations—himself a serious censor and most-acute accuser against himself), at this same time in which a righteous people were being nefariously lacerated, vomited-forth three books against the Christian religion and name:

He professed that, before all things, “the office of a man-fond-of-wisdom (philosopher) is to be obviating the errors of humans, and to recall those

<sup>1</sup> Lactantius / Eusebius “took-up”

<sup>2</sup> He seems to be scoffing at the fact that the edict has referrals to Emperor Diocletianus’ titles: Gothicus and Sarmaticus, which he gained by having victories over the Goths and the Sarmatians.

<sup>3</sup> literally “to subject the Palatium to a burning”

<sup>4</sup> literally “conclave”

<sup>5</sup> literally “hostile-individuals”

<sup>6</sup> literally “But the soul was directed”

<sup>7</sup> literally “sex”

<sup>8</sup> literally “seized to a burning-up”

<sup>9</sup> literally “walking”

<sup>10</sup> literally “briefly”

<sup>11</sup> literally “nationish”

<sup>12</sup> literally “whom”

<sup>13</sup> literally “stander-before” (someone standing before (ahead) of everyone else)

<sup>14</sup> literally “which”

*individuals to the true way, that is, to the cherishing of the gods, of whose nod and majesty,” so he was saying, “the world is being governed, but-not-even to be allowing<sup>1</sup> the inexperienced humans to be being allured by means of the frauds of certain individuals, lest their simplicity might be spoil and fodder for crafty humans.”*

So he undertook this duty for himself, *so that he was holding-forth what he believed was the light of wisdom to those whom he supposed were not seeing, not only so that they might regain-their-health after they undertook the cherishings of the gods, but instead even so that, they, after they set-aside<sup>2</sup> their stubborn<sup>3</sup> obstinacy, might avoid the excruciations of their body, nor might be wishing to be suffering savage lacerations of their members to-no-purpose. But so that it might have been apparent why he had labored-out that work for this reason, he was pouring-forth praises to the chiefs, “whose piety and foresight,” he believed, had been made-clear both in the rest of matters, then, particularly, in the defending of the religions of the gods: after they, at-length, had consulted the affairs of the humans, so that, after impious and womanish superstition was confined, all humans universally would have been being-available for legitimate sacred-things and would have been experiencing the gods who are propitious to them.*

But when he wished to be weakening<sup>4</sup> the rationality of the Christian religion against which he was haranguing, he appeared inept, vain, and ridiculous, because not only was he being-ignorant of what he was opposing, but instead even of what he was uttering. For if one of the Christians were-present, although they might have been being-silent out of regard of the time, they, nevertheless, were deriding him in their soul, when they were seeing a human professing himself to be illuminating others, when he himself was being blind; that he would lead-back others from error, when he himself was being-ignorant where he might be putting down his own feet; that he would discipline others to truth, that truth of which he had indeed not at-any-time seen a single spark, when, as a professor of wisdom, he was pressing-upon to be casting wisdom to-the-ground. Nevertheless, all were arguing, that he became-aggressive with this work only at that time in particular when hateful cruelty was raging<sup>5</sup> against the Christians.

Another man, Sossianus Hierocles, wrote the same material more-bitterly. He<sup>6</sup> was then one of the number of the judges of Bithynia, and who was a prime author<sup>7</sup> of making the persecution. He,<sup>8</sup> not being content with this crime, also pursued those whom he had afflicted with his writings. For he composed two little-books, not ‘against’ the Christians (lest he might be seen to be pursuing them as-an-enemy), but instead ‘to’ the Christians, so that he might be being computed to be consulting for them with humanity and kindness. So in these books,<sup>9</sup> he tried to be arguing the falsity of the sacred writings, as-though they were totally contrary to themselves. Nevertheless, he lacerated Paulus and Petros and the remaining learners, as-though they were seminators of fallacy, whom he, nevertheless, at the same time, testified to be rude and untaught, for some of them made an acquisition from the art of fishing.

Therefore, because there had been lacking among the Christians suitable and experienced teachers who vehemently, who sharply, might be arguing-against these public errors, who might have been prepared to be copiously defending every truth, Lactantius and Arnobius, in response, composed many defenses against the nations, in which they successfully defended the Christian faith against the ungrounded assaults of these men, proving the absurdities of the existence of multiple gods and the abominable origin of their religions, while demonstrating the radiant and undisprovable truth of the sacred writings of the Christians.

And indeed, such were the things which were brought-to-completion upon Nikomédeia at the beginning of the persecution.<sup>10</sup>

## CHAPTER 17: VIRTUES OF EMPEROR CONSTANTIUS [303-04-18]

Now the persecution was not less violently incumbent among<sup>11</sup> the remaining people. For in the month Dystros<sup>12</sup> (but this is called<sup>13</sup> March<sup>14</sup> according to the Romans), in the time when the festival of the Savior’s suffering<sup>15</sup> was coming-near—<sup>16</sup> while Flavianus was leading the nation of Palaestina — royal documents were unfolding collectively everywhere. For the judges, after they dispersed through all the temples, were obliging all of them universally toward sacrifices. Prisons were full. Unheard kinds of torments were being thought-out. And, lest justice might be being spoken rashly to any Christian, sacrificial-altars were deposited in secretarial-rooms and before the tribunal, so that the litigants might be sacrificing first and-then so that they might be speaking their cases. Therefore,

<sup>1</sup> literally “suffering”

<sup>2</sup> literally “deposited”

<sup>3</sup> literally “pertinacious”

<sup>4</sup> literally “infirming”

<sup>5</sup> literally “furiating”

<sup>6</sup> literally “who”

<sup>7</sup> literally “author in prime”

<sup>8</sup> literally “who”

<sup>9</sup> literally “in which”

<sup>10</sup> literally “pursuit”

<sup>11</sup> literally “in”

<sup>12</sup> Eus(8.2.4) / Eus(MartyrPal) “Xanthikos”

<sup>13</sup> Eus(8.2.4) (lit. “but said”) / Eus(MartyrPal) “which is said”

<sup>14</sup> Eus(8.2.4) / Eus(MartyrPal) “April”

<sup>15</sup> 303-04-18 AD (?)

<sup>16</sup> Eus(8.2.4) (lit. “is driving-forward-on”) / Eus(MartyrPal) “is taking-hold”

in-this-manner, submitting a-case to the judge was as-though submitting to the gods.

Eusebios (who later became overseer of the assembly of the Christians in Caesarea) witnessed these things in Palaestina, when he and the other Christians looked-upon,<sup>17</sup> with their own eyes: indeed the houses of the places-of-prayer being tossed-down to their foundations, out of the height into the ground; but the god-inspired and consecrated writings being delivered up to fire throughout the middles of marketplaces; as-well-as the shepherds of the assemblies shamefully being hidden here and-there; but the some of them being shamefully conquered and jested-at<sup>18</sup> to their enemies.

Letters even had come to Maximianus Herculius and to Constantius, so that they might be doing the same things, for their<sup>19</sup> sentiment was not having been expected in such-great matters. And indeed, the senile Maximianus Herculius (not a very gentle human) gladly complied with these instructions throughout Italia.

But Constantius was dissimilar from the other three men who were communing in the Roman imperial principality, being the only one who afforded himself to be most-right and most-benevolent to all the humans. Now this is a summary of his dealings with the Christians throughout the entire time of the persecution, and of his pious actions until the end of his reign:

Now Constantius was by-no-means communing-in the war against the Christians with the other rulers. In fact, clothing himself with a different manner, he was making-libation to the God who is over all. Now the others, ravaging the assemblies of God with sieges, were taking them down out of the height into the ground, making the prayer houses disappear to their foundations. But Constantius, lest he might be seen to be dissenting from the instructions of the greater leaders, was allowing<sup>20</sup> the places-of-convening (that is, walls, which were being able to be restituted) to be being demolished. But instead, the true temple of God (which is in humans) he saved unimpaired, guarding the god-revering persons under him unharmed and free-from-disparagement. And indeed, he did not innovate anything else<sup>21</sup> against the Christians, keeping<sup>22</sup> his hands clean of the other emperors’ jinxed alteration-of-piety and altogether-keeping his soul unstained from their foulness. But the other rulers were staining the provinces under them with the slaughters of god-revering both men and women. And indeed, with the confusion of evils of uninstituted<sup>23</sup> idolatry, they were enslaving first themselves, and after-that all the ones obeying them, to misleadings of wicked demons. But Constantius, leading-out the ones who were being reigned under him with a deep peace, was awarding-prizes to the things of the piety for<sup>24</sup> a god, without-grief, to the domestics. And indeed, the other rulers, suspending exactions<sup>25</sup> over all humans, were hanging-over them a lifestyle which was unable-to-supply-a-means-of-livelihood to them and was more-harsh than death. But only Constantius, after he provided the ones being reigned over by him with the principality which was without-grief and placid, was affording aid with his own possessions,<sup>26</sup> lacking paternal solicitude in nothing.

Now Constantius was a mild and good and remarkable man, who, studying the riches of the provinces and the private-individuals, was not aiming to fill the commodities of the public-treasury to full-measure, saying, “It is better for the public wealth to be being held by<sup>27</sup> private-individuals than to be being reserved within one confinement.”

And since he was surpassingly sparing to the ones obeying him, but since some royal treasure of sums-of-money was not amassed to him, the king who was holding-on to the first degree<sup>28</sup> of the principality of the Romans at-that-time, after he sent someone to Constantius, was gravely-blaming him for the belittlement of the common interest, reproaching him for poverty, delivering for an example of the account: the fact that he had obtained nothing for himself being put-away in treasures.

But after Constantius encouraged the ones who were-there from the king to be remaining right-there, he, calling-together the persons under him who were having the widespread riches out of all the nations under the kingdom, was declaring, “I am needing money. And this is a season, in which it is-fitting for each of you\* to demonstrate his own pre-chosen goodwill toward your\* own king.”

But after the persons heard this (as-though they had for<sup>29</sup> a long time prescribed a prayer such as this to demonstrate their good eagerness), they, with both quickness and effort, filled-up the royal treasures with both gold and silver and the remaining sums-of-money, surpassing<sup>30</sup> one-another to give all the more

<sup>17</sup> literally “saw-upon”

<sup>18</sup> literally “played-down”

<sup>19</sup> literally “whose”

<sup>20</sup> literally “suffering”

<sup>21</sup> literally “different”

<sup>22</sup> literally “guarding”

<sup>23</sup> literally “out-of-institute”

<sup>24</sup> literally “into”

<sup>25</sup> literally “acting-intos”

<sup>26</sup> literally “with thing out of his”

<sup>27</sup> literally “from”

<sup>28</sup> literally “step”

<sup>29</sup> literally “out of”

<sup>30</sup> literally “throwing-over”

by means of *their* fondness-of-honor; this they also performed with beaming and smiling faces.

After this<sup>1</sup> surely came-to-be, Constantius called the *ones* who were-there from the great king to become seers-for-themselves of the treasures. Next, he was ordering them<sup>2</sup> to minister for themselves the testimony of *the* sight which they *had* received-from *him* to the *one* who gravely-blamed him with poverty. He *also* put-down<sup>3</sup> the account, that “these *things* were not prepared from moans, not-even out of unrighteous greed. And now, indeed, I gathered these *things* in-the-presence of myself; but they were being guarded for<sup>4</sup> me with care in-the-presence of the masters of the *sums*-of-money, surely such as under faithful deposit-guardians.”

Therefore, indeed, marvel of the *action* restrained the *men* who *had* come. But after the withdrawing of these *men* from *him*, the most-philanthropic king beckoned the lords of the *sums*-of-money. But after they took *it* all from *him*, he declared *for* them to be going-away-to-their-homes, showing-off the men for *their* persuasiveness<sup>5</sup> and good goodwill.

However, so moderate *was* his ornamentation,<sup>6</sup> so that on festival days, if he would be banqueting numerous friends, his three-seated-couches were being spread with silver-*plateware* having been petitioned from-door-to-door.

Therefore, *the* earth was being universally vexed, and, except for Gallia (which was under the rule of Constantius), from *the* east all-the-way to *the* west, *the* three sourest<sup>7</sup> beasts were raging. For, indeed, the chiefs throughout the nations were, out of a command of the *ones* who were holding-power,<sup>8</sup> driving-forward the god-revering *ones* **everywhere** on earth, while *the* judges throughout *the* provinces brought-in incomprehensible and inexpressible punishments against *the* righteous and innocent *ones*. But rushing, very-first of all, out of royal houses themselves, the god-loved testifiers came-through the contests on-behalf-of piety, very-eagerly persevering-to-the-end: fire, and iron, and depths of *the* sea, as-well-as every manner of death, as *if*, in a short *while*, the kingdom everywhere might be widowed of god-revering men.

But as-a-result, a certain wisdom of a pious rationalization was-going-into Constantius alone. For after a choice<sup>9</sup> was stretched-out-before the royal attendants under him, from domestics of theirs even until the chiefs over authority, he gave a preconcerted-signal to them: either, after they sacrificed to the demons, to be being licensed to be remaining in his presence and to be sharing-a-lot-with *him* of the usual honors; or, after they did not perform this, having been locked-off from the passage<sup>10</sup> with himself, both to be being driven-out and to be withdrawing-from both his knowledge and housiness.

Therefore, after they were dividing into two *groups* (the manner of choosing of the each of them being convicted), he uncovered the unnoticed *aspect* of the wise-action. Indeed, he was pronouncing the *ones* guilty-of terror and self-love; but he especially well welcomed the *others* due to their conscience toward God. After-that, he was giving-the-court-decision: Indeed, for the *ones*, as ever betrayers of a god, not-even to be worthy of a king. For how would they keep<sup>11</sup> faith with a king after they were detected<sup>12</sup> with the lack-of-resolve around the better *God*? For-this-reason, he was also giving-a-law that it was necessary for these *persons* to be driven-forward a long-ways-away from the royal houses. But he spoke, that the *ones* who, for<sup>13</sup> the truth, were being testified worthy of a god, would also be<sup>14</sup> of a similar disposition around a king. Therefore, he was arranging them together to be bodyguards and sentries of the kingdom itself, after he declared that it was necessary to be regarding the *ones* such as *this*, employing them among<sup>15</sup> his foremost and obligatory both friends and domestics, and for them to be being honored much more than *the* greatest secret-chambers of treasures.

Up to his death, Constantius (indeed, having come-to-know *one* god alone, the *one* who is over all, and calling-on the Savior God in all his own actions,<sup>16</sup> but having pronounced-guilty the polytheism of the godless-ones) shut his house all around with prayers of holy men. In-this-way, he surely piloted-through all the time of his kingdom stable and placid, and he consecrated-down all his house upon the All-Reigning God, with his boys-and-girls and married-woman along with the attendance of domestics, as *if* the multitude which had been welded-together<sup>17</sup> in *the* royal-palace itself was missing nothing of an assembly of a god, in which together were also public-servants of a god, who were finishing-out the continuous worship-services in-behalf of a king. And these *things* were only being

completely-finished in his presence alone, when in-the-presence of the rest of *the Roman kings*, it was not being consented *even* to be orating *anything* about the race of the god-revering-ones, nor-even as-far-as<sup>18</sup> a bare mention.

Therefore, to *the* Gauls, Constantius was not only amiable, *but* instead yet venerable, precisely because, *under* his imperial-command, they evaded *the* suspicious prudence<sup>19</sup> of Emperor Diocletianus and *the* bloody temerity of Maximianus.

## CHAPTER 18: SEIZURE OF HOLY WRITINGS IN AUTUMNA AND CIRTA [303-05-19] & SECOND FLOOD IN EDESSA

Now when *the* persecution was indicted *against* the Christians (that is, so that they might be sacrificing or might be delivering whatever writings they were having to *the* burning), the seeds of disunity were being sown between Christians throughout Africa, which in time would sprout into a severe split between the rigorists (‘Donatists’ as a sect of them were later being called by their opponents) and the majority of the Christians throughout the Roman orb. But at the present, the significance of the following two events had not yet unearthed itself.

At this time, Alfius Caecilianus *was* a magistrate, a duovir. And he was deigned to be seeing *to* it, that all *under* his jurisdiction might be sacrificing from out of *the* proconsular directive, and, if they might be having any writings, that they might be offering them by following *the* so-called sacred law of *the emperors*.

Alfius Caecilianus was near Zama with Saturninus to completely-prepare linen-garments for themselves. And when they came to Autumnna,<sup>20</sup> *the* Christians themselves sent to him in *the* praetorium, so that they might be saying, “Has *the* sacred command come-through to you?”

He said, “No. Instead, I have already seen examples. And I have seen basilicas at Zama and Furni being totally-ruined and writings being parched. So, *all* of you\*, be proffering, if you\* are having any writings, so that *the* sacred directive might be complied with.”

Then they commissioned men into *the* house of Félix, overseer of Autumnna, so that they might be taking-up writings from-there, so that they might be able to be burned-up<sup>21</sup> following *the* sacred command.

In-this-manner, Galatius proceeded with them to *the* place where they had been accustomed to be celebrating prayers. From-there they brought a chair and letters of salutation. And all *the* doors were combusted following *the* sacred command. And after they were commissioning men to *the* house of *this* same Félix *the* overseer, *the* public officials brought-back-a-message, that that man was absent. (Now this Félix would become a prime figure in the future dispute concerning the rigorists.)

\* \* \* \* \*

In *the* consulate of Diocletianus for *the* eighth time, and Maximianus *Herculius* for *the* seventh time, on *the* fourteenth<sup>22</sup> day before the kalends of June,<sup>23</sup> at *the* colony at Cirta, when *the* persecutors came to a house in which the Christians were convening, Félix *the* perpetual flamen<sup>24</sup> and curator (not Félix *the* overseer of Autumnna), said to Paulus *the* overseer of *the* assembly of Christians at Cirta, “All of you\*, be proffering *the* writings of *the* law, and if you\* are having anything else<sup>25</sup> here, so that you\* might be able to be complying with *the* command and *the* directive.”

Paulus *the* overseer said, “*The* readers have *the* writings. Instead, what **we** have here, we are giving up.”

Félix *the* perpetual flamen and curator said to Paulus *the* overseer, “Be showing *the* readers to us, or be commissioning someone to those men.”

Paulus *the* overseer said, “You\* all are-cognitive of them.”

Félix *the* perpetual flamen and curator of *the* republic said, “We have not come-to-know them.”

Paulus *the* overseer said, “*The* public officials have come-to-know them, that is Edusius and Junius *the* exceptors.”

Félix *the* perpetual flamen and curator of *the* republic said, “*While* *the* account of the readers (who will be pointed-out<sup>26</sup> by *the* officers) is delaying,<sup>27</sup> *all* of you\*, be giving up what you\* have.”

*While* Paulus *the* overseer was sitting, Montanus and Victor, Densatelius and Memorius who were elders, while Mars was standing-near with Helius and Mars who were ministers, Marcucius, Catullinus,<sup>28</sup> Silvanus, and Carosus who were the sub-ministers, Januarius, Meraclus, Fructuosus, Migginis, Saturninus, Victor of Samsuricum and the rest of *the* diggers, Victor of Aufidius wrote-against them in brief in-this-manner:

<sup>18</sup> literally “until”

<sup>19</sup> literally “*the* prudence having been made suspicious”

<sup>20</sup> literally “that place” (referring to a previous segment in the original text)

<sup>21</sup> literally “parched-out”

<sup>22</sup> text / Augustine “eleventh”

<sup>23</sup> 303-05-19 (Augustine 303-05-22)

<sup>24</sup> Some sort of priest assigned to one of fifteen deities with official pagan cults of the gods of the Romans.

<sup>25</sup> literally “different”

<sup>26</sup> literally “demonstrated”

<sup>27</sup> literally “remaining”

<sup>28</sup> emendation (as elsewhere in text) / text “Catullinus”

<sup>1</sup> literally “which”

<sup>2</sup> literally “which”

<sup>3</sup> literally “put-on”

<sup>4</sup> literally “to”

<sup>5</sup> perhaps should be translated “obedience”?

<sup>6</sup> literally “culture”

<sup>7</sup> literally “unripest”

<sup>8</sup> literally “holding-might”

<sup>9</sup> literally “choosing”, usually translated “select”

<sup>10</sup> literally “by-way”

<sup>11</sup> literally “guard”

<sup>12</sup> literally “conquered”

<sup>13</sup> literally “to”

<sup>14</sup> literally “spoke, for *the* ones...a god, to also be”

<sup>15</sup> literally “in”

<sup>16</sup> literally “all the actions of himself”

<sup>17</sup> literally “clapped-together”

Two golden chalices. Likewise, six silver chalices. Six silver pitchers. A silver small-kettle. Seven silver oil-lamps. Two wax-light-bearers. Seven short<sup>1</sup> bronze candles with their lamps. Likewise, eleven bronze oil-lamps with their chains. Eighty two tunics for-women. Thirty eight headdresses-for-women. Sixteen tunics for-men. Thirteen pairs of shoes for-men. Forty seven pairs of shoes for-women. Eighteen rustic clogs.

Félix the perpetual flamen and curator of the republic said to Marcuclius, Silvanus, and Carosus the diggers, “All of you\*, be proffering what you\* have here.”

Silvanus and Carosus said, “What was here, we have totally thrown-out.”<sup>2</sup>

Félix the perpetual flamen and curator of the republic said to Marcuclius, Silvanus, and Carosus, “Your\* response is held in the acts.”

After-this in the libraries,<sup>3</sup> the cupboards were found empty there. There Silvanus proffered a silver little-casket<sup>4</sup> and a silver lamp, who was saying that he found them behind a tun.<sup>5</sup>

Victor of Aufidius said to Silvanus, “You were a dead man,<sup>6</sup> if you might not have found those things.”

Félix the perpetual flamen and curator of the republic said to Silvanus, “Be seeking more-diligently, so that something might not be remaining here.”

Silvanus said, “Nothing has remained. We have totally thrown-out<sup>7</sup> everything which was here.”

And when the dining-room<sup>8</sup> was having been discovered,<sup>9</sup> there were found there: four large-clay-jugs and six tuns.

Félix the perpetual flamen and curator of the republic said, “All of you\*, be proffering any writings which you\* have, so that you\* might be able to be complying with the commands and directive of the emperors.”

Catulinus proffered one quite-too-large greater codex.

Félix the perpetual flamen and curator of the republic said to Marcuclius and Silvanus, “Why have you\* given up one so-large codex? All of you\*, be proffering the writings which you\* have.”

Catulinus and Marcuclius said, “We do not have more, because we are sub-ministers. Instead, the readers have the codices.”

Félix the perpetual flamen and curator of the republic said to Marcuclius and Catulinus, “All of you\*, be pointing-out<sup>10</sup> the readers to us.”

Marcuclius and Catulinus said, “We did not know where they might be remaining.”

Félix the perpetual flamen and curator of the republic said to Catulinus and Marcuclius, “If you\* have not come-to-know where they are remaining, be giving out their names.”

Catulinus and Marcuclius said, “We are not betrayers. Behold, we are here. Be ordering for us to be being cut-down.”

Félix the perpetual flamen and curator of the republic said, “Let them be being taken-back.”

And when they had come<sup>11</sup> to the house of Eugenius, Félix the perpetual flamen and curator of the republic said to Eugenius, “Be proffering the writings which you have, so that you might be able to be complying with the command.”

And he proffered four codices.

Félix the perpetual flamen and curator of the republic said to Silvanus and Carosus, “All of you\*, be pointing-out<sup>12</sup> the rest of the readers.”

Silvanus and Carosus said, “The overseer has already said, that Edusius and Junius the exceptors have come-to-know them all. May they themselves be pointing-out<sup>13</sup> their houses to you.”

Edusius and Junius the exceptors said, “We are pointing them out<sup>14</sup> to you, O lord.”

And after they had come<sup>15</sup> to the house of Félix the mender, he proffered five codices. And after they were coming<sup>16</sup> to the house of Victorinus, he proffered eight codices. And after they had come<sup>17</sup> to the house of Projectus, he proffered five greater codices and two smaller ones.

And when they had come<sup>18</sup> to the house of Victor (he was a professor of Roman literature, a Latin grammarian; his father was a decurion of the city of Constantina (which at that time was called Cirta) and whose grandfather was a

soldier who had not performed-military-service in the royal company; for their origin was descended from Mauritanian blood), Félix the perpetual flamen and curator said to Victor the grammarian, “Be proffering any writings which you have, so that you might be able to be complying with the command.”

Victor the grammarian offered two codices and four five-double-leafed-books.

Félix the perpetual flamen and curator said to Victor, “Be proffering the writings. You have more.”

Victor the grammarian said, “If I would have had more, I would have given them.”

And after they had come<sup>19</sup> to the house of Euticius of Caesarea, Félix the perpetual flamen and curator said, “Be proffering any writings which you have, so that you might be able to be complying with the command.”

Euticius said, “I do not have any.”

Félix the perpetual flamen and curator said to Euticius, “Your profession is holding in the acts.”

And after they had come<sup>20</sup> to the house of Coddeo, his wife proffered six codices.

Félix the perpetual flamen and curator of the republic said, “Be seeking. Might you\* not be having more? Be proffering them.”

The woman responded, “I do not have any.”

Félix the perpetual flamen and curator of the republic said to Bos the public servant, “Be going-in, and be seeking if she might not be having more.”

The public servant said, “I have sought, and I have not found any.”

Félix the perpetual flamen and curator of the republic said to Victorinus, Silvanus, and Carosus, “If any fact might have been smaller, the peril happens to you\*.”

Now from this time forward, the assemblies began to be divided. For those who had delivered (that is, ‘traded’ in the Latin tongue) any holy writings in order to save themselves were being called ‘traitors’ by many of the Christians, and were being accused of sinning as if they had denied the Lord himself. In fact, some parties of Christians who were even more rigorist considered even those who had relinquished any other objects which were asserted to be holy also to be traitors. And if there were any Christians who had substituted other writings in place of the holy writings to be given over in pretext to the ignorant persecutors who were deceived into thinking that these were in fact holy writings, even these individuals were being deemed guilty of being traitors by certain parties of Christians.

Yet other Christians were dismissing such individuals from any accusation of sin, making a vast differentiation between a denial of the Lord and merely handing over writings (which contained things which they themselves had neither denied by their words or actions) and concluding that faith was not dependent on the possession of physical objects, but on the Lord himself.

\* \* \* \* \*

In<sup>21</sup> the year 614 of the kingdom of Alexandros of the Hellenes in the month of Iyyar,<sup>22</sup> Edessa was again taken by the waters, and its eastern walls were broken down and fell for a second time in the days of Diocletianus the king. (Another time having been during the days of Abgar.) And the river carried away and removed all that was in it. And the flood made great havoc in it, both upon humans and livestock, and in all the plain of Edessa and Haran.

## CHAPTER 19: SECOND EDICT AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS / CONFESSION OF DONATUS [303]

But not long into the future (after different individuals throughout the country, being called Meliténé in-this-manner, and, once again, others on-both-sides of Syria, tried to usurp<sup>23</sup> the kingdom), a royal ordinance was roaming-on, ordering all the presidents and the presiders<sup>24</sup> of the assemblies everywhere, indeed, to be first strung in enclosures and to be being delivered in bonds. A multitude of-tens-of-thousands was being barred-down in every place; and the prisons everywhere (having been formerly long-ago equipped<sup>25</sup> for man-murderers and grave-robbers)<sup>26</sup> were then being filled with overseers and elders and ministers, both readers-aloud and adjurer-outers, as to not even still be leaving space<sup>27</sup> to the ones condemned on-the-basis-of evil-works. Next afterward, these documents were ordering the leaders throughout every place to be being obliged-out, by-means-of every machine, to be sacrificing.

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> literally “brief”

<sup>2</sup> literally “ejected”

<sup>3</sup> literally “book-sheaths” / Augustine “book-sheath”

<sup>4</sup> text, Augustine(x2) / Augustine(x1) “little-case” (capsule)

<sup>5</sup> text / Augustine “box”

<sup>6</sup> literally “You had dead.”

<sup>7</sup> literally “ejected”

<sup>8</sup> literally “triclínium”

<sup>9</sup> literally “appeared”

<sup>10</sup> literally “demonstrating”

<sup>11</sup> literally “they are having come”

<sup>12</sup> literally “demonstrating”

<sup>13</sup> literally “demonstrating”

<sup>14</sup> literally “demonstrating them”

<sup>15</sup> literally “had having come”

<sup>16</sup> literally “they would have having come”

<sup>17</sup> literally “had having come”

<sup>18</sup> literally “had having come”

<sup>19</sup> literally “had having come”

<sup>20</sup> literally “had having come”

<sup>21</sup> Account of the flood of Edessa is not my translation, which is from the Syriac original.

<sup>22</sup> 303, between April to June

<sup>23</sup> literally “grow-on”

<sup>24</sup> literally “the ones having stood-before”

<sup>25</sup> literally “packed”

<sup>26</sup> literally “tomb-excavators”

<sup>27</sup> usually translated “country”

Now during *the turbid tempest of the persecution*, a certain Christian named Donatus, who was a close friend of Lactantius, had fallen into the hands of Flaccinus the prefect of Bithynia (no puny murderer), and next into the hands of Hieroklés (*who became a leader from a deputy, and who was an author and councilor to making the persecution*), and last-of-all into the hands of his successor, Priscillianus.

Through these things, Donatus proffered a document to all humans of invincible fortitude. For after he was subjected nine-times to various torments and excruciations, nine-times he was victorious-over the adversary by-means-of a glorious confession; in nine engagements, he won-a-war-against the Slanderer with his satellites; in nine victories, he triumphed-over the age with its terrors. This is a true triumph, when the lords are being dominated. For they were vanquished<sup>1</sup> and subjected by his virtue—since-indeed, after he contemned their heinous directive, he cast-to-the-ground all their apparatuses and terror-incitements of tyrannical authority by-means-of a stable faith and a robust soul. Against him, the lashes availed nothing, the claws nothing, the fire nothing, the iron nothing, the various kinds of torments nothing. No force was able to be taking-away his faith and devotion.

At-length, after those nine glorious fights, in which the Slanderer was vanquished<sup>2</sup> by him, he did not dare to meet-with Donatus any farther, whom (after he proved him by so-many engagements) it was not possible for him to be becoming-superior-to.

## CHAPTER 20: TESTIMONY OF FÉLIX OF TIBIUCA [303-06-05~07-15]

Then the first program of Dioclérianus against the Christians was posted in the civil-community of Tibiuca on the day of the Nones of June.<sup>3</sup> Then Magnilianus the curator directed for the seniors of the community to be brought-through to him, since on the same day the overseer Félix (not the Félix who was overseer of Autumna or the perpetual flamen in Cirta) had been setting-forward for Carthage. But he directed for the elder Apér and the readers Kyrillos and Vitalis to be brought-through to him.

2 Magnilianus the curator said to them,<sup>4</sup> “Do you\* have the divine books?”

3 Apér said, “We have.”

4 Magnilianus the curator said, “You\*, be giving those over to be being parched by fire.”

5 Then Apér said, “Our overseer has those books with him.”

6 Magnilianus the curator said, “Where is he?”

7 Apér said, “I do not know.”

8 Magnilianus the curator said, “Therefore, you\* will be under an official till you\* might be giving-back an account to the proconsul Anullinus.”

9 However, on the following<sup>5</sup> day, the overseer Félix came to Tibiuca from Carthage. Then Magnilianus the curator directed for Félix the overseer to be being brought-through to him by-means-of<sup>6</sup> an officer. 10 Magnilianus the curator said to him,<sup>7</sup> “Are you Félix the overseer?”

11 Félix the overseer said, “I am.”

12 Magnilianus the curator said, “Be giving up whatever books or-even parchments<sup>8</sup> you have.”

13 Félix the overseer said, “I have them. But I will not give them up.”

14 Magnilianus the curator said, “Give up the books, so that they might be able to be parched by fire.”

15 Félix the overseer said, “It would be better for me to be parched by fire rather than the divine writings. Because it is better to be obeying God rather than humans.”

16 Magnilianus the curator said, “What the kings have directed are prior to anything you are uttering.”

17 Félix the overseer said, “The precepts of God are prior to those of humans.”

18 Magnilianus said, “Be rethinking it for three-days.<sup>9</sup> Because, if in this proper civil-community, you might neglect to be fulfilling the things which had been commanded,<sup>10</sup> you will go to the proconsul. And you will be prosecuted by him for these acts which you are now uttering.”

19 However, after three days, the curator directed for Félix the overseer to be being brought-through to him. And he said to him, “Have you rethought it?”

20 Félix the overseer said, “I am merely uttering what I was also uttering prior to this, and I am ready to say it before the proconsul.”

21 Magnilianus the curator said, “Therefore, you will go to the proconsul, and there you will give-back an account.”

22 Then he was assigned<sup>11</sup> someone-to-lead-him-out, Vincentius Celsinus, a decurion of the civil-community of Tibiuca. 23 Then Félix was made-to-go-

forward from Tibiuca for Carthage on the eighteenth before the Kalends of July.<sup>12</sup> As-soon-as when he had come, he was brought-before<sup>13</sup> the legate. Truly, the legate directed for him to be being shoved into a prison. However, on a different day, before light, Félix the overseer was led-before him.

24 The legate said to him,<sup>14</sup> “For-what-reason are you not giving-back these super-vacuous writings?”

25 Félix the overseer said, “I have them. Instead, I will not give them up.”

26 Then the legate directed for him to be committed into the lowest<sup>15</sup> part of the prison. However, after sixteen days, Félix the overseer was brought-forward<sup>16</sup> out of the prison in fetters, at the fourth hour of the night, to Anullinus.

27 Anullinus said to him,<sup>17</sup> “For-what-reason are you not giving-back these super-vacuous writings?”

28 Félix the overseer responded, “I will not give them to you.”

29 Then Anullinus the proconsul directed for him to be being executed<sup>18</sup> by the sword<sup>19</sup> on the Ides of July.<sup>20</sup> 30 After Félix the overseer raised<sup>21</sup> his eyes into the heaven, he said with a clear voice, “God, I give thanks to you. I have fifty-six years in this age. I have guarded my virginity. I have kept the good-messages. I have broadcasted the faith and the truth. O Lord, the God of heaven and earth; O Jesus the Anointed-One—I bend my nape to be a victim to you, who are permanent into the age.”

31 After he<sup>22</sup> completed the prayer, he, after he was led off by the soldiers, was decollated.<sup>23</sup> And he was laid<sup>24</sup> in a way which is being said to be Scillitanorum, in Faustus’ property.<sup>25</sup>

## CHAPTER 21: TESTIMONY OF PROKOPIOS [303-06-07]

For-consequently, a first of all<sup>26</sup> the testifiers of Palaestina to be displayed was called<sup>27</sup> Prokopios. In truth, he was a man of God.<sup>28</sup> For even before his testimony, he dedicated his life to a fondness-of-wisdom (philosophy).<sup>29</sup> And from a child, he embraced chastity of conduct and a most rigorous mode of living. For even his food was bread and his drink water; and these used to be his only food after two or three days. And often he passed even a whole week without food. Moreover,<sup>30</sup> he did not cease day or night from the meditation on the sacred accounts. Yet, as if inferior to the rest, he displayed a bountiful supply of gentleness and meekness as a proof<sup>31</sup> of his character.<sup>32</sup> Though he was so much in the study of the divine words which he had within,<sup>33</sup> he had no mediocre knowledge of this world.<sup>34</sup>

Now Aelia (that is, Jerusalem) was the place of his birth, but he dwelled at Bashan (which is also being called Skythopolis). There he supplied the needs of<sup>35</sup> the assembly with three ministries: First, in the office of a reader. Second, in interpretation of the Syriac language.<sup>36</sup> And third, as an adjurer against demons.<sup>37</sup>

And when he was transmitted<sup>38</sup> with his companions<sup>39</sup> from Bashan to Caesarea of Palaestina, they brought him from the very gates to the leader. And prior to the act to receive a trial of imprisonment and bonds,<sup>40</sup> straightaway from

<sup>12</sup> 303-06-14

<sup>13</sup> literally “he is having been offered to”

<sup>14</sup> literally “whom”

<sup>15</sup> literally “most-inferior”

<sup>16</sup> literally “overseer is having been produced”

<sup>17</sup> literally “whom”

<sup>18</sup> animadverti

<sup>19</sup> Late version “directed for him to be being committed to the prefect of-the-praetorian”

<sup>20</sup> 303-07-15

<sup>21</sup> literally “elevated”

<sup>22</sup> literally “whom”

<sup>23</sup> literally “, is having been decollated”

<sup>24</sup> literally “And he is having been laid”

<sup>25</sup> Late version (for “30 After Félix...Faustus’ property”) “Then the prefect directed for him to be being retaken to his-own prison and to be being bound with greater fetters. However, after nine days, the prefect directed for him to go-by-boat to the emperors. Then Félix the overseer ascended the boat with great fetters, and he was in the repository (lit. box) of the boat for four days. After he was rolled under the feet of the horses, he did not taste bread and water. Fasting, he came-through into the port. And in the civil-community of Agrigentum, he was taken-out by the brothers with topmost honor. From-there he came into the civil-community, Katané by name. There he was similarly taken-out. From-there he came to Messéné. From-there to Tauromenion. There he was taken-out. Afterward, they went-by-boat through the strait into the part of Lucania to a civil-community, Velia by name. From-there he was made-to-go-forward to Venusium, which is a civil-community in the region of Apoulia. Then the prefect directed for Félix to be being ripped-out of his fetters. And he said, “Félix, for-what-reason are you not giving up the writings of-the-Lord? Or perhaps you do not have them?” He responded to him (lit. “whom”), “I indeed have them. Instead, I am not giving them up.” The prefect said, “You\*, be killing Félix with the sword.” Félix the overseer said with a clear voice, “Thanks to you, O Lord, who have deigned me to be being liberated.” And he was led to the place of suffering (furthermore when the moon itself was converted into blood) on the third day before the Kalends of September. (i.e. 303-08-30)

<sup>26</sup> EusL(Lat), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) add

<sup>27</sup> EusL(Lat), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) instead add “crowned”

<sup>28</sup> EusL(Syr1,Syr2) / EusL(Lat) “a man of heavenly favor” / EusL(Gk-Men) omit

<sup>29</sup> EusL(Gk-Men) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) “to great austerity” / EusL(Lat) omit

<sup>30</sup> EusL(Lat) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) “But”

<sup>31</sup> literally (Lat) “document”

<sup>32</sup> EusL(Lat) “Yet...character.” / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) “But (“while” Syr1) he was so careful as concerning his department and virtuous manners (“manners and modest deportment” Syr1) that by gentleness and meekness he surpassed (“instructed” Syr1) all those of his own standing.”

<sup>33</sup> EusL(Lat,Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) add

<sup>34</sup> EusL(Syr1,Syr2) / EusL(Lat) “of those things which are without”

<sup>35</sup> EusL(Gk-Men) (“the needs of”) / EusL(Syr1) “in the order of” / EusL(Lat,Syr2) omit

<sup>36</sup> EusL(Gk-Men,Lat) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) “of the Hellenic language into Syriac”

<sup>37</sup> EusL(Gk-Men,Syr1) / EusL(Lat) “consummating a hand of imposition against demons”

<sup>38</sup> EusL(Lat,Syr1,Syr2) / EusL(Gk-Men) “brought”

<sup>39</sup> EusL(Lat) / EusL(Syr1) “companion confessors” / EusL(Syr2) “other companions”

<sup>40</sup> EusL(Lat,Syr2), EusS(Gk; lit. “guarding” for “imprisonment”, omit “and bonds”) / EusL(Syr1) omit “prior...bonds”

<sup>1</sup>literally this word is the passive form of “being-victorious-over”

<sup>2</sup> literally this word is the passive form of “being-victorious-over”

<sup>3</sup> 303-06-05

<sup>4</sup> literally “whom”

<sup>5</sup> literally “posterior”

<sup>6</sup> literally “through”

<sup>7</sup> literally “whom”

<sup>8</sup> literally “membranes”

<sup>9</sup> literally “this with within three-days”

<sup>10</sup> literally “which are having been precepted”

<sup>11</sup> literally “he is having been assigned”

the time of his first entrance,<sup>1</sup> after he was caused to stand-by the leader's courts-of-justice, the judge, whose name was Flavianus,<sup>2</sup> said to him, "It is necessary for you to sacrifice to the gods."<sup>3</sup>

But after he was ordered to sacrifice, he declared<sup>4</sup> with a great voice, "There is but one god only, the Maker and Creator of all things, to whom it is suiting to be sacrificing as he himself is wishing."<sup>5</sup>

But the judge, after he was smitten by the blow of the testifier's account in his heart,<sup>6</sup> assented to his proposition.<sup>6</sup> And, withdrawing his former order, he changed it for another,<sup>7</sup> directing<sup>8</sup> him to make-libation to the emperors, who were four in number.<sup>9</sup>

But the holy testifier of God despised his words; and he vocalized a certain saying of the greatest poet of the Hellenes,<sup>10</sup> that, "A plurality-of-sovereigns is not good; let there be being one sovereign, one king." (Homer: Iliad 2:204-205)

And due to this answer,<sup>11</sup> which was unfavorable to the kings, he, by the order of the judge, was led to death. And at-once, the head of *Prokopios* was chopped-off. And this testimony<sup>12</sup> was the first sign which was finished-off at Caesarea of Palaestina in the first year of the pursuit of the Christians under Emperor *Diocletianus*, on the 7th<sup>13</sup> day of the month *Daisios*<sup>14</sup> (or the 7th day before the Ides of June, as they would be saying in-the-presence of Romans), day four after the sabbath.<sup>15</sup>

## CHAPTER 22: THIRD EDICT AGAINST CHRISTIANS [by 303-11-17]

Now by mid-November, a different decree of *Diocletianus* overtook the first documents, in which the persons who were locked-down in prison were ordered: indeed, if-at-any-time they sacrificed, to be stepping into<sup>16</sup> freedom; but, if they were standing-in their resolve, to be being combed-out with ten-thousand tortures. Therefore, as a result, there was an innumerable multitude of testifiers, especially in Africa and the nation of the Moors, both *Thébaïs* and in Egypt. After they came-forward out of Egypt and into both different cities and provinces, they became-eminant by means of their testimonies.

Now marvelous were the ones who testified on their domestic earth of Egypt. There tens-of-thousands to the number: men, simultaneously with women and boys-and-girls, after they despised the temporary life in-behalf of the teaching of our Savior, endured diverse deaths. Indeed, the ones of them, after scrapings and twistings, both the harshest whips and tens-of-thousands of other various and shuddering to hear tortures were delivered to a fire. But the ones were brought-down-into-the-depths-of the open-sea. But others stretched their-own heads out with-good-courage before the ones who were chopping them off. But the ones even died-off-in the tortures. But different ones were utterly-destroyed with famine. And again others were fixed-up-on-a-pale: indeed, the ones in-accordance-with the usual custom of the evil-workers; but the ones even for-the-worse were nailed-to a cross with their head reversely<sup>17</sup> downward, being kept alive<sup>18</sup> into the time when they themselves would even be utterly-destroyed on a scaffolding by-means-of famine.

Indeed, others were being-done-away-with by-means-of poleaxes, such-as what came-to-be to the ones on Arab. But legs were being fractured, such-as what happened to the ones in *Kappadokia*.

## CHAPTER 23: TESTIMONIES OF ALFEIOS & ZAKKAI [303-11-17]

Now after the third edict was issued, at the same city of Caesarea of Palaestina, then most (as-many-as were chiefs of the assemblies in-the-country) after they eagerly became-athletes-in<sup>19</sup> terrible torments, exhibited great contests of history to the ones who looked-in.<sup>20</sup> But tens-of-thousands of others, after they became-numb in the soul under terror, off-hand, weakened-out in-this-manner from the first strike-against them. But of the rest, each one received-in-exchange<sup>21</sup> diverse forms<sup>22</sup> of tortures:

Indeed, then the body of the one was being tormented with innumerable whips. But then the other was being punished with twistings and combing-outs of the sides as-well-as unendurable bonds<sup>23</sup> (by which it happened to some

individuals for their hands to be permanently drooped). On-the-basis-of these<sup>24</sup> things, some individuals already did not carry-away an auspicious end of their life.

But others were once again passing-throughout other contests, but they similarly bore what<sup>25</sup> resulted in their end in-accordance-with<sup>26</sup> the ineffable judgments of God. For indeed, while they were altogether-pushing<sup>27</sup> certain different man by means of force, and were restraining his hands, and were leading him to the altar, to the all-stained and impure sacrifices, as-well-as tossing the both stained and jinxed sacrifice against his<sup>28</sup> right hand, he was released-from them as if he would have sacrificed, even if he was not having sacrificed. But the other individual, even after he did not approach-near it at-all<sup>29</sup> nor-even laid-hold of something jinxed, but because different individuals had<sup>30</sup> stated that he had<sup>31</sup> sacrificed, was going-away, bearing the blackmail with quietness.<sup>32</sup>

Another, being picked-up as a half-dead person, was being cast aside as if he would already be dead. And, yet, he was unfasted of his bonds, having been accounted in the number of those who have sacrificed.

And once again, a certain person, being laid on the ground, was being dragged a long-ways-away by the feet, having also been accounted in the number of those who have sacrificed.

But a<sup>33</sup> certain man was crying out and was thoroughly-testifying with a great voice concerning the denial of the sacrifice, that he is not being-compliant. And another had shouted, that he was a Christian, brightening himself with the confession of the saving designation.

A different man was relating<sup>34</sup> the fact that he has not sacrificed but that he will not sacrifice at-any-time.

But therefore, these men, while also similarly being hit against the mouth and being silenced by the multitude-of-hands of the military line which were having been assigned on-behalf-of this purpose, as-well-as being beat against the face and cheek, were being driven-out by force, even if they were not having sacrificed. This-was-how, out of everything,<sup>35</sup> the enemies of the reverence-for-God were beginning<sup>36</sup> the state to be thinking that they had accomplished many things for themselves.<sup>37</sup> Instead, these things did not progress against the holy testifiers themselves.

Now therefore, out of so-many, there were only two who were considered-worthy of the crown of the holy testifiers. For it came-to-be, at that time, that the festival of the twentieth-anniversary of the emperors was drawing-near, and an amnesty was proclaimed at the festival for the ones who were in prison. And before the festival, the leader of the province came, and he enquired about the prisoners who were in confinement. And some of them, by the gentleness of the emperors, were released. But he treated the testifiers of God shamelessly with tortures, as though they were worse than thieves and murderers.

Therefore, *Zakkai* (who was a minister of the assembly in the city of *Gader*, and whose acquaintances had named him *Zakkai* by way of honor) was led in with a heavy iron collar on his neck.<sup>38</sup> And coming before the platform,<sup>39</sup> he rejoiced in his confession for the sake of the Anointed-One.<sup>40</sup> And after he spoke the accounts of God in the presence of the judge, he was delivered over to all the pains of chastisement. And after he was first whipped, he was made to endure severe scrapings. And after these things, he was again committed to the prison. And there, his feet were stretched-out-beside the fourth points<sup>41</sup> of the instrument-of-chastisement, a piece of wood,<sup>42</sup> for a-night-and-a-day.<sup>43</sup>

And *Alfeios*, a most-lovable man, endured afflictions and sufferings similar to these. He was sprung of a most-illustrious family in the city of *Eleutheropolis*; and in the assembly of Caesarea of Palaestina, he was honored with the dignity of reader-aloud and adjurer. But before he became a confessor, he was a preacher and teacher of the account of God. And he had great confidence toward all humans—and this of itself was the worthy cause of his being brought to his confession of the truth.

And because *Alfeios* saw, that at that time laxity and great fear had fallen upon all humans and that many were swept along, as it were, before the force of many waters and were led<sup>44</sup> to the foul worship of idols, he deliberated how he might withstand the force of the evil by his fortitude, and how he, by his mighty words,

<sup>1</sup> EusL(Lat,Syr1), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr2) omit "straightaway...entrance"

<sup>2</sup> EusL(Syr1,Lat) / EusL(Syr2) "Paulinus" (in error) // EusL(Lat) (perhaps supported by EusS(Gk)) "justice, he was being impelled so that he might be sacrificing to the gods"

<sup>3</sup> EusL(Lat,Syr1,Syr2), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk-Men) "demons"

<sup>4</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Syr1,Syr2) / EusL(Lat) "testified"

<sup>5</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) add / EusL(Lat) instead add "and was wounded by his conscience"

<sup>6</sup> EusL(Lat,Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) omit "assented to his proposition"

<sup>7</sup> EusL(Syr1,Syr2) / EusL(Lat) "And, constituting himself again to other arguments"

<sup>8</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) "saying that" / EusL(Lat) "that"

<sup>9</sup> EusL(Syr1,Syr2), supported by EusS(Gk) / EusL(Lat) omit "who were four in number"

<sup>10</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) "of Homeros the...Hellenes" / EusL(Lat) "of Homeros" / EusL(Gk-Men), EusS(Gk) omit

<sup>11</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Lat,Syr2) "And with this word" / EusL(Gk-Men) "And forthwith"

<sup>12</sup> EusL(Lat,Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) "confessor"

<sup>13</sup> Martyrs(Syr), some Eus / most Eus incorrectly "8th" (303-06-07 (or incorrectly 303-06-08))

<sup>14</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) "Heziran"

<sup>15</sup> literally "day four of a sabbath" (Hebrew does not have a unique word for "week")

<sup>16</sup> literally "upon"

<sup>17</sup> literally "up-again"

<sup>18</sup> literally "living"

<sup>19</sup> Eus(8.3.1) / Eus(MartyrsS) "became-athletes-through"

<sup>20</sup> literally "saw-in"

<sup>21</sup> Eus(8.3.1) / Eus(MartyrsS) "one interchanged"

<sup>22</sup> literally "sights"

<sup>23</sup> Eus(MartyrsS) "bonds" / Eus(8.3.1) "scrapings"

<sup>24</sup> literally "which"

<sup>25</sup> literally "bore the thing which"

<sup>26</sup> literally "following"

<sup>27</sup> literally "the"

<sup>28</sup> literally "the"

<sup>29</sup> literally "it wholly"

<sup>30</sup> literally "have"

<sup>31</sup> literally "has"

<sup>32</sup> Eus(8.3.2) / Eus(MartyrsS) "after he kept-quiet"

<sup>33</sup> literally "the"

<sup>34</sup> literally "stretching-to-the-utmost"

<sup>35</sup> Eus(8.3.4) / Eus(MartyrsS) "everything" (non-emphatic)

<sup>36</sup> Eus(MartyrsS) / Eus(8.3.4) "were putting down"

<sup>37</sup> literally "thinking to have accomplished for themselves about much"

<sup>38</sup> EusL(Gk-Men,Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) omit "with...neck"

<sup>39</sup> EusL(Gk-Men,Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) "judge"

<sup>40</sup> EusL(Syr1,Syr2) / EusL(Gk-Men) "he remained unchanged in his faith in the Anointed-One"

<sup>41</sup> literally "beside under fours"

<sup>42</sup> may also be translated "of the piece of wood of an instrument-of-chastisement"

<sup>43</sup> EusL(Gk-Men,Syr2), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "for a whole day and a whole night"

<sup>44</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) "were falling headlong"



might repress the terrible billows.<sup>1</sup> And, he, of his own will, threw himself into the midst of the crowd of the oppressors. And, with words of warning, he reproached those, who from their fear<sup>2</sup> were drawn into error; and he turned them from the worship of idols, and brought to their remembrance the accounts which were spoken by our Savior about confession.

And after Alfeios, full of courage and bravery, acted in this manner with boldness, the soldiers arrested him. And they immediately brought him before the judge before whom he freely spoke with the utterance of a freeman, and gave answers with words of godliness. In consequence of these *things*,<sup>3</sup> he was sent to prison.

And after some days, they brought him again before the judge, and his whole body was torn by severe whippings without pity. But the fortitude of his mind continued erect before the judge; and, by his words, he withstood all error. And they tortured him on his sides with the severe scrapings. But at length, after he had wearied out the judge and the *ones who were* ministering to the judge's will, he was again committed to prison, together with another fellow-combatant, Zakkai. And there he was stretched-out on that instrument of torture, a *piece of wood*,<sup>4</sup> to five holes,<sup>5</sup> for a night-and-a-day.<sup>6</sup>

For the third time,<sup>7</sup> the two of them were together brought before the judge. And he ordered them to sacrifice to the emperors.

But they confessed, saying, "We know only one god and anointed-one Jesus,<sup>8</sup> the King of all."

And after they uttered these words in *their presence*, as if they had vocalized some revilement, *their heads were cut-off* like the former testifier, *Prokopios*. But the day of their testimony was the 17th<sup>9</sup> day of the month Dios<sup>10</sup> (that is in-the-presence-of the Romans, the 15th day before the Kalends of December).<sup>11</sup>

#### CHAPTER 24: TESTIMONY OF ROMANUS [303-11-17]

And on the same day, Romanus also testified at the city of Antiocheia. Now Romanus was a Palaestinian; and he was both a minister and an adjurer-outer in one of the villages<sup>12</sup> of the sojourn<sup>13</sup> in<sup>14</sup> Caesarea. Therefore, he also was stretched upon the wood. And<sup>15</sup> Like as Alfeios the testifier did at Caesarea,<sup>16</sup> so the blessed Romanus, by his words of denunciation, deterred from sacrificing<sup>17</sup> those whom terror was dragging down to the error of idol-worship,<sup>18</sup> putting them in mind of the fear of God. And at the taking-down of the assemblies, he dared to go together with the multitude who were led into error by violence,<sup>19</sup> and, there at Antiocheia,<sup>20</sup> to appear, self-called,<sup>21</sup> before the judge, Asklepiadés. And after he heard the judge commanding them to sacrifice, and after he saw<sup>22</sup> many men, simultaneously with women and children, in-piles, both approaching to the idols in haste because of their fears and being driven on in their distraction<sup>23</sup> to be sacrificing, this zealous man deemed the grievous sight to be insufferable. And he had pity on them as toward those who were groping in abysmal darkness and about to fall from a precipice.

Therefore, he, with a zeal of reverence-for-God, after he approached those individuals, having shouted with a great voice, was sharply-rebuking them and making the teaching of godliness to shine before them like the rising sun. And he said, "To where are you\* being led, O humans? And are you\* all descending to hurl yourselves into the abyss? Lift up the eyes of your\* mind on high, and you\* will know, above all the worlds, the God and the Savior of all the ends of the world.<sup>24</sup> And do not abandon for error the commandment which was entrusted to you\* by your\* Creator.<sup>25</sup> And the goddess error of the service of demons will be manifested to you\*. And also remember the righteous judgments of the God who is over all."<sup>26</sup>

And after he cried out<sup>27</sup> to them in this manner with a great voice, and after he fearlessly bore witness with a courageous mind,<sup>28</sup> by the command of the dealer-

of-justice who was in office there,<sup>29</sup> the questioners laid hold of him and gave-the-court-decision<sup>30</sup> against him of the death through fire. For the cunning dealer-of-justice<sup>31</sup> perceived, that, by the answers of the testifier, many were strengthened, and he was inciting many to resist error;<sup>32</sup> and, moreover, Diocletianus, the chief of the emperors, was in the city.

Immediately,<sup>33</sup> after Romanus greetingly fully-accepted<sup>34</sup> the court-decision with a beaming face and an especially well eager disposition, they led-away the blessed-one into the midst of the city of Antiocheia. And he reached the place where he was to be executed. And the wood was brought-together upon him for the fire, and they were making every effort to become-compliant to the command with haste.

Next, while he was being bound-to the stake, and while the ones who were going to be setting the pyre on fire-from-underneath were expecting the adjudging of the king, who was-present-on-hand, he was crying out, "Where is the fire for<sup>35</sup> me?"

But after the king (that is, Emperor Diocletianus) heard what was done, he ordered that they should withdraw the testifier from death by fire. For he said, that death by fire was too small a punishment for his insolence and perversity.

While Romanus was saying these things, he was made-to-be recalled to the king. And Diocletianus, like a merciful<sup>36</sup> king, ordered a newer type of chastisement of the tongue for the testifier, that his tongue should be cut out.

Accordingly, the noble-man, after he learned of the innovation<sup>37</sup> of the chastisement and after he was not struck-down with astonishment, was jovially projecting his tongue,<sup>38</sup> affording it, most-eagerly readily-turning, to the ones who cut it off. Nevertheless, after he was thrown-under the chastisement, and after he most-manly endured the cutting-off of that member by which he spoke, his true love was not removed from him,<sup>39</sup> nor was the tongue of his understanding silenced from preaching.<sup>40</sup>

And immediately, he received from God (the King of all) a recompense for the fight which he fought in the hour of trial; and he was filled with a power greater than he had before. Then an exceeding marvel took hold of all persons: For he, whose tongue had been cut out, by the favor of God, immediately spoke powerfully; and he gloried boldly in the faith, as though he were by the side of the One whose confessor he was. And with a radiant and joyful countenance, he greeted his acquaintances, and he sowed the seed of the account of God in the ears of all, and he preached to all humans that they should worship God alone, and he sent up supplication and thanksgiving to God who works marvels. And after these things were done, he, magnificently before all humans, testified to the account of the Anointed-One, and, by-means-of works, showed the power of the One whose confessor he was.

And after he did this for a long time,<sup>41</sup> he was thrown into bonds and he was also exerted on-the-spot for the longest<sup>42</sup> time. At-last, with the twentieth-anniversary-of-the-chief impending,<sup>43</sup> in-accordance-with a gift which is-the-law of the Romans, freedom was preached-up to all the ones who were in the bonds every-place-every-where. But he alone had both his<sup>44</sup> feet stretched-to-the-utmost under five points<sup>45</sup> in the wood. And, by the command of the emperors,<sup>46</sup> a noose was thrown around his neck, even while he was being in his bonds<sup>47</sup> in the prison. And he, after he was strangled (as he even yearned-for), was fully-ornamented with a testimony.

And Romanus, a Palaestinian, died at Antiocheia on the same day as the blessed testifiers who were the companions of Zakkai. Indeed, these things were finished-off in this manner in the first year, the pursuit having been hung-over against only the presidents of the assembly.

#### CHAPTER 25: 20<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF DIOCLÉTIANUS [303-11-20 ~ 304-01-01] & DEATH OF MARCELLINUS OF ROMA [304-01-15]

Accordingly, after this crime against the Christians was perpetrated, Emperor Diocletianus (when felicity would have already receded from him) steadily went-on for Roma, so that he might be celebrating the day of his twentieth-anniversary, which was to be on the twelfth day before the Kalends of December.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>1</sup> EusL(Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) add

<sup>2</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) "laxity"

<sup>3</sup> EusL(Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) "After these things"

<sup>4</sup> may also be translated "of the piece of wood of an instrument-of-chastisement"

<sup>5</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) add

<sup>6</sup> EusL(Syr2), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "for a whole day and a whole night"

<sup>7</sup> EusL(Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) "After three days"

<sup>8</sup> EusL(Syr1,Syr2) / EusS(Gk) which is a summary add

<sup>9</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk-Men) "18th" / EusL(Syr1) "7th" / EusL(Syr2) omit

<sup>10</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Gk-Men) / EusL(Syr1) "of Teshri the latter" / EusL(Syr2) omit "But...December"

<sup>11</sup> 303-11-17

<sup>12</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Gk-Men) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) add

<sup>13</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Gk-Men,Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) omit "of the sojourn"

<sup>14</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Gk-Men,Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) "of"

<sup>15</sup> EusL(Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) add

<sup>16</sup> EusL(Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) add

<sup>17</sup> EusL(Syr1,Syr2) add

<sup>18</sup> EusL(Gk-Men) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) "demons"

<sup>19</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) omit "who were led into error by violence"

<sup>20</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) omit "there at Antiocheia"

<sup>21</sup> EusL(Gk-Men) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) omit "self-called"

<sup>22</sup> literally "saw-in"

<sup>23</sup> EusL(Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) add

<sup>24</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) "of all humans"

<sup>25</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) add

<sup>26</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) omit "who is over all"

<sup>27</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) "he said"

<sup>28</sup> EusL(Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) "he stood there without fear and without trepidation"

<sup>29</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) omit "who was in office there"

<sup>30</sup> literally "shone-forth"

<sup>31</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) "the wicked man"

<sup>32</sup> EusL(Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) add

<sup>33</sup> EusL(Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) "; strengthened...error, because the slave of Jesus did these things where the emperors were, immediately"

<sup>34</sup> literally "accepted-down"

<sup>35</sup> literally "to"

<sup>36</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) "pitiless"

<sup>37</sup> literally "new-working"

<sup>38</sup> literally "throwing the tongue before (him)"

<sup>39</sup> EusL(Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) "from his God"

<sup>40</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) omit "nor was...preaching"

<sup>41</sup> EusL(Gk-Men,Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) omit "for a long time"

<sup>42</sup> literally "most"

<sup>43</sup> literally "standing-over"

<sup>44</sup> literally "the"

<sup>45</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Gk-Men,Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) "; he was again stretched"

<sup>46</sup> EusL(Gk-Men) / EusL(Syr2) "emperor" / EusL(Syr1) "leader and judge"

<sup>47</sup> EusL(Gk-Men, Syr2) / EusS(Gk) "in it with the wood" / EusL(Syr1) omit

<sup>48</sup> 303-11-20

At Roma, Dioclétianus and Maximianus Herculeus, the August-Ones, celebrated-*their*-triumph over<sup>1</sup> numerous nations with a remarkable pomp of litters. Being led ahead of their chariot *were the mates and sisters and children of Narseh*, and all the loot which they had despoiled *from the Parthians*.

After certain solemnities were celebrated, *Dioclétianus* was not being able to be bearing the Roman people; impatient and ill of soul, he broke-forth out of the city *while the Kalends of January<sup>2</sup> were impending, the day on which the consulship was being conferred on him for the ninth time*. He was not able to be tolerating thirteen days of waiting, so that, instead of at Roma, he might be making-*his*-appearance<sup>3</sup> as consul at Ravenna. But after he progressed *while winter was raging<sup>4</sup>*, he, after he was lashed by cold and-also by rains, contracted a light and perpetual sickness. After he was vexed throughout the entire journey,<sup>5</sup> he was being conveyed for most of it on a litter.

\* \* \* \* \*

Now Marcellinus held the oversight of the assembly of the Romans for 8 years, 3 months, and 25 days, until *the consulate of Dioclétianus for the 9<sup>th</sup> time and Maximianus for the 8<sup>th</sup> time*. For in this time, Marcellinus was overtaken by the persecution, but he was not killed as a testifier. And on the 18<sup>th</sup> day before the Kalends of February,<sup>6</sup> he was buried in the cemetery of Priscilla which is on the Salarian Way in Roma. And, due to the persecution, *the oversight ceased for [7]<sup>7</sup> years, 6 months, and 25 days*.

And sometime afterward, various reports were being spread about Marcellinus, overseer of Roma. Indeed, some were charging Marcellinus, and his elders, Miltiadés, and Marcellus, and Silvester, with being betrayers of divine codices and with thurification at the time when Maximianus was broadcasting for humans to be thurifying and to be burning codices of-the-Lord. But others were claiming that, on the contrary, Marcellus had been eminent in the persecution.<sup>8</sup>

Now also about this time, Victorinus, overseer of Poetovio, was crowned<sup>9</sup> with a testimony.

#### CHAPTER 26: FOURTH EDICT AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS [304-01 or 02] & TOWN IN PHRYGIA AND TESTIMONY OF ADAUCTUS

Now *the second year of the pursuit of the Christians* took-hold, and, further, the war against the Christians was stretched-upon them more-exceedingly. Urbanus was leading the province of *Palaestina* at-this-time, who had succeeded the leader, Flavianus. Royal documents roamed amongst them for the second time, much worse than<sup>10</sup> the first ones threatening a pursuit to all.<sup>11</sup> For the first ones<sup>12</sup> gave a commandment regarding the presidents of the assembly of God alone, for them to be sacrificing. But in the second ones, there was a grievous command, in which, by means of a universal ordinance, all persons as-an-entire-populace city by city,<sup>13</sup> men and women and their children,<sup>14</sup> were being directed both to be sacrificing and to be making-libations to the soulless idols.<sup>15</sup> For<sup>16</sup> Such were the commands of the tyrants, who in their madness desired to make war against God,<sup>17</sup> the King of all.

\* \* \* \* \*

Now having accepted authority, each governor became-savage according-to<sup>18</sup> his-own individual custom. Different individuals, on-account-of much timidity, had been<sup>19</sup> acting more audacious than what was being directed by the edict. Different individuals acted on-account-of their-own particular<sup>20</sup> hatred against the righteous-ones; certain individuals by natural ferocity of mind. Several even did so, so that they might be pleasing, and, by this office, might be securing<sup>21</sup> a way for<sup>22</sup> themselves to higher positions. Some stood-forth headlong to be cutting-down the Christians, as one did in a city in Phrygia.

<sup>1</sup> literally "out of"

<sup>2</sup> 304-01-01

<sup>3</sup> literally "might be proceeding"

<sup>4</sup> literally "being savage"

<sup>5</sup> literally "going"

<sup>6</sup> 304-01-15

<sup>7</sup> "7" years in the manuscript is definitely incorrect. This date betrays the chronography itself, which picks back up in 308.

<sup>8</sup> literally "pursuit"

<sup>9</sup> literally "is having been crowned"

<sup>10</sup> EusL(Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) "in addition to"

<sup>11</sup> EusL(Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) add

<sup>12</sup> EusL(Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) "For in the first ones he"

<sup>13</sup> literally "the city throughout city"

<sup>14</sup> EusL(Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) omit "and their children"

<sup>15</sup> EusS(Gk, minus "soulless") / EusL(Syr1) "directed to be sacrificing to the soulless idols, and a law was imposed for them to be making-libations to demons" / EusL(Syr2) "directed to be sacrificing to the soulless idols"

<sup>16</sup> EusL(Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) add

<sup>17</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) omit "God"

<sup>18</sup> literally "before/on-behalf-of"

<sup>19</sup> literally "are having been"

<sup>20</sup> literally "proper"

<sup>21</sup> literally "walling"

<sup>22</sup> literally "to"

For after heavy-armed-men threw themselves in a-circle on-both-sides around a whole small-city<sup>23</sup> of Christians, men-and-all, as-well-as after they set-it-on-fire-from-underneath,<sup>24</sup> they incinerated<sup>25</sup> the populace universally—them simultaneously with infants and women who were crying-out-loudly<sup>26</sup> to the god who is over all things. They cremated them at-once with their small-convent itself. They surely did this, because all the ones who were dwelling at the city, including both an accountant himself, and a general along with all the ones in magistracy, and the whole populace, as-an-entire-populace, confessing themselves to be Christians, were not-even obeying-the-chiefs: the ones who were ordering them to be worshipping-idols.

And there was a certain different individual who had taken\*-hold of Roman worthiness, Adauctus by name. He was of the famous-ones among<sup>27</sup> Italians by race, who came-forward through every honor which<sup>28</sup> is in-the-presence of kings, so as to blamelessly pass-through<sup>29</sup> even the universal administrations of what is being called in-their-presence both magistracy and supervision-of-accounts.<sup>30</sup> Above<sup>31</sup> all these things, after he was eminent in the achievements<sup>32</sup> in reverence-for-God and in the confession into the Anointed-One of God, he was fully-ornamented with the diadem of the testimony, after he endured the contest in-behalf of piety during his activity of being the supervisor-of-accounts.<sup>33</sup>

Now in Bithynia, Lactantius saw the president having been marvelously elated with joy, as-though he might have subjugated<sup>34</sup> some nation of barbarians, because one who had resisted through two-years with great virtue was finally seen<sup>35</sup> to cede. Accordingly, they were contending so that they might be vanquishing and they were sending-in exquisite pains on their bodies, and they were shunning nothing else but that the Christians might not be made-to-die after they were tortured. However, those evil individuals, with pertinacious foolishness, were directing for care to be being diligently held-toward those who were tortured, so that their members might be being renewed for other excruciations, and for new blood to be being restored<sup>36</sup> for punishment. And on this account, since they merely tortured the innocent Christians but none were dispatched,<sup>37</sup> Lactantius himself even heard some of the judges glorying because their-own administration had been, in this respect,<sup>38</sup> without-bloodshed.

#### CHAPTER 27: ACTS OF THE ABITINIAN TESTIFIERS [304-02-12]

Here begins the confessions and the acts of the testifiers, Saturninus the elder, Dativus, Félix, Ampelius, and the rest of the ones who have been written below. They,<sup>39</sup> due to the places of collection and writings-of-the-Lord, after they confessed the Lord under Anullinus (then proconsul of Africa) on the day before the Ides<sup>40</sup> of February at Carthage, in locations which were diverse<sup>41</sup> and at times which were separated,<sup>42</sup> poured-forth their blood.

For in the times of Dioclétianus and Maximianus, the Slanderer indicted a war against the Christians in this mode, that he was petitioning to be burning-up<sup>43</sup> the most-holy testaments of the Lord and the divine writings, and was subverting the basilicas of-the-Lord, and was prohibiting the sacred rites and the most-holy coming-together<sup>44</sup> of Christians to be being celebrated with the Lord.

Now after the conflict began in the civil-community of Abitina,<sup>45</sup> the testifiers gathered in the house of Octavius<sup>46</sup> Félix. While they were celebrating there from out of the custom of-the-lord, they were<sup>o</sup> apprehended by the magistrates who were from the colony but-also by the soldier stationed by him. These are the Christians who were apprehended: Saturninus the elder with four sons-and-daughters, that is, Saturninus junior and Félix the readers, Maria the one in-a-state-of-holiness, Hilarianus the infant; likewise, Dativus the one who is also a senator, Félix, a different Félix, Emeritus, Ampelius, Rogatianus, Quintus, Maximilianus, Felica, Rogatianus, Rogatus, Januarius, Cassianus, Victorianus, Vincentius, Caecilianus, Restituta, Prima, Eva, Rogatianus, Givalius, Rogatus, Pomponia, Secunda, Januaria, Saturnina, Martinus, Clautus, Félix, Margarita the

<sup>23</sup> most Eusebios / some Eusebios, Rufinus, Nikephoros "city"

<sup>24</sup> literally "they set-on-fire-from-underneath a fire"

<sup>25</sup> literally "flamed-down"

<sup>26</sup> literally "crying-on"

<sup>27</sup> literally "besides/in-the-presence-of"

<sup>28</sup> literally "every honor the"

<sup>29</sup> literally "come-through"

<sup>30</sup> literally "universality"

<sup>31</sup> literally "On"

<sup>32</sup> literally "things-straightened-down"; less literally "things-done-correctly"

<sup>33</sup> literally "universaler"

<sup>34</sup> literally "driven-under"

<sup>35</sup> literally "viewed"

<sup>36</sup> literally "repaired"

<sup>37</sup> literally "send-forth" or "emit"

<sup>38</sup> literally "part"

<sup>39</sup> literally "who"

<sup>40</sup> (304)-02-12 (manuscript, Augustine) / some "on the fifteenth before the Kalends" ((304-01-18) / some omit the date altogether

<sup>41</sup> literally "diverted"

<sup>42</sup> literally "discerned"

<sup>43</sup> literally "parching-out"

<sup>44</sup> literally "going-together"

<sup>45</sup> variant "Alutina" / variant "Aletina"

<sup>46</sup> variant "Oceanus"

great, Honorata, Regiola, Victorianus, Pelusius, Faustus,<sup>1</sup> Datianus, Matrona, Cecilia, Victoria, Herectina, Secunda,<sup>2</sup> likewise a matron named Januaria.

These<sup>3</sup> who were apprehended were being led-forward with-alacrity to the forum. Dativus was going first.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore the elder Saturninus was going, having been surrounded<sup>5</sup> by his numerous children. A part of them became associates with him toward giving a testimony; a part were relinquished to the assembly. Then followed the rest. Instead, they already came-through to the forum of the civil-community of Abitina. Having been congregated, they first took-up the palm of confession to their short-saying before the magistrate.

For in this same forum, Fundanus (who was overseer of the civil-community itself on-one-occasion) was delivering the writings-of-the-lord to be burned-up.<sup>6</sup> When some magistrates had laid sacrilegious fires to them,<sup>7</sup> rain was<sup>o</sup> suddenly diffused from the serene heaven. The fire, having been moved-toward the holy writings, was<sup>o</sup> being extinguished. Hailstones were<sup>o</sup> falling.<sup>8</sup> Every region was<sup>o</sup> itself being devastated by furious elements<sup>9</sup> before the writings-of-the-lord.

Accordingly, of this civil-community, the testifiers of the Anointed-One first welcomed the fetters which were opted-for, and they were setting themselves straight, with alacrity but-also cheer, through the total journey to Carthage. They were psalming and singing hymns to the Lord. After everyone was coming-through to the office of Anullinus (who was then the proconsul), they were standing in line, constantly and with-fortitude.

Accordingly, when they were to be offered by the official to the proconsul and it was being suggested that the Christians would have been transmitted by the magistrates of Abitina (the ones who had celebrated the place of collection of the-lord in-contradiction to the interdiction of the emperors and of the Caesars), the proconsul first interrogated<sup>o</sup> Dativus, what might be his condition and where might they have made their place of collection.

When he<sup>10</sup> was professing himself to be a Christian and to have been in the place of collection, Anullinus requested<sup>o</sup> to know who was the author of the place of collection itself. And straightaway, he directed<sup>o</sup> for the same official to be lifting him up from-below and to be put into the horse-rack, and, after he was stretched-out, to be preparing the claws. Instead, when the butchers were completing the cruel<sup>11</sup> directives with harsh swiftness<sup>12</sup> and they were standing, being-savage in their remarks<sup>13</sup> and with claws having been erected, they were hanging-down-over and leaning toward the wounds of the sides of the testifier (for his sides were already denuded).

Suddenly, Tazelita,<sup>14</sup> the testifier with-the-most-force, in their midst, threw himself against the torments; and he exclaimed, “We are Christians!” He said<sup>o</sup>, “We collected together.”

Straightway, the fury of the proconsul blazed. And while he was groaning-over this, he pounded the testifier of the Anointed-One with the gravest hits while he was being suspended in the horse-rack. He stretched him out. He mangled him through the strident claws.<sup>15</sup>

But against this, Tazelita the testifier, in the midst of the rabidness of the butchers, was pouring-out his entreaty to the Lord by an action of thanks, “Thanks to God! In your name, O Anointed-One son of God, be liberating your servants.”

In answer to such an entreaty, the proconsul remarked<sup>o</sup>, “Who is the author with you of your congregation?”

He<sup>16</sup> responded with a clear voice to the butcher who was being-savage more-cruelly,<sup>17</sup> “Saturninus the elder and all of us.” Accordingly, blood dripped with his voice while he was deprecating to the Lord; and, mindful of the precepts of the good-message, the testifier was begging for pardon for his enemies while he himself was being mangled in his-own body.

For between the wounds of the gravest excruciations themselves, he was upbraiding his torturers and the proconsul side-by-side with these words,<sup>18</sup> “You\* are doing things unjustly, you\* infelicitous men. You are doing things contrary-to God. O Highest God, do not be wishing to be holding<sup>19</sup> these sins to those men. You\* are adding to your\* sins, you\* infelicitous men. We are keeping<sup>20</sup> the precepts of the Highest God. You\* are putting things in-motion unjustly, you\* infelicitous men. You\* are mangling innocent persons. We are not murderers.”<sup>21</sup>

<sup>1</sup> some add

<sup>2</sup> some omit “Secunda”

<sup>3</sup> literally “who”

<sup>4</sup> literally “prior”

<sup>5</sup> literally “staked”

<sup>6</sup> literally “parched-out”

<sup>7</sup> literally “which”

<sup>8</sup> literally “holding-to”

<sup>9</sup> literally “by elements being infuriated”

<sup>10</sup> literally “who”

<sup>11</sup> literally “cruel”

<sup>12</sup> literally “velocity”

<sup>13</sup> literally “sayings” / one manuscript “being-savage indignantly”

<sup>14</sup> others “Thelica”

<sup>15</sup> literally “the claws which were being-strident”

<sup>16</sup> literally “Who”

<sup>17</sup> literally “crudely”

<sup>18</sup> literally “voices”

<sup>19</sup> literally “be consenting to”

<sup>20</sup> literally “guarding”

<sup>21</sup> literally “homicides”

We are have not made a fraud. O God, may you be having-mercy. I am giving<sup>22</sup> thanks to you. On-behalf-of your name, O Lord, be giving longsuffering to me. Be liberating your servants from the captivity of this age. I am giving<sup>23</sup> thanks to you. I am not sufficient to be giving<sup>24</sup> thanks to you enough.”

And when, after his sides were violently-shaken by the hits of the claws more-forcibly than a furrow and a wave of flowing blood was emanating out of the violent tracts, he heard the proconsul saying to him, “You will begin to be sensing the things which it would be being proper for you to be suffering.”

And Tazelita added,<sup>25</sup> “To glory! I am giving<sup>26</sup> thanks to the God of kingdoms. May the eternal kingdom be being made-apparent, an incorruptible kingdom. Lord Jesus, we are Christians. We are serving you. You are our hope. You are hope of the Christians. Holiest God, Highest God, Omnipotent God, we are praising you! On-behalf-of your name, O Lord God Omnipotent!”

While he was praying in such-a-way, the judge was saying, “It is proper for you to be keeping<sup>27</sup> the directive of the emperors and of the Caesars.”

By-means-of a body which was already made-fatigued, the soul which was a victor, with a sermon which was fortitudinous but-also constant, proclaimed, “I am not caring except<sup>28</sup> for the law of God which I have learned. I am keeping<sup>29</sup> it. I am being made-to-die on-behalf-of it. I am being consumed in it, in the law of God. There<sup>30</sup> is not a different one besides it.”

In-the-end, Anullinus, his rabidness stuffed with ferocity, remarked<sup>o</sup>, “Be sparing.” And after he was rebarred in the prison, the proconsul destined the testifier to a well-deserved<sup>31</sup> suffering.

After this, when Dativus (who was at-hand with Tazelita and who was stretched) had spied<sup>32</sup> Tazelita when he was hanging<sup>33</sup> on the horse-rack, he was more-often with-fortitude proclaiming by-means-of his voice that he was found to be a Christian and to have made a collection of Christians.

Fortunatianus,<sup>34</sup> The brother of the testifier Victoria emerged, a man who was a sane toga-wearer,<sup>35</sup> but instead alienated from the culture of the Christian religion at this time. He,<sup>36</sup> with profane words,<sup>37</sup> was arguing up-to-this-point with the testifier who was suspended in the horse-rack. “Lord,” he declared, “this is the man who, through the absence of our father, while we were studying here, upon seducing our sister Victoria from-here, led this one woman, along with Secunda and Restituta, from this most-splendid civil-community of Carthage through up to the colony of Abitina itself. And he had never<sup>38</sup> stepped-into our house, except<sup>39</sup> then at-the-time when he was alluring their girlish souls by-means-of certain persuasions.”

For instead, Victoria the testifier did not bear<sup>40</sup> her-own colleague and fellow-testifier to be being assailed<sup>41</sup> by the lying<sup>42</sup> senator, straightaway saying with Christian liberty, “I was made-to-go-forward by the persuasions of none,” she remarked, “and I did not come to Abitina with him. I am able to be proving this through the citizens. I perfected all these things by my spontaneity as-well-as my will. For I even have been in a collection of Christians, and I celebrated the things of-the-Lord with the brothers who are Christians.”

Then her impudent advocate carried-forth evil-sayings against<sup>43</sup> the testifier. From the horse-rack, the testifier was loosening<sup>44</sup> the things which were conjoined against him by true responses.

While these things were going on,<sup>45</sup> Anullinus, blazing, directed<sup>o</sup> for the claws to be being pressed into the testifier. Straightaway the butchers came to his sides which were in nude and having been prepared with bloodstained wounds by the hits. Their harsh hands were flying-toward him, lighter than their swift directives. And after the skins were broken-apart<sup>46</sup> and after the bowels were plucked-apart, the secret-places of the chest, by-means-of the cruelty<sup>47</sup> having been annexed, were opened<sup>48</sup> to the nefarious spectations of the profane viewers. Between these things, the mind of the testifier was<sup>o</sup> standing-through immovable,<sup>49</sup> and regardless that members might be being ruptured, bowels might be being plucked-

<sup>22</sup> literally “moving”

<sup>23</sup> literally “moving”

<sup>24</sup> literally “moving”

<sup>25</sup> literally “threw-to”

<sup>26</sup> literally “moving”

<sup>27</sup> literally “guarding”

<sup>28</sup> literally “if-not”

<sup>29</sup> literally “guarding”

<sup>30</sup> literally “Which”

<sup>31</sup> literally “completely-dignified”

<sup>32</sup> literally “spectated”

<sup>33</sup> literally “pending”

<sup>34</sup> some add

<sup>35</sup> The toga designates someone of distinguished Roman citizenship.

<sup>36</sup> literally “Who”

<sup>37</sup> literally “voices”

<sup>38</sup> literally “And who is at-no-time having”

<sup>39</sup> literally “if-not”

<sup>40</sup> literally “bring”

<sup>41</sup> literal Latin “appeti”

<sup>42</sup> literally “false”

<sup>43</sup> literally “in”

<sup>44</sup> literally “solving/releasing”

<sup>45</sup> literally “Between these things”

<sup>46</sup> literally “disrupted”

<sup>47</sup> literally “crudeness”

<sup>48</sup> literally “panded”

<sup>49</sup> literally “immobile”

apart, sides might be being dissipated, nevertheless, *the soul of the testifier* was<sup>o</sup> perduring untouched and unshaken.

At-length, Dativus, who was mindful of his-own dignity and a senator, was pouring out an entreaty to the Lord while he was under the rabid butcher by a voice in such-a-way, "O Anointed-One, Lord, may I not be being confounded!" With these sayings, *the testifier* merited what he had easily begged from the Lord at-that-time as-soon-as he briefly requested them.

Soon at-length, the proconsul, after his mind was violently-shaken, leapt-forward by-means-of an unwilling<sup>1</sup> tongue, "Be sparing."

The butchers ceased. For it was not suiting for a testifier of the Anointed-One to be being tortured in behalf of the cause of his-own fellow-testifier, Victoria.

For when Pompeianus the savage accuser was going against him further with undignified suspicion and he was joining-together a calumnious action with it, he was being despised and pounded by<sup>2</sup> the testifier, "What are you putting-in-motion in this place, slanderer? What are you still trying to do against the testifiers of the Anointed-One up-to now?"

The power and forensic rabidness were<sup>o</sup> simultaneously overcome by<sup>3</sup> the senator and testifier of the Lord. Instead, the testifier was tortured for the Anointed-One. He was interrogated whether he might have had been in a collection of Christians. And he was constantly professing and was saying that he himself had supervened to a collection of Christians, and that he had<sup>4</sup> celebrated the things of-the-Lord along with the brothers by-means-of devotion which was congruent to his religion, and that there was<sup>5</sup> not<sup>6</sup> a single author of this same most-holy collection.

This more-sharply excited the proconsul back against<sup>7</sup> him. While he himself was becoming-cruel-again by-means-of savagery, after dignity was doubled a second-time to the testifier, Dativus was<sup>o</sup> being plowed-out by-means-of the furrowing claws. But after the testifier was excruciated between his gravest wounds, he was repeating his-own former<sup>8</sup> prayer. "I am asking you, O Anointed-One," he declared<sup>o</sup>, "may I not be being confounded. What have I done? Saturninus is our elder."

When the hard and harsh butchers were shaving the sides of this man by-means-of claws, Saturninus the elder was<sup>o</sup> requested. By his contemplation of the heavenly kingdom, he, considering these things to be very petty but-also light, himself began in-such-a-way to be sustaining his-own fellow-testifiers, and furthermore to be congregated with them.

For while the proconsul was saying, "You have done things contrary to the directive of the emperors and of the Caesars, so that you collected all these individuals," the elder Saturninus responded, "We have celebrated the things of-the-Lord securely."

The proconsul declared<sup>o</sup>, "For-what-reason?"

Saturninus responded, "Because it is not possible for the things of-the-Lord to be being intermitted."

As soon as he<sup>9</sup> said these things, straightaway it was directed against<sup>10</sup> Dativus to be being fit to the torture.

In-the-meantime, Dativus was spectating the mangling of his-own body more-ably than he was feeling-pain. And his mind and soul were hanging on<sup>11</sup> God. He was esteeming the pain of his body to be nothing. Instead, he was entreating so-much to the Lord, saying, "Be coming-under to help me, I am asking you; O Anointed-One, be having pity. Be keeping my soul. Be guarding my spirit, so that I might not be being confounded. I am asking, O Anointed-One, be giving longsuffering to me."

When he<sup>12</sup> was being spoken to by the proconsul, "You would have been more-greatly indebted to be calling<sup>13</sup> different individuals out of this most-splendid civil-community to a good mind and to not be doing things contrary to the precept of the emperors and of the Caesars," he acclaimed<sup>o</sup> with more-fortitude and more constantly, "I am a Christian."

The proconsul, having been overcome<sup>14</sup> by this<sup>15</sup> voice, remarked<sup>o</sup>, "Be sparing." While he was simultaneously delivering that man into the prison, the testifier was being reserved for a completely-dignified suffering.

But in truth, the elder Saturninus, having been oiled by the blood of the recent testifiers when he was hanging on the horse-rack, was being admonished to be persisting in the faith of them in whose bloodshed he was firmly-standing.<sup>16</sup> When this man was being interrogated whether he himself might have been the author and whether he himself was<sup>o</sup> making all of them one, and he was saying,

<sup>1</sup> some "willing" / some omit

<sup>2</sup> literally "he is having been despised and having been pounded from"

<sup>3</sup> literally "rabidness if having been gone-above from"

<sup>4</sup> literally "saying for him to have supervened...and to have celebrated"

<sup>5</sup> literally "and to have been"

<sup>6</sup> some add

<sup>7</sup> literally "in"

<sup>8</sup> literally "pristine"

<sup>9</sup> literally "who"

<sup>10</sup> literally "contrary"

<sup>11</sup> literally "toward"

<sup>12</sup> literally "Who"

<sup>13</sup> literally "voicing"

<sup>14</sup> literally "gone-above"

<sup>15</sup> literally "which"

<sup>16</sup> literally "standing-thoroughly" or "standing-through"

"Furthermore, I have been present in the collection of the Christians," Emeritus the reader, congregating with the elder, remarked<sup>o</sup>, "I am the author in whose house the collections of the Christians were having been made."

But the proconsul, who had already oftentimes been vanquished, was thoroughly-filled-with-horror at the impetuosity<sup>17</sup> of Emeritus. And nevertheless, after he was turned to look into the eyes of the elder, he remarked<sup>o</sup>, "For-what-reason were you doing things contrary to the precept? What followed you professing, Saturninus?"<sup>18</sup>

Saturninus declared<sup>o</sup> to him,<sup>19</sup> "It is not possible to be interrupting<sup>20</sup> the things of-the-Lord. The law is directing in-this-manner."

Then the proconsul said, "Nevertheless, you have not become-indebted to be contemplating the things which have been prohibited, but instead to rather be observing and to not be doing things contrary to the precept of the emperors." And by-means-of a voice already having been meditated among<sup>21</sup> the testifiers, he completely-admonished<sup>o</sup> the torturers to be being-savage.<sup>22</sup>

He<sup>23</sup> was<sup>o</sup> being obeyed<sup>24</sup> with no sluggish yieldingness. For the butchers tumbled<sup>o</sup> onto<sup>25</sup> the senile body of the elder, and, by-means-of their marching rabidness, cropped-apart the broken connections of his nerves. For the butchers, as-if among<sup>26</sup> fodder, were being-savage by-means-of a rabid hunger of wounds and of bowels having been made-to-appear to the horror of the ones who were seeing. Between the red of the blood, the bones having been bared<sup>27</sup> were being turned-pale.

And, lest his soul, after it was excluded from the body by-means-of pending supplications, might be deserting it in between the delays of the ones who were torturing him, the elder was entreating God by-means-of his voice in such-a-way, "I am asking you, O Anointed-One, be hearing me out. I am giving<sup>28</sup> thanks to you, God. Be directing for me to be being denecked. I am asking you, O Anointed-One, be having-mercy. Son of God, be coming-under me to support me."

The proconsul said to him,<sup>29</sup> "For-what-reason were you doing things contrary to the precept?"

And the elder remarked<sup>o</sup>, "The law is directing in-this-manner. The law is teaching in-this-manner."

At-length, Anullinus, having been deterred by the voice of the law, remarked<sup>o</sup>, "Be sparing." And while he was forced-back<sup>30</sup> into the guard of the prison, he destined him to the supplication which was opted-for.

But in truth, after Emeritus was applied, the proconsul remarked<sup>o</sup>, "Were collections of Christians made<sup>31</sup> in your house contrary to the precept of the emperors?"

Emeritus remarked to him,<sup>32</sup> "We put-in-motion the things of-the-Lord in my house."

But that man declared<sup>o</sup>, "For-what-reason were you permitting those individuals to be stepping-in?"

Emeritus responded, "Since they are my brothers, and I was not being-able to be prohibiting those individuals."

He remarked<sup>o</sup>, "Instead you were indebted to be prohibiting those individuals."

That man declared<sup>o</sup>, "I was not being-able, since we are not being-able to go without the things of-the-Lord."

Furthermore, straightaway, he himself was<sup>o</sup> being directed to be being extended in the horse-rack and, after he was stretched, to be being vexed. When he<sup>33</sup> was suffering vigorous<sup>34</sup> hits by the butchers who were newly-brought-in,<sup>35</sup> he declared<sup>o</sup>, "I am asking you, O Anointed-One, be coming-under me to support me. You infelicitous men are doing things contrary to the precept of God."

And the proconsul uttered-an-interruption, "It had not been proper for you to be welcoming them."

He responded, "I was not being-able except<sup>36</sup> to be welcoming my brothers."

But the sacrilegious proconsul remarked<sup>o</sup>, "Instead, the directive of the emperors and of the Caesars is prior to this."

The testifier remarked<sup>o</sup> in-contradiction, "God is greater, not emperors.<sup>37</sup> I am asking you, O Anointed-One. Praise to you. O Anointed-One, Lord, be giving longsuffering to me."

<sup>17</sup> may also be translated "impetus"

<sup>18</sup> some omit "What followed you professing, Saturninus?"

<sup>19</sup> literally "whom"

<sup>20</sup> literally "intermitting"

<sup>21</sup> literally "in"

<sup>22</sup> others "the terror of his-own anger"

<sup>23</sup> literally "Who"

<sup>24</sup> usually translated "made-ready"

<sup>25</sup> literally "in"

<sup>26</sup> literally "in"

<sup>27</sup> literally "made-naked"

<sup>28</sup> literally "moving"

<sup>29</sup> literally "whom"

<sup>30</sup> literally "put-in-motion-back"

<sup>31</sup> literally "Are collections having been made?"

<sup>32</sup> literally "whom"

<sup>33</sup> literally "who"

<sup>34</sup> literally "valorous"

<sup>35</sup> literally "innovated"

<sup>36</sup> literally "if-not"

<sup>37</sup> others "God is greater than the emperors."

The proconsul interjected him<sup>1</sup> while he was praying this in-such-a-way, “Therefore, are you having some writings in your house?”

And he responded, “I am having them, but instead in my heart.”

And the proconsul remarked<sup>2</sup>, “Are you having them in your house or not?”

Emeritus the testifier declared<sup>3</sup>, “I am having those writings in my heart. I am asking you, O Anointed-One. Praise to you. Be liberating me, O Anointed-One. I am suffering<sup>2</sup> in your name. I am suffering briefly. I am suffering gladly. O Anointed-One, Lord, may I not be being confounded!”

After the proconsul become-cognitive of this,<sup>3</sup> he remarked<sup>4</sup>, “Be sparing.” And while the proconsul was recalling<sup>4</sup> into memory his one profession<sup>5</sup> of the faith, along with the rest of his confessions, he remarked<sup>6</sup>, “For all your merits, all of you\* will pay<sup>6</sup> the punishments which have been merited following your confession.”

Instead, his feral rabidness was already becoming-languid, his bloodstained mouth having been stuffed by the torments of the testifiers. Instead, when Félix (both by his name and by his suffering) had proceeded into the engagement and all the testifiers were standing-through uncorrupted and invincible, the mind of the tyrant was prostrated. His voice was dismissed. His soul and body were dissolved. He remarked<sup>7</sup>, “I am hoping that all of you\* will rather be electing this part, whereby you\* might be being-able to be living, so that you\* might be conserving yourselves by-means-of the directive.”

In-contradiction to this,<sup>7</sup> the confessors of the Lord, the invincible testifiers of the Anointed-One, said as-though out of one mouth, “We are Christians. We are not being-able to do anything else except<sup>8</sup> to be keeping<sup>9</sup> the law of the Lord (which has been made-holy) up-to the pouring-out<sup>10</sup> of our blood.”

The enemy, having been struck by this<sup>11</sup> voice, was saying to Félix, “I am not seeking whether you\* might be Christians, but instead if you might have made a collection of Christians or-whether you might be having some writings.”

He remarked<sup>12</sup>, “We celebrated a most-glorious collection. We always convened toward reading the writings of-the-Lord in things of-the-Lord.”

After this profession<sup>12</sup> violently-shook Anullinus gravely, he dispatched the soulless testifier who was cut down with cudgels.

Instead, a different Félix followed<sup>13</sup> Félix, equal<sup>13</sup> in name and confession, but-also completely-similar by-means-of his suffering. For-even after he was congregated with paired virtue, furthermore, after he himself was quashed with beatings of cudgels, he laid down his soul in the torments of prison.

After these, Ampelius (a guardian of the law and a most-faithful conservator of the divine writings) welcomed the struggle. While the proconsul was seeking whether he might have made himself a member in the collection of the Christians, he, cheerful but-also secure, responded with an alacritous voice, “I made a collection with the brothers. I celebrated the things of-the-Lord, and I am having the writings of-the-Lord with me. Instead, they have been inscribed in my heart. O Anointed-One, praises to you. Be hearing me out, O Anointed-One.”

When he<sup>14</sup> had said these things, he, after he was completely-pounded, was<sup>15</sup> being rebound in the prison, gleeful, as-if he were a light<sup>15</sup> in the tent of-the-Lord with the brothers.

Rogatianus was following this man, who, having confessed the name of the Lord, was being joined unhurt to the above-mentioned brothers.

In truth, Quintus, having been applied, having confessed the name of the Lord remarkably and magnificently, having been cut down by cudgels in the prison, was<sup>16</sup> delivered up, having been reserved for a dignified testimony.

Following this man, was also Maximianus—par to him in confession, similar in congress, equal in the triumph of victory.

After him<sup>16</sup> was the junior Félix, who was proclaiming the things of-the-Lord to be hope and salvation of Christians. When he himself was furthermore being cut down similarly with cudgels, he remarked<sup>17</sup>, “I, by-means-of a devoted mind, have celebrated the things of-the-Lord. I have made a collection with the brothers, because I am a Christian.” By this<sup>17</sup> confession, he furthermore merited to be being associated with the above-mentioned brothers.

But the junior Saturninus, the progeny of the testifier Saturninus, went-to the struggle hurriedly, hastening to be equaling the virtue of his father.

Then the infuriating proconsul said to him,<sup>18</sup> “And you, Saturninus, did you attend?”<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> literally “whom”

<sup>2</sup> some omit “I am suffering”

<sup>3</sup> literally “which”

<sup>4</sup> literally “put-in-motion-back”

<sup>5</sup> others (here and elsewhere) “confession”

<sup>6</sup> literally “persolve”

<sup>7</sup> literally “which”

<sup>8</sup> literally “if-not”

<sup>9</sup> literally “guarding”

<sup>10</sup> literally “effusion”

<sup>11</sup> literally “which”

<sup>12</sup> others “confession”

<sup>13</sup> usually translated “at-once” or “paired”

<sup>14</sup> literally “who”

<sup>15</sup> some “as-if already”

<sup>16</sup> literally “who”

<sup>17</sup> literally “which”

<sup>18</sup> literally “whom”

<sup>19</sup> literally “you be-between”

And Saturninus responded, “I am a Christian.”

He remarked<sup>20</sup>, “I am not seeking to know this from you, but instead whether you have put-in-motion the things of-the-Lord.”

Saturninus responded, “I have put-in-motion the things of-the-Lord, because the Anointed-One is the savior.”

After Anullinus heard this<sup>20</sup> name of the savior, he blazed, and he instated the horse-rack of-the-father in the son. And after Saturninus was stretched, he remarked<sup>21</sup>, “Saturninus, what are you professing? Be seeing the position where you might be. Are you having some writings?”

He responded, “I am a Christian.”

The proconsul said, “I am seeking whether you might have convened and whether you might be having writings.”

He responded, “I am a Christian. There is not a different one<sup>21</sup> whom it is being proper for us to be observing as holy after the Anointed-One.”

After the proconsul was inflamed by-means-of this<sup>22</sup> confession, he remarked<sup>22</sup>, “Since you are being-permanent in your obstinacy, furthermore it is proper for you to be made-to-fess-up by torments to see whether you might be having some writings.” And he said to the officials, “Be vexing that man.”

The torturers, having become-lax, were going in the sides of the adolescent with the same type of wounds as of-the-father; and they were mixing the blood of the-father, which wetted in the claws, with the cognate bloodshed of the son. Through the furrows of the gaping wounds, the blood of the begetter was seen to be flowing from the sides of the birthed-one,<sup>23</sup> and the bloodshed of the son having been mixed-through with that of-the-father to be emanating from the moistening<sup>24</sup> claws. But the juvenile, having been recreated by-means-of the mixture of genuine blood, was sensing it to be a mending rather than torments. And, by-means-of the deceived torturers in torments, he was exclaiming with a more-fortitudinous voice, “I am having the writings of-the-Lord, but instead in my heart. I am asking, O Anointed-One, be giving longsuffering to me. My hope is in you.”

Anullinus declared<sup>25</sup>, “For-what-reason were you doing things contrary to the precept?”

He responded, “Because I am a Christian.”

After he heard this,<sup>25</sup> he remarked<sup>26</sup>, “Be sparing.”

And straightaway, while the torments were ceasing, he was<sup>27</sup> rebound in the consort of-his-father.

After this, the proconsul brought-forth an interrogation against the souls and minds of the total group of the confessors. He remarked<sup>28</sup>, “All of you\* have seen<sup>26</sup> what those who have persevered have sustained, or-even what those who are persisting in their confession might still have<sup>27</sup> to be sustaining. And for-that-reason, any one of you\* who is wishing to be coming-through to an indulgence so that salvation might be being possible to be granted, may you be professing.”

But these confessors of the Lord, the testifiers of the Anointed-One, simultaneously gleeful but-also being-triumphant (not from out of the sayings of the proconsul but instead out of victory of suffering) said with-more-fortitude and more-clearly, as-though out of one mouth, “We are Christians.”

By-means-of this<sup>28</sup> voice, Anullinus completely-fell<sup>28</sup>. And having been confounded, he, shoving all of them into the prison, destined those holy-ones to a testimony.

And the females were<sup>29</sup> congregated and crowned in victory. For-even Victoria, a virgin, was honored with a noble birth, holy by-means-of religion, having been tempered in her customs. In her,<sup>29</sup> the goodness of nature was shining-back in white proper regard. And responding to her prettiness of body was a prettier faith of mind and an integrity of holiness. She was being made-pleasing toward a second palm which was restituted to her in her testimony of the Lord.

Now still in her early<sup>30</sup> years, a most-chaste rigor of mind was appearing. At-length, after full virginity filled-out the adult<sup>31</sup> time of her age, when the girl was unwishing and reluctantly driven into nuptials by her parents,<sup>32</sup> and her parents would have been delivering her<sup>33</sup> to a spouse unwillingly, the girl, reaching such a pitch of delirious and deluded desperation, dismissed<sup>34</sup> herself by throwing herself headlong<sup>34</sup> from a height. But by the mercy of God, she, being supported by the serving<sup>35</sup> airs, was<sup>35</sup> welcomed uncalamitous by-means-of the lap of the earth. Accordingly, after she was liberated from nuptial tediousness and from a mocked spouse simultaneously with her parents (virtually leaping-forward from the

<sup>20</sup> literally “which”

<sup>21</sup> some “name”

<sup>22</sup> literally “which”

<sup>23</sup> others “from the sides anteriorly”

<sup>24</sup> literally “bedewing”

<sup>25</sup> literally “which”

<sup>26</sup> some omit “All of you\* have seen”

<sup>27</sup> literally “might be having”

<sup>28</sup> literally “which”

<sup>29</sup> literally “who”

<sup>30</sup> literally “rude”

<sup>31</sup> others “ultimate”

<sup>32</sup> others omit “by her parents”

<sup>33</sup> others “, and she suggested that she be delivered”

<sup>34</sup> literally “dismissed” herself through precipitation”

<sup>35</sup> literally “being-a-serf”

middle of the numerous-attendance of the nuptials themselves) completely-fled to the assembly and gave herself up into a state of perpetual virginity. Then she was hastening toward giving a testimony.

For while the proconsul was interrogating what she would be professing, she responded with a clear voice, "I am a Christian."

And when it was being said by Fortunatianus (her brother who was a toga-wearer and her defender) that she was<sup>1</sup> having been captivated<sup>2</sup> by vain argumentations, Victoria responded. "This is my mind," she remarked<sup>3</sup>, "I am at-no-time changed."<sup>3</sup>

To this, the proconsul remarked<sup>4</sup>, "Are you wishing to be going with your brother Fortunatianus?"

She responded, "I am not-wishing, because I am a Christian, and my brothers are those who are keeping<sup>4</sup> the precepts of God."

After Anullinus heard these<sup>5</sup> words, he, after the authority of his judging was laid-down, descended to persuade the girl.<sup>6</sup> "Be taking-counsel for yourself," he remarked.<sup>7</sup> "For you are seeing your-own brother, who is longing<sup>7</sup> to be providing for your-own salvation."

The testifier of the Anointed-One remarked<sup>8</sup> to him,<sup>8</sup> "This is my mind. I am at-no-time changed.<sup>9</sup> For I even was in the collection of the Christians, and I celebrated the things-of-the-Lord with the brothers, because I am a Christian."

Soon, when Anullinus had heard this, he, agitated with fury, blazed. And after he rebound the girl, the testifier of the Anointed One, in one prison with the rest of them, he reserved all of them for a suffering-of-the-Lord.

Instead, Hilarianus (one of the children<sup>10</sup> of the elder Saturninus who gave a testimony) was still remaining.<sup>11</sup> He<sup>12</sup> was overcoming<sup>13</sup> his-own boyish age by-means-of an unnatural devotion. This man, hastening to be being joined to the triumph of his father and brothers, did not at-that-time become-exceedingly-horrified by the dire threats of the tyrant, which led into nothing.

When this was being said, "Have you followed<sup>14</sup> your-own father or your-own brothers?" suddenly a brief voice was<sup>15</sup> heard from the body of the juvenile, and the contracted<sup>15</sup> breast of the boy was<sup>16</sup> opened<sup>16</sup> to a total confession of the Lord in his voice, responding, "I am a Christian, and I have, by spontaneity but-also by will, made a collection of the Christians with my father and with the brothers."

Instead, the foolish proconsul (not having-intelligence that he himself was<sup>17</sup> not skirmishing against<sup>18</sup> humans but instead God in the testifier, because he was not-even sensing the unnatural soul in his boyish years) was reckoning that the boy was able<sup>19</sup> to be being terrified with infantile torments.<sup>20</sup>

At-length, he remarked<sup>21</sup>, "I will amputate even your long-hair and nose and outer-ear; and I will dismiss you in-this-manner."

To this, Hilarianus (who had already learned to be contemning torments from his-own greater-men) responded with a clear voice, "Whatever you might wish to be doing, be doing. I am a Christian."

Soon, he himself was<sup>22</sup> still being directed to be being retaken into the prison, when the voice filled with joy of Hilarianus was<sup>23</sup> heard, saying, "Thanks to God!"

Here one struggle of a great fight was<sup>24</sup> perfected.

## CHAPTER 28: CONDUCT OF MENSURIUS [304]

Accordingly, when the opted-for prison took-out the above-mentioned testifiers of the Anointed-One, the confessors who had been<sup>21</sup> shoved-down there prior, were adjoining their triumphant right-hands to the psalms of the victors who were coming. Besides these, many different confessors too were coming to the same place and as-far-as from out of diverse parts of the province. Between them<sup>22</sup> were overseers, and elders, and ministers, and the remainder of the body-of-allotted-ones of dignity having been put-in-charge. While they<sup>23</sup> were sowing-near the law of the Lord, each were celebrating the collection-of-the-Lord constantly and with-fortitude, conserving the writings-of-the-Lord and the divine testaments from the flame but-also from burning. On-behalf-of the divine laws, they themselves offered themselves to dire fires and diverse excruciations.

Accordingly, by-means-of this tempest, when the horrid prison (which was retaining the testifiers of God who were closed within it in the thick darkness) was

<sup>1</sup> literally ("that she was") "to be"

<sup>2</sup> literally "captured"

<sup>3</sup> literally "mutated"

<sup>4</sup> literally "guarding"

<sup>5</sup> literally "which"

<sup>6</sup> literally "descended to the persuasion of the girl"

<sup>7</sup> literally "lusting"

<sup>8</sup> literally "whom"

<sup>9</sup> literally "mutated"

<sup>10</sup> literally "birthed-ones"

<sup>11</sup> literally "still being-above"

<sup>12</sup> literally "who"

<sup>13</sup> literally "vanquishing"

<sup>14</sup> literally "Are you having followed"

<sup>15</sup> literally "narrow"

<sup>16</sup> literally "appeared"

<sup>17</sup> literally "intelligence for himself to be"

<sup>18</sup> literally "contrary to"

<sup>19</sup> literally "reckoning for the boy to be being-able"

<sup>20</sup> literally "with torments of infancy"

<sup>21</sup> literally "who had having been"

<sup>22</sup> literally "which"

<sup>23</sup> literally "who"

vanquishing the devoted members by the unnatural weight of chains, when famine was debilitating them, thirst was fatiguing, cold was quaking, disturbance was compressing, at-length their sides themselves (having been broken-apart by recent laceration of claws) were boiling, they, between the chains and iron and all the instruments of torments, while celebrating a council, were putting-together<sup>24</sup> a new decree which the testifiers were conserving for themselves and for the ones after them. And these rigorists were assessing<sup>25</sup> for their progeny to be sundered from communion with the traitors by<sup>26</sup> this commination, "If someone might commune with a traitor, he will not have a part with us in the heavenly kingdom." And they asserted that this sentiment of theirs was conscribed by the authority of the holy spirit, since it states in the holy writings, "And if-at-any-time someone might take-away from the accounts of the book of this prophecy, God will take-away his part from the wood of the life." And they emphatically asserted that anyone who delivered up the divine testaments and the venerated laws to the profane fires was to be burned-up<sup>27</sup> in the eternal blazes of Gehenna but-also to be tortured by the inextinguishable fire. (Revelation 22:19)

Now at this time, Mensurius, overseer of Carthage, began to intervene with the affairs of the testifiers at the prison. Now prior to this, at the start of the persecution, he had delivered up writings to the persecutors. But a report quickly spread that Mensurius himself had become a traitor, because the writings which he had delivered up were said to be holy writings. Therefore, the rigorists vehemently accused him of this felony and his resultant pollution.

Now there was also Secundus of Tigisi, who was then holding<sup>28</sup> the primacy of the overseers of Numidia. And the persecutors were putting-in-motion many evil things against the Christians in Numidia: The holy-ones were being apprehended,<sup>29</sup> and they were not-wishing for the holy writings to be being delivered up; and they were suffering many evils and were being excruciated with the most-grave supplications, and they were being cut-down. But Secundus commended the Christians who were honored in this way for the merit of their-own testimony, praising them for not having delivered up the writings which have been made-holy.

Furthermore, when the centurion and the beneficiaries having been sent from the curator and the order of soldiers, were petitioning for divine codices to be burned-up,<sup>30</sup> Secundus himself responded to them, "I am a Christian and an overseer, not a traitor." And when they were wishing to be accepting some trash<sup>31</sup> from him or whatever else in place of the holy writings, he, recalling the example of Eleazar the Makabi (who did not-even want to be feigning to be eating swine flesh for himself, lest the prevarication might have been affording an example to different individuals) did not-even give this to them. (2 Maccabees 6:21-28)

Now later, when Secundus had heard the report that Mensurius had delivered up holy writings to the persecutors, he sent a message to Mensurius, demanding an accounting for his conduct.

But in reply to Secundus, Mensurius asserted, that he had not delivered up the holy codices themselves, but instead rather that he had carried-away but-also had kept them so that they would not be being found by the persecutors. However, he also claimed that he had dismissed in the basilica whatever reprobate writings of new heretics he had in their stead for a pretext, which the persecutors had found and had carried-away, and that nothing further<sup>32</sup> had been requested from him. Nevertheless, in truth, that certain men of the order of Carthage afterward suggested to the proconsul, that those who had<sup>33</sup> been sent to the carrying-away and the burning the writings of the Christians were<sup>34</sup> mocked-at, because they had not found anything except<sup>35</sup> writings which were not pertaining to them. However, that these writings were being kept<sup>36</sup> in a house of the overseer. From this, that they were being indebted to be being proffered and to be being burned. In truth, that the proconsul had not-wished to be consenting to them toward this.

But the rigorists, refusing to accept his defense, maintained that the response of Mensurius was merely an excuse. And they asserted, saying, "Of-course he has lied, that he did not have any holy codices," and that he wished to be roofing over his-own sin when he had actually delivered up holy writings. And they also reported, "After Mensurius was polluted by the recent delivering up of the writings, he repented of the mindlessness of his felonies. Of-course he had been indebted to be begging and to be imploring pardon from the testifiers for<sup>37</sup> the books which had been charred."

Nevertheless, sometime after these writings of Mensurius, overseer of Carthage, had been seized, many of the Christians were offering themselves up voluntarily to their enemies during the persecutions, even though they had not

<sup>24</sup> literally "giving-together"

<sup>25</sup> literally "censoring"

<sup>26</sup> literally "under"

<sup>27</sup> literally "parched-out"

<sup>28</sup> literally "moving"

<sup>29</sup> literally "comprehended"

<sup>30</sup> literally "parched-out"

<sup>31</sup> literally "out-throwing"

<sup>32</sup> literally "more-ample"

<sup>33</sup> literally "who were having"

<sup>34</sup> literally "had having been"

<sup>35</sup> literally "if-not"

<sup>36</sup> literally "guarded"

<sup>37</sup> literally "of"

been apprehended;<sup>1</sup> and *many* were saying of-their-own-accord that they themselves were having holy writings which they were not delivering *up*, even when none of the *persecutors* had sought these from them.

Now this behavior of self-accusation displeased Mensurius, and he prohibited the Christians from showing-honor to anyone who had behaved in such a way. But furthermore, he asserted that many of them were villainous *men* and debtors of the imperial-treasury<sup>2</sup>—who by-means-of the occasion of the persecution, might be wishing to be ridding *themselves* of a life burdensome with many debts, or-even might be computing to be purging themselves and as-if to be bathing-away their-own *misdeeds*, or-even certainly to be acquiring money, and to be thoroughly-enjoying in the guardhouse the delicacies of the yieldingness of the free Christians who were bringing sustenance to the starving testifiers inside.

But in order to prevent the free Christians from reaching the prison, Mensurius went to such extremes, so that he had begun to be publicizing an evil mindlessness. For this tyrant elected his minister Caecilianus for a suitable minister\* of his felony. And he laid<sup>3</sup> the same *man*, having been armed with thongs but-also with whips, in-front of the doors of the prison, so that he might be knocking-back<sup>3</sup> away-from the entrance but-also from the approach<sup>4</sup> all those who were bringing victuals and drink to the testifiers in the prison. By doing this, the ones in prison were affected with grave injury. And those who were coming to nourish the testifiers were being randomly cut down by Caecilianus. The cups planned to be given to the confessors who were thirsting inside in fetters were being shattered in-front of the threshold of the prison. Food was being randomly sprinkled, lacerated by dogs. Fathers of the testifiers and holy mothers were throwing *themselves* in-front-of the doors of the prison. And they, having been excluded<sup>5</sup> from the extreme range-of-sight of their children, were exercising their grave vigils by night and by day at the openings of the prison. There was the horrible weeping and the sharp lamentation of all who were being-present, while Caecilianus was being-savage like a tyrant and cruel<sup>6</sup> like a butcher, to be prohibiting the pious ones from the clasping of the testifiers and to be plucking-apart the Christians from an office of piety.

In-the-meantime, not the squalor of the prison, not the pain of the bowels, not, at-length, the penalty of any things, utterly-moved the testifiers of the Anointed-One. And they hastened toward the glory of suffering.

Now the results of the opinion of the rigorists joined with the conduct of Mensurius and his minister Caecilianus, were two more seeds planted in the imminent so-called 'Donatist' controversy.

## CHAPTER 29: TESTIMONIES OF TIMOTHEOS, AGAPIOS, THEKLA, TIMOLAOS, DIONYSIOS, ROMULUS, PAESIS, ALEXANDROS, ALEXANDROS [304-03-24]

Now when these orders *against the Christians* from the emperors were put into operation, the happy Timotheos, in Gaza (a city of Palaestina), was delivered *up* to Urbanus when he was there.<sup>7</sup> And he was unrighteously bound like a murderer. But he was not bound for anything worthy of blame, for he was blameless in all his conduct and lifestyle. And after he refused to submit to the law of<sup>8</sup> the worship of idols, and after he did not bow-down to dead lifeless images, and because of his piety and his conduct and his virtues,<sup>9</sup> even before he was delivered *up* to the leader, he had endured grievous sufferings from the inhabitants of the city, having lived there subjected to great insult, and frequent stripes and afflictions.<sup>10</sup> For the men of Gaza were turbulent and accused<sup>11</sup> in their paganism.

And when he<sup>12</sup> approached the tribunal of the leader, this champion of righteousness was victorious in all excellence of endurance. And the judge<sup>13</sup> angrily<sup>14</sup> used grievous tortures against him, and showered innumerable scourgings upon his body,<sup>15</sup> torturing his sides with fearful and indescribable<sup>16</sup> lacerations. But under all these things, the marvelous testifier of God<sup>17</sup> strove like a warrior.

And at last, he attained a victory in the contest by enduring death by means of a thin fire. For the fire was thin and<sup>18</sup> soft in which he was burned, in order that his soul might not easily leave his body and be at rest.<sup>19</sup> And there he was tried like pure gold in a furnace of<sup>20</sup> soft fire, bravely<sup>21</sup> manifesting the completeness

and most-genuine proof of the genuineness of his piety<sup>22</sup> about the Divine Being<sup>23</sup> and being crowned with the crown with which the victorious<sup>24</sup> athletes of reverence-for-God<sup>25</sup> are crowned. And because he loved God, he received the reward which matched his will (that complete life which he desired) to be with God,<sup>26</sup> the king of all.

But simultaneously<sup>27</sup> with this valiant testifier Timotheos, at his trial of confession,<sup>28</sup> in the same city, Agapios the testifier and the admirable Thekla (after they both exhibited a noble steadfastness)<sup>29</sup> were condemned by the leader to receive this punishment: To be made into feed for<sup>30</sup> the beasts.

For, consequently, there was a festival of the entire-populace of the nations who assembled in their cities. This festival was also held at Caesarea. For in the circus there was an exhibition of horse-racing, and a play was performed in the theater; and it was usual for foul and brutal sights to be in the stadium. And there was an account and a report that Agapios, and Thekla with him, along with the rest of the Phrygians, all of whom were fittingly condemned to beasts, were to exhibit their contest in the form of testifiers, in order that they might be feed for the beasts. For Urbanus the leader gave this gift to the spectators.

And, of course, while the declaration was growing and increasing in-the-presence-of all of them, it happened further that some young-men, complete in stature and brave in person, six in number<sup>31</sup> arrived. Of these,<sup>32</sup> indeed, the one was a Pontic by race,<sup>33</sup> Timolaos<sup>34</sup> by name. But the one, from out of Tripolis of Phoiniké, was being called Dionysios. But a different one was himself a sub-minister of the sojourn<sup>35</sup> in the city of Diospolis; Romulus was also this man's appellation. Also on top of these, there were two Egyptians, Paesis<sup>36</sup> and Alexandros, and another having-the-same-name as this man, Alexandros, the one from Gaza.

And while the leader was proceeding to the theater and was passing through the midst of the city, these six men stood courageously before him. And while Urbanus the judge was going to be going-up<sup>37</sup> on-the-basis-of the hunting-game, they, after they first<sup>38</sup> bound their own hands in bonds behind them, approached him running. And by binding themselves, they signified what was about to be done to them by others, and their very-large endurance and eagerness about giving their testimony.

And they confessed, crying-out and saying, "We are Christians." And they beseeched the leader that they might also be thrown to the beasts in the theater along with their brothers, Agapios' party.

For all this confidence of Jesus our Savior, which was in his athletes, he manifested to all persons, extinguishing the threats of the tyrants by the steadfastness of his athletes. And he manifestly and clearly showed through their arraying against all the terrible things, that neither fire, nor iron, nor even the attacks<sup>39</sup> of the fierce beasts, were able to subdue his victorious slaves who are vaunting into the piety of the God of the whole creation<sup>40</sup> and to make them cower-beneath them. For he girded them with the armor of righteousness; and, with victorious and invincible armor, he strengthened them and made them despise death.

Indeed, after they at-once instilled<sup>41</sup> both the chief and the ones on-both-sides of him with<sup>42</sup> a strike-of-astonishment which was not usual by-means-of this courage of theirs, the leader commanded them to be barred-down in a prison. And there they were kept for many days.

But after not many days, while they were in prison, two others were enlisted with them:

Indeed, the one, who himself was also named Agapios (that humble and good man, the brother of one of the prisoners) arrived from the city of Gaza, and he frequently went to the prison to visit his brother. Even before the prisoners themselves, he had already become-an-athlete throughout different confessions by-means-of terrible and various tortures. Therefore, he went to the prison with confidence. And he was denounced to the leader as a man ready for a testimony. And he was then delivered over into bonds, in order that he might endure the trial of a second conflict.

<sup>22</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) omit "of his piety"

<sup>23</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr) "about God"

<sup>24</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr) "glorious"

<sup>25</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr) "of righteousness"

<sup>26</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) "And by his steadfast conduct, he received the excellent things which matched his God-loving desire, and, in exchange for the fleeting life of time, the complete life with the Anointed-One"

<sup>27</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) "But on the same day"

<sup>28</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) omit "at his trial of confession"

<sup>29</sup> literally "in-standing"

<sup>30</sup> literally "to"

<sup>31</sup> literally "six in the number"

<sup>32</sup> literally "whom"

<sup>33</sup> literally "by the race"

<sup>34</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Gk-Menaea) / EusL(Syr1) "Timotheos"

<sup>35</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Gk-Menaea) / EusL(Syr1) "a separated man of the assembly and" ("separated" is an error)

<sup>36</sup> EusS(Gk-some) / EusS(Gk-some) "Pausis" / EusL(Syr1) "Plasis" or "Paesis" or "Pausis" / EusL(Gk-Menaea) "Publius"

<sup>37</sup> literally "be being-up"

<sup>38</sup> literally "formerly"

<sup>39</sup> literally "throwing-ons"

<sup>40</sup> literally "of the whole things"

<sup>41</sup> usually translated "appointed"; literally "stood-down"

<sup>42</sup> literally "into"

<sup>1</sup> literally "comprehended"

<sup>2</sup> literally "fisc"

<sup>3</sup> literally "knocking-forward"

<sup>4</sup> literally "going-toward"

<sup>5</sup> some "shaken-out"

<sup>6</sup> literally "crude"

<sup>7</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) omit "when he was there"

<sup>8</sup> EusL(Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) add

<sup>9</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) "piety and his excellent works"

<sup>10</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) "city. He endured insult and frequent stripes"

<sup>11</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) add

<sup>12</sup> EusL(Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) "they"

<sup>13</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) "the wicked-one"

<sup>14</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) "cruelly"

<sup>15</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) "and tore his whole body with innumerable scourgings"

<sup>16</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) "unhealable"

<sup>17</sup> EusL(Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) add

<sup>18</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) omit "thin and"

<sup>19</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) omit "and be at rest"

<sup>20</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) omit "a furnace of"

<sup>21</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) add

But the *other man* was ministering the needs of the body to them; but this *man* was also named Dionysios. And he also suffered things similar to these *which Agapios suffered*. And this good reward was given to him from the testifiers of God, in recompense for service to them. And when the leader was made aware of the recompense of the compassion of Dionysios which he had sown to the testifiers, he gave the sentence of death against him. And this-was-how he was added to those who preceded him.

And all together they became eight in number,<sup>1</sup> including those *last* two of whom were at last cast into prison. All these were delivered *up* to be beheaded together at the same time. And on<sup>2</sup> one day, their heads were chopped-off at Caesarea itself as before. And this happened on *the 24th* day of *the* month Dystros, which is the 9th day before the Kalends of April.<sup>3</sup>

### CHAPTER 30: TESTIMONY OF JULIUS THE VETERAN [304]

In *the* time of *the* persecution, *with the* glorious contests having been offered to the faithful-ones, they were expecting to be receiving<sup>4</sup> *the* perpetual promises. Then Julius, having been apprehended by *the* officials, was offered to Maximus *the* leader. Maximus said, "Who is this *man*?"

One of *the* officers had<sup>5</sup> said, "This is *a* Christian. And he is not wishing to be obeying *the* legal instructions."

*The* leader said, "What are you being called?"<sup>6</sup>

He responded, "Julius."

*The* leader said, "What are you saying, Julius? Are these *things* being said about you true?"

Julius responded, "It is so. For I am *a* Christian. I am not denying, I am not saying<sup>7</sup> that I am something-other than what I am."

*The* leader said, "Are you ignorant of *the* instructions of *the* kings, which are directing you to be sacrificing to *the* gods?"

Julius responded, "I am indeed not ignorant. But **I** am *a* Christian, and I am not being able to be doing this which you are wishing. For it is necessary for me to not-even be being made-to-forget my true and living God."

Maximus *the* leader said, "For what is *so* serious about offering-incense and to be going-away?"

Julius responded, "I am not being able to be contemning *the* divine instructions and to be appearing faithless to my God. For-indeed, when I was, *so* it appears, to be erring *by serving* in *the* vain military-service, in *those 27* years I was never brought-before *the* judge being as-much-as baleful or argumentative. I went-out seven-times in war, and I stood back behind no-one, nor did I fight more-inferior *than* anyone. My chief did not see me at-any-time to be erring. And *in what* way are you supposing me, who was ascertained to have been faithful in the past, to be able to be found unfaithful in better *things*?"

Maximus *the* leader responded, "What military-service did you have?"

Julius responded, "I was under *the* arms military-service, and I went-out of my order *as a* veteran. At-all-times I attended *the* God who made *the* heaven and *the* earth, fearing *him*, to whom even now I am exhibiting *my* servitude."

Maximus *the* leader said, "Julius, I see that you are a wise man and serious. Therefore, be sacrificing to *the* gods, after you have been persuaded by me, *so* that you might be receiving *a* reward in-consequence."

Julius responded, "I am not doing<sup>8</sup> what you are desiring. I will not incur *the* perpetual punishment."

Maximus<sup>9</sup> *the* leader said, "If you are supposing it to be *a* sin, may *the* punishment be overtaking me. **I** am *the* one making you *do this* by force, *so* that you might not be seen to have acquiesced voluntarily. But afterwards, you are *able* to be going into your house carefree, receiving *a* ten-year gratuity, and no-one will ever be troublesome to you for *the* rest of your life."

Julius responded, "And-neither this gratuity of *the* spiritual-adversary, nor-either this crafty persuasion of yours are able to be depriving me from *the* eternal light. For I am not able to be denying God. So be granting *a* sentence against me as-if against *a* Christian."

Maximus spoke, "If you do not become devoted to *the* royal instructions and might sacrifice, I will amputate your head."

Julius responded, "You have thought well. I am begging you, pious leader, through *the* health of your kings, that you might be completing your thought and might be granting *your* sentence in me, *so* that my vows might be perfected."

Maximus *the* leader spoke, "If you will not change-your-mind and sacrifice, you will be delivered to your desire."

Julius responded, "If I will deserve to be suffering this, perpetual praise will remain for me."

Maximus said, "You are being advised. For if you might be suffering for *the* sake of *the* paternal laws, you might be having perpetual praise."

Julius responded, "I certainly am being made-to-suffer for *the* sake of these laws—but *it is* for *the* sake of *the* divine ones."

Maximus said, "*The* one which *the* dead and crucified one delivered to *all* of you\*? Be seeing how stupid you are, who are being more dreadful of *a* dead *man* than of *a* king who is living."

Julius responded, "That *man* is *the* one who died for *the* sake of our sins, *so* that he might be granting *an* eternal life to us. But *this* same *man* himself, *the* Anointed-One, *a* god, is remaining into *the* ages of the ages. Whosoever might have confessed him, will have *an* eternal life. However, *the* one who might deny *him*, is having *a* perpetual punishment."

Maximus said, "Condoling with you, I am granting counsel, *so* that you might be greatly sacrificing and might be living with us."

Julius responded, "If I will live with *all* of you\*, it will be death to me; in *the* sight of *the* Lord, if I will die, I am living in perpetuity."

Maximus said, "Be listening to me and be sacrificing, lest you will be struck-down exactly-as I promised."

Julius responded, "I chose death for *the* time, *so* that I will live with *the* holy-ones in perpetuity."

In-this-way, Maximus *the* leader granted *the* sentence, saying, "Julius, *who* is unwilling to be acquiescing to *the* royal instructions, let him be receiving *the* capital sentence."

However, when he had been conducted to the usual place, all of *them* were kissing him. However, *the* happy Julius was saying to them, "May each *one* be seeing what-kind-of kiss this might be."

However, *a* certain Isichius (*a* Christian, *a* soldier who was being guarded with him) was saying to *the* holy testifier, "I am begging you, Julius: Be completing your professed-thing with joy, and be receiving *the* crown which *the* Lord promised-in-return to be granting to *those* who are confessing him. And be remembering of me, for **I** will also be following you. And (I am requesting) even be greeting brother Valentio *very* much, *an* attendant of *God*, who already preceded us to *the* Lord through *a* good confession."

But after Julius kissed Isichius, he said, "Be hastening, brother, to be coming. However, *the* one whom you greeted will hear your mandates there."

And accepting *the* napkin, he bound his eyes, and he extended his neck, and he said, "Lord Jesus *the* Anointed-One, I am being made-to-suffer this for *the* sake of your name. I am deprecating you, *so* that you might be deeming-worthy to be taking my spirit together with your holy testifiers."

In-this-manner, *the* minister\* of *the* Slanderer, cutting-through *the* happy testifier with *a* sword, imposed *his* finish in *the* Anointed-One Jesus our Lord (to whom is honor and glory into *the* ages of *the* ages. May it be).

### CHAPTER 31: TESTIMONY OF AGAPÉ, EIRÉNÉ, CHIONÉ [304-04-01] & TESTIMONIES OF PARTHENIOS AND CALOCERUS [304-05-19]

After the pursuit of *the* Christians according-to Maximianus overtook *them*, there were three holy women *from* out of Thessaloniké who ornamented themselves with the excellences and were being-compliant to the laws of-the-good-message, indeed, leaving *behind* their fatherland and race and surplus and acquisition due to the love concerning<sup>10</sup> God and anticipation of the good *things* in-heaven. **2** And indeed, according-to the instruction, they fled<sup>o</sup> from the *ones* who were pursuing, and they overtook<sup>o</sup> *a* certain high mountain. **3** And-there they were being-at-leisure-in their prayers-to *God*.  
(Matthew 10:23)

**4** Now-consequently, after they were arrested out of this place, they were<sup>o</sup> led-to the chief who was pursuing *the* Christians. **5** Now-consequently of these women, *the* one indeed was guarding the clean and bright condition of her<sup>11</sup> immersion, as if having been washed and whitened more-than snow; and she has been titled Chioné or Chionia (*which* mean 'snow'). **6** But the *second* woman was having the gift of peace in herself and was exhibiting it to all *persons*. Therefore she was being called Eiréné by all the *humans* (*which* means 'peace'). **7** But the *third* woman was having the love concerning<sup>12</sup> *a* god *from* out of *a* whole heart and her<sup>13</sup> neighbor as herself. Therefore, she was<sup>o</sup> given-the-name Agapé (*which* means 'love').

**8** After these three women were led-to the chief himself, they were not wishing to be sacrificing. **9** Therefore, after *one* of the leaders, Dulcetius, sat-down on the platform before *them*, Artemésios, a commentator, spoke, "If you direct, may I be reading-aloud whatever-kind-of note the station-guard (*who* is in-this-place) sent-off to your Fortune concerning<sup>14</sup> these *individuals* who have stood-by?"

Dulcetius *the* leader spoke, "Read-aloud."

And *something* out of the order was read-aloud:

To you, **my** master, from Kassandros *the* beneficiary.

<sup>1</sup> literally "in the number"

<sup>2</sup> literally "in"

<sup>3</sup> 304-03-24 (or 305-03-24)

<sup>4</sup> literally "accepting"

<sup>5</sup> literally "officer was having"

<sup>6</sup> literally "saying"

<sup>7</sup> C add

<sup>8</sup> Emendation / C "knowing"

<sup>9</sup> Emendation / C "Marcianus"

<sup>10</sup> literally "about"

<sup>11</sup> literally "the"

<sup>12</sup> literally "about"

<sup>13</sup> literally "the"

<sup>14</sup> literally "about"



Be knowing, lord, that Agathōn and Eiréné and Agapé and Chioné and Kassia and Philippa and Eutuchia are not<sup>1</sup> wishing to eat *anything* sacrificed-in-a-temple, whichever *women* I am bringing-to your Fortune.

10 Dulcetius *the* leader spoke to them, “What is this madness *caused by* the *act* for you\* not to be being-compliant to the directing of our most god-loved kings and Caesars?” And he spoke to Agathōn, “Due to what *reason*, after you came-to-be-present at<sup>2</sup> the consecrated *things*, did you not make-use-of the consecrated *things* exactly-as the *ones who* have been made-clean *are doing*?”

Agathōn spoke, “Because I am a Christian.”

11 Dulcetius *the* leader spoke, “Are you even still persisting *in* the same *things* today?”

Agathōn spoke, “Yes.”

Dulcetius spoke, “What are **you** saying, Agapé?”

Agapé spoke, “I have put-faith *in* a living god. And I am not wishing to cause my conscience to perish.”

12 Dulcetius *the* leader spoke, “What are **you** saying, Eiréné? Due to what *reason* did you not become-compliant to the directing of our masters, the kings and Caesars?”

Eiréné spoke, “Due to fear of a god.”

The leader spoke, “What are **you** saying, Chioné?”

Chioné spoke, “I have put-faith *in* a living god. And I am not doing this.”

The leader said<sup>3</sup>, “What are **you** saying, Kassia?”

Kassia spoke, “I am wanting to save my soul.”

The leader spoke, “Are you wanting to partake of the consecrated *things*?”

Kassia spoke, “I am not wanting *to*.”

13 The leader spoke, “What are **you** saying, Philippa?”

Philippa spoke, “I am saying the same.”

The leader spoke, “What is the same?”

Philippa spoke, “I am wanting rather to die-off than to eat.”

The leader spoke, “What are **you** saying, Eutuchia?”

Eutuchia spoke, “I am saying the same. I am wanting rather to die-off.”

14 The leader spoke, “Do you have a man?”

Eutuchia spoke, “He came-to-his-end.”

The leader spoke, “When did he come-to-his-end?”

Eutuchia spoke, “Possibly seven months ago.”<sup>3</sup>

The leader spoke, “Therefore, how-is-it-that you are pregnant?”

Eutuchia spoke, “Out of a man my God gave to me.”

15 The leader spoke, “Therefore, how are you happening to be pregnant when you are saying that your man has come-to-his-end?”

Eutuchia spoke, “No-one is being-able to have come-to-know the wish of the almighty God. This-is-how God wanted it.”

The leader spoke, “Eutuchia, I am propelling *you* to cease the madness, as-well-as to come-after *and stand* upon the human rationalization. What are you saying? Are you complying with the royal directive?”

Eutuchia spoke, “I am not complying. I am a Christian, a slave of an almighty god.”

The leader spoke, “Eutuchia, due to the *fact* that she is pregnant, will be taken-up into the prison for-a-while.” 16 And he added, “What are **you** saying, Agapé? Are you doing all these *things*, as-many-as we, the *ones who* have been made-clean, are doing *in honor* of our masters, kings and Caesars?”

Agapé spoke, “It was not being beautifully within the Adversary. He is not leading my rationalization. Our rationalization *is* unconquerable.”

The leader spoke, “What are **you** saying, Chioné?”

Chioné spoke, “No-one is being-able to lead our rationalization in a different-direction”

17 The leader spoke, “You are not having in-your\*-presence any memorandums or skin-parchments or books of the unsacred Christians, *are you*?”

Chioné spoke, “I am not, lord. For the present emperors have taken all *these*.”

The leader spoke, “Which *individuals* gave this resolve to all of you\*?”

Chioné spoke, “The God Almighty.”

The leader spoke, “Which *individuals* are the *ones who* took-counsel-together for all of you\* to come into this loss-of-mind.”

Chioné spoke, “The God, the Almighty, and his son, the only-begotten *one*, our Lord Jesus *the* Anointed-One.”

17 Dulcetius *the* leader spoke, “It is clear-beforehand to all, that all of you\* are being laid-under the *obligation* of the making-clean of our masters, the kings and Caesars. But since you\* made-use-of *this* loss-of-mind for<sup>4</sup> so-much time, and after so-many transmitted-messages *have* come-to-be and so-many orders were proposed, *with* so-large threats having hung-over, *it is clear that* all of you\* despised the directives of our masters, the kings and Caesars, persisting *in* the unsacred name of the Christians, as-well-as still truly even today (*while* you\* were being obliged by both the station-guards and the *ones who* are-first *in command* to deny and to do the *things which* were directed in-writing), you\* are

not wishing *to do so*. For-sake-of this, *all of you\**: Expect the punishment *which* it is necessary for<sup>5</sup> yourselves.”

18 And he read-aloud the court-decision *which* was in-writing from off<sup>6</sup> of a *sheet* of paper, “Agapé and Chioné: Since they were-minded with an unclean mindset contrary to the divine enactments of our masters, August-Ones and Caesars, still revering the religion of the Christians (*which is* without-cause and out-of-date and was held-detestable to all the *ones who* are having been cleaned), I directed for *them* to be delivered to a fire.” And he added, “Agathōn and Eiréné and Kassia and Philippa and Eutuchia: Due to their young stature,<sup>7</sup> will be thrown-in into the prison for-a-while.”

19 But after the *act* for the most-holy *women* to be brought-to-their-finish through a fire, the holy Eiréné was again brought-to *the leader* on the subsequent *day*. The leader Dulcetius spoke to her, “The proposition of **your** madness *is* manifest even due to the *things which* are being seen, you who were made-willing, even up-to this<sup>8</sup> *day* today, to guard so-many skin-parchments and books and tabloids and codices and pages of writings of the *ones* when they became Christians of the unsacred *ones*.<sup>9</sup> After they were conveyed-before *you*, you also recognized *them*, *although* you spoke each *time*<sup>10</sup> that you yourself did not *have any*. *And this*, after you were not sufficed either *by* the chastisement of your-own sisters, nor *by* having that fear of the death before *your eyes*. 20 From-this-fact, it will be obliged, indeed, for the *act* of the punishment to be being laid-upon you. But it is not unseasonable to give-in to you a measure<sup>11</sup> of philanthropy, so-that, if you would now be made-willing to-at-least to be recognizing *some* gods, for you to be guiltless of all danger and chastising. Therefore, what do you say? Are you doing the directive of our kings and Caesars? And are you ready to eat *the meat* sacrificed-in-a-temple today and to sacrifice to the gods?”

Eiréné spoke, “Surely-not. I am not ready to do *this*, due to the almighty God, the *one who* created both heaven and earth and sea and all the *things* in them. For a great rightful-punishment of perpetual torture *is* for the *ones who* are transgressing the account of God.”

21 Dulcetius *the* leader spoke, “Who took-counsel-together with you *to convince you* to keep these skin-parchments and these writings until this<sup>12</sup> *day* today?”

Eiréné spoke, “The God, the Almighty, the *one who* spoke to love him till death. For this sake, we did not dare to betray. Instead, we delightfully-chose for ourselves either to be burned alive<sup>13</sup> or to be suffering as-much-as *whatever* might happen to us *rather* than to betray these *writings*.”

22 The leader spoke, “Had anyone with you been-conscious that these *writings* were<sup>14</sup> in the house in which you were dwelling?”

Eiréné spoke, “No-one else<sup>15</sup> looks, except the almighty God, the *one who* has come-to-know all *things*. For not-one *person is* more-excessive. We deemed our-own *family-members* worse *than* enemies, lest-somehow they might accuse us; and we informed no-one.”

23 The leader spoke, “The previous year,<sup>16</sup> at-the-time-when the so-important<sup>17</sup> directive of our masters, the kings and Caesars, first roamed *throughout the empire*, where did all of you\* hide-from us?”

Eiréné spoke, “Wherever God wanted. In a mountain (God is looking) under-the-open *air*.”

The leader spoke, “In whose presence were you\* coming-to-be?”

Eiréné spoke, “Under-the-open *air* in one and another *place* in various mountains.”

24 The leader spoke, “Which *individuals* were the *ones* affording you\* with bread?”

Eiréné spoke, “God, the *one who* is affording *things* to all *persons*.”

The leader spoke, “Did your-own father<sup>18</sup> know *this* along with all of you\*?”

Eiréné spoke, “By the almighty God, he did not know *this* along with *me*, but he did not know at-all.”<sup>19</sup>

25 The leader spoke, “Had anyone of your\* neighbors\* been-conscious of *this*?”

Eiréné spoke, “May you be inquiring of our<sup>20</sup> neighbors\* and the places for yourself, if anyone knew where we were.”

The leader spoke, “After the *act* for you\* to come-back out of the mountain, as **you** declare, were anyone being-present for the *act when* all of you\* were reading-aloud these documents?”

<sup>5</sup> literally “into”

<sup>6</sup> literally “out”

<sup>7</sup> literally “to the young *state* of the stature”

<sup>8</sup> literally “the”

<sup>9</sup> or may be translated “became Christians, of the unsacred *ones*”

<sup>10</sup> literally “spoke throughout each”

<sup>11</sup> literally “part”

<sup>12</sup> literally “the”

<sup>13</sup> literally “burned *while* living”

<sup>14</sup> literally “conscious for these to be”

<sup>15</sup> literally “different”

<sup>16</sup> literally “the year of a-year-ago”

<sup>17</sup> literally “so-large”

<sup>18</sup> literally “the father, the your *father*”

<sup>19</sup> literally “wholly”

<sup>20</sup> literally “the”

<sup>1</sup> emendation / manuscript omit “not”

<sup>2</sup> literally “into”

<sup>3</sup> literally “before”

<sup>4</sup> literally “from”

Eiréné spoke, “They were in our house, and we were not daring to be leading them out outside. From-this-fact, even for *the remaining time*, we were remaining in great tribulation, that we were not able to be paying-attention to them night and day, exactly-as we were even doing from *the beginning* till that<sup>1</sup> day which was a-year-ago; and we hid them from *sight*.”

26 Dulcetius *the leader* spoke, “Indeed, the sisters, in-accordance-with the *things which were ordered* to them, were clothed with a court-decision. But **you**, since you have become guilty<sup>2</sup> even prior<sup>3</sup> to your<sup>4</sup> flight and your hiding of these documents and skin-parchments from *me*, I am directing for you not to be released-from this<sup>5</sup> life in the same manner in-a-mass. Instead, I am directing for you to be stood naked into a brothel<sup>6</sup> through the additional-aid of the market-clerks<sup>7</sup> of this city and of Zosimos the public *executioner*, receiving only one loaf of bread out of the Palatium while the market-clerks are not permitting you to retire.”<sup>8</sup>

27 Therefore, after the market-clerks and Zosimos (a slave who was a public *executioner*) were led-into *the room*, the leader spoke, “But all of **you**\*, do not be being-ignorant, as if-at-any-time it would be informed to me from out of the ranks of *soldiers*, that she has<sup>9</sup> been released-from out of that place in which it has been ordered for her to have stood, if-even for *the least hour*, you\* will be thrown-under the upmost rightful-punishment at that *very time*. But let the documents, the *ones which were conveyed-before us*, in the cabinets and the arks of Eiréné be publicly burned.”

28 And after the *ones* having been assigned into this led her off in-accordance-with this ordinance of the leader onto the public place of the brothel,<sup>10</sup> due to the favor of the holy spirit (the *favor which was watching-over her* and guarding her clean for the God of the whole *universe*), not-one man dared to come-toward her nor made-it-his-business to finish something outrageous against her even so-much-as<sup>11</sup> a word. Because of this, Dulcetius *the leader*, after he called-up the most-holy woman to himself and after he stood her on the platform, spoke to her, “Are you still persisting in the same loss-of-mind?”

Eiréné spoke to him, “It is surely-not a loss-of-mind, but instead reverence-for-God.”

29 But the leader Dulcetius spoke, “And it was manifestly shown from your former answer that you have not<sup>12</sup> become-compliant to the *ones* having been made-clean for the directive of the kings. And now I am perceiving that you are still persisting in the same loss-of-mind. From-this-fact, you will receive for yourself the punishment which is necessary.”

And after he requested for a *sheet of paper*, he was writing a court-decision to her in-this-manner, “Eiréné, since she did not want to comply with the directive of the kings and to sacrifice, yet truly still is holding-religious-observances to a certain Christian order, in favor of this, I directed for this woman to also be burned alive<sup>13</sup> in-this-manner as her former two sisters also were.”

30 And after this court-decision came-out from the leader, the soldiers, after they received her, led her off onto a certain high place. There her former sisters have also testified. For after they kindled a great pyre, they directed for her to come-up on her own accord.<sup>14</sup> 31 But the holy Eiréné, while psalming and glorifying God, cast herself against the pyre and she was brought-to-her-finish in-this-manner. This happened in the consulate of Diocletianus the August-One for the ninth time and Maximianus the August-One for the eighth time, on the Kalends of April,<sup>15</sup> while Jesus the Anointed-One, our Lord, is reigning into the ages, with whom is the glory to the Father along with the holy spirit into the ages of the ages. May it be.

\* \* \* \* \*

Now during the consulate of Diocletianus for the 9<sup>th</sup> time and Maximianus for the 8<sup>th</sup> time, on the 14<sup>th</sup> day before the Kalends of June,<sup>16</sup> the bodies of the testifiers Parthenios and Calocerus were deposited in the cemetery of Kallistos which is on the Appian Way in Roma.

## CHAPTER 32: TESTIMONY OF MAXIMA, DONATILLA, SECUNDA [304-07-28~29] & TESTIMONY OF BASILLA [304-09-22]

The suffering of the virgins Maxima and Secunda and Donatilla, who suffered<sup>17</sup> under the emperor Maximianus and the proconsul Anulinus, on the fourth day before the Kalends of August.<sup>18</sup>

In those days, the emperors Maximianus *Herculius* and Maximianus Galerius<sup>19</sup> sent letters through all that province so that the Christians might be sacrificing in the Cephalitan property.<sup>20</sup> Truly Anulinus the proconsul stepped-in<sup>21</sup> quite-clearly at the evening hour. While he<sup>22</sup> was arising at the sixth hour of the night, he called<sup>23</sup> a certain decurion so that he might be leading the magistrates Modaticius and Archadius to him. When they<sup>24</sup> had come, they were directed<sup>25</sup> by the proconsul so that they might be knowing the Christians universally. They<sup>26</sup> straightaway sent private officials to an public exhibition of the Christians. And about the third hour of the day, when the proconsul had seated himself before the tribunal, all the Christians in the same property<sup>27</sup> were congregated.<sup>28</sup> And while they were universally standing-near, Anulinus the proconsul said, “Are all of you\* Christians or pagans?”

They<sup>29</sup> all said, “We are Christians.”

Anulinus the proconsul said, “Maximianus and Galerius,<sup>30</sup> the pious and august emperors, deigned<sup>31</sup> to be giving letters to me, that all the Christians might be coming and might be sacrificing. However, those who might not-wish and might not hear their precepts, they might be punished with diverse torments and excruciations.”

Then they feared strongly<sup>32</sup> universally, for themselves and for their wives and furthermore for their juveniles and virgins. Furthermore, between them<sup>33</sup> were elders and ministers with the universal body-of-allotted-ones. After all of them prostrated themselves, they adored the execrable idols.

However, two virgins who were good-looking and in-a-state-of-chastity were there, Maxima and Donatilla.

Truly Campitana began to be clamoring, saying, “We all came to be adoring the gods. And, behold, here are two virgins who have not-even obeyed the precept of the emperors, and they are not wishing to be sacrificing.”

Anulinus the proconsul said, “Speak-out their names to me.”

Campitana said, “They are said to be Maxima and Donatilla.”

Anulinus the proconsul directed a public official to be exhibiting them. Whensoever they were being led-to him, they, while they were standing-near, said, “Behold, we are standing here. What interrogation are you thinking to be doing to us?”

Anulinus said, “From whom are you having authority, you who are contemning the pious and august emperors?”

Maxima responded, “I am having the authority of the Christian faith, which I am cultivating.”

Anulinus the proconsul said, “How-many years old are you?”

Maxima responded, “I am not a daughter of a magician in-whatever-way **you** are a magician, am I?”

Anulinus the proconsul said, “From-where are you knowing that I am a magician?”

Maxima responded, “Since the holy spirit is in us, while truly a demon is pointing itself out in you.”

Anulinus the proconsul said, “Through the living god, I am adjuring you, that you might be saying how-many years old you are.”

Maxima responded, “Did I not say to you, that you are a magician?”

Anulinus said, “Be indicating to me, how-many years old you are, if it is constant.”

Maxima responded, “May the ribs of your members be being shattered. For I am fourteen years old.”

Anulinus the proconsul said, “Today you will complete those years, if you will not have sacrificed to the gods.”

Maxima responded, “May you be sacrificing to those gods, you who are similar to them.”

Anulinus said, “The sentence is imminent for you.”

Maxima responded, “By-all-means I am even lusting for and wishing this.”

Anulinus said, “Therefore, be preparing your soul for<sup>34</sup> the sentence.”

Maxima responded, “It is better for me to get a sentence from you than to be contemning the one and true God.”

<sup>17</sup> literally “who are having suffered”

<sup>18</sup> (304)-07-29

<sup>19</sup> emendation / text “Gallienus”

<sup>20</sup> literally “possession”

<sup>21</sup> literally “is having stepped-in”

<sup>22</sup> literally “who”

<sup>23</sup> literally “voiced”

<sup>24</sup> literally “who”

<sup>25</sup> literally “they were having been directed”

<sup>26</sup> literally “who”

<sup>27</sup> literally “possession”

<sup>28</sup> literally “are having been congregated”

<sup>29</sup> literally “Who”

<sup>30</sup> emendation / text “Gallienus”

<sup>31</sup> literally “, are having deigned”

<sup>32</sup> literally “

<sup>33</sup> literally “who”

<sup>34</sup> literally “to/toward”

<sup>1</sup> literally “the”

<sup>2</sup> literally “caustive”

<sup>3</sup> literally “former”

<sup>4</sup> literally “the” (also in next occurrence)

<sup>5</sup> literally “the”

<sup>6</sup> literally “place-of-sexual-immorality”

<sup>7</sup> literally “market-pasturers” (also later in verse)

<sup>8</sup> literally “to make-room-up”

<sup>9</sup> literally “, for her to have”

<sup>10</sup> literally “place-of-sexual-immorality”

<sup>11</sup> literally “even until”

<sup>12</sup> literally “answer to not have”

<sup>13</sup> literally “while living”

<sup>14</sup> literally “come-up from herself”

<sup>15</sup> 304-04-01

<sup>16</sup> 304-05-19

Anulinus said, "What are you despairing? Will you sacrifice or not?"  
Maxima responded, "I am persevering in my god. In truth, I will not adore alien gods."

Anulinus said, "I am still patiently-enduring till you<sup>1</sup> might be finding your mind."

Maxima responded, "My mind is by me. For even *the* Lord is giving-complete-fortitude to me versus you. From-this **you** will be infirm; in truth, **I** will be more-fortified."

Anulinus said, "Therefore, who is by you?"

Maxima responded, "Donatilla, my sister."

Anulinus said, "Donatilla, are you Christian or pagan?"

Donatilla responded, "*The* demon is still persevering in you. You are being tempted by that *demon*. Instead, you will not be-able to be tempting different *persons*."

Anulinus said, "Are you still persevering in this same will?"

Donatilla responded, "Our authority is *the* Anointed-One; your authority is *the* Slanderer. Between God and *the* Slanderer is a great distance. Through us God is being blessed; in truth, through you *the* Slanderer is being spoken-evilly-of."

Anulinus said, "Both of you\*, be sacrificing. Because it is good to be fearing and to be serving *the* precept of the lords."

Donatilla responded, "*The* precept of *the* emperor will fall. However, *the* precept of *the* Lord may remain in eternity."

Anulinus said, "Be considering yourself, girl, lest you might be suffering torments."

Donatilla responded, "Your torments will be much to my soul."

In truth, *on the* same day, Anulinus brought *them* abroad, and he directed for them to be being led-through to *the* civil-community of Thurburbo. He still took *care* beforehand, so that they might not-even be getting water nor-even bread.

Maxima and Donatilla responded, "**We** are having *the* food of *the* Highest-One. However, **you** *the* food of *the* Slanderer."

Anulinus said, "*All of you\**, be giving gall and vinegar to them, and may they be chewing and *imbibing* these *things*."

Maxima and Donatilla responded, "Be keeping *the* gall and vinegar to yourself with-valor, and may *the* vinegar be being made-completely-firm in you always."

However, Anulinus, then blazed in anger, and he directed for them to be proceeding from Turbo.

Whenever those *women* were arising and were walking, a certain girl was there, Secunda by name, about twelve years *old*, who had come-out of many espousal conditions and had contemned *them* all, because she was loving one so-very *much*: *God*. Whenever she was seeing *the two women* advancing-forward, she, regarding *them* through the balcony of her house which was too lofty, cast *herself* headlong<sup>2</sup> out-of-there, having no regard<sup>3</sup> in-front-of *her* eyes for *the* riches of *her* parents. She by-all-means contemned all *the* squalor (that is said) of this world. She despised riches. She lusted for one: *the one* whom she was hoping to be finding in eternity. Therefore, *while* Maxima and Donatilla *were* making-forward from Turbo, Secunda was clamoring, "Sisters, do not be wishing to be dismissing me."

Maxima and Donatilla said to her, "Go-away. Because you are *the only child* of your father. To whom would you be leaving<sup>4</sup> him?"

In truth, Secunda said, "It is better for me to be contemning *my* fleshly father and to be loving *my* spiritual *one*."

Maxima and Donatilla said to her, "Be considering *the* age of your father, and do not be wishing to be leaving<sup>5</sup> him."

Secunda said, "God will repay<sup>6</sup> you\*, if you\* entirely-relinquish me."

Maxima responded, "Know that a sentence has been<sup>7</sup> prepared for us. You will not be-able to be suffering, *will you*?"

Secunda said, "*The* sentence of this world is not being-able to be terrifying me, because I am seeking a spiritual spouse, Jesus *the* Anointed-One."

Maxima responded, "*The* flesh of this age of *youth* is fragile."

Secunda said, "Instead, **I** am lusting to accepting a spouse who is not corrupting virginity. O what-sort-of spouse is *he* who is consoling and giving-complete-fortitude to *the* most-minute *individuals*."

Donatilla responded, "Therefore, may we be going, girl. *The* day of our suffering is hastening, and *the* heavenly-messenger of blessing is coming to us in-the-way." So they went-out of that place, and the sun fully-went-to-bed.

And afterward when Maxima and Donatilla and Secunda again went-back into *the* civil-community of Thurburbo, *on the* fifth day before the Kalends of August,<sup>8</sup> about *the* ninth hour, Anulinus *the* proconsul ascended before *the* tribunal, and he directed for Maxima and Donatilla to be being introduced under sentence.

Whenever they were being led-in, Anulinus said, "Will *all of you\** either sacrifice in this city or not?"

Maxima responded, "We ourselves are already sacrificing to *the one* to whom we have promised our soul."

And *the* proconsul, again on *the* same day, deferred *the* sentence. In truth, on a different day, *on the* fourth day before the Kalends of August,<sup>9</sup> at *the* first hour, Anulinus *the* proconsul ascended; and he directed for Maxima and Donatilla to be being tossed to lashes.

In truth, Maxima said, "*The* scourges are not great as-soon-as *the* flesh is getting-a-beating and *the* spirit is being saved but-also *the* soul is being redeemed and is being given-complete-fortitude."

However, Anulinus, seeing his punishment being annulled, directed for nets<sup>10</sup> of pieces-of-scorched-clay and of chalices to be being made-ready and for *the women* to be being laid there.

Maxima and Donatilla responded, "We are having a great medic, who is curing *the* scourges which you are inflicting *on* us and is giving-complete-fortitude to our souls. **You** indeed are being made-less in *the* punishment, and **we** are being amplified in glory. **You** are being made-less in *the* sentence, and **we** are being made-better *while* confiding in God."

Then *the* proconsul directed for them to be being laid into *the* horse-rack.

Maxima and Donatilla said, "It is in following *the* judgment of God, that a human might be suffering on-behalf-of his-own lord."

Anulinus said, "If their pharynx already become-deficient and become-dry, *all of you\** be giving *tabiba*<sup>11</sup> to them to be *imbibing*."

Maxima and Donatilla said, "**You** indeed are a distasteful-buffoon. Are **we** not having *the* Highest God for our condiment?"

*The* proconsul said, "*All of you\**, be sprinkling fiery charcoals on Maxima and Donatilla above *the* long-hair of *their* head."

Maxima and Donatilla responded, "What is having been written in *the* law is true: 'We have gone-across through fire and water, and we come-through in refreshment.'" (Psalm 66:12)

Then Anulinus directed for Maxima and Donatilla to be being laid-down in *an* amphitheater.

Maxima and Donatilla said, "*The* hour is already approaching us. Be giving *the* sentence which you are wishing."

*The* proconsul said, "*All of you\**, be receding from me, since I am already becoming-deficient."

Maxima and Donatilla spoke, "In-whatever-way have you become-deficient in<sup>12</sup> one hour? You have now come and you are already lax."

Anulinus said, "We are directing for Maxima and Donatilla and Secunda to be being afflicted with torments. We are giving-a-precept for Maxima and Donatilla and Secunda to be fighting with beasts."

And those *women* said, "*The* hour is near. Be doing what you are wishing to be doing."

Then *the* proconsul directed for Fortunatus *the* hunter to be leading-to him a ferocious bear which he was having, which had not fully-chewed *anything* for two or-even three days, and for him to be dismissing *it*, so that it might be devouring these virgins.

They<sup>13</sup> responded, "In *the* name of our lord Jesus *the* Anointed-One, we will overcome you today."

However in *that* same hour, Fortunatus *the* hunter dismissed a ferocious bear. As-long-as it<sup>14</sup> was in-front-of Maxima hastening toward *her*, Donatilla began to be saying to it, "Be doing what has been<sup>15</sup> given-as-a-precept to you. Do not be wishing to be fearing."

Straightaway, *the* bear<sup>16</sup> gave a roar,<sup>17</sup> and Maxima gained-intelligence of its roar. And *the* bear licked her feet, and dismissed *the* virgins of God unhurt.

Then Anulinus *the* proconsul recited *the* sentence from out of *the* tablet, "We are directing for Maxima and Donatilla and Secunda to be being punished with *the* sword."

And they themselves responded, "Thanks to God."

And straightaway, they suffered.<sup>18</sup> In truth, their bodies were laid<sup>19</sup> in *the* amphitheater in *the* receiving<sup>20</sup> place.

\* \* \* \* \*

Now during *the* consulate of Diocletianus for *the* 9<sup>th</sup> time and Maximianus for *the* 8<sup>th</sup> time, on *the* 10<sup>th</sup> day before the Kalends of October,<sup>1</sup> the body of the testifier Basilla was deposited in the cemetery which is on the Salarian Way in Roma.

<sup>9</sup> (304)-07-29

<sup>10</sup> "Nets" and "scourges" are spelled the same in Latin, and therefore seem to be a pun.

<sup>11</sup> Latin word of unknown meaning

<sup>12</sup> literally "toward"

<sup>13</sup> literally "Who"

<sup>14</sup> literally "which"

<sup>15</sup> literally "you are having been"

<sup>16</sup> emendation (nominative) / text "bear" (accusative)

<sup>17</sup> literally "voice" (also later in verse)

<sup>18</sup> literally "they are having suffered"

<sup>19</sup> literally "were having been laid"

<sup>20</sup> literally "excepting"

<sup>1</sup> emendation / text "I"

<sup>2</sup> literally "precipitated"

<sup>3</sup> literally "gaze-in"

<sup>4</sup> literally "dismissing"

<sup>5</sup> literally "dismissing"

<sup>6</sup> literally "will give something back to"

<sup>7</sup> literally "is having been"

<sup>8</sup> (304)-07-28

### CHAPTER 33: TESTIMONY OF CRISPINA [304-12-05]

1 In the consulate of the August-One Diocletianus for the 9th time and Maximianus [for the 8th time],<sup>2</sup> on the day of the Nones of December,<sup>3</sup> at the colony of Thebessa, while Anulinus the proconsul was seated-near in the secret-place before the tribunal, a commentator in office spoke, "If you direct, Crispina of Thagora, who has contemned the law of our lords, the princes, may be being heard."

2 Anulinus the proconsul said, "May she be being brought-in."

Now Crispina was a female who was abundant with riches and delicate, a married woman who was radiant,<sup>4</sup> and noble by race. So after Crispina was made-to-enter, Anulinus the proconsul said, "Have you become-cognitive of the sacred sentence<sup>5</sup> which has been given-for-a-precept?"

The happy<sup>6</sup> Crispina responded, "I do not-know what might have been given-for-a-precept."

3 Anulinus said, "That you might be sacrificing to all our gods on-behalf-of the salvation of the princes, following the law which has been given by our lords: the pious August-Ones, Diocletianus and Maximianus, and the most-noble Caesars, Constantius and Maximianus."<sup>7</sup>

Crispina responded, "At-no-time have I sacrificed. And I am not sacrificing, except<sup>8</sup> to the one and true God and to our lord Jesus the Anointed-One, his son, who is birthed and has suffered."

4 Anulinus the proconsul said, "Be amputating this superstition, and be subjugating your head to the sacred gods of the Romans."

Crispina responded, "Daily I am adoring my God the omnipotent. I have come-to-know no other God except for him."

5 Anulinus said, "You are hard and a contemptuous-woman. And you will start to be sustaining the force of the laws unwillingly."

Crispina responded, "Whatever might emerge, I am suffering it gladly due to my faith which I am grasping."

6 Anulinus said, "It is the vanity of your soul that you, not having already dismissed this superstition, might not be venerating the sacred noddings."

Crispina responded, "Daily I am venerating, but instead a living and true god, who is my lord. I have not come-to-know any other except for him."

Anulinus said, "I am offering the sacred precept, which you might be observing."

Crispina responded, "I will observe a precept, but instead the one of my lord Jesus the Anointed-One."

7 Anulinus the proconsul said, "I am giving-a-precept for your head to be being amputated,<sup>10</sup> if you will not comply with the precepts of the emperors, our lords, to whom you will be driven to be serving-zealously after you have been subjugated, to whom even all Africa made sacrifices (a fact which is not-even dubious to you)."

Crispina responded, "May it at-no-time be well to those individuals, that they might be making me to be sacrificing to demons. I am sacrificing to none except<sup>11</sup> to one God who has made the heaven and the earth, the sea<sup>12</sup> and all which is in them."

8(2.1) Anulinus said, "Therefore, our gods are not acceptable to you? You will be driven to be exhibiting serfdom to them,<sup>13</sup> in order that you might be coming-through safe to devotion."

Crispina responded, "That devotion is nothing which is driving individuals to be being oppressed to do so unwillingly."

Anulinus said, "Instead, we are already seeking that you might be devoted, that you, after you bend your head, might be immolating to the gods of the Romans in the sacred temples."

Crispina responded, "I have never done this at-any-other-time since I was birthed.<sup>14</sup> I have not-even come-to-know, and I am not doing it as-long-as I will live."

9(2) Anulinus said, "Instead, be doing it, if you are wishing to be evading from the severity of the laws immune."

Crispina responded, "I am not fearing what you are saying. This is nothing. However, if I will consent to be sacrilegious, the God who is in the heavens will simultaneously send me to perdition, so that I might not be made-to-come-through in that day which will come."

10(3) Anulinus said, "You will not be sacrilegious if you might be complying with the sacred directives."

Crispina responded, "May the gods which have not made the heaven and the earth perish! I am sacrificing to the eternal God who is being-permanent into the ages of the ages, who is the true and being-dreaded God,<sup>15</sup> who has made the sea and the green herbs and the arid earth. However, what are humans being-able to be standing-near me, who have been made from him?"

11(4) Anulinus the proconsul said, "Be cultivating the Roman religion, which even our lords, the most-invincible Caesars, and we ourselves are observing."

Crispina responded, "I have already said to you again-and-again,<sup>16</sup> I had<sup>17</sup> been made-ready to be sustaining the torments which you are wishing to be subjecting me to, as-far-as my soul might not be being polluted in idols, which are stones and figments which have been made by the hand of humans."

Anulinus said, "You are uttering revilement. For you are not following-after what might be being-convenient to your salvation."

12(3.1) And Anulinus the proconsul added-to<sup>18</sup> the commentator in office, saying, "After she has been led-out to every deformation by having her hairs removed<sup>19</sup> by a razor, may she be being made-bald, so that her face might first be being coming to ignominy."

Crispina responded, "May your own gods be uttering, and I am believing. If I would not<sup>20</sup> have been seeking salvation, I would not be being heard in-front of your tribunal."

13(2) Anulinus said, "Are you desiring to be living day-by-day, or to be dying in punishment as even the rest of your consorts: Maxima, Donatilla, and Secunda?"<sup>21</sup>

Crispina responded, "If I would have been wishing to be dying and to be delivering my soul into loss in the eternal fire, I would have already given my will to your demons."

Anulinus said, "I will give-a-precept for your head to be being amputated, if you might contemn for the venerable gods to be being adored."

Crispina responded, "I am thanking<sup>22</sup> my God, if I will be followed by this. I am most-gladly desiring to be sending my head to perdition for<sup>23</sup> my God. For I am not sacrificing to soulless idols which are mute and deaf."<sup>24</sup>

14(3) Anulinus the proconsul said, "And you are altogether persisting in this foolish sense of yours?"

Crispina responded, "My God, who is and who is being-permanent into eternity, himself has directed for me to be being birthed; he himself has given salvation to me through the saving waters of immersion; he himself is by me, bolstering me and giving-complete-fortitude to his handmaid in all things so that she might not be doing sacrilege."<sup>25</sup>

15(4.1) Anulinus said, "Why are we patiently-enduring this impious Christian any more? May the acts which have<sup>26</sup> been spoken be being read-back from out of the codex."

And after they were read-back, Anulinus the proconsul read the sentence<sup>27</sup> from a pamphlet, "Since Crispina is perduring in the undignified superstition, who has not wished to be sacrificing to our gods by following the heavenly mandates of the august law,<sup>28</sup> I have directed for her to be being executed<sup>29</sup> by the sword."

16(2) Crispina responded, "I am blessing the God who in-this-manner has deigned to be liberating me from your hands. Thanks to God!"<sup>30</sup>

#### Ending #1<sup>31</sup>

And while she was signing her forehead with a small-sign of the cross, she, extending her nape, was<sup>32</sup> denecked for<sup>33</sup> the name of our lord Jesus the Anointed-One, to whom be the honor into the ages of the ages. May it be.

#### Ending #2

The happy Crispina suffered<sup>34</sup> at the colony of Thebessa on the day of the Nones of December, while Anulinus the proconsul was commanding, while our lord Jesus the Anointed-One was reigning in the unity of the holy spirit into the ages of the ages. May it be.

### CHAPTER 34: TESTIMONY OF JULITTA [???-07-30]

<sup>15</sup> some "Crispina responded, "What you are wanting? That I might be sacrilegious to God and might not be to the emperors? May it not come-to-be. God is great and omnipotent"

<sup>16</sup> literally "often"

<sup>17</sup> literally "I am having"

<sup>18</sup> literally "threw-to"

<sup>19</sup> literally "carried-off"

<sup>20</sup> some omit "not"

<sup>21</sup> some add

<sup>22</sup> literally "I am motioning thanks to"

<sup>23</sup> literally "before"

<sup>24</sup> some "by this. I am sending my head to perdition once, if instead I might be thrifying to idols."

<sup>25</sup> some "by me, so that my soul, as you are wanting, might not be doing sacrilege"

<sup>26</sup> literally "which are having"

<sup>27</sup> some "proconsul gave the sentence. He read"

<sup>28</sup> some "following the mandate of the august law, a place from heaven is stretched."

<sup>29</sup> animaduerti

<sup>30</sup> some add

<sup>31</sup> Some manuscripts have the first ending, some have the second ending.

<sup>32</sup> literally "is having been"

<sup>33</sup> literally "before"

<sup>34</sup> literally "is having suffered"

<sup>1</sup> 304-09-22

<sup>2</sup> correct date missing from manuscript

<sup>3</sup> 304-12-05

<sup>4</sup> literally "clear"

<sup>5</sup> may also be translated "sentiment"

<sup>6</sup> some add

<sup>7</sup> emendation / manuscript "Maximus"

<sup>8</sup> literally "if-not"

<sup>9</sup> literally "gladly before"

<sup>10</sup> some "said, "Your head will be sent-to-perdition"

<sup>11</sup> literally "if-not"

<sup>12</sup> some omit "the sea"

<sup>13</sup> literally "whom"

<sup>14</sup> literally "out of the day which I am birthed"

Now sometime during the persecution, on *the third day before the Kalends of August*,<sup>1</sup> the most-happy woman, Julitta, in Caesarea of Kappadokia, had a lawsuit<sup>2</sup> with a certain *man* of the powerful *men* in the city; with a man *who* was taking-advantage of *others* and was forcible, *who* gathered his-own riches out of snatching and plundering. After he<sup>3</sup> chopped-off for himself both a multitude of earth and fields and villages and grazing-animals and domestics and all the remaining furnishing<sup>4</sup> of the livelihood from out of the woman, he, after discharged blackmailers and false-testifiers, overtook the courts-of-justice, *while* he *was* also affixing-on himself the accepting-of-gifts of the *ones who were* giving-a-rightful-punishment.

But as the lady was-present, and the preacher was calling, and the advocates were readily-turning, she was beginning to be teaching *them about* the tyranny of the human, and she was going to be describing<sup>5</sup> both the manner of the acquisition from<sup>6</sup> *the* beginning and the length of the time of the guaranteeing<sup>7</sup> for the mastership. Next, *she was beginning* to be lamenting the force and the greed of the man.

*While she was doing these things*, he, after he came-by, was declaring, that she did not *have* the right for-bringing-a-case-into-court, “For *those who have decided* to be having-their-share-among the *ones who are* not serving the gods of the kings and *are* not forswearing *their faith into* the Anointed-One are not-even legal of the communion.” He was thinking it right to be saying *this* to the chief, and obligatory *for it* to be being proposed.<sup>8</sup>

And straightaway frankincense and a hearth and a proposition<sup>9</sup> were given to the *ones who were* incurring-a-rightful-punishment, indeed, *that, while* they were denying the Anointed-One, *they were* to be having-enjoyment of the laws and the profit from them. But *while* they were holding themselves to the faith, *they were* to be having-a-share neither of courts-of-justice, nor of laws, nor of the remaining civic-rights, as having been dishonored according-to the law of the *ones who were* then ruling.<sup>10</sup>

Instead, she declared<sup>9</sup>, “Let my life be being gone. Let my monies be going-away. But *I would wish* that my body not be left-around, prior to *me* discharging<sup>11</sup> any impious sound against the God *who* created me.”

And *the more*<sup>12</sup> she was seeing the chief being made-indignant by-means-of these accounts and being burned-forth with the uttermost<sup>13</sup> anger against her, so-much more was she thanking God, because, *while* she was stepping-away from the monies *which are* corruptible, she was made-to-appear confirming the acquisition of the heavenly good *things* to herself. And indeed, she was being-taken-away-from earth, in order that she might obtain *the Garden*, but she was being executed-with-a-rightful-punishment of dishonor, in order that she might be considered-worthy of the crowns of the glory. *Her body was* being severely-tormented<sup>14</sup> and the temporary life *was* being taken-away, in order that she might receive for herself the happy hopes, *while* being found with all the holy-ones in the joy of the kingdom.

But as she was being asked many-times, she was discharging<sup>15</sup> her voice, saying, *that she* herself was a slave of the Anointed-One. And (contrary to what was directed by Jesus the Anointed, “*All of you\**, be blessing the *ones who are* cursing you\*.” and by Paulus the emissary, “*All of you\**, be blessing the *ones who are* pursuing you\* *harmfully*, and do not be cursing”) she was cursing the *ones who were* calling *her* to come before them to the denial of the faith.

(Matthew 5:44 / Luke 6:28 / Romans 12:14)

Then surely the judge of the unrighteousness would not only deprive her<sup>16</sup> properties from *her* (which he had even taken-away for himself in-contradiction-to the laws), *but* instead she would even be deprived of her life as was concluded,<sup>17</sup> after he delivered her to a fire.

But *the woman* ran pressingly in-this-way toward none of the delightful *things* according-to this<sup>18</sup> *present* lifetime, as she came onto that flame; *while her* face, even with *her* semblance and with *the things* which were vocalized and with the beam flowering-upon *her surface*, was shining-into view the deeply-joyful *state* of her<sup>19</sup> soul. *While she was in this state*, she was exhorting *the specific women who were* having-stood-by of the women *who were there*, *telling them* not to be softening themselves down to *nothing* for<sup>20</sup> the exertions in-behalf of the piety, and-not to be making-a-pretext for themselves *that they were* the weakness of the

<sup>1</sup> ???-07-30 // some “on the Ides of July” (07-15) / some “sixteenth before the Kalends of July” (06-16)

<sup>2</sup> literally “Julitta of a lawsuit having stood-together”

<sup>3</sup> literally “who”

<sup>4</sup> literally “all the furnishing being-around”

<sup>5</sup> literally “leading-through”

<sup>6</sup> literally “out of”

<sup>7</sup> literally “confirming”

<sup>8</sup> literally “being stretched-before”

<sup>9</sup> literally “a thing-stretched-before”

<sup>10</sup> literally “being-mighty”

<sup>11</sup> usually translated “dismiss”

<sup>12</sup> literally “And so-much more”

<sup>13</sup> literally “last”

<sup>14</sup> literally “tormented-down”

<sup>15</sup> usually translated “dismissed”

<sup>16</sup> literally “the”

<sup>17</sup> or may be translated “as was being-lawful”

<sup>18</sup> literally “the”

<sup>19</sup> literally “the”

<sup>20</sup> literally “toward”

nature. “We are *from* out of the same kneadment with the men,” she said. “We have come-to-be *made* according-to an image of a god, as even these *men*. The female has come-to-be, from the *one who* created *everything*, capable-of-accepting excellence equally-honored with the male. For even for-what-reason are we the kinsmen with the men through all *things*? For not only was flesh taken\* for a furnishing for<sup>21</sup> a woman, instead even a bone out of the bone; so-that it is being-indebted even from us to be *having* the stiff and vigorous and enduring *state* out of an equal *obligation* to the Master with the men.”

After she said these *things*, she leaped toward the pyre. But after the *pyre* held-all-around the body of the holy-one, indeed, the soul was released. But the body was brought-safely-through, unmixed, by-means-of her relatives,<sup>22</sup> **which** was laid in the most-beautiful entrance-of-the-sacred-precinct of the city.

## CHAPTER 35: CIRCUS DECICATION [304-11-20] & RUMOR OF DIOCLETIANUS' DEATH [304-12-13] & DIOCLETIANUS' PUBLIC APPEARANCE [305-03-01]

So while many of the testifiers of Jesus the Anointed-One were being killed on account of their faith, after *the* summer was completed, the prime-insurrectionist of *the persecutors*, Emperor Diocletianus, through a circuit *along* the banks of the Istros, came to Nikomédeia, *while* his sickness rose-up *more* serious. *Although* he was seeing that he was being pressed with it, nevertheless, he was carried-forth so that he might be dedicating a circus, which he had made, after a year after *the* twentieth-anniversary was completed.<sup>23</sup>

From-there, no auspicious sickness leaned-upon *him*; and he was so languid after he was oppressed, that *the sparing* of his life was being asked through all *the* gods till, on *the Ides* of December,<sup>24</sup> *there was* abrupt mourning in *the* palace, sadness and tears of *the* judges, trepidation and silence *throughout* the total civil-community. They were saying, *that* not only was he already made-to-die, *but* instead *that* he was even buried, when, abruptly in-the-morning on-the-day-after, a report was being ranged-about, that he might be living. *At this, the faces* of the domestics and *the* judges were changed with alacrity. There did not lack *those* who were suspecting, that his death was being concealed till *the* Caesar might be coming, lest perhaps some of *the* soldiers might be instigated-to-make-a-revolution. This<sup>25</sup> suspicion became-so strong, that no-one would have been believing him to be living, if, on *the Kalends* of March,<sup>26</sup> he might not have been proceeding *in view* (barely recognizable, of-course, *since* he would have been melting *away* by means of an illness for almost a total year). And *that man*, after he was laid-to-rest in death on *the Ides* of December, received-back *his* soul. Nevertheless, it was not-even a total *recovery*. For the *state* of his<sup>27</sup> mindset was already leading him into ecstasy and he had been made demented, so that at certain hours he would be being insane, at certain *hours* he would be regaining-his-senses.

## CHAPTER 36: MAXIMIANUS GALERIUS' PROPOSAL [after 305-03-01]

And-not many days after, *the* Caesar, *Maximianus Galerius*, arrived, not that he might be congratulating *his* father, *Diocletianus*, but instead that he might be forcing him to be ceding *the* imperial-command. He had already recently collided with *the* senior Maximianus *Herculius* and he had terrified him by injecting *the* dread of civil wars.<sup>28</sup>

Therefore, *Maximianus Galerius*, at first, took-steps *against* Diocletianus softly and amicably, saying, *that* he was already senile, already less strong<sup>29</sup> and in-habilitated toward *the* administrating of *the* public affairs; *that* he was indebted to give *himself* rest after *his* labors. Simultaneously, he also was bringing-forth *the* example of *former emperor* Nerva, who had delivered *the* imperial-command to Trajanus.

Yet *Diocletianus* was declaring, “It is even indecent, if, after *reaching* such great brilliance *in* a sublime summit, that I might fall-down *into* the darkness of a lowly life. And *it is* lesser *than* safe, because, in such a long imperial-command, I procured the hatreds of many *persons* to myself. Yet Nerva, holding-the-imperial-command for one year, was not being able to be bearing with *the* heavy-weight and *the* care of such-great affairs (*due to* either age or either contradiction-to-his-usual-custom).<sup>30</sup> *Therefore*, he abdicated *the* rudder of *the* public affairs, and-also returned to a private life, in which he had grown-senile. Yet if you might be desiring to be attaining *the* name of emperor, it is not an impediment for us all to be being announced August-Ones.”

But *Maximianus Galerius* (who had already, in hope, invaded *the* total orb), since he was already seeing *that* either nothing, or not much *more* besides a name was coming-to himself, responded, “It is indebted for *the* disposition of *you* yourself to be being conserved *into* perpetuity, *so* that there might be two greater-

<sup>21</sup> literally “toward”

<sup>22</sup> literally “the *ones* being-fitting-to”

<sup>23</sup> literally “filled-up” / 304-11-20

<sup>24</sup> 304-12-13

<sup>25</sup> literally “which”

<sup>26</sup> 305-03-01

<sup>27</sup> literally “the”

<sup>28</sup> literally “arms”

<sup>29</sup> literally “valored”

<sup>30</sup> literally “insolence” (but not in a negative sense)

ones in the public affair, who might be grabbing the summit of the affairs; likewise, two lesser-ones, who might be adjutants. Between two, concord is able to be being saved easily; between four equals, not by any measure. If you might not be wishing to be ceding, I, after I consult to my own interests, would not be remaining more-amply lesser and extreme. Already fifteen years have flowed, in which, after I was relegated in Illyricum,” (that is, to the bank of Danubius) “I was being made-to-wrestle with barbarian nations, when others were delicately holding-the-imperial-command within more-lax and quieter plots-of-earth.”

After these things were heard by the languid senior, Diocletianus (who had also already accepted the letters of the senior Maximianus Herculus (who had written everything-that was uttered), and who had discovered that a troop was being augmented by him), bursting-into-tears, remarked, “May it be done, if this might be pleasing you.”

It was remaining that the Caesars might be chosen by the common council of all of them. But Maximianus Galerius said, “What is the purpose<sup>1</sup> of a council, when it would be necessary for those two to be pleased<sup>2</sup> with everything-which we will have done?”

Diocletianus said, “Plainly it is so. For it is necessary for the sons of those men to be being announced.”

But the son of Maximianus Herculus was Maxentius (himself both a son<sup>3</sup> of a sister of Maximianus Galerius and a son-in-law of his) a human of a pernicious and wicked mind, so far proud and contumacious that it was usual for him<sup>4</sup> to be adoring not-even his father nor-even his father-in-law; and, for-that-reason, he was spited by both of them.

The son of Constantius was Constantinus (still a tender young boy, blooming with the ripe<sup>5</sup> first-growths of whiskers-and-beard) who sat at the hearth of the-tyrants. Even-though he was young, he was also not communing in the same<sup>6</sup> manner with the godless-ones. For a good nature was drawing him out of that impiety toward the pious lifestyle, while paternal zeal was leading the boy into imitating good things. Now because of these things, Constantinus was an adolescent of the greatest-approval and most-dignified of that summit of being named Caesar, who, due to his distinguished and decorous habit of his body, and his industry of military, and his prohibitive mannerism, and his singular courteousness, was being loved by<sup>7</sup> the soldiers, and also was being opted by the private-citizens. Then he was present at their locations, having long-ago already been made a tribune of the first order by<sup>8</sup> Diocletianus.

“Therefore, what might be done?”

“That first one,” he remarked, “is not dignified. For if he,<sup>9</sup> while being a private-citizen, contemned me, what will he do when he will have accepted the imperial-command?”

Diocletianus said, “Yet this other one is even amiable; and he will hold-the-imperial-command in-such-a-manner that he might be being judged to be better and more-gentle than his father.”

Maximianus Galerius retorted, “So it will be done so that I am not being able to be doing what I might be wishing. Accordingly, it is opportune for them to be being announced who might be in my authority, who might be fearing me, who might be doing nothing except for my directive.”

“Therefore, who will we make?”

“Severus,” he remarked, a man who was ignoble, even in character and in birth, addicted-to-intoxication, and, due to this, a friend of Maximianus Galerius.

“That drunken dancer,” Diocletianus exclaimed, “that addict-to-intoxication, who turns night into day and day into night?”

“He is dignified,” he remarked, “since he faithfully presided-over the soldiers. And I have commissioned him to Maximianus, so that he might be being dressed-in purple by him.”

“He will be. Who else will you furnish?”

“This one,” he remarked, pointing-out Daia, a certain adolescent, a semi-barbarian, indeed a shepherd by birth<sup>10</sup> but-also by institution, whom he had recently directed to be being called Maximinus after<sup>11</sup> his own name. (For even Diocletianus had changed Galerius’ name in part on account<sup>12</sup> of an omen, because Maximianus Galerius was outstanding in faith to-the-utmost in their impious religion.)

“Who is this whom you are offering to me?” Diocletianus asked.

“My son-in-law,” he remarked. (For Maximianus Daia was birthed-forth by a sister of Maximianus Galerius.)

And Diocletianus groaned, “You are not making adequate humans for me, to whom the tutorship of the public affairs might be being able to be committed.”

“I proved them,” he remarked.

<sup>1</sup> literally “work”

<sup>2</sup> literally “two to be being pleased”

<sup>3</sup> Aurelius(Epitome) / Zosimus “boy”

<sup>4</sup> literally “that he might be having been being-usual”

<sup>5</sup> literally “hourly”

<sup>6</sup> literally “equal”

<sup>7</sup> literally “from”

<sup>8</sup> literally “from”

<sup>9</sup> literally “whom”

<sup>10</sup> literally “rising”

<sup>11</sup> literally “from”

<sup>12</sup> literally “cause”

“You see to it, who are about to receive the regimen of the imperial-command. I labored satisfactorily; and, while I was holding-the-imperial-command, I provided how the public affairs would be staying unimpaired. If any adversity might approach it, it will not be my fault.”

Therefore, following this meeting, Emperor Diocletianus, being well-aware that age was bearing-gravely upon him, and, as-a-result, sensing that he was not adequate enough to moderate the imperial-command, suggested<sup>13</sup> to Maximianus Herculus, that they should simultaneously lay-down the purple and the imperial-command, and, after they might be handing-over<sup>14</sup> the station of tutoring the public affairs to more-vigorous juveniles, they should be retiring<sup>15</sup> into private life and grow-senile in its leisure. But Diocletianus’ colleague, Herculus, ill<sup>16</sup> complied with this<sup>17</sup> sentiment.

## CHAPTER 37: ABDICATION OF DIOCLÉTIANUS AND MAXIMIANUS HERCULIUS [305-05-01]

When this matter had<sup>18</sup> been constituted, the plan was proceeded on the Kalends of May,<sup>19</sup> after the siege of the persecution had come-to-be-upon the assemblies of the Christians for about two years. All persons were staring-at Constantinus, son of Constantius. There was no doubt that he would be chosen. The soldiers who were being-present, and the first soldiers who had been elected and called-for from out of the legions, were rejoicing, intent on<sup>20</sup> this one man. They were opting to have him, and they were making their vows.

There was a tall place about three miles outside the civil-community of Nikomédeia. On its<sup>21</sup> summit, Maximianus Galerius himself had assumed the purple; and in that place, a column had been erected with a sign of Jovius. The multitude was proceeding to there. A convocation of soldiers were convoked there.

The senior, Diocletianus, started, with tears, to be uttering-to the soldiers, that he himself was invalid, that he was requesting a requiem after his labors, that he was delivering up the imperial-command to more-valid men, that he was asking other Caesars to step-in.

The expectation of all persons was very-high, as to whom he was bringing-to them. Then suddenly, he pronounced Severus and Maximianus Daia to be Caesars. All were stupefied. Constantinus was standing up-high in the tribunal. Persons were uncertain<sup>22</sup> among themselves whether the name of Constantinus might now be having been changed, when, in view of all, Maximianus Galerius, extending his hand back, protracted Maximianus Daia from behind, after he repelled Constantinus. And after he took-off from Maximianus Daia the vestment of a private-citizen, he constituted him in the middle. All were being made-to-marvel at who this man was, from-where he came.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, no-one dared to be clamoring-against it, although everyone all-together were disturbed at the unexpected novelty of this affair.

Diocletianus lay his own purple on this man, which he took-off from himself, exchanging the imperial insignia for a private habit; and he was made “Dioklés” again. At-that-time he was made-to-descend from the tribunal. And after the veteran king was carried through the civil-community, he was exported outside and he was commissioned in his fatherland. On the same day, in Mediolanon (that is, Milan), Maximianus Herculus laid down the purple. Therefore, the two received-back a public<sup>24</sup> and private<sup>25</sup> life. So he and Diocletianus, after they had reigned for 21 years, and 11 months, and 12 days and after they had counted themselves in along with the bloodstain of the persecution, escaped-notice. And they passed the remaining time of their life in this manner: Maximianus Herculus retired to Lucania, while Diocletianus grew-old in a private villa, which is not far from Salōna.

Now this entire plan had happened without Constantius having any knowledge of it. However, after the two emperors went-off from the administration of the public affair, Constantius the Pale and Maximianus Galerius were created August-Ones, but Constantius alone was ornamented with the topmost honor in-the-presence of the Romans, after he was given the name of ‘First August-One’ of the four. Instead, he alone also differed from the remaining emperors by means of a blessing-of-children, after he stood-together a greatest chorus of male and female children.<sup>26</sup>

And the Roman orb and principality was divided between them, so that they obtained the following:

Constantius the Pale: Italia, Africa, Gallia

<sup>13</sup> literally “authored”

<sup>14</sup> Eutropius / Orosius “substituting”

<sup>15</sup> literally “conceding”

<sup>16</sup> Eutropius “ill” / Orosius “involuntarily”

<sup>17</sup> literally “which”

<sup>18</sup> literally “matter was having”

<sup>19</sup> 305-05-01 (Lactantius) / Consularia “on the day before the Kalends of April during the consulate of Diocletianus for the 9th time and Maximianus for the 8th time” (304-03-31)

<sup>20</sup> literally “in”

<sup>21</sup> literally “which”

<sup>22</sup> literally “hesitating”

<sup>23</sup> literally “was”

<sup>24</sup> literally “popular” in the sense of “of-the-people”

<sup>25</sup> literally “ungifted” or “idiotic”

<sup>26</sup> literally “boys-and-girls”

Maximianus Galerius: Illyricum, Asia, *the East*

Nevertheless, Constantius, *being a very-tranquil man and having been content with the dignity of August-One and with the regions of Gallia and Hispania, refused the solicitude of the administration of Italia and-also of Africa, and ceded them to Maximianus Galerius. Therefore, Maximianus Galerius, having created two Caesars, Maximinus Daia and Sevérus (both indigenous to Illyricum), gave the following imperial-command to the four rulers:*

Constantius <i>the Pale</i> :	Britannia
Maximianus Galerius:	Illyricum, Thraké, Bithynia
Maximinus Daia:	<i>The East, and the regions which Diocletianus had obtained.</i>
Sevérus:	cities of Pannonia and Italia, and Africa, and whatever Herculus would have obtained.

Yet *Maximinus Daia* (having been newly raised-up from *the livestock and the forests, at-once a shielder, straightaway a protector, soon a tribune, the-next-day a Caesar*) accepted *the East to tread-upon and to crush*. Of-course, he who would not have been knowing either *the military-service or the public affair*, was already a shepherd, not of livestock *but* instead of soldiers. And so the common *affairs of the Romans* began to be sickening.

### CHAPTER 38: ENTER LICINIUS & EVILS OF MAXIMIANUS GALERIUS

Now after Maximianus *Galerius* worked-out what he wished (accepting *the name of emperor, after he expelled his father-in-law, Diocletianus, and Maximianus Herculus*), then he, already carrying himself as *the sole lord of the total orb*, began, at-last, to be being-furious and to be contemning all *things*. For however-much it might be necessary for Constantius *the Pale* to be being named ‘first’, he was contemning *him*, because he was even of a meek nature and was impeded by means of *his bodily health*.<sup>1</sup> He was hoping that this *man* would come to *his end* shortly. And if he might not come to *his end*, to be undressing the unwilling *man of his purple* seemed<sup>2</sup> to be easy-to-do. For what would *Constantius* do, if he might be being forced by *the other three rulers* to be laying-down *the imperial-command*?

*Maximianus Galerius* himself was having Licinius (*an old tent-mate and friend, and a familiar from his first military-service, who was out of New Dacia and of low<sup>3</sup> origin*), whose councils he was using to keep all *things straight in his rule*. Instead, he did not-wish to be making him a Caesar, *so that he might not be naming him merely a son, but so that, afterward, in the place of Constantius, he might be announcing him August-One and-also a brother*. Then, in truth, he himself might be grasping *the principality*; and, after he was-made-to-debauch according-to<sup>4</sup> his own arbitration in *the orb of the earth*, he might be celebrating his twentieth-anniversary *festival*; and, after he substituted his own son, *Candidianus* (who was then nine-years old), to be a Caesar, he himself might also be laying-down *the purple*. So when Licinius and Sevérus might be grasping *the summit of the imperial-command*, and Maximinus *Daia* and *Candidianus* following with *the name of Caesar*,<sup>5</sup> he, after being hedged in with an undefeatable<sup>6</sup> wall, would be spending a secure and tranquil senility. These were his councils which were being extended.

\* \* \* \* \*

Accordingly, after *Maximianus Galerius* attained *the maximum authority*, he extended *his soul to vexing the orb*, which he had made-open to himself. For after *the Persians* were completely-defeated<sup>7</sup> (*a people whose rite, whose custom, is that they might be yielding themselves to their kings in servitude and whose kings might be using their people just-as families*),<sup>8</sup> *this nefarious human* wished to be introducing this custom in *the Roman earth*. From that time of *his victory*, he was praising *it* without shame. And because he was not being able to be directing *it to be done* openly, he was acting in such-a-manner that he himself even carried-away *the liberty from the humans*.

In *the first place*, he took-away *the honors*. Not only were decurions being tortured by him, instead *so were even the prime men of the civil-communities, egregious and most-perfect men*; and, indeed, *this was done in merely light and civic cases*. If they were seeming worthy<sup>9</sup> of death, crosses were standing; if of more-minor *consequences*, foot-shackles were made-ready. Mothers of families, listless and noble, were being snatched and taken into *the woman’s-apartments where women were forced to spin and weave the imperial garments*. If there was

*someone* who was to be lashed, four pales, having been fixed-down in a stable, were being stood up, to which not-one slave at-any-time was usually being stretched-out upon.

For his sport or *his delights*, he was having bears (more-similar to himself in ferocity and magnitude), which he had selected for himself during *the entire*<sup>10</sup> time of his imperial-command. As often as it had pleased *him* to be being delighted, he was directing for some of these to be being brought to *him* by-name. Humans were thrown to these bears, not plainly to be chewed, *but* instead to be swallowed-up. Whenever their<sup>11</sup> limbs would be being dissipated, he was laughing sweetly, but neither was he dining without human bloodshed.

Fire was the punishment for *the ones* not having dignity. This *type of exit from life* he had first permitted against *the Christians* after he made *the laws, so that, after the torments, the ones* having been condemned might be being parched with slow fires. After they<sup>12</sup> had been bound, a lenient flame was being put-under first to *the feet* for only-so-long till *the callousness of the soles*, after it was contracted by the fire, might be being pulled-back from the bones. From-there, torches, having been burned and having been extinguished, were being moved to *each single member of the body*, so that *there* might not be being any place left intact in *their body*. And during-*the-interval*, *the face* was being suffused with water to be making it frigid, and *the mouth* was being bathed with a liquid, lest, with *the fauces* having become dried-up with dryness, *the spirit* might be given-back to God too quickly. This<sup>13</sup> finally fell upon *them*, when, after all *the skin* was boiled-down throughout a long<sup>14</sup> day, *the force of the fire* had penetrated to *the innermost bowels*. From-this, after they made a funeral-pile, *the bodies*, having been already cremated, were being cremated. After the bones were gathered and after they were smashed-together into powder,<sup>15</sup> they were being hurled into rivers and *the sea*.

Accordingly, *the thing* which he had learned in excruciating *the Christians*, he himself, from very habit, was exercising against<sup>16</sup> all *persons*. With him not-one punishment became light. There were no islands, no prisons, no mines; instead, *the fire, the cross, the wild-animals*, were daily and easy-to-do in that *place*. Domestic and administrators were being emended with *the lance*. In *the case of capital punishment*,<sup>17</sup> execution<sup>18</sup> by *the sword* was used with very few, as-if it was being deferred solely as a benefit to those who, due to old merits, had earned *this “good” death*.

In addition to these evils: Eloquence was made-extinct. Pleaders-of-*their-cause* were made-to-suffer. Those who consulted justice were either relegated or put-to-death. But literature was held to be among the wicked arts, and those who had acquired-knowledge-of these *things* were trampled-down and execrated in-view-of-being<sup>19</sup> inimical foes. With laws having been dissolved, *free* license of every thing was assumed and was given to *the judges*. *The military judges, rude of humanity and illiterate*,<sup>20</sup> were sent into *the provinces* without assessors.

### CHAPTER 39: FLIGHT OF CONSTANTINUS TO HIS FATHER [305]

Now *Maximianus Galerius* had not-yet extended *his soul to subvert or to drive-out Emperor Constantius*. And he was expecting his death.<sup>21</sup> For when *Constantius* was gravely laboring and was ill, he had sent letters to *Galerius*, to see to it that his son, *Constantinus*, might be being sent-back to himself. He had already requested for him<sup>22</sup> not-long-ago, but he had come-back frustratingly.

Yet *Maximianus Galerius* was wishing nothing less than *this*. For while he and the others who were in-power<sup>23</sup> with him at-that-time were beholding, with envy and fear, that the young *Constantinus* was both strong-of-body and also sated of a great mindset, they thoroughly-comprehended that his pastime with them was not safe.<sup>24</sup> So they machinated stealthy plots against *Constantinus* and threw him to many perils, while they were guarding themselves from rubbing foreseen<sup>25</sup> death upon him, because *Galerius* was daring to do nothing manifestly, lest he might be inciting civil arms against himself and (what he was being made-to revere the most) *the hatred of the soldiers*, and also due to proper regard which they had toward his father.

Therefore, even while *Constantinus* was a juvenile, performing-military-service in *the cavalry* against<sup>26</sup> *the Sarmatians*, he, after he took-hold of a ferocious barbarian by *the hair-of-his-head* and after he snatched *him*, led *him* before the feet of emperor *Maximianus Galerius*. From-there, while *Galerius* was sending *him* through a swamp, he, after he entered it on his horse, made a way for

<sup>1</sup> literally “of health of body”

<sup>2</sup> literally “was-made-seen”

<sup>3</sup> literally “vile”

<sup>4</sup> literally “before”

<sup>5</sup> may also be translated “Candidanus grasping the second name of Caesar”

<sup>6</sup> literally “inexpugnable”

<sup>7</sup> literally “were complete-victory-over”

<sup>8</sup> may also be translated “family-servants”

<sup>9</sup> literally “dignified”

<sup>10</sup> literally “total”

<sup>11</sup> literally “whose”

<sup>12</sup> literally “who”

<sup>13</sup> literally “which”

<sup>14</sup> literally “much”

<sup>15</sup> literally “something that has been pulverized”

<sup>16</sup> literally “in”

<sup>17</sup> literally “of punishment of the head”

<sup>18</sup> literally “animadversio”

<sup>19</sup> literally “before”

<sup>20</sup> literally “rude of humanity and of letters”

<sup>21</sup> literally “setting” (as in, setting like the sun from this life)

<sup>22</sup> literally “whom”

<sup>23</sup> literally “being-strong”

<sup>24</sup> literally “secure”

<sup>25</sup> literally “fore-manifest”

<sup>26</sup> literally “in”

the rest of the men to the Sarmatians, of whom he strew about many and brought-back a victory for Galerius. And under the pretext<sup>1</sup> of exercising and sports, he had through that man to wild-animals and beasts when a magnificent spectacle of public-shows had been prepared. For example, once he appointed the young Constantinus to a fight with a savage lion. But the youth, after he indeed overpowered the beast, did-away-with it. Therefore, Galerius' plots were frustrated, since the hand of God was protecting the human, liberating him from the hands of Galerius. For after Constantius had asked for his son, Constantinus, many more times, and when Maximianus Galerius was no longer able to be denying the father's request, Galerius gave the signal to him, while the day was already inclining. He gave-instructions, that he might be going-to his father in-the-morning on-the-day-after after he received<sup>2</sup> mandates.

However, Constantinus, having already simultaneously-sensed the previous plots, was foreseeing that Maximianus Galerius might either be intending to be retaining him on some occasion or might be sending letters ahead of him, so that he might be being held in custody by Severus. Therefore, while the emperor was resting after dinner, Constantinus hastened to be going-out. But he, having become-anxious, lest perhaps he might be overtaken while he was fleeing and that he might be avoiding Severus while he was going-across Italia, derived the following plan: As he preceded by horseback from one of the many stations or mansions to the next (which were nourishing the public horses), he maimed<sup>3</sup> the post-horses in each one, while he, after he left behind any useless ones, was simultaneously making-use-of the subsequent horses which were standing by and he flew-out. And by subsequently doing this, he indeed locked-off the future pursuit of the ones who would be pursuing him, but he transgressed the Alpes with the utmost effort and neared the nation in which was his father.

On-the-day-after Constantinus had left, the emperor, Maximianus Galerius (when he had deliberately slept all-the-way to the middle of the day), directed for Constantinus to be being voiced to come to him. He was told, that Constantinus had advanced<sup>4</sup> steadily after the dinner. He began to be being-indignant and to be snorting. He was demanding for the public horses, so that Constantinus might be made to be being retracted. And after it was announced to him, that the public courses were nude of their horses, he was barely holding back his tears.

And Constantinus, having used incredible quickness, came-through to his father Constantius at Bononia (which the Gauls formerly called Gesoriacum) at the time when he was crossing-the-strait into Britannia. Constantinus' sudden advent illuminated the fleet while it was already clothed-with-sails.

But as Emperor Constantius unexpectedly saw his boy, he, leaping-out of the bedspread, both threw his hands around him and spoke, that the only grievous thing of his soul which was delaying him from taking-off-and-putting-aside this lifetime (now this was the absence of his boy) had now been thrown-off. And he was sending-up the thankful prayer to God, after he declared, that he now rationalized that the death was better than immortality.

Now after Constantius and his son Constantinus crossed over and launched a successful expedition against the Picts, he acquired the forest and swamps of the Caledonians and of the Picts, as well as the nearby Hibernia and the farthest Thule. But after the victory, Constantius, having won the title "Britannicus Maximus" by January, returned to Eboracum (that is, York), from where he planned to continue the expedition.

#### CHAPTER 40: SILVANUS BECOMES OVERSEER OF CIRTA (THE COUNCIL OF CIRTA) [305-05-13]

Now after the consulate of Diocletianus for the 9th time and Maximianus for the 8th<sup>5</sup> time, the next episode in the drama involving the so-called Donatist controversy came-to-be. For after the tempest of the persecution wandered-in-different-directions<sup>6</sup> throughout the total of Africa, some were made testifiers; others confessors; several were prostrated into a funeral-causing death; but any who were hiding were dismissed unhurt. But some, in order to save themselves from death, delivered up the instruments of the divine law and were labeled traitors by many of their brothers. Out of whom were: Donatus of Mascula, Victor of Rusicca, Marinus from the waters of Tibilis, Donatus of Calama, and Purpurius of Limata. But Paulus, overseer of Cirta, had died, and it was necessary for a new overseer to be ordained in his stead.

Therefore, on the 2nd day before the Ides of May,<sup>7</sup> Secundus (overseer of Tigisi and who was then holding<sup>8</sup> the primacy in Numidia) sat-down on the prime chair in the house of Urbanus Donatus<sup>9</sup> (because the basilicas were not-yet restituted), and these acts were written down by Nundinarius the minister. Now the same Secundus said, "May we first be probing them, and we will be able to

<sup>1</sup> literally "spread"

<sup>2</sup> literally "accepted"

<sup>3</sup> literally "truncated"

<sup>4</sup> literally "gone-before"

<sup>5</sup> Augustine (Brev Coll) (305AD) / Augustine (Contra Cresc) "Now in the consulate of Diocletianus for the 8th and Maximianus for the 7th" (in error) (303AD)

<sup>6</sup> literally "divagated"

<sup>7</sup> Optatus (05-13) / Augustine(Contra Cresc) "on the fourth day before the Nones of March" (03-04) / Augustine(Brev Coll) "on the third day before the Nones of March" (03-05)

<sup>8</sup> literally "moving"

<sup>9</sup> Augustine / Optatus "Carisius"

be ordaining an overseer here in-this-manner." Secundus said to Donatus of Mascula, "It is being said that you delivered up writings."

Donatus responded, "You are knowing how-much Florus sought for me so that I might thurify, and God did not deliver me into his hands, brother. Instead, because God has dismissed me, therefore, you, also be keeping me for God."

Secundus said, "Therefore, what are we to do about the testifiers? Because they, after they did not deliver anything up, are, for-that-reason, having also been crowned."

Donatus said, "Be sending me to God. There I will give-back an account."

Secundus said, "Be going to one side."<sup>10</sup>

Secundus said to Marinus from the waters of Tibilis, "It is being said that you also delivered up writings."

Marinus responded, "I gave little-charts to Pollus. For my codices are safe."

Secundus said, "Be going-across to one side."<sup>11</sup>

Secundus said to Donatus of Calam, "It is being said that you delivered up writings."

Donatus responded, "I gave medicinal codices."

Secundus said, "Be going-across to one side."<sup>12</sup>

Then later, Secundus said to Victor of Rustica, "It is being said that you delivered up four good-messages."

Victor responded, "Valentianus was curator. He himself drove me together so that I would be committing them into a fire. I was knowing that those writings were lost.<sup>13</sup> Be being-indulgent to me for this trespass, and God will also be-indulgent to me."

Secundus said, "Be going-across to one side."<sup>14</sup>

Then later, Secundus said to Purpurius from Limata, "It is being said that you put-to-death at Milevis two sons of your sister." (For it was being said that he put them to-death in the prison of Mileum.)

Purpurius responded, "Do you suppose that I am being terrified of you, as even the others are? What have you put-in-motion, who were<sup>15</sup> grasped by the curator and the order of soldiers, so that you would be giving up the writings? In-what-way were you liberated by them, if you did not give something or directed for whatever to be given to them? For they were not dismissing you randomly. For I have cut-down, and I am cutting-down they who are doing<sup>16</sup> things against me. For-that-reason, do not be wishing to be provoking me, so that I might be saying more. You know that I am touching<sup>17</sup> nothing from no-one."

Secundus the minor said to his father's-brother Secundus, "Are you hearing what he is saying against<sup>18</sup> you? He has been<sup>19</sup> prepared to be receding and to be making a schism. Not so-much himself, but instead even all the ones who are disclosed.<sup>20</sup> All of whom I know, that they are holding to be dismissing you, and to be giving a sentence against<sup>21</sup> you; and you will remain alone, heretical. For-that-reason, what is it pertaining to you, what anyone has put-in-motion? He has to be giving-back an account to God."

Secundus said to Félix of Rotarium, to Nabor<sup>22</sup> of Centurio, and to Victor of Garba, "What are all of you\* seeing?"

They responded, "They have God, to whom they would be giving-back an account."

Secundus said, "All of you\* know, and so is God. Be seating yourselves."

And all of them responded, "Thanks to God."

And there was also Menalius, who, lest it might be being proved<sup>23</sup> by his fellow-citizens that he thurified, after he feigned having a pain of the eyes, became-trepid to be proceeding to his-own collection-of-persons-sitting-together.

Therefore, Secundus of Tigisi left<sup>24</sup> the ones being labeled traitors who were present and who had confessed to the judgment of God, and, after he pardoned<sup>25</sup> their faults, he permitted them to be remaining in their overseer chairs as they were.

But in the end, Silvanus, sub-minister of Cirta (who had previously proffered merely a silver little-casket and a silver lamp to Félix the perpetual flamen), was chosen to be overseer in place of Paulus. But at-the-time when he came so that he might be made overseer, many of the seniors wrestled against his ordination. Of whom was Victor the Grammarian and Nundinarius. And they petitioned for a fellow-citizen of theirs, a man of integrity to be made overseer instead of Silvanus. For due to the fact that he had merely given up an oil-lamp and a little-casket during the persecution, he was being labeled a traitor by many; and Victor himself

<sup>10</sup> literally "part"

<sup>11</sup> literally "part"

<sup>12</sup> literally "part"

<sup>13</sup> literally "deleted"

<sup>14</sup> literally "part"

<sup>15</sup> literally "who are having been"

<sup>16</sup> Augustine / Optatus "and I am not cutting-down them alone, but instead even whoever might be doing"

<sup>17</sup> literally "drawing"

<sup>18</sup> literally "in"

<sup>19</sup> literally "He is having been"

<sup>20</sup> literally "argued"

<sup>21</sup> literally "in"

<sup>22</sup> Optatus / Augustine omit "to Nabor" (by scribal error)

<sup>23</sup> may also be translated "probed"

<sup>24</sup> literally "relinquished"

<sup>25</sup> literally "ignored"



knew that for *this* cause they would have to go to the emperors while *the oversight* was committed to such *men as he*.

Therefore, *the* populace responded, clamoring, “May another be being made. Be hearing *us* out, *O* God. We are wanting our *fellow-citizen*. That *man*, Silvanus, is a traitor.”

But nonetheless, Silvanus was ordained overseer by Secundus of Tigisi (overseer of the prime chair), and by Castus the minister; and this *decision* was supported by *the* peasants and *the* sand-pit-workers. And they and *the rest* of the populace bore him (including Mutus, a sand-pit-worker, who bore him by *the* neck). For *the* citizens had been shut-in<sup>1</sup> *the* area of *the* testifiers, and *the* populace of God had been shut-in a greater cottage (including Crescentianus the sub-minister).

But after Silvanus was made overseer, many, including Nundinarius did not commune with him because it was being said that he was a traitor.

However, Silvanus later defended himself saying to *the* populace, “For<sup>2</sup> what *reason* are they saying that I am a traitor? For<sup>3</sup> an oil-lamp and a little-casket?”

And as a result, many (including Victor the Grammarian) were persuaded to accept his ordination and they communed with him.

## CHAPTER 41: PETROS OF ALEXANDREIA AND MELITIOS DISPUTE

Now prior to the abdication of emperors Diocletianus and Maximianus Herculus, while Culcianus was prefect, Melitios, overseer of Thébais, simultaneously with Petros, overseer of Alexandreia and the other testifiers, was arrested in a season of the pursuit of *the Christians* by the *ones* having been commanded onto this *task* by the king, *that is*, the leaders of Alexandreia and Egypt during that *particular* season. And indeed, Melitios was having been shut-down in the prison, both he and the *previously-stated* testifiers<sup>4</sup> simultaneously with the *previously-stated* Petros, the chief-overseer of Alexandreia. But Melitios was also the prominent-one<sup>5</sup> of the *overseers* throughout Egypt and second to Petros in-accordance-with the chief-oversight, as though favorably taking-*his-place in order to help* him, but he was under him and bringing the assemblage *matters* up to him. For in those days amongst the Christians of Egypt, it was a custom for the chief-overseer in Alexandreia to be having the assemblage administration all of both Egypt and Thébais, both Mareôitês and Libyê, Ammoniakê, both Marmarikê and Pentapolis.

Therefore, all these *individuals who* were arrested were performing the favor of a testimony in the guardhouse. But *Melitios and Petros*, having been shut-down in the prison, remained-on for an adequate *length of time*. But others who were delivered up before them, testified, and they received-from *their tormenters* the end of prize, and they fell-asleep. But these *individuals*, as *being* higher<sup>6</sup> and greater, were being kept for<sup>7</sup> afterward.

And indeed, some testified, but others, after they fell-away from<sup>8</sup> the testimony and after they performed the illicit-work of the religion of the idols, who, on<sup>9</sup> obligation, touched-upon sacrifices, therefore, fell-to-the-wayside and sacrificed and transgressed. Since *they did these things*, they came-to both the confessors and testifiers so-that they might obtain mercy from them due to a change-of-mind. Indeed, the *ones* were from *some* soldiers, but the *ones* existed from *some* allotted-ones of a diverse lot: both elders and ministers and others.

A commotion<sup>10</sup> came-to-be up *the* middle of the testifiers and *so did* a disturbance which was not usual. Indeed, the *ones were* saying, that it is necessary for the *Christians who* once fell-to-the-wayside and denied and did not remain-by in a state-of-manliness but did not contend, to not be being deemed-worthy into a change-of-mind, in order that the *other Christians who* were still left-around might not also be turned-out of *their course* (after they *would* become less concerned-about the rebuke due to such a<sup>11</sup> concession *which would be granted*<sup>12</sup> to the *lapsed-ones* more-quickly than it ought) and *that, as a result*, they might come into a denial and illicit-work of Hellenism.

And the *thing which* was being said from the confessors was of-good-reason.<sup>13</sup> But the *ones who were* saying this were Melitios and Péleus and more of some others of the testifiers and confessors simultaneously with them. Now-consequently, they, having shown-forth<sup>14</sup> the clear zeal *which they had* in-behalf of God, [...] because they were suffering by saying these *things*.

But they were asserting, “If, resultantly, after the *time* for the pursuit of *the Christians* to cease, after an adequate time, it is good for a change-of-mind to be being given to the *previously-stated lapsed individuals* but only in a *proper* season after a *time of peace* has come-to-be—but only if-at-any-time they might change-their-mind upon truth and might be exhibiting for themselves fruit of their

<sup>1</sup> literally “citizens were having been shut-in”

<sup>2</sup> literally “Of”

<sup>3</sup> literally “of”

<sup>4</sup> literally “the testified having been previously-stated”

<sup>5</sup> literally “the-being-before-one”

<sup>6</sup> literally “more-summit”

<sup>7</sup> literally “into”

<sup>8</sup> literally “fell-out of”

<sup>9</sup> literally “according-to”

<sup>10</sup> literally “moving”

<sup>11</sup> literally “the”

<sup>12</sup> literally “would come-to-be”

<sup>13</sup> literally “of good-account”

<sup>14</sup> literally “showed-up”

<sup>15</sup> Something seems to have accidentally dropped out of the manuscript at this point.

change-of-mind. But truly not in order that each *one* might be greeted-by-the-right-hand *back* into his own lot of *office*, but instead, for *these allotted-ones who have sacrificed*, after an interval of time, to be being congregated in the assembly and in the communion, in the rank of *the laity* and not in lots of *their former offices*.”

But Petros, chief-overseer of Alexandreia, was beseeching and earnestly-entreatng, saying, “May we accept them *while they are* changing-their-minds, and may we assign to them a change-of-mind with<sup>16</sup> *the result for them* to be sitting themselves down-beside the assembly. And may we not turn them away from the lots of *their offices* either. Lest, when the *ones who* once were shaken-up<sup>17</sup> and were quaking-down to *their foundations* from unmanliness and weakness by a slanderer *might come-to-be* into shame, and, due to a prolonging<sup>18</sup> of the time, might turn-out of *their course* completely and might not be healed, as in-accordance-with the *verse* having been written, ‘Not for the lame *part* to be turned-out of *its course*, but might rather be healed.’” (Hebrews 12:13)

From-here, through the face of the seemingly pious supposition from both *parties*, the split came-to-be. Indeed, the *ones were* asserting this, but the *others* this. For when the chief-overseer Petros saw that Melitios’ party<sup>19</sup> stood-against his counsel, being borne<sup>20</sup> by what he perceived to be an excessive divine zeal, he himself made a curtain in the middle of the guardhouse, expanding a robe (that-is-to-say a shaggy-blanket or a mantle), and he preached through a minister, that “Whichever *ones* are of **my** resolve, pass over to me; and whichever *ones* are obtaining the resolve of Melitios, to Melitios.”

And indeed the multitude of both overseers and monks and elders and other ranks was distributed simultaneously with Melitios. But few at-all,<sup>21</sup> overseers and a few others, were coming-to-be simultaneously with the chief-overseer Petros. And for the remaining *time*, this party was praying by itself, and this party by itself; and, in-like-manner, each *one* was finishing-up the other consecrated-works by itself.

But after the persecution abated a little following the abdication of Diocletianus and Maximianus Herculus, both Petros and Melitios were released from their confinement.

But not long afterward, Maximinus Daia Caesar, after he then presently arrived<sup>22</sup> upon the newly-attained<sup>23</sup> supreme<sup>24</sup> principality of the Romans, having rushed from his hearth<sup>25</sup> (as-though demonstrating to all<sup>26</sup> *persons* the ponderings of his ingrown enmity-against-God and of his charge-of-irreverence), was, on-the-spot, stripping-and-setting himself up for<sup>27</sup> the pursuit against *the Christians* more-nobly and more-youthfully than the previous *persuers*.

Of-course, no small<sup>28</sup> confusion was lifted-over<sup>29</sup> all the *ones who were* dwelling in the cities. They<sup>30</sup> were also<sup>31</sup> dispersing, *some* to some places, *some* to other-places, also being forced-to-make a careful effort to escape-from the terror and the evils surrounding them. Harsh commotion<sup>32</sup> was also holding-on to everything.<sup>33</sup>

Now-consequently, since the fourth festival of the Passover of the persecution was nearing,<sup>34</sup> Petros (the chief-overseer of Alexandreia), after he consented in the end to some of Melitios’ resolves regarding the condition of the lapsed Christians, took it upon himself to issue his own set of binding rules pertaining to the discipline of any Christians who would lapse throughout the persecution. These rules may be summarized as follows:

#1 Any Christian who had been thrown-into-a-guardhouse for refusing to sacrifice to the gods and was tortured with irremediable and terrible and unbearable torments, but afterward was betrayed by the weakness of the flesh, was to be further-rebuked for forty days following the time in which he came to the elders demonstrating a change-of-mind, during which time he was to be thoroughly-gymnastically-training himself excessively, as-well-as being vigorously sober and keeping-fully-away into prayers-to God and be giving-full-care to the admonishments of the writings before he could be readmitted to the communion.

#2 But any Christian who had been thrown-into-a-guardhouse for refusing to sacrifice to the gods but who was not tortured but yet gave-way by-means-of destitution of *their own* power, was to be penalized with a year in addition to the forty days.

<sup>16</sup> literally “into”

<sup>17</sup> literally “shake-on”

<sup>18</sup> literally “drawing-alongside”

<sup>19</sup> literally “that the ones around Melitios”

<sup>20</sup> literally “brought”

<sup>21</sup> literally “totally”

<sup>22</sup> EusS(Gk) lit. “came-beside upon” (usually translated “passed upon”) EusL(Gk) “received”

<sup>23</sup> EusL(Syr1,Syr2,Lat) / EusL(Gk) add

<sup>24</sup> EusL(Syr1,Syr2) / EusL(Gk,Lat) add

<sup>25</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Lat) “from his beginning” / EusL(Syr2) “from the beginning of his reign”

<sup>26</sup> literally “to the all”

<sup>27</sup> literally “to”

<sup>28</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Syr1,Syr2) (“no small”) / EusL(Lat) “great” / EusL(G) “bitter”

<sup>29</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(G) (“was lifted-over”) / EusL(Syr1) “fell” / EusL(Syr2) “ragged”

<sup>30</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) “many”

<sup>31</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) “and”

<sup>32</sup> literally “moving”

<sup>33</sup> literally “to the all”

<sup>34</sup> The date of the Passover that year was 306-04-14

#3 But any Christian who suffered none of these things at all but *also* did not demonstrate *any* fruit of faith, was to receive three years.

#4 But the *ones who were* not changing-their-mind, but were all-in-all despairing and unchanging-of-mind, were to be rejected.

#5 But the *ones who* subdued themselves by acting hypocritical, such as pretending to be epileptic, or as passing-through an altar, or as throwing a national *individual* forward to *sacrifice* in his place, but while not touching<sup>1</sup> the fire with their-own-hands and did not sacrifice incense to the unclean demons, were to have the conversion in a change-of-mind put-on them for six-months.

#6 But slaves who were obliged to sacrifice by *their* domestic master in-behalf-of-them, were to show the works of the change-of-mind *in the course of* a year.

#7 But the freedmen were to be probed-out in a change-of-mind in three years, since they forced *their* fellow-slaves to sacrifice.

#8 But the *ones who* were delivered *up* and *then* fell-out, but then confessed themselves to be Christians and went through the torments, were to be being commended with in all *things*.

#9 But the *ones who* hopped-into the contest-of-their-own-choice when it was *already* travailling and going to be drawn *out longer*, it was necessary for communion to be granted to them.

#10 But it was not of-good-reason for the allotted-ones *who* deserted from *their lot of office*, *who* both had fallen-out and *later* re-wrestled, to still be *remaining* in the public-service of *the assembly*, inasmuch-as they surely left-behind the flock of the Lord and blemished themselves, being altogether insensate. Therefore, they were no-longer being-able to be performing-public-service. Due to this, they were rather to be being-minded that they might finish-out *their life* in humble-mindedness after they ceased themselves from *their* vainglory. For the communion was sufficient for them, in order that they might not seem to be being grieved, grasping<sup>2</sup> for themselves with force a dissolving from *this here life*, and in order that some *who* fell-out might not make-a-pretext for themselves, as-if they *were* having been gradually-released due to the excuse of the rebuke. These<sup>3</sup> *individuals* would have more shame and reproach *than all of them*. (In the giving of this rule, it was clear that Petros had recanted his previous resolve and had submitted to that of Melitios in this particular matter.)

#11 But the *ones who* came-into the contest-of-their-own-choice and were tortured but were afterward worsted by the weakness of the flesh, but later changed-their-opinion—it was good to be praying-together with them and to be exhorting-together in-behalf of a propitiation of theirs.

#12 But there was to be no charge led-forward against the *ones who* had given silver-pieces to *their pursuers* with<sup>4</sup> the *intention* for them to be undisturbed all-in-all from every evil.

#13 But neither was there a charge against the *ones who* left-behind all *things* due to the salvation of the soul and retired to *escape the pursuit of the Christians*, as if different *individuals* were to be restrained through them.

#14 But if anyone had suffered much force and obligation, after they received iron and bonds in *their* mouth, and after they persisted steadfastly for *their* disposition of the faith and for their hand to be burned *while they were* being involuntarily led-before the unconsecrated sacrificial-victim (therefore, even-as the thrice-happy testifiers from the guardhouse wrote to Petros about the *ones* in Libyé, but also different fellow-public-servants)—the *ones* such as *these* (*while* even the other brothers were testifying-together *about* them especially) were being-able to be *placed* in the public-service after they were assigned among<sup>5</sup> the confessors, as even *were* the *ones who were* made-dead in the many tortures and *who were* no-more strong-enough to utter or to vocalize or to be moved with<sup>6</sup> the *result* to stand-against the *ones who were* forcing *them* forth in<sup>7</sup> vain. For they did not-even agree to their abominable-behavior (therefore, even-as Petros heard again from *some* fellow-public-servants). But they would be assigned a *place* among<sup>8</sup> the confessors.

#15 But there were also rules prescribing days of weekly fasts and even another custom to not be bowing the knee on the Lord's day.

And these were the rules which Petros prescribed by his own authority over the assemblies, without any revelation or instruction of any prophet or messenger, but by his own fallible reasoning.

## CHAPTER 42: TESTIMONY OF APPIANUS [306-04-02] & EARTHQUAKE IN ZOR AND ZIDON

Now there was a certain Apphianus,<sup>9</sup> who, *in* the stature of the body was not-yet having entered twenty years *old*. The fatherland of the young-man was Pagas,<sup>10</sup> a

<sup>1</sup> literally "fleeing-out-of"

<sup>2</sup> literally "clutching-around"

<sup>3</sup> literally "Whichever"

<sup>4</sup> literally "toward"

<sup>5</sup> literally "in"

<sup>6</sup> literally "into"

<sup>7</sup> literally "forcing-out into"

<sup>8</sup> literally "in"

<sup>9</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Gk, some Lat) / EusL(Syr1), MartyrdomShmona&Guria "Epiphianos" / EusL(Syr2, some

Lat, Arabic) "Amphianus" / EusL(some Lat) "Apianus"

<sup>10</sup> EusS(Gk) / others "Arpagas" or "Arapagas" or "Harpagas" or "Aragas"

city of Lukia<sup>11</sup> *which is* not unremarkable. But *as* for his<sup>12</sup> race, *they were* the *ones who* were distinguished<sup>13</sup> from Lukia, *who*, especially well overflowing-on-all-sides with riches of the *things* according to *this* world and the other dignities,<sup>14</sup> *were* holding the first *rank*. Therefore, surely indeed, by the effort of his<sup>15</sup> parents, he was first sent to the discipling-center at<sup>16</sup> Beirut where he was placed for-*the-sake* of the Hellenic worldly discipline *and* discourses.<sup>17</sup> And there he spent a majority of *his* time, and he had collected a preparation of varicolored lessons. Even in a city *such as this*, he indeed was not becoming better by the intercourse and pastime of the youths. But he was ornamenting himself with elderly custom and a settling of a solemn lifestyle and *mannerism*. And he rose<sup>18</sup> up-above the youthful desires. And his *mannerism* was neither utterly-destroyed by summit of the body, nor was he dragged-down *and led-away*<sup>19</sup> by the comradeship of the youths. And *while* he was laying-down<sup>20</sup> the base, as it were, of good *things* for<sup>21</sup> himself into *his* mindset,<sup>22</sup> he was also embracing<sup>23</sup> self-restraint, absolute<sup>24</sup> purity and sound-mindedness, *while* orderly and solemnly<sup>25</sup> and fittingly with piety<sup>26</sup> leading-out and tutoring<sup>27</sup> his-own lifestyle according to the account *which* he was taking of Christianity.

But, indeed, after he finished his self-sufficient discipline, he returned from Beirut and went-back to the hearth of his father.<sup>28</sup> But even though his father held<sup>29</sup> the first-rank of the fatherland, he was not *able* to bear be-together with such intercourse simultaneously with the father and with the *ones* befitting of his race, due to the *unlikeness* of their manners and because they were not thinking to be living the *act* to be living with themselves according to the institutes of the reverence-for-God. But after he become-minded *about something* greater than the *things* having been concluded *to be* glory of this<sup>30</sup> present lifetime, and after he also spit-upon the sweet-passions of the body, he released himself from his<sup>31</sup> pastime there, and, escaping-notice, secretly ran-away-from the *ones* belonging-to-his-house.<sup>32</sup> And he *did this*, *while* universally thinking nothing about the daily expenses of *living* and after he turned-back for none of *these things*.

Accordingly, Apphianus came-to-be-present at the city of Caesarea with hope and the faith *which* was genuine and totally-sound,<sup>33</sup> which<sup>34</sup> he put into a god. But after he came-to-be-together with Eusebios of Caesarea and Pamphilos and the rest of the Christians there, and after he was simultaneously welded-together<sup>35</sup> by-means-of the divine lessons as-well-as trained by-means-of the consecrated accounts by Pamphilos (who later became a testifier), and after he also prepared himself very-furiously by-means-of fitting exercises, he collected a complete habit into excellence *from him*<sup>36</sup> by no usual means and he exhibited such a striking end.

Now-consequently, after a second universal<sup>37</sup> insurrection<sup>38</sup> came-to-be against the Christians under Maximinus *Daia*, throughout *the* third year of the pursuit against the Christians, documents of the tyrant had also roamed-about for this first *time*,<sup>39</sup> through which he directed for<sup>40</sup> all *persons* as-an-entire-populace<sup>41</sup> to<sup>42</sup> at-one-time<sup>43</sup> simply both be sacrificing and making-libations to the demons with *the* care and effort of the chiefs throughout *each* city.

Also, at once, throughout the whole city of Caesarea, *derived* out of a directive of the leader, indeed, preachers were crying-up for both men, simultaneously with women and children, to be meeting at the houses of the idols. But even *in addition* to these *things*, tribunes and centurions *were* being-present throughout *all the* houses and avenues, making registrations of the citizens. Next, they called-up *each one* by-name<sup>44</sup> to themselves from a registration, and were forcing *each person* to be performing the *command* which was ordered.

<sup>11</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Syr1,Syr2) / EusL(Gk-menaeta) "Lydia"

<sup>12</sup> literally "the"

<sup>13</sup> literally "the ones who shown-through"

<sup>14</sup> EusL(Gk) ("and the other dignities") / EusL(Syr2) "of power" / EusL(Lat) "and dignity" / EusL(Syr1) omit

<sup>15</sup> literally "the"

<sup>16</sup> EusL(Gk,Lat) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) "to the city of"

<sup>17</sup> literally "accounts"

<sup>18</sup> literally "came-to-be"

<sup>19</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1, Syr2) add

<sup>20</sup> literally "throwing-down"

<sup>21</sup> literally "to"

<sup>22</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) "And for his soul" / EusL(Lat) "And to himself"

<sup>23</sup> usually translated "greeting"

<sup>24</sup> literally "all-end"

<sup>25</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2, Lat) omit "solemnly"

<sup>26</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr2) "and in holiness as is fitting" / EusL(Syr1) "in purity, as is fitting, to piety" /

EusS(Gk) "and piously" / EusL(Lat) omit

<sup>27</sup> literally "leading-boys" EusS(Gk), EusL(Gk,Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) "bringing"

<sup>28</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) "of his parents" / EusL(Lat) "paternal"

<sup>29</sup> literally "carried-away"

<sup>30</sup> literally "the"

<sup>31</sup> literally "the"

<sup>32</sup> EusS(Gk) "secretly...house" / EusL(Gk) "unknown to the ones belonging-to-his-house" / EusL(Syr1,Syr2, Lat) omit

<sup>33</sup> EusL(Gk,Lat) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) omit "which was genuine and totally-sound"

<sup>34</sup> literally "the faith"

<sup>35</sup> literally "clapped-together"

<sup>36</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Gk,Lat) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) add

<sup>37</sup> EusL(Gk,Lat) / EusL(Syr1) omit "universal"

<sup>38</sup> literally "standing-up-upon"

<sup>39</sup> EusS(Gk) ("for this first time") / EusL(Syr1) "for the first time" / EusL(Gk) "then" / EusL(Syr2) omit

<sup>40</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) "how"

<sup>41</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2,Lat) omit "as-an-entire-populace"

<sup>42</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) "would"

<sup>43</sup> literally "once"

<sup>44</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) "one out of name"



place, together with the *ones who were dwelling within* would be destroyed that day.<sup>1</sup>

But simultaneously by-means-of this incredible event<sup>2</sup> and massive<sup>3</sup> quaking, the sea heaved-out the dead<sup>4</sup> body of the divine testifier before the gates of the city, as-though it were not able to be carrying something such as it. Surely the corpse was being laid-before the front-gates of the city as a wicked spectacle<sup>5</sup> to them. And while the vast quaking (having been suspended-over everything from out of God) was pouring-in-different-ways,<sup>6</sup> it was threatening a terrible anger to all the humans.

But as news of the event which had<sup>7</sup> came-to-be was brought-via-a-message to the ones who were dwelling in the city, they, all running unitedly before the gates,<sup>8</sup> were progressing onto the historical-event.<sup>9</sup> Boys, men, elderly-men; likewise also females of every stature even as-far-as<sup>10</sup> the unnoticed women and<sup>11</sup> even the women who were still remaining-virgins (who were being chambered into their rooms)—both all men and all women—were confessing the one and only God of the Christians<sup>12</sup> who had given strength to the testifier in his lifetime to endure such afflictions, and, at his death, had showed prodigies to all who beheld.<sup>13</sup>

And such, indeed, was surely the end which the drama in-accordance-with the marvelous Apphianus obtained. The memory of this-here man is accomplished<sup>14</sup> on the 2nd day of the month Xanthikos, but whichever one is four days before the Nones of April, on a day of preparation.<sup>15</sup>

Now this horrible earthquake was not only confined to Caesarea, but at Zor and Zidon many works fell-down-together, and an innumerable amount of people were crushed.<sup>16</sup>

#### CHAPTER 43: TESTIMONY OF ULPIANUS & OF AIDESIOS [306]

But under the same season as-well-as the same days, at the city of Zor, a young-man, Ulpianus by name, after terrible torments as-well-as the harshest whips, was himself, after he was clothed in a single raw-ox hide<sup>17</sup> simultaneously with a dog and an asp (the poisonous creeper), delivered to the sea.

But a short time afterward, a brother with Apphianus (a brother of his, not only according to a god, but also in body by-the-same-father and by-the-same-mother),<sup>18</sup> Aidesios<sup>19</sup> by name, was suffering. He also, as he contended against them with the accounts of God, made use of his faith in the truth as armor. They also fought against him with smiting and scourging. And they stood up against each other, as it were, in battle array; and they strove to see which side should obtain the victory.<sup>20</sup> Surely, indeed, this man (even before the impulse of his<sup>21</sup> brother in-accordance-with a god had taken place) had preceded his brother in giving himself over to<sup>22</sup> lessons of a fondness-of-wisdom (philosophy) and having obtained more discipline than him. For he was also having-a-share of all-sorts-of accounts, and he had touched, not only the Hellenic discipline, but instead surely even the Roman discipline. He also had had-a-share of the pastime of Pamphilos for<sup>23</sup> more time. And by him, he had been imbued with the godly teaching as with purple suited for royalty.<sup>24</sup>

And surely this Aidesios, after he endured so-many tens-of-thousands of numerous confessions<sup>25</sup> and evil-treatments<sup>26</sup> of prisons<sup>27</sup> for-a-very-long-time, received court-decisions-of-the-leader, in which, he, indeed, was first delivered to the mines of bronze throughout Palaestina (that is, Israel). Next, after the suffering-of-evil and the conduct<sup>28</sup> in all these things for a man-fond-of-wisdom in a semblance of a worn-cloak,<sup>29</sup> and after he was released,<sup>30</sup> he came-to-be at the city of the Alexandrians.

<sup>1</sup> EusL(Gk,Lat) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) add (only Syr1 add "trembling and")

<sup>2</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Lat,Syr1,Syr2) "But at that time"

<sup>3</sup> or "amassed"

<sup>4</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) "holy"

<sup>5</sup> literally "something-which-is-beheld"

<sup>6</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "And that overwhelming calamity of the quaking seemed like a message sent from out of a god" / EusL(Syr1) "And that great overwhelming calamity of the earthquake from out of a god"

<sup>7</sup> literally "the event having"

<sup>8</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) omit "before the gates"

<sup>9</sup> literally "history"

<sup>10</sup> literally "until"

<sup>11</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Lat,Syr1,Syr2) omit "the unnoticed women and"

<sup>12</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr) "were glorifying the God of the Christians (Syr1 add "alone"), and, with a loud voice, were confessing the name of (Syr2 add "Jesus") the Anointed-One."

<sup>13</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr) add

<sup>14</sup> literally "finished"

<sup>15</sup> 306-04-02 AD

<sup>16</sup> literally "oppressed"

<sup>17</sup> literally "a raw cattle skin"

<sup>18</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) add / EusL(Lat) omit "(a brother...)"

<sup>19</sup> EusL(Gk,Gk-menea,Lat,Arab), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr2) "Hedesium" / EusL(Syr1) "Alosis"

<sup>20</sup> EusL(Gk) / some add

<sup>21</sup> literally "the"

<sup>22</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) "had rushed from"

<sup>23</sup> literally "with/by-means-of"

<sup>24</sup> EusL(Gk) / some add

<sup>25</sup> Combination of EusL(Gk) "most confessions" & EusS(Gk) "so-many tens-of-thousands of confessions" / EusL(Syr1) "of his admirable confession" / EusL(Syr2) "a first testimony"

<sup>26</sup> literally "evil-treatings"

<sup>27</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) "bonds"

<sup>28</sup> literally "act-of-leading"

<sup>29</sup> Greek men-fond-of-wisdom (philosophers) wore a special cloak of distinction. The reference is to the fact, that even though he is a man-fond-of-wisdom, he was still wearing a cloak, but one that was worn, in the mines.

But after he happened-to-be-there and after he saw Hieroklés (a dealer-of-justice who managed his-own authority in all Egypt) giving-a-rightful-punishment to the Christians on-the-spot, he became-conscious that Hieroklés was going beyond<sup>31</sup> the proper<sup>32</sup> institutes of the law by behaving-like-a-wine-sodden man to the testifiers of God: indeed, at-one-time heaping-outrages-upon<sup>33</sup> solemn men, but at-another-time delivering women of the utmost sound-mindedness as-well-as holy virgins of a god and ascetic self-virgins to whore-keepers<sup>34</sup> for<sup>35</sup> licentiousness and shameful outrage of their body. After he did not endure the sight of the things being performed, he applied himself<sup>36</sup> to do the act identical<sup>37</sup> to that of his<sup>38</sup> brother, Apphianus, because he surely thought that the things which were coming-to-be were intolerable.

But therefore, after he was filled with God-inspired zeal,<sup>39</sup> he went-before<sup>40</sup> Hieroklés, the wicked leader,<sup>41</sup> with audacious tenacity. And he put the dealer-of-justice to-shame<sup>42</sup> and dishonor by-means-of both discourse<sup>43</sup> of wisdom and work of righteousness,<sup>44</sup> after he strained<sup>45</sup> blows at Hieroklés<sup>46</sup> face with-his-own-hand. He also threw him on-the-ground-on-his-back<sup>47</sup> on the earth, both beating him simultaneously and urging him not<sup>48</sup> to be daring to act contrary to nature against the slaves of God. And being well instructed, he convicted him from the laws themselves of acting contrary to the laws.<sup>49</sup> And he also spoke and did<sup>50</sup> many other things.

And, at this, after Aidesios endured many-manners-of torments of the tortures which were laid-on against his<sup>51</sup> body with especially good steadfastness, he carried-away for himself the same end as his brother,<sup>52</sup> after he was delivered to the sea.<sup>53</sup> (Instead, this man utterly-contended this contest<sup>54</sup> at Alexandria<sup>55</sup> short time after the death of his brother, Apphianus.) But of the testifiers at Palaestina, the next, after Apphianus, to be being-present at the contest would be Agapios.

#### CHAPTER 44: DEATH OF EMPEROR CONSTANTIUS [306-07-25]

Now since Emperor Constantius the Pious, in the 13<sup>th</sup> year of his principate, was going to be ceasing his glistening old-age by giving-up this lifetime, God had stewarded for the first of his boys, Constantinus, to be being-present at Eboracum (that is, York) in Britannia (which is called Albion) for<sup>56</sup> the welcome of the kingdom. And by the security of his son's presence, all those cares which were revolving in his foreboding<sup>57</sup> and silent mind were relaxed.

And he was surely setting his affairs in order.<sup>58</sup> And when the emperor was straightaway asked his sentiment as to whom he might be decreeing to the imperial-command, he looked upon<sup>59</sup> Constantinus. And by<sup>60</sup> the law of nature to the oldest of his boys,<sup>61</sup> Constantinus was manifestly elected by his father to be emperor. After Constantius explicitly-ordered both his sons and daughters simultaneously (who were encircling him like a choir), he, having commended Constantinus to the soldiers, delivered the lot of the kingdom to his son in a royal-palace, on a royal bed-spread. And so he also accepted the requiem of his life in bed, as he was opting, on the 8th day before the Kalends of August (that is, on the 25<sup>th</sup> day of the month July) during the consulate of Constantius for the 6th time and Maximianus Galerius for the 6th time.<sup>62</sup>

And immediately after Emperor Constantius had been taken-out of the earth, the minds and eyes of all signaled his boy Constantinus, and all the armies

<sup>30</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) add

<sup>31</sup> literally "on-the-other-side"

<sup>32</sup> literally "fitting"

<sup>33</sup> literally "in"

<sup>34</sup> literally "whore-nurses"

<sup>35</sup> EusS(Gk) literally "into" / EusL(Gk) "on-the-basis-of"

<sup>36</sup> EusL(Gk) literally "thrown-on" / EusS(Gk) "he put-his-hand-to"

<sup>37</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) "like"

<sup>38</sup> literally "the"

<sup>39</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) "But therefore, the zeal for God was kindled in him. And the heat of it burned within his members as in dry stubble [Syr2 "as a flame within him"] and with indignation"

<sup>40</sup> literally "he is-before"

<sup>41</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) add

<sup>42</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) "And he clothed the dealer-of-justice with shame"

<sup>43</sup> literally "account"

<sup>44</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) add "of wisdom" & "of righteousness"

<sup>45</sup> literally "stretched-in"

<sup>46</sup> literally "him"

<sup>47</sup> EusL(Gk) "on-his-back" / EusL(Syr2) "when his guard were coming up" / EusL(Syr1) "when his guard were coming up to help him"

<sup>48</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) "him, "Do not be daring"

<sup>49</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) add

<sup>50</sup> EusL(Gk,Syr2) / EusL(Lat,Syr1) add

<sup>51</sup> literally "the"

<sup>52</sup> literally "the brotherly end"

<sup>53</sup> EusL(Gk) "he carried-away...sea" / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) "as he resembled his brother in his appearance and conduct, and in his zeal and confession, so also did they resemble each other in their punishment. And at the last, after their death, the terrible sea received them from the hand of the dealer-of-justice."

<sup>54</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) "Instead, indeed, these things were made-to-be done to him in this manner"

<sup>55</sup> literally "the"

<sup>56</sup> literally "into"

<sup>57</sup> literally "presaging"

<sup>58</sup> literally "ordering the thing according-to-himself"

<sup>59</sup> literally "he saw"

<sup>60</sup> literally "to"

<sup>61</sup> literally "to the one leading-before to the stature"

<sup>62</sup> 306-07-25 AD

consented to the father's judgment of a successor with their universal vote.<sup>1</sup> For indeed, the soldiers about the court did not judge any of his boys who were birthed to him through his wife Theodora noteworthy to the kingdom. But they knew that Constantinus had ascended to the top-of-the-gable of secular majesty (having served-for-pay<sup>2</sup> in his military order and having passed-through the grades of military-service); and, having solely leaned upon the roots of virtue, to be able to attain such robust might; and by going-against the dangers of war and by even entangling his foes in single combat<sup>3</sup> with his own hands, rendered himself more notorious with the nations. So they, seeing him having a well body, and after they simultaneously were lifted-up with a hope of appropriately-great gifts, elected him.

However, even though his father had relinquished the imperial-command to him, Constantinus was content with the appellation of Caesar. And out of modesty and-also piety, he wished to first refer his situation to the senior princes as to what might be pleasing to them to be being done for the supreme affair of the public. For he preferred to be waiting, so that Maximianus Galerius, the same man who declared his father an August-One, might also declare him one. For he was judging that this imperial-command would be more fair if he would not be distinguished by-inheritance of succession, but instead would merit it from the supreme emperor, Maximianus Galerius, as a debt to his virtues.

However, despite both this hesitation and his tears, after Constantinus went-forth from the paternal houses, the soldiers (being enslaved to the public utility more than his affections) straightaway threw the paternal purple on him. But Constantinus tried to be fleeing from that ardor of the demanding of the troops, spurring on his horse,<sup>4</sup> but to no avail. And since all who were present (but especially Crocus, the king of the Alamanni, who had accompanied Constantius for the favor of auxiliary) were pressing-upon him, he took the imperial-command.

Next, he, leading the funeral procession along with the paternal friends on-both-sides of him, was sending-forward the body of his father. Also multitudes of populaces, as well as tens-of-thousands of soldiers as well as bodies-of-spearmen (indeed, the ones leading, but the others following behind) were helping-in-conducting<sup>5</sup> Constantinus with every ornamentation. All the humans were honoring him with both good-declarations and hymns. With one-resolve and symphony, they were glorifying the making-mighty of the boy as if the one having died might be returning-to-this-lifetime. Straightaway, from out of the first voice in their cries of-good-declaration, they were publicly-acclaiming the new king "most-complete emperor and venerable August-One". And, indeed, the cries with the good-declarations for<sup>6</sup> the son were ornamenting the one having died. But they were considering-happy the boy who was displayed<sup>7</sup> as a successor of such a father. But all the nations under the principality were being filled with gladness and unspeakable joy, as not-even for the shortest time had they been bereaved of a blink of royal good-order.

This was the end of the pious and god-loving conduct of King Constantius, who throughout all his lifetime was meek and good-willed to the ones who were obeying him, and who was most-friendly-to the divine account. He was also publicly-acclaimed by the non-Christian Romans to be enrolled in-the-presence of gods, being deemed-worthy, after death, of every honor, as-many-as they thought they were to be owing to a king. Now Constantius ruled as emperor for 1 year, although he held the might of Caesar for 13<sup>8</sup> years. And after he died, his son Constantinus was created emperor in Britannia. And he received the imperial-command in place of his father as a most-greatly-desired moderator of Gallia and the rest of the territory under his father's jurisdiction. Now these things happened during the 4<sup>th</sup> year of the persecution against the Christians.

A few days after, a laureate image of Constantinus was brought to Maximianus Galerius. He deliberated all-day whether he might be accepting it. He was nearly reckoning in himself, that he might be burning-up that image and the one who had brought it to him, except his friends had bent him from that fury, admonishing him of the danger. "If unknown men were made Caesars against-their-will, the soldiers, universally, will accept Constantinus; and they will also come-together to him with the utmost alacrity, if he might come having been armed."

So, with the fullest-measure-of unwillingness, Maximianus Galerius accepted the image, and he also sent the purple to him, so that he might be made-to-be-seen of-his-own-accord to have taken Constantinus into his society. His rationalizations had now already been made-turbulent, and he was no longer even able to be announcing another man outside the limited number of four emperors whom he had wished. Instead, he rationalized-forth this solution, that Severus (who was of more-mature age) might be being announced August-One; yet Constantinus would not remain an emperor as he had been made, but instead he would be directing him to be being given-the-appellation of Caesar along with

Maximinus Daia, so that he might be throwing him back from second place into fourth. Therefore, Constantinus was made-out to be a Caesar, and all the soldiers consented to this.

Therefore, as soon as Constantinus had situated himself on the kingdom, he indeed was making-provision for the paternal allotted-portion, overseeing, with much philanthropy, every nation which had been previously piloted under the due-portion of his father and treating the places where help was needed.

For example, while he was in Treviri (that is, Trier or Treves) in Gallia, the ignoble barbarians on-both-sides of the Rheno River, in particular, the Franks, taking advantage of his father's absence to violate the peace, were daring to be rising-in-sedition; and they crossed over to make a sudden rush and improvised freebooting. But Constantinus, not at all having revered the perpetual hatred and inexpressible anger of that nation, won-the-victory over them. And after the ferocious kings of Francia themselves, Ascaric and Merogaisus, had been captured, Constantinus did not waver to be punishing the kings of Francia themselves, making-sport with the famous excruciations and deaths of the two savage kings. So after Constantinus subjected all these barbarians, he made<sup>9</sup> them tame from out of a state of being unable-to-be-made-docile. But others, after he rose them up like some beasts of-the-field, he was scaring-away from the domesticity—he did this to as-many-as he was seeing were unhealably refusing to establish<sup>10</sup> a tame lifestyle, including the Celts and Germans. And because of this, the castles, having been disposed at intervals, now more greatly ornamented the frontiers<sup>11</sup> than protected them, while the farmer now plowed that once terrible bank unarmed and their herds immersed themselves totally along the two-horns of the river.

#### CHAPTER 45: THE CENSUS AND MAXENTIUS' USURPATION

But meanwhile, Emperor Maximianus Galerius had made public calamity and common grief by having commissioned a census in the provinces and civil-communities. With censitors having been diffused and stirring-up everything, there was hostile tumult and the sight of horrible captivity. Farms were being measured by-clods. Vines and fig-trees were being numbered. Animals of every race were being written down. The heads of humans were being noted. In the civil-communities, urban and rustic commonalities were being made-one, all the forums having been crammed-tight with herds of families. Each one was present with freemen and with slaves. Torments and lashes were sounding-through-and-through. Sons were being hung-up<sup>12</sup> against parents. The most-faithful slaves were being vexed contrary-to their lords. Wives were against their marriage-partners. If all things had failed, they themselves were being tortured contrary-to themselves; and when pain had won-the-victory-over them, things which were not having been done by them were being ascribed to them. There was not-one excuse for age or for state-of-health. The ones who were ill and debilitated were being carried-off. The ages of individuals were being estimated; years were being added to little-boys and being detracted from seniors. All things were full of mourning and sadness.

The things which those of old had done to those who were having been vanquished by right of war, Maximianus Galerius also was having dared to be doing against Romans and those who were having been subjected to Romans, because his parents had been subjected to a previous census, which a previous Roman emperor, Trajanus, the victor, imposed on the assiduously rebelling Dacians as a favor of the punishment. After this, money was being weighed-out for their heads, and a wage was being given for a life.

Nevertheless, faith was not being had in the same censitors. Instead, others above others were being commissioned as-if they would find out more things, and so that it was always being doubled<sup>13</sup> (not to those men who were not finding anything; but instead, so that by adding whatever they pleased, they might not be being seen to have been commissioned in vain).<sup>14</sup>

Meanwhile, animals were being diminished, and mortals went to death, and, none the less, tributes were being exacted<sup>15</sup> for dead persons, so that it would not even be being allowed either to be living or to being made-to-die at-least with favor. Destitute persons alone were remaining, from whom nothing would be able to be being driven-out, whose misery and misfortune had made them guarded from every kind of injury. But Maximianus Galerius, so that they might not be being in-lack, directed for all of them to be being congregated and to be being exported in small-boats to be being immersed in the sea, contrary-to every right of humanity.

Now when Maximianus Galerius, having instituted the census, had stood to be devouring the orb of the earth, he leapt up to this insanity, that he might not be wishing, indeed, for even the Roman peoples to be being made immune from this captivity. Censitors were already being ordained, who, having been commissioned for Roma, might be registering<sup>16</sup> the people.

<sup>1</sup> literally "pebble"

<sup>2</sup> literally "been deserving of stipendium"

<sup>3</sup> literally "vying"

<sup>4</sup> literally ", inciting his horse with spurs"

<sup>5</sup> literally "sending-along"

<sup>6</sup> literally "into"

<sup>7</sup> literally "shown-off"

<sup>8</sup> Eutropius, Aurelius(Liber) / Chronicon(Jerome) "in the 16<sup>th</sup> year" (this is incorrect)

<sup>9</sup> literally "worked-down"

<sup>10</sup> literally "stand-down"

<sup>11</sup> literally "limits"

<sup>12</sup> literally "suspended"

<sup>13</sup> literally "duplicated"

<sup>14</sup> literally "frustration"

<sup>15</sup> literally "released"

<sup>16</sup> literally "describing"

Now after the image of Constantinus was shown in Roma (in accordance with what is usual), Maxentius (boy of Maximianus Herculeus, and son-in-law of Maximianus Galerius) concluded that it was not tolerable, if Constantinus (whom he was disdainfully slandering as “having come-to-be from out of an unsolemn mother”) might recognize his ambition,<sup>1</sup> but that he, *being* a boy of a king such-as-this, having come-to-be laying *around* purposelessly,<sup>2</sup> should be letting<sup>3</sup> different *individuals* bear the paternal principality. As assistants of the undertaking, he took-aside: Marcellianus and Marcellus (*both* squadron-chiefs), and Lucianus (who was a supplier of pig meat, which the public was giving-over to the populace of *the* Romans), and yet still-more the soldiers around the court, who *are being* called Praetorians (for about the same time, Maximianus Galerius made-away-with<sup>4</sup> the praetorian camp too). And he made-professions to be exchanging great gifts for the *men who* would give the royal throne to him.

So a few soldiers, who were having been relinquished *in* Roma in *the* camps, having seized the opportunity, excited a tumult and struck-down some of *the* judges (not against-the-will of the people, who were stirred-up). The first who was done-away-with was Abellius (*who* was holding the place of the subordinate-chief of the city), thought to be being-against the subduing.<sup>5</sup> And *the* commoners and *the* praetorian squadrons dressed Maxentius (who was staying in *the* public villa six miles from the city of Roma *which* was on the road to Laticum) in purple and made<sup>6</sup> him emperor at<sup>7</sup> Roma,<sup>8</sup> despite that day-by-day his father, Maximianus Herculeus, was for the time retracting him. For his father, Herculeus, after he had laid-down the imperial-command, was staying in the region of Campania and Lucania (*the* place where, on settling into a private-life, he had elected for himself, growing-senile in a pleasant farm). Therefore, Maxentius now controlled Roma and the *places* extending-down<sup>9</sup> from Italia into the ocean itself.

After news of this announcing of Maxentius was brought to Maximianus Galerius, he, having been disturbed somewhat with the novelty of *the* affair, was, nevertheless, not having been too-much terrified. And he had hated Maxentius. And he was not being able to be making three Caesars. It seemed<sup>10</sup> satisfactory to have done it once, a *thing* which he did not wish to do.

Calling for Severus (who was happening to be near the city), he was exhorting him to retake the imperial-command from Maxentius. He hastily armed him with the troop of Maximianus Herculeus to storm<sup>11</sup> Maxentius, and he commissioned him to Roma. In that *place*,<sup>12</sup> those soldiers, having often been taken-up<sup>13</sup> with the topmost delights, were not only opting for that city to be saved, but instead to be living there.

Maxentius, conscience of so great a deed to him, might, by claiming his right of inheritance, be being able to lead-over to himself *the* paternal soldiers *who* were serving under Severus. Nevertheless, he was rationalizing it to be being possible, that his father-in-law, Maximianus Galerius, being-dreadful, might be relinquishing Severus in Illyricum, but might also be coming himself with his own troop to fight-against<sup>14</sup> him. Therefore, he was seeking to-what-extent he might be strengthening himself from impending peril.

But Maxentius was commissioning the purple to his father, Maximianus Herculeus, and naming him an August-One for-a-second-time. But Herculeus, having laughed at the hope of a resumption of the top-of-the-gable (which he had laid-down and dismissed against-his-will) and also desirous of a novel affair, gladly snatched it. And he flew to Roma from Lucania. Furthermore, Herculeus exhorted former emperor Diocletianus through letters, so that he would be resuming the authority which he had laid-down, letters which Diocletianus held in disregard.

## CHAPTER 46: RELIEF IN THE WEST & EVILS OF MAXENTIUS

Now Maxentius (the *one* who snatched-away the reigning city and commended the tyranny upon *the* Romans for himself), indeed was beginning to subdue *the* Christians by-acting-hypocritically toward the faith according to them, on-the-basis-of willingness-to-please and flattery to the populace of *the* Romans. Due to this, he was also ordering the *ones who* were obeying him to desist the persecution against the Christians, simulating piety so that<sup>15</sup> he would be-made-to-appear even right and very<sup>16</sup> meek in-comparison-to his predecessors.<sup>17</sup>

Therefore, all Italia and Sicilia, both Gallia and as-many-as are by *the* setting<sup>18</sup> sun, in<sup>19</sup> Spania, both Mauritania and Africa, after they did not endure

<sup>1</sup> literally “if the thing he was making-every-effort might step-out to Constantinus”

<sup>2</sup> literally “without-cause”

<sup>3</sup> literally “remaining”

<sup>4</sup> literally “took”

<sup>5</sup> literally “bringing-into-hand”

<sup>6</sup> Lactantius / Eutropius “announced” / Aurelius(Liber) “confirmed”

<sup>7</sup> Lactantius / AnVal “in”

<sup>8</sup> Though not told in any of the source texts, the date for his ascension seems to be 306-10-28 or 29.

<sup>9</sup> literally “being-down”

<sup>10</sup> literally “It was being seen”

<sup>11</sup> literally “to fight-out”

<sup>12</sup> literally “in which”

<sup>13</sup> literally “taken-out/excepted”

<sup>14</sup> literally “to fight-toward”

<sup>15</sup> literally “as”

<sup>16</sup> literally “much”

<sup>17</sup> literally “the former ones”

<sup>18</sup> literally “slipping”

<sup>19</sup> literally “on”

the war *against the Christians* for even two whole years (the first *two* of the pursuit *against them*), were deemed-worthy of both a quick oversight of a god and a quick peace, the heavenly foresight sparing those suffering men. (Yet, *the pursuit* was prolonged<sup>20</sup> in the *places* from Libyē and through the whole of Egypt, both Syria and the *places* from the east<sup>20</sup> and in-a-circle until the *places* stretching-alongside throughout the region of Illyricum.)

But truly, Maxentius did not clearly-appear by his works<sup>21</sup> to be such a *person* as it was hoped he would be, but, after he put-his-hand-to many charges-of-impiety and ran-aground into all unsacred-works, not-one<sup>22</sup> work of stain and unchastity was left-behind and not-one act-of-daring passed by in his stained and unclean acts, while he would impose adulteries and all-sorts-of corruption. Yet furthermore, while he was unhitching the married-woman according to law from their men, he, outraging them<sup>23</sup> most-dishonorably and shamefully, was sending them back-again off to their men. And he was pursuing these things, putting-his-hand, not to unremarkable nor-even to unnoticed women; but instead, surely, he behaved-like-a-wine-sodden-offender especially to the most-eminent of the ones who are retaining<sup>24</sup> the most-prominent places in the senatorial counsel of the Romans. Therefore, indeed, he, shamefully outraging tens-of-thousands of free women, was not having any way so that he might fill-up his un-self-restrained and unchaste soul. And for the remaining time, it was hazardous<sup>25</sup> to be having an attractive woman through the guarding of their sound-mindedness.

But as Maxentius was also putting-his-hand-among<sup>26</sup> Christian-woman, he was also no-longer able to be having any easy-means<sup>27</sup> in-mind in committing the adulteries. These women were, at-least-then, more-quickly conceding<sup>28</sup> to be dealing-death to their own soul, than giving their body to him for<sup>29</sup> corruption.<sup>30</sup>

Now accordingly, at Roma, there was one certain woman of the men of senatorial-rank who were managing the authority of-prefect, Sophronia,<sup>31</sup> who was a highest-born and most-sounded-minded woman of all, to whom the tyrant there, Maxentius, (accomplishing the things like Maximinus Daia) was trying to be behaving-like-a-wine-sodden-drunk. Now she herself was also a Christian.

For, on-the-spot, as she learned that the ones who were ministering the things such as these for themselves to the tyrant were standing-over the house, she also knew that her-own man<sup>32</sup> (this man even being a prefect of the Romans) for-sake of his anxiety permitted for them,<sup>33</sup> after they received her, to be leading her up. After this, she requested-to-be-excused for<sup>34</sup> a short moment, as if she was going to be clothing and fully-ornamenting her body with the usual ornamentation. After this, she, after she was-inside<sup>35</sup> in<sup>36</sup> the private-room<sup>37</sup> and was left-alone, pitched<sup>38</sup> a short-sword against her bust.<sup>38</sup> After she also became-dead immediately, she left-behind<sup>39</sup> the dead body to the ones-who-were-leading-her-forward.<sup>39</sup>

Yet truly, the riches of the Romans which had been dragged-together<sup>40</sup> out of the total orb for 1,060 years, that monster had ingested toward hands having been bought for<sup>41</sup> the brigandage of-civilians. But not even this was enough. For a murder of countless numbers of those of senatorial-rank was being operated on-account-of plots-against-them for the sake of their wealth, after he first instituted a most-wicked act under the appearance<sup>42</sup> of taxation gifts so that he might be compelling<sup>43</sup> the fathers and the plowmen to be conferring money for him to be squandering. For he had indicted for gold to be given to him from every Roman, and they gave it. To this, by-means-of the alienated matrimonies, by-means-of the heads of innocent individuals along with their goods randomly donated, he bound<sup>44</sup> the parricides for devotion to him even up-to death. Therefore while<sup>45</sup> he was making-use-of the majesty of his city which he had captured, he fully-filled total Italia with satellites having been conducted toward every evil deed.

But accordingly, the citizens were being afflicted to such-an-extent, that on-one-occasion, on a small pretext, he was giving<sup>46</sup> the populace up to the praetorian spearmen on-both-sides of him, nodding his assent for their cutting-down and

<sup>20</sup> literally “rising-up”

<sup>21</sup> literally “he did not shine-up with works”

<sup>22</sup> literally “not-one the which”

<sup>23</sup> Eusebios(Life) / Eusebios(CH) “these”

<sup>24</sup> Eusebios(Life) / Eusebios(CH) “who have obtained” (literally “carried-away”)

<sup>25</sup> literally “easy-to-slip-on”

<sup>26</sup> literally “putting-his-hand-in”

<sup>27</sup> literally “good-income”

<sup>28</sup> literally “making-room-for-another”

<sup>29</sup> literally “onto”

<sup>30</sup> Various readings of the text add “lawfully married” women and send them back again “grievously dishonored.”

<sup>31</sup> Eusebios / Rufinus add

<sup>32</sup> literally “the man, the man of herself”

<sup>33</sup> Eusebios(CH) / Eusebios(Life) “anxiety directed”

<sup>34</sup> Eusebios(Life) / Eusebios(CH) “into”

<sup>35</sup> literally “is-into”

<sup>36</sup> literally “on”

<sup>37</sup> Eusebios(Life) / Eusebios(CH) “secret-chamber”

<sup>38</sup> Eusebios(Life) “against the bust” / Eusebios(CH) “against herself”

<sup>39</sup> literally “the leaders-before”

<sup>40</sup> literally “contracted”

<sup>41</sup> literally “toward”

<sup>42</sup> literally “sight”

<sup>43</sup> literally “driving-together”

<sup>44</sup> literally “strung-about”

<sup>45</sup> literally “And between this”

<sup>46</sup> Eusebios(Life) / Eusebios(CH) “he gave”

murder. For after a fire fell-in throughout Roma, it flamed the inner-sanctum of the Fortune. But after all ran-together to extinguish the pyre, a certain *one* of the soldiers, after he discharged<sup>1</sup> reviling words against the divine *place*,<sup>2</sup> was done-away-with after the multitude came-upon *him* due to the piety *which they had* toward the divine *place*. After *this*, the soldiers were moved into a sedition.<sup>3</sup> And tens-of-thousands of multitudes of the populace of *the* Romans were killed right-here in<sup>4</sup> *the* middle of town<sup>5</sup>—not with spears and full-suits-of-armor of Skythians nor-even barbarians, *but* instead of their *own fellow* dwellers. And they almost came<sup>6</sup> into *causing* the loss against the city, if Maxentius did not quickly meeken the madness of these *men*. Now after *temple* of Roma blazed, it was<sup>7</sup> fabricated *again* during his imperial-reign. (He *also* made thermal-baths<sup>8</sup> in the Palatium and a circus in the catacombs. He *also* opened a fosse, *but* instead he did not perfect it.)

*But* at-other-times tens-of-thousands were being done-away-with *on* other crimes having been fashioned *against* them.

But the cornice of the evil *things* with the tyrant *was* when he drove forward onto witchcraft—indeed, then ripping-up pregnant woman *in his* magical intentions, but then scrutinizing bowels of newborn babies, as-well-as slaughtering-down lions and compounding certain unstateable-works to callings-forth<sup>9</sup> of demons and to an act-of-averting-by-expiatory-sacrifice of the war. For through these *means*, he was obtaining all his hope,<sup>10</sup> that the *things* of the victory would be set-straight<sup>11</sup> to him.

Therefore, indeed, this tyrant over<sup>12</sup> Roma was enslaving the *ones who* were obeying *him*, so-as to even bring *them* down<sup>13</sup> in uttermost<sup>14</sup> dearth and deprivation of the obligatory nourishments. *When, there* was a great famine *as a result*, he allowed *the* Roman commoners to be put-to-death by-means-of the famine. *And they* dragged away *the* Romans of the soldiers of Moesia<sup>15</sup> and 6,000 Roman humans were<sup>16</sup> cut-down by *the* soldiers.

But all the *humans*—populaces and chiefs, senators and commoners, both glorious and inglorious—having covered-beneath the *man who* committed such daring-acts, were being worn-down with the terrible tyranny. *And all who* either tried-to-trap *Maxentius* or plainly tried something on-behalf-of liberty, he afflicted with punishments *and* oppressed with arms. *And not-even if they were* keeping-quiet and *were* bearing the bitter slavery, was there still any relief *from* the murderous cruelty of the tyrant.

#### CHAPTER 47: THE SPIRITUAL BATTLES OF ANTONIUS

Now Antonius, since the beginning of the reign of Emperor Diocletianus, had been disciplining himself in the desert for nearly 20 years, and he was now about 55 years old.<sup>17</sup> During his stay in the desert, Antonius had seen *various* enterprises of the demons. For they are treacherous and daring to be throwing themselves into-a-different-position to every *thing*, and are pretending to *make* fantasias *in order* to be causing-fear, to be changing their semblance, imitating: women, beasts, creepers, and greatnesses of bodies, and a multitude of soldiers. But they are also embossing themselves into semblances of monks, pretending to be uttering as reverent *men*, in order that, with the like semblance, they might be misled and, *for the* remaining *time*, might draw the *ones who* were deluded by them to the-place<sup>18</sup> they are wanting. *And many-times* they were appearing to him as a leviathan or a dragon: their eyes as an appearance<sup>19</sup> of a morning-bearer; torches being burned, going-forth out of their mouth, and hearths of fire flinging-around; smoke of a furnace being burned with a fire of charcoals going-forth out of their nostrils; their soul *is* charcoals, but a flame is going-forth out of their mouth. *But while* the chief of the demons is appearing *in* such a way, the crafty-one causes-fear, uttering great *things*.

Accordingly, many-times they are, *while* not being-made-to-appear, pretending to be psalming with a song, and are remembering the sayings from the writings. But they, when *the monks* were also reading-aloud, *were* straightaway saying, as-though with resound, the same *things* many-times *over* which have been read-aloud. *And they were* arising *the monks who* were falling-asleep into prayers *to God*. *And they were* doing this contiguously, almost not permitting them to even be falling-asleep.

Instead, these fantasias are nothing. Instead, they are even quickly being made-to-disappear, especially if-at-any-time someone might be shutting himself

<sup>1</sup> usually translated “dismissed”  
<sup>2</sup> or “divine being” (also later in sentence)

<sup>3</sup> literally “standing”

<sup>4</sup> literally “on”

<sup>5</sup> Eusebios(Life) / Eusebios(CH) “city”

<sup>6</sup> literally “they came small to be being necessary”

<sup>7</sup> literally “it is having been”

<sup>8</sup> literally “thermal-waters”

<sup>9</sup> literally “callings-before”

<sup>10</sup> Eusebios(CH) / Eusebios(Life) “he was hoping”

<sup>11</sup> Eusebios(CH) / Eusebios(Life) “would be grasped”

<sup>12</sup> literally “on”

<sup>13</sup> literally “to stand them down”

<sup>14</sup> literally “last”

<sup>15</sup> or perhaps should be translated “And the Romans dragged away those of the soldiers of Moesia”

<sup>16</sup> literally “humans are having been”

<sup>17</sup> About 306AD

<sup>18</sup> literally “there”

<sup>19</sup> literally “sight”

*all-around* with the faith and the sign of the cross. But they are daring and very shameless. For even if-at-any-time they might be worsted, they are stepping-on *persons* again in another manner. *And they* are pretending to be divining, and to be predicting the *things which* are coming after *some* days, also to be showing themselves high, preceding up-to the roof, and wide with *their* greatness. But even if-at-any-time they might find the soul having been made-secure *in* the faith and the hope of the mindset, they, *for any* remaining *time*, are leading to themselves their own chief.

Now for example, concerning Antonius himself, they many-times deemed-him-happy, and **he** cursed them in *the* name of *the* Lord. They many-times predicted *things* about water of the river, and **he** was saying to them, “*And what* about this *is* a concern to you\*?” *When they* came, threatening, and encircled him as soldiers with full-suits-of-armor, **he** was psalming:

“These in chariots, and these in horses.

But **we** in the name of the Lord our God.”

(Psalm 20:7)

And at the prayers, these were overturned from the Lord. Then they came in darkness, having a fantasia<sup>20</sup> of light. *And they* were saying, “We came to give-light<sup>21</sup> to you, Antonius.” *But he*, closing-down his eyes, was praying; and straightaway the light of the impious-ones was extinguished.

And after a few months, they came as *if* psalming and uttering from the writings. *But he*, as-if deaf, was not hearing. Then they quaked the monastery. *But he* was praying, remaining immovable *in* the mindset. *And after these things*, after they again came, they were clapping, they were hissing, they were dancing. *But as he* was praying and was reclining *while* psalming by himself, they straightaway began to be singing-dirges and to be weeping, as-though they *were* tired-out. *But he* was glorifying the Lord, the *one who* took-down and made-a-public-show of their daring and their madness.

Then a very high demon was made-to-appear with fantasias, and had dared to speak, “**I** am the power of God. *And I* am the foresight. What are you wanting me to grant-as-a-favor to you?”

But **he** then rather blew-in against him, after he named the Anointed-One, and he set-his-hand to beat this *one*. *And he* seemed to beat *him*; and, straightaway, the so-large *one* along with all his own demons, were made-to-disappear in the name of the Anointed-One.

Then he came to him *while* he was fasting, and, as a monk who *is* crafty, having a fantasia of loaves-of-bread. *And he* was counseling-together, saying, “Eat, and cease yourself of the many exertions. **You** are also a human, you are going to be becoming-weak.”

But **he**, after he comprehended his method, stood-up to pray. That *one* did not bear it. For he vanished;<sup>22</sup> and, coming-out through the door, was made-to-appear as smoke.

Many-times in the desert, he showed a fantasia of gold, in order that he might only touch it and might look at it. *But while he* was psalming-against him, that *one* melted.

Many-times they were cutting him with blows, and **he** was saying, “Nothing will separate me from the love of the Anointed-One.” (Romans 8:35)

And after these *things*, they themselves were rather cutting-down one-another. *But Antonius* was not the *one who* was ceasing and rendering-inoperative those. Instead, it was the Lord.

Then a certain *individual* knocked in **his** door to the monastery. *And after he* came-out, he saw a certain long and high *individual* appearing. Next, after **he** enquired, “Who are you?” he declared, “I am the Adversary.”

Next, *while Antonius* was saying, “Therefore why are you here?” that *one* was saying, “Why are the monks and all the other Christians blaming me in-vain? Why are they cursing me *hour* by *hour*?”

But after *Antonius* spoke, “For what *reason* are you annoying them?” he declared, “**I** am not the *one who* *is* annoying them; instead, they themselves are disturbing themselves. For **I** have become weak. Did they read-aloud, that, ‘The long-swords of the enemy vanished<sup>23</sup> into the end, and you took-down cities’? (Psalm 9:6). I am not still having a place, no missile, no city. Christians have become everywhere. For the remaining *time*, even the desert has been filled with monks. Let them be keeping themselves, and let them not be cursing me in-vain.”

Then after *Antonius* marveled at the favor of the Lord, he spoke to him, “*While* you are perpetually a lair, and are never-at-any-time saying truth, all-the-same at this *time* now, even *when you* are not wanting, you have stated truth. For the Anointed-One, after he came, has made you weak; and, after he threw you down, stripped you naked.”

That *one*, after he heard the name of the Savior, and not bearing the burning *derived* from out of this *name*, had become disappearing.

#### CHAPTER 48: MANY MONKS BEGIN TO FOLLOW ANTONIUS

<sup>20</sup> literally translated “making-visible”

<sup>21</sup> literally “to shine”

<sup>22</sup> literally “left-out”

<sup>23</sup> literally “left-out”

Now about the time all these terrible persecutions against the Christians were transpiring amongst the Romans and Maxentius usurped the authority of Roma, many *individuals who were yearning and desiring to be zealous for Antonius' style of exercising, as-well-as various other people known-to him, came to him in the desert*; and they threw-down and drove-out the door with force. And then Antonius came-forward; and, for the first time, he was made-to-appear from the camp to the *ones who came to him*.

Therefore, indeed, as they saw that *man*, they were marveling, seeing that his body was having the same habit as before, and neither fattened (as a non-gymnastically-trained *individual*), nor meager (as from fasts and fighting of demons). For he was such as they had come-to-know him before the retiring. But again the habit of the soul was clean. For neither was it having been compacted as under distress, nor having been dispersed<sup>1</sup> under pleasure, nor oppressed under laughter or state-of-downcast. For neither was he disturbed while having seen the crowd, nor had he reveled as he was being embraced by so-many. Instead, he was wholly balanced,<sup>2</sup> as being piloted by the rationalization and having stood in his natural state.<sup>3</sup>

Accordingly, through him, the Lord treated the bodies which were suffering of many of the *ones who were-present*, and cleansed others from demons. He also was giving Antonius favor in the process to be uttering. And in-this-manner, he indeed was consoling many who were grieving, but he was reconciling<sup>4</sup> into friendship others who were fighting, calling-on<sup>5</sup> all to be judging not-one of the things in the world to be before 'the love into the Anointed-One'. But while he was dialoguing and urging them to be remembering about the good things which were going to be coming and the philanthropy of God which came-to-be into us (God who did not spare his own son, but instead delivered him up in-behalf of us all), he persuaded many to choose for themselves the solitary lifestyle. And in-this-manner, for the remaining time, monasteries have come-to-be even in the mountains; and the desert was built-with-cities by monks, after they went from their own places and believed that they were registering themselves in the citizenship in the heavens.

But after a need came-to-be for Antonius to come-through the Passage of Arsenoitus (now the need was the looking-after of the brothers), the passage was full of crocodiles. And after he only prayed, both he and all the *ones* with him stepped-in, and they came-through unharmed.

But after he returned into the monastery, he was holding the same solemn and youthful exertions. While he was also dialoguing contiguously, he indeed was always growing the eagerness of the monks, but was motivating the most of the others into a passionate-desire of the exercising. And quickly, with his<sup>6</sup> account drawing them, many monasteries have come-to-be, and he was leading them all down the path as a father.

Accordingly, one day, after he came-forward, and after all the monks came to him, while they were also begging to be hearing an account from him, he was speaking to them in the Egyptian language,<sup>7</sup> and began with these words, "Indeed, the writings are adequate toward teaching. But it is beautiful for us to be exhorting one-another in the faith, and to be oiling each other in the accounts."

And while Antonius was dialoguing many encouragements and admonishments to them, they were all rejoicing. And indeed the passionate-desire of the excellence of the *ones* was growing, but the belittlement of the *others* was being thrown-out-aside, and the imagining of others was ceasing itself. All were also being persuaded to be despising the demonical plots-against them, marveling at the favor which was given to Antonius from the Lord for<sup>8</sup> the discerning of the spirits.

Therefore, the monasteries were in the mountains, as having been filled with tents of divine choirs, psalming, being-fond-of-studying, fasting, praying, leaping-for-joy over<sup>9</sup> the hope of the things which are going to be coming, and working for<sup>10</sup> the result to be making acts-of-mercy,<sup>11</sup> both to be loving and to be having a symphony with<sup>12</sup> one-another. And this was a country of reverence-for-God and righteousness being set apart by itself. For there was not the unrighteous-ones, or the *ones* being-treated-unrighteously, not-even grounds-for-blame of tribute-leivers. Instead, indeed there was a multitude of exercisers; but the one mindset of all the people was aiming into excellence.

However, Antonius himself (according to his own custom), while retiring in his own monastery, was straining<sup>13</sup> the exercise; he also was groaned day by day, pondering the places-to-remain in a heaven, also having the yearning for<sup>14</sup> them, watching-out for the daily moment of the lifetime of humans. For even while he

was going to be eating and to be falling-asleep and to be coming on-the-basis-of the other obligations of the body, he was being-ashamed of himself, taking-into-account the comprehensible state of the soul. Accordingly, many-times, while he was going to be eating with many other monks, he, after he was reminded of the spiritual nourishment, refused; and he went-off<sup>15</sup> a long-distance-away from them, concluding it to be a matter of blushing if he would be being looked at by others<sup>16</sup> while he was eating. However, he was eating by himself due to the obligation of the body; but many-times, also with the brothers—indeed, having-respect on-the-basis-of these conditions, but being-outspoken on-the-basis-of the accounts in-behalf of profit. And he was saying that it was necessary to be giving all the time-of-leisure to the soul rather than to the body; and indeed to be assenting a little season due to the obligation of the body, but to rather be making-leisure for the whole to the soul and to be seeking its profit, in order that this might not be being launched by the pleasures of the body, but instead the body might be being led-into-slavery from it.

#### CHAPTER 49: HILARION BECOMES A MONK

Now about this time a boy, Hilarion by name, then heard of the celebrated name of Antonius. This boy was born<sup>17</sup> in the village of Tabatha, which was having been situated about five miles from Gaza (a city of Palaestina), to the south of it. He used to have parents who were given-over to idols. After he had been commissioned from them<sup>18</sup> to Alexandria, he had been being delivered to a grammarian. There, as-much-as his age used to patiently-endure,<sup>19</sup> he afforded a documentation of great ingenuity and custom. In a brief time, he was endeared to all and knowledgeable in the art of speaking.<sup>20</sup> Greater than all these things was his having-faith in the Lord Jesus. Not in the furies of the circus, not in the blood of the arena, not in the luxury of the theater was he delighted; instead, that boy's total will<sup>21</sup> was in the congregation of the assembly of Christians.

However, after Hilarion heard of Antonius (whose name was being borne through all the peoples of Egypt), he, burning with eagerness<sup>22</sup> to see him, proceeded to the desert. And straightaway when he saw him, he, after he changed his pristine habit, remained near him for almost three<sup>23</sup> months, contemplating the order of his life, the gravity of his customs: How consecutive in prayer, how humble in welcoming the brothers, severe in chiding, being alacritous in exhorting; and that infirmity would not at-any-time be breaking his self-restraint, his roughness of food.

Hilarion, in-turn, not able to be further bearing the numerous-attendance of those who were running-together to Antonius due to various sufferings or rushes of demons, and deducing it not to be congruous to be forced-to-patiently-endure<sup>24</sup> in a desert the peoples of civil-communities, thought, that it would be greater to himself to start in-the-same-way that Antonius had begun; that Antonius was receiving<sup>25</sup> premiums of a victory as-if he were a strong man; that he himself was the one not-yet having begun to be performing-military-service in the spiritual army of the Lord. So he returned with certain monks to his fatherland. And since his parents were having already been made-defunct from this present life, he gave-largesses of a part of his resources<sup>26</sup> to his brothers, and a part to poor persons (reserving nothing at all for himself), because he was also fearing that passage from the Acts of the Emissaries (Acts 5:1-11), either the example or the penalty<sup>27</sup> of Hananiah and Sapphira. He was more-greatly remembering of the Lord, who was saying:

Every one from-among<sup>28</sup> you\* who is not saying-farewell to all the things which he himself is possessing is not being-able to be a learner of mine.

(Luke 14:33)

However, then he was 15 years old.<sup>29</sup> In-this-manner, naked and having been armed in the Anointed-One, he was entering solitude, which bends to the left-side in a spot seven miles from Majoma (the emporium of Gaza) as one goes across the shore to Egypt. Although the location was bloodstained with freebooting, and kindred and friends would be denouncing to him the perils which were-imminent, he contended death, so that he might be evading death.

But a certain flame in his breast and the sparks of faith in his eyes were shining-back. His cheeks were smooth,<sup>30</sup> his body was delicate and lean and unable-to-suffer every injury with which it might be possible to be being afflicted by either light cold or either heat. Accordingly, after he covered his members with only so-much as a sack, and having a skin overdress which Antonius had given to

<sup>15</sup> literally "came-off"

<sup>16</sup> literally "different ones"

<sup>17</sup> literally "arisen"

<sup>18</sup> literally "whom"

<sup>19</sup> literally "suffer"

<sup>20</sup> literally "art to utter"

<sup>21</sup> others "pleasure"

<sup>22</sup> literally "study"

<sup>23</sup> others "two"

<sup>24</sup> literally "forced-to-suffer"

<sup>25</sup> literally "accepting"

<sup>26</sup> literally "substances"

<sup>27</sup> literally "supplication"

<sup>28</sup> literally "out-of"

<sup>29</sup> about 306AD

<sup>30</sup> literally "lenient"

<sup>1</sup> literally "poured-different-ways"

<sup>2</sup> literally "equal"

<sup>3</sup> literally "in the state according-to nature"

<sup>4</sup> literally "interchanging"

<sup>5</sup> literally "saying-on"

<sup>6</sup> literally "the"

<sup>7</sup> literally "voice"

<sup>8</sup> literally "into"

<sup>9</sup> literally "on"

<sup>10</sup> literally "into"

<sup>11</sup> in the sense of "almsgiving"

<sup>12</sup> literally "into"

<sup>13</sup> literally "stretching-upon"

<sup>14</sup> literally "into"



him *while* he was setting-forward, and a rustic woolen-cloak, he, between *the* sea and *the* swamp, was enjoying *the* vast and terrible solitude, eating *only* so-much as fifteen figs after *the* setting of *the* sun. And because *the* region was infamous for freebooting, he had been accustomed at-no-time to be inhabiting<sup>1</sup> *the* same location.

At this time, attaining-puberty, his senses were titillated and his body filled with the natural burnings of pleasures. Having been angered at himself and lashing *his* breast with punches (as-if he might be able to be excluding *his* thoughts with *the* striking of *his* hand), he said, “You little-ass, I will make *it*, so that you might not be kicking. And I will not feed you barely, *but* instead chaffs. I will dwindle you with famine and thirst. I will burden *you* with a heavy weight.<sup>2</sup> I will track you through *the* heat and *the* cold, so that you might be thinking rather of foods than lasciviousness.”

Therefore, after a period-of-three-days or a period-of-four-days, he was sustaining *his* soul, *which* was becoming-deficient, with *the* juice of herbs and a few figs, praying frequently and psalming, and digging *the* ground with a toothed-hoe, so that *the* labor of fasting might be being duplicated by *the* labor of works. Simultaneously, he, weaving small-woven-baskets with rush, was emulating *the* discipline of *the* Egyptian monks and *the* sentiment of *the* emissary *Paulus*:

But if someone is not wanting to be working, do not even let him be eating.  
(2 Thessalonians 3:10)

In-this-manner, he had been made-lean and *his* body had been wasted to<sup>3</sup> such an extent, that *his* bones would be scarcely adhering to one another.

On a certain night, he began<sup>4</sup> to be hearing *the* screaming of infants, *the* bleating of livestock, *the* bellowing of cattle, *the* beating-of-the-breast in lamentation as-if of little-women,<sup>5</sup> *the* roaring of lions, *the* murmur of a troop, and again various portents of voices, so that, having been terrified, he would have ceded before *the* sound than *have* waited for *the* sight.<sup>6</sup> He had-intelligence-of *the* mockers of *the* demons. And after he rolled on *his* knees, he signed on<sup>7</sup> *his* forehead *the* cross of *the* Anointed-One. Having been armed in such-a-way, he, *while* laying, engaged more-strongly, desiring in-some-measure to be seeing *those* whom he was horrified to be hearing, and *while* he was circumspecting here and there with solicitous eyes. When, meanwhile, out of impromptu, in *the* gleaming<sup>8</sup> moon, he was discerning a four-wheeled-carriage with fervent horses rushing over him. Howsoever he might have clamored upon Jesus, suddenly before *his* eyes, *the* earth chasmed. All *the* pomp was absorbed. Then *Hilarion* declared:

“He cast horse and rider into a sea.”  
(Exodus 15:1)

And:

“These in chariots, and these in horses,  
but we will be made-great in *the* name of *the* Lord our God.”  
(Psalm 20:8)

Many were his temptations and *the* various plots of *the* demons day and night. Many-times, *there* were naked women *while* he was bedding. Many-times, *while* he was hungering, very-large expensive-meals appeared. Sometimes, *while* he was praying, a howling wolf and a snarling little-fox leaped-across *him*; *while* he was psalming, a fight of gladiators afforded a spectacle, and one, as-if having been killed and tumbling-altogether before his feet, asked for a burial.

Once he was praying with *his* head fixed in *the* earth, and, to where nature was carrying a human, *his* mind, having been led-away from *his* prayer, was unknowingly thinking about something else. An agitator leaped-onto his back, and, kicking *his* sides and lashing *his* neck with a whip, was remarking, “Come! Why are you sleeping?” Cackling from-overhead, he was seeking-to-know, if<sup>9</sup> he had been-deficient, or-whether he might be wishing to be accepting barley.

Accordingly, from *his* sixteenth up to his twentieth year of age,<sup>10</sup> he declined *the* heat and *rain* showers in a small little-hut, which he had covered-over with rush and sedge. Thereafter, he structured-out a small cell, with an altitude of five feet (which is lower than his stature), and in-turn somewhat more-ample in length. He sheared *the* hair-of-his-head once in a year, on *the* day of Passover. Up to *his* death, he was-accustomed-to-bed on rushes spread over *the* naked ground. At-no-time he did he wash a sack which he had once dressed-in; and he was saying it was superfluous to be seeking cleanliness in a goat-hair-covering. And he did not even change into an alternate tunic, if it was not *the* time when *the* prior one *he* was furnished with was rent. He, grasping *the* sacred writings from-memory too, after prayers and psalms, was reciting *them* as-if present with God.

<sup>1</sup> others “remaining in”  
<sup>2</sup> literally “with a grave pound”  
<sup>3</sup> literally “in”  
<sup>4</sup> literally “caught”  
<sup>5</sup> others “of women”  
<sup>6</sup> literally “aspect”  
<sup>7</sup> literally “in”  
<sup>8</sup> literally “splendoring”  
<sup>9</sup> others “when”  
<sup>10</sup> from about 307 to 311AD

When he was inhabiting *his* little-hut at *the* age of eighteen,<sup>11</sup> brigands came to him by night. Accordingly, they, running-to-and-fro between *the* sea and *the* swamp from evening up to *the* rising of *the* sun, were at-no-time able to be finding *the* location of his bed. In-turn, after they spotted *the* boy in *the* clear light, they remarked, as-if joking,<sup>12</sup> “What would you be doing if brigands would have come to you?”

*Hilarion* responded to them,<sup>13</sup> “A naked *man* is not fearing brigands.” And they declared to him, “Certainly you might be able to be being killed.” “I could,” he remarked, “I could. And for-that-reason, I am not fearing *the* brigands, because I have been prepared to be being made-to-die.”

Then they, having admired his constancy and faith, were confessing *their* wandering by night, how *their* eyes had been blinded; and they were pledging to thereafter lead a more-correct life. And after this, *Hilarion* would remain in solitude for many years.

## CHAPTER 50: TESTIMONY OF AGAPIOS [306-11-20]

Yet truly in *the* 4th year of the pursuit against the Christians, on *the* 12th day before *the* Kalends of December (which would be *the* 20th day of *the* month Dios),<sup>14</sup> on a day before-a-sabbath,<sup>15</sup> *the* chief of the tyrants, Maximinus Daia himself, came to the city of Caesarea of *Palaestina*. For on that day, he celebrated the festival of the day *which* is being said to be his birthday, having-a-fondness-for-achieving-honor by-means-of *providing* sights to the multitude. And *while* he was being-present, he boasted that he would exhibit something new to all the beholders who were gathered together<sup>16</sup> on his account.<sup>17</sup>

For the prior custom was, that at-the-time when kings were present,<sup>18</sup> to be affording the more ambitious<sup>19</sup> sights to the beholders than even at-any-other-time—both new and strange spectacles<sup>20</sup> taking-the-place<sup>21</sup> of the usual amusements, by which recitations, or listenings to new and strange music, or again also<sup>22</sup> sights of all sorts of animals<sup>23</sup> (the *ones* having been conveyed-in from out of India or Ethiopia or from-another-place), or men by-means-of certain artistic bodily-exercises, or the prowess of gladiators *are* demonstrating incredible gratifications-of-soul<sup>24</sup> in *the* theater<sup>25</sup> to the *ones* who *are* seeing *them*.

Therefore, it was necessary for him to afford<sup>26</sup> something more ambitious<sup>27</sup> and great and extraordinary than the usual amusements at this festival of *the* birthday of *the* king. (For in all the former things which he had exhibited, he had done nothing new.)

Now-consequently (a thing dear to him and acceptable to wicked tyrants), a testifier of God, of *the* Christian decree, was being led-past<sup>28</sup> into *the* middle. This was Agapios, a man distinguished for sobriety and forbearance of conduct.<sup>29</sup> Now he was the one who previously, simultaneously with Thekla, had been the second who was sentenced to be thrown-beside<sup>30</sup> beasts<sup>31</sup> in the theater, for-the-purpose-of<sup>32</sup> being given to *them* as food.<sup>33</sup> He<sup>34</sup> surely also at-other-times, for a third and even many-times more, had marched-in-procession to the stadium simultaneously with evil-workers. Yet truly, *time* after time,<sup>35</sup> the dealer-of-justice, after he gave threats, (either in-accordance-with pity or in-accordance-with a hope of *the* act that he would transfer his proposition) had perpetually reserved<sup>36</sup> him for himself for<sup>37</sup> different contests.

Surely then, *while* a king was additionally-being-present, they fetched the blessed Agapios, and he, as-though purposefully having been guarded for<sup>38</sup> that season, was led out. And they surely brought him around in mockery into *the* middle of the stadium. And a table with an inscription went before him, which bore no token of reproach except that he was a Christian.

<sup>11</sup> about 309AD  
<sup>12</sup> literally “as-if through a joke”  
<sup>13</sup> literally “which”  
<sup>14</sup> 306-11-20 AD  
<sup>15</sup> literally “a day of a pre-sabbath”  
<sup>16</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) “the multitudes in the theater”  
<sup>17</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) omit “on his account”  
<sup>18</sup> literally “time of kings”  
<sup>19</sup> literally “fond-of-honor”  
<sup>20</sup> literally “something-which-is-beheld”  
<sup>21</sup> literally “alternating”  
<sup>22</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr1) add  
<sup>23</sup> literally “living-creatures”  
<sup>24</sup> literally “leading-of-soul”  
<sup>25</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) add  
<sup>26</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) “display”  
<sup>27</sup> literally “loving-of-honor”  
<sup>28</sup> EusL(Syr1) (with EusS(Gk) adding “of *the* Christian decree”) “For in all...past” / EusL(Syr1) “as the former ones. At that time, he had done nothing which was wrong, suitable to the honor of his festival. But now—as a wicked tyrant, a thing dear to him and agreeable—he led a testifier past”  
<sup>29</sup> EusL(Gk-menea) / EusL(Syr1) “ornamented with all righteousness and meekness” / EusL(Syr2) “ornamented with all righteousness and meekness and chastity”  
<sup>30</sup> EusL(Syr1,Gk-menea-emption) / EusL(Gk-menea) “clothed with” / EusL(Syr2) omit “thrown...theater”  
<sup>31</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Gk-menea) “a beast”  
<sup>32</sup> literally “on-the-basis-of”  
<sup>33</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) “being condemned to be food for beasts”  
<sup>34</sup> literally “who”  
<sup>35</sup> literally “, through every time”  
<sup>36</sup> literally “put-above”  
<sup>37</sup> literally “into”  
<sup>38</sup> literally “into”

And a certain evildoer, a slave who had murdered his<sup>1</sup> master, entered<sup>2</sup> with the testifier of God, and they both alike received the same punishment.<sup>3</sup> One was a testifier for the God<sup>4</sup> of all, and the other was to die for the murder of his master. And yet the same sentence for evildoing was passed on both alike.<sup>5</sup>

Now this judge was Urbanus the leader (for he was still leader in Palaestina). But when Maximinus *Daia* arrived at the exhibition (which has been described above), he, as though to reward the prowess of Urbanus, increased his power of evil.<sup>6</sup> And after the murderer of his<sup>7</sup> master was thrown-beside the beasts, he had been deemed-worthy of both mercy and philanthropy and honor and freedom.. For the king philanthropically saved the blood-stained *man* who slaughtered his master from death and exempted him from all tortures. But at this, all the theater was resounding-forth with cries and good-declarations. But *while these things were happening, the king* gazed with joy on the testifier of God who was to be food for bears and leopards.<sup>8</sup>

Therefore, after they led the testifier Agapios around the stadium,<sup>9</sup> he, indeed, was first<sup>10</sup> called-up by the tyrant. Next, he was requested on-the-basis-of a promise<sup>11</sup> of freedom to deny his god and to give up his<sup>12</sup> proposition. But he thoroughly-testified with a great voice,<sup>13</sup> and<sup>14</sup> he said to all those who were gathered-together, “*All of you\** who are beholding this contest in which I am engaged:<sup>15</sup> *It is not for the sake of any trivial cause that I have come to this contest. For I am a testifier of the true teaching of God, and I am testifying to you\* all, in order that you\* might know and might worship*<sup>16</sup> the one and only God, and in order that you\* might know and might worship the rising-up which proceeds from him,<sup>17</sup> the Crafter of the heavens and of the earth.<sup>18</sup> And all that has come upon me for the sake of this name, I receive with a joyful mind. For they have not brought me down here against my wish, but it is of my own freewill that I stand *here* even into death. Moreover, I am contending for my faith, in order that I might give courage to those who are younger than myself, in order that they might despise death and might eagerly follow after life, scorning the Netherworld, in order that they might arrive safe at the kingdom, and, neglecting what is mortal, might call to mind the life of the Life-giver, and, not fearing the punishment which is but for moment, might fear those flames of fire which are inextinguishable.”<sup>19</sup>

Therefore, after the testifier of God had said this, crying out with a great voice and standing<sup>20</sup> in the middle of the stadium (as one confident and fearless),<sup>21</sup> the wicked tyrant was filled with rage and anger, and he ordered the beasts to be released upon him. But he, being full of courage and despising death, did not turn to the right hand nor to the left, but<sup>22</sup> he, with a brave heart, ran to meet the savage beasts straight-on. And a savage bear,<sup>23</sup> which had been released-from *its den*, rushed, foaming, upon him. But he very-jovially gave himself over to it for<sup>24</sup> feed. And it tore him with its teeth. After-that, while he was still-breathing, he was picked-up and again committed into the prison. After he also lived-on here for one day, on the subsequent *day*,<sup>25</sup> after stones were fastened to feet, his body was sunk-into-the-sea in the middle of the open-sea. And such was the testimony and the contest and the valor of Agapios.<sup>26</sup>

## CHAPTER 51: ACTS OF PHILEAS (part 1) [c. 306]

Now at this time, there was Phileas, overseer of the assembly of Timai but chief of Alexandria, a man *who* became-eminent *due* to both the politics and the public-services *which he rendered* throughout the fatherland, as-well-as in the accounts in-accordance-with a fondness-of-wisdom. But<sup>27</sup> he was led before the leader. Indeed, in the first verbal-defense, after many outrages by the leader and many turmoils and bone-rackings<sup>28</sup> by the legionaries above *the* fourth point,<sup>29</sup> he was thrown in the [prison] at Timai for two days. After-that, he, after he came-

<sup>1</sup> literally “the”

<sup>2</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) “, was condemned to be food for beasts”

<sup>3</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) “God, because the same sentence of death was passed on both alike”

<sup>4</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) “for his master, the king”

<sup>5</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) omit “of his master...both alike.”

<sup>6</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) “But the impious Maximinus was more rabid in his wickedness than the evil Urbbanus”

<sup>7</sup> literally “the”

<sup>8</sup> EusL(Gk-menea, Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) “for savage beasts”

<sup>9</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) “around in mockery”

<sup>10</sup> literally “former”

<sup>11</sup> literally “a professed-thing”

<sup>12</sup> literally “the”

<sup>13</sup> EusL(Syr1), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr2) omit “with a great voice”

<sup>14</sup> EusL(Syr2), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) omit “he thoroughly-testified” & “and”

<sup>15</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) omit “in which I am engaged”

<sup>16</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Gk-menea, Syr2) add

<sup>17</sup> EusL(Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) add

<sup>18</sup> EusL(Syr) / EusS(Gk) “of the whole *creation*”

<sup>19</sup> EusL(Syr1), supported by EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr2) omit “For they have not...inextinguishable.”

<sup>20</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) omit “and standing”

<sup>21</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) omit “as one confident and fearless”

<sup>22</sup> EusL(Syr2) omit “he, being full...but”

<sup>23</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusS(Gk) “a bear” / EusL(Syr2) “a ravenous wolf”

<sup>24</sup> literally “into”

<sup>25</sup> EusL(Syr2,Gk-menea), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) omit “on the subsequent *day*”

<sup>26</sup> EusL(Syr1) (“the contest...Agapios”) / EusL(Syr2) “the valiant contest of the renowned Agapios”

<sup>27</sup> Several paragraphs from the Acts of Phileas themselves only in a Greek fragmented manuscript.

<sup>28</sup> Conjectural restorations from gaps in the Greek manuscript are in [brackets].

<sup>29</sup> literally “bone-labors”

<sup>30</sup> usually translated “stinger”

around with his<sup>30</sup> [feet] naked [in] bonds, [ca]me [...] into Alex[andrea], and he was thrown into the [prison. ...]”<sup>31</sup>

After he was outraged and after he received strokes, he was not turned. Likewise, even at the third and fourth coming-before *the leader*, after many outrages and blows, Phileas heard, “You killed-off many *individuals* after you did not sacrifice. Pierios saved many after he became-subjected.”

Now while Phileas himself was in prison, many testimonies happened in Alexandria. For having **all** these examples and patterns and beautiful tokens laid before them in the divine and consecrated writings, not-one of the happy testifiers *who were* along with Phileas’ party were-on-the-brink of *denial*. But after they stretched the eyeballs of the soul cleanly toward the God *who is* upon all and after they received in *their* mind the death on-the-basis-of piety, they were holding<sup>32</sup> tightly to the calling: Indeed, after they found *that* our Lord Jesus *the* Anointed-One was *the one who* put-on-the-nature-of-a-human due to us, in order that, indeed, he might cut-out every sin, but might put-down for<sup>33</sup> us travel-supplies of the entrance<sup>34</sup> into the perpetual life. Due to this,<sup>35</sup> the Anointed-One-bearing testifiers, after they also became-zealous *about* the greater bestowed-favors, indeed endured every exertion and all-sorts-of intentions of torments, not once,<sup>36</sup> *but* instead already even a second *time* in some *instances*. But *while* the spearmen *were* having-fondness-for-achieving-honor *through* all *theirs* threats against them (not only in account, but instead even in works), they did not give-in to *their* torturers’ resolve due to the *fact* that the complete love is throwing<sup>37</sup> the fear outside.

For *while* a free-for-all<sup>38</sup> was being given to all the *ones who were* wishing to be heaping-outrages-upon them, indeed, the *ones* were hitting *them* with *pieces-of-wood*, but different *individuals* with sticks, but others with whips, but again different *individuals* with thongs, but others with little-rush-ropes. And the beholding of their torments was having been exchanged and having much of the evil in it. For the *ones*, after they were bound with both *their* hands behind *their back*, were being attached<sup>39</sup> around the wood, and, by-means-of certain winches, they were being stretched-to-the-utmost in every member. Next, in-this-way, the torturers (*from* out of a directive) were bringing-upon<sup>40</sup> *them* through all *their* body, not only upon the ribs (even-as *would be done* to the murderers), *but* instead they were even chastising the belly and lower-legs and cheeks by-means-of implements-of-defense. But different *individuals*, having been attached<sup>41</sup> from the portico *by* one hand, were being suspended, *while* the stretching of the sockets and members were having every more-terrible pain. But others were being bound with-their-face toward *and* against the columns, not having *their* feet touching,<sup>42</sup> but *having* the bonds being drawn-up with stretching by-means-of the weight of the body.

And they were enduring this, not as long as the leader was thoroughly-speaking-before *them* nor-either was being-at-leisure, *but* instead through almost<sup>43</sup> the whole day. For even when he was stepping-from *them* to different *places*, he was leaving-behind the assistants<sup>44</sup> with his authority to be sitting *in watch* upon the former *ones*, if *somehow* someone, after they were worsted by-means-of the tortures, was thought to be giving-in. But *while* he was unsparingly directing *for them* to be approaching even in the bonds, and *while* they were letting-their-soul-break-loose after *enduring* these *things*, he put them down into the earth to be being drawn *away*. For they *were* not to be *having* a part of concern about *the Christians* (if-ever *they* even *would*), *but* instead, to be thoroughly-comprehending and to be performing in-this-way as *if the Christians* were no-more. This was *the* second torture *which* the opponents founded in-addition-to<sup>45</sup> the strokes.

But the *ones* were, even after the torments, being laid on the wood, having been stretched-to-the-utmost *by* both *their* feet through the fourth<sup>46</sup> openings, as for them, according-to obligation, even to be on-their-back on the wood, not being-able to be holding *themselves upright* due to the freshness of the wounds from the strokes *inflicted* against *their* whole body. But different *individuals*, after they were cast into a *portion of the ground*, were being laid there under the amassed application<sup>47</sup> of the tortures. *This* was affording to the *ones who were* seeing *them* the sight<sup>48</sup> *which* was more-terrible *than* the operation *itself*, *the testifiers* bearing<sup>49</sup> in *their* bodies varied and diverse *marks* of the tortures of the

<sup>30</sup> literally “the”

<sup>31</sup> Two lines lost here.

<sup>32</sup> literally “having”

<sup>33</sup> literally “to”

<sup>34</sup> literally “way-into”

<sup>35</sup> literally “which”

<sup>36</sup> literally “not into once”

<sup>37</sup> literally “the *fact* for the complete love to be throwing”

<sup>38</sup> literally “relaxing/unfastening”

<sup>39</sup> literally “fastened-out”

<sup>40</sup> literally “leading-upon”

<sup>41</sup> literally “fastened-out”

<sup>42</sup> literally “stepping”

<sup>43</sup> literally “(almost)” “only not-surely”

<sup>44</sup> literally “the *ones* being made-to-be-assistants”

<sup>45</sup> literally “upon”

<sup>46</sup> few Eusebios, Rufinus / most Eusebios omit “fourth”

<sup>47</sup> literally “throw-to”

<sup>48</sup> literally “seeing”

<sup>49</sup> literally “bringing”

intention of the torturers. While having these things in-this-way, indeed, the ones were dying-off-in the tortures, after they put-to-shame the one-whom-they-were-wrestling-against-by-means-of their perseverance. But the half-dead-ones, while they were being locked-together in the prison, after not many days, were having been brought-to-their-finish, being oppressed by-means-of their pains. But the remaining ones, after they obtained the reacquisition from the treatment, were becoming courageous in the time and in the pastime of the guardhouse.

Accordingly, in-this-manner, at-the-time-when it had been ordered, while a choice was being laid out: Either, after one touched-upon the jinxed sacrifice, to be untroubled after he obtained the accursed freedom from them. Or, while not sacrificing, to be expecting the rightful-punishment onto death. After not-one was on-the-brink of whether to sacrifice or not, they were jovially holding<sup>1</sup> onto the death. For they had come-to-know the things which were foreordained by the consecrated writings. For it declares:

The one who is sacrificing to different gods will be utterly-ruined.<sup>2</sup>  
(Exodus 22:20)

And that:

There will not be different gods except me.  
(Exodus 20:3)

Now while Phileas was still existing under the prison assignment, he sent-by-letter to the brothers throughout his sojourn at Timai, showing<sup>3</sup> the conditions in which he was, but simultaneously urging them on onto the act to be holding<sup>4</sup> tightly to the reverence-for-God in the Anointed-One, even after he would be brought-to-his-finish.

## CHAPTER 52: MELITIOS ORDAINED ALLOTTED-ONES

Now at a certain period of Phileas' imprisonment, he was accompanied in the prison by three overseers of other assemblies throughout the neighboring regions: Hésuchios and Pakhom and Theodōros. But while they were in this state, Melitios, in their absence, entered into each of their sojourns and ordained allotted-ones to fill up the vacancies and deficiencies which they presently left behind in the assemblies. However, when reports of what Melitios was doing were brought to the testifiers in prison, four of the overseers wrote the following letter to Melitios, in which they rebuked him for not adhering to a human tradition which had been handed down to them by their predecessors, which they spoke of as if it were some sort of divine law approved by God:

{Hésuchios,<sup>5</sup> Pakhom, Theodōros, Phileas,  
To Melitios, beloved and fellow-minister\* in the Lord, greetings.

There are some words which we were being made-to-hear of you by certain persons who were coming-through to us, who announced things alien to<sup>6</sup> divine custom and assemblage regulation which are being tried, no, rather which are being done by<sup>7</sup> you—things which we would not-even be wishing to be welcoming with the ears, considering their audacity in magnitude and their uncertain tries. Therefore, we, in a simple rationalization, were estimating these words to be uncertain. But instead, since many who were coming-to us in the present times lent<sup>8</sup> some faith to these words and were not doubting to be contesting them to be facts, we, marveling-at this very much, have been<sup>9</sup> compelled to make this letter together to you. Furthermore, of-what-sort of commotion and grief this ordination (which was made by you in sojourns which are not pertaining to you even in-the-minutest-way) afforded to all of us, we are, furthermore, not having-the-valor to be saying. Nevertheless, we have not ceased, arguing against you by a little discourse.

There is a law of our fathers and forefathers (of which not-even you yourself are being-ignorant) which has been constituted following divine and assemblage order. For it is conjoined on-behalf-of the pleasure of God and the zeal of better things. From these<sup>10</sup> things themselves it has been constituted and fixed for it to not be being licensed for any overseer to be celebrating ordinations in alien sojourns—a law which is very wellingly great and having been invented with wisdom.

Since, first of all, it is-proper for the conversation and life of those who are being ordained to be being scrutinized scrupulously with great care; and second, that all confusion and turbulence might be being taken-away.<sup>11</sup> For one individual is scarcely able to be ruling his-own sojourn, and, with great solicitude and many thoughts, to be spotting

ministers\* with whom he has passed<sup>12</sup> all the time of his life and who have been educated up in his hands.

However, you, while considering none of these things; nor-even contemplating the future nor-even the law of our happy fathers and those having been welcomed by the Anointed-One through all the successions, nor-even the honor of Petros, our great overseer but-also father (on<sup>13</sup> whom we all are hanging through the hope which we are having in the Lord Jesus the Anointed-One); nor-even having been placated by our incarcerations and temptations and daily<sup>14</sup> but-also multiplied opprobriums, nor-even oppressions and constraints<sup>15</sup> with all things, have been-audacious<sup>16</sup> to be overturning all things at-once. What occasion of excuse will be relinquished to you on-behalf-of these things?

Instead, perhaps you will say, "I came-through to this, so that many might not be being dragged-away-from-below by the lack-of-faith of many, with the herds being-in-lack and having been desolated with no shepherd subsisting."

Instead, it is certain, that are not being-in-lack: First, because there are many who are going-around and are being-able to be visiting others. Second, even if some measure of neglect was moving toward them, it had been proper to be making-haste out of the populace and for us to be driving them forth by-means-of their merit. Instead, they were knowing that they were<sup>17</sup> not in-lack of ministers\*, and, for-that-reason, they did not come-through to make-petition to these individuals. They were knowing this, because either we were decommissioning them, admonishing them by-means-of this inquisition, or we did things, with all scrupulosity, which were seen to be useful. For it was done under censure,<sup>18</sup> and, in the hands having been constituted by probity, it was thought out.

However, you, at-that-time, while vilely considering the deceptions and empty words of certain individuals, after you crawled in under them secretly, are leaping-forward toward ordinations. For if those who were standing-around you were constraining<sup>19</sup> you, and, being-ignorant, were compelling an assemblage order, it had been proper for you, having followed the regulation, to be thoroughly-teaching us these things by letters, and so what was seen to be being-expedient would have been done.

If by chance, certain individuals who were speaking were persuading you that an end was<sup>20</sup> made of us (a thing of which not-even you yourself were ignorant, because there would have been many who were going and going-back to us who were being able to be visiting), if-even this might have been so, it was proper for you to be waiting-for<sup>21</sup> the judgment of the greater father and for his permission of the thing. Instead, you, thinking nothing of these things and hoping for something different, no-rather, not more-greatly having<sup>22</sup> care of us, have provided to the populace certain individuals who have been put-in-charge.

For we have already become-cognitive that there are also splits,<sup>23</sup> because your irrational ordination has displeased many. Not-even the word of the emissary Paulus (the most-happy provider<sup>24</sup> and one who was dressed-in the Anointed-One (the Anointed-One who is of all of us)) persuaded you to delay<sup>25</sup> toward this action, and to be easily restraining<sup>26</sup> your proposition. He,<sup>27</sup> having written to his very-acceptable son Timotheos, says,} "Do not be laying<sup>28</sup> hands on anyone too quickly, nor-even be communing-with sins of-another," (1 Timothy 5:22) {at-once demonstrating his-own provision<sup>29</sup> toward him and an example but-also a law, by which, with all scrupulosity and caution, individuals might be elected to the ordination. We are announcing this to you for-the-future, so that you might be studying to be making-firm<sup>30</sup> the sure and salutary terms of the regulation.}

When Melitios welcomed this letter and read it, he did not-even write-back, nor did he even proceed to the prison to them, nor did he even go to Petros, the chief-overseer of Alexandria.

<sup>12</sup> literally "gone-across"

<sup>13</sup> literally "out of"

<sup>14</sup> literally "of-every-day"

<sup>15</sup> literally "narrownesses"

<sup>16</sup> literally "are having been audacious"

<sup>17</sup> literally "knowing for them to be"

<sup>18</sup> literally "argument"

<sup>19</sup> literally "you were stringing you to"

<sup>20</sup> literally "you for an end to be"

<sup>21</sup> literally "expecting"

<sup>22</sup> literally "carrying"

<sup>23</sup> literally "cognitive for splits to be"

<sup>24</sup> may also be translated "foreseer"

<sup>25</sup> literally "stay"

<sup>26</sup> literally "containing"

<sup>27</sup> literally "who"

<sup>28</sup> literally "putting"

<sup>29</sup> may also be translated "foresight"

<sup>30</sup> literally "confirming"

<sup>1</sup> literally "having"

<sup>2</sup> literally "ruined-out"

<sup>3</sup> literally "putting-up"

<sup>4</sup> literally "having"

<sup>5</sup> This letter, originally composed in Greek, is only extant in a Latin translation.

<sup>6</sup> literally "from"

<sup>7</sup> literally "from"

<sup>8</sup> literally "imposed"

<sup>9</sup> literally "we are having been"

<sup>10</sup> literally "which"

<sup>11</sup> literally "brought-away"

CHAPTER 53: ACTS OF PHILEAS (part 2) [307-02-04]

A<sup>1</sup> verbal-defense of Phileas, overseer of Timai, *who* was led for the fifth time to the court and was afterward brought-to-his-finish.

After he was called for the fifth time, simultaneously with the body-of-priests along with him to the number of twenty, Phileas heard from Culcianus the leader,<sup>2</sup> "Are you able<sup>3</sup> for the remaining time to be {being-sound}-mined already?"

Phileas spoke, "I am {perpetually being-sound}-minded, and I am [gymnastically]-training myself<sup>4</sup> in sound-[mindedness]."

The leader spoke, "Sacrifice to some gods."

Phileas spoke, "{I am} not {sacrificing}."

{Culcianus} spoke, "{Due to what reason?"

{Phileas spoke, "Because the sacred and divine writings say, 'The one who is sacrificing to any gods except the Lord alone will be ruined with death.'"

{Culcianus spoke, "Be sacrificing to the Lord alone." (Exodus 22:20)

{Phileas spoke, "I am not sacrificing. For God is not desiring sacrifices in such-a-way. For the sacred and divine writings say, 'What is a multitude of your\* sacrifices to me? says the Lord. I am full of holocausts of rams. And I am not wanting suet of lambs and blood of male-goats. And do not be offering fine-flour.'"<sup>6</sup> (Isaiah 1:11-13)

{However, one of the attorneys spoke, "Are you now being judged because of fine-flour? Or are you are agonizing on-behalf-of your soul?"

{Culcianus spoke, "Now be sacrificing."

{Phileas spoke, "I am not sacrificing. For I have never learned how."

{Culcianus spoke, "Did not Paulus sacrifice?"

{Phileas spoke, "No. I wish it would not be coming-to-be."

{Culcianus spoke, "Did not Moses sacrifice?"

3 {Phileas spoke, "To the Judeans alone it had been commanded to be sacrificing in} Jerusalem to God<sup>7</sup> alone. Even now the Hebrews<sup>8</sup> are breaking-the-law, leading their religion in a land belonging-to-another-type-of-people."<sup>9</sup>

Culcianus the leader<sup>10</sup> spoke, "Therefore, what-kind of sacrifices is the god needing?"<sup>11</sup>

Phileas spoke, "A clean {heart} and a pris[tine] s[oul] and a rational object-of-sensation which are lead[ing] into piety and works of righteousness<sup>12</sup> {are the sacrifices which God needs."<sup>13</sup>

{Culcianus spoke, "Now be sacrificing."

{Phileas spoke, "I am not sacrificing."

Culcianus {spoke}, "Are we making care here for a soul?"

Phileas spoke, "Yes, for soul and body."

Culcianus spoke, "For-the-sake of what?"

Phileas spoke, "I spoke, in order that you might receive in-that-place the recompense from God for [the things which] it did-well."

4 Culcianus spoke, "[The] soul alone, or even the body?"

Phileas spoke, "The soul and the body."<sup>14</sup>

Culcianus spoke, "This body?"

Phileas spoke, "Yes."

Culcianus spoke, "This flesh is being stood-up?" He, being struck-down with astonishment spoke back-again, "This flesh is being stood-up?"

Phileas [spoke], "This flesh is being stood-up [...] in sinners [...] for chastisement [...] for righteousness [...] and for a [per]petual life."

Culcianus spoke, "Spare yourself and all the ones with you. Sacrifice."

Phileas spoke, "While sparing myself and all the ones pertaining to me, I am not sacrificing."<sup>15</sup>

Culcianus spoke to him,<sup>16</sup> "Did not Paulus deny?"

5 Phileas spoke, "No.<sup>17</sup> I wish it would not be coming-to-be."

Culcianus spoke, "Who is the one who denied?"

Phileas spoke, "I am not saying."

Culcianus spoke, "I am adjuring to<sup>18</sup> you. Paulus was the one who denied."

Phileas spoke, "I wish it would not be coming-to-be. The emissary of my Lord did not deny."<sup>19</sup>

Culcianus spoke, "I swore. And you: swear."

Phileas spoke, "It has not been consented<sup>20</sup> to us to be swearing. For the consecrated and divine<sup>21</sup> writings are saying, 'Let your "yes" be being "yes" and your "no" "no".'" (Matthew 5:37/Jacob 5:12)

Culcianus spoke, "Therefore, you swore not-even-at-any-time?"

Phileas spoke, "If I even swore, I sinned."

Culcianus spoke, "And now, sin."

Phileas spoke, "There are diversities of sins."<sup>22</sup>

Culcianus spoke, "Was Jesus<sup>23</sup> a god?"

6 Phileas spoke, "Yes."

Culcianus spoke, "And how it is that did he not speak about himself, that he was a god?"

Phileas spoke, "Because he was not needing this testimony, doing the things of God with powers and energies."

Culcianus spoke, "What did he do?"<sup>24</sup>

Phileas spoke, "He cleansed leprous persons. He made blind persons to be looking, deaf persons to be hearing, lame persons to be walking-around, speechless persons to be uttering. He made withered<sup>25</sup> persons healthy. He, while directing, drove-out demons from the persons who-were-fashioned. He made paralyzed persons healthy. He returned dead persons to-life.<sup>26</sup> And he made many other signs and portents."

Culcianus spoke, "And how was he, being a god, crucified?"

7 Phileas spoke, "He had [come-to] know, that with the [...] that he was to be whipped and was to be slapped and [...]. And he wears a crown out of thorns, and suffers death, affording to us an example of the salvation even in this. And he, having come-to-know, gave himself into this in-behalf of us. And [due to] this he has [...] For<sup>27</sup> The sacred<sup>28</sup> writings (on {which} the Judeans are fixing themselves but are not fixing themselves)<sup>29</sup> are pre-informing us of his way-down and his [death] and all [...] was being-here as [...] <sup>30 31</sup> {Therefore, whoever wishes, might be coming and might be looking-at them, if they are not so having these things contained in them."

{Culcianus spoke, "You will remember that I have honored you. For I would have been able to have injured you in your-own civil-community. However, I, wishing to be honoring you, did not do so."

{Phileas spoke, "I am giving<sup>32</sup> thanks to you. And here, be executing<sup>33</sup> the perfect favor."

{Culcianus spoke, "What are you desiring?"

{Phileas spoke, "Be making-use-of your severity. Be doing what you have been directed."<sup>34</sup>

{Culcianus spoke, "Are you wishing to be made-to-die in-this-manner without cause?"

{Phileas spoke, "Not without cause, but instead for God and for truth."

{Culcianus spoke, "Is Paulus a god?"

{Phileas spoke, "No."

8 {Culcianus} spoke, "Instead, who was he?"

{Phileas spoke, "He was}<sup>35</sup> a human {similar to us.} For<sup>36</sup> a {divine} spirit {was in him}. {And in virtues by a spirit, he was making signs and portents.}<sup>37</sup>

{Culcianus spoke, "Was Paulus not a persecutor?"

{Phileas spoke, "No. I wish it would not be coming-to-be."

Culcianus spoke, "Was he<sup>38</sup> not a plebeian<sup>39</sup> who was thoroughly-saying things in-Syria?"<sup>40</sup>

Phileas spoke, "For<sup>41</sup> He was Hebrew and first of preachers,<sup>42</sup> and he was thoroughly-saying<sup>43</sup> things in-Hellenic being first of Hellenes."<sup>44</sup>

Culcianus spoke, "Was he not a plebeian?"<sup>45</sup> Surely he was not in-accordance-with Platōn?"<sup>46</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Gk / Lat "commanded"

<sup>21</sup> Gk / Lat omit "and divine"

<sup>22</sup> Gk / Lat omit "Culcianus spoke, "Therefore you swore...of sins."

<sup>23</sup> Gk / Lat "Was the Anointed-One"

<sup>24</sup> Gk ("for Culcianus spoke, "And how it is...he do?") / Lat "Culcianus spoke, "In-whatever-way are you having been persuaded of him that he was a god?"

<sup>25</sup> literally "dry"

<sup>26</sup> Gk / Lat "He made blind persons to be seeing, deaf persons to be hearing; he cured leprous persons, he resuscitated dead persons; he granted mute persons to be uttering, and he healed many infirmities. A woman having a flow touched the fringe of his vestment and he is having been healed."

<sup>27</sup> Gk ("He had...in this.") / Lat "Due to our salvation he is having been crucified. And he indeed was knowing that he was to be crucified and to suffer outrages. And he gave himself to be suffering all things due to us. For"

<sup>28</sup> Gk / Lat add

<sup>29</sup> Gk / Lat add

<sup>30</sup> Gk ("are pre-informing...as [...]") / Lat "had predicted these things."

<sup>31</sup> Three lines lost here, which are somewhat restored in the Latin.

<sup>32</sup> literally "moving"

<sup>33</sup> literally "standing-to"

<sup>34</sup> literally "you are having been directed"

<sup>35</sup> Lat / Gk "[A f]irst" (?)

<sup>36</sup> Gk / Lat "Instead"

<sup>37</sup> Lat / Gk "And [di]vine powers [...] the [...] he makes in divine power [...]."

<sup>38</sup> Gk / Lat "Paulus"

<sup>39</sup> literally "idiot"

<sup>40</sup> Gk / Lat "plebeian? Was he not a Syrian? Was he not disputing in-Syria?"

<sup>41</sup> Gk / Lat add

<sup>42</sup> Gk / Lat omit "and first of preachers"

<sup>43</sup> Gk / Lat "disputing"

<sup>44</sup> Gk / Lat "Hellenic, and he was having wisdom higher before all persons"

<sup>45</sup> literally "idiot" Gk / Lat omit "Was he not a plebeian?"

<sup>46</sup> Gk / Lat "Perhaps you will say that he was also advancing-above Platōn?"

<sup>1</sup> Survives only in a Greek fragmented manuscript and in a later Latin translation. The Latin translation is interpolated at some points and abridged at others. Parts restored from the Latin manuscript are in {} and conjectural restorations from gaps in the Greek manuscript are in [].

<sup>2</sup> Gk ("A verbal-defense...leader") / Lat "After Phileas was laid-upon above the prisoner's-dock, Culcianus the leader said to him"

<sup>3</sup> literally "May you be being-able"

<sup>4</sup> Gk / Lat "I am spending my time"

<sup>5</sup> Two lines lost here. Restored from Latin, though the Latin seems to have expanded much.

<sup>6</sup> Quotation restored from LXX version.

<sup>7</sup> Gk / Lat add

<sup>8</sup> Gk / Lat "Judeans"

<sup>9</sup> Gk / Lat "are now sinning, celebrating their solemnities in other locations."

<sup>10</sup> Gk / Lat add

<sup>11</sup> Gk / Lat "god delighting in"

<sup>12</sup> Gk / Lat "A clean heart, and a sincere sensings, and true words"

<sup>13</sup> One and a half lines lost here. / Restored from Latin (with "God delights in" emended to "needs")

<sup>14</sup> Gk / Lat omit "Culcianus spoke, "For the sake of what...and the body" (scribal error?)

<sup>15</sup> Gk (for "He, being struck-down...sacrificing") / Lat only "Phileas spoke, "It is so."

<sup>16</sup> Gk / Lat add

<sup>17</sup> Gk / Lat add

<sup>18</sup> literally "in"

<sup>19</sup> Gk / Lat omit "Culcianus spoke, "Who is the one...not deny."

Phileas spoke, “Nevertheless, he was advancing-above<sup>1</sup> Platōn.<sup>2 3</sup> {Instead, furthermore, he was more-prudent *than all of them* conjoined. For he even swayed wise-men. And if you are wishing, I will speak} his voice {to you.}

9 Culcianus spoke, “Now<sup>4</sup> Sacrifice [to some gods].”

Phileas spoke, “[I am] not {sacrificing} [to some gods].”<sup>5</sup>

Culcianus spoke, “Is there a conscience?”

Phileas spoke, “Yes.

He spoke back-again, “Is there a conscience?”

Phileas spoke, “What I spoke *before*, there is.”<sup>6</sup>

Culcianus spoke, “Due to what *reason* are {you not guarding} {your}<sup>7</sup> conscience toward {your sons} and your woman.”

Phileas spoke, “{Because my} conscience {toward God} is leading-forward *before* all.<sup>8</sup> {For the sacred and<sup>9</sup> divine} writing {says,<sup>10</sup> ‘You will love the Lord your God who made you.’”} (Barnabas 19:2)

Culcianus spoke, “{Which god}{...}?”<sup>11</sup>

10 Phileas, after he lifted {his}<sup>12</sup> hands into the heaven, {spoke}, “The god, the *one who* made {the heaven} and the earth and the seas and all the *things* in them, {the creator and maker of all *things*, the}<sup>13</sup> invisible *one*,<sup>14</sup> the {unseducible}, unturning, incomprehensible-on-all-sides, to whom even all the creation is being-enslaved and is yielding and is [laying]-under<sup>15</sup> {and who alone is and is being-permanent into the ages of the ages. May it be.}”<sup>16</sup>

{While Phileas was uttering very-many *things*, the attorneys were prohibiting, saying to him, “Why are you resisting *the leader*?”

{Phileas spoke, “I am responding to what he is interrogating me.”

{Culcianus spoke, “Now be sacrificing.”

{Phileas spoke, “I am not sacrificing. I am sparing my soul, since Christians are not *the* only ones *who* are sparing their souls. For *in* truth, even *those of the nations are*. Be accepting *the* example of Sōkratēs. When he was being led to death, *while* his mate and sons *were* standing-near, he was not reverted.<sup>17</sup> Instead, he promptly welcomed *his* fall.}”

[Culcianus spoke:...]<sup>18</sup>

11 [Phileas] spoke, “Not irrationally, *but* instead taking-care of myself.”<sup>19</sup>

Culcianus spoke, “I am granting a benefit *as a favor* to your brother. And **you:** grant this *as a favor* to me.”<sup>20</sup>

Phileas spoke, “I am requesting this complete good-work<sup>21</sup> for myself: the *act* to make-use-of the severity, and *that* you might do the *thing which* has been directed to you *to do*.”

Culcianus spoke, “Indeed, if you were someone in-accordance-with the field-dwelling *ones* {and} *one who* has given themselves over due to indigence, I would be tolerating you.<sup>22</sup> But since you have even obtained an adequate surplus, as not only to nourish yourself *but* instead to even administer a whole city. Due to this, after you spare yourself, sacrifice.”<sup>23</sup>

12 Phileas spoke, “I am not sacrificing.”

The attorneys<sup>24</sup> having stood-by declared,<sup>25</sup> “He sacrificed in the judgment-hall.”

Phileas spoke, “I certainly<sup>26</sup> did not sacrifice. And if I sacrificed, let the leader be saying *so*.”

And after he himself was not fashioned-differently but-neither was turned-back, the attorneys and all the ranks simultaneously with the accountant begged for the leader to give to him a period-of-consideration.”<sup>27</sup>

Culcianus spoke, “Are you wanting *for us* to give to you a period-of-consideration?”<sup>28</sup>

<sup>1</sup> literally “bringing-over”

<sup>2</sup> Gk / Lat “Not only Platōn”

<sup>3</sup> Three and a half lines lost here. Restored from Latin.

<sup>4</sup> Gk / Lat add

<sup>5</sup> Gk / Lat omit the bracketed portions here, even though the letters are damaged in the Greek manuscript

<sup>6</sup> Gk / Lat omit “He spoke back-again...there is”

<sup>7</sup> probably literally “

<sup>8</sup> Gk / Lat “is more-eminent”

<sup>9</sup> Gk / Lat add

<sup>10</sup> One and a half lines lost here. Restored from Latin.

<sup>11</sup> Lat omits the bracketed portion here, even though the letters are damaged in the Greek manuscript

<sup>12</sup> Gk is probably literally “the” / Lat “his”

<sup>13</sup> Latin is longer than the gap allowed in the Greek manuscript. Therefore the Latin adds something not original at this point.

<sup>14</sup> Gk / Lat “of all *things which are* invisible”

<sup>15</sup> Gk / Lat omit “incomprehensible...under”

<sup>16</sup> Restored from Latin. The Greek was much longer here.

<sup>17</sup> literally “he is not having been reverted”

<sup>18</sup> Restored from the Latin. Greek is missing many lines here with only very miniscule letters remaining. Some remark

of Culcianus is obviously lost here, which is not preserved in the Latin. The extant Greek for this section (following

“[laying]-under”) is “[...] and [...] and [...] **mine** [...] of all [...] nevertheless [...] answer [...] spoke [...]”

<sup>19</sup> Gk / Lat omit “Phileas spoke...of myself.”

<sup>20</sup> Gk / Lat omit “And you: grant this *as a favor* to me.”

<sup>21</sup> Gk / Lat “favor”

<sup>22</sup> Gk / Lat “spoke, “If I might have been knowing for you that you were indigent and in-this-manner had come in this mindlessness, I would not be sparing you.”

<sup>23</sup> Gk / Lat “Due to this, I am sparing you, and I am swaying you to be sacrificing.”

<sup>24</sup> literally “court-of-justice-accounter” (also for rest of chapter)

<sup>25</sup> Gk / Lat “attorneys said to the leader”

<sup>26</sup> Gk / Lat add

<sup>27</sup> literally “a watching-out” (also in next line)

<sup>28</sup> Gk (“And after he himself...consideration”) / Lat “Culcianus spoke, “Your miserable wife is intent-upon you.” Phileas spoke, “The Lord Jesus the Anointed-One is *the* savior of all of our spirits, whom I am serving

Phileas spoke, “I considered<sup>29</sup> many-times, and I have chosen this *beforehand*.”

And on *hearing* this, the attorneys and the ranks simultaneously with the accountant and with all his kinsmen were clasping his feet and<sup>30</sup> were begging the happy Phileas, persuading *him* so-that *he was* to be yielding to the *things which* were directed. And *while* he himself *was* not being turned-back, they were throwing him, overturning *him* as if he would consider<sup>31</sup> *this* for himself<sup>32</sup> {asking him, so that he might be having respect for *his* wife and might be welcoming care for *his* freemen. That *man was* even-as if *he were* a wave bruising an immobile boulder. He rejected<sup>33</sup> *their* sayings of chatter, having God in *his* eyes, leading *the* emissaries and testifiers as if *they were* his parents and kinsmen.

{At-that-time a Roman tribune, Philorōmos by name, was being-present}, *who was* having a principality (not of the usual *sort*) of the royal administration throughout Alexandria put-into-his-hands, and who, with the worthiness and the honor of *the* Romans, was examining *cases* for himself each day *while* being attended by soldiers *who were acting as* spearmen.

{After this *man* had seen Phileas (having been surrounded by *the* tears of *his* kinsmen, *but* nevertheless, not-even able to be broken), he exclaimed, saying, “Why are *all of you*\* empty and frustratingly tempting the constancy of *this* man? Why are you\* wishing to be effecting him who is faithful to his god to be unfaithful? You\* are not-then seeing that his eyes are not seeing your\* tears, that his ears are not hearing your\* words, because his eyes are gazing-on *the* glory of *the* heaven?”

{After he spoke this, they, after they conjointly turned their anger against<sup>34</sup> Philorōmos, begged<sup>o</sup> for him to be going-under one and *the* same sentence with Phileas. *While* he was gladly nodding-to *this* judging, he directed<sup>o</sup> both to be being smitten by *the* sword.

{Whensoever they had gone-out and were going to *the* accustomed place of cutting, Phileas’ brother (who was one of<sup>35</sup> *the* attorneys) exclaimed, saying, “Phileas is petitioning for an abolition.”

{While Culcianus was recalling him, he said, “What? Did you appeal?”

{Phileas spoke, “I did not appeal. *I wish* it would not be coming-to-be. Do not be wishing to be intent-upon this unhappy *man*. However, **I** am giving<sup>36</sup> great thanks to *the* kings and to *the* leader since I have been made a coheir of *the* Anointed-One Jesus.”

{After this, Phileas went-out. Whensoever they had come-through to *the* place in-which they were to be jugulated, Phileas extended his hands to *the* east, and he exclaimed, saying, “My dearest little-sons, whichever of you\* are seeking God, be being-vigilant to your\* hearts, because our adversary is walking-around as a roaring lion, seeking for someone to swallow. We are not-yet having suffered. Now we are starting to be suffering. Now we are beginning to be disciples of *the* Anointed-One. Dearest-ones, be paying-attention to the precepts of our Lord Jesus *the* Anointed-One. May we be invoking *the* immaculate incomprehensible *one* who is sitting above *the* cherubs, *the* maker of all *things*, who is *the* beginning and *the* end, to whom *is* glory into *the* ages of the ages. May it be.”

After he had said this, *the* executioners, following-out *the* directions of *the* judge, after they cut *their* napes with iron, put-to-flight *the* indefatigable spirits of both *men* on *the* 2nd day before *the* Nones of February.<sup>37</sup>

Also about this time, Hésuchios and Pakhom and Theodōros (overseers of the Egyptians assemblies, who had been imprisoned along with Phileas) were brought-to-their-finish, as-well-as, besides *the* men, tens-of-thousands of other translucent *individuals* who are being remembered by the sojourns throughout *every* country and place throughout *the* whole of Egypt and Thébais.

## CHAPTER 54: EXCOMMUNICATION OF MELITIOS

However, after all these overseers and elders and ministers (including Phileas and Hésuchios and Pakhom and Theodōros) suffered for *their* testimony at *the* prison in Alexandria, and after Petros (chief-overseer of Alexandria) fled due to the present persecution<sup>38</sup> *while* he was leading the assembly of the Alexandreians and left the assembly seemingly vacant of an overseer, Melitios (an overseer of one of the cities in Egypt) had<sup>39</sup> straightaway entered Alexandria in order to ordain allotted-ones to fill up the vacant positions of the rest of the allotted-ones.

However, in *the* civil-community, there was a certain *man*, Isidōros by name, and also a certain Areios. When these *men* became-cognitive of Melitios’ desire and what it was which he would be requiring, they were helping Melitios and were performing-together with him. And, *so* that Melitios’ desire would be being

in fetters. He himself who called me into *the* inheritance of his glory is being able to also be calling her.” *The* attorneys said to the leader, “Phileas is petitioning for a period-of-consideration.” Culcianus spoke to Phileas, “I am giving to you a period-of-consideration, so that you might be thinking about *this*.”

<sup>29</sup> literally “watched-out”

<sup>30</sup> Gk / Lat add

<sup>31</sup> literally “watch-out”

<sup>32</sup> Gk / Lat omit “were begging...for himself”

<sup>33</sup> literally “spewed-back”

<sup>34</sup> literally “in”

<sup>35</sup> literally “out of”

<sup>36</sup> literally “moving”

<sup>37</sup> (307)-02-04

<sup>38</sup> literally “the then persecution”

<sup>39</sup> literally (“had”) “is having”

becoming-cognitive, they pointed-out<sup>1</sup> to Melitios *where the elders* (to whom Petros had given power to be visiting *the sojourns of Alexandria*) *were* hiding. *While* Melitios was commending *an occasion* to them, he separated them; and he himself ordained two *individuals*: one in *the prison* and one in *the mine*.

Now after Petros heard, he, acknowledging these *things*, with much patience, wrote this following letter to *the populace of Alexandria*:

{Petros,<sup>2</sup> to you\*, beloved brothers, *who are* being-stable in *the* faith of God. I greet you\* in *the* Lord.

Since I have become-cognitive *that* Melitios *is doing* nothing for usefulness<sup>3</sup> (who was not pleased with *the* letter of *the* most-happy overseers and testifiers) *but* instead, over-and-above, after he entered my sojourn, to have assumed so-much to himself, *so* that, furthermore, he might be trying to be separating *from* out of my authority: elders, and *those* who had been<sup>4</sup> permitted to be visiting *those who were* being-in-lack; and (as an indication of his lust in the principality) to have ordained certain *individuals* to himself in *the* prison. *All of you\**, do not only be observing this,<sup>5</sup> *but* may you\* not *even* be communing with him till I might *have an opportunity* to be going-to-meet him with *some* wise men, and might be seeing *what these things* are which he has thought. Be faring-well.}

After Melitios was convicted by them on-the-basis-of many lawbreakings and other crimes, Petros took *him down from his position* in a common meeting<sup>6</sup> of the overseers. One of these accusations was nothing more than a slander, that he, after he denied the faith, had sacrificed during the persecution—a charge which was absolutely unfounded and without any evidence whatsoever (and was eventually dropped, though much later was revived by Athanasios (who later became overseer of Alexandria)). Therefore, he and his followers were thrown-out by Petros.

Instead, Melitios did not flee-for-refuge to a different meeting, nor even make-effort to verbally-defend himself to *the ones* after these. But after he was being shamed due to his demolition,<sup>7</sup> he, having many followers to him, made a split. And until now, the *ones* of that *man*'s party are being named 'Melitians' and 'splitters' and 'enemies of the assembly' instead of Christians by their opponents. He straightaway began to bringing accusations against both the overseers and Petros himself, that he himself had been treated-unrighteously in having been separated *from* the assembly.

Now Areios, after he left-behind the decree of Melitios, was voted-by-raise-of-hands to be a minister by Petros, the overseer of *the Alexandrians*. And once again, he was thrown-out of the assembly by him, in-view-of-the-fact-that, after Petros preached-away the partisans<sup>8</sup> of Melitios and was not accepting<sup>9</sup> their immersion, *Areios* was denouncing<sup>10</sup> the *things* which were coming-to-be and was not tolerating *himself* to be keeping-quiet.

## CHAPTER 55: TESTIMONY OF THEODOSIA [307-04-02]

But, indeed, the pursuit against the Christians<sup>11</sup> was already being prolonged<sup>12</sup> even into *the 5th* year. But it was *the 2nd day* of *the* month Xanthikos (but which is *the 4th day* before *the* Nones of April),<sup>13</sup> in *the* very Lord's Day of the standing-up of our Savior. And back-again in Caesarea, *there was* a certain consecrated and faithful and solemn and all-holy little-maiden of the *ones* from Zor *who were* remaining-virgins in *Jesus*, the boy of God,<sup>14</sup> *who was* not-even a full<sup>15</sup> eighteen years *old*, *whose name was* Theodosia. Now *there were* certain prisoners<sup>16</sup> *who* themselves *were* confessors of a god and confessing the kingdom of the Anointed-One, *who were* having sat themselves down before the leader's court-of-justice. For they were also going to be standing-beside the dealer-of-justice, especially at-once. She, being-friendly-minded-toward *them*, approached<sup>17</sup> *them and she greeted them*.<sup>18</sup> At-the-same-time,<sup>19</sup> she was also exhorting *them* to be being reminded of her<sup>20</sup> already after they obtained the goal and came-to-be near the Lord.

<sup>1</sup> literally "demonstrated"

<sup>2</sup> This letter, originally composed in Greek, is only extant in a Latin translation.

<sup>3</sup> literally "nothing through utility"

<sup>4</sup> literally "who were having been"

<sup>5</sup> literally "that"

<sup>6</sup> literally "together-way", usually translated "junction" (also later in this section)

<sup>7</sup> literally "due to the taking-down"

<sup>8</sup> literally "effortful-ones"

<sup>9</sup> literally "being-toward"

<sup>10</sup> literally "making-lean-on"

<sup>11</sup> EusL(Gk) ("against...Christians") / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) "of the day of the Christians"

<sup>12</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "already prolonged itself" / EusS(Gk) "already prolonged"

<sup>13</sup> 307-04-02 AD

<sup>14</sup> EusL(Gk,Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) "who were Christian virgins"

<sup>15</sup> literally "whole"

<sup>16</sup> EusL(Gk,Syr2), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) omit "prisoners"

<sup>17</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) "went-toward"

<sup>18</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) add

<sup>19</sup> literally "Unitedly"

<sup>20</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) "exhorting *them* in-behalf of *the act* to be remembering her"

But since she performed this (as-though she had accomplished<sup>21</sup> something out-of-line<sup>22</sup> and unsacred and impious), soldiers<sup>23</sup> immediately violently-seized her,<sup>24</sup> also leading her to the leader<sup>25</sup> Urbanus. For he was still then managing the principality of *the Palaestianians*.

Instead, after this *man* suffered something *from this woman*, he, as-though the maiden had treated *him* unrighteously with the greatest *offense*, was at-once immediately filled-up with fury and rabidness as-if-he-were someone in-a-state-of-madness. He also ordered her to be sacrificing.

Since he was finding her throwing-her-head-back,<sup>26</sup> this *man*, who was beast-like in his<sup>27</sup> fury, *all the* more put terrible and most-shuddering tortures upon her: down the sides and down the breasts with cruel combs.<sup>28</sup> The unmerciful-one was also progressing inside *even until the* very bones themselves and bowels,<sup>29</sup> punishing the girl persistently, *while* she was accepting the tortures with silence.

But *while* she was still breathing-in-and-out, he was asking *her* to be sacrificing *while* inciting *her* to *this*. But she parted her<sup>30</sup> mouth. And after she looked-toward *him* with her<sup>31</sup> sharp and staring eyes,<sup>32</sup> standing with a little-smile-on *her* reveling and beaming face (she herself was also flowering-upon the summit of her<sup>33</sup> beauty), she declared with a great voice,<sup>34</sup> "Why are you surely misleading yourself, O human, not having come-to-know *that* I am now performing<sup>35</sup> in-accordance-with *my* prayers at your hands,<sup>36</sup> when I am rejoicing greatly that<sup>37</sup> I was deemed-worthy to obtain a communion of the sufferings<sup>38</sup> of the testifiers of God? For it was for this very reason that I stood up and spoke with them, in order that, by some means or other, they might make me their fellow-sufferer, so that, even in the kingdom of heaven, I, with them, might receive a portion.<sup>39</sup> Because while I was remote from their afflictions, I was not able to have communion in their salvation. Therefore, behold, at this present time, how, on account of the recompense to come, I now<sup>40</sup> stand before you with great exultation,<sup>41</sup> because I have found the means to approach my God, even<sup>42</sup> before those righteous men,<sup>43</sup> whom, but a little while ago, I besought to be my advocates."<sup>44</sup>

But since the *man*,<sup>45</sup> having become-conscious *that* he became *the* laughter of the maiden, as-well-as being no-longer *able* to have her being tormented with tortures greater than the former *ones*, condemned *her*, ordering *her* to be thrown-in<sup>46</sup> the surges of the depths-of-the-sea.

But after he discharged himself from<sup>47</sup> this *woman*, he stepped-away-from *her* and went onto the remaining confessors, of whose cause the maiden has performed *these things*. But all the *confessors* were unitedly delivered to the mines of bronze throughout Punon (which *the* Romans call Phaino) of Palaestina (that is, Israel), after he spoke not-one *word* but-neither put *any* obligation upon *them*.

For the *woman*<sup>48</sup> fighting-ahead of **all** of *them*, after she took-up their exertions for herself as it were on a shield,<sup>49</sup> and after she paralyzed the cruel<sup>50</sup> dealer-of-justice by-means-of vigor and stamina of soul, brought<sup>51</sup> him down *into* a terrified *state*, even in-regards-to the *men* who came after this *woman*. It was a Lord's day,<sup>52</sup> on<sup>53</sup> which these *events* were performed at Caesarea.

## CHAPTER 56: TESTIMONY OF BARLAHAM [08-04] & SUICIDE OF PELAGIA [10-08]

Now about this time, in a certain year, among the *Christians* at Antiocheia, there were some who were being well-baked<sup>54</sup> in hearths of fire—not into death, *but* instead on-the-basis-of a long *time*.

<sup>21</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) "worked"

<sup>22</sup> literally "out-of-institute"

<sup>23</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) "questioners"

<sup>24</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) "snatched her away"

<sup>25</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Syr1,Syr2) / EusL(Gk) omit "the leader"

<sup>26</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "finding that, though she was a girl, she refused like a heroine to obey the imperial command"

<sup>27</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr2) "finding that the heroine refused to obey the imperial command"

<sup>28</sup> literally "the"

<sup>29</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) add

<sup>30</sup> EusL(Gk) + EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) "progressed so that her bowels were seen. And her ribs were scraped."

<sup>31</sup> literally "the"

<sup>32</sup> literally "the"

<sup>33</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) "And she raised her eyes and looked"

<sup>34</sup> literally "the"

<sup>35</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) add

<sup>36</sup> literally "know for me to be now performing"

<sup>37</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) add

<sup>38</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) add

<sup>39</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) add

<sup>40</sup> EusL(Gk,Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) add "For it was...portion."

<sup>41</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) omit "now"

<sup>42</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) "stand and with all my soul confess God"

<sup>43</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) omit "my God, even"

<sup>44</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) "those confessors"

<sup>45</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) add "Because while...advocates."

<sup>46</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "the wicked judge" / EusL(Syr2) "the wicked man"

<sup>47</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Syr1,Syr2) / EusL(Gk) omit "to be thrown-in"

<sup>48</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) "out of"

<sup>49</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr2) "the maiden" / EusL(Syr1) "this holy maiden"

<sup>50</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) add

<sup>51</sup> literally "raw"

<sup>52</sup> literally "stood"

<sup>53</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "was on the first day of the week"

<sup>54</sup> literally "during"

<sup>55</sup> literally "baked-down"

But different *individuals* were letting-down *their* right-hand *into* the fire itself more-quickly than touching<sup>1</sup> the jinxed sacrifice. One of these was Barlaham, a field-dweller whom *one* of the tyrants was laughing at *his* bad accent.<sup>2</sup> Public-executioners were becoming-*numb* while whipping *him*; instead, the testifier was finding himself more-ripe *in his* body than they. The hands of the *ones* who were scraping *him* were straining-out;<sup>3</sup> instead, the rationalization<sup>4</sup> of the *one* being scraped was not being bowed. The whips paralyzed the sinews of joints;<sup>5</sup> instead, the strain of the faith was binding-tight-upon *him* more-precisely. Ribs being dug-through had been spent; instead, the fondness-of-wisdom of the mindset was flowering.

But after they saw that none of these machinations<sup>6</sup> were accomplishing anything, they, after they fired-up<sup>7</sup> an altar to the libation of the demons, led the testifier, having been bound, out from the prison *to be* standing beside it. And after they directed *for him* to suspend the right hand, palm-up,<sup>8</sup> over<sup>9</sup> the altar, they made-use-of the hand as *though it were* a bronze sacrificial-altar, after they evil-workingly put charcoals and flaming frankincense in the hand. For they were hoping *that* if-at-any-time he might feel-pain and the hand was wrestled-down by-means-of the force of the fire, he would turn the hand around and frankincense would quickly discharge-upon the altar. Therefore, they might account a sacrifice to him and the affair for a transgressing.

But they did not relish *their* hope. For indeed, the flame was gnawing-through the hand. But the hand was remaining, carrying the flame as *if it were* of cinders. It was not given to the fire; instead, the happy Barlaham had stood unturning, remaining uninclined, excelling against flame, keeping the hand unturned. And indeed, after the charcoals perforated-through the middle of the hand, they were falling-out downward. But the manliness of the soul was not falling-through even though the hand was consumed. Now this happened on *the* 19th day before the Kalends of September.<sup>10</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

Now also in certain year, there was a woman named Pelagia. On-one-occasion she was spending-her-life in Antiocheia in Syria *which is* toward the mountain Amanos, and she became a learner of Lucianus, elder of the assembly at Antiocheia. At this time, she was almost 15 years *old*, still a virgin.

Now at first, Pelagia ran *so full* of pleasure as to not-even await<sup>11</sup> the hands of a public-executioner. But she did not enter into a court-of-justice. Instead, fleeing from the trial, prior to conquer and to come into the hands of the plots-against *her*, she preceded the cruelty<sup>12</sup> of those *individuals* who were pursuing *her* by-means-of the surpassiveness of her<sup>13</sup> domestic eagerness. For indeed, she had even prepared herself toward tortures and chastisements and **every** form<sup>14</sup> of punishments. Instead, she had become-anxious, lest her virginity might perish by-means-of the licentiousness of the impious *men*. Due to this, she did not want to come-away into the court-of-justice, nor-either to become a theater for unchaste eyes, nor-either to afford *an opportunity* to licentious eyeballs to revel in the perception of her<sup>15</sup> domestic countenance and to be fully-outraging<sup>16</sup> her<sup>17</sup> body.

Accordingly, at<sup>18</sup> the first trumpet-call of the persecution, she saw that she was being surrounded by<sup>19</sup> the robbers of faith or-even of seemliness. And after she came-out, she requested for a favor *from* the soldiers, so-as *to be able* to enter and to change herself into-another-dress. And the soldiers granted<sup>20</sup> the favor. And after she entered, she changed herself into-another-dress. She ornamented *her* head and dressed-in a marriage vesture, so that you\* might be saying, that she was not going to death *but* instead to a spouse.

Then, after she prescribed<sup>21</sup> the death for herself as a reward<sup>22</sup> of escaping the depravity of the irreverent-ones, from-above she threw herself down-the-precipice *from* out of a very-high roof of a housetop, and she died-off on the 8th day before the Ides of October.<sup>23</sup> And the soldiers did not make-use-of the remaining leftover, but left her body to lay there on the narrow-passageway.

## CHAPTER 57: SUICIDE OF DOMNINA, PROSDOKÉ, BERNIKÉ [04-20]

<sup>1</sup> literally "touching-on"

<sup>2</sup> literally "his falsely-cut vocalization"

<sup>3</sup> literally "sinewing-out"

<sup>4</sup> literally "accounting"

<sup>5</sup> literally "joinings"

<sup>6</sup> may also be translated "machines"

<sup>7</sup> literally "burned-up"

<sup>8</sup> literally "on-its-back"

<sup>9</sup> Basil "to suspend-over" / Chrusostom "to stretch-out up-above"

<sup>10</sup> ???-08-14

<sup>11</sup> literally "remain-up"

<sup>12</sup> literally "rawness"

<sup>13</sup> literally "the"

<sup>14</sup> literally "sight"

<sup>15</sup> literally "the"

<sup>16</sup> literally "outraging-down"

<sup>17</sup> literally "the"

<sup>18</sup> literally "with/by"

<sup>19</sup> literally "saw for her to be sat-around from"

<sup>20</sup> literally "gave"

<sup>21</sup> literally "put"

<sup>22</sup> literally "plunder"

<sup>23</sup> ???-10-08

Now also in a certain year, *there was* a certain woman, Domnina by name, *who* was consecrated, and marvelous for the excellence of her<sup>24</sup> soul (but a woman in her<sup>25</sup> body) and for the other *things*, having been cried-out in-the-presence-of all *persons* for riches and race and good-repute<sup>26</sup> by the *persons* at Antiocheia. She nurtured for herself *in the* institutes of piety: a couple of girls, virgins, *who* were eminent in the loveliness<sup>27</sup> and ripeness<sup>28</sup> of their body, who were named Berniké and Prosdoké.

Since the envy being excited<sup>29</sup> regarding<sup>30</sup> them was much, every manner *to be* tracking them up-and-down was being worked-out<sup>31</sup> while they were escaping-notice. Accordingly, after these women dismissed all *things*—city and house and kinsmen—they changed-their-assignment *to be* walking toward the foreign heavenly city, and they came-out. Accordingly, they went into a city *which is* being called<sup>32</sup> Edessa, a city, indeed, more-field-dwelling than the many other cities, but more-pious. And the city accepted the strange women.

Accordingly, while the women were spending time there, suddenly wicked commands, being-packed full of much tyranny and barbaric cruelty<sup>33</sup> were being sent-down everywhere. Accordingly, there were father-threshers, boy-and-girl-killers, all *things* having been filled-up full of turmoil and disturbance. Instead, the women were enjoying a deep placidity, since even while being in a strange place, they were not in a strange place.

Next, after the persecutors learned that the women were to be spending time on land belonging-to-another-kind-of people (that is, Edessa) the man of Domnina and father of Berniké and Prosdoké stood in that city, having soldiers with him for<sup>34</sup> the co-receiving of the hunt;<sup>35</sup> and they were carefully<sup>36</sup> calling for the women<sup>37</sup> to come onto Antiocheia. And the women, after they already had the nets-of-the-soldiers thrown-around them,<sup>38</sup> were going-back with them.

They came into a city *which is* being called Hierapolis. A river was flowing-by that way by which they were going-back. After the mother beheld herself and the girls in straits without any machination of escape, she placed-before<sup>39</sup> them in her<sup>40</sup> account: the terrible *things* which were going to be coming out of these humans, as-well-as what is more-intolerable than all the other things, a threat of sexual-immorality. But after this, she, after she incited both herself and the maidens that it was not<sup>41</sup> necessary for them to endure to hear even the surfaces<sup>42</sup> of the things which might be, she declared, "Instead, even the act to be betraying<sup>43</sup> our<sup>44</sup> souls to the slavery of the demons is<sup>45</sup> worse than all deaths and every state-of-loss."

After this, she was setting-down,<sup>46</sup> that the refuge onto the Lord was the sole option of release from<sup>47</sup> all these things. After-that, they, after they unitedly synthesized in this<sup>48</sup> resolve, as-well-as after they orderly placed their jackets around their bodies, came-to-be on the middle of the way itself.

Now after this, after they requested-of the guards under pretense for some short time of<sup>49</sup> retirement for themselves, they escaped-the-notice of the soldiers who were making-lunch for themselves and were getting-intoxicated. Accordingly, the women, after they received the father as a fellow-worker, and, through that man, were enabled to dupe<sup>50</sup> the soldiers, they javelined themselves onto the middle of the river which was flowing-by and they dismissed themselves down the currents.<sup>51</sup> Accordingly, the mother entered the middle, holding-down the two daughters on-either-side, and she was dismissing them down the waters; and they were being choked-to-death<sup>52</sup> in-this-manner.

Therefore, indeed, the soldiers, having come-to-know nothing of these things, were remaining, as if they were to be receiving them again. Therefore, in order to spare the guards, the women dismissed their sandals outside on the bank, leaving-behind a verbal-defense for the soldiers who were making-effort into the court-of-justice, in order that that cruel<sup>53</sup> and unsoothing dealer-of-justice might not be

<sup>24</sup> literally "the"

<sup>25</sup> literally "woman for the"

<sup>26</sup> literally "good-glory"

<sup>27</sup> literally "hour"

<sup>28</sup> may also be translated "summit"

<sup>29</sup> literally "moved"

<sup>30</sup> literally "about"

<sup>31</sup> literally "worked-around/about"

<sup>32</sup> literally "said"

<sup>33</sup> literally "rawness"

<sup>34</sup> literally "to/toward"

<sup>35</sup> literally "a trap-for-a-beast"

<sup>36</sup> literally "concernedly"

<sup>37</sup> literally "for them"

<sup>38</sup> literally "women had already been thrown-around by nets-of-the-soldiers"

<sup>39</sup> literally "set-beside"

<sup>40</sup> literally "the"

<sup>41</sup> literally "maidens for it to be not"

<sup>42</sup> literally "summits"

<sup>43</sup> literally "to be giving-beforehand"

<sup>44</sup> literally "the"

<sup>45</sup> literally "even for the act...demons to be existing"

<sup>46</sup> literally "putting-under"

<sup>47</sup> literally "setting-down for the refuge onto the Lord to be one releasing of"

<sup>48</sup> literally "the"

<sup>49</sup> literally "into"

<sup>50</sup> literally "to knock-aside"

<sup>51</sup> literally "the things-which-flow"

<sup>52</sup> literally "choked-off"

<sup>53</sup> literally "raw"

having to be calling-in an *act of betrayal against them* and that they *had* dismissed the women after they received a silver-piece. Instead the sandals testified that the soldiers themselves had not come-to-know, but instead, *while they were being-ignorant, the women defected to the river. Therefore, indeed, this woman killed herself and murdered her daughters in this abominable way on the 12th day before the Kalends of May.*<sup>1</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

But *there were* a couple of other virgins at the same city of Antiocheia who were god-fitting for all the *things* and *were* truthfully sisters, indeed glorious-in their race, but bright in their lifestyle, young in their times, lovely<sup>2</sup> in their body, solemn in their soul, pious in their manner, marvelous in their effort. As if the earth would not bear<sup>3</sup> to be sustaining the *virtues* such as *these*, the servers of the demons were directing to be casting *them into the sea.*<sup>4</sup> Therefore, these *things were done* in-the-presence-of these-*here individuals.*

#### CHAPTER 58: DEFEAT OF SEVÉRUS & MARRIAGE ALLIANCE [307 spring] OF HERCULIUS AND CONSTANTINUS [307-04+]

Meanwhile, Sevérus, having been commissioned by Maximianus *Galerius*, was going from Mediolanon with the Maurian legions of armed-soldiers, and was coming to the walls of the city of Roma against the move *both of the praetorians and of Maxentius, son of Maximianus Herculus.* Straightaway, *while he was besieging the city and moving around the walls, the major portion of Sevérus' soldiers, after they took-up the ensigns, were deserting<sup>5</sup> him; and they gave themselves over to Maxentius, whom they had come against and who had led them over to himself by corrupting<sup>6</sup> them with enticements of premiums.* But he also added to himself the subordinate-chief of the court, Anullinus. Therefore, Maxentius easily overpowered him; and, *with the aids of Maxentius having been augmented, his imperial-command was confirmed.*

Instead, after Maximianus *Herculus* (having already resumed the imperial-command) knew these *things*, he, agonizing for his boy Maxentius, was going-to-meet *Sevérus in battle.* At his coming, the deserted *Sevérus* fled to Ravenna for-refuge—a city *which was both fortified and full-of-many-humans and having a multitude of nourishments which was-sufficient for both him and for the soldiers who were with him.* There he shut himself in with a few soldiers.

But after Maximianus *Herculus* saw that Sevérus could not be involuntarily thrown-out of this city, *since it was both secure and having nourishments which were-sufficient, he deluded through perjury.* For when Sevérus was seeing that he was going to be delivered to Maximianus *Herculus*, he gave himself into his custody, giving-back the purple vesture to the same man from whom he had accepted it. After he did this, *Sevérus* was taken to Roma to be led-through the city in the condition of a captive. And *Herculus* made him to be being held-in-custody in a public villa, Tres Tabernae (which means 'Three Taverns' in Latin), at the thirtieth milestone on the Appian Way.

Now when Maximianus *Herculus* had come-to-know of the insanity of Maximianus *Galerius*, he was beginning to be thinking that he (having been inflamed with anger after having heard about the defeat of Sevérus) would (having been lifted-up with feelings-of-enmity) be coming with a troop, and that he would have been joined by Maximianus *Daia* and doubled<sup>7</sup> forces, which *Herculus* would by no means<sup>8</sup> be able to be resisting. After he walled the city and diligently built the *necessary* things in it, he was driving forward onto the Alpes and then set-forward into Gallia, so-that he would happen to be spending time with Constantinus in-that-place. But *Herculus* (being by nature fond-of-business<sup>9</sup> and faithless) only did so in order that he might be conciliating Constantinus to his side<sup>10</sup> by promising that he would give his younger<sup>11</sup> daughter, Fausta (who had been born to him in the city of Roma) to Constantinus in marriage. For long ago (even before Constantinus himself would have sought this), his father, Constantius, and Maximianus *Herculus*, after they had-in-mind the most-beautiful communion for their children,<sup>12</sup> had joined this marriage. And now was the time of its fulfillment, in the form of a marriage-alliance.<sup>13</sup> From this time forward, Constantinus, by-means-of bashfulness, was dedicated to a single<sup>14</sup> conjunction of marriage.

Also during the celebration of these festivities, Constantinus, having already become a Caesar, had the name of Emperor added to him through his new father-in-law. *There were now Junior Emperor and Senior August-One.*

#### CHAPTER 59: DEATH OF SEVÉRUS [307-09-16] & GALERIUS' INVASION OF ITALIA [307, autumn]

Meanwhile, when Maximianus *Galerius*, with a troop which had been driven-together to himself greater than that of Sevérus, was aiming for Italia, *Sevérus* received-by-request nothing other than a good death there at *Tres Tabernae.* For after an ambush was set-down<sup>15</sup> on-the-spot in-accordance-with the wishes of Maxentius, *Sevérus* was arrested. And after Sevérus was imprisoned, he, having his veins cut-into<sup>16</sup> by his own hand<sup>17</sup> was obligated to be dying<sup>18</sup> leniently on the Latina Way at Milestone III after holding the imperial-command for 2<sup>19</sup> years, 4 months, and 15 days.<sup>20</sup> Next, his funeral-rites were brought-in the burial-place<sup>21</sup> of Gallienus, which is nine miles away<sup>22</sup> out of the city through the Appian Way.

Therefore, *while Maximianus Galerius* was invading Italia, he went to the city of Roma, threatening its destruction and to bring the senate to extinction and to cut the peoples to-pieces. And he set his camp at Interamna near the Tiber. But he struck-upon everything which was closed and which was walled against him. There was no hope of breaking-in. Attacking was difficult. His forces were not satisfactory to station themselves around the walls. He,<sup>23</sup> of-course, had at-no-time previously seen Roma, having estimated that city to be not much greater than the civil-communities of which he had come-to-know.

Then he commissioned Licinius and Probus to be legates to the city, begging, through correspondence-by-letters, that his son-in-law, Maxentius, might be purchasing his options from his father-in-law, *Galerius*, with entreaties rather than with arms. But he was condemned.

Then, *while Galerius* was being detained with the siege, many of his soldiers were being tampered with in the same way as the previous-ones.<sup>24</sup> Certain legions, detesting *Galerius' crime* (how a father-in-law would be attacking a son-in-law, and how Roman soldiers would be attacking Roma) and having been moved to desert his cause<sup>25</sup> through promises of Maxentius, they, after they transferred their military signs, relinquished his imperial-command. And already, the remaining soldiers were wavering,<sup>26</sup> when Maximianus *Galerius* (his haughtiness having been fractured and his soul having been dismissed), being-dreadful of Sevérus' exit and that he might be being deserted, was caused-to-roll at the feet of the soldiers; and he was praying they would not be delivering him over to their enemy. He did this till he bent their souls with unnatural<sup>27</sup> promises to them. And he, having fought<sup>28</sup> not-one battle, turned the military signs around backward and snatched a trepid flight, in which it had been possible for him to be being oppressed very-easily if someone would have been following with only a few men.

Because he was fearing this outcome, he gave to the soldiers the authority, so that, after they were dispersed as wide as possible, they would be ripping-in-pieces or-even corrupting all things, so that if someone might have been wishing to be following them, they would not have been having any utensils. Accordingly, the part of Italia (primarily the Flaminian Way) into which he marched<sup>29</sup> that pestilent moving-band of soldiers, was wasted. All things were plundered. Women were corrupted. Virgins were violated. Parents and male-marriage-partners were extorted, so that daughters, so that mates, so that their aids would be given-forward to them. They drove-off livestock and beasts-of-burden as-though they were spoils taken from barbarians.

By this measure, Maximianus *Galerius* (on-one-occasion a Roman emperor, now a ravager of Italia) retook to his own seat, when he had universally vexed everything like-an-enemy. Indeed, long-ago *Galerius* had accepted the name of emperor, but now he was professing himself to be a foe of the Roman name. He was even wishing for his title to be being changed, so that it would not be surnamed the Roman imperial-command, but instead the Dacian.

Now at this time, Maximianus *Herculus* was undertaking<sup>30</sup> to be influencing<sup>31</sup> and to be persuading Constantinus, as if he indeed would be pursuing Maximianus *Galerius* who was retiring<sup>32</sup> out of Italia, but would be plotting-against Maxentius. But as he was having Constantinus persuaded toward these things, indeed, he was retiring from Constantinus; but he was making-every-effort to be receiving the kingdom back-again with hope that he would be evilly disposing his son-in-law<sup>33</sup> Constantinus and his<sup>34</sup> son Maxentius.

<sup>15</sup> literally "set-down-out"

<sup>16</sup> Lactantius / AnoVal "being jugulated" / Zosimus "the neck was fastened with a noose" / Chronography354 "killed"

<sup>17</sup> literally "by himself"

<sup>18</sup> Lactantius / Zosimus "was done-away-with"

<sup>19</sup> Chronicon(Jerome) / Chronography354 "3"

<sup>20</sup> 307-09-16 (or 308-09-16 if Chronography is correct)

<sup>21</sup> Epitome / AnoVal "monument"

<sup>22</sup> Epitome / AnoVal "is at the eighth milestone"

<sup>23</sup> literally "who"

<sup>24</sup> literally "superiors"

<sup>25</sup> literally "part"

<sup>26</sup> literally "nodding"

<sup>27</sup> latin "ingens"

<sup>28</sup> literally "coming-to-be"

<sup>29</sup> literally "went-into"

<sup>30</sup> more literally "setting-his-hand-to"

<sup>31</sup> literally "leading-by"

<sup>32</sup> literally "making-room-up" (also later in verse)

<sup>33</sup> literally "the one-connected-by-marriage"

<sup>34</sup> literally "the"

<sup>1</sup> ???-04-20

<sup>2</sup> literally "hourly"

<sup>3</sup> literally "bring"

<sup>4</sup> Contrary to Eusebius' original account, Rufinus' "translation" states, "not bearing for their chastity to be being violated by the public edict but-also by laws, they demerged themselves into the marine flows."

<sup>5</sup> literally "going-away"

<sup>6</sup> literally "utterly-destroying"

<sup>7</sup> literally "duplicated"

<sup>8</sup> literally "measure"

<sup>9</sup> literally "fond-of-affairs"

<sup>10</sup> literally "part"

<sup>11</sup> literally "most-minor"

<sup>12</sup> literally "boys-and-girls"

<sup>13</sup> literally "affinity"

<sup>14</sup> literally "sole"



## CHAPTER 60: TESTIMONIES OF SILVANUS & DOMNINUS & AUXENTIOS & PAMPHILOS [307-11-05] / DEATH OF URBANUS / TESTIMONY OF QUIRINUS

And so, from day to day, Urbanus, the leader of Palaestina (someone *who was* a terrible intender of evils and innovative of the undertakings against the teaching of the Anointed-One), was renewed in his wickedness; and *year by year* he made himself ready with crafty devices against the Christians. And it was the 5th<sup>1</sup> day of the month Dios (but, according-to the Romans, the Nones of November),<sup>2</sup> in the city of Caesarea, in the 5th year of the persecution against the Christians. There was a certain man *who was* adorned by his whole lifestyle and proficient in the knowledge of medicine. Now he was a youth of great stature and handsome. And he was eminent for the holiness of his life, and for the purity of his soul, and for sobriety, and for tens-of-thousands of other confessions. And his name was Dominus. And he was known to all the *ones* throughout Palaestina who testified in those days. Moreover, this man, before receiving a consumption by-means-of a testimony,<sup>3</sup> had been tortured in the mines of bronze. And due to his constancy at the attestation itself, he was condemned; and *Urbanus gave him over* to the 'chastisement through fire'.

After the same judge, *Urbanus*, had turned from this testifier, he intended to *inflict* unheard-of punishments against the *rest of* god-revering *ones*. Indeed, he fell upon three youths *who were* in the prime of their bodily strength, and handsome,<sup>4</sup> and beautiful to look upon, and, in their souls, were distinguished due to the courage with which they worshipped God. And in order that the people might enjoy themselves, he condemned them into single-combat for boxing.<sup>5</sup>

But again, after he turned from these *men*, he delivered Auxentios (a solemn and consecrated<sup>6</sup> elderly-man)<sup>7</sup> to beasts for feed. But once again, he turned with rage, and he came to others (*who were* bearing<sup>8</sup> the stature of complete men).<sup>9</sup> And after he ordered them to *have their genitals* chopped-away, making them into eunuchs, he condemned them to the mines at Punon.

And after he also left these *men*, he came to the *ones* on-both-sides of Silvanus. This blessed Silvanus came from Gaza, and he was one of the veteran soldiers. But after he *had* attained freedom regarding his habits *as a soldier*, he made himself a good soldier of the Anointed-One. For he was a completely meek man, and clear-minded, and simple and pure in his faith. And being an elder at the city of Gaza, he lived a beautiful life there. And because the contest for life was proclaimed against the Christians, he, an old-man, of a noble countenance, went down to the stadium. And then, in his first confession, he was resplendent in the presence of a multitude of Caesareans, being examined with whips. And after he manfully suffered in-this-way, he contended in a second contest—the old-man enduring scrapings on his sides like a youth. This was the third contest.

But after *he and those with him* exhibited the most-noble resistance<sup>10</sup> in-behalf of piety, he judged *them to have a lot* among the exertions in<sup>11</sup> the same mines of bronze at Punon, after he first<sup>12</sup> ordered for the ankles of *their* feet to be rendered-useless<sup>13</sup> to them by-means-of burners.

Silvanus surely confessed then *while* still being an elder, *but*, not long afterward, he would happen both to be honored with an oversight and to be completed by-means-of a testimony and become a testifier of God.

Again, after *Urbanus* turned from these *individuals*, he came to others whom he treated-shamefully with tortures. Nor did the fury of his wickedness content itself with men, but he threatened to torture women also. And he delivered three maidens to licentious whore-keepers.<sup>14</sup> But once again, different *individuals*,<sup>15</sup> after harsh tortures, he shut-down in<sup>16</sup> a prison. This maniacal judge did all these *things* in one hour.

Now there was also a man named Pamphilos, an elder of the sojourn and assembly of the Caesareans, who was a most-yearned-for comrade of Eusebios of Caesarea, and who, for-the-reason of his lifestyle of a fondness-of-wisdom, and his acquirements of learning in divine *things* and human *things*, and his excellence, was considered by many to be the most-glorious of all the testifiers in that time. Indeed, *prior to this contest*, he *had* despised *this present* lifetime and said a long farewell<sup>17</sup> to luxury and a surplus of riches; but, with a belittlement of worldly hopes, he put himself up wholly to the account of God. Yet furthermore,

after he gave-away<sup>18</sup> the *things* in his possession from<sup>19</sup> his ancestors, he propagated all the *things* to communion: to naked *persons*, to mutilated and poor and indigent *persons*. But he himself was spending<sup>20</sup> *his* lifetime without-properties, following-after<sup>21</sup> a citizenship of the god-inspired fondness-of-wisdom through a most-patient exercising. Therefore, indeed, he was rushing out of the city of Beirut. (The discipling-centers *where* he had been nourished on-the-spot for the first stage of his *life*<sup>22</sup> were there.)<sup>23</sup> But since he was advancing<sup>24</sup> the *virtues* of the sensibleness into complete men,<sup>25</sup> he was stepping from these-things *and going* onto the experience of the consecrated<sup>26</sup> accounts, *while he continued* to procure help for the *ones who were* befitting and to all the *ones who were* nearing him.

Now *at this time*, after Urbanus first<sup>27</sup> took a trial of this *man's* knowledge in rhetoric accounts (both *his* fondness-of-wisdom and lessons) by question and answer, he next, afterward, forced him by threats to be sacrificing to dead images. And when he ascertained by trial, that he could not be persuaded by words, and saw that he was throwing-his-head-back but paid absolutely no attention to<sup>28</sup> the threats, *Urbanus*, after he became-indignant for the very-last-time, ordered for him to be being tormented with more-exceeding and grievous tortures, and he grievously lacerated his sides.

And surely, after the beast-like-man was almost satiated<sup>29</sup> with the *tortures* down his sides through persistent and strife-loving scrapings, he, yet truly, *only* poured shame down upon himself on-the-basis-of *them* all, since he was not able to intimidate him as he imagined. Then the wicked judge considered, that if he enlisted the victorious testifier in the prison with the previously-mentioned confessors, he might subdue him. So he enlisted *him* in the prison.

Now also imprisoned with Pamphilos at sometime, was Valés, having been honored with old-age and gray-hair. But the *man* was a minister from the assembly of Aelia<sup>30</sup> (*that is, Jerusalem*), himself a most-solemn and consecrated elderly-man in aspect, and experienced in the divine writings. Yet consequently, he laid-up so-many memories of them, *so* as not to be needing<sup>31</sup> the perusal<sup>32</sup> from the documents of the writings which he was then wishing to receive; but whatever sort of passages of the consecrated learners<sup>33</sup> *he wished to quote*, he therefore remembered-from *his own mind*.

Also imprisoned with Pamphilos was Paulus, a man *who was* the warmest-working and<sup>34</sup> boiling in the spirit of God.<sup>35</sup> *Being* from the city of Jabneh,<sup>36</sup> he was being made-known among<sup>37</sup> them, who had athletically-competed-through<sup>38</sup> the contest of the confession through endurance of a burner *even before*<sup>39</sup> his<sup>40</sup> testimony (which was to take place later in the future).

But another who was being-present-along with Pamphilos during the time he was dwelling in the prison was Eusebios (who would be overseer of Caesarea).

But straightaway, and not long<sup>41</sup> after the *things which were* having been dared to *be done* against Pamphilos, *while* Urbanus was still having the leadership, the divine rightful-punishment went-after *him* for his cruelty against the holy-ones and for having behaved-like-a-wine-sodden-drunk against the testifiers of the Anointed-One, and it took grievous and bitter vengeance upon him. For in-a-mass, in-this-way, this harsh dealer-of-justice *who was* yesterday giving-a-rightful-punishment from *somewhere* up *above* upon a high platform, being attended-by-spearmen of the military body-of-men-in-close-array, as-well-as being-prefect *over* the whole nation of Palaestina, as-well-as having been appointed<sup>42</sup> one-course-of-life and one-table with the tyrant, Maximinus *Daia*, as a sort of friend, was, through one night, stripped-naked of all his splendor, and *he was* deserted of the so-many dignities *which Maximinus* had appointed for *him*. *And this punishment* poured-down upon *him* both dishonor and shame before<sup>43</sup> the *ones who* had formerly been amazed at him as *if* he himself would have been a chief. It also exhibited him *even* before his death, to *be* both terrified and unmanly, letting womanish cries<sup>44</sup> and supplicatings go before *him*<sup>1</sup> to the whole

<sup>18</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "he sold" (which may be an understanding of the Greek)

<sup>19</sup> literally "the things being-there into him out of"

<sup>20</sup> literally "leading-through"

<sup>21</sup> literally "being-after"

<sup>22</sup> literally "for the first stature"

<sup>23</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "(There he had increased in stature and learning together.)"

<sup>24</sup> literally "being-before"

<sup>25</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Lat,Syr1) "his sensibleness had advanced into that of a complete man"

<sup>26</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "from human wisdom and he embraced the divine"

<sup>27</sup> literally "former"

<sup>28</sup> literally "but-not put for himself wholly in account for"

<sup>29</sup> literally "men was carried-in alone not-surely"

<sup>30</sup> EusL(Gk,Lat), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "God" (scribal error)

<sup>31</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) "be missing anything of"

<sup>32</sup> literally "petition"

<sup>33</sup> EusL(Lat,Gk-wo) / EusL(some Gk, Syr1) "teachings"

<sup>34</sup> EusL(Gk,Lat), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) omit "warmest-working and"

<sup>35</sup> EusL(Gk,Lat), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) add

<sup>36</sup> EusL(Gk,Lat), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) omit "*Being* from the city of Jabneh"

<sup>37</sup> literally "in"

<sup>38</sup> EusL(Gk,Lat,Syr1) / EusS(Gk) "utterly-smashed"

<sup>39</sup> EusL(Gk,Syr1), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Lat) "in"

<sup>40</sup> literally "the"

<sup>41</sup> literally "not into long"

<sup>42</sup> literally "having stood-down"

<sup>43</sup> literally "over/on"

<sup>44</sup> literally "sounds"

<sup>1</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Gk-menea) / EusL(Syr1) "1st"

<sup>2</sup> 307-11-05 AD

<sup>3</sup> EusL(Gk-menea) / EusL(Syr1) "confession"

<sup>4</sup> EusL(Gk-menea) / EusL(Syr1) "

<sup>5</sup> literally "condemned them into single-combat on-the-basis-of a fist" EusS(Gk), EusL(Gk-menea) /

EusL(Syr1) "sent them into the ludus"

<sup>6</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Gk-menea) / EusL(Syr1) "a distinguished and godly"

<sup>7</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Gk-menea) "elder"

<sup>8</sup> literally "carrying"

<sup>9</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Gk-menea) / EusL(Syr1) omit "*who...men*"

<sup>10</sup> literally "standing-in" (as in "standing-in the way")

<sup>11</sup> literally "into"

<sup>12</sup> literally "former"

<sup>13</sup> literally "rendered-unneded"

<sup>14</sup> literally "to licentious whore-nurses" EusL(Gk-menea) / EusL(Syr1) "to sexual-immoral-individuals to suffer bodily shame"

<sup>15</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Syr2) / EusL(Gk-menea) "women"

<sup>16</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Gk-menea) / EusL(Syr1) "he committed to"

<sup>17</sup> literally "he spoke long to be rejoicing"

nation which he had also surely even ruled. It also appointed at the city of Caesarea itself (in which he committed all those wicked acts which have been written above), Maximinus *Daia* (an unsoothing and cruel and impious dealer-of-justice like himself, on-the-basis of whom *Urbanus* previously,<sup>2</sup> while prancing, was snorting-and-neighing as if *Maximinus* would be having-affection for him worthily for-the-sake of the *things which were* being accomplished by him against us), so as to even carry-out the vote<sup>3</sup> of<sup>4</sup> death against him after the vast shame on-the-basis-of the absurdities<sup>5</sup> of which he was being refuted.

\* \* \* \* \*

Now also about this time,<sup>6</sup> Quirinus, overseer of Siscia, was gloriously killed for the Anointed-One. For after a millstone for-the-hand was bound to his neck, he, after he was thrown-down headlong<sup>7</sup> into a river, floated for a very-long-time. And after he was talked-about-together by the spectators (in order that they might not be being terrified by his example), he, scarcely praying that he might be sinking, obtained it.

#### CHAPTER 61: HERCULIUS TRIES TO REMOVE MAXENTIUS [308-04]

After *Maximianus Galerius'* flight, Maximianus Herculus the persecutor (who himself was being believed to be the father of Maxentius), after he had withdrawn<sup>8</sup> out of Gallia, was holding<sup>9</sup> the imperial-command in common with his son. Instead, compliance was being shown to the juvenile more than to the senior (of-course when the power of the son was also prior to the greater-one, who furthermore had given-back the imperial-command to his father). The senior (who was more-impotent by nature) was bearing<sup>10</sup> it with an iniquitous soul, that he would not be being-able to be doing what he might be wishing liberally; and he, simultaneously dreading the sluggishness of his-own son, was envying him with boyish emulation. Therefore, Maximianus Herculus was thinking to be expelling the adolescent, in order that he might be vindicating his-own self and regaining<sup>11</sup> the imperial-command—a task which was being seen to be easy-to-do, because the soldiers were with him who had relinquished Severus.

Maximianus Herculus called-to him the populace as-well-as the soldiers as-if he was to hold a convention of the troops about the present evils of the public affair, but in reality he was trying to be denuding his son Maxentius of power.

When he had said much about these<sup>12</sup> things, he turned his hand around toward his son. And while he was saying, that that man was the author<sup>13</sup> of the evils, that that man was the prince of the calamities which the public affair was sustaining, he, after he made-every-effort to alienate the soldiers from their goodwill toward Maxentius, ripped-off<sup>14</sup> the purple from Maxentius' shoulders. That man, having been undressed, threw<sup>15</sup> himself headlong from the tribunal and was caught by<sup>16</sup> the soldiers. However, Maxentius pulled the soldiers onto himself by-means-of gifts and by-means-of supplicatings which showed that he was in-need-of-mercy,<sup>17</sup> and the impious senior brought forth only the sedition and outcries of the soldiers. Maximianus Herculus was perturbed<sup>18</sup> and completely-terrified by-means-of their anger and clamor and tumult, and he was driven-out<sup>19</sup> from the city of Roma.

Now this took place during the consulship of Diocletianus for the 10th time and Maximianus Galerius for the 7th time. And from the 12th day before the Kalends of May,<sup>20</sup> Maxentius, in opposition to these appointments, made himself consul along with his son Romulus.

From Roma, Maximianus Herculus was forced-forward.<sup>21</sup> And after he sensed that his-own fate had went-over into the hands of Maxentius, he went-back to Gallia and took-refuge with Constantinus by-means-of a compact<sup>22</sup> with treachery, as-though he might be having been expelled by his son, in order that he might be joined-together with his son-in-law Constantinus, striving, however, to be spotting an occasion to be killing Constantinus in order to be carrying the imperial-command away from him.

<sup>1</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) “, receiving reproaches from the women and foul taunts from the mouths of all, which poured into his ears”

<sup>2</sup> literally “the prior”

<sup>3</sup> literally “pebble”

<sup>4</sup> literally “at/on-the-basis-of”

<sup>5</sup> literally “things-out-of-place”

<sup>6</sup> Jerome “2nd year of Constantinus, 5th year of Persecution” (but Jerome’s dates are often wrong)

<sup>7</sup> literally “was precipitated”

<sup>8</sup> literally “retake” or “receive”

<sup>9</sup> literally “having”

<sup>10</sup> literally “bringing”

<sup>11</sup> literally “repeating”

<sup>12</sup> literally “which (plural)”

<sup>13</sup> literally “saying for that man to be the author”

<sup>14</sup> Lactantius / Pan12 “he tried to be dragging-off”

<sup>15</sup> literally “gave”

<sup>16</sup> literally “and is having been excepted from”

<sup>17</sup> literally “in-need-of-mercy supplicatings”

<sup>18</sup> literally “is having been perturbed”

<sup>19</sup> Lactantius / Pan6 “knocked”

<sup>20</sup> 308-04-20 AD

<sup>21</sup> literally “he is having been made-forward”

<sup>22</sup> literally “composition”

#### CHAPTER 62: REBELLION OF DOMITIUS ALEXANDRUS [308?] & MARCELLUS IS OVERSEER OF ROMA [308 (April to June) until 309]

Now about this time, Maxentius, after he escaped this plot as-well-as while he was imagining to already be firmly having the principality, was sending the ones who would be carrying-about his image<sup>23</sup> in Libyé and Carthage. The soldiers on-the-spot prevented this from coming-to-be<sup>24</sup> due to the goodwill and memory which they had concerning Maximianus Herculus.<sup>25</sup> After this, since they knew that Maxentius was to make-an-expedition-against them for-sake of this counter-sedition,<sup>26</sup> they retired<sup>27</sup> into Alexandria. But after they fell-in-and-were-surrounded by adequate forces<sup>28</sup> which they were by no means able to hold-against, they sailed-away again onto Carthage.

After Maxentius was moved on-the-basis-of these<sup>29</sup> events, he rushed to sail-out onto Libyé and to come-after the ones who dared to do these sinful-actions. But after the soothsayers sacrificed-forth as-well-as while they were saying that the consecrated-victims were not auspicious,<sup>30</sup> he hesitated the sailing-out, both due to the fact that the consecrated-victims were not<sup>31</sup> made-to-appear beautiful and due to the fact that he become-anxious<sup>32</sup> lest Alexandrus the prefect would then be standing-against him. For Lucius Domitius Alexandrus was a Phrygian by his<sup>33</sup> race<sup>34</sup> and his parents were countrymen as-well-as Pannonians, and he was having been appointed<sup>35</sup> to be holding-on the place with the subordinate-chiefs of the court in Libyé.

Therefore, while Maxentius was achieving<sup>36</sup> for himself the crossing<sup>37</sup> onto Libyé out of Italia (a crossing which had been released-from his preconception), he sent-out men to Alexandrus, requesting for that man’s boy to be given to him as a hostage. For a boy with Alexandrus was being-fully-ripe in terms of his<sup>38</sup> stature and lovely<sup>39</sup> in his countenance.<sup>40</sup>

But the prefect, after he suspected that Maxentius would not be requesting for the boy to be given as for-sake of a giving-of-a-hostage but instead on-the-basis-of faithless acts, pushed-away the body-of-elders on-the-basis-of this.

But since Maxentius also commissioned-forth the ones who were to destroy<sup>41</sup> Alexandrus by-means-of deceit and since the intrigue was detected by-means-of betrayal, then the soldiers (after they already found a requisite season for<sup>42</sup> the seceding) put the seapurple-robe around the new emperor Alexandrus at Carthage. Therefore, during that tempest with the Punic, Alexandrus pressed-upon<sup>43</sup> the domination while he was being both terrified,<sup>44</sup> and undaring, and hesitating from<sup>45</sup> every exertion, and still-more growing-old and debilitated by age (which fault made him more-inferior in-opposition to labor); and the soldiers who were sought for tumultuously, were scarcely having the half<sup>46</sup> of their arms. He also seized Sardinia. However, the only original ruler whose authority Alexandrus still recognized was that of Constantinus the August-One.

\* \* \* \* \*

Now in the time of Maxentius, in the consulate of Maxentius for the 10th time and Maximianus,<sup>47</sup> Marcellus became the overseer of the assembly in Roma after a vacancy in the oversight. And he remained in the oversight for 1 year, 6 months, and 20 days, up-to the year after his 10th consulate and the 7th of Maximianus.<sup>48</sup>

Because Marcellus, the director, demanded for those who lapsed during the pursuit to be weeping over their crimes before they could return to the assembly, he became a bitter foe to all the miserable individuals. Hence fury, hence hatred followed. Discord. Strifes. Sedition. Cutting-down. Leagues of peace were dissolved. Through the crime of another (who in the time of peace negated the Anointed-One), Marcellus was expelled from the borders of his fatherland by the fierceness of the tyrant, Maxentius. This was the merit of Marcellus.

#### CHAPTER 63: TESTIMONY OF VALENTINA, ENNATHA, PAULUS [308-07-25]

<sup>23</sup> literally “about the image, the image of his”

<sup>24</sup> literally “prevented which (emphatic) to come-to-be”

<sup>25</sup> emendation / Zosimus manuscript “Galerius” (in error?)

<sup>26</sup> literally “anti-standing”

<sup>27</sup> literally “made-room-up”

<sup>28</sup> literally “powers”

<sup>29</sup> literally “which”

<sup>30</sup> literally “saying for the consecrated-victims not to be auspicious”

<sup>31</sup> literally “the fact for the consecrated-victims not to be”

<sup>32</sup> literally “the fact to have become-anxious”

<sup>33</sup> literally “the”

<sup>34</sup> Zosimus / Aurelius(Epitome) “origin”

<sup>35</sup> literally “stood-down”

<sup>36</sup> literally “performing-down”

<sup>37</sup> literally “stepping-through”

<sup>38</sup> literally “the” (also later in sentence)

<sup>39</sup> literally “hourly”

<sup>40</sup> literally “seeing”

<sup>41</sup> literally “use-thoroughly”

<sup>42</sup> literally “to/toward”

<sup>43</sup> literally “to become-incumbent”

<sup>44</sup> Zosimus / Aurelius(Epitome) “timid”

<sup>45</sup> literally “to/toward”

<sup>46</sup> literally “medium”

<sup>47</sup> 308 (he became overseer sometime during the period from April to June)

<sup>48</sup> 309 (Maxentius 10th, Maximianus 7th is year 308, this is the year after)

But even into *the* 6th year of the persecution, the storm which was raised against *the Christians* still blew persistently. Indeed, before this, great multitudes of confessors were in the mines<sup>1</sup> which were being called Porphyrites, in the country of Thébaïs, which is at *one side* of Egypt. And due to the purple marble which that region generates, which is called porphyrite stone, the name was also given to the *ones who were* cutting it, so that they were being called Porphyrites. Therefore, this name was also extended to those most great multitudes of confessors of the reverence-for-God who were treated as convicts in the whole earth of Egypt.

Out of these,<sup>2</sup> the number of a hundred men, lacking three, were testifiers there. And these confessors, simultaneously with women and mere infants, were sent-through<sup>3</sup> to the *one who was* leading Palaestina, whose name was Firmilianus. For he was the successor of Urbanus to the province, *who*, after he was sent to this-here *place*, was<sup>4</sup> leading. Now he was a man far from peaceable. Indeed, he surpassed his predecessor in ferocity, having been a soldier in the wars; and he was experienced in war and bloodshed.

Now there is a certain great and populous city in the earth of Palaestina, and all its inhabitants are Judeans. It is called Lud in Syriac but Diocaesarea in Hellenic.<sup>5</sup> And Firmilianus the leader went to that city, and he brought to there the whole assembly of those hundred confessors. But the Judeans watched that marvelous contest, and they surrounded the court of justice on all sides. To their own reproach, their eyes looked upon these *things*, while the whole body of confessors, these Egyptians, with great confidence and unbounded courage, confessed, on the [earth]<sup>6</sup> of the Judeans, both God, the Lord of the whole universe, and the Anointed-One of God, with joy in the midst of their sufferings.

And these Egyptians (who from their fathers had learned to worship idols alone) were at that time striving hard in order that they might not worship idols. But the Judeans stood around, seeing and hearing, while the Egyptians renounced the gods of their own fathers and confessed the God<sup>7</sup> who was also the God of the Judeans, and testified for the *one* whom the Judeans had many times renounced.

And they were even more agitated and rent in their hearts when they heard the preachers of the leader crying out and calling the Egyptians by Hebraic names and making mention of them under the names of prophets. For the preacher, when he cried out to them, called, saying, “Elijah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel,” and other similar names, which their fathers had selected from among the Hebrews, in order that they might call their sons by the names of prophets. And it came-to-be that their deeds were in harmony with their names. And the Judeans greatly marveled at them and at their names, at their words and at their actions, while they themselves were despised for their wickedness and secession.

And after they<sup>8</sup> confessed in this testing, Firmilianus ordered<sup>9</sup> (as if<sup>10</sup> from out of a royal nod) for the ankles of their left<sup>11</sup> feet, sinews *and all*, to be chopped-off with burners; and again for the right membranes and pupils of their eyes, indeed, to be cut-out first with a short-sword, but next to be utterly-altogether rendered-useless<sup>12</sup> into *its* very roots with a fire through burners. And it was not only men who endured these *things*, but also the very children and many women. And-after-that, he delivered<sup>13</sup> them throughout the copper mines of the province to become-miserable for-sake of toil and suffering-of-evil.

But *certain* Palaestinians (the *ones who* (having been previously mentioned a little *above*)<sup>14</sup> were to have been condemned into single-combat on-the-basis-of a fist *fight*) were enduring similar sufferings, since they neither received the nourishments out of the royal private-room, nor truly the requisite *things* and training for<sup>15</sup> the fist *fight*. But for-the-sake-of this, after they yet already stood-beside, not only procurators alone, but-even leaders,<sup>16</sup> but instead even Maximinus himself, they demonstrated a noblest lodgment<sup>17</sup> of confession through perseverance of famine and endurance of whips. And after they suffered the like cruel punishment *which was done* to the *ones who were previously mentioned*<sup>18</sup> along with different *individuals who* were added to them, they were confessing at Caesarea itself.

On their heels,<sup>19</sup> different *individuals*, on-the-basis-of welding<sup>20</sup> themselves together for prayer and being constant in the reading-aloud of the divine writings, were conquered throughout the city of Gaza. Indeed, the *ones* endured these same sufferings against *their* feet and *their* eyes as *did* their companions. But the *others* stood firm in still even greater contests than these; and after they suffered in *their* feet and *their* eyes, they were also tortured most-fearsomely with scrapings down

their sides. And others again, more than these, attained to this great excellence; and at the end of all, they contended with death itself.

And again, when he turned himself away from these, he came to judge a certain one of these.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, *in the body she was* a woman, but *in the strength of the rationalization* a male. She was also a virgin in her manner of lifestyle. And after she did not bear a threat of sexual-immorality, she straightaway spoke some violent word against the tyrant emperor who<sup>22</sup> would permit the principality *to be given* in-this-manner to cruel and wicked dealers-of-justice.<sup>23</sup> After *this*, indeed, she was<sup>24</sup> first whipped—he marring her whole body with whips. But next, after she became *lifted* up-in-the-air on the wood,<sup>25</sup> she was<sup>26</sup> tormented *in the sides*. And this, not once, but twice or three times in one hour, and long and often, till those who tormented her became wearied and collapsed. But these *torturers* were succeeded by others, who, by command of the rabid leader, grievously tortured her. For these dealers-of-justice were barbarians in manners, and enemies in heart.

But as the *ones* having been assigned for *this purpose*, out of an ordering of the dealer-of-justice, were bringing the tortures upon this girl persistently and exceedingly, *a woman*, after she did not sustain the unmerciful and cruel and misanthropic *treatment* of the *things* being performed to her sister, shouted-out with complaint to the dealer-of-justice out of *the* midst of the crowd of humans who stood before the leader, “And for how long<sup>27</sup> are you torturing **my** sister cruelly and unmercifully in-this-manner?”

The name of this other *woman* was Valentina, *who*, having taken-upon herself the labor of the virginity like the former *woman*, was indeed thought to *be* yet altogether worthless *in the body* and easily-despicable *in the countenance*, but otherwise was endowed with-stamina *in the soul* and with the rationalization greater *than* the body which *actually* gave strength to the worthlessness of her body.

But after the wicked Firmilianus heard *this*, he was bitterly moved, and he directed<sup>28</sup> for the human, the girl who complained, to be arrested at-once and to be brought before him.

Next, they lifted her up and she was dragged<sup>29</sup> into *the* midst of the court-of-justice. And after she wrote the venerable name of the Savior Jesus on herself, indeed, she was first being induced and directed by the murderous dealer-of-justice in his anger to be sacrificing by-means-of accounts. But the virgin, Valentina, despised even the voice of the ferocious *man*.

But then, as she was being-non-compliant, he ordered the *ones who were* ministering to his will to seize the girl by force, and to take her to the side of the altar, in order that she might defile herself with the sacrifice. So the noble girl was drawn with force to the altar.

But in that time of terror, *while* the sister was performing to herself and was having the former eagerness for herself and displaying the fortitude of her mind, she kicked<sup>30</sup> the altar with a not-trembling and courageous foot, and she overturned<sup>31</sup> the *things placed* into it simultaneously with the fire being laid-upon it.<sup>32</sup>

But at this, because she did all these *things* without fear, the dealer-of-justice, after he was sharpened *with the fury like a savage*<sup>33</sup> beast, indeed, ordered for her to be tortured without mercy with combs. And he put-on her so-many torments down the sides, as-many-as he had surely never *done* at-any-time to anyone formerly, longing to be glutted<sup>34</sup> with the girl’s raw flesh. But as the *cause* of his<sup>35</sup> madness was already receiving satiety to him by the sight of blood and he had learned by deed and word how divine is the unconquerable power which arms and strengthens even little girls with surpassing fortitude, he, after hitched both of *them* (both this Valentina herself simultaneously with Ennatha,<sup>36</sup> the *one who* was titled a sister to her), he doomed<sup>37</sup> them to<sup>38</sup> the death through fire. Indeed, the name of the first<sup>39</sup> of these *women* was Ennatha, and her father’s house was in the country of Gaza. But the other,<sup>40</sup> Valentina by name, was from Caesarea and she was known to the many.

Now after these *things*, Paulus, a confessor, was brought forward to the conflict, and he also strove bravely. And, indeed, he was judged by the impious dealer-of-justice at the same hour as these *women* under one court-decision, the *decision* to death; and he received sentence to be beheaded by the sword. But when he was at the place of his departure, where the blessed *man* was to pass from this life, he requested for the executioner *who was* going to be cutting-off his head to have patience with him for a short hour.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>1</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusS(Gk) “mine”

<sup>2</sup> literally “whom”

<sup>3</sup> EusL(Gk-menea) / EusL(Syr1) add

<sup>4</sup> There is a defect in the manuscript here

<sup>5</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Gk-menea) “confessed our true God”

<sup>6</sup> literally “whom”

<sup>7</sup> literally “would”

<sup>8</sup> literally “crude” (a euphemism for “left”)

<sup>9</sup> literally “rendered-unneeded”

<sup>10</sup> literally “been made-clear a little previously”

<sup>11</sup> literally “with”

<sup>12</sup> literally “even those who are leading”

<sup>13</sup> literally “in-standing”

<sup>14</sup> literally “made-clear”

<sup>15</sup> literally “Whose down feet”

<sup>16</sup> literally “clapping”

<sup>17</sup> literally “whom”

<sup>18</sup> literally “as”

<sup>19</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) “dealer-of-justice”

<sup>20</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) “became lifted up-in-the-air” / EusL(Gk-menea) “was fastened to a wood”

<sup>21</sup> literally “And until when”

<sup>22</sup> literally “she stretched-tightly with-the-foot”

<sup>23</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk-menea) “overturned it, simultaneously with the offering which lay upon it, in the fire” / EusL(Syr1) “overturned it and scattered the fire being burned upon it”

<sup>24</sup> literally “of-the-field”

<sup>25</sup> literally “to be borne-in”

<sup>26</sup> literally “the”

<sup>27</sup> EusL(Gk-menea) / EusL(Syr1) “Chatha” (also later)

<sup>28</sup> literally “counted them together with”

<sup>29</sup> literally “former”

<sup>30</sup> literally “different one”

<sup>31</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusS(Gk) “to give a short hour into his hands”

And after the executioner granted this desire to him,<sup>1</sup> indeed, he first, with a bright and loud-sounding voice, was offering up praise and worship and honor and prayer to God who had accounted him worthy of this victory. And next, he was supremely-presiding to God through prayers for the reconciliation and tranquility and peace in-behalf of the *ones* of-his-same-nation, wailing to him for freedom to be quickly<sup>2</sup> given-into their *hands*.<sup>3</sup> Next, he was begging in-behalf of the admission of the enemies, *the* Judeans, to God through the Anointed-One. (For many of them were then having stood-around him.) Next, he was descending in his supplication, praying the same *things* over *the* Samaritans also. But he was also exhorting the *ones* of the nations *who were* being in misleading and lack-of-knowledge of a god,<sup>4</sup> to come into a recognition of him and to truly take-up the piety, after he did not leave uncared-for the *ones* of an all-mingled *crowd* *who were* then having stood-around him. After all these, he was beseeching the God of the whole *universe* in-behalf of the dealer-of-justice *who* fined him with the death, as-well-as the chiefs over all, as-well-as still even the executioner *who* had not-yet chopped-off his head. And he was supplicating to God within-earshot both of that *man* and of the executioners and of all the *ones who were* being-present, exhorting God for their sinful-behavior against<sup>5</sup> him to by-no-means become reckoned<sup>6</sup> to them.

And after he earnestly-prayed for these *things* and the *things* such as *these* with a great voice of yearning, and after he also drew nearly<sup>7</sup> all the *persons* of the multitude having stood-around him into pity and tears (as for *one who* would be being-done-away-with unrighteously), he himself voluntarily took-on-*the-proper*-semblance, *as* the custom *is*, and he stretched-out<sup>8</sup> his<sup>9</sup> naked gullet to the chopping-off by<sup>10</sup> the short-sword *in order* to be fully-ornamented with a divine testimony. The contest of this victor was completed *on the* twenty-fifth *day* of the month Panemos, whichever *date* is being said to be *the* eighth *day* before *the* Kalends of August.<sup>11</sup> And such indeed was the end held against these-here *individuals*.

But after not<sup>12</sup> a long time ran-its-course,<sup>13</sup> back-again, out of the earth of the Egyptians, another company of testifiers of God, the marvelous athletes of the confession into *the* Anointed-One, a hundred and thirty of *them*, from out of an ordering of Maximinus *Daia*, endured at Egypt itself: the same afflictions<sup>14</sup> into their eyes and their feet as the *others* had earlier. After *these things*, they were sent-past to the mines *which were* having been mentioned<sup>15</sup> *as being* in Palaestina, but the *others*, along with those *who were* already condemned to the mines throughout Kilikia and delivered to the dealers-of-justice there, to be chastised with wicked and shameful sufferings.

#### CHAPTER 64: FIFTH EDICT AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS [between 308-07-25 & 308-11-13]

Truly, on-the-basis-of *these* so-many manly-deeds of the appropriately-great testifiers of *the* Anointed-One, the fire-place of the pursuit of *the* Christians abated a little. *With* both a short relaxing and freedom having already been granted to the *ones who*, due to *the* Anointed-One, *were* being exerted-down into the mines on-the-spot at Thébais as-well-as *while* the Christians *were* going to be breathing clean air again for a short *time*, the *one* having attained-by-lot the authority of the *act* to be pursuing *them* (from out of some new-motivation) was again being burned-up afresh<sup>16</sup> against the Christians.

But, therefore, documents of Maximinus *Daia*, the wicked tyrant, against the Christians were<sup>9</sup> back-again roaming-throughout everywhere in-masses. He had as demonstrators and prompt ministers: Both the leaders throughout *each* province and, still-more, the rulers<sup>17</sup> of the military-camps of the Romans. *These*, having been commanded by-means-of public-documents<sup>18</sup> and letters and public orders, were compelling the accountants in **all** cities, simultaneously with generals and tabulators, to be conducting<sup>19</sup> the royal ordinance to<sup>20</sup> *its* limit. This<sup>21</sup> *ordinance* was directing, with all effort: Indeed, that the *places* having fallen down of the idol-temples would be being rebuilt; but *that* they would diligently make a careful *attempt* for all as-an-entire-populace, men simultaneous with women and children and domestics, *even* all the ones-under-the-breast themselves, to be sacrificing and to be making-libation to demons as-well-as to be

<sup>1</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusS(Gk) "After he obtained which"

<sup>2</sup> literally "with quickness"

<sup>3</sup> literally "in them"

<sup>4</sup> EusL(Syr1), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk-menea) "of the truth"

<sup>5</sup> literally "into"

<sup>6</sup> literally ("reckoned") "in number"

<sup>7</sup> literally ("nearly") "not-surely only"

<sup>8</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusS(Gk) "delivered"

<sup>9</sup> literally "the"

<sup>10</sup> literally "of"

<sup>11</sup> 308-07-25 AD

<sup>12</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) omit "not" (likely in error)

<sup>13</sup> literally "ran-through"

<sup>14</sup> literally "events"

<sup>15</sup> literally "made-clear"

<sup>16</sup> literally ("afresh") "out of beginning"

<sup>17</sup> literally "the *ones* ruling"

<sup>18</sup> more literally "programs"

<sup>19</sup> literally "leading"

<sup>20</sup> literally "into"

<sup>21</sup> literally "which"

being given-a-taste of the jinxed sacrifices themselves; and, indeed, *that* the *things* for-sale throughout *any* marketplace would be being utterly-defiled with the libations and the sprinkling of the blood from the sacrifices, but *men* sitting *in* *watch* would be previously assigned-down *at* the baths, as *if* they would be defiling the *ones who were* cleaning themselves off in these *places* by-means-of the all-stained sacrifices.

*While* these *ordinances* were most-surely being finished-up in-this-manner, and *while* the Christians were also being oppressed afresh with concern, even the faithless nations were gravely-blaming and abhorring the deviation of the *things which were* being made-to-be *done* as *if* these *things* would be heavy and excessive. For these *punishments* were plainly-appearing even to them to be extreme<sup>22</sup> and burdensome. *With* a greatest storm and tumult having been hanged-over all the *Christians* and distressing *them* every-place-every-where, even the souls of all were set in distress and vexation. But the divine power of our Savior was blowing<sup>23</sup> contrariwise so-much courage into his athletes, as to be enabling them to be trampling-down the threats of the dealers-of-justice and to be despising their tortures (*while* someone was neither being pulled-on nor drawing *anyone else* forward).

#### CHAPTER 65: TESTIMONY OF ANTONINUS, ZEBINAS, GERMANUS, ENNATHAS [308-11-13]

Therefore, surely, three slaves of the faithful-ones of the people of *the* Anointed-One (who were only youths *in* the stature of their body, but their souls were armed with the worship of God) came of themselves. And *while* the chief was making-libations and sacrificing to idols *in the* midst of the city, they, after they arranged themselves unitedly, suddenly hopped-upon<sup>o</sup> the chief, crying-out-to *him* to cease himself *from* the misleading. "For *there is* surely," they declared, "no way for another god to be existing except *the one who* is both the Maker and Crafter of the whole *universe*."

*While* he most-surely was asking who they would *be*, they were courageously confessing themselves *to be* Christians.

Therefore, after they spoke the word, Firmilianus was troubled<sup>24</sup> more-sharply and they received the sentence of death. *And* he, after he did not-even torment them with tortures, delivered<sup>o</sup> them<sup>25</sup> to capital chastising.

Indeed, the first, the elder of these, was Antoninus<sup>26</sup> by name. But the second was being called Zebinas, *who* was rushing himself from Eleutheropolis. But the appellation of the third was also Germanus. But the name of the fourth was Niképhoros.<sup>27</sup> And the *things* against these *individuals* were performed *on the* 13th *day* of the month Dios, *which is the* Ides of November.<sup>28</sup>

But a fellow-traveler<sup>29</sup> came-to-be<sup>o</sup> with them *on the* same day: Ennathas,<sup>30</sup> a certain woman of the *ones* from Skythopolis,<sup>31</sup> having been ornamented with virginity. Indeed, she did not accomplish *something* identical to those with whom she became a confessor. But this virgin of the Lord was led-out with force and was led-to the dealer-of-justice, after *suffering* whips and terrible outrages, which a certain *one* of the tribunes *who were* presiding<sup>32</sup> throughout *various* neighboring regions,<sup>33</sup> Maxus by name, was daring to bring-upon<sup>34</sup> her without<sup>35</sup> *the* knowledge of the greater authority and before she was *even* sentenced. He was the originator of the evils and a human worse *than* his<sup>36</sup> appellation: indeed, stained *in* his<sup>37</sup> other *traits*, but surpassingly strong *in* his conduct<sup>38</sup> and someone *who* was really terrible *in* manner *in all the things he did*, having been slandered among all the *ones* known to *him*.

Indeed, this *man* yet stripped-away the happy woman of **all** clothing, *so* as for the woman herself to be being covered only from<sup>39</sup> loin even to feet, but to be having the rest of her body<sup>40</sup> naked, in order that he might gaze upon the rest of her limbs with lascivious eyes. After he also led her in-a-circle around all the city of Caesarea, he made<sup>o</sup> much for himself *for her* to be being beaten *while* she was being drawn with thongs up *the length* of all the marketplaces.

And, surely, after so-much, he brought her to the tribunal of the leader, where she, with great boldness of speech, confessed the Christian faith. And after she demonstrated a most-courageous resistance<sup>41</sup> and steadfastness under all *kinds* of

<sup>22</sup> literally "satiating"

<sup>23</sup> more literally "spiriting-in"

<sup>24</sup> literally "moved-aside"

<sup>25</sup> literally "whom" (plural)

<sup>26</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Gk-men) "Antonius"

<sup>27</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Gk-men) add

<sup>28</sup> 308-11-13

<sup>29</sup> literally "a fellow *persons* away-from-his-populace"

<sup>30</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "sister" (chatha) or "Mannathos" / EusL(Gk-men) "Ennatha" or "Manetho" or "Maretho" or "Manatha"

<sup>31</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Gk-men) / EusL(Syr1) "Bashan"

<sup>32</sup> literally "standing-over"

<sup>33</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "throughout the markets of the city"

<sup>34</sup> literally "to lead-upon"

<sup>35</sup> literally "her, but-not with"

<sup>36</sup> literally "the"

<sup>37</sup> literally "the"

<sup>38</sup> literally "custom"

<sup>39</sup> literally "only out of"

<sup>40</sup> literally "the other body"

<sup>41</sup> literally "standing-in" (as in "standing-in the way")

tortures even at the platforms of-the-leader themselves, the dealer-of-justice delivered her alive<sup>1</sup> to a fire.

But this dealer-of-justice, day by day, after he also stretched out<sup>2</sup> the rabidness which he had against the god-revering-ones to a<sup>3</sup> misanthropic length,<sup>4</sup> was advancing beyond the institutes of nature,<sup>5</sup> not-even feeling-ashamed<sup>6</sup> to be begrudging<sup>7</sup> an entombing being granted to the soulless bodies of the consecrated Christian men, which he forbade with threats.

But, therefore, he ordered<sup>9</sup> the dead persons (both the girl and the others who were killed before her) to be being left in order to be made into feed for<sup>8</sup> beasts to devour and to be being carefully guarded by-night and by<sup>9</sup> day under-the-open air that they might be consumed by flying-creatures. And for<sup>10</sup> many days, not a small number of men were being-present, ministering to this beast-like and barbarous wish. Instead, indeed, the men were overseeing from afar<sup>11</sup> (as if<sup>12</sup> it were something worthy of effort) as if the dead bodies of the confessors would not be thieved by the Christians as a result. But savage<sup>13</sup> beasts and dogs, as-well-as the flesh-feeding kinds of birds-of-prey of the heaven, were convulsing the mortal members<sup>14</sup> here and-there; and, yet truly, all the city in a circle was thoroughly-spread with human bowels and bones.

And all persons were clothed with mourning for these things, because not-even at-any-time in the past was there something appearing<sup>15</sup> more-terrible and more-a-sight-to-shudder-at than this, not-even to as-many-as were themselves having enmity toward the Christians—even upon them came great distress and sorrow at those things which their eyes beheld. But they were not loudly-deploring, in-this-manner, the event against<sup>16</sup> whom this was performed, as much as on-the-basis-of they themselves and an outrage against<sup>17</sup> the common nature of all. For lying closest before some of the gates of the city was a terrible spectacle:<sup>18</sup> Not only on one spot<sup>19</sup> was the human flesh of bodies being eaten-down by beasts, instead it was being flung-around throughout every place. Accordingly, members and fleshes, as-well-as certain parts of bowels were clearly-seen even at some of the gates.

While these things were being finished-up in-this-manner after many<sup>20</sup> days, something incredible happened in the midst of the city. The air was clear<sup>21</sup> and bright, and the condition of the atmosphere<sup>22</sup> was-fair-weather. Next, in-masses, the majority of the columns up the length of the city which were affixed-under the public porticos, were dropping-off drippings which were like<sup>23</sup> tears.<sup>24</sup> Both marketplaces and broadways, having not-one droplet from out of the air, were being moistened-down after they were sprinkled with water.

This at-once caused<sup>25</sup> it to be thoroughly-talked about among<sup>26</sup> all, that the stones wept and the earth shed-tears with an unspoken<sup>27</sup> account. For they said that senseless stones and the soulless material-things and the impassive earth were not bearing the unsacred-work of the evils which were then performed; and that tears<sup>28</sup> which flowed from stones, and the earth which, without any rain, shed from its body as if were tears, had been caused to weep-over the things having come-to-be as<sup>29</sup> a conviction of the relentless and unsympathetic nature of all the godless humans. Therefore, such was the consummation of those holy testifiers of God, whose contests and strivings against misleading were accomplished before the eyes of other Christian eyewitnesses who survived the pursuit of the Christians.

## CHAPTER 66: CONFERENCE AT CARNUNTUM [308-11-11]

Now not long before the deaths of these testifiers, Maximianus Herculius (after he stayed in Gallia for some time and was having-difficulty-tolerating on-the-basis-of the disturbances which were restraining the polity), made-forward toward Maximianus Galerius (the foe of his-own son Maxentius). He did this as-if it

<sup>1</sup> literally "living"

<sup>2</sup> literally "stretched-upon"

<sup>3</sup> literally "the"

<sup>4</sup> literally "also stretched-upon upon the"

<sup>5</sup> literally "was being-before to the-other-side of the institutes of the nature"

<sup>6</sup> literally "having-respect"

<sup>7</sup> literally "to be being-envious of"

<sup>8</sup> literally "to"

<sup>9</sup> literally "after"

<sup>10</sup> literally "on-the-basis-of"

<sup>11</sup> literally "overseeing out of seen-from-afar"

<sup>12</sup> literally ("as if") "such-as"

<sup>13</sup> literally "of-the-field"

<sup>14</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "flesh"

<sup>15</sup> literally "bones, as for but-even something at-any-time to be appearing"

<sup>16</sup> literally "into"

<sup>17</sup> literally "of"

<sup>18</sup> literally "something-which-is-beheld"

<sup>19</sup> literally "country"

<sup>20</sup> literally "most"

<sup>21</sup> literally "open"

<sup>22</sup> literally "and the standing-down of the surrounding"

<sup>23</sup> literally "were in the manner"

<sup>24</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Gk-men) / EusL(Syr1) "blood"

<sup>25</sup> literally "water, as at-once for"

<sup>26</sup> literally "into"

<sup>27</sup> literally "unstatable"

<sup>28</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Gk-men) / EusL(Syr1) "blood"

<sup>29</sup> literally "into"

might appear that he might be discussing<sup>30</sup> with him about the composing status of the public affair, however, the true affair was, so that he might be cutting that man down through the occasion of reconciliation as-well-as might be grasping his kingdom, since he was having been excluded from his-own.

Whensover Maximianus Herculius had come, Dioklés (that is, former emperor Diocletianus, also known as Jovius) was being-present there, who at-that-time was spending time at Illyricum, in Carnuntum<sup>31</sup> (a Celtic city). For Diocletianus had been newly summoned by his son-in-law, Maximianus Galerius, so that he might be giving the imperial-command to that Licinius (a thing which he had not done before). For Maximianus Galerius, having become more-irritated<sup>32</sup> at this rebellion of Maxentius, was thoroughly-intending for Licinius to make-an-expedition for a fight against Maxentius.

Now Licinius, who had been substituted in place of Severus, was originating from Dacia,<sup>33</sup> and he was known to Galerius by-means-of an antique familiarity<sup>34</sup> and was a fellow-soldier with him and a friend from out of the old times, and he was accepted by-means-of his strenuous labors and offices in the war which he had carried against Narseh. So in a council, when both of them were present, Licinius was made<sup>35</sup> emperor and Caesar and August-One by a common vote<sup>36</sup> of the ones who were ruling<sup>37</sup> (especially by Galerius) on the 3rd day before the Ides of November, during the consulate of Diocletianus for the 10th time and Maximianus Galerius for the 7th time.<sup>38</sup>

While they were assembled, they also restituted the sacred-place of the detestable God Mithras, and inscribed the following dedication:

To the God of the sun, invincible Mithras, favorer of their-own empire, the most-religious Jovian and Herculian August-Ones and Caesars, have restituted the sacred-place.

Maximianus Herculius was also undertaking to be persuading Diocletianus to take-up the kingdom and not to allow<sup>39</sup> it, after it was saved-from-everything-all-around it for the so-much time and by exertions of theirs, to be given-over<sup>40</sup> to the age-of-youth which was being-out-of-its-mind while it was being shaken by-means-of paranoia of the ones who brought themselves into the kingdom.

But Diocletianus did not move<sup>41</sup> himself by-means-of the things being requested. He responded, "If-only all of you\* might be being-able to be viewing at Salōna the greens having been instituted by our hands, you\* would surely never be judging that to be a temptation!"

Therefore, Maximianus Herculius utterly-missed-the-mark<sup>42</sup> of his attempt,<sup>43</sup> and he came back-again until he reached Ravenna. Next, Maximianus Galerius, after he relinquished Licinius in Pannonia for<sup>44</sup> the enwallment of Illyricum and Thracé, himself regressed to Serdica.

In-this-manner, there were six rulers at one time: Maximianus Galerius, Maximianus Herculius, Maximinus Daia, Constantinus, Maxentius, Licinius.

## CHAPTER 67: TESTIMONY OF ARÉS, PROMUS, ELIAS [308-12-14]

But on the 14th day of the following<sup>45</sup> month of Apellaios (which is said to be the 19th before the Kalends of January),<sup>46</sup> again certain testifiers of God from Egypt were arrested by the men who were scrutinizing<sup>47</sup> the individuals who were being-present at<sup>48</sup> the gates. And because, after they were asked who they were, they confessed that they were Christians, and because they confessed that they were on their way and had set-off<sup>49</sup> from their own country for-the-sake-of obtaining treatments and food for the ones who were confessing throughout Kilikia, they were led to the dealer-of-justice as traitors.<sup>50</sup> But the guards of the gates of the city who arrested these testifiers were barbarous and savage<sup>51</sup> men; and they led them before Firmilianus the leader (for he was still over the people of Palaestina).

Indeed, the Christians fully-accepted the same lot<sup>52</sup> as those whom they intended to assist-to-the-utmost. For he decreed a cruel sentence against them: Indeed, on some, he sentenced for their eyes and feet to be rendered-useless<sup>53</sup> by-

<sup>30</sup> literally "disputing"

<sup>31</sup> Latin / Greek "Karnous"

<sup>32</sup> literally "sharper"

<sup>33</sup> Eutropius / Socrates "was rushing from Dacia"

<sup>34</sup> literally "full-custom"

<sup>35</sup> Eutropius, AnoVal, Chronicon(Jerome) / Zosimus "appointed" / Aurelius(Liber), Orosius "created" /

Aurelius(Epitome) "effected" / Eusebius "shone-up"

<sup>36</sup> literally "pebble"

<sup>37</sup> literally "being-mighty"

<sup>38</sup> 308-11-11 AD

<sup>39</sup> literally "see-around" (in the sense of "overlook")

<sup>40</sup> literally "given-out"

<sup>41</sup> literally "put"

<sup>42</sup> usually translated "utterly-sinned"

<sup>43</sup> usually translated "trial"

<sup>44</sup> literally "to/toward"

<sup>45</sup> literally "coming-on"

<sup>46</sup> 308-12-14

<sup>47</sup> literally "search-through"

<sup>48</sup> literally "on"

<sup>49</sup> EusL(Gk-men) / EusL(Syr1) "come"

<sup>50</sup> EusL(Gk-men) / EusL(Syr1) "malefactors"

<sup>51</sup> EusL(Gk-men) / EusL(Syr1) omit "and savage"

<sup>52</sup> literally "pebble"

<sup>53</sup> literally "rendered-unneeded"

means-of fire and iron. But on some, for them to be given over to death by the sword. But three of them, having also afforded a marvelous display<sup>1</sup> of manliness in Ashkelon (where<sup>2</sup> they were also being held), *each* brought-away for themselves a diverse end by *means of a unique* testimony:<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the one,<sup>4</sup> Arés by name, after he confessed and was delivered to a fierce fire; but the *others*, after their heads were chopped-off with the sword. The appellation of these was Promus<sup>5</sup> and Elias.

#### CHAPTER 68: TESTIMONY OF SHMONA & GURIA [309-08 to 11-15]<sup>6</sup>

In {{the year 618<sup>7</sup> of the kingdom of Alexandros, the Makedonian king (and that is the 14th year of the reign of Diocletianus who reigned 19 years, it being his 8th consulship and the 6th of Maximianus)<sup>8</sup> in}}<sup>9</sup> the generalship of Abba and of Abgar son of Zo'ora, in the days of Koonā (overseer of Edessa in Mesopotamia), the wicked Diocletianus had made a great and severe persecution for all the assemblies of the Anointed-One which were in every region of his dominion, in such a manner that elders and ministers were being tormented with bitter burdens, and daughters of the covenant and cloistered-nuns<sup>10</sup> were standing in bitter exposure, and Christians were all in afflictions and anguish, and there was no peace for anyone going out or coming in, from the rage of the oppressors who were compelling them to offer sacrifices to the gods. **2** For the imperial command pressed fiercely on many, and fear and trembling rested on many, *who were* alarmed lest, due to bodily afflictions, any of them might deny faith in the Anointed-One. Because this was the endeavor of the persecutors in regard to the *ones* being persecuted: for them to deny Jesus the Anointed-One and to confess Zeus the mute idol, and for every one buying and selling to burn spices and incense before Zeus according to the command of King Diocletianus.

**3** Now Guria, the holy-one from Sargai-Ketma,<sup>11</sup> and Shmona his companion from Gannada were accused before the judge of the country that men had heard about them: how they took care and pains about the worshippers of the Anointed-One and about the faithful-ones<sup>12</sup> in the villages around them, encouraging them and saying to them, "Beware, brothers, of your\* faith, and do not be afraid of the threats of persecutors, and do not deny the Anointed-One, in whose hands are your\* spirits. And he gives to you\* power and might and heroism over the wretched persecutors, whose spirit goes forth and they return to their earth, and in that day all their evil thoughts against you\* perish."

**4** And as the leader heard these things about them, he sent and brought them before him, and he scourged them severely,<sup>13</sup> and he imprisoned them with many others with them. And some of them had been scourged and had gone out from prison. And some of them had been combed with combs of iron and had departed and had gone to their homes. And those who were not scourged and whose bodies were not combed, they took their money and their property and their riches, and they released them. And many others (not to be numbered or computed), after the tortures and afflictions which they endured, were killed in the love of the Anointed-One, and they received crowns of testimony, and they departed to the kingdom.<sup>14</sup> And others, those persecutors had relaxed their hold of and let them go, and they went to their own places.

**5** And Guria and his companion Shmona had remained by themselves in prison. And their minds and their thoughts were being strengthened by having heard how they had companions and fellows in confession and in testimony in other countries, such as Epiphānos,<sup>15</sup> and Petros, and Pamphilos with many others in Caesarea of Palaestina, Timotheos in Gaza of Palaestina, Paulus in Alexandria, Agapétos of Thessalonike, Hésuchios in Nikomédeia, Philippos of Hadrianopolis,<sup>16</sup> Petros in Meliténé, Hermes and his companions, Roman soldiers in Nisibin on the eastern frontiers, who had been crowned through Heraclianus the duke who was in command at that place.<sup>17</sup>

**6** Mysianus,<sup>18</sup> the leader who was in the city of Edessa, had commanded that they should bring before him: Guria and Shmona, the holy testifiers who were in prison. And he began to say this to them, **7** "Our lords, the mighty kings, have commanded us that *all of you\** should sacrifice to the image called Zeus and cast incense on the altar placed before it, and that you\* should deliver yourselves from the Christianity in which you\* stand, because you\* err, indeed, in not confessing that there are many gods."

**8** Shmona answered and said, "As for us, we do not err, indeed, because we stand in the truth. And far be it from us to leave our faith, the faith of the Christians, which is our life.<sup>19</sup> And we will not bring spices to this image of wood *which is* made by carpenters and fastened with blacksmiths' nails. And we will not bow-down to a mute idol, which is a work of error leading to perdition. And we will not call false<sup>20</sup> the one God, Master, and<sup>21</sup> Lord of all, who is in heaven,<sup>22</sup> nor will we exchange him for an image made by humans' hands.<sup>23</sup> We bow-down to God, the Anointed-One, who by his favor has delivered us from this error. And he is our light and our healer and our life."<sup>24</sup>

**9** The leader said, "The kings have commanded this: that the gods be honored. And it is necessary that the will of the kings be done zealously."

**10** Guria answered and said to him, "You have heard from us that we will not leave our faith and do the will of sons of flesh *who are* like ourselves. But we do the will of our Father in heaven, God the Father,<sup>25</sup> and of his beloved son Jesus the Anointed-One, who said, 'Every *man*, whichever *one* will confess me in front of the humans, **I** will confess him in-front of my Father in the heavens. But whichever *man* will deny me in-front of humans, **I** will deny him in-front of my Father and in-front of his messengers.'" (Matthew 10:32-33)

**11** The leader said, "It is not then set in your\* mind to do the will of the kings?"

**12** And Shmona and Guria answered and said<sup>o</sup>, "The will of the King of kings in heaven we will do and the will of sin we will not do."<sup>26</sup>

**13** The leader said<sup>o</sup>, "Behold, if you\* remain in this mind, you\* will die and will not be left in life."

**14** Shmona answered and said, "Not indeed die, as you are supposing, but live indeed, according to what we have-faith *in*, when we do the good will of our Creator. But if we do the will of the kings, we will indeed perish, as you\* are saying. And if he kills us, there is no-one to make us alive. But if you kill us according to the king's command, we hope on him, that he will make us alive. For both worlds belong to him. And we have given our bodies to death for the sake of his name, that the will of our Savior might be fulfilled in us."<sup>27</sup>

**15** And after the leader heard these things, he had them brought and put in prison in a caravanserai (the door of which looked toward the east, where the business of all the city used to be transacted)<sup>28</sup> with elders and ministers, their companions who were there, *while soldiers were* guarding them, both them and all the prisoners who were there.

**16** Now after a few days, the king had sent for Mysianus,<sup>29</sup> the leader of Edessa, and he had gone to him to the city of Antiocheia. And he commanded him how he should judge the elders and the ministers of the Christians who were not persuaded by him to sacrifice. **17** And after Mysianus<sup>30</sup> came back from the king to the city of Edessa, he had sent and brought Guria and Shmona from the caravanserai in which they were imprisoned, with the Roman soldiers who were guarding them there.

**18** And after the two had entered and had stood before the judge, he had begun to say this to them, **19** "Our lords, the kings, have commanded that you\* should sacrifice to the images, and cast incense on this burnt-offering, and pour a libation of wine before Zeus (this Zeus which you\* see). And the *person* who will not put incense and cast spices and pour a libation of wine on the burnt-offering before Zeus, I am commanded to set him on a gridiron red-hot in the fire. And I will burn him and on hooks made red-hot in the fierceness of the flame of the fire. And it is commanded to me to scourge you\* with the knout until your\* flesh drops off before you\*. And indeed I will comb your\* sides until your\* lungs are visible. And I am commanded to heat leaden balls and to place *them* under your\* armpits until your\* insides are lacerated. And I am commanded further to hang you\* by your\* arms until your shoulder blades are dislocated, and to shackle each of your\* feet with an iron fetter. And I will hang you\* by the same foot on which the fetter is fastened. I am commanded to inflict other sentences on you\*, until you\* do the will of the kings, however unwillingly."

**20** Shmona the victorious answered and said to him, "As for us, the sentences which you are making us suffer for a short time, and then they are passing away as if they had not been, we are not afraid of at all. But of Gehenna which is kept for nations and seceders, we are as terrified and frightened. And our God, behold, for the sake of whose name we are now being tortured before you: He will give to us strength to endure them, sentences which are fierce for a little and afterwards

<sup>1</sup> literally "standing-by"

<sup>2</sup> literally "there"

<sup>3</sup> literally "diverse end of a testimony"

<sup>4</sup> literally "someone"

<sup>5</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Gk-men) "Promus" or "Probus" / EusL(Syr1) "Primus"

<sup>6</sup> Not my own translation. A revision of a Syriac translation done by F.C. Burkitt, 1913

<sup>7</sup> Syr / Arm, G1, G2 "615"

<sup>8</sup> Gk1, Gk2, Arm / Syr "Musianus"

<sup>9</sup> The date has been hopelessly corrupted in its present state.

<sup>10</sup> Gk1, Gk2, Arm / Syr add (anachronistic)

<sup>11</sup> Gk+Syr / Syr "Sargai" (omitting Ketma) / Arm "Margegetma"

<sup>12</sup> Gk1, Gk2, Arm / Syr add

<sup>13</sup> Gk1, Gk2, Arm / Syr add

<sup>14</sup> Gk1, Gk2, Arm / Syr add

<sup>15</sup> This probably should be emended to Apphianus.

<sup>16</sup> Syr, Arm / Gk1 add "Agapetos of Thessalonike" & "Philippos of Hadrianopolis"

<sup>17</sup> Syr, Gk1, Arm / Gk2 omit "such as...that place."

<sup>18</sup> Syr, Gk2 / Gk1 "Mousonios" / Arm "Musisianus"

<sup>19</sup> Gk2 (similarly Gk1, Arm) / Syr (clearly interpolated) "in the truth. And our faith is the Christian faith, and it is our life in the Anointed-One. And far be it from us that we should leave the Anointed-One our God!"

<sup>20</sup> Syr / Gk1 "not provoke"

<sup>21</sup> Syr / Gk1 add

<sup>22</sup> Syr / Gk1 omit "who is in heaven"

<sup>23</sup> Syr / Gk1 "we worship him with a wooden image, the work of humans' hands" / Gk2 "we exchange *him* for gods made with hands"

<sup>24</sup> Syr ("We...life.") / Gk1 "For by his foresight, he delivered us from this error by our Lord Jesus *the* Anointed-One, his beloved son, who is our light and redemption and healer into the age" / Gk2 "...our one true God and his only-begotten son our Lord Jesus *the* Anointed-One, who heals us and delivers our souls from the error of idols"

<sup>25</sup> Gk1, Gk2, Arm / Syr add

<sup>26</sup> Syr / Gk1, Gk2, Arm add

<sup>27</sup> Syr / Gk1, Gk2, Arm (with some variation) add

<sup>28</sup> Syr, Gk1, Arm / Gk2 add (however, this may be the original text)

<sup>29</sup> Syr, Gk1, Gk2, Arm / Syr-Margin "Lysianus"

<sup>30</sup> Gk1, Gk2, Arm / Syr "Lysianus"

cease and do not continue. They show their strength until the spirit goes forth from the body, and afterwards they are powerless and fade. And therefore, it is right for us to endure for a little time these threats of sentences that you have said,<sup>1</sup> so that by them we might be delivered from those who deny him, those whose worm is not coming-to-an-end, and the fire is not being extinguished.”

21 The leader said, “Depart from this error, as I said to you\*, because you\* are not able to find strength to endure the hard and bitter sentences which I am commanded to pronounce against you\*, until you\* do the will of the kings.”

22 Guria answered and said, “As for us, we do not walk in darkness, like the worshippers of idols, because we are the sons of the light, and we bow-down to Jesus the true light.<sup>2</sup> And we stand into the end in our faith, and it witnesses about us that we are true. And we are with him and are the sheeps of the pasture of that good and true shepherd who gave himself for us and delivered us from the authority of the Adversary, who now, behold, is stirring you\* up against us, so that he might manifest his will in the endeavor of your\* threats against us, as those who were obedient to him of old did his will. But for us, it is written, that we should not be filling ourselves with fear of the *ones who are killing-off the body but are not being able to kill-off the soul. We are to be filling ourselves with fear of the one who is having an authority which torments even soul and body in Gehenna—even the Anointed-One our God, who is in authority above and below.*”<sup>3</sup> (Matthew 10:28)

23 The leader said, “All this patience I have had with you\* was not that you\* might repeat your\* books before me and explain them to me. But I have had patience in order that you\* might do the will of the kings and might escape troubles and might go in peace to your homes.”

24 Shmona and Guria said, “We hope in our true God, as you have said, that, from this court of justice of yours, we are going to our true home, to where Abraham is, with Eleazar the poor man lying in his bosom, who is the father of our confession; and it is not set in our mind to again return to our temporal habitations or to enter them, but we go to the appointed-place of all the living-ones.”

25 The leader said, “I do not wish that what you\* see should come to you\* at my hands. Therefore, I am having patience with you\*, in order that you\* might be persuaded by me and might do the will of the kings. I could, according to the authority which I have over you\* and which is commanded to me from the kings, have hurried on your\* tortures and the torments of your\* bodies.”

26 Shmona answered and said, “Once and twice you have heard from us that our word is true, because our faith is sincere and the truth is plain; because it is also commanded to us that our account will be ‘Yes, yes’, and ‘No, no.’”

(Matthew 5:37)

27 And when the leader saw that they were not being persuaded to sacrifice to the images, he commanded Leontius<sup>4</sup> the jailer to hang them both (Guria and Shmona, the holy testifiers) by their arms above, and that they should be stretched out by their feet below. And they hanged them both according to the command of the judge, and they had them stretched out exceedingly. And they remained hanging from the third hour to the ninth hour. And they were saying nothing, but were in silence, while being dragged this way and that way and were scourged bitterly.

28 And when the leader released them, he was marveling at the strength of their endurance. And he had commanded the jailer to ask them while yet they were hanging, that if they would do the will of the kings, he would take them down and release them from their afflictions.

And that jailer came near to them, and he asked them and said to them in a loud voice, “Have you\* been persuaded to do the will of the kings?”

29 But because the holy testifiers were not able to speak from the grievousness of the afflictions and tortures which they were having and from the dislocation of their arms and their shoulder-blades and from the breaking of their bones, they were making a sign with their heads that they were not persuaded. 30 And when they delayed long in their afflictions, until it wearied those who were standing by, the leader had commanded the jailer to take them down from where they were hanging and to carry them off and to put them both in the prison which was called the Dark Hole, and to put their feet into the stocks in the prison until the morning.

31 And the jailer carried them off and fettered their feet in the stocks and put them in the Dark Hole. And they stopped up the doors and windows before them that as they should not see the light at all. And they were there for three days in the month of August in the summer. And no one brought bread to them, and they drank no water. 32 And after three days and three nights in which they did not see the light, they had opened the door of the hole before them. And they were imprisoned there in the prison in that Dark Hole for all the month<sup>5</sup> of Ab and all Elul and all Tishrin the Former to the middle of Tishrin the Latter.<sup>6</sup>

33 And the leader had sent and brought them before him, and he said to them, “Wretched men, do the will of the kings and I will give great gifts to you\*.”

34 Shmona and Guria the victorious answered and said to him, “We have said to you, that our faith and our word is one, and we are not changing it. And you: What you are commanded by the king, do quickly. You have authority over our bodies. You do not have authority over our spirits.”

35 And the leader commanded to hang them each by one foot, with their head downwards. And they had put an iron fetter on the right foot of Shmona, and they had bent his knee and his head<sup>7</sup> like a camel’s. And they had inserted an iron buckle<sup>8</sup> under his knee-joint above the fetter.<sup>9</sup> And they lifted and hanged Shmona by the leg on which was put the fetter, with his head downwards. But as for Guria, because they had seen that his strength was little and he was weak in body and useless, they did not hang him at that time. And Shmona remained hanging by his one leg from the second hour to the fifth hour.

36 And the Roman soldiers were saying to him (the ones who were guarding him and standing by), “Wretched man, how long will you endure these grievous and bitter afflictions in-this-manner? Do the will of the kings, and they will give to you refreshment from these pains which you are hanging in.”

But he<sup>10</sup> had not spared his own body,<sup>11</sup> and he did not promise them, no, not one word by the lips.

37 Now Shmona, while he was hanging head downwards, was praying and saying, “You are the God worthy-to-be-bowed-down-to, Father of our Lord Jesus the Anointed-One, without whom no little-sparrow falls into a snare. You are the one who gave the strength in Abraham, your friend, to endure his tests (*Jubilees 19:8-9*); and in Joseph the victories, and so he was delivered from his mistress (*Genesis 39*); and in Moses to endure the stings of the rabid people; and in Jephthah, who had killed his only daughter (*Judges 11:30-40*); and in David, whom King Saul had persecuted; and in Daniel and in the youths with Hananiah in the midst of Babel (*Daniel 3*); and in Simon Kepha, and in Paulus the emissary, and in Stephanos the testifier (*Acts 7:51-60*); and in all the confessors who had given their bodies for killing in confession, and *who* conquered the enemy who was fighting with them, and *who* had gone forth from this world in a good testimony. 38 You, my Lord and my God, give in me strength to endure the afflictions because of your holy name. And you know how much the enemy has afflicted me in pain of this body, in order that I might promise and might give my mouth and he might cast me down, in order that I might depart from the truth of my faith in you, and that my torch might be quenched which is alight with the oil of your anointed-one, Jesus, your worthy-to-be-bowed-down-to and holy son.”

39 Now these words, which Shmona the brave and victorious testifier was saying, the notary had written down at the command of the leader, standing beside him while he was hanging, lest perhaps from his bitter affliction he might promise to sacrifice. 40 And when he saw him not promising and that to turn from his covenant was not set in his mind, the leader commanded the jailor to take Shmona down from where he was hanging, and to carry them off and to imprison them in that Dark Hole from where they came. And the jailor had come near and taken down Shmona from where he was hanging. And indeed soldiers had had to carry him, because he was not able to walk. And they had taken Guria with him. And they went and imprisoned them in that Dark Hole according to the command of the leader.

41 On the 15th day of Tishrin the Latter,<sup>12</sup> in the night which dawns into the third day of the week, after the cock had crowed twice, the leader had risen and gone down to his court of justice. And with him were all his corps of officials, and there were torches and flambeaux<sup>13</sup> lighted before him.

And when he had sat down on his tribunal in the basilica by the Winter Baths,<sup>14</sup> at the same time, he had sent eight soldiers with the jailor for Guria and Shmona. And he brought them both up from that hole. And they were carrying Shmona, carrying him, because he was not able to walk on his right foot, on which that iron buckle<sup>15</sup> had been fastened; and it had sprained his knee-joint. But Guria, though he was walking on his feet, two soldiers were holding him, one on his right and one on his left—first on account of the afflictions of his imprisonment, and secondly because of his age. And they brought them in and set them both before the judge.

42 And the leader answered and said to them, “Have you\* taken counsel to do the will of the kings, and so live and see this sun and depart and go to your\* homes (as before I said to you\*) and see your\* families and your\* relations and your\* property? Or is it chosen by you\* and preferred by you\* to die? Because this is what the kings have commanded me: ‘He who will not do our will, and bow-down to the sun, our lord, this sun he will not see.’”

<sup>7</sup> Gk1,Gk2,Arm / Syr add

<sup>8</sup> Arm / Syr “sapphire” (error) / Gk2 “wedge” / Syr-margin “pike” / Gk1 omits this clause

<sup>9</sup> Syr / Gk1 “cab” / Gk2 “belt”

<sup>10</sup> Gk1,Gk2,Arm / Syr “But the leader”

<sup>11</sup> Gk1,Gk2,Arm / Syr “spared their own bodies”

<sup>12</sup> (309)-11-15

<sup>13</sup> “Flambeaux” is a guess by the translator of an unknown Syriac word, which, as far as they could ascertain, is otherwise entirely known. He imagined that it was merely a miswriting of “torches”.

<sup>14</sup> Arm “Balq” (corruption of “Balaniq”, which means “Baths”)

<sup>15</sup> Gk1,Gk2,Arm / Syr “sapphire” (error)

<sup>1</sup> Gk1,Gk2,Arm / Syr “threats of the judge that he said”

<sup>2</sup> Gk1,Gk2,Arm / Syr add

<sup>3</sup> Gk1,Gk2,Arm / Syr add

<sup>4</sup> Syr / Gk1 “Avintus” or “Anouitus” or “Avitus” / Arm “Evetos” / Lat “Abitus” / Gk2 omit

<sup>5</sup> Gk1,Gk2,Arm / Syr “Hole without eating or drinking”

<sup>6</sup> (309)-08 to (309)-11

43 Shmona answered and said, "You know that all humans are the sons of Adam and are formed from the earth (*Genesis 2:7*), and *that* the death of nature is decreed for them by the Lord of the sun. How then can humans be called lords of the sun, or the sun be called a lord, which is a thing made like them and grows dark and so fades at the end like them? For it is the authority of our God who reigns over it both, that it should rise from the east, and set in the west. Therefore, as long a time as has been given to us by our Creator and the Creator of this very sun, we have walked in this world and we have seen its light; and today that we are doing the will of our God, this time as long as we have seen it is enough for us. For behold, even were it not so, we would depart away from this life by a natural death, as nature testifies by observation of it."

44 The leader said, "Enough of the many things which you\* have said and I have said to you\*. And now in few words I say to you\*: Will you\* be persuaded to cast incense and to pour a libation of wine on the burnt-offering placed before this Zeus, and will you\* go to your\* homes in peace? Or shall I command concerning you\*, that you\* go forth and die by the sword, as I am commanded by the kings?"

45 Shmona answered and said to him, "If it so be, that you do this *very thing* which you have said, that we go forth and die by the sword, and you transfer us from this life, you will receive a blessed reward from God if you do this for us, as we have begged of you from the beginning."

46 The leader said to him, "This is nothing, gaffer! But do the will of the kings and you\* will not die miserably. For I do not wish for you\* to die at my hands! And therefore I have given to you\* all this extension and I have heard everything which you\* have spoken before me, in order that, behold, this *thing* which you\* are asking from me might not be seen by you\*."

47 Shmona answered and said to him, "We are dying for the name of Jesus our Savior, in order that we might be delivered from the second death which lasts forever, and that we might become worthy of the life which reigns forever and ever, in the light of the kingdom and in glory which does not pass away.

"For we are not better than the righteous men of old; not better than Simon, who was crucified head downwards (*1 Christian 12*); nor than Paulus, whose head was taken off by the sword in Roma (*1 Christian 12*); nor than Stephanos, whom the Judeans stoned with stones (*Acts 7:51-60*); nor than Jacob the son of Zabdī, whom King Agrippa killed (*Acts 12:1-2*); nor than Jacob the brother of our Lord, whom the Judeans killed with a laundryman's club (*1 Christian 9*); nor than Johanan the Immerser, whom the divorced Herodias killed (*Matthew 14:3-10; Mark 6:17-28; Luke 3:19-20; 9:9*); nor than the rest of those many persons who have given their bodies to scourgings and to insult and to killing in confession, on account of the worthy-to-be-bowed-down-to and holy name of Jesus the Anointed-One."

48 The leader said, "Not that you\* should repeat before me the names of your\* fellow-believers am I silent and quiet, but that you\* might sacrifice according to the command of the kings, and might save yourselves from the death of the sword which, behold, you\* are looking for, from the day that you\* first came before me even till now."

49 Guria answered and said to him, "We are of less account and more miserable than all humans, especially to be accounted to be the associates of those righteous men and to be compared with them. But for us there is encouragement in what our teacher said, 'Whoever might cause his soul to perish for my sake will find it.' (*Matthew 16:25*) And it is true for us, that we will be required for our persecutions."

50 The leader said, "See that I have not yet been in a hurry to command death by the sword for you\*. And until now, I have refrained from the afflictions and tortures which it is commanded for me to pronounce upon you\* by the kings. And now beware, in order that I do not command them for you\*, and *in order that* you\* will not be made to promise that you\* will do the will of the kings from the *torment of your afflictions, and that I will have no mercy further upon you\*, as I am doing now.*"

51 Shmona and Guria answered and said<sup>o</sup> to him, "If it had not been set in our intention and in our mind to endure these tortures and combings which you are torturing us with, we would not have been returning an answer to you in this manner. Because more bitter is the judgment which is about to come on everyone who is denying God than this, with which, behold, you are terrifying us now. Behold, therefore, we stand before you. Do whatever is commanded for you *to do* about us by the kings, as Christians, worshippers of the Anointed-One, of whose judgment not one of the kings will escape from."

52 Then, when they had seen that the judge was persuaded to give the sentence of death against them, they rejoiced greatly and were glad; and both of them had given glory to God, saying, "Glory to the one who has deemed us worthy of this, for whose sake we have endured everything which has come upon us according to our strength, for the name of Jesus the Anointed-One."

53 And when the leader had seen their joy in front of the sword, he was marveling greatly, that not even with a word had they promised him anything for a moment. And he beat one hand on the other, and he was silent and still, thinking what he should do to them.

54 And afterwards he answered and said to them, "You\* know that many times I have had patience with you\*, that this should not happen<sup>1</sup> to you\*, *this*, which now, behold, I command concerning you\*, that you\* go forth and die by the sword, even as you\* have begged of me."

55 And he had commanded the executioner to take with him ten soldiers, and to go forth, and to take them outside of the city far away, because of the city-folk, in order that there should not be any grief on their account for anyone in the city.

56 And when the executioner had received the command of the leader and he had taken with him ten soldiers and had gone, taking them *with him*, he went forth by night hurriedly by the western gate of the city. And behold, a cart had happened to be going forth. And he had made them both sit in the cart, before the city-folk were awake. And he carried them off to a hill on the north of Edessa, to a certain knoll called Beth-Alah-Kikla<sup>2</sup> (*which means, 'House of the God of Dung*), which is to the southwest of the fountain of water which goes into the city.

57 And when they had arrived there, he made them both get down from the cart which they were sitting in. And they were glad and rejoicing that the moment of their crowning had arrived. 58 And they both begged of that executioner, that he would leave them for a moment, so that they might both pray.

59 And that executioner was saying to them, "I beg of you\*, pray even for me, who am sinning against you\* and dying before God."

And they had prayed, both of them together. But the executioner and the Roman soldiers were standing behind the holy ones, and they were themselves praying and begging also for mercy.

60 And when they both had prayed, they had persuaded those who were taking them, and were saying to them, "Because it is night, and our brothers and our kinsfolk are not near at this moment, do not let it be a trouble to you\* to bury our bodies, even to cover our bodies as is the custom in the world."

It was a grief to them, and they were sad, that there was no one by them of their brothers and sons in our Lord to lay out their corpses and to bury them. And they were rejoicing much, exactly as if in that very hour they were meeting the Anointed-One face to face.

61 And they prayed; and both of them said with one voice, "Father of our Lord Jesus the Anointed-One: Receive our spirits onto yourself in peace, and gather our bodies onto the day of the standing-up and cover them!"

62 And Shmona had turned and looked to the east, kneeling on his knees. And he said to that executioner, "Come near and do what is commanded for you concerning me!"

63 And he came near and smote him with one blow of the sword and did not repeat it again.

64 And then his companion Guria kneeled by his side. And he looked to the east and stretched out his neck. And he also smote him with one blow of the sword and did not repeat it again. 65 And the soldiers laid their bodies near one by the other, and they left them both and had gone into the city.

66 And as they were coming in, large crowds met the soldiers, because day had dawned and they had gone forth to seek to where they had carried off the holy ones. And they were asking the soldiers, "To where have you\* carried off the confessors."

They said<sup>o</sup> to them "Beth-Alah-Kikla."<sup>3</sup>

67 And there were many people who had gone forth to the search for the holy testifiers. Now with that first crowd which had gone forth, was the daughter of Shmona the confessor. And people from all the city had gone forth, men and women, and they had laid out their bodies and had gathered the dust on which their blood was bespattered. And many of them had brought fine garments and many cloths and perfumes and spices and much balm. And, as is the custom, those crowds had gathered together the bodies of the holy ones and wrapped them in clean cloths and in those garments and with the balm and with the spices and with grave-bands. And they laid them in one coffin in one grave which was there, saying over them psalms and anthems and hymns and litanies.

And they were glorifying our Lord for the constancy and the endurance of those holy testifiers, in that, however many afflictions and torments had passed over them when they were persecuted, yet they did not depart from the truth of their faith. Because when they were hearing about other testifiers who were crowned in various places, they were calling them happy, that they had become worthy to be testifiers for the Anointed-One; and what they hoped for and were thirsting for much was given to them through the mercy of our Lord, who did not withhold from them this which was done and enacted in the days of Konna, overseer of Arak City,<sup>4</sup> as is written above, and in the days of Hymenaios, overseer of Jerusalem, and in the days of Gaius, overseer of Roma, and in the days of Theōnas, overseer of Alexandria, and in the days of Tyrannus, overseer of Antiocheia, with many others, not to multiply speech.<sup>5</sup> 68 Now some of these things were done here in the earth of Mesopotamia, and some of them in Kilikia and in Galatia and in Syria and in Phoiniké and in Palaestina and in Egypt, with many other *plots-of-earth*, both in the Roman dominions and on all sides.

<sup>1</sup> literally "be"

<sup>2</sup> Gk1, Arm / Syr "Kula"

<sup>3</sup> Gk1, Arm / Syr "Kula"

<sup>4</sup> Syr / Syr-margin "of Urhai" / Gk2 "of Edessa" / Arm "of the same city"

<sup>5</sup> Gk1, Arm / Syr, Gk2 add



69 These things were written by Theophilus, whose eyes saw these things being enacted in deed on Shmona and Guria, the holy testifiers, who renounced the evil inheritance of the paganism of their fathers. And these things were written by him in the month of Tishrin the Latter, on the 20th, on a Sunday, five days after the crowning of these holy testifiers,<sup>1</sup> whose murderers even were calling them happy, and, in perpetrating their deaths, were cherishing and honoring them secretly, while afraid of the imperial authority.<sup>2</sup>

#### CHAPTER 69: TESTIMONY OF PETROS (APELAMA) [310-01-11]

During the 7th year of the pursuit *of the Christians*, on the 11th<sup>3</sup> day of the month Audunaios (but which would be the 3rd<sup>4</sup> before the Ides of January),<sup>5</sup> there appeared at the same city of Caesarea.<sup>6</sup> Petros, the *one who was also being called* Apelama. He was an exerciser and a well-known confessor<sup>7</sup> of the kingdom of God.<sup>8</sup> And he came from Anea, a village of the borders of Eleutheropolis.<sup>9</sup>

And so manfully was he in his contest for the worship of<sup>10</sup> God and so glorious in the conflict of his confession, that he astonished even the dealer-of-justice himself and greatly amazed those who were standing beside him. Indeed, *while the dealer-of-justice and the ones on-both-sides-of him were importuning him tens-of-thousands of times* so that<sup>11</sup> he would show-mercy to himself and would spare his body and would preserve himself from the evils which hung over him,<sup>12</sup> he overlooked all their words. For not only the *ones who knew him*, but even the *ones who did not know him*, urged him. And they, one after another, entreated him, and they besought the blessed man, as *if it were for their own lives*.

Indeed, some of them confirmed his good resolve; but others, by their words, suggested weakness, and they urged that he would spare both his own age-of-youth and prime.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, the *ones who* were of the same mind with him, called to his remembrance: the Gehenna to come; but others sought to terrify him with the visible fire before him. Indeed, some endeavored to terrify him by the mortal judge; but others reminded him of the Judge of all judges. Indeed, some wanted him to fix his gaze on the life which is temporal; but others persuaded him to gaze on the kingdom of the heaven. Indeed, the *ones on the right hand* called upon him to turn to them; but the *ones on the left* persuaded him to gaze on earthly things.

But he was a young-man and<sup>14</sup> was glorious in himself, and valiant in soul, and strong in body; and being such an one,<sup>15</sup> he gave-back through a fire: the proof of his purity and of the faith *he put* into the Anointed-One of God by-means-of a highborn reckoning.<sup>16</sup> For he preferred-to-honor 'the hope on-the-basis-of the God of the whole universe' and 'the confession of our Savior' to **all things**, even to *the present life itself*, which is passing away.

But yoked with this *man on one* and the same pyre, was a certain Asklépios, who was thinking to be an overseer of the misleading according-to Markiōn. But therefore, nevertheless, he delivered himself up to this. And after he endured a testimony through fire along with this testifier of God,<sup>17</sup> he came-forth *from the present* lifetime.

#### CHAPTER 70: TESTIMONY OF PAMPHILOS, VALÉS, PAULUS, PORPHURIOS, SELEUKOS, THEODOULOS, JULIANUS [310-02-16]

In the 7th year of the pursuit of Maximinus *against the Christians*, there were twelve testifiers at Caesarea in Palaestina. Of these, the head-man and only *one* having been ornamented with the honor of the eldership throughout Caesarea, was happening to be Pamphilos. But second after Pamphilos, Valés (minister from Aelia) was being-present at the contest. Third being numbered among these-here *men was Paulus* from Jabneh.

Now after these *imprisoned Christians* had been worn-down<sup>18</sup> at<sup>19</sup> the enclosure<sup>20</sup> for a time of about<sup>21</sup> two whole years, the supposition of their testimony was coming-to-be: a fresh arrival<sup>22</sup> of Egyptian brothers (the *ones who* also were brought-to-a-finish along with them). For all of these Egyptians were both youths and mere boys.

After these *men sent-on-ahead*<sup>23</sup> *of them the ones who were* confessing and being exerted-down throughout Kilikia in the mines on-that-spot<sup>24</sup> as-far-as<sup>25</sup> the

places, they were heading-back-again to their domestic *places*. Likewise, most-surely, even they themselves were asked *while they were near some of these*<sup>26</sup> entrances<sup>27</sup> of the gates<sup>28</sup> throughout Caesarea, both who they were<sup>29</sup> and from-what-place *were they coming*,<sup>30</sup> by the guards. (But these certain *men* were being barbarous *in their manner*).<sup>31</sup> And after they did not hide anything of the truth<sup>32</sup> from *them*, but *were* declaring themselves to be Christians, they (such-as<sup>33</sup> evil-workers *who were taken in-the-very-act of their crime*) were arrested.<sup>34</sup> But these *men* were five in their number. And after the *men* were surely led-before the chief<sup>35</sup> and after they even became-outsspoken at<sup>36</sup> this, they indeed were at-once barred-down<sup>37</sup> in a prison.

But the *day* after,<sup>38</sup> the 16th day of the month Peritios (but the 14th before the Kalends of March according to *the Romans*),<sup>39</sup> they, from<sup>41</sup> an ordinance, surely led<sup>9</sup> these *men* to the dealer-of-justice, Firmilianus, simultaneously<sup>42</sup> with the *ones on-both-sides* of Pamphilos (*who have been previously mentioned*).<sup>43</sup> But the *dealer-of-justice* first of all made-trial of the Egyptians alone.<sup>44</sup> And *while gymnastically-performing all-sorts-of forms*<sup>45</sup> of tortures as-well-as devisings<sup>46</sup> of strange and various machines *upon the men*, he received a trial of their steadfastness.<sup>47</sup>

Therefore, indeed, after he led the spokesperson of *them all* into their midst and after he gymnastically-performed these athletic-competitions upon<sup>48</sup> *him*, he was first asking who he was and from-where he came.<sup>49</sup> Next, he favorably-heard a name of some prophet<sup>50</sup> in-place of *that* of the lord. But this was even coming-to-be to **all** the rest of *them*: In-place of the idolic names having been declared-upon them from-their-fathers (if *any of them* would have happened to have *one*) for *them* to have transferred the prophetic surnames<sup>51</sup> to themselves.<sup>52</sup> Accordingly, you would hear them<sup>53</sup> naming<sup>54</sup> themselves: Elijah and Jeremiah, both Isaiah and Samuel, and Daniel. Therefore, after the dealer-of-justice, Firmilianus, favorably-heard some such name from<sup>55</sup> the testifier, he, after he truly did not comprehend<sup>56</sup> the power of the word, was asking a second *one*, what his fatherland was.<sup>57</sup>

But the *man* emitted<sup>58</sup> a second voice *which* sung-together with the former *one*, saying,<sup>59</sup> "Jerusalem is my own fatherland."

Indeed, he meant the Jerusalem in-heaven, but the *judge* (*who cast his*<sup>60</sup> mindset *on the ground* and to-the-ground) was engaging-in-many-affairs to *find out* precisely whichever *city* it might be and which *part of the earth* it has been situated.<sup>61</sup> And next, he was most-surely even bringing<sup>62</sup> tortures upon *them*,<sup>63</sup> as *if by doing so something* truthful would be confessed.<sup>64</sup> But the *man*, with his<sup>65</sup> hands being twisted behind *him* and his feet being broken-in-two by-means-of certain strange winches,<sup>66</sup> was thoroughly-strongly-persisting<sup>67</sup> that he spoke<sup>68</sup> truthfully.

<sup>24</sup> EusS(Gk,Syr1) / EusL(Lat, also see Gk-wo) "But these *men*, after so suffering exceedingly affliction in the mines, had come"

<sup>25</sup> literally "till"

<sup>26</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) "near the"

<sup>27</sup> literally "ways-into"

<sup>28</sup> EusL(Gk,Syr1), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Lat) "gate"

<sup>29</sup> literally "they would be"

<sup>30</sup> literally "reaching"

<sup>31</sup> literally "were existing barbarous in the turn"

<sup>32</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) "anything truthful"

<sup>33</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) "they in the manner of"

<sup>34</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) "oppressed"

<sup>35</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) "tyrant"

<sup>36</sup> literally "on"

<sup>37</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) "delivered"

<sup>38</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) "the subsequent *day*"

<sup>39</sup> 310-02-16

<sup>40</sup> EusL(Gk,Lat), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) omit "but the fourteenth...Romans"

<sup>41</sup> literally "out of"

<sup>42</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) "along"

<sup>43</sup> literally "made-clear"

<sup>44</sup> EusL(Gk-wo, Lat) / EusL(Syr1) omit "alone"

<sup>45</sup> literally "sights"

<sup>46</sup> literally "intentions"

<sup>47</sup> literally "in-standing"

<sup>48</sup> literally "in"

<sup>49</sup> EusL(Gk,Lat) / EusL(Syr1) omit "and from-where he *came*"

<sup>50</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) "heard something prophetic of a name"

<sup>51</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) "appellations"

<sup>52</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) "to put the...on themselves"

<sup>53</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Lat,Syr1) omit "you would hear them"

<sup>54</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) "writing-on"

<sup>55</sup> literally "to/toward"

<sup>56</sup> literally "stand-on"

<sup>57</sup> literally "literally "whichever a fatherland of his would be"

<sup>58</sup> literally "dismisses"

<sup>59</sup> EusL(Gk,Syr1), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Lat) "But the *man* said"

<sup>60</sup> literally "the"

<sup>61</sup> literally "laid" — EusL(Gk,Lat), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) omit "Indeed, he meant...situated"

<sup>62</sup> literally "leading"

<sup>63</sup> EusL(Gk,Lat), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "bringing the combs and burners upon them"

<sup>64</sup> EusL(Gk,Lat), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) omit "as if...be confessed"

<sup>65</sup> literally "the" (and in next occurrence)

<sup>66</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Lat) "the *man*, though he was wrenched" / EusL(Syr1) "the *man*, while he was being examined"

<sup>67</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) "was strongly-persisting-away" / EusL(Syr1) "confirmed his previous words"

<sup>68</sup> EusL(Gk) ("that he spoke") literally "to have stated" / EusS(Gk) "to speak" / EusL(Syr1) "and spoke"

<sup>1</sup> (309)-11-20

<sup>2</sup> Syr / Gk1,Gk2,Arm omit "Now some of these...imperial authority"

<sup>3</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr) "10th"

<sup>4</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr) "4th"

<sup>5</sup> 310-01-11 (S-Gk) (or 310-01-10 (L-Syr))

<sup>6</sup> EusS(Gk "at the same Caesarea") + EusL(Syr2) "at the city of Caesarea" / EusL(Syr1) omit

<sup>7</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) "testifier"

<sup>8</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) "of the Anointed-One"

<sup>9</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1,Syr2) "Beth-Gubrin"

<sup>10</sup> EusL(Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) add

<sup>11</sup> literally ("so that") "as"

<sup>12</sup> EusL(Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) add

<sup>13</sup> literally "summit"

<sup>14</sup> EusL(Syr2) / EusL(Syr1) add

<sup>15</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) "such a champion"

<sup>16</sup> literally "accounting"

<sup>17</sup> EusL(Syr1) / EusL(Syr2) "And he was burned with fire."

<sup>18</sup> EusS(Gk) literally "rubbed-down" / EusL(Gk) "Now while these *men were* being worn-down"

<sup>19</sup> literally "on"

<sup>20</sup> EusS(Gk), EusL(Syr1,Lat) / EusL(Gk) "Kreté"

<sup>21</sup> EusL(Gk,Lat), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) add

<sup>22</sup> EusL(Gk) literally "a back-again way-on" / EusS(Gk) "a back-again access"

<sup>23</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) "appointed" (lit. "stood-down") (see below for more variants)

Next, after he was again and many-times trying-to-learn-by-inquiry what it was<sup>o</sup> and where the city of Jerusalem *which*<sup>1</sup> he was<sup>o</sup> explaining<sup>2</sup> was having been situated,<sup>3</sup> he was saying that, “This fatherland is<sup>4</sup> of<sup>5</sup> the god-revering Christians alone. For even no different *individuals other* than these *ones* alone are<sup>6</sup> being-with them. But it<sup>7</sup> lays<sup>8</sup> toward the east<sup>9</sup> and toward light itself and the sun.”<sup>10</sup>

Indeed, the *man* was even again philosophizing through these *things* according to his own mind,<sup>11</sup> by-no-means<sup>12</sup> being made to turn-back by<sup>13</sup> the *ones* in circle around him who were tormenting him for themselves with tortures. But he was not-even seeming to be sensing<sup>14</sup> the pains, as-though he was someone fleshless and<sup>15</sup> bodiless.

But the dealer-of-justice, being-at-a-loss,<sup>16</sup> was being-impatient, imagining that the Christians *had* possibly composed<sup>17</sup> a city somewhere *which* was inimical and belligerent to the Romans. He was also laying the tortures upon them much, and much investigating the city which was mentioned,<sup>18</sup> as-well-as probing-out the *location of the country by the east*.<sup>19</sup>

But as he even combed-out<sup>20</sup> the young-man with whips for<sup>21</sup> more *time* as-well-as punished him by-means-of all-sorts-of tortures, he was knowing<sup>22</sup> that the steadfastness<sup>23</sup> of the *things* which he formerly stated was unalterable. Therefore, he carried-out<sup>o</sup> the capital sentence<sup>24</sup> onto death against him. Therefore,<sup>25</sup> so-much indeed was the dramatic *scene* which he had obtained-by-lot<sup>26</sup> according to *this man*.<sup>27</sup> But after he also gymnastically-performed *things* upon<sup>28</sup> the rest of the Egyptians by-means-of the athletic-competitions which were almost-the-same-as the *previous ones*, he released them from him in the like manner.

Next from<sup>29</sup> these *things*, after he became-quite-wearied as-well-as absolutely-knew that he was punishing<sup>30</sup> the men in<sup>31</sup> vain, he, after he received a satiety of desire, went<sup>32</sup> after the *ones who were* on-both-sides of<sup>33</sup> Pamphilos. He was also better-taught as *to the fact* that they already as-a-result, even through they were tried by the former severest<sup>34</sup> tortures, had demonstrated that the eagerness which they had in-behalf-of the faith was untransferable.

But after he accounted it out-of-place to be throwing the same torments around the men and to be toiling in vain, he was enquiring-up-and-down<sup>35</sup> only so-much, if whether they would now, still if-ever,<sup>36</sup> be obeying-the-chief. After he himself also heard<sup>37</sup> from each one of them *this answer* alone as their last<sup>38</sup> voice of their confession according to their testimony, he led-upon<sup>39</sup> them a capital punishment almost-the-same as<sup>40</sup> he carried-out against the former *ones*.

After this *punishment* was led to its limit, but he had not-yet spoken all his words, a certain stripling being<sup>41</sup> of the body-of-attendants-of-the-house of Pamphilos (who was being nourished-up in a genuine *state* and having been exercised-together in the discipline of the very-important<sup>42</sup> man), as he knew about the sentence<sup>43</sup> against the master, he cried-up<sup>o</sup> from-somewhere out of the middle of the multitude of the *ones who were* encircling on-both-sides of the court-of-justice, after he passed into the middle. But he was crying out with a<sup>44</sup> voice which was great, requesting to have the bodies for himself to be given an entombing.

Porphorios was the happy-one, a genuine nourished-individual of Pamphilos, not-even a whole<sup>45</sup> 18 years *old*. He was tried-in the experience of-calligraphy, but he was lauded for-the-sake of sound-mindedness and manners. And Porphorios, indeed had become a domestic of Pamphilos, yet truly in his disposition toward God and his admirable confession<sup>46</sup> he became a brother, or rather a genuine boy. As he knew the sentence<sup>47</sup> against his<sup>48</sup> master, he shouted-out from the middle of the multitude,<sup>49</sup> begging for the bodies to be delivered into earth.<sup>50</sup>

But the *judge*, not a human, but instead a beast (as if something more-savage<sup>51</sup> than every beast), neither welcomed the reasonable *state* of the requesting, nor rendered-due concession to the stature of the youth. But after he asked him only *one question*, he learned that he was confessing to be a<sup>52</sup> Christian. And the dealer-of-justice, as-though he was someone who was wounded by some missile, after he swelled with fury, ordered<sup>o</sup> every potency<sup>53</sup> of the torturers to be being used against him.

But as he was seeing the marvelous youth throwing-his-head-back so-as not to be sacrificing what was being directed-upon him, he directed<sup>o</sup> for him to be being tormented and<sup>54</sup> for all the body to be being combed-out consistently up-to bones themselves and the bowels which were down<sup>55</sup> deep and in recesses, as if he were no-longer made of fleshes of a human, but instead rather stones or pieces-of-wood or any of the other<sup>56</sup> soulless things.<sup>57</sup> But while this was coming-to-be for<sup>58</sup> a long *time*, he absolutely-knew that he was laying-his-hands-on him in vain,<sup>59</sup> after the noble testifier became<sup>60</sup> nearly<sup>61</sup> voiceless and unperceiving,<sup>62</sup> but was nearly<sup>63</sup> soulless in-every-way, his body being worn-down<sup>64</sup> by-means-of the tortures.<sup>65</sup>

But the dealer-of-justice, having consistently obtained the attitude which was unmerciful and misanthropic,<sup>66</sup> ordered<sup>o</sup> for his<sup>67</sup> sides, which were already flayed-off by-means-of the tortures, to be being curried and to be being rubbed further<sup>68</sup> with woven-articles having been braided of hairs.

Next, as-though he had received satiety and was full<sup>69</sup> of the madness,<sup>70</sup> he straightaway gave-the-court-decision for him to be thrown-beside,<sup>71</sup> as he was,<sup>72</sup> a long drawn-out and soft fire. And<sup>73</sup> indeed, this *man*, before the ending of Pamphilos (his<sup>74</sup> master according-to the flesh), even though he came-by upon the contest later<sup>75</sup> than Pamphilos, received the release from the body before<sup>76</sup> the master, while the *ones who* had been making-every-effort about the former *ones* were still lingering.<sup>77</sup>

But, as-a-result, there was Porphorios—Indeed, his<sup>78</sup> body having been dusted,<sup>79</sup> but his countenance<sup>80</sup> beaming (his disposition like a consecrated-victor<sup>81</sup> having been victorious in-every-battle)—also stepping the way onto death with a courageous mindset and prancing<sup>82</sup> even after so-many sufferings. And after he came to the place of execution,<sup>83</sup> having surely been vested in a semblance of a man-fond-of-wisdom (philosopher) with only the mantle around him in the manner of a one-sleeved-tunic, he, looking upward and being over-minded about all this<sup>84</sup> mortal and human life, went-toward<sup>85</sup> the pyre with his<sup>86</sup> soul untrembling.

<sup>1</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) “where a city such as”

<sup>2</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) “saying”

<sup>3</sup> literally “laid”

<sup>4</sup> literally “saying, for this city to be”

<sup>5</sup> EusL(Gk,Lat), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) “situated was said to belong to”

<sup>6</sup> literally (“are”) “to be”

<sup>7</sup> EusL(Gk,Lat), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) “situated, he replied, “It”

<sup>8</sup> literally “But for it to be laying”

<sup>9</sup> literally “rising-ups”

<sup>10</sup> EusL(Gk,Lat,Syr1) / EusS(Gk) “toward the anchoring (lit. “having-up”) sun”

<sup>11</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) “to the domestic mind”

<sup>12</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) “nothing”

<sup>13</sup> literally “being made a turn-back of”

<sup>14</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) “be giving-ear-to”

<sup>15</sup> EusL(Gk,Lat), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) omit “fleshless and”

<sup>16</sup> EusL(Gk,Lat), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) omit “being-at-a-loss”

<sup>17</sup> literally “imaging for the Christians to compose”

<sup>18</sup> literally “was made-clear”

<sup>19</sup> literally “rising-ups”

<sup>20</sup> literally “combed-down”

<sup>21</sup> literally “on-the-basis-of”

<sup>22</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) “seeing”

<sup>23</sup> literally “in-standing”

<sup>24</sup> literally “pebble”

<sup>25</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) “And”

<sup>26</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) “received”

<sup>27</sup> EusL(Gk,Lat), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) omit “Therefore, so-much...this man”

<sup>28</sup> literally “in”

<sup>29</sup> literally “out of”

<sup>30</sup> literally “knew to be punishing”

<sup>31</sup> literally “into”

<sup>32</sup> EusS(Gk) literally “be” / EusL(Gk) “stepped”

<sup>33</sup> EusL(Gk,Syr1), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Lat) omit “the ones who were on-both-sides of”

<sup>34</sup> literally “most”

<sup>35</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) “he asked-up-and-down”

<sup>36</sup> literally “they into still if-ever now would”

<sup>37</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) “accepted”

<sup>38</sup> EusL(Gk,Lat), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) omit “last”

<sup>39</sup> literally “led-on”

<sup>40</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) “them the same punishment”

<sup>41</sup> literally “existing”

<sup>42</sup> literally “so-large”

<sup>43</sup> literally “pebble”

<sup>44</sup> literally “the”

<sup>45</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) omit “whole”

<sup>46</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) add

<sup>47</sup> literally “pebble”

<sup>48</sup> literally “the”

<sup>49</sup> EusL(Gk,Syr1) / It would seem that EusS(Gk) omit the material from “requesting-for...multitude” by scribal error

<sup>50</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) “begged for the bodies of the confessors”

<sup>51</sup> literally “more-of-the-field”

<sup>52</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) “that he was”

<sup>53</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) “ordered the whole power”

<sup>54</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) omit “for him to be being tormented and”

<sup>55</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) “in”

<sup>56</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) “different”

<sup>57</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) omit “or any...soulless things”

<sup>58</sup> literally “into”

<sup>59</sup> literally “knew to be laying-hands-on in vain”

<sup>60</sup> literally “was stood-down”

<sup>61</sup> literally (“almost”) “lacking a little”

<sup>62</sup> or perhaps “imperceptible”

<sup>63</sup> literally “but lacking a little”

<sup>64</sup> literally “rubbed-down”

<sup>65</sup> EusL(Gk) + EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) omit “after the noble...tortures”

<sup>66</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) “”, after having exhibited the attitude which was unmerciful and misanthropic upon this youth”

<sup>67</sup> literally “the”

<sup>68</sup> literally (“further”) “onto much”

<sup>69</sup> literally “borne-in”

<sup>70</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk), EusL(Syr1) omit (following “misanthropic”) “ordered...madness”

<sup>71</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) “delivered”

<sup>72</sup> literally “as he was having”

<sup>73</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) “Therefore”

<sup>74</sup> literally “the”

<sup>75</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) omit “later”

<sup>76</sup> EusL(Gk,Syr1) / EusL(Lat) “to”

<sup>77</sup> literally “going-(to-be)-through”

<sup>78</sup> literally “the” (and in next instance)

<sup>79</sup> EusL(Gk,Lat), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) “body weak”

<sup>80</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) “face”

<sup>81</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) omit “consecrated-victor”

<sup>82</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) “fearless”

<sup>83</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) add

<sup>84</sup> literally “the”

<sup>85</sup> literally “is-toward”

<sup>86</sup> literally “the”

But while the flame was already approaching him,<sup>1</sup> he,<sup>2</sup> with undisturbed and sober rationalization<sup>3</sup> (as if nothing grievous would be being-present), was instructing<sup>4</sup> the ones known to him concerning<sup>5</sup> whatever he was wishing about the domestic affairs and was thoroughly-nodding to them, as-well-as still then keeping-up<sup>6</sup> his<sup>7</sup> beaming and unalterable face even at the scaffolding.<sup>8</sup>

Yet consequently,<sup>9</sup> even after the fire was kindled outside at<sup>10</sup> a long distance from him in-a-circle around him, he was snatching the flame away into his<sup>11</sup> mouth from-here and-from-there, himself compelling himself upon the journey<sup>12</sup> which was laying-before him. He was also persevering most-nobly in the quietness even into his last drawing-of-breath, after he ripped-forth<sup>13</sup> one voice after the flame had simultaneously touched him, crying-loudly<sup>14</sup> for the help of no other<sup>15</sup> than Jesus the son of God.<sup>16</sup> And such was the athletic-competition of Porphurios.

But a messenger who brought news of his end<sup>17</sup> came-to-be with Pamphilos. The name of this messenger was Seleukos, a certain one of the confessors from some military expedition. Indeed, this man was rushing from the earth of Kappadokia. But after had attained the brightest good-approval of the ones in some military expedition, being in a select band-of-youths in expeditions, he had taken\*-hold-of for himself no small honor of the dignities<sup>18</sup> of the individuals among<sup>19</sup> the Romans. For truly in both stature and stamina of body, both greatness and strength, he was having so-much more excellence in comparison to the rest of his<sup>20</sup> fellow-soldiers, as for his aspect to be looked-at-from-all-sides and to be shouted-abroad among all the persons; and the entire sight<sup>21</sup> was worthy-of-admiration for-the-sake of its greatness and lovely-form.<sup>22</sup>

Therefore indeed, throughout the beginning of the pursuit of the Christians, he had previously been eminent in the contests according to the confession, having received his rejection from the military honors<sup>23</sup> by very-patient endurance through whips. But after his<sup>24</sup> relief of the military expedition, he appointed himself to be a zealot of the exercisers of the reverence-for-God,<sup>25</sup> and he has shone himself forth<sup>26</sup> as a genuine soldier of the Anointed-One.<sup>27</sup> Accordingly, like an overseer and ally and concermer,<sup>28</sup> he was taking-care of deserted orphans and unprotected<sup>29</sup> widows, of the ones being exerted-down<sup>30</sup> both in poverties and weaknesses. And as-though after-the-manner-of both a father and a solicitor,<sup>31</sup> he took-up<sup>32</sup> the exertions and the sufferings-of-evil of all the ones having been cast-off.<sup>33</sup>

From-this-fact and being a minister of such an important<sup>34</sup> message, he was immediately<sup>35</sup> considered-worthy of God as a reward for his message<sup>36</sup> of the lot along with them.<sup>37</sup> For consequently,<sup>38</sup> after he sent-a-message to Pamphilos about the end of Porphurios and after he surely greeted<sup>39</sup> a certain one of the testifiers with a kiss,<sup>40</sup> at-once some<sup>41</sup> soldiers took\*-hold-of him for themselves and they led him onto the leader. But the leader<sup>42</sup> ordered<sup>o</sup> for him to be chastised with capital punishment at-once. This man was the tenth athlete among<sup>43</sup> the ones

who were mentioned<sup>44</sup> who had been brought-to-their-finish in one and the same day as Pamphilos.

Most-surely in<sup>45</sup> the footprints of Seleukos there was being-present: Theodoulos, a certain solemn and god-revering elderly-man, who was happening to be a member of the body-of-domestics of-the-leader, as-well-as having been honored by Firmilianus more in comparison to all the other members throughout the house. Indeed, this man was having been deemed-worthy of first honor of the body-of-domestics<sup>46</sup> for-the-sake of his<sup>47</sup> manners and stature and because he was a father to the third-generation,<sup>48</sup> but<sup>49</sup> still more due to goodwill and a most-faithful conscience which he was saving concerning<sup>50</sup> the solicitors.

After he<sup>51</sup> also surely accomplished the procedure which was almost-the-same-as the one done with Seleukos and after he greeted a certain one of the testifiers with a kiss,<sup>52</sup> he was led-to the master. And after he<sup>53</sup> sharpened him onto anger more than the former<sup>54</sup> testifiers did, he fully-accepted<sup>55</sup> a testimony identical to that of the suffering of the Saving-One after he was delivered up to a cross.

After<sup>56</sup> these, Julianus was being-present to fill-off the number of the twelve testifiers. Yet consequently, after this man at-once reached here at that very hour from out of a journey-abroad,<sup>57</sup> but after he also did not yet<sup>58</sup> throw himself into the city, straightaway, as he was holding<sup>59</sup> from the way, he learned about these things from someone and rushed onto the beholding<sup>60</sup> of the testifiers. As he beheld<sup>61</sup> the bodies<sup>62</sup> of the holy-ones laying on-the-ground on the earth, he, having become quite-full of joy, after he entwined his arms around each one with heavenly love,<sup>63</sup> was greeting all the testifiers with a kiss.

While he was still doing<sup>64</sup> this and was weeping because he had not testified with them,<sup>65</sup> the ministers of the murders<sup>66</sup> were back-again; and after they arrested him, they led<sup>o</sup> him to Firmilianus the chief. But he<sup>67</sup> delivered<sup>o</sup> this man to a long drawn out fire. Most-surely even in-this-manner Julianus, skipping and leaping-over this as-well-as giving-super-thanks with a great voice to the Lord God who deemed him worthy of so-many good things, was considered-worthy of the crown of the testifiers. But this man was indeed also a Kappadokian by race according-to flesh, but in his<sup>68</sup> manner<sup>69</sup> he was indeed full of reverence<sup>70</sup> but full of faith,<sup>71</sup> and a most-genuine and meek and gentle man, both effortful in all the other things<sup>72</sup> and blowing<sup>73</sup> a sweet-odor a holy spirit itself.

Such was the caravan<sup>74</sup> of the compact-body of men who<sup>75</sup> entered onto<sup>76</sup> the finishing of the testimony together with Pamphilos (who was led-away from this<sup>77</sup> life by-means-of a short-sword). Indeed, two of the ones among<sup>78</sup> them, being merely oral-students, had been brought-to-their-finish in the immersion through fire.

Most-surely, for<sup>79</sup> four days, as-well-as so-many nights, out of an ordering of the irreverent leaders<sup>80</sup> (including Firmilianus), the consecrated and really all-holy bodies of these testifiers of God were being laid-out<sup>81</sup> for<sup>82</sup> feed to the flesh-feeding-beasts. But as nothing was approaching-toward<sup>83</sup> them—no beasts, no creature-equipped-for-flying,<sup>84</sup> no dog—they, after they were received back-again safe and unharmed as-well-as attained-by-lot the fitting honor and funeral, each one was delivered to the usual entombing. After they were put-away in very-

<sup>1</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) omit "But while the flame was already approaching him"

<sup>2</sup> EusL(Syr1,Lat), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk-p) "the hero" / EusL(Gk-wo) "the happy-one"

<sup>3</sup> literally "accounting"

<sup>4</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) "ordering"

<sup>5</sup> literally "about"

<sup>6</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) "carefully-guarding"

<sup>7</sup> literally "the"

<sup>8</sup> EusL(Gk) + EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) omit "as-well-as...scaffolding"

<sup>9</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) "Instead"

<sup>10</sup> literally "from"

<sup>11</sup> literally "the"

<sup>12</sup> literally "going"

<sup>13</sup> literally "ripped-off"

<sup>14</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) "calling-up for himself"

<sup>15</sup> literally "different"

<sup>16</sup> EusL(Gk) + EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) omit "crying-loudly...God"

<sup>17</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) literally "of the ending according to him" / EusL(Syr1) "of all which had been done to Porphurios"

<sup>18</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) "no small worthy of progresses"

<sup>19</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) literally "in" / EusL(Syr1) omit "of the individuals among the Romans"

<sup>20</sup> literally "the"

<sup>21</sup> literally "and all the sight"

<sup>22</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) omit "; and the...lovely-form"

<sup>23</sup> literally "worths"

<sup>24</sup> literally "the"

<sup>25</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Lat) "he appointed himself to be a zealot of those who exercised themselves in piety" / EusL(Syr1) "on account of his faith, his zeal now allowed him not to abstain from good works"

<sup>26</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) "up"

<sup>27</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "he earnestly desired to service in the beloved ranks"

<sup>28</sup> EusL(Gk) "concerner" + EusS(Gk) "ally" / EusL(Syr1) omit

<sup>29</sup> literally "not-stood-around"

<sup>30</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) "ones having been cast-off"

<sup>31</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "a guardian and a burden-bearer"

<sup>32</sup> literally "obtained-up"

<sup>33</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "and, as it were a compassionate father, he tried to heal their diseases"

<sup>34</sup> literally "a so-large"

<sup>35</sup> EusL(Gk, Syr1), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Lat) omit "immediately"

<sup>36</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) add

<sup>37</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "of the testimony of Pamphilos"

<sup>38</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) "Accordingly"

<sup>39</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) "spoke-to"

<sup>40</sup> EusL(Gk, Syr1), EusS(Gk) ("one...kiss") / EusL(Lat) "of the testifiers with one kiss"

<sup>41</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) "the"

<sup>42</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "But Seleukos himself"

<sup>43</sup> EusS(Gk) literally "at/on" / EusL(Gk) "athlete along with"

<sup>44</sup> EusS(Gk) literally "made-clear" / EusL(Gk) "ones having been stated"

<sup>45</sup> literally "according to"

<sup>46</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "Indeed, he was the oldest slave of the leader, and by them all was highly favored"

<sup>47</sup> literally "the"

<sup>48</sup> literally "and to have appointed a father to the third-generation"

<sup>49</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) "and"

<sup>50</sup> literally "about"

<sup>51</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "After his master had heard that he"

<sup>52</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "greeted the testifiers, he had no mercy on him"

<sup>53</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) "After he also"

<sup>54</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) "other"

<sup>55</sup> EusS(Gk) literally "accepted-down" / EusL(Gk) "accepted-up for himself"

<sup>56</sup> literally "on-the-basis-of / on"

<sup>57</sup> literally "an away-from-his-populace"

<sup>58</sup> literally "up-to-this-time"

<sup>59</sup> literally "having"

<sup>60</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Lat) "rushed to hear"

<sup>61</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) "saw"

<sup>62</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) "tents"; literally "places-in-which-to-tent" (being used figuratively here as the body)

<sup>63</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) add

<sup>64</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) "performing"

<sup>65</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) add

<sup>66</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "the questioners" / EusL(Lat) "lictors"

<sup>67</sup> EusL(Gk, Syr1) literally "who" / Gk(Gk-wo, Lat) "But the impious man"

<sup>68</sup> literally "the"

<sup>69</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "soul"

<sup>70</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) "was most-reverent"

<sup>71</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) "and faithful" / EusL(Syr1) omit

<sup>72</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "in all well doing"

<sup>73</sup> literally "spiriting"

<sup>74</sup> literally "along-with-way"

<sup>75</sup> EusL(Gk), EusS(Gk) ("Such...who") / EusL(Syr1) "And he"

<sup>76</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) "who were deemed-worthy of"

<sup>77</sup> literally "the"

<sup>78</sup> literally "in"

<sup>79</sup> literally "on-the-basis-of"

<sup>80</sup> literally "leading ones"

<sup>81</sup> EusL(Gk) / EusS(Gk) "kept"

<sup>82</sup> literally "into"

<sup>83</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) "was being-toward"

<sup>84</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Gk) "no bird"

beautiful houses of inner-sanctums as-well-as consecrated places-of-prayer, they were delivered to the people of God to be being honored into unoblivious memory.

#### CHAPTER 71: TESTIMONY OF HADRIANUS AND EUBOULOS [310-03-05 & 07] & TESTIMONY OF PIERIOS AND ISIDŌROS

But *while* the commotion<sup>1</sup> and finishing of Pamphilos and the testifiers who suffered with him were still being uttered by<sup>2</sup> the mouth of all the *humans*, Hadrianus and Euboulos reached into Caesarea from a country being called Bashan in-this-manner *so as to visit* the remaining confessors. And after they drew-near to the gate of the city of Caesarea, they were also being examined, due to what cause they have come. Next, after they confessed truthfully, they were led<sup>3</sup> to Firmilianus. But the *man*, as was his procedure,<sup>3</sup> after he again reserved<sup>4</sup> nothing, first of all ordered them to be scraped down their sides with the most terrible tortures he *could* put-upon *them*, and he tortured them in a special way, as if they were enemies and among foes. And not satisfied with this, he condemned them to be feed of beasts.

Therefore, surely, meanwhile, after two days passed,<sup>5</sup> on the 5th day of the month Dystros (the third before the Nones of March,<sup>6</sup> being concluded by some to be the birthday<sup>7</sup> of the Fortune throughout Caesarea), indeed, Hadrianus, after he was thrown-beside a lion, bravely completed his contest. And after he was torn by the beast,<sup>8</sup> he, after he was afterward slaughtered-down by-means-of a short-sword, was brought-to-his-finish.

But on the second day thereafter, on the Nones themselves (which would be the 7th of Dystros),<sup>9</sup> the dealer-of-justice much importuned Euboulos, that<sup>10</sup> after he would sacrifice, he would obtain what they concluded to be freedom,<sup>11</sup> and he said, "If you sacrifice to demons, you will be set-free in peace."

But he preferred-the-honor of the good-reputed death and a perpetual life in-behalf of piety to the temporary life. Then he was thrown to a lion. And after he had been mangled<sup>12</sup> by the lion, he likewise became a sacrificial-victim to the beasts at Caesarea *exactly as the former man*.<sup>13</sup>

But not long afterward, the heavenly foresight of God came-after the irreverent chiefs *along* with tyrants themselves. The *one* who behaved-with so-much drunken-violence against the testifiers of the Anointed-One—surely Firmilianus himself—after he endured an extreme<sup>14</sup> punishment with the others, overturned his<sup>15</sup> life by-means-of a short-sword.

\* \* \* \* \*

Now also about this time, there was Pierios (a teacher of Pamphilos and having presided-over the teaching-place in Alexandria). But Pierios, simultaneously with his<sup>16</sup> brother Isidōros, were deemed-worthy of crowns of testifiers. And after the persecution, Pierios passed<sup>17</sup> all the rest of the time of his life at Roma; and inner-sanctums and houses were established<sup>18</sup> by the *ones* who were showing-piety.

#### CHAPTER 72: USURPATION AND DEATH OF HERCULIUS [310]

Because *his* councils were impeded, the senior Maximianus *Herculius* was striving for a third flight: He went-back into Gallia, full of evil thought and of felony, in order that might be circumventing Constantinus the emperor by-means of evil treachery—Constantinus who was his-own son-in-law; the son of his son-in-law; the very man who received him into his provinces, into his battalions,<sup>19</sup> into his palace after *Herculius* had fled from Italia and after he had been repudiated from Illyricum; who had given to him the topmost and most-diverse goods, the ease of a private-life and the aid of a king; who had seated himself at his rings<sup>20</sup> while he was going-away;<sup>21</sup> who had mandated for the yieldings of the citizens to be coming<sup>22</sup> more-expensively to *Herculius* than to himself; who had stationed for all his directives to be being obeyed in-this-manner, so that while Constantinus was having the tails,<sup>23</sup> the power for the tails of the imperial-command would be of *Herculius*. Instead, due to the error of an already old age

<sup>1</sup> literally "moving"

<sup>2</sup> literally "up"

<sup>3</sup> literally "as he was having"

<sup>4</sup> literally "put-above"

<sup>5</sup> literally "came-through"

<sup>6</sup> 310-03-05

<sup>7</sup> literally "be a day of birth-related things"

<sup>8</sup> EusL(Gk-men) / EusL(Syr1) "beasts"

<sup>9</sup> 310-03-07

<sup>10</sup> literally "as"

<sup>11</sup> literally "obtain the freedom which was being concluded according to them"

<sup>12</sup> EusL(Gk-men) / EusL(Syr1) "eaten"

<sup>13</sup> EusL(Gk-men), EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "the former men"

<sup>14</sup> literally "last"

<sup>15</sup> literally "the"

<sup>16</sup> literally "the"

<sup>17</sup> literally "turned"

<sup>18</sup> literally "situated"

<sup>19</sup> may also be translated "supplies"

<sup>20</sup> some / w "who had given his rings to him" / possible emendation "who gave to him the courtly mules and the carriages"

<sup>21</sup> literally "digressing"

<sup>22</sup> literally "going-to-meet"

<sup>23</sup> Latin "penes"

which was losing-its-understanding,<sup>24</sup> *Herculius*, after so-many years of birth, became-susceptible-to the most-grave cares and a civil war.

Now in the meantime, Emperor *Constantinus* made a devastation<sup>25</sup> against the Bructeri. In this,<sup>26</sup> by-means-of all-of-a-sudden throwing his troop across, he attacked them *while* they were being-unaware so that he might be dismissing the time for a flight for that nation (which was having been accustomed<sup>27</sup> to be frustrating any war by-means-of a refuge of forests and swamps). Accordingly, innumerable individuals were cut down, most were captured. Whatever livestock was there was seized or was cut-to-pieces. All the villages were consumed by fire. The pubescents who came in hands (whose perfidy was not-even apt for military-service nor whose ferocity was even apt for servitude), after they were given to the spectacle for punishments, the beasts became-fatigued on account of their multitude.

Furthermore, over-and-above, *Constantinus*, by-means-of a bridge being-made across the Rhenos at Agrippinensium, jumped-upon<sup>28</sup> the relics of an afflicted race. Certainly, indeed, already in its commencement,<sup>29</sup> it moved the yieldingnesses of the foes to *Constantinus*, individuals who petitioned for peace as suppliants and who offered the noblest hostages. Therefore, *Constantinus* was reigning in Gallia by-means-of the unnatural favor even of the soldiers and of the provincials with the Franks as-well-as the Alamanni having been cut down and their kings having been captured.

Now although it might have been decent for *Maximianus Herculius* to be greatly favoring *Constantinus*' successes, he instead embroiled himself with his new motives. And, in order that it would be being-possible for *Herculius* to be tricking *Constantinus*, he first deposed<sup>30</sup> his own royal vesture.

At that time, the nation of the Franks was again in arms. *Herculius* persuaded<sup>31</sup> *Constantinus* (who was being-suspicious-of nothing) so that he might not be leading all the troop with him. That it was possible for a war against the barbarians to be being finished<sup>30</sup> with merely a few soldiers. *Maximianus Herculius* stated these things, in order that he himself would also be having a troop which he might be seizing,<sup>31</sup> and that *Constantinus* might be being-able to be being oppressed due to a scarcity<sup>32</sup> of soldiers.

The adolescent believed<sup>30</sup> *Herculius*, since he was an expert as-well-as senile; he complied with him, since he was his father-in-law. He set-forward<sup>30</sup>, after he relinquished the greater part of his soldiers.

After *Maximianus Herculius* waited<sup>33</sup> for a few days, when he was estimating that *Constantinus* had already entered<sup>34</sup> the borders of the barbarians, he broke his oath which he had perjured in the innermost<sup>35</sup> of the Palatine sacred-place to his son-in-law, *Constantinus*. After the supplies were consumed in the halting-places<sup>36</sup> in order that it might not be possible for a troop to be following-after him, *Maximianus Herculius* all-of-a-sudden got hold of the purple and was sitting-down within the partition-walls of *Arlate*, and he was usurping the imperial-command (having been twice deposed) for the third time. He invaded<sup>30</sup> the treasuries.<sup>37</sup> He was sending letters for<sup>38</sup> the soliciting of the troop. He was trying<sup>39</sup> to be disturbing the faith of the soldiers by-means-of a showing of premiums. He donated<sup>30</sup> largely (that was what he was<sup>30</sup> usually doing), quite-clearly secure in himself, to make-use-of an army which he would have had taught to be having sellable hands. He feigned<sup>30</sup> things about *Constantinus*, which came-back upon<sup>40</sup> himself on-the-spot.

The things which were carrying<sup>41</sup> on were<sup>30</sup> being hastily messaged to the emperor *Constantinus*. Accordingly, straightaway as-soon-as *Constantinus*' men had heard about that loathsome deed, they of-their-own-accord petitioned from *Constantinus* the sign to make-forward against *Maximianus Herculius* who was at *Arlate*. When *Constantinus* was giving travel-provisions to the soldiers, they said that this itself was making a delay for themselves and that they already were having what would be sufficing themselves from out of his largesses.

From-there, after their arms were snatched, they aimed for the gates. They pushed-through the journey of so-many days from the Rhenos up-to toward the Arar without any rest—by-means-of unwearied bodies, by-means-of souls which were burning, by-means-of ardor for vindication which was increasing in days as-much-as they were drawing<sup>42</sup> nearer their destination. At-that-time, when Emperor *Constantinus* provided boats from the port at Cabillonum for rewarming their strengths, it virtually did not please the soldiers who were hurrying. That

<sup>24</sup> literally "being-without-savor"

<sup>25</sup> literally "wasting"

<sup>26</sup> literally "which"

<sup>27</sup> literally "been-usually"

<sup>28</sup> literally "jumped-in"

<sup>29</sup> literally "exordium"

<sup>30</sup> literally "To be being-able for the barbarians to be being-finished-by-a-war"

<sup>31</sup> literally "occupying"

<sup>32</sup> literally "paucity"

<sup>33</sup> literally "expected"

<sup>34</sup> literally "estimating for Constantinus to have already entered"

<sup>35</sup> literally "penetrating"

<sup>36</sup> literally "remaining"

<sup>37</sup> or "treasures"

<sup>38</sup> literally "to/toward"

<sup>39</sup> literally "tempting"

<sup>40</sup> literally "which cut-back into"

<sup>41</sup> literally "which are having been carried"

<sup>42</sup> literally "going-to"

sluggish and loitering stream was never seen to have been tardier. With *the* keels sliding hushingly and *the* riverbanks receding slowly, they were clamoring that they were standing by themselves *and* were not going. In truth, at-that-time, after they made-use-of *their* hands for *their* feet, they, after they advanced,<sup>1</sup> leaned-upon<sup>2</sup> *their* oars and they were-victorious-over *the* nature of *the* river by-means-of *their* urgings. And in-the-end, after they wrestled-out *the* delays of *the* Arar, they were scarcely content with *the* Rhodanos itself. *Its* bustle was being seen to those *men* to be tumbling too-little, to be hastening to Arlate more-minutely than was usual. *Even* with this vigor of body of his, with this ardor of mind, *the* emperor sometimes labored *so* that he might be following *the* troop which he was leading. *Therefore*, with admirable speed, he flew-back<sup>3</sup> with *his* troop.

Now meanwhile, *the* usurping human, *Herculius*, was<sup>4</sup> being oppressed unforeseeingly,<sup>5</sup> having not-yet been set-in-order<sup>6</sup> satisfactorily. *The* soldiers whom he had seduced at Arlate went-back<sup>7</sup> to their-own emperor, *Constantinus*, preferring him to all the donations which *Herculius* had promised, to all the oblations of honors. *Therefore*, Maximianus *Herculius* was compelled to leave *the* city, and he had occupied Massilia.

Now so-much was *the* rush<sup>8</sup> by which all of *Constantinus*' soldiers were being brought, that, when they had ascertained<sup>9</sup> *the* fact that Maximianus *Herculius*, after he deserted Arlate, went-away to Massilia, they were very-hurriedly flying-out of *their* boats, and they outstripped *the* course<sup>10</sup> of *the* Rhodanos in a run which was pouring-out. So-much fondness of *Constantinus*' nodding had incensed those *men*, that, even-though they were knowing that *the* civil-community of *Massilia* which was to be attacked was most-walled, they were believing that it was sufficing for themselves *even* to have come-through.

For Massilia, being-prominent within a profound sea and being belted-around<sup>11</sup> by a most-walled port (into which *the* Mediterranean bay flows-back by-means-of a narrow access),<sup>12</sup> coheres to *the* earth solely by 1,500 paces, where a wall (most-firm and frequented with towers) is being laid. And *here*, Maximianus *Herculius* had observed *the* gates of *the* city.

Emperor *Constantinus* went<sup>13</sup> nearer to *the* gates and Maximianus *Herculius* was blockaded. But now, at Emperor *Constantinus*' first advent at Massilia and at *the* first rush<sup>14</sup> of his troop, *the* soldiers, of-course, invaded all *the* wall with so-much confidence, that they would have had straightaway ascended without wavering<sup>15</sup> if *its* height would not have had tricked *the* conjecture of *their* eyes in *their* readying by-means-of scaling-ladders which they had moved-toward *it*. In-this-manner too, many, having been deceived by *the* shortness of *the* scaling-ladders, were compensating<sup>16</sup> *the* distance which was-above *them* in the ascent by extending *their* bodies,<sup>17</sup> and, having been lifted-from-below by *the* shoulders of *the* men who were coming-below<sup>18</sup> *them*, had already invaded *the* intervals of *the* pinnacles with *their* hooked hands.

Instead, *Constantinus* gave *the* sign to retreat.<sup>19</sup> And he uttered<sup>20</sup> to Maximianus *Herculius* who was standing-near<sup>21</sup> *the* wall. *Constantinus* was not rough nor-even hostile. *Instead*, he asked<sup>22</sup>: what he might have had wished of him, *in* what he might have had failed<sup>23</sup> him, why he might be doing what would especially<sup>24</sup> not be being-decent for himself.

In truth, Maximianus *Herculius* was pouring-forth<sup>25</sup> evil-sayings from *the* walls. At-that-time, suddenly, from *his* rear *the* gates were<sup>26</sup> being unbarred; *the* soldiers were<sup>27</sup> being received. *The* rebel emperor, an impious father, a perfidious father-in-law, was<sup>28</sup> captured and being dragged-toward<sup>29</sup> Emperor *Constantinus*. He heard<sup>30</sup> *the* felonies which he did. His vesture was<sup>31</sup> being dragged-off.<sup>32</sup> After he was rebuked, *his* life was<sup>33</sup> being granted.<sup>34</sup>

By-means-of *the* honor of an emperor as-well-as of a father-in-law having been dismissed in-this-manner, and impatient under<sup>35</sup> humiliation, Maximianus *Herculius* again machinated<sup>36</sup> a different trap, because he held a state of impunity once. He called<sup>37</sup> *his* daughter Fausta. He solicited her, now with entreaties, now with blandishments, toward *the* betrayal of *Constantinus*, *her* marriage-partner. He pledged<sup>38</sup> to *her* a different man who was more-dignified. He petitioned<sup>39</sup>, that

she might be allowing<sup>40</sup> for *the* bedchamber to be being left<sup>41</sup> wide-open and to be being guarded more-negligently.

That woman pledged<sup>42</sup> that she would be doing *this*, and on-the-spot referred<sup>43</sup> *the* treachery to *her* marriage-partner.<sup>44</sup> A scene was<sup>45</sup> being composed by which *the* deed might be being manifestly grasped. A certain vile eunuch was<sup>46</sup> being substituted<sup>47</sup> who would be being made-to-die in-place-of *the* emperor.

Maximianus *Herculius* arose<sup>48</sup> by *the* untimely night. He saw<sup>49</sup> all *things* were opportune for *the* trap. *The* watchmen were rare, and they were, indeed, farther<sup>50</sup> away. Nevertheless, he said<sup>51</sup> to them,<sup>52</sup> that he had seen a dream<sup>53</sup> which he would be wishing to be narrating to his-own son. He stepped-in, armed. And after *the* sexually-impotent-man was slaughtered,<sup>54</sup> Maximianus *Herculius* leaped-forward, glorying as-well-as professing what he let-loose.<sup>55</sup>

All-of-a-sudden, out of a different part, *Constantinus* showed<sup>56</sup> himself with a circle<sup>57</sup> of armed-men. *The* cadaver of *the* man having been cut-down was<sup>58</sup> brought-forward<sup>59</sup> out of *the* bed-chamber.

*The* manifest homicide stuck<sup>60</sup> himself in place, and he stupefied himself mute, as-if a hard flint or a Marpesian crag might be standing *there*. He was<sup>61</sup> being rebuked for *his* impiety as-well-as for *his* felony. Finally, *the* power of *the* liberty to choose what type of death he wanted was<sup>62</sup> given to him. But from a high beam, he annexed *the* knot of a hideous<sup>63</sup> voluntary lethality.

This-was-how, that maximum emperor of *the* Roman name (who, after a long interval of time, celebrated a vow of 20 years with unnatural glory) finished<sup>64</sup> a detestable life with an ugly and ignominious and most-shameful kind<sup>65</sup> of death<sup>66</sup> as a most-rightful punishment, his proud throat<sup>67</sup> having been strangled<sup>68</sup> and having been shattered by a noose. He suffered this rightful-punishment in-accordance-with a certain demonic pre-signaling due to *the* most dared fallacies of his. He died<sup>69</sup> at *the* age of sixty at Massilia<sup>70</sup> in Gallia<sup>71</sup> (for he was preparing to be going-by-boat from out of there to *his* son Maxentius), two years after *the* consulate of Diocletianus for *the* 10th time and Maximianus *Galerius* for *the* 7th time.<sup>72</sup> He had been an emperor for 20 years, and was a man sloping-downward toward every sharpness and savagery, faithless, incommodious, deeply having-no-part of politeness.

Behold, while *Constantinus* had been-absent for-a-little-while from *the* limits of *his* territory, *the* perfidy of *the* Frankish barbarians tossed itself in terror. For those barbarians proposed to themselves, "At-what-time will he come-through? At-what-time will he be-victorious? At-what-time will lead-back *his* tired troop?" When all-of-a-sudden, they, having heard of his returning,<sup>73</sup> fell-down-together even-as if they had been thundered-at, so that no more<sup>74</sup> than *the* concern<sup>75</sup> of one night had touched *Constantinus*' vow on-behalf-of *the* republic.

For *the* following-day, with that message having been accepted, as-soon-as *Constantinus* had undertook *the* labor of a doubled journey, he learned that all *the* flows had resided; that all *the* tranquility which he had left<sup>76</sup> behind had went-back.

Now shortly after these events, an orator, a proponent of the detestable god Apollon, praised *Constantinus* for his recent victories with these words, "Fortune herself, was ordaining this in-this-manner, so that *the* felicity of your affairs would be admonishing you there to be bringing to *the* immortal gods *the* things which you had vowed, at-the-place-where you had bent-aside toward *the* prettiest temple in *the* total orb, no-rather, toward *the* present god that you saw. For you saw, I believe, O *Constantinus*, your Apollon, by-means-of accompanying Victoria, offering to you laurel crowns, which were each<sup>77</sup> bringing an omen of thirty years. For this is *the* number of human ages which are by-all-means being-indebted to you beyond *the* senility of *the* Pyliam. And, no-rather, why am I saying 'I believe'? You saw, you recognized you in *the* look of that one to whom *the* divine poems<sup>78</sup> of *the* bards sung that *the* kingship of total world is be being-

<sup>1</sup> literally "stepped-to"  
<sup>2</sup> literally "leaned-in"  
<sup>3</sup> literally "oppressed out of unforeseeing"  
<sup>4</sup> literally "been built-into"  
<sup>5</sup> literally "impetus"  
<sup>6</sup> literally "laid-open"  
<sup>7</sup> literally "curriculum"  
<sup>8</sup> literally "belted-to"  
<sup>9</sup> literally "going-toward"  
<sup>10</sup> literally "impetus"  
<sup>11</sup> literally "doubting"  
<sup>12</sup> literally "equalizing"  
<sup>13</sup> literally "by bodies having been extended"  
<sup>14</sup> literally "succeeding"  
<sup>15</sup> literally "taking-back"  
<sup>16</sup> literally "in"  
<sup>17</sup> literally "being-away"  
<sup>18</sup> literally "taken-beforehand"  
<sup>19</sup> literally "carrying-in"  
<sup>20</sup> literally "attracted toward"  
<sup>21</sup> literally "detacted"  
<sup>22</sup> literally "donated"  
<sup>23</sup> literally "of"  
<sup>24</sup> literally "Herculius turned-back is having machinated"

<sup>25</sup> literally "letting"  
<sup>26</sup> literally "relinquished"  
<sup>27</sup> Lactantius / Eutropius "messed-out" / Zosimus "informed"  
<sup>28</sup> Lactantius / Eutropius "man"  
<sup>29</sup> literally "laid-under"  
<sup>30</sup> literally "longer"  
<sup>31</sup> literally "which"  
<sup>32</sup> literally "to have seen a dream"  
<sup>33</sup> literally "obtruncated"  
<sup>34</sup> literally "sent-to"  
<sup>35</sup> literally "globe"  
<sup>36</sup> literally "proffered"  
<sup>37</sup> literally "unformed"  
<sup>38</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "ripped-off"  
<sup>39</sup> literally "race"  
<sup>40</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "strangling" / Eutropius "exiting"  
<sup>41</sup> Lactantius / Aurelius(Epitome) "nape"  
<sup>42</sup> literally "hurt-out"  
<sup>43</sup> literally "went-among them"  
<sup>44</sup> Pan6, Lactantius, Aurelius(Epitome), Chronicon(Jerome), Orosius / Socrates, Zosimus "Tarsus" (by confusion of deaths of Maximianus Herculus and Maximinus Daia)  
<sup>45</sup> Aurelius(Epitome), implied by others / Socrates "Kilikia" (by confusion, see above)  
<sup>46</sup> 310 AD  
<sup>47</sup> literally "going-back"  
<sup>48</sup> literally "ampler"  
<sup>49</sup> literally "care"  
<sup>50</sup> literally "relinquished"  
<sup>51</sup> literally "singular"  
<sup>52</sup> literally "carmens"

indebted. Which **I** am now thinking<sup>1</sup> to have happened at-last, when you would be, *O* emperor, as that *man*: juvenile, and gleeful, and health-bringing, and most-handsome.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, with merit, you have honored those most-august sacred-precincts with so-many places-of-donations, *so* that they already might not be seeking *the old-things*.”

Now in honor of his newfound recognition of Apollōn or Hélios (the detestable so-called god of the sun), Constantinus, from this point forward, began to replace his coinage (which had been previously inscribed with such words as “to Mars *the Conservator*” and an image of that abominable god of the Romans) with an image of this new god and an inscription, “To *the Invincible Sun, the Count*.”

### CHAPTER 73: GALERIUS STRUCK WITH A DISEASE [310-04?] & EUSEBIOS BECOMES OVERSEER OF ROMA [310-04-18 to 08-17]

Now Maximianus *Galerius* (the author of the persecution) was himself also already thinking about the putting-in-motion of his twenty-year-celebration. He, who had already not-long-ago afflicted the provinces by-means-of indications of gold and silver having been made, *in order* that he might be giving-back the *debts* which he had promised, furthermore inflicted another axe in the name of the twenty-year-celebration. This exaction bore vexation to the races of the humans, most-greatly to the things pertaining-to-the-yearly-produce. The soldiers of all offices (or rather even butchers), were adhering to *each single individual*. Therefore, the officer to whom satisfaction-was-to-be-made first was uncertain; pardon was not given to those who were not having anything. Multiple excruciations were having been sustained, if he might not be straightaway exhibiting what he was not *having*. There was not faculty of respiring due to the fact that it was being hedged-around by-means-of many guards; or at no time of the year was there even a scanty rest. There was a frequent fight of the judges over the same humans, or-even with the judges themselves, or-even with the soldiers. Not-any area was without an exactor, not-any vintage without a guard, nothing having been relinquished for<sup>3</sup> the victuals of those who were laboring. Though these<sup>4</sup> things would be intolerable, foods which had been sought by labor only to be being ripped-out of the mouth of humans, would nevertheless be being sustainable by some measure or-even by hope of a future. But why vestures of every kind?<sup>5</sup> Why gold? Why silver? Therefore, with the goods of all humans having been swept-out, he, with all this aid which was under his imperial-command having been scraped-together<sup>6</sup> for a votive-offering,<sup>7</sup> was planning to be celebrating his twenty-year-celebration.

Accordingly, meanwhile, after Licinius had been called-by-the-name of emperor, Maximinus *Daia* was terribly grieving and was angered. For even up to then,<sup>8</sup> in-the-presence of all, they were orating him only ‘Caesar.’ And he was not-even wishing for himself to be being named ‘Caesar’ nor-even to be holding the third place of authority. Therefore, Maximianus *Galerius* sent<sup>9</sup> legates to Maximinus *Daia* often. He prayed<sup>10</sup> to him that he might be complying-with this, that he might be keeping his-own disposition, that he might be ceding to age and might be deferring honor to gray hairs.

But Maximinus *Daia* more-audaciously took-up<sup>11</sup> his horns and fought<sup>12</sup> by-means-of his right of precedence,<sup>9</sup> that he himself was being-indebted to be ahead<sup>10</sup> of them, who would have gotten the purple ahead<sup>11</sup> of them. He contemned his entreaties and mandates.

That beast, Maximianus *Galerius*, felt-pain<sup>13</sup> and bellowed<sup>14</sup>. When he<sup>12</sup> had made that ignoble Maximinus *Daia* into a Caesar for-the-reason that he would have been yielding to him, *Daia*, nevertheless (having forgot his-own so-vast benefit), was impiously fighting-back against *Galerius*’ wish and entreaties.

Maximianus *Galerius*, having been vanquished by *Daia*’s contumacy, removed<sup>13</sup> the name of Caesars, and he appellated<sup>14</sup> himself and Licinius ‘August-Ones’, and Maximinus *Daia* and Constantinus ‘sons of August-Ones’.

Therefore, he,<sup>14</sup> the one being especially tyrannical, after he surely snatched-away<sup>15</sup> the worthiness for himself, was now an August-One, he himself having become one by himself. And after-a-while,<sup>15</sup> Maximinus *Daia* wrote<sup>16</sup>, as-if messaging something in the open-plain of-Mars at the latest<sup>16</sup> thing have been celebrated, that he himself had been called-by-the-name of “August-One” by the troop. Maximianus *Galerius* received the message sad as-well-as feeling-pain, and he directed for the four of them to be being named “emperors” universally.

The 18th year of Maximianus *Galerius* was already being put-in-motion, and the rulers were still having-in-mind more and harsher things against the Christians, newly-working the torments against them by-means-of more-varied machinations. And when he had made a field satisfyingly accommodating to the republic (by-means-of immense forests having been cut down as-well-as by-means-of Lake Pelso having been emitted into the Danubius river, which province, by grace, he appellated ‘Valeria’ after the name of his wife) God struck Maximianus *Galerius* (the owner of these evils) with an unhealable scourge, which, beginning-from his flesh, came-forward until it reached the soul.

For indeed, while he was at Serdica, a suppurative-inflammation came-to-be<sup>17</sup> to him in-a-mass around the middle of the ineffable parts of the body. Next, an evil perforated<sup>17</sup> ulcer was<sup>18</sup> being-birthing in deep to him in the lower<sup>18</sup> parts of the genital organs. It crawled<sup>19</sup> widely. The medics sliced<sup>20</sup>; they cured<sup>21</sup> him.<sup>19</sup> Instead, by-means-of the scar which was already induced, the wound was<sup>20</sup> split, and, by-means-of the veins which were ruptured, blood flowed<sup>20</sup> up to the peril of death. Nevertheless, the bloodshed was scarcely made-to-stand still. There was a new cure arising from out of a previously untouched method. In-the-end, it was<sup>20</sup> led-through to a scar. Again,<sup>20</sup> by-means-of a light motion of the body, he was<sup>20</sup> wounded. More loss of blood ran-from<sup>20</sup> him than before. He himself became-dull-white<sup>20</sup> as-well-as made-lean<sup>20</sup> by-means-of lost<sup>21</sup> strength. And then, indeed, the rill of the bloodshed was<sup>20</sup> inhibited. The wound started<sup>20</sup> not to be sensing the medicine. Each next cancer invaded<sup>20</sup>; and by-as-much-as it was sliced-around more, the wider it raged.<sup>22</sup> The more it was<sup>20</sup> cured, the more it increased<sup>20</sup>. Noble medics were<sup>20</sup> dragged from-everywhere. Human hands moved-forward<sup>20</sup> nothing. He was<sup>20</sup> made-to-completely-flee toward idols. Apollōn and Asklēpios were<sup>20</sup> being-prayed-to. A remedy was<sup>20</sup> being importuned. Apollōn gave<sup>20</sup> a cure. The evil was<sup>20</sup> augmented much more-evilly.

Outright-death was already not being-absent for long, and it had completely-seized all his lower<sup>23</sup> parts. His innermost bowels were<sup>20</sup> completely-putrefying from-outside, and the total buttock<sup>24</sup> was<sup>20</sup> slipping-apart in a melting. Nevertheless, the infelicitous medics (even without hope of being-victorious-over the evil) did<sup>20</sup> not leave-off to be warming and to be curing him. After the marrows were reperussed, the evil receded<sup>20</sup> toward-the-inside and completely-apprehended the internal organs. From them,<sup>25</sup> worms were<sup>20</sup> created inside, also a deadly smell was breathing-forth. (For all the encumbrance of the bodies, from out of his over-eating<sup>26</sup> even before the sickness, had been entirely-changed<sup>27</sup> into a surpassing multitude<sup>28</sup> fat.) The odor pervaded<sup>20</sup> not only throughout the palace but instead the total civil-community. And this was not marvelous, when the exit of his feces and urine were already having been poured-together. He was<sup>20</sup> consumed by worms and his body was<sup>20</sup> dissolved into putridity with intolerable pains. He simultaneously took-up horrendous clamors toward the skies, such-as a maimed bull, having been made-to-bellow, flees. Animal parts having been cooked and hot were being apposed to his buttock<sup>29</sup> which was flowing, so that hotness might be luring-out the little-worms. After they were released, a certain inestimable<sup>30</sup> swarm<sup>31</sup> of worms gushed,<sup>32</sup> and, nevertheless, the fecund outright-death of the melting bowels had generated a much greater supply. Already, after the evil was diverted throughout the body, the parts of the body had dismissed their normal look. The upper<sup>33</sup> portion up to the wound ruined<sup>20</sup>, and, with miserable meagerness, the lurid skin had sat-down elongated between the bones. The lower<sup>34</sup> portion, without any form of feet, after it was inflated into the mode of a bag, divided. Therefore, after his members were rotted-down by this unnatural sickness, he afforded the intolerable and most-to-be-shuddered-at beholding to the ones who were nearing him.

\* \* \* \* \*

Now Eusebios was constituted overseer of the assembly at Roma on the 14th day before the Kalends of May.<sup>35</sup> While he was overseeing the Christians there, two contradictory opinions arose. Heraclius forbade Christians who had lapsed during the persecution to be feeling-pain for their sins. Eusebios taught these miserable individuals to be weeping for their-own crimes. The populace was split into parts by-means-of developing fury. Sedition. Cutting down. War. Discord. Strife.

<sup>1</sup> literally “arbitrating”

<sup>2</sup> literally “most-pretty”

<sup>3</sup> literally “to/toward”

<sup>4</sup> literally “which”

<sup>5</sup> literally “race”

<sup>6</sup> literally “shaved-together”

<sup>7</sup> literally “vow”

<sup>8</sup> literally “For into still then”

<sup>9</sup> literally “his prescription of time”

<sup>10</sup> literally “, for he himself to be being-indebted to be prior”

<sup>11</sup> literally “prior”

<sup>12</sup> literally “who”

<sup>13</sup> literally “took-up”

<sup>14</sup> literally “who”

<sup>15</sup> literally “After-a-measure”

<sup>16</sup> literally “nearest”

<sup>17</sup> literally “pipe-like”

<sup>18</sup> literally “inferior”

<sup>19</sup> may also be translated “they cared for him”

<sup>20</sup> literally “Back”

<sup>21</sup> literally “gotten-away”

<sup>22</sup> literally “become-savage”

<sup>23</sup> literally “inferior”

<sup>24</sup> literally “seat”

<sup>25</sup> literally “which”

<sup>26</sup> literally “excessive-nourishment”

<sup>27</sup> literally “thrown-into-a-different-position”

<sup>28</sup> literally “a surpassiveness of a multitude”

<sup>29</sup> literally “seat”

<sup>30</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios “unspeakable”

<sup>31</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios “multitude”

<sup>32</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios “vented”

<sup>33</sup> literally “superior”

<sup>34</sup> literally “inferior”

<sup>35</sup> (310)-04-18

Instantly,<sup>1</sup> they were, side-by-side, knocked away by-means-of the fierceness of the tyrant, *Maxentius*, at the time when the director was keeping the leagues of peace untouched. *Eusebios* brought himself through the exile to the Lord, gleeful, under the judging. By the shore of *Trinacrium*, he relinquished the world and his life in the 16th day before the Kalends of September.<sup>2</sup> And on the 6th day before the Kalends of October,<sup>3</sup> the body of *Eusebios*, overseer and testifier, was deposited in the cemetery of *Kallistos* which is on the *Appian Way* in *Roma*. After this, the oversight of the assembly at *Roma* became vacant for a time.<sup>4</sup>

#### CHAPTER 74: TESTIMONIES OF PÉLEUS AND NEILOS AND PATERMOUTHIOS AND ELLJAH [310-09-19]

The 7th year of the contest of the Christians was being accomplished. And quietly, the attacks against the Christians tranquilly received a dormant state<sup>5</sup> (which, after this, also elapsed into the 8th year). On the 19th day of *Gorpiaios* (which is the 13th day before the Kalends of October),<sup>6</sup> on-both-sides-of the bronze mines in *Palaestina*, not a little multitude of those who were confessing were being welded-together<sup>7</sup> as-well-as were making-use-of much<sup>8</sup> outspokenness, as even to construct houses into assemblies. They were about 150 in their number, and many of them (over a hundred) were Egyptians.

These first had their right eyes and the sinews of their left feet to be rendered-useless<sup>9</sup> by-means-of burners and by-means-of the sword; and afterward, they were delivered to the mines to dig bronze. And the Palaestianians also endured the like sufferings as the Egyptians. But all of them together were assembled at the place called *Zoar*, like an assembly consisting of many persons, and there was a great crowd with them, who had come from other districts to see them. And there were many others, who ministered to them in those things of which they had need, and who visited them in love and supplied the things which they were lacking, and who were ministering all day in prayer and the ministry of God and in teaching and reading-aloud. And they accounted all the afflictions which befell them as pleasure, and they spent all that time as though in a festive gathering.

But on-the-spot, the chief of the province (who was a terrible god-detester and wicked envier), after he temporarily-populated-among<sup>10</sup> them and after he learned about the pastime<sup>11</sup> of the Christians in-that-place, was not able to bear these things, and he made-common<sup>o</sup> knowledge as-much-as he thought fit to one of the kings, writing them down for<sup>12</sup> a slander against them.

Next, a general of the Romans, being called a duke, was sent against them. And the man having been commanded to oversee the mines, after he stood-over the Christians, first of all (as if it were coming from out<sup>13</sup> of royal assent<sup>14</sup>) distributed the multitude of the confessors one from another: Indeed, the ones he pastured to be dwelling in *Kypros*, but the others in *Lebanon*, but the others in *Zoar*, but the others to *Punon* where the bronze is being dug, scattering some here and others there throughout various countries of *Palaestina*. And after this, he directed<sup>o</sup> all the Christians on to be exerting themselves with certain diverse works.

Next, after called<sup>15</sup> to himself four men out of the ones in *Punon* (the ones especially seeming to be capital-men of them) in order that, by them, he might terrify the rest, he sent<sup>16</sup> the four by onto the ones having stood-over the troops on-the-spot. Now two of these were overseers of Egyptians: *Péleus*<sup>17</sup> and *Neilos*. And the other two were choice men of-the-people: an elderly-man named *Elijah*, and *Patermouthios*<sup>18</sup> (who, on-the-basis-of these things, was more-well-known to all the ones due to the effort he made regarding<sup>19</sup> all persons). And all of them were Egyptians by race.

Therefore, after they were led to the test, the encampment-chief requested them<sup>20</sup> to make a denial of the reverence-for-God. And after not one of them was dismayed and after he did not obtain a denial from them, the unmerciful dealer-of-justice (thinking that no punishment was as evil as that of a fire) delivered<sup>o</sup> the holy testifiers of God up to their finish. And after they were led to the flames, they threw themselves into them without fear and endured their end through a fire.

#### CHAPTER 75: GALERIUS RESTRAINS THE PURSUIT [311-04-30]

<sup>1</sup> literally "out-of-time"

<sup>2</sup> (310)-08-17

<sup>3</sup> (310)-09-26

<sup>4</sup> Jerome gives 7 months for the length of his oversight, but this includes both the 4 months of his actual oversight and the following 3 month vacancy.

<sup>5</sup> literally "received the lack-of-working-around state"

<sup>6</sup> 310-09-19

<sup>7</sup> literally "clapped-together"

<sup>8</sup> literally "much the"

<sup>9</sup> literally "rendered-unneeded"

<sup>10</sup> literally "populated-on"

<sup>11</sup> literally "leading-through" (usually translated "spending")

<sup>12</sup> literally "into"

<sup>13</sup> literally "as would out"

<sup>14</sup> literally "nod"

<sup>15</sup> literally "said"

<sup>16</sup> literally "said"

<sup>17</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "Paulus"

<sup>18</sup> EusS(Gk) / EusL(Syr1) "Patrimuthaios"

<sup>19</sup> literally "about"

<sup>20</sup> literally "whom (plural)"

Now therefore, while these *infections of sickness* had been done<sup>21</sup> perpetually to *Maximianus Galerius* throughout the course of a year, of the healers: Indeed, such-as the ones who were not-even wholly able to endure the deviation of the surpassing foul-odor were being slaughtered-down; but the ones (since, with the entire<sup>22</sup> encumbrance having fully-swelled and having fallen-off into a hopeless chance of salvation, no-one was being-able to be aiding him) were being killed unmercifully. When a certain individual among them,<sup>23</sup> remarked,<sup>o</sup> "Why, emperor, are you erring and reckoning it to be being-possible for what is God bringing-in to be being revoked by-means-of humans? And this is not a human sickness, nor-even being cured from medics. Instead, be taking-it-to-heart-again, how-much you carried-out against<sup>24</sup> the servants of God, and what you have impiously and profanely stood-forth against<sup>25</sup> the divine religion, and you will gain-intelligence from-where the remedies which you are begging for might be given to you. For even I, indeed, will be able to be dying with rest; nevertheless, you will not be cured from medics."<sup>26</sup>

And surely, in-the-end at-a-late hour, while he was wrestling with so-many evil things, throughout the interval of a new urging pain, he, having been tamed by the evils, at-some-time received<sup>27</sup> a simultaneous-sensing of the things which were dared to be done by him against the god-revering-ones. But therefore, after he congregated his<sup>28</sup> mindset into himself, indeed he was<sup>o</sup> first driven to be confessing-forth<sup>29</sup> to the God of the whole universe. After-that,<sup>30</sup> after he called-up the ones who were on-both-sides of him, he exclaimed<sup>o</sup> that he himself would be restituting the temple of God and would make satisfaction for his felony. And he thoroughly-directed<sup>31</sup> them without delay<sup>32</sup> to cease-off the pursuit against Christians, by both laws and royal decrees, to be urging and to be compelling for their assemblies to be being built and for the usual practice among them to be being accomplished, while prayers were being made in-behalf of the royal-palace. At-least-then at-once, a work closely-followed the account and he ceased-off the pursuit against Christians. And while he was already being-deficient, royal orders were being unfolded throughout every city, including<sup>33</sup> the recantation<sup>34</sup> of the things done against the Christians. The edict which he sent<sup>35</sup> was in this manner:<sup>36</sup>

{Emperor Caesar Galerius Valerius Maximianus, the Invincible, the August-One, Greatest Chief-Priest, Greatest Germanicus, Greatest Egyptiacus, Greatest Thébaicus, Greatest Sarmaticus, Greatest Persicus twice, Greatest Caesar six-times, Greatest Armeniacus, Greatest Medicus, Greatest Hadyabenicus, of tribunician authority for the twentieth time, emperor for the nineteenth time, consul for the eighth time, father of the fatherland, proconsul; and Emperor Caesar Flavius Valerius Constantinus, the Pious, the Good-Fortuned, the Invincible, the August-One, Greatest Chief-Priest, of tribunician authority, emperor for the fifth time, consul, father of the fatherland, proconsul; and Emperor Caesar Valerius Licinianus Licinius, the Pious, the Good-Fortuned, the Invincible, the August-One, Greatest Chief-Priest, of tribunician authority for the fourth time, emperor for the third time, consul, father of the fatherland, proconsul, to their-own provincials, be rejoicing.}<sup>37 38</sup>

Between the rest of the things which we are always disposing<sup>39</sup> on-behalf-of the commodity as-well-as the utility<sup>40</sup> of the republic, we indeed, before-this time, had wished to be correcting<sup>41</sup> all<sup>42</sup> things according-to the old laws and public discipline<sup>43</sup> of the Romans, as-well-as to be providing<sup>44</sup> for it,<sup>45</sup> so that furthermore<sup>46</sup> the Christians, who had relinquished the sect of their-own parents, would be going-back to their good minds<sup>47</sup>—since-indeed by-means-of some reason<sup>48</sup> so-vast a wish<sup>49</sup> had invaded and so-vast a foolishness<sup>50</sup> had occupied<sup>51</sup> those same

<sup>21</sup> literally "are having been done/made"

<sup>22</sup> literally ("the entire") "all the"

<sup>23</sup> literally "in whom"

<sup>24</sup> literally "in"

<sup>25</sup> literally "in"

<sup>26</sup> Eusebios(Gk) / Eusebios(Rufinus), Orosius add

<sup>27</sup> Life / Eusebios "had"

<sup>28</sup> literally "the"

<sup>29</sup> Life / Eusebios "making-confessing" / Lactantius "confessing"

<sup>30</sup> Life / Eusebios "Next"

<sup>31</sup> Life / Eusebios "ordered"

<sup>32</sup> literally ("without delay") "after nothing was put-above" or in the sense of "after nothing was reserved"

<sup>33</sup> literally "having-all-around"

<sup>34</sup> literally "palinode"

<sup>35</sup> literally "he has sent"

<sup>36</sup> The original Latin version is non-extant, existing only in a Greek translation contemporaneous to the Latin.

<sup>37</sup> literally "to be rejoicing"

<sup>38</sup> many Eusebios / some important Eusebios omit "and Emperor Caesar Valerius Licinianus...rejoicing"

<sup>39</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "thoroughly-printing" (lit. "thoroughly-typing")

<sup>40</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "behalf-of the useful and advantageous state"

<sup>41</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "to correct" (lit. "to correct-up-on")

<sup>42</sup> Lactantius (lit. "conjoined") / Eusebios "all"

<sup>43</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "experience"

<sup>44</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "to be make provision/foresight"

<sup>45</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "this"

<sup>46</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "even/and/also"

<sup>47</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "proposition"

<sup>48</sup> literally "rationalization"

<sup>49</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "greed"

<sup>50</sup> Lactantius, many Eusebios / some important Eusebios omit "and so-vast...foolishness"

<sup>51</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "overtook"

Christians,<sup>1</sup> so that they might not be following those institutions of<sup>2</sup> the old-persons (which perhaps the parents of those same individuals had even<sup>3</sup> constituted at first). Instead each one was making institutions in-behalf-of his-own arbitration<sup>4</sup> as-well-as as it was found-glad to the same individuals.<sup>5</sup> So they would be making even<sup>6</sup> laws to themselves which they might be observing,<sup>7</sup> and they would be congregating through<sup>8</sup> diverse various peoples.<sup>9</sup>

At-length, when our directive-of-this-sort had stood-forth,<sup>10</sup> in order that the institutions<sup>11</sup> might be bringing them together to the old-things,<sup>12</sup> indeed many are having been subjugated to peril, furthermore many are having been disturbed-down by it.<sup>13</sup>

But-also when<sup>14</sup> most would have been persevering in their proposition<sup>15</sup> as-well-as when we were seeing that those same individuals were not-even exhibiting<sup>16</sup> cultivation to the gods, the ones in-heaven,<sup>17</sup> as-well-as the religion which was being-indebted nor-even to be observing the God<sup>18</sup> of the Christians (by-means-of the contemplation of our most-mild clemency,<sup>19</sup> and gazing-at the always-eternal practice<sup>20</sup> by which it is usual for us to be granting-indulgence of a pardon to the conjoint body of humans),<sup>21</sup> we have believed that our most-prompt indulgence is<sup>22</sup> to be set-forth among<sup>23</sup> these individuals too. We are doing this, in order that they might be Christians anew and might be composing their-own small-convents,<sup>24</sup> so that they might not be putting-in-motion something which is contrary to discipline. However, through<sup>25</sup> a different letter, we are to be signifying to the judges what they would be being indebted to be observing.

From-this, according-to this indulgence of ours, they are to be indebted to be praying<sup>26</sup> to their-own God in-behalf-of our safety and that of the republic as-well-as of their-own, in order that the republic (having been turned from-everywhere) might be being stood-toward an uncalamitous condition, and they might be being-able to be living secure<sup>27</sup> in their-own seats.<sup>28</sup>

Indeed this edict was<sup>9</sup> surely proposed in Nikomédeia on the day-before the Kalends of May, when he himself for the 8th time and Maximinus Daia again were consuls,<sup>29</sup> and the recantation of the royal nod was unfolding in-every-way and everywhere both throughout Asia and the provinces on-both-sides-of this region.

## CHAPTER 76: MAXIMINUS DAIA PRETENDS TO RESTRAIN THE PURSUIT [311] / DEATH OF GALERIUS [311-04 or 5?]

After this<sup>30</sup> edict was posted in this<sup>31</sup> manner, then the prisons were opened. And Donatus (the dearest friend of Lactantius) with the rest of the confessors, were<sup>32</sup> liberated out of custody, when the prison had been in-place-of a housing-place to him for six years.

But Maximinus Daia, the tyrant over the east<sup>33</sup> (having become a man most-irreverent and most-belligerent to the piety into the God of the whole universe), after he was by-no-means pleased with the things which were written, instead of the document which was proposed to the ones who were ruling under him, ordered<sup>o</sup> them, with a verbal account to unfasten the war against the Christians. For since it was not otherwise being licensed to him to be speaking-against the judgment of the ones who were mightier than him, he, after he put the law which

was previously-put-forth in a stuffed place and after he took-care how it would not be led into a foreseen state in the parts under him, he ordered<sup>o</sup> an unwritten ordinance to the ones who were ruling under him, to unfasten the pursuit against the Christians. But the rulers threw-out-hints<sup>34</sup> of the contents of the inciting to one-another through writing. At-least-then, Sabinus (the one having been honored with the worthiness of the most-eminent<sup>35</sup> prefect in their presence), displayed<sup>36</sup> the resolve of a king to the ones who were leading throughout every nation through a Latin<sup>37</sup> letter.<sup>38</sup>

{With an effort most-glistening<sup>39</sup> and having been devoted, the divinity of our most-divine masters and emperors, still long-ago<sup>40</sup> ordained for the mindsets of all the humans to lead-around toward the sacred and upright way of the life, so-that the ones who were seeming<sup>41</sup> to be following a customary-experience foreign to that of Romans were to be imposing the religions which were being-indebted to the immortal gods. Instead, the steadfastness<sup>42</sup> and roughest counsel of certain individuals revolved<sup>43</sup> into so-much so as for them neither to be being-able to be retiring out of their own proposition by the right rationalization of the directive, nor to be caused-to-fear<sup>44</sup> the punishment being laid-upon them.

Now-consequently, since it happened<sup>45</sup> from out of the conduct<sup>46</sup> such as this for many individuals to be throwing themselves around into danger, the divinity of our masters (the most-powerful emperors), according-to the high-birth of the piety which is being-near them, proving that the action arising out of the crime<sup>47</sup> such as this to be throwing the humans around into so-much danger, to be foreign to their own divine proposition,<sup>48</sup> directed, through my devotedness to thoroughly-etch the following to your ready-wit: in order that, if a certain one of the Christians would be found following-after<sup>49</sup> the religion of his own nation, you would keep<sup>50</sup> him away from the annoyance against him and from the danger, and that you would not conclude that anyone is to be chastiseable with punishment from out of this pretext, when (by-means-of the coming-together of so-much time) it has been proved that they have in no manner been enabled<sup>51</sup> to have been persuaded so-that they would retire from such steadfastness.<sup>52</sup> For-consequently, your attention is indebted to write to the accountants and the generals and the superintendents of the cantons of each city, in order that they would know that it is not fitting-to<sup>53</sup> them for concern to be being made further of this document. }

But on hearing this, the rulers throughout each province, the ones who were concluding that the preference<sup>54</sup> of the things which were written to them were proving-true,<sup>55</sup> appointed<sup>56</sup> in full view<sup>57</sup> the royal resolve through documents to accountants and generals and the ones who were commanding throughout each field. But it was proceeding,<sup>58</sup> not only to them through writing, but was much more-prominent even in works, as if they would, while leading the royal nod into the limits, be (while leading them forward into a manifest state) freeing as-many-as they were having who had been shut-down in a prison due to their confession into the Divine-One, surely unfastening some of these same individuals who had been given onto punishment in the mines. For they, having been deluded, had<sup>59</sup> supposed that this seemed to be founded on truth with one of the Kings.

And after these things were surely finished-up in-this-manner and they had extinguished-off the fire-place against the Christians by-means-of these kind<sup>60</sup> public-documents<sup>61</sup> and tame orders about the Christians, in-a-mass, there were seen assemblies of Christians throughout every city being welded-together<sup>62</sup> as-

<sup>1</sup> Lactantius ("those same Christians") / Eusebios "them"

<sup>2</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "following the things which were shown-how-to-be-done by"

<sup>3</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios add

<sup>4</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "proposition"

<sup>5</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "as-well-as each individua; was wishing"

<sup>6</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios add

<sup>7</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "themselves and to be closely-observing these things"

<sup>8</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "in"

<sup>9</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "multitudes"

<sup>10</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "closely-followed"

<sup>11</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "the things which were appointed (lit. "stood-down")"

<sup>12</sup> Lactantius "that they would be discharging themselves onto the things which were appointed (lit. "stood-down") by the ancient things (or "ancient ones")"

<sup>13</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "indeed, many, after they were thrown-under danger, but many after they were disturbed, were bearing-up-under all-sorts-of deaths."

<sup>14</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "since"

<sup>15</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "in the same loss-of-mind"

<sup>16</sup> literally "seeing for those same individuals not-even to be exhibiting"

<sup>17</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios add

<sup>18</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "be paying-attention to the one"

<sup>19</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "our philanthropy"

<sup>20</sup> Lactantius (literally "always-eternal usage") / Eusebios "continuous customary-experience"

<sup>21</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "to all humans"

<sup>22</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "is being-necessary"

<sup>23</sup> literally "in"

<sup>24</sup> Lactantius ("their-own...convents") / Eusebios "the houses in which they were being congregated"

<sup>25</sup> Eusebios / Lactantius omit "through"

<sup>26</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "supplicating"

<sup>27</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "free-from-worry"

<sup>28</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "hearths"

<sup>29</sup> 311-04-30

<sup>30</sup> literally "which"

<sup>31</sup> literally "the"

<sup>32</sup> literally "are having been"

<sup>33</sup> literally "rising-up"

<sup>34</sup> literally "signified-under"

<sup>35</sup> literally "having-out"

<sup>36</sup> literally "shone-in"

<sup>37</sup> literally "Romanic"

<sup>38</sup> The original Latin version is non-extant, existing only in a Greek translation contemporaneous to the Latin.

<sup>39</sup> literally "Fattiest"

<sup>40</sup> literally "of-old"

<sup>41</sup> may also be translated "thinking"

<sup>42</sup> literally "in-standing"

<sup>43</sup> literally "stood-around"

<sup>44</sup> literally "to be fearing-out"

<sup>45</sup> literally "stepped-together"

<sup>46</sup> literally "manner/turn"

<sup>47</sup> literally "cause"

<sup>48</sup> literally "to the proposition, the divine proposition, their own proposition"

<sup>49</sup> literally "being-after"

<sup>50</sup> literally "stand"

<sup>51</sup> literally "it commended for them to have been enabled"

<sup>52</sup> literally "in-standing"

<sup>53</sup> literally "know it not to be fitting-to"

<sup>54</sup> literally "the choosing-of-one-thing-before"

<sup>55</sup> literally "concluding for the...to them to be proving-true"

<sup>56</sup> literally "stood-down"

<sup>57</sup> literally "appearing-in"

<sup>58</sup> literally "progressing-before"

<sup>59</sup> literally "have"

<sup>60</sup> may also be translated "useful"

<sup>61</sup> literally "programs"

<sup>62</sup> literally "clapped-together"



well-as all-multitudinous meetings, and the conductings<sup>1</sup> at<sup>2</sup> these *places* being finished-up *from* out of custom. But every certain *one* of the faithless nations had been struck-down with *astonishment* (not in *any* small degree) on-the-basis-of these *things*, marveling-much-at the incredible *nature* of the so-vast transition,<sup>3</sup> while crying-over themselves *that* the God of the Christians was both great and alone truthful.

But of the Christians: Indeed, the *ones* who had athletically-competed in the contest of the pursuit of the *Christians* faithfully and manly, were again receiving-back the outspokenness toward all *persons*. But as-many-as, having been become-sick in the *things* of the faith, were happening to have storm-tossed their souls, were jovially hastening concerning<sup>4</sup> their-own treatments, imploring and requesting the *ones* who were with-stamina for a right *hand* of salvation for themselves, as-well-as earnestly-entreating God to be merciful to them.

But next, even the noble athletes of the reverence-for-God, being freed of the suffering-of-evil into the mines, were being placed at<sup>5</sup> their *own* places, prancing and beaming through every city, quite-full of both unspeakable gladness and of outspokenness which is not-even possible to interpret in accounts. But therefore, compact-bodies of-many-humans were accomplishing the *things* of their journey<sup>6</sup> throughout the middle of highways and marketplaces, celebrating God in-hymn with songs and psalms. And the *ones*, who, a small *time* previously, had been driven-away *from* their fatherlands with a most-unsoothing punishment, were seen receiving-back their own hearts with faces which were cheerful and having reveled, so as even for the *ones* who were formerly being-murderous against the Christians, upon seeing the marvel *having become* against all hope, to be rejoicing-together with the *things* having come-to-be.

Nevertheless, a few days after the confession such-as-this, after Maximianus Galerius commended his-own mate (*Valeria*, daughter of *Diocletianus*) and son (*Candidianus*) to Licinius as-well-as delivered them into his hand, when already the members and genital parts of his total body were flowing-in-different-directions, he was consumed<sup>7</sup> by a horrifying melting. And at-once (*though* not for<sup>8</sup> long), while he himself was not sustaining the excruciations, be brought violence<sup>9</sup> against his-own life. And<sup>10</sup> after he was released-from the pains, he ceased<sup>11</sup> the present lifetime in Dardania, with his bowels opened and putrefied. This became-known<sup>12</sup> at Nikomédeia in the same month of April, during the consulate of Maximianus Galerius for the 8th time<sup>13</sup> (when the future twenty-year-celebration would have been during the impending Kalends of March).<sup>14</sup>

Indeed, such was the rightful-punishment which the *one* who made-a-beginning of the persecution was undergoing. He had held-the-imperial-command for 19<sup>15</sup> years (being an August-One<sup>16</sup> of five<sup>17</sup>-years but carrying the power of a Caesar for 13 years), and he was<sup>18</sup> buried in Dacia Ripensis (the same place where he was born,<sup>19</sup> a place which he had appellated 'Romulianum' out of the name<sup>20</sup> of his mother *Romulia*). And Licinius was holding<sup>21</sup> the kingdom. So the republic of the Romans was at-that-time being grasped by the four new emperors:<sup>22</sup> Constantinus and Maxentius (sons of August-Ones), and Licinius and Maximinus<sup>23</sup> *Daia* (new humans).

## CHAPTER 77: DEFEAT OF ALEXANDRUS IN AFRICA [c. 309~311]

Now by this time, *Maxentius* was searching-for a pretext for<sup>24</sup> a war against<sup>25</sup> Constantinus. And although he was not being moved by the passing<sup>26</sup> of his father, *Maximianus Herculus* (toward whom he bore impiety), since Constantinus had given to him a cause of his death,<sup>27</sup> he, after he made himself to be being sorrowed on-the-basis-of the death of his<sup>28</sup> father, was thoroughly-intending<sup>29</sup> to be driving forward onto Raetia as-if he was to be vindicating the death of his

<sup>1</sup> literally "acts-of-leading"

<sup>2</sup> literally "on"

<sup>3</sup> literally "throw-into-a-different-position"

<sup>4</sup> literally "about"

<sup>5</sup> literally "on"

<sup>6</sup> literally "going"

<sup>7</sup> literally "he is having been consumed"

<sup>8</sup> literally "into"

<sup>9</sup> literally "strength"

<sup>10</sup> Orosius (a late source) is the only one to provide this information

<sup>11</sup> literally "exchanges"

<sup>12</sup> literally "become-cognitive"

<sup>13</sup> 311 AD

<sup>14</sup> (312)-03-01 AD (the current year is 311 AD, and that celebration was to be the following year)

<sup>15</sup> AnoVal / Eutropius "18" (both 19 and 18 are correct, depending on how one adds and/or rounds the numbers) / Chronography 344 "16, 8 months, 12 days" (though Chronography gives this period as the combined length of the reign of "Constantius and Maximianus Galerius")

<sup>16</sup> Epitome / Liber "imperial-command"

<sup>17</sup> Liber / Epitome "three" (incorrect)

<sup>18</sup> literally "he is having been"

<sup>19</sup> literally "he took-his-origin"

<sup>20</sup> literally "vocabulary"

<sup>21</sup> literally "having"

<sup>22</sup> Eutropius / Orosius "princes"

<sup>23</sup> Eutropius spells "Maximinus" incorrectly as "Maximianus" here (a common confusion)

<sup>24</sup> literally "of"

<sup>25</sup> literally "to/toward"

<sup>26</sup> literally "exit"

<sup>27</sup> literally "of the end"

<sup>28</sup> literally "the"

<sup>29</sup> literally "thoroughly-comprehending"

father. *He choose Raetia* since<sup>30</sup> this nation is near Gallia and the regions of the Illyrians. For he was even making-dream-visions *that* he was going to be stationing<sup>31</sup> himself around Dalmatia and the Illyrians through the forces<sup>32</sup> of the leaders of-the-soldiers in-that-place and of Licinius.

Having these *things* in<sup>33</sup> mind, Maxentius was imagining *it* to be being necessary to thoroughly-settle the *affairs* in Libyé first.<sup>34</sup> And at-length, after the tyrant congregated a few cohorts of men, as-well-as after he stood Rufius Volusianus (the praetorian prefect)<sup>35</sup> to be a leader over these forces,<sup>36</sup> he sent-out some leaders together with him into Libyé. *One of these* was Zénas, also a man experienced<sup>37</sup> on-the-basis-of *matter* of-war and renowned by meekness.

But at the first strike-against *them*, after the soldiers *who were* together with Alexandrus bent-in, Alexandrus also fled-together onto a legion of-soldiers. After it<sup>38</sup> became under the control of their foes,<sup>39</sup> he himself, after he was arrested, was juggulated<sup>40</sup> by a troop from Constantinus.

But after this *situation* received<sup>41</sup> the end of the war for itself, free-space was given to blackmailers so as to speak against all *persons* (as-many-as were throughout Libyé *who were* having a well-off race or surplus) as if to be demonstrating *that they were* the *ones* who were of the same mind as Alexandrus. And a sparing was all-in-all given to no-one. For after Alexandrus was vanquished, Maxentius (feral and inhuman, as-well-as fouler by-means-of much libidinousness) directed for Carthage (a city reputed to be the splendor<sup>42</sup> of the earth) simultaneously with the prettiest places of Africa to be being wasted, to be being ripped-in-pieces, and to be being burned. *One of these* places was the town of Cirta, which had totally-fallen by-means-of the blockade of Alexandrus. Indeed, some of the inhabitants were both being done-away-with and were losing<sup>43</sup> the wealth they were having which they obtained, but others were being inflicted by crosses and savage engagements. And all Africa, which he had stationed to be destroying, was exhausted. But a triumph was being led into<sup>44</sup> Roma from out of the evils in Carthage.

Therefore, indeed, this was how it was in these places, after Maxentius accomplished these *things*, and after every acquisition of both cruelty<sup>45</sup> and licentiousness was brought to the *persons* throughout both Italia and Roma itself.

## CHAPTER 78: CAECILIANUS & MAJORINUS DISPUTE [c. 309~311]

In the same time, a certain Félix, a minister, due to a much famous letter having then been made about the tyrant emperor *Maxentius*, was<sup>46</sup> having been forced-up. Fearing peril, he lurked-away with Mensurius the overseer of the assembly of Christians at Carthage (the same Mensurius who had been accused of being a traitor, and who had prevented Christians from visiting many of the hungering and thirsting confessors who were in the prison by deploying Caecilianus to hinder them with armed men having thongs and whips). When Mensurius was publicly denying the request for him<sup>47</sup> to be given up, a relation was sent.<sup>48</sup> A rescript came, that if Mensurius would not give-back Félix the minister, he would be being set-straight at the Palatium.

After he was convened, he suffered no light constraint:<sup>49</sup> For as-many gold and silver ornaments as possible<sup>50</sup> were in the assembly, which he was not-even being-able to dig-and-hide-away in the earth, nor-even to be carrying<sup>51</sup> by himself. He commended them<sup>52</sup> to some seniors (as-if they were faithful) after a commemorative was made of them, a document which was given to a certain little-old-lady, so that, if he himself might not be coming-back,<sup>53</sup> after peace was given-back to the Christians, the little-old-lady might be giving that to whoever she would be finding sitting in the overseer's chair.

After he made-forward, he said his cause. He was directed<sup>54</sup> to return.<sup>55</sup> But he was not able to be coming-through to Carthage. For he died on the way.

The tempest of the persecution was completed,<sup>56</sup> and it was<sup>57</sup> terminated.<sup>1</sup> While God was directing, by-means-of Maxentius sending an indulgence, liberty was<sup>2</sup> restituted to the Christians.

<sup>30</sup> literally "as"

<sup>31</sup> literally "being"

<sup>32</sup> literally "powers"

<sup>33</sup> literally "throughout"

<sup>34</sup> literally "more-former"

<sup>35</sup> Aurelius(Liber) / Zosimus "the subordinate-chief of the court"

<sup>36</sup> literally "powers"

<sup>37</sup> usually translated "tried"

<sup>38</sup> literally "which"

<sup>39</sup> literally "warring-ones"

<sup>40</sup> Aurelius(Epitome) / Zosimus "choked-to-death" (literally "choked-out")

<sup>41</sup> literally "accepted"

<sup>42</sup> literally "decency"

<sup>43</sup> literally "causing-to-perish"

<sup>44</sup> literally "led-into into"

<sup>45</sup> literally "rawness"

<sup>46</sup> literally "who"

<sup>47</sup> literally "relation is having been sent"

<sup>48</sup> literally "narrowness"

<sup>49</sup> literally "most"

<sup>50</sup> literally "porting"

<sup>51</sup> literally "which" (plural)

<sup>52</sup> literally "going-back"

<sup>53</sup> literally "He is having been directed"

<sup>54</sup> literally "revert"

<sup>55</sup> literally "pushed-through"

<sup>56</sup> literally "it is having been"

Botrus and Celestius, lusting to be being ordained at Carthage, gave a work, so that, while the Numidians were being-absent, solely the overseers in-the vicinity would be being petitioned who would be celebrating the ordination at Carthage. For even before the oversight of Cyprianus, a tradition had been handed down to them, and through almost all the provinces universally, in order that, during the celebratings toward ordinations with-rites for that commonalty for whom a superintendent is being ordained, each of the nearest overseers of the same province would be convening, and an overseer is being chosen by the present commonalty, who have come-to-know most-fully the life of each single one and have perceived<sup>3</sup> the acts of each one from his conversation.

Then by the vote of the total populace, Caecilianus was<sup>4</sup> elected (the same Caecilianus who had hindered Christians from visiting confessors in prison by means of armed men with thongs and whips). And while Félix of Autumna was laying hands upon him, he was<sup>5</sup> ordained overseer.

Botrus and Celestius were<sup>6</sup> dejected of their hope. A brief of gold and of silver, as had been delegated from Mensurius, was delivered to Caecilianus who was seating himself there, with testifiers holding-to this.

The above mentioned seniors were<sup>7</sup> convoked. When they were being driven to be giving these things back, they withdrew<sup>8</sup> their feet from<sup>9</sup> communion with him; and not less, the other nominees, who also did not happen to be being ordained. And a certain female, Lucilla, as-well, with all her own, did not-wish to be being mixed in communion with him. For while the assembly was still in tranquility (before peace was altogether-shook by the disturbances of the persecution) when this female, Lucilla, was not being-able to be bearing<sup>10</sup> a rebuff of Caecilianus (who was then chief-minister), it was being said that she was making-libation-to<sup>11</sup> the bone of a dead human before she received the spiritual food and drink. And when she was laying-at-the-front with the chalice, after she was rebuffed for the bone of a dead human, she, after she was angered, went-apart with confusion. While she was angering and teaching, lest she would be succumbing to discipline, suddenly, the arisen tempest of the persecution had occurred.

By-means-of these three persons, causes were<sup>12</sup> brought against Caecilianus, in order that he might be being said to be being-faulty. It was sent<sup>13</sup> to Secundus of Tigisi (who was then holding<sup>14</sup> the primacy of the overseers of Numidia), in order that he might be coming to Carthage. In-the-end, Secundus the overseer and a body of almost seventy overseers, set-forward<sup>15</sup> to Carthage. Now included among these overseers were: Purpurius from Limata (the one who was being said to have put-to-death at Milevis two sons of his sister); and several others who, having delivered up holy writings and, due to this, were labeled “traitors”, were subsequently pardoned and allowed to retain their oversight; as well as some who did not deliver up holy writings, but were yet accused as “traitors” because they delivered up other writings instead of the holy writings, or because they delivered up something as petty as a mere silver lamp—all of whose faults Secundus had previously pardoned<sup>16</sup> and granted an indulgence to them in-turn in the council of Numidia. When they came, they were welcomed with hospitality, not by those at whose petition Caecilianus had been ordained, but from the others, including Lucilla.

Now at first, the greater ones of the allotted-ones of the body of almost seventy overseers who were sent<sup>17</sup> congregated outside from the assembly and not-one of them went-to the basilica, in-which-place the total civic numerous-attendance had been with Caecilianus. They did not-wish to be going to the allotted-ones of Carthage. Instead, when these nearly seventy overseers were thinking to be wishing by whatever means<sup>18</sup> to be lulling the blame of Caecilianus, lest a schism might be made, they gave a certain visitor, whom they laid down as an interventor, to the populace of his-own communion which was constituted at Carthage. Therefore, this interventor was cut-down by the supporters of Caecilianus in his-own small-convent.

Therefore, Secundus and the overseers invited Caecilianus to come out to them. But Caecilianus did not-wish to be coming to the hospitality of his colleagues. Because of this and because they found that Caecilianus had not been correctly<sup>19</sup> constituted, Secundus of Tigisi and the other overseers were damning Caecilianus, overseer of the assembly of Carthage together with his colleagues and ordainers, all of who, being-absent, altogether did not-wish to be attending their<sup>20</sup> judgment.

Then a mandate came<sup>21</sup> from Caecilianus, “If there is something which is being proved against<sup>22</sup> me, may the accuser be going-out and may he be proving it.”

At that time, nothing was being-able to be being brought against<sup>23</sup> him from the total body of his enemies. Instead, they thought he merited to be being made-infamous from his ordainer, Félix, who was being said by them to be a traitor.

A mandate again came<sup>24</sup> from Caecilianus, that, if Félix might have had conferred nothing on<sup>25</sup> him, they themselves might be ordaining Caecilianus as-though he were still a minister.

Then Purpurius the overseer said<sup>26</sup> in-this-manner, “May that man be going-out from here as-if he would be having hands laid upon him in the oversight, and may that man’s head be being quashed from a change-of-mind.”

After the affairs of these individuals were laid-open, the total assembly retained Caecilianus, that it would not deliver itself to mercenaries. By that time, Caecilianus was being-indebted to be being expelled from the seat as a culprit, or he was indebted to be being communicated-with in innocence.

The assembly was completely-crammed with people. The overseer chair was full. The altar was in its-own place. In-this-manner, all of those of the party which opposed Caecilianus went-out<sup>27</sup> through-the-doors and left the assembly.

Now Lucilla gave a premium of 400 pieces-of-money to the senior Silvanus, overseer of Cirta (who had been accused of being a traitor for merely delivering up a silver little-casket and a silver lamp), on-behalf-of which they conspired in order that he might make Majorinus overseer; and none of the 400 pieces-of-money which were donated by Lucilla were given to the populace. (For certainly as-often-as something was being donated in such-a-way, all the populace accepts a share from-it publicly.) And Purpurius the overseer himself brought away 100 pieces-of-money.

And Victor the fuller gave 20 pieces-of-money, in the presence of the overseers and of the people, in order that he might be<sup>28</sup> an elder. After a satchel and coffers and with money were brought-in, he laid the 20 pieces-of-money before the chair of the overseers and then brought it with him into a large<sup>29</sup> cottage. After the overseers took-up the money, they divided it among themselves and gave nothing to the populace.

And an altar was erected<sup>30</sup> against an altar. And an ordination was celebrated.<sup>31</sup> And Majorinus (who had been a reader during<sup>32</sup> the ministry of Caecilianus, a domestic of Lucilla—by-means-of her herself voting) was ordained<sup>33</sup> and instituted overseer contrary to Caecilianus by those almost seventy overseers. And they also made Victor an elder.

(Now also about this time, Purpurius the overseer brought away some casks of the imperial-treasury<sup>34</sup> which were in the temple of Serapis. The vinegar which the casks held, Silvanus the overseer, and Donatus the elder, and Superius the elder, and Lucianus the minister brought away.)

In-the-meantime, they reckoned that the crime of ‘delivering up the holy writings to the persecutors’ might be imputed as an outcry against<sup>35</sup> Félix, the ordainer of Caecilianus. Therefore, after they conscripted letters<sup>36</sup> concerning this, they, still having been positioned<sup>37</sup> at Carthage, sent their-own letters everywhere<sup>38</sup> ahead of them, in order that rumors might be inserting their charge in the ears of them conjointly.<sup>39</sup> This is how that dissension had<sup>40</sup> begun at Carthage.

## CHAPTER 79: TESTIMONY OF SILVANUS AND 39 MORE [311-05-04]

But once again other testifiers of Palaestina were happening to be in the mines, after they attained-by-lot to be dwelling by themselves in their own space.<sup>41</sup> These were as-many of the ones who were confessing as had been released-from the public-service in the works either due to old-age or due to mutilatings or other weaknesses of bodies.

Silvanus, overseer of the assemblies on-both-sides-of Gaza, was leading them.<sup>42</sup> This man surely was-eminant, from the first day of the pursuit of the Christians and through all of its<sup>43</sup> time by-means-of all-sorts-of contests of confessions, and especially during a long life in the bronze mines, where he

<sup>1</sup> literally “defined”

<sup>2</sup> literally “liberty is having been”

<sup>3</sup> literally “persepted”

<sup>4</sup> literally “are having been”

<sup>5</sup> literally “subduced”

<sup>6</sup> literally “in”

<sup>7</sup> literally “bringing”

<sup>8</sup> literally “said for who to be making-libation”

<sup>9</sup> literally “They are having been sent”

<sup>10</sup> literally “moving”

<sup>11</sup> Optatus (one section) / Optatus (another section) “made-forward”

<sup>12</sup> literally “ignored”

<sup>13</sup> literally “who are having been sent”

<sup>14</sup> literally “mode”

<sup>15</sup> literally “straightly”

<sup>16</sup> literally “be being-between in their”

<sup>17</sup> literally “is”

<sup>18</sup> literally “in”

<sup>19</sup> literally “in”

<sup>20</sup> literally “is”

<sup>21</sup> literally “in”

<sup>22</sup> literally “they are having went-out”

<sup>23</sup> literally “he might be having been”

<sup>24</sup> literally “great/major”

<sup>25</sup> literally “altar is having been erected”

<sup>26</sup> literally “ordination is having been celebrated”

<sup>27</sup> literally “in”

<sup>28</sup> literally “is having been ordained”

<sup>29</sup> Latin “fisc”

<sup>30</sup> literally “in”

<sup>31</sup> Latin “literra”

<sup>32</sup> literally “laid”

<sup>33</sup> This letter is non-extant. It was once part of the Appendix of Optatus.

<sup>34</sup> literally “of the conjoined ones”

<sup>35</sup> literally “is having been”

<sup>36</sup> usually translated “country”

<sup>37</sup> literally “of whom (plural)”

<sup>38</sup> literally “the”

exhibited great proof of himself. For he was also deemed worthy of the office of the oversight, and he was also illustrious in this office.

But also being-together with this *man* were many of the *ones* from Egypt, among<sup>1</sup> whom was also Johanan, who surpassed them all *in* the excellence concerning<sup>2</sup> memory. Therefore, indeed, this *man* had been formerly deprived even of the *sense of seeing*, but similarly, by-means-of-his confessions (on-the-basis-of which he became-eminent), he, likewise with the others, was disfigured<sup>3</sup> *in* the foot by-means-of a burner. And after *this*, he (against the *fact* that his vision was not working) received the same burner of the fire, the public-executioners stretching upon *him* the cruel<sup>4</sup> and misanthropic *act* of their conduct<sup>5</sup> on-the-basis-of their unmerciful and unsympathetic *heart*. But as for his<sup>6</sup> excellence in memories: He, having written for himself whole books of the divine writings *in* his soul and mindset, was, whenever he would be wishing, to be bringing-forth<sup>7</sup> a *passage*, indeed, at-one-time<sup>8</sup> a writing pertaining-to-the-law and prophetic, but then a historical *one*, as-well-as at-another-time *one* pertaining-to-the-good-message and pertaining-to-the-embassaries.

(When Eusebios of Caesarea first beheld Johanan, who was having stood *in* the midst of an adequate *sized* multitude of an assembly and going-throughout certain portions of divine writings, he was struck-down with *astonishment*. For as-long-as<sup>9</sup> he was only overhearing his voice,<sup>10</sup> he was deeming that he was reading-aloud; for the human, *even* having been maimed *in* the body, was vocalizing-forth more-than the *ones* having-stamina *in*<sup>11</sup> their body.)

Instead, while Silvanus and the *rest of the individuals* having been *previously* mentioned<sup>12</sup> were spending *time* throughout a place which was set-apart,<sup>13</sup> and were also finishing-off the *things* which were usual for them to do *in* lacks-of-food-made-of-grain and prayers-to *God* and *in* the remaining *things*, the inimical foe no-more able to be bearing<sup>14</sup> them, was concluding to be killing and to be removing *them* from *this plot* of earth as if they would *otherwise* be annoying *him*. But God was consenting to him.

Therefore, at this, a command of impiety was issued at once, and it was decreed that the *ones* who were unable to work should be put to death by the sword. And Silvanus, along with the number of forty minus<sup>15</sup> one different *individuals* throughout the bronze mines in Punon (making a total of forty), at a nod of the most-all-unholy Maximinus *Daia*, all had their head chopped-off *in* a single day,<sup>16</sup> on the 4th day of Artemisios (that is, the 4th day before the Nones of May).<sup>17</sup>

Therefore, indeed, these were the testimonies throughout Palaestina which were absolutely-brought-to-their-limit in eight whole years.

## CHAPTER 80: MILTIADÉS IS OVERSEER OF ROMA [311-07-02] & CONFLICTS WITH MAXIMINUS AND LICINIUS [after 311-06-10] & MAXIMINUS RENEWS PURSUIT [end 311~312]

Now after another vacancy of about three years in the oversight of the assembly of the Christians of the Romans, Miltiadés (also known as Melchiadés) became overseer of that assembly on the 6th day before the Nones of July during the consulate of Maximianus for the 8th time solo (which in the month of September was that of Volusianus and Rufinus).<sup>18</sup> Now since the emperor Maxentius had directed for the *things* which had been carried-away at the time of the persecution to be being given-back to the Christians, Miltiadés sent Stratōn the minister, along with a different minister whose name was Cassianus, with letters to the mentioned emperor and letters to the praetorian prefect to the prefect of the city, so that he himself might be receiving *back* the assemblage place.

\* \* \* \* \*

After this<sup>19</sup> message of the death of Maximianus Galerius was heard, Maximinus *Daia*, after his course from the east was disposed, flew-through, so that he might be occupying the provinces as-well-as might be vindicating to himself all the *things* up-to the strait of Chalkédōn while Licinius was staying put at Serdica.<sup>20</sup> And after he stepped-into Bithynia, where he was conciliating favor to himself

for<sup>21</sup> the present, he took-up a census with the great gleefulness of all. There was discord between both emperors as-well-as virtually a war. Armed-men were holding<sup>22</sup> the diverse riverbanks. Instead, a peace and friendship was<sup>o</sup> composed by-means-of certain conditions; and, in the strait itself, a league was<sup>o</sup> made, but right-hands were<sup>o</sup> also coupled.

But Maximinus *Daia* went-back to *Nikomédeia* secure; and what-sort-of *things* he did in Syria and in Egypt he made<sup>o</sup> here. For while the tyrant (beautiful-hating and plotting-against all good persons, who was ruling the parts at the east)<sup>23</sup> was beginning to no-longer be bearing<sup>24</sup> a *thing* such-as this, that is the freedom of the Christians, he did not-even tolerate the turn of events to be being finished-up like this for<sup>25</sup> six whole months.

But therefore, while he was machinating as-much-as possible toward an overturn of the peace, he indeed, in-the-first place, removed<sup>26</sup> the indulgence which had been given to the Christians by-means-of the common bill<sup>27</sup> issued by Galerius and he tried<sup>o</sup> to be barring the Christians from the meetings in the sleeping-places.<sup>28</sup>

All of these things were done through a pretext, by-means-of suborned legations of civil-communities. For he first urged-on the citizens of Antiocheia to beg to obtain from him, as in a great gift, for<sup>29</sup> the act for some of the Christians to by-no-means be permitted to be dwelling in their fatherland, but even to instigate<sup>30</sup> different individuals to be accomplishing something identical. Therefore, through some wicked men, he himself sent these men as elders<sup>31</sup> to himself against the Christians, who might be petitioning, that it might not be being licensed to Christians to be building-forth small-convents within their civil-communities. He did this, in order that he might be being seen, after having been driven and having been impelled by-means-of swaying, to be doing what he was going to do by spontaneity. And he was nodding-to-these legations.

Now the first men of both warlocks and magicians were being-deemed-worthy by him of the honor of the upper rank, while he, having become<sup>32</sup> especially startled-by-every-noise<sup>33</sup> and most-terrified-of-demons, was laying<sup>34</sup> down much around the misleading concerning<sup>35</sup> the idols and the demons. Accordingly, without soothsayings and oracles, he was not-even daring to be moving even something such-as as-much-as<sup>36</sup> a fingernail.

Theoteknos, the chief-leader of all these<sup>37</sup> legations, grew<sup>38</sup> himself at<sup>39</sup> Antiocheia itself. He was terrible, and a warlock, and a wicked man, and foreign to his<sup>40</sup> own surname (for Theoteknos means 'god-child'). But he was seeming to be being-an-accountant throughout the city.

But therefore, after this man made-an-expedition for the most against the Christians, and, having made for himself every manner, through effort, to trap the Christians out of recesses (as-though they were some unsacred thieves), as-well-as having machinated for himself every thing on-the-basis-of slander and accusation against the Christians, but even having become causative of death to as-many-as tens-of-thousands, he, coming-to-an-end, situated<sup>o</sup> some idol of 'Dios of friendly state' with certain magical-powers and witchcrafts. And after he also had-in-mind impure rites for<sup>41</sup> it and ill-omened initiations as-well-as unholy-ritual<sup>42</sup> cleanings, he was, even until one of the kings, exhibiting the talking-marvel for himself through whatever he was thinking to be oracles.

And surely this Theoteknos, even with flattery (the kind in-accordance-with the pleasure of the ruler),<sup>43</sup> aroused<sup>44</sup> the demon against the Christians. And after he slid-under in the cavern, the one in which Maximinus<sup>45</sup> *Daia* was sacrificing to the demons, he was allegedly<sup>46</sup> receiving oracles. He declared<sup>o</sup> from a demonic oracle, that God surely directed<sup>47</sup> for him to drive-away the Christians, as he would enemies of his, beyond-the-borders of the city and of the fields on-both-sides of the city. And he<sup>48</sup> gave-instructions to him for the pursuit against the Christians. In favor of this,<sup>49</sup> Maximinus *Daia* was applying<sup>1</sup> himself to the

<sup>21</sup> literally "to/toward"

<sup>22</sup> literally "grasping"

<sup>23</sup> literally "the parts on the rising-up"

<sup>24</sup> literally "bringing"

<sup>25</sup> literally "being finished-upon like this on"

<sup>26</sup> literally "took-up"

<sup>27</sup> literally "title"

<sup>28</sup> a Christian idiom for a cemetery

<sup>29</sup> literally "onto"

<sup>30</sup> literally "throw-under"

<sup>31</sup> literally "made-elders"

<sup>32</sup> literally "stood-down"

<sup>33</sup> literally "having stood-down startled-by-every-noise into the especially"

<sup>34</sup> literally "putting"

<sup>35</sup> literally "about"

<sup>36</sup> literally "until"

<sup>37</sup> literally "which"

<sup>38</sup> literally "grew-on"

<sup>39</sup> literally "on"

<sup>40</sup> literally "the"

<sup>41</sup> literally "to"

<sup>42</sup> literally "out-of-holy-ritual"

<sup>43</sup> literally "the one being-mighty"

<sup>44</sup> literally "arose-on"

<sup>45</sup> emendation / text "Maximianus"

<sup>46</sup> literally "surely" (emphatic), but used in this context as irony

<sup>47</sup> literally "declared, for God surely to direct"

<sup>48</sup> literally "who"

<sup>49</sup> literally "which"

<sup>1</sup> literally "in"

<sup>2</sup> literally "about"

<sup>3</sup> usually translated "made-to-disappear"

<sup>4</sup> literally "raw"

<sup>5</sup> literally "manner/turn"

<sup>6</sup> literally "the"

<sup>7</sup> literally "bringing-before"

<sup>8</sup> literally "then"

<sup>9</sup> literally "till"

<sup>10</sup> literally "a voice of his"

<sup>11</sup> literally "for"

<sup>12</sup> literally "made-clear"

<sup>13</sup> literally "judged-from/away"

<sup>14</sup> literally "bringing"

<sup>15</sup> literally "lacking"

<sup>16</sup> literally "in one day"

<sup>17</sup> 311-05-04

<sup>18</sup> 311-07-02

<sup>19</sup> literally "which"

<sup>20</sup> Licinius was still at Serdica on 311-06-10 ("In the consulship of the divine Maximianus Galerius for the 8th time, [[and of our lord Maximinus the August-One again]], 4th day before the Ides of June. At Serdica.")

persecution against *the Christians* even more-exceedingly and more-frequently than his predecessors.<sup>2</sup>

But by-means-of this *man* who first performed in-accordance-with *this* resolve, he also urged-on the fellow-tyrants, throwing-forward the oracle of the demon as *if it were* surely some great transmitted-message. *Therefore*, all the rest of the *ones* in magistrateship *who were* dwelling in the cities under the same principality, rushed<sup>3</sup> to make for themselves the like sentence,<sup>3</sup> the leaders throughout *one of the provinces* having fully-seen this to be friendly-to *one of the kings* and having thrown *the act* to accomplish this same *thing* under the *ones* who were heeding *them*.

After the tyrant Maximinus *Daia* surely nodded-in-consent most-jovially to the voted-proposition<sup>4</sup> through a rescript, once-again the pursuit was being flamed-up afresh<sup>5</sup> against *the Christians*.

Most-surely, he *was* ordering for inner-sanctums to be being arisen throughout every city, and for the sacred-precincts (having been taken-down by-means-of length of time) to be being rejuvenated through effort. He *was* also drawing-out-into-battle-order priests of idols and of the scraped-images in a new custom throughout every place and city, a single *one* per *each* single civil-community.<sup>6</sup> And, in-addition-to<sup>7</sup> and over these, chief-priests were being appointed<sup>8</sup> to Maximinus himself, *one* chief-priest of each province, with a compact-body of soldiers and a body-of-spearmen, who even were introducing<sup>9</sup> some vast<sup>10</sup> effort around the religion of the *things* being served to them. (*These chief-priests were* from out of the foremost *men* who were especially eminent and conspicuous<sup>11</sup> in the polities and *who* became glorious through all *things* and *who* became-proper-in every public-service). He also *was* freely<sup>12</sup> granting leaderships and the greatest privileges to all warlocks (as *if they would be* pious and friendly-to gods).

And he made *these priests*, so that they would even be daily making even sacrifices through all their-own gods, and would be giving work of support<sup>13</sup> to the ministry of the old priests. He *did this*, in order that, *the Christians* might not even be fabricating nor might even be going-together publicly or privately. Instead, after *the Christians* were completely-apprehended, *the wicked-men*, by-means-of their-own right, would be driving *them* toward sacrifices, or would even be offering *them* to the judges. This *was* slight, if-not for the fact that he furthermore would be superimposing on the provinces single *individuals* from out of a higher grade of dignity, as-if *they were* chief-priests; and he directed for each of them, after they had been ornamented with white short-mantles, to be going-in. However, he *was* making-ready to be doing what he had already done not-long-ago in parts of the east.

Accordingly, the out-of-place terror-of-demons of the ruler<sup>14</sup> *was* leading<sup>15</sup> all the *ones* who were under him (both *those* ruling and *those* being ruled) to be doing all *things* against *the Christians* for<sup>16</sup> his favor, *while*, in-return of good-works which they were concluding that they were to obtain for themselves from<sup>17</sup> him, they *were* granting-in-return this greatest favor to him in-requital: the *act* to be being-murderous against *the Christians* and to be demonstrating certain new evil-customs against<sup>18</sup> *the Christians*.

Most-surely after they even fashioned themselves memorandums of Pilatus and our Savior quite-full every revilement against the Anointed-One, they (with the resolve of the greater-one) sent<sup>19</sup> *them* throughout onto all the principality under him through public-documents,<sup>19</sup> these *memorandums* which were being incited to be put-out throughout every place (both fields and cities) in the open<sup>20</sup> to all *persons*, as-well-as for the grammar-teachers to be delivering these to the boys for *them* to be giving-careful-attention to instead of lessons and to be retaining *these* through memory.

While these<sup>21</sup> *things* were being finished-up in<sup>22</sup> this manner, a different encampment-chief (whom *the Romans* are titling a 'duke'), after he made some inexplicit women from out of a marketplace to be snatched-up up the middle of Damasek of Phoiniké, was threatening that he was to put tortures upon them, putting-an-obligation-upon *them* for *them* to be saying in-writing, as *if they* surely would have at-some-time been *Christians*, as-well-as would have become-conscious of illicit-works among them, as-well-as for them to be performing the

unchaste *acts* in the very lord's *houses*, and as-many other *things* as they were wanting to be saying on-the-basis-of slander against<sup>23</sup> their decrees. And after these<sup>24</sup> voices were implanted in a memorandum, this *encampment-chief* made<sup>25</sup> *them* common *knowledge* to *one of the kings*; and, after he gave-orders, he surely even published these documents for himself into every place and city. (Instead, indeed, not long<sup>25</sup> *afterward*, the encampment-chief, having committed suicide,<sup>26</sup> paid a rightful-punishment for his<sup>27</sup> evil-manners.)

## CHAPTER 81: EVIL TREATMENT OF CHRISTIANS [c. 311~313]

But throughout Pontos, different *Christians* had already been suffering the *things* which were to-be-shuddered-at *merely* with the *sense-of* hearing: The fingers of the hand were being pinned-through with sharp reeds from out of the tips<sup>28</sup> of their fingernails. And others were having *things* being poured-down their backs: fire of lead which was melted-through, with the material-things upheaving and having been turned-into-fire; and they were being baked-down in the especially obligatory *parts* of the body. Different *individuals* also, through both the ineffable members and bowels, were enduring sufferings which were shameful and unsympathetic and not-even explicit in account, which the noble and lawful dealers-of-justice, exhibiting their own terrible-ness for themselves, were more-ambitiously<sup>29</sup> having-in-mind, as-though *they were* some excellence of wisdom. And the newer torments were perpetually being founded, as-though vying to be outdoing<sup>30</sup> one-another in a contest with prizes.

But therefore, at the end<sup>31</sup> of the events, when they surely had<sup>32</sup> for the remaining *time* renounced on-the-basis-of the surpassiveness of the evils and after they become-quite-weary toward the *act* to be killing, having had both a saturation<sup>33</sup> and satiety of the outpouring of the bloods, they were turning themselves onto what<sup>34</sup> they were concluding to be kind<sup>35</sup> and philanthropic, so as indeed to be seeming to be still working-about<sup>36</sup> nothing terrible against *the Christians*.

For they declared<sup>37</sup>, "It was not suiting<sup>37</sup> to be staining the cities with the blood of one's-own-tribe, nor-either for the upper principality of the rulers<sup>38</sup> (*which was* existing well-disposed and meek to all *persons*) to be being slandered on-the-basis-of cruelty.<sup>39</sup> But rather it was necessary<sup>40</sup> for the good-work of the philanthropic and royal authority to be being stretched-out into all *persons*, *while we are* being no-more chastised with death. For this punishment of theirs against us has been released<sup>41</sup> due to the philanthropy of the rulers."<sup>42</sup>

For at-that-time, when Maximinus *Daia* would have been professing clemency only by appearance,<sup>43</sup> he forbid<sup>44</sup> the servants of God to be being cut-down. But he was beautifying himself with the inventing<sup>45</sup> of newer punishments against *the Christians*. For fire and iron and nailing-to, yet not-even savage<sup>46</sup> beasts and deep-places of *some* sea, was not sufficient to him, and he instead directed for *the Christians* to be being debilitated. *Therefore*, after he himself already founded some strange chastisement in addition to **all** these torments, he was giving-law for it to be being necessary for the senses of sight<sup>47</sup> to be being maltreated. *Indeed*, it was being ordered for their eyes to be being excavated-out and for *them* to be being mutilated in the one leg. For these were the *things* which were philanthropic to them and the lightest of the punishments against *the Christians*.

Therefore,<sup>48</sup> most-surely, already, for-sake of this philanthropy of the impious-ones, there were massive multitudes of confessors (above all reckoning),<sup>49</sup> not only of men, but instead even of boys-and-girls and of women, whose visions of their right eyes were first<sup>50</sup> being dug-out<sup>51</sup> with a short-sword and iron, and, after these *things*, were being cauterized with fire, but whose hands were being amputated, but whose ankles of their left feet were being rendered-useless<sup>52</sup> with burners once-again against the ankles and were being detruncated,

<sup>1</sup> literally "putting-on"

<sup>2</sup> literally "than the ones who were added-to him"

<sup>3</sup> literally "pebble"

<sup>4</sup> literally "countment"

<sup>5</sup> literally "flamed-up out of freshness"

<sup>6</sup> Lactantius (literally "single ones per single civil-communities") / Eusebios "throughout every city"

<sup>7</sup> literally "upon"

<sup>8</sup> literally "stood-down"

<sup>9</sup> literally "leading-into"

<sup>10</sup> literally "much"

<sup>11</sup> literally "appearing-in"

<sup>12</sup> literally "let-upingly"

<sup>13</sup> literally "forced-under"

<sup>14</sup> literally "of the one being-mighty"

<sup>15</sup> literally "leading-in"

<sup>16</sup> literally "into"

<sup>17</sup> literally "toward"

<sup>18</sup> literally "into"

<sup>19</sup> literally "programs"

<sup>20</sup> literally "shining-forth"

<sup>21</sup> literally "While of which things"

<sup>22</sup> literally "at/for"

<sup>23</sup> literally "of"

<sup>24</sup> literally "which" (plural)

<sup>25</sup> literally "not into long"

<sup>26</sup> literally "having become with-his-own-hands to himself"

<sup>27</sup> literally "the"

<sup>28</sup> literally "summits"

<sup>29</sup> literally "more-loving-of-honorly"

<sup>30</sup> literally "leading-out"

<sup>31</sup> literally "last"

<sup>32</sup> literally "surely were having"

<sup>33</sup> literally "remaining-full"

<sup>34</sup> literally "the" (singular)

<sup>35</sup> may also be translated "useful"

<sup>36</sup> sometimes translated as "being-curious"

<sup>37</sup> literally "Not to be being-down"

<sup>38</sup> literally "the ones who are being-mighty"

<sup>39</sup> literally "rawness"

<sup>40</sup> literally "rather to be being necessary"

<sup>41</sup> literally "us to have been released"

<sup>42</sup> literally "the ones being-mighty"

<sup>43</sup> literally "look"

<sup>44</sup> literally "vetoed"

<sup>45</sup> literally "finding"

<sup>46</sup> literally "of-the-field"

<sup>47</sup> literally "light"

<sup>48</sup> literally "So-that"

<sup>49</sup> usually translated "account" or "rationalization"

<sup>50</sup> literally "former"

<sup>51</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "cut-out"

<sup>52</sup> literally "rendered-unneeded"

but nostrils<sup>1</sup> or-even outer-ears were being sliced-from<sup>2</sup> them, as-well-as the remaining members and parts of the body were being butchered (such-as what happened to the ones at Alexandria); as-well-as, after this, having-a-rightful-punishment-being-executed upon them to be being made-miserable in the mines of bronze throughout some province (not so-much for-sake of assistance as-much-as for-sake of evil-treating and misery). Also, besides<sup>3</sup> all these things, others had fallen-in-and-were-surrounded with other contests, which it is not-even possible<sup>4</sup> to be enlisting here; for the manly-deeds according-to them are surpassing<sup>5</sup> every account.

Surely in these contests, the appropriately-great testifiers of the Anointed-One who shone-through upon the whole inhabited-earth, indeed, suitably struck-down with astonishment the spectators everywhere of their manliness. But through themselves, the convincing-proof of the divine power of our Savior was made-to-appear-in view as truthful and ineffable. For after the Christians despised death, they set at naught<sup>6</sup> this so-vast<sup>7</sup> tyranny of his. For indeed, the men resisted fire and iron and nailings-on, as-well-as savage<sup>8</sup> beasts and deep-places of some sea, as-well-as choppings-off of members and burners and both stings and excavatings-out of eyes, and amputations of all the body, as-well-as, on top of these, famine and mines and bonds. At all events, they demonstrated the endurance on-behalf of piety rather than exchanged the reverential-awe, the awe into a god, for that to idols.

Now while Maximinus Daia was striving for these things, he was<sup>9</sup> being deterred by Constantinus. Therefore, he dissimulated. However, even if someone had incised into his jurisdiction, they were being secretly plunged<sup>9</sup> into the sea.

## CHAPTER 82: TESTIMONY OF SILVANUS [c. 311] & TESTIMONY OF PETROS OF ALEXANDREIA [311-11-26] & MELITIOS' SENTENCE TO THE MINES & ANTONIUS EXHORTS THE ALEXANDREIANS & DISCHARGE OF EUGENIUS [c. 307-313]

But with flights and harsh pursuits being once again stirred-up,<sup>10</sup> as-well-as terrible rebellions<sup>11</sup> of the leaders<sup>12</sup> once-again throughout all the provinces against the Christians, this caused even for some of the ones who were illustrious concerning<sup>13</sup> the divine account, after the inexorable<sup>14</sup> impious-men conquered them, to fully-accept the sentence<sup>15</sup> onto death. Three of whom, in a city of Emesa of Phoiniké, after they confessed themselves to be Christians, were delivered<sup>16</sup> to be feed of beasts. Among<sup>17</sup> these men, was Silvanus, an overseer of the assemblies on-both-sides of Emesa, extremely-old in his<sup>18</sup> stature, who had completely-accomplished his<sup>19</sup> public-service in forty whole years.

\* \* \* \* \*

But according-to the same time, Petros also (the overseer who presided-over<sup>20</sup> the sojourn throughout Alexandria), having come-to-be snatched-up for no cause at-all,<sup>21</sup> without any anticipation received-in-advance, was,<sup>9</sup> as if Maximinus Daia would have ordered it, having his<sup>22</sup> head chopped-off in-this-way all-at-once<sup>23</sup> and irrationally. This happened in the 9th year of the pursuit of the Christians, on the 8th day before the Kalends of December.<sup>24</sup> when Sossianus Hieroklés was prefect of Alexandria, after Petros had been the overseer of Alexandria for 12 whole years.

But along with Petros, many more of the overseers throughout Egypt endured an identical end, including some elders: Faustus and Dios and Ammōnios—all complete testifiers of the Anointed-One. Now at-the-time of the former pursuit of the Christians under emperor Decius, Faustus had been together with Dionysios of Alexandria, and, after he was eminent in the confession at-that-time, was guarded until the present persecution, when being quite old and full of days, he was<sup>9</sup> brought-to-a-finish by-means-of a testimony, after having his<sup>25</sup> head chopped-off.

<sup>1</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "noses"

<sup>2</sup> Lactantius / Eusebios "amputated"

<sup>3</sup> literally "toward/to"

<sup>4</sup> literally "powerful"

<sup>5</sup> literally "being-victorious-over"

<sup>6</sup> literally "

<sup>7</sup> literally "they put in-comparison-to nothing the"

<sup>8</sup> literally "of-the-field"

<sup>9</sup> literally "merged"

<sup>10</sup> literally "moved-up"

<sup>11</sup> literally "standings-up-against"

<sup>12</sup> literally "the ones who were leading"

<sup>13</sup> literally "who were shining-on around"

<sup>14</sup> literally "unable-to-be-requested-of"

<sup>15</sup> literally "pebble"

<sup>16</sup> Eusebios (9.6.1) / Eusebios (8.13.4) "became"

<sup>17</sup> literally "in"

<sup>18</sup> literally "the"

<sup>19</sup> literally "the"

<sup>20</sup> literally "stood-over"

<sup>21</sup> literally "for not-one cause"

<sup>22</sup> literally "the"

<sup>23</sup> literally ("all-at-once") "amassedly"

<sup>24</sup> 311-11-26 (Martyrology Roman, Jacobit menologium) / Martyrology Jerome 311-11-23 / Martyrology Syriacum 311-11-24 / most others, including History of Patriarchs of Alexandria and Pseudo-Suffering of Petros give "29 Hatur", which is 311-11-25 in most years, but 311-11-26 in the year preceding a leap year (312 was the leap year)

<sup>25</sup> literally "the"

But Melitios and many others fell-under banishment<sup>26</sup> after they were banished-beyond<sup>27</sup> in the Punonian mines. And then for the remaining time, the ones who were being dragged away, being confessors, [were banished]<sup>28</sup> simultaneously with Melitios. And Melitios himself was appointing allotted-ones (both overseers and elders and ministers) in the enclosure throughout the journey<sup>29</sup> while he was coming-through throughout each country and throughout each place, and he was building assemblies of his-own. And these individuals were neither communing<sup>30</sup> with these others, nor those with these. But each was writing a sign on in its-own assembly: Indeed, the ones who were having the assemblies which were ancient after they received them in-turn from Petros, that "Universal Assembly," but the ones from Melitios, "Assembly of Testifiers." From-this-fact, Melitios himself voted-by-raise-of-hands many in-this-manner even in Eleutheropolis and in Gaza and in Aelia (that is, Jerusalem) after he came-by. And it has come-to-be for him to spend-time in the previously-stated mines. Instead, in-the-meantime, the ones who were confessing were<sup>9</sup> being released-from the mines: both the ones of the party of Petros (for there were still many) and the ones of the party of Melitios. For neither in the mines were they communing with one-another or praying-together. But it came-to-be<sup>9</sup> for Melitios to still spend time in the world.

Now when the pursuit of the Christians which came-to-be at-that-time according-to Maximinus<sup>31</sup> Daia overtook the assembly, and while the holy testifiers were being led into Alexandria, even Antonius the monk followed them, after he dismissed the monastery, saying, "May we also come-away, in order that we might be contending after we were called, or that we might perceive the ones who are contending."

And he, indeed, was having a yearning to testify. But while he was not wanting to deliver himself up, he was assisting the confessors in both the mines and in the guardhouses. He also had much effort<sup>32</sup> in the court-of-justice, to be oiling-over<sup>33</sup> into eagerness the ones who were being called while they were contending, but to be receiving-back<sup>34</sup> those who were testifying and to be sending them on-ahead till they might come-to-their-finish through death.

Accordingly, while the dealer-of-justice was looking-at the fearless state of both him and the ones together with him, and the effort they made into this work, he transmitted-a-message for not-one of the monks to be allowed to be being made-to-appear in the court-of-justice, not-even to be spending time in the city at-all.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, indeed, all the others thought to be hiding themselves for that day. But Antonius became-concerned-about this only so-much, so-as for him to even wash his<sup>36</sup> over-dress more, and, on the subsequent day, to stand in-front on a high place, and to be making himself appear bright to the leader. Therefore, while all were marveling on-the-basis-of this, and while the leader was seeing this and stepping-through the area with his order of soldiers, he himself had stood untrembling, showing the eagerness of us Christians. For he himself was praying for a chance to testify.

Therefore, he, indeed, had resembled one who was being grieved that he had not testified. But the Lord was guarding him to be<sup>37</sup> profit for different individuals, in order that he might also become a teacher to many in the exercising which he himself was having learned out of the writings. For even many, even looking-at his conduct<sup>38</sup> alone, were making-every-effort to become zealots of his citizenship. Therefore, while he was again assisting the confessors as-was-usual, he was laboring in his<sup>39</sup> assistance as if he had<sup>40</sup> been bound-together with them.

\* \* \* \* \*

Now another Christian during the persecutions under Maximinus Daia was Marcus Julius Eugenius (son of Kyrillos Celer of Kouessos a councilor), who served-as-a-soldier in the rank of-leader throughout Pisidia, and who married Flavia Julia Flaviana (daughter of Gaius Nestorianus a senator), and who served-as-a-soldier with distinction. But meanwhile, there was a directive which roamed in the time of<sup>41</sup> Maximinus Daia, for the Christians to be sacrificing and not to be being released-from the military expedition. But after he endured as-many-as most of the tortures during<sup>42</sup> the time of Diogenés, a leader of Pisidia, as-well-as after he made-every-effort to be released-from the military expedition, he,

<sup>26</sup> literally "ordination-out"

<sup>27</sup> literally "ordained-over"

<sup>28</sup> Possible restoration of missing words. Something seems to have fallen out of the text due to scribal error.

<sup>29</sup> literally "a going-on-the-way"

<sup>30</sup> literally "communicating"

<sup>31</sup> Gk / Lat "Maximianus" (incorrect)

<sup>32</sup> literally "There was also much effort with him"

<sup>33</sup> It was a custom before a gladiatorial contest for the combatants to be physically oiled-over. In this case, Antonius is instead oiling them over with some spiritual means into eagerness to testify.

<sup>34</sup> may also be translated "taking\*-away"

<sup>35</sup> literally "wholly"

<sup>36</sup> literally "the"

<sup>37</sup> literally "him into"

<sup>38</sup> literally "act-of-leading"

<sup>39</sup> literally "the"

<sup>40</sup> literally "he was having"

<sup>41</sup> literally "upon"

<sup>42</sup> literally "upon"

observing<sup>1</sup> the faith of the Christians, as-well-as spending a short time in the city of the Laodikeans, was eventually appointed *its* overseer. (In the future, after the persecution had ended, he would administer the oversight for a whole twenty five years with much distinction. And he rebuilt all the assembly from *its* foundations and completely-all the ornamentation around it (this is *consisting* both of porticos and of quad-porticoes and of *things* painted-from-life, and of mosaics,<sup>2</sup> and of water-pots, and of front-gates) after he furnished *it* with all the stone-house works and with all *things* in-general. *When* he was also to leave the lifestyle of the humans, both a platform-for and a coffin were made, in which these *things* were written-on [for]<sup>3</sup> an ornamentation both of the assembly and of his race.

#### CHAPTER 83: TESTIMONY OF EGYPTIANS IN ZOR [c. 311~313]

Now there were the *Christians* in Zor of Phoiniké. Which *individual* who saw them<sup>4</sup> was not struck-down with *astonishment* at the numberless whips and at the steadfastness<sup>5</sup> of the *ones* who were truthfully incredible athletes of the reverence-for-God among<sup>6</sup> these *men*; as-well-as at the contest (immediately after the whips) among<sup>7</sup> human-eating<sup>8</sup> beasts; and at the tossings among<sup>9</sup> these of leopards and of diverse bears, as-well-as of savage<sup>10</sup> boars and of cattle having been cauterized even with fire and with iron; and at the marvelous endurance of the noble *men* toward each of the beasts? (Eusebios, who became overseer of Caesarea, and other Christians were themselves also being-present.)<sup>11</sup>

For a longer<sup>12</sup> time, the human-eating<sup>13</sup> *beasts* did<sup>o</sup> not dare<sup>14</sup> to be touching nor-either to be nearing the bodies of the god-loved *ones*. Instead, they were bringing themselves upon the others (*that is*, of-course, as-many-as were urging themselves on from-outside with provocations). But the *beasts* were wholly not-even touching-upon the consecrated athletes alone, *who* were having stood naked and shaking<sup>15</sup> *their* hands up-and-down as-well-as pulling them onto themselves (for this was being directed to be being performed by them). Instead, they rushed<sup>o</sup> upon them in-a-manner, but they were<sup>o</sup> knocked-back<sup>16</sup> by<sup>17</sup> some sort-of more-divine power and withdrew<sup>o</sup> once again into *the* rear.<sup>18</sup> This,<sup>19</sup> being-made-to-be happening for<sup>20</sup> a long time, was even affording not a small amount of marvel to the *ones* who were beholding *them*, so-that already, due to the actionless state of the first beast, a second and a third were directed to be being discharged<sup>21</sup> against one and the same testifier.

Accordingly, *there was* a young *man*, not a whole twenty years of stature, having stood without bonds, and (indeed, spreading his hands over<sup>22</sup> into a type of a cross, but with a mindset not-struck-with-astonishment and untremling) most-leisurely stretching himself with the entreaty toward the divine-one, but also not standing himself wholly away nor-even bending-away from the place where he had stood. *And he did this while* bears and leopards (blowing<sup>23</sup> fury and death) were almost touching themselves down on his flesh. Instead, the mouth of *each of these beasts* were being shut by-means-of a divine and ineffable power, and they were running back again into *the* rear.<sup>24</sup> And indeed someone such as *this* was *this man*.

But again, there happened to be different *individuals* (five in all), *who* were thrown-beside a bull *which* had been made-savage.<sup>25</sup> This<sup>26</sup> *bull*, indeed, *while* casting into the air with its<sup>27</sup> horns the others of the *ones* who were approaching<sup>28</sup> from-outside, was utterly-convulsing *them*, after it left half-dead-individuals behind to be being picked-up. But it, rushing upon the consecrated testifiers *who* were alone with fury and threat, was not-even to be bearing them<sup>29</sup> also. But *while* it was stamping<sup>30</sup> with its<sup>31</sup> feet, and attacking<sup>32</sup> here and-there with its<sup>33</sup> horns,

and (due to the provocations from the burners) blowing<sup>34</sup> fury and threat, was being drawn-in-a-contrary-direction into *the* rear<sup>35</sup> by<sup>36</sup> the consecrated foresight, *so* as, after this *animal* did not-even by-any-means treat them unrighteously *in* anything, for different beasts to be being discharged-upon them. But therefore, *in the* end, after the terrible and various strikes-against these *men*, all the *testifiers*, after they were slaughtered-down with a short-sword, instead-of being buried in earth and tombs, were being<sup>o</sup> delivered to the surges-of-the-sea. And such indeed was the contest of the Egyptians *who* demonstrated the athletic-competitions in-behalf of piety throughout Zor.

But of the testifiers at Phoiniké, *the* most-famous would be shepherds (*who* were god-loved in all the *things*) of the rational nurslings of *the* Anointed-One: Tyranniōn, overseer of the assembly throughout Zor; as-well-as Zénobios, an elderly-man of the *assembly* throughout Zidon. But the both of *them* glorified the account of God at Antiocheia through the endurance into death. Indeed, the overseer was delivered to deep-places-of-the-sea; but Zénobios, the best of healers, perseveringly died-off-in the tortures *which* were put-on down his sides.

#### CHAPTER 84: FRIENDSHIP OF MAXIMINUS & MAXENTIUS [311/312]

When Maximinus *Daia*, the tyrant in *the* east,<sup>37</sup> was having emulation against Licinius, because he had been preferred to himself by Maximianus (although he had newly confirmed a friendship with him), he, however, after he heard that *Constantia*, the sister of Constantinus, was betrothed<sup>38</sup> to Licinius, estimated that that affinity of *the* two emperors was being coupled<sup>39</sup> contrary-to himself. And he himself secretly sent legates to the city for a request for *the* society as-well-as *the* friendship of Maxentius. Furthermore he wrote<sup>o</sup> familiarly. *The* legates were<sup>o</sup> received benignly. A friendship was<sup>o</sup> made. And images of each were<sup>o</sup> placed simultaneously.

Maxentius gladly embraced<sup>o</sup> *the* auxiliary, as-though *it* were divine. For he had already indicted war on Constantinus, as-if he was to be vindicating *the* death of his father. From-*this pretext*, *the* suspicion had incised, that that senior *Maximianus Herculeus* had<sup>40</sup> feigned *the* destructive<sup>41</sup> discord with *his* son, *so* that he might be making a way for himself for cutting *the* others out-from-under *him*, and might be vindicating for himself as-well-as for *his* son the imperial-command of the total orb after all those<sup>42</sup> *others* were taken-up out of *the* way. Instead, it was false *information*. For *Maximianus Herculeus* was having *this* proposition, that even after *his* son and *the* rest of *them* were made-extinct, he would have restituted himself as-well-as Diocletianus in *the* kingdom.

But Maximinus *Daia* was being-concerned-with *making sure* that the friendship of Roma (*of which* he was making-libations for himself, as with a brother of evils) was escaping-notice for *the* longest<sup>43</sup> time.

#### CHAPTER 85: LIFE & TESTIMONY OF LUCIANUS (Part 1)

Samusat is a city in Syria. The Euphrates flows-by the city. The city *is* a fatherland of Lucianus. This man *was* of noble birth.<sup>44</sup> *The* begetters to the man, *who* were Christians, made-*every*-effort for Lucianus, by-means-of the begetters, to be being brought-into-rhythm in the reverence-for-God from<sup>45</sup> *his* first hair. And after both of *them* came-to-their-end, they left<sup>o</sup> him behind young, leading *him* for about 12 years. But the *boy*, having found God to be (as-it-were)<sup>46</sup> *his* only exhortation upon the loss<sup>47</sup> of his<sup>48</sup> parents, fled-for-refuge<sup>o</sup> into a certain divine inner-sanctum, after he propagated all the riches to the *ones* *who* were being in-poverty. And<sup>49</sup> throughout the first stage<sup>50</sup> of *his* life, he was-together with a certain man<sup>51</sup> *who* was dwelling at Edessa, Makarios by name, who taught him<sup>52</sup> the consecrated books in a little time.

And indeed, first of all, after he was immersed, he bent-off to a solitary lifestyle. After-that, after he thought to himself to be distancing himself from both<sup>53</sup> wine and a cooked-food-diet into *the* end, he was straightaway fighting-off all the pleasures of the flesh. But impressing<sup>54</sup> himself with fasts, he led *himself* into a fixed custom<sup>55</sup> to be<sup>56</sup> feeding himself with-grain once *during* the day according-to the ninth hour. But there were even certain periods<sup>57</sup> of days with

<sup>1</sup> literally "guarding"

<sup>2</sup> literally "of stingsings"

<sup>3</sup> literally "[into]"

<sup>4</sup> literally "which" (plural)

<sup>5</sup> literally "in-standing"

<sup>6</sup> literally "in"

<sup>7</sup> literally "in"

<sup>8</sup> literally "human-feeding"

<sup>9</sup> literally "in"

<sup>10</sup> literally "of-the-field"

<sup>11</sup> literally "being-beside"

<sup>12</sup> literally "more"

<sup>13</sup> literally "human-feeding"

<sup>14</sup> literally "dare-upon"

<sup>15</sup> literally "quaking"

<sup>16</sup> literally "knocked-up"

<sup>17</sup> literally "toward"

<sup>18</sup> literally "behind"

<sup>19</sup> literally "Which"

<sup>20</sup> literally "into"

<sup>21</sup> usually translated "dismissed"

<sup>22</sup> literally "unfolding-over the hands"

<sup>23</sup> literally "spiriting"

<sup>24</sup> literally "behind"

<sup>25</sup> literally "made-of-the-field"

<sup>26</sup> literally "which"

<sup>27</sup> literally "the"

<sup>28</sup> literally "being-near"

<sup>29</sup> literally "which"

<sup>30</sup> literally "capping"

<sup>31</sup> literally "the"

<sup>32</sup> literally "making-use-of"

<sup>33</sup> literally "the"

<sup>34</sup> literally "spiriting"

<sup>35</sup> literally "behind"

<sup>36</sup> literally "toward"

<sup>37</sup> literally "the tyrant at the rising-up"

<sup>38</sup> literally "heard that for the sister of Constantinus to be being betrothed"

<sup>39</sup> literally "estimated for that affinity of the two emperors to be being coupled"

<sup>40</sup> literally "incised for that senior to have"

<sup>41</sup> literally "exiting"

<sup>42</sup> literally "who"

<sup>43</sup> literally "onto most"

<sup>44</sup> literally "of the having come-to-be well"

<sup>45</sup> literally "out of"

<sup>46</sup> literally "even-as"

<sup>47</sup> literally "a thrown-from"

<sup>48</sup> literally "the"

<sup>49</sup> Simeon / Vita, Suda "But"

<sup>50</sup> literally "stature"

<sup>51</sup> Life, Simeon / Suda omit "man"

<sup>52</sup> Simeon / Life, Suda "who told him in-detail" (lit. "who led him forth")

<sup>53</sup> Simeon(BI) omit "both"

<sup>54</sup> literally "typing"

<sup>55</sup> literally "a custom for a pitching"

<sup>56</sup> Simeon(IL) omit "to be"

<sup>57</sup> literally "ways-around"

him in which he was being without-grain even for a whole week.<sup>1</sup> Yet truly he was pasturing the majority of the time of his<sup>2</sup> life by-means-of prayers-to God and tears. Therefore, indeed, he was so-much distant from joking-around and laughter, as-much-as he also judged these things to be truthfully deserving<sup>3</sup> of laughter. But on-the-contrary, he was making-every-effort to be<sup>4</sup> being-zealous for the ones who were mourning, and he was deeming them to be deserving of happinesses.

But while he was greeting the quietness and laying himself near the contiguous care, he was always made-seen in<sup>5</sup> deep-thought and full of downcastness to the ones who were throwing themselves beside him, even if, in himself,<sup>6</sup> he was leaping-for-joy for himself and was rejoicing in the spirit through all things. But if at-some-time it would seem to him good to let a word go before his<sup>7</sup> mouth, the divine writings were what<sup>8</sup> was being uttered. For such a large divine passionate-desire of these writings leaned-in him, as for him to almost not be wanting to be partaking of slumber due to the continuous care he had about these writings. But even if at-some-time the body was wishing for a moderate thorough-resting-up, he was not partaking of slumber without earnest<sup>9</sup> prayer-to God nor-even without warm tears and bending of knees. Instead, these things indeed were set-straight with the holy-one, while he was leading the first stage<sup>10</sup> of his life, being still even boyish.

But since he already<sup>11</sup> both<sup>12</sup> stepped-over this age and began to be finishing this period and heading into being a young-man, he stood his flesh (which was free-from-insurrection) beside the spirit by-means-of the energy of the holy spirit. But he was composing<sup>13</sup> the body with certain types of the thin foods for<sup>14</sup> feeding, so as to have made-use-of only bread for<sup>15</sup> adequate numbers of days—but not even bread for the majority of the days, but instead something even thinner for<sup>16</sup> nourishment of his.<sup>17</sup> But water to him was a most-pleasant drinking-party. But there was<sup>18</sup> even times when he was distancing himself from the using of the fire. And due to these things, he himself quickly existed as<sup>18</sup> the most-named<sup>19</sup> individual of all those of his time.

Therefore, he, bringing himself, gave<sup>19</sup> himself to the assembly of the Antiocheians. And<sup>20</sup> after he stepped-forward into a priesthood, he became an elder of the assembly<sup>21</sup> of the Antiocheians. And he composed a teaching-place there so as to be the greatest,<sup>22</sup> consisting of the<sup>23</sup> most-effortful students everywhere<sup>24</sup> who were reaching him<sup>25</sup> from other<sup>26</sup> places.

But Lucianus was exercising himself in stenography. And the wage being procured to him from-there, was indeed, simultaneously supplying expenses for<sup>27</sup> nourishment to himself, but also simultaneously to the poor individuals. For he was even prescribing the affair to be unrighteousness if he himself would have partaken of the nourishment prior to others<sup>28</sup> not having partaken of the livelihood from his hands.

Now-consequently After this man also<sup>29</sup> beheld<sup>30</sup> the consecrated books which had suffered<sup>31</sup> much of the bastard condition, he took-up the books which had been translated into the Hellenic tongue and tried to rejuvenate<sup>32</sup> them<sup>33</sup> from out of the Hebraic versions. He contributed<sup>34</sup> the most intense exertion for their restoration.<sup>35</sup>

Now in addition to these things, after Lucianus succeeded<sup>36</sup> Paulus of Samusat, he remained expelled-from-congregation for many-years during the times of three overseers of Antiocheia: Domnus, and Timaios, and Kyrillos.

But since Maximinus<sup>37</sup> the king became-rabid against the assemblies of the Anointed-One with meaningless<sup>38</sup> rabidness, and was imagining that it would be<sup>39</sup> the easiest thing to make the name of the Christians disappear<sup>40</sup> from among<sup>41</sup> humans if he would make<sup>42</sup> the topmost<sup>43</sup> ones in every place become displaced,<sup>44</sup> he indeed learned about the man, Lucianus (inasmuch-as the declaration about him was being much diffused<sup>45</sup> everywhere). But a terrible passionate-desire entered Maximinus to bring the man into his hand. And he surely sent<sup>46</sup> the men who were to arrest him with their hand.<sup>46</sup> But after Lucianus learned this, he was not defecting into<sup>47</sup> the danger; instead, through guarding and security, he was doing nothing to make it seem that he endured<sup>48</sup> to be running-needless-risks,<sup>49</sup> but yet<sup>50</sup> to not throw-toward the<sup>51</sup> assemblies the downcastness on his account (which would be great).

Accordingly, he was secure into power. And he surely, after he withdrew-out of<sup>52</sup> the city, began to be hiding-down on a certain field. But a certain Pankratios of the same Antiocheia—the one, indeed, who was having the honor of the elderly-man, but who was having been borne-up-under the mindsets of Sabellius. He, being thoroughly-bewitched for<sup>53</sup> much time by-means-of the glory of the man, betrayed<sup>54</sup> him to the ones who were searching-for him.

And indeed, the man was being led onto Nikomédeia where he was to be-made-dead (for at-that-time, one of the kings, Maximinus,<sup>55</sup> was happening to be spending time there). But there was much murder of-every-sort of the ones who were not wishing to be denying the Anointed-One.<sup>56</sup> And the cruelty<sup>57</sup> on-the-basis-of these things advanced<sup>58</sup> yet into this: so-that Maximinus was even doing-away-with mere infant boys-and-girls,<sup>59</sup> due-to-the-fact that he was not able<sup>60</sup> to be persuading them to be given-a-taste of the things being sacrificed to the demons. For he was not able to be persuading them. Instead, the boys-and-girls were holding-out-against him, being strained<sup>61</sup> by some clearly-seen invisible help.

And the perseverance and steadfastness<sup>62</sup> of the boys-and-girls up-to death was, indeed, surely becoming even the greatest help to the Christians who were contending out of rationalizing<sup>63</sup> and judgment, being made<sup>64</sup> to be in shame if they would be seen to be inferior to boys-and-girls by not standing themselves against the bringing-on<sup>65</sup> of the terrors as those children had. But as-many-as again squatted to the dangers, the sufferings of the boys-and-girls were ending in<sup>66</sup> an accusation against these<sup>67</sup> individuals, as if they would be made-to-appear to have endured their worsted-state, surely-not by-means-of the heaviness of the terrors, but rather<sup>68</sup> by-means-of the lowness of their domestic rationalizations.<sup>69</sup>

Therefore, varied and other sufferings were coming-to-be around the boys-and-girls. For<sup>70</sup> after Maximinus stood two certain boys beside himself (brothers, by race<sup>71</sup> of the ones who became brightly known),<sup>72</sup> he indeed was at the first attempts, setting-his-hand to be luring them by-means-of certain promises such-as he was imagining, that would be<sup>73</sup> most especially seductive<sup>74</sup> to boys.

And he was directing some of the sacrificial-victims which were in their presence to be being brought-to them, which they sacrificed for themselves<sup>75</sup> before<sup>76</sup> the eyes of the boys, on-the-basis-of which they were also to be taking-a-taste-of for themselves. But while the boys were both turning-away and weeping-

<sup>1</sup> literally "seven"

<sup>2</sup> literally "the"

<sup>3</sup> usually translated "worthy" (also in next instance)

<sup>4</sup> Simeon(GH) omit "to be"

<sup>5</sup> literally "on"

<sup>6</sup> Simeon(BE) "him"

<sup>7</sup> literally "the"

<sup>8</sup> literally "were the thing which"

<sup>9</sup> literally "extended"

<sup>10</sup> literally "stature"

<sup>11</sup> Simeon(EP) omit "already"

<sup>12</sup> Simeon(BV) omit "both"

<sup>13</sup> Simeon(BD) "he composes"

<sup>14</sup> literally "into"

<sup>15</sup> literally "on-the-basis-of"

<sup>16</sup> literally "to/toward"

<sup>17</sup> literally "of this man"

<sup>18</sup> Simeon / Life "quickly became" / Suda omit "And due...of his time"

<sup>19</sup> Simeon / Life, Suda "most-well-known"

<sup>20</sup> Simeon / Life "Also" / Suda "But"

<sup>21</sup> Life, Suda / Eusebios "sojourn"

<sup>22</sup> Simeon(AEGO), Life / Suda "a great teaching-place there" / Simeon(BCDFHIJLMPQRSTU) "a

greatest teaching-place there"

<sup>23</sup> Simeon, Life / Suda omit "the"

<sup>24</sup> most Simeon / Simeon(E) "everywhere" / Life, Suda "from-each-side"

<sup>25</sup> Simeon, Suda / Life "them"

<sup>26</sup> Simeon, Life, most Suda / Suda(E) omit "other"

<sup>27</sup> literally "to/toward"

<sup>28</sup> literally "manner prior to different persons"

<sup>29</sup> Suda / Simeon add "Now-consequently" & "also"

<sup>30</sup> Suda / Simeon "saw"

<sup>31</sup> literally "accepted-into" / s. Prolegomena "brought-into"

<sup>32</sup> Suda (lit. "rejuvenate-upon") / Simeon "rejuvenate"

<sup>33</sup> most Suda / Simeon, Suda(E) omit "them"

<sup>34</sup> literally "brought-in"

<sup>35</sup> literally "making-upright-again"

<sup>36</sup> literally "received-in-turn"

<sup>37</sup> emendation (supported by Eusebios and Jerome) / Life, Simeon "Maximianus" (there is a frequent confusion and copyist errors of this name)

<sup>38</sup> literally "machineless"

<sup>39</sup> Life / Simeon "rabidness, imagining"

<sup>40</sup> Life / Simeon "to put the name of the Christians"

<sup>41</sup> literally "disappear out of"

<sup>42</sup> Life "would be enabled to make"

<sup>43</sup> literally "most-summit"

<sup>44</sup> literally "place out of feet"

<sup>45</sup> Life / Simeon "sprinted-throughout"

<sup>46</sup> Life, Simeon(ABCEGILOTU) / Simeon(DFHJKMPQRSV) add

<sup>47</sup> Life, most Simeon / Simeon(AB) "to/toward"

<sup>48</sup> literally "nothing for the act to seem onto him to endure"

<sup>49</sup> literally "-dangers"

<sup>50</sup> Life / Simeon omit "yet"

<sup>51</sup> Life / Simeon "not procure for the"

<sup>52</sup> Life / Simeon "he secretly-stood-forth from" (lit. "stood-out-under")

<sup>53</sup> literally "out of"

<sup>54</sup> Life / Simeon "betray"

<sup>55</sup> Life / Simeon "Maximianus" (incorrect)

<sup>56</sup> Life / Simeon "of the ones of the Anointed-One who were not wishing to be denying"

<sup>57</sup> literally "rawness"

<sup>58</sup> literally "stepped-forward"

<sup>59</sup> Life / Simeon "so-as-even to not-even be sparing mere infant boys-and-girls, but instead even to be doing-away with them"

<sup>60</sup> literally "powerful"

<sup>61</sup> literally "sinewed"

<sup>62</sup> literally "in-standing"

<sup>63</sup> literally "accounting"

<sup>64</sup> most Simeon / Simeon(BRS) omit "being-made"

<sup>65</sup> literally "leading-on"

<sup>66</sup> literally "were finishing into"

<sup>67</sup> most Simeon dative / Simeon(OQ) accusative

<sup>68</sup> literally "but rather" ("more than")

<sup>69</sup> literally "accountings"

<sup>70</sup> Life / Simeon omit "For"

<sup>71</sup> literally "by the race"

<sup>72</sup> Life / Simeon "became bright"

<sup>73</sup> literally "that were to become"

<sup>74</sup> literally "leading-on"

<sup>75</sup> Life / Simeon "which he sacrificed"

<sup>76</sup> Life (literally "onto") / Simeon accusative ("on-the-basis-of / at")

aloud<sup>1</sup> and asserting, as they were-able, with their tongues still lisping,<sup>2</sup> and that this would yet<sup>3</sup> not be in-accordance-with the *things* having been learned by their-own fathers,<sup>4</sup> but instead *that* a different manner *was the one* being imposed<sup>5</sup> by those *individuals*, he was back-again threatening, being-thrown<sup>6</sup> back into-a-different-position. And he was surely even leading various torments to<sup>7</sup> them.

But as the boys stood against<sup>8</sup> these *torments* (even better than an account would make-clear<sup>9</sup>) and were by-no-means giving-in (the divine power assuredly giving-stamina to them), *even*<sup>10</sup> a certain *one* of the wise-men *who* was there<sup>11</sup> *with the king*<sup>12</sup> (the *one who* was especially both urging-on and leading-the-way toward the *things* such as *these*) himself stood *the following* in-place:<sup>13</sup> that he was to prepare them to feed themselves at-once on all the *things* being offered. “For,” *he said*, “it is<sup>14</sup> ridiculous if the kings of Romans would be made-to-appear *to be men who* became inferior to boys *who were* still faltering-in-speech.”

Now-consequently, he machinated<sup>o</sup> *something* such-as-this. After he also<sup>15</sup> had-in-mind a certain implement of mustard *which was* the sharpest and most-perseverant, he indeed stripped-bare the hairs of *their* heads. But after he fashioned *the thickest amount* of the drug on *them* into *a layer* of thickness,<sup>16</sup> in order that, out of that material on *them*, the power would be reaching-down to the depth of *their body* more-amassed<sup>17</sup> and more *so*, he conveyed *them* into a bath-house *which was* flaming-all-around.<sup>18</sup> Surely<sup>19</sup> here, the boys, as-though *their* heads were thrown by-means-of some tornado, were bowed-together until *they reached* the<sup>20</sup> ground in-a-mass.<sup>21</sup> And not long<sup>22</sup> after *this*, the younger of them, after he fell, died-off foremost, after he did not hold *out* against the greatness of the flame *which was* kindled-forth in<sup>23</sup> the skull.

But the other<sup>24</sup> *one*, as he saw<sup>25</sup> his<sup>26</sup> brother *who* fell, both<sup>27</sup> loudly-spoke-well-of<sup>28</sup> *him* with *the* greatest of his ability,<sup>29</sup> leaping-for-joy-over the victory of his<sup>30</sup> brother, and he embraced *him* for himself.<sup>31</sup> He was kissing him and was crying *out* that he was bringing-a-victory, and heaping-together, “You have been-victorious, brother,” until even he himself no longer shouted.<sup>32</sup> While vocalizing-on-the-basis-of this expression to him and braiding *his arms* around *him* and kissing *him*, he breathed-forth-toward *him*, and he was already being laid *there*, having taken his<sup>33</sup> brother into his arms.

And this<sup>34</sup> surely *was* the greatest suffering *which* happened throughout that time, and *the one* most-in-need-of-mercy to the *ones who were* seeing it—assuredly the very stature of *the boys* pulling the resolve of the most of *them* on into pity. And indeed, the relatives<sup>35</sup> of these *boys*, after they took *them* up, entombed *them* along with the other boys-and-girls, due to the common *nature* of the cause of *their death*.

## CHAPTER 86: LIFE & TESTIMONY OF LUCIANUS (Part 2) [312-01-07]

But since Lucianus stepped-upon Kappadokia *while* he was being brought, he happened-to-meet-up-with-some of the soldiers *there who were* in<sup>36</sup> *their* arms. Indeed, they were claiming to be Christians. But after they *somehow, out of* obligation, reached into a *point* of denial, they were recalling their resolve *back* to themselves, both indicating and leading-the-way—since<sup>37</sup> it would be *the* most-shameful *thing* of all<sup>38</sup> for men, and for soldiers *like* these, to be made-to-be-seen ignoble and most-undaring toward the trial of the death, *while* already even

<sup>1</sup> literally “weeping-up”

<sup>2</sup> Life / Simeon “faltering-in-speech”

<sup>3</sup> Life / Simeon omit “yet”

<sup>4</sup> literally “by parents of themselves”

<sup>5</sup> Life (lit. “being finished-on”) / Simeon “being finished”

<sup>6</sup> Life, most Simeon / Simeon(IL) “, after he was thrown”

<sup>7</sup> Simeon / Life “before”

<sup>8</sup> literally “to/toward”

<sup>9</sup> Life (“even better...clear”) / Simeon “fighting *them* off, they were standing themselves”

<sup>10</sup> Life, most Simeon / Simeon(RS) add

<sup>11</sup> Life, most Simeon “there” (irregular form) / Simeon(CD) “in-that-place” / Simeon(RS) “there”

<sup>12</sup> Life / Simeon add

<sup>13</sup> literally “stood-under”

<sup>14</sup> literally “For for it to be”

<sup>15</sup> Life, Simeon(S) / most Simeon omit “also”

<sup>16</sup> Life / Simeon omit “into *a layer* of thickness”

<sup>17</sup> Life / Simeon omit “more-”

<sup>18</sup> Life / Simeon “flaming-with-fire”

<sup>19</sup> Life, most Simeon / Simeon(FS) “But”

<sup>20</sup> Life / Simeon omit “the”

<sup>21</sup> Life / Simeon “amassed”

<sup>22</sup> literally “much”

<sup>23</sup> literally “of”

<sup>24</sup> literally “different”

<sup>25</sup> most Simeon (“he saw”) / Simeon(C) “this-here” / Life “already”

<sup>26</sup> literally “the”

<sup>27</sup> Life, most Simeon / Simeon(K) omit “both”

<sup>28</sup> literally “declared-well-up”

<sup>29</sup> literally “*him* however-big *was* the greatest he was-able”

<sup>30</sup> literally “the”

<sup>31</sup> Life / Simeon omit “for himself”

<sup>32</sup> literally “himself had not shouted”

<sup>33</sup> literally “the”

<sup>34</sup> Life, most Simeon neuter / Simeon(V) masculine

<sup>35</sup> literally “the *ones who were* fitting-to”

<sup>36</sup> most Simeon / Simeon(DH) omit “in”

<sup>37</sup> literally “as”

<sup>38</sup> most Simeon / Simeon(CF) “*thing* by-all-means”

certain women, but, even more, certain boys-and-girls have become better *than them*.

“But how would you\*,” he was declaring, “*be willing* to brave-the-dangers-before *anyone else* for *the sake* of the doomed king, *while* having readily betrayed the heavenly *one* in-this-manner? But also what stronghold or safeguard will become salvation to you\*, if that *heavenly one* might snatch<sup>39</sup> you\* at-once, after he sends-for<sup>40</sup> the *ones who are* from-this-place to *give an account* to him? As-a-result, are you\* comprehending-in *your\* minds*, as to *the fact* that he himself is managing and supremely-presiding *over* all of this-here *universe*? And *that* that *one* is both a paymaster<sup>41</sup> of life and a lord of death? Now-consequently, it is much better, after you\* made for yourselves a lesser account of the lifetime *which* is being-present, to obtain the endless happiness in-the-presence-of that *one*, than, *while* encompassing<sup>42</sup> this life here, to also<sup>43</sup> utterly-sin nonetheless<sup>44</sup> (*especially while* even this *lifetime* is probably going to be taken-away by a belligerent *one*) as-well-as to even fall-away *from* that *endless happiness* and still to be giving an immortal rightful-punishment to *persons who* are to be chastised.”

After those *men* accepted these accounts, they were battling-*their-own*-knowledge and they were changing-*their-interest* after they themselves *had* denied.<sup>45</sup> And after they again came-back to themselves and after they became-outspoken, the majority of *them*, *their* number being not lesser *than* forty, stood-under the death in-behalf of the Anointed-One. But some, even after they contended-toward all forms<sup>46</sup> of chastisements, survived,<sup>47</sup> having still endured nothing ignoble after the second trial, after they instead also dissipated the former rightful-punishment of *their* denial by-means-of the steadfastness<sup>48</sup> *which they now had* in-behalf-of piety.

But after Lucianus<sup>49</sup> accomplished these by-works on<sup>50</sup> the way and more of the *things* such as *these*,<sup>51</sup> he was conveyed into Nikomédeia.<sup>52</sup> But *the* consorters<sup>53</sup> of this man have become more: even, indeed, the *ones who were* being-present-along with him on-the-spot throughout Nikomédeia *while* he was contending, but *also* the *ones who were* not. Some of whom (after the *attempts which* forced *them* to Hellenize struck-against<sup>54</sup> them) indeed gave-in, after they were not enabled at the<sup>55</sup> first *attempts* to be-sufficient against<sup>56</sup> the tortures.

However after-that, Lucianus (for he was still living), after he called them to himself, and after he made their knowledge upright-again by-means-of all-sorts-of accounts, and after he indicated how-serious<sup>57</sup> was the dangerous *state* of their transgression and how no-one *who* utterly-betrayed the confession into the Anointed-One will escape-from the inextinguishable flame of Gehenna, spoke. He also prepared *them* to change-their-opinion and he led *them* back again into the assembly.

But of the *ones* having come-on into Nikomédeia to Lucianus was even Antoninus, the most-beloved of his learners. And yet, since he reached *him*, he made-use-of this *man* for a minister for<sup>58</sup> writing of the letters. But of the men *who were* being-away, indeed, they were happening *to be* more. But the women *were*: Eustolia and Dōrothea and Sevéra. But even Pelagia (the *one who* was in Antiocheia and committed suicide after she threw herself down from a very-high roof) became his learner. There were also Eusebios of Nikomédeia, and Maris of Chalkédōn, and Theognis of Nikaia, and Leontios (the *one who* afterward became the overseer of Antiocheia), and Antonius of Tarshish of Kilikia, and Ménophantos, and Noominios, and Eudoxios. There were also Alexandros and Asterios the Kappadokian, *both of* who, after they gave-in to the force of the tyrants, Hellenized; but afterward, they recalled *their* worsted-state, after the teacher lent-assistance<sup>59</sup> to them toward *their* change-of-mind.

However, Lucianus (who *was* being brought) stepped-upon Nikomédeia. Maximinus,<sup>60</sup> enquiring from<sup>61</sup> many *individuals*, *learned* how, if he would even merely<sup>62</sup> behold the man, even-if-at-any-time, he would become-endangered of being Christianized (for so-much *was the proper* regard which attended<sup>63</sup> the form of the man). After he become-anxious, lest he would suffer something<sup>64</sup> such as

<sup>39</sup> literally “obtain”

<sup>40</sup> literally “he sent-after”

<sup>41</sup> most Simeon / Simeon(H) omit “a paymaster”

<sup>42</sup> literally “holding-all-around”

<sup>43</sup> most Simeon / Simeon(DV) “here, but to”

<sup>44</sup> literally (“none the less”) “nothing inferior”

<sup>45</sup> most Simeon dative / Simeon(ER) accusative

<sup>46</sup> literally “appearances”

<sup>47</sup> literally “overlived”

<sup>48</sup> literally “in-standing”

<sup>49</sup> Simeon / Life “But since Lucianus, after he”

<sup>50</sup> literally “of”

<sup>51</sup> Life / Simeon “of such *things*”

<sup>52</sup> Simeon / Life “, it happened after he was conveyed into Nikomédeia, Maximinus was conveyed to here to many”

<sup>53</sup> literally “conversers”

<sup>54</sup> Simeon(EGHOPRTV) (lit. “after...threw-to”) / Simeon(ABCDFI) “while...throwing-to”

<sup>55</sup> most Simeon / Simeon(AB) omit “the”

<sup>56</sup> literally “to/toward”

<sup>57</sup> literally “how-much”

<sup>58</sup> literally “to/toward”

<sup>59</sup> literally “teacher took-hold-along-with”

<sup>60</sup> Life / Simon “Maximianus” (incorrect)

<sup>61</sup> literally “to/toward”

<sup>62</sup> literally “only”

<sup>63</sup> literally “regard to have sat itself”

<sup>64</sup> most Simeon / Simeon(BV) omit “something”



this, he thoroughly-enwalled himself with a screen *in the middle of them throughout* the conversation. And-if-at-any-time<sup>1</sup> he was sending accounts through to him from<sup>2</sup> a long *distance*, he was making-use-of the minister of the accounts *who was in the middle of them*.

And indeed, first,<sup>3</sup> he was most-surely making-promises, lavishing tens-of-thousands of *things* upon *him* for-achieving-honor.<sup>4</sup> For<sup>5</sup> he was to lead *him into being* a<sup>6</sup> counselor of the exactions and a father of the royal dignity<sup>7</sup> and<sup>8</sup> a companion<sup>9</sup> of the concern in-behalf of the whole *empire*, and other more such *things*. But of all these *things*,<sup>10</sup> he was asserting, that there was only one<sup>11</sup> thing he was requesting-in-return:<sup>12</sup> the *act* to sacrifice to the gods.

But since Lucianus,<sup>13</sup> after he spit-upon<sup>14</sup> the greatness of the gifts, was declaring<sup>15</sup> that he would not-even esteem<sup>16</sup> **all** the world to be worth-as-much the piety into God, Maximinus,<sup>17</sup> after he threw<sup>18</sup> himself into-a-different-position, was surely threatening Lucianus<sup>19</sup> in-this-manner,<sup>20</sup> defining<sup>21</sup> that he would<sup>22</sup> bring-upon<sup>23</sup> him: both every form which the long *length* of time has discovered in-regards-to<sup>24</sup> any chastisement *which* has been prepared by humans,<sup>25</sup> and as-much-as the present intention on *account* of those *things* would be enabled to additionally-invent.<sup>26 27</sup>

But *while* that *man* was also drawing-up unterrifying<sup>28</sup> courage into-battle-order-against this,<sup>29</sup> the king, becoming-indignant-on-behalf of *him*, indeed, was knowing that it was not<sup>30</sup> necessary to do-away-with him as<sup>31</sup> through some quick means<sup>32</sup> (for he was concluding that the amassed release-from *this life* from<sup>33</sup> the harsh *things* would be<sup>34</sup> granting-favors to him). But he ordered for him, after he was thrown-in into the enclosure, for his<sup>35</sup> body to be being twisted in-accordance-with the<sup>36</sup> manners *which* were varied.

Now-consequently, after the *ones* having been assigned to this *task* took him alongside *themselves*, they were bringing-upon<sup>37</sup> him various and many-manners-of torments, which, indeed, were going to be causing *him* to-feel-pain exceedingly, but to be held-against *him* for<sup>38</sup> much time *while* he was being chastised. And indeed, *they were doing* this: They were straddling both his feet in into the foot-restrainer<sup>39</sup> (but an elongated *piece-of-wood* is for a twisting-machine), drawing *them* asunder onto the fourth perforation (**which** is the weightier<sup>40</sup> method of this punishment, inasmuch-as the buttocks *is* being forcibly removed-from-their-sockets on-either-side). But *then they were doing* this: They, by-means-of an evil-machination<sup>41</sup> with knowledge, spread-under down all his<sup>42</sup> back terrible pointed-objects of clay-shards, *pointed-objects which* were frequent and contiguous. And, in order that it might yet not-even be being-licensed to the righteous-one to be being turned-to the *side* nor-even to be being moved *while* he was being wounded by-means-of the pointed-objects such as *these*, they, after they stretched his hands to-the-uttermost, were binding *them* on a certain *piece-of wood which* was having been laid above *his* head.

And by most of the other *means* they were also<sup>43</sup> surely<sup>44</sup> heaping-outrages-upon him and they were surely even barring him from<sup>45</sup> every eatable-thing,<sup>46</sup>

except if he would want to have-a-share-of the *things* being-stained<sup>47</sup> in their<sup>48</sup> presence. But<sup>49</sup> they were even holding *these things* out, lavishing *them* upon<sup>50</sup> *him*. But he was *rather*<sup>51</sup> choosing tens-of-thousands of deaths for himself in-place-of *those things*, and it was sweeter<sup>52</sup> to him, *while* remaining without-nourishment,<sup>53</sup> to be being completely-consumed<sup>54</sup> by-means-of the meltings *arising from* out of the famine, than to endure the mere<sup>55</sup> beholding of those *things*. And yet he became-sufficient-against this famine *which* was completely-consuming *him* for itself<sup>56</sup> for<sup>57</sup> all the<sup>58</sup> fourteen days. And he was not-even yet being-tranquil, nor-even ceasing-from the *things which* were usual for<sup>59</sup> *him* to do. Instead, by-means-of accounts, he was also perpetually encouraging the *ones who* were having been shut-down in the same prison in-behalf-of the same cause,<sup>60</sup> and he was making-use-of<sup>61</sup> persistent prayers-to *God* and exhorting those *individuals to the like zeal in himself*.<sup>62</sup>

But some days had passed<sup>63</sup> to him (*while* he was being treated-with-evil in the manner which has been stated) and<sup>64</sup> indeed the festival of the manifestation-of-a-god was already drawing-near. But the learners were going-into<sup>65</sup> downcastness<sup>66</sup> (for many were being-beside *him* on-the-spot *who* were gathered-together<sup>67</sup> both from out of Antiocheia and some other places), rationalizing,<sup>68</sup> as if indeed, after the teacher also left them behind<sup>69</sup> at-once, he would go-away (no-longer being-able to be holding out against<sup>70</sup> that famine *which* was *lasting* a very-long-time), but they themselves would<sup>71</sup> by-no-means be deemed-worthy to celebrate-the-festival of the day of the manifestation-of-a-god together with this *man*, Lucianus.<sup>72</sup> Since *all these things* were happening, he, vocalizing-against<sup>73</sup> these *conclusions* to them, was directing for *them* to be being strongly encouraged.

“For I will be-together with *all of you\**,” he was declaring, “And I will celebrate this festival of the day of the manifestation-of-a-god<sup>74</sup> along with you\*.<sup>75</sup> But I will go-away on the following day.”<sup>76</sup>

And surely indeed even this account came to completion.<sup>77</sup>

Therefore,<sup>78</sup> since the day of the festival<sup>79</sup> *which* was being anticipated overtook *them*, indeed, the learners were surely yearning-for this surely last leading-into-the-mysteries from him.<sup>80</sup> But it was seeming to be without-a-way as to how they would either convey<sup>81</sup> a table into the enclosure or would escape-notice of the eyes of the godless-ones (indeed, many of whom<sup>82</sup> were *then*<sup>83</sup> being-beside *them* there, but *some* of whom<sup>84</sup> were coming-into *there*).

But the *man* was declaring, “This-here bust of mine will be a table<sup>85</sup> to you\*, which<sup>86</sup> is not seeming to me to be *something* which will become more-honorless to a god than of the table made out of a soulless material-thing. But *all of you\** will become a holy inner-sanctum to me after you\* put yourselves in-a-line-around me on-every-side.”

And surely even<sup>87</sup> this<sup>88</sup> was being accomplished<sup>1</sup> in this manner. For<sup>2</sup> The guards, as *though* he<sup>3</sup> was already at<sup>4</sup> an egress from this<sup>5</sup> life, also unfasted

<sup>1</sup> Life / Simeon “And”

<sup>2</sup> Life (literally “of”) / Simeon “out of”

<sup>3</sup> Life / Simeon “; at first”

<sup>4</sup> Literally “, having-fondness-for-achieving-honor for tens-of-thousands of things”

<sup>5</sup> Life / Simeon “Also”

<sup>6</sup> Simeon(ABEGOT) / Life, Simeon(DFHJKLMPQRSUV) “to have him for a” / Simeon(C) “was licensing him for a”

<sup>7</sup> Literally “worth”

<sup>8</sup> Simeon / Life omit “and”

<sup>9</sup> Literally “communer”

<sup>10</sup> Life / Simeon “But **all** of which”

<sup>11</sup> Life / Simeon omit “one”

<sup>12</sup> Literally “asserting, to be requesting for only one thing in-return”

<sup>13</sup> Literally “since that *man*”

<sup>14</sup> Life (literally “spit-through”) / Simeon “heard”

<sup>15</sup> Life / Simeon “gifts, as-well-as made the accounts about these things in base state, and he was declaring”

<sup>16</sup> Life (lit. “declaring for him were not-even to set”) / Simeon “declaring for him to not-even be setting”

<sup>17</sup> Literally “, that *man*”

<sup>18</sup> Life, most Simeon / Simeon(BCEFF) “, while he was throwing”

<sup>19</sup> Life (lit. “that man”) / Simeon “the one who was being-mighty”

<sup>20</sup> Life / Simeon “then”

<sup>21</sup> Life (literally “delimiting”) / Simeon omit

<sup>22</sup> Literally “stating were to”

<sup>23</sup> Literally “lead-upon”

<sup>24</sup> Simeon / Life “both everything which, after the long time already conveyed it, was existing”

<sup>25</sup> Life / Simeon omit “having been prepared by humans”

<sup>26</sup> Literally “to-find-out-besides”

<sup>27</sup> Life (“and as...invent”) / Simeon “and if something newer which himself would be enabled to found”

<sup>28</sup> Literally “without-being-stricken-out”

<sup>29</sup> Life / Simeon “also, without-being-struck-with-astonishment, throwing-forward the act to be being-encouraged and fighting-off a hostile-array

<sup>30</sup> Literally “knowing not to be”

<sup>31</sup> Life / Simeon omit “as”

<sup>32</sup> Literally “as through quickly”

<sup>33</sup> Literally “of”

<sup>34</sup> Literally “concluding for the amassed...were to be”

<sup>35</sup> Literally “the”

<sup>36</sup> Life, most Simeon / Simeon(EF) omit “the”

<sup>37</sup> Literally “leading-upon”

<sup>38</sup> Literally “onto”

<sup>39</sup> Literally “foot-evil”

<sup>40</sup> most Simeon / Simeon(E) “weightiest”

<sup>41</sup> or “evil-machine”

<sup>42</sup> most Simeon (literally “the”) / Simeon(HIT) omit

<sup>43</sup> Simeon / Life “And at-another-time they were”

<sup>44</sup> Life / Simeon omit “surely”

<sup>45</sup> literally “of”

<sup>46</sup> Life / Simeon “nourishment”

<sup>47</sup> Life / Simeon “want the stained things which were being offered”

<sup>48</sup> Life / Simeon uses another word which also means “their”

<sup>49</sup> Life / Simeon “For”

<sup>50</sup> literally “abounding-upon”

<sup>51</sup> Life / Simeon add

<sup>52</sup> Life, most Simeon / Simeon(BCR) “his-own”

<sup>53</sup> Life / Simeon “without-eating-grain”

<sup>54</sup> Life / Simeon “being corrupted-alongside”

<sup>55</sup> literally “alone/only”

<sup>56</sup> Life / Simeon “And the testifier of the Anointed-One was continuing in-this-manner, being entirely-spent

by-means-of the famine”

<sup>57</sup> Life (literally “into”) / Simeon omit

<sup>58</sup> Life, most Simeon / Simeon(AB) omit “the”

<sup>59</sup> literally “to”

<sup>60</sup> Life (“and he was...cause”) / Simeon “doing both the usual things and encouraging-on, by-means-of

accounts of teaching, the ones who were having been shut-down in the prison due to the Anointed-One”

<sup>61</sup> Life / Simeon “was supporting them by-means-of”

<sup>62</sup> Life / Simeon add

<sup>63</sup> literally “had come-through”

<sup>64</sup> most Simeon / Simeon(CFI) omit “and”

<sup>65</sup> literally “being-into”

<sup>66</sup> Simeon(CFI) / most Simeon “downcastnesses”

<sup>67</sup> most Simeon (lit. “gathered-together-on”) / Simeon(V) “gathered-together”

<sup>68</sup> usually translated “accounting”

<sup>69</sup> literally “off”

<sup>70</sup> literally “holding-against to”

<sup>71</sup> literally “will”

<sup>72</sup> literally “that man”

<sup>73</sup> literally “-against to”

<sup>74</sup> most Simeon / Simeon (V) of the going-up (lit. being-up) of gods”

<sup>75</sup> most Simeon / Simeon(BEHV) “us”

<sup>76</sup> most Simeon (lit. “the coming-to-be-upon day”) / Simeon(DEFHPT) “the day which came-to-be-upon”

(i.e. “the day which followed”)

<sup>77</sup> literally “came-to-an-end into a work”

<sup>78</sup> Simeon / Life “But”

<sup>79</sup> Simeon / Life “manifestation-of-a-god”

<sup>80</sup> Life / Simeon “from the teacher”

<sup>81</sup> Life (literally “convey-into”) / Simeon “lead-into”

<sup>82</sup> literally “the”

<sup>83</sup> Life / Simeon add

<sup>84</sup> literally “the”

<sup>85</sup> Life / Simeon “declaring, “The table will be this-here chest of **mine**”

<sup>86</sup> Life / Simeon omit “which”

<sup>87</sup> Life / Simeon “And in-this-way indeed”

<sup>88</sup> Life / Simeon “this-here”

themselves from their duties. And after *Lucianus* the testifier stood all of them<sup>6</sup> in-a-circle around him (as they would be enclosing<sup>7</sup> him stuffingly<sup>8</sup> and after one stood<sup>9</sup> alongside another especially well<sup>10</sup> securely), he directed<sup>11</sup> for them to be bringing-into<sup>12</sup> there the tokens of the consecrated-work and for them to be placed upon the<sup>13</sup> chest. But since they<sup>14</sup> were put there, he both straightaway<sup>15</sup> saw-up<sup>16</sup> into a heaven after his sight had already altogether-failed,<sup>17</sup> and he, toilingly<sup>18</sup> stretching-up,<sup>19</sup> also<sup>20</sup> made the usual prayers.<sup>21</sup> And next<sup>22</sup> for most of the time he called-upon-the-divine-being, and he, after he completed<sup>23</sup> for himself all the things which were proposed according to the mightiest<sup>24</sup> institute, also himself had-a-share of the mysteries. He also permitted the ones of the consorters<sup>25</sup> who were being-beside him to have-a-share of it after he pastured himself,<sup>26</sup> and he sent it through to the ones who were being-away. And indeed, for this day, he was surely quite-sufficed-together with his-own requisite friends,<sup>27</sup> even-as he had also<sup>28</sup> promised this<sup>29</sup> to them.<sup>30</sup>

But into the day after, some of the individuals<sup>31</sup> who were to see if he still had life left in him<sup>32</sup> came from the king. For the prolongation of his life until this time was holding a marvel to<sup>33</sup> them.

But therefore, as that stained tyrant saw that nothing more came-to-be to him, he led<sup>o</sup> him again into the court-of-justice. And, while he was torturing him, he was bringing-upon him various incessant enquiries.

But since *Lucianus* beheld all the ones who had reached him being-near him, he forced himself<sup>34</sup> and spoke-up as-loud-as he was being-able,<sup>35</sup> “I am a Christian.” But he replied only this to each enquiry.

And while the public-executioner was saying, “What fatherland are you from?” he declared<sup>o</sup>, “I am a Christian.”

“What business do you have?”

“I am a Christian.” And at the last time, the spirit was altogether-being-away from him. This happened on the 7th day before the Ides of January.<sup>36</sup>

Now Maximinus,<sup>37</sup> after he became-astonished at<sup>38</sup> his steadfastness<sup>39</sup> until the end and his<sup>40</sup> state of not-giving-in, ordered for<sup>41</sup> the ones who were ministering the matters such as these<sup>42</sup> to throw<sup>43</sup> him into the sea after they attached<sup>44</sup> a great stone to his right arm,<sup>45</sup> in order that he would be finished-off<sup>46</sup> after he came-to-be under-the-depths of the sea, and that his dead body would be enabled to obtain not-one entombing or some other treatment. Therefore, he was indeed in the deep-place for the whole fourteen days, even<sup>47</sup> for as-many-as he was utterly-contending in the enclosure for<sup>48</sup> the various sufferings of the body. But on the 15th day,<sup>49</sup> a dolphin conveyed him out onto the dry land in this<sup>50</sup> manner:

His learners were floundering<sup>51</sup> about the promontories and the shores, others here, others there, if somehow<sup>52</sup> they would be enabled to find him after he was spit-out<sup>53</sup> of the sea during<sup>54</sup> a stormy<sup>55</sup> hour which was being exceedingly disturbed-forth. While the<sup>56</sup> time was being prolonged,<sup>57</sup> it also prepared for them to already despair, and they had already dropped<sup>58</sup> the search.<sup>59 60</sup>

But in this time, while the 15th day was coming-on,<sup>61</sup> Glycerius<sup>62</sup> (a certain one of his genuine frequenters, who, at-that-time,<sup>63</sup> was making his<sup>64</sup> pastime for himself on the mainland on-the-side-opposite to Nikomédeia)<sup>65</sup> thought he had a sleeping-vision of *Lucianus*, in which he was declaring<sup>66</sup> to him, “At-once, at-daybreak, after you stand-up, O man,<sup>67</sup> be going-away<sup>68</sup> into this-here site.” He made-clear to him where the places of the beach were where he-must-step.<sup>69</sup> “For I will happen-to-meet-up with you,” he was declaring, “after you come-to-be-alongside there.”

But since the slumber quickly let him up out of the extremely evident and striking<sup>70</sup> nature of the things which were shown to him, and the piercing daybreak was already weaving,<sup>71</sup> the man stood-up. And after he called to himself most of the ones who were sharing-one-cup<sup>72</sup> with him,<sup>73</sup> he was roaming into the mentioned<sup>74</sup> site with them.

But in this time, the dolphin was going-up,<sup>75</sup> fittedly rising-to-the-surface<sup>76</sup> of the sea—some greatest and strange monster.<sup>77</sup> And since it was to the surface<sup>78</sup> of the water, it, after it unfolded, both was blowing great and was progressing to the dry-and-barren-land. And there were much of both foam and whizzing around it, the surges themselves coming both forcibly and<sup>79</sup> contiguously while they were splitting-on-top. But as-a-result it was bringing the dead body which was stretched-out as if lying on some bed. And it was an incredible sight<sup>80</sup> to see the dead body remaining untrembling in-this-manner on a slippery and curved body and being rolled off the ride which was bringing him, neither under its<sup>81</sup> domestic heavy-weight nor truly<sup>82</sup> by the force of the surges. But since the dolphin was having come<sup>83</sup> to the mainland, the wave, after it picked it up in mid-air, threw it off<sup>84</sup> on the dry land. And<sup>85</sup> indeed, after the dolphin stretched, it breathed-forth<sup>86</sup> its last breath at-once. But after the dead body was brought on the silt, it was being laid there safe; and all the pieces were fit,<sup>87</sup> except that the right hand, to which the stone happened to be fastened-upon,<sup>88</sup> was not yet following-along-behind-together with the remaining body for the moment.<sup>89</sup>

But therefore then, as the dead body which was conveyed-out of the sea by the dolphin was brought on the silt, the learners indeed first were greeting it in-accordance-with what was being-proper,<sup>90</sup> one-and another coming-to-be-upon<sup>91</sup> the spot from-elsewhere. And they were both kissing and throwing their arms around it as each one was able by their eagerness. However, after-that, after they conveyed him while being-carried<sup>92</sup> and after they buried him by-means-of all the lawful-procedures,<sup>93</sup> they put it down in the most-splendid<sup>94</sup> place in that<sup>95</sup> very

<sup>1</sup> literally “finished”

<sup>2</sup> Life / Simeon add

<sup>3</sup> Life (“he”) / Simeon “the testifier”

<sup>4</sup> literally “onto”

<sup>5</sup> Life (literally “at a way-out of the”) / Simeon “finishing-up this”

<sup>6</sup> Simeon / Life omit “of them”

<sup>7</sup> Life (literally “would be locking-together”) / Simeon “as whenever the might embrace”

<sup>8</sup> Life / Simeon “enclosing this man unitedly”

<sup>9</sup> Life / Simeon add “after” & “stood”

<sup>10</sup> Life / Simeon omit “especially well”

<sup>11</sup> Life / Simeon “he was directing”

<sup>12</sup> Life / Simeon “to be carrying-into”

<sup>13</sup> Life / Simeon “his-own”

<sup>14</sup> Life / Simeon “these things”

<sup>15</sup> Life / Simeon add

<sup>16</sup> Life, most Simeon / Simeon(DHJKMV) “let-up”

<sup>17</sup> literally “after the look already altogether-fell”

<sup>18</sup> Life, most Simeon / Simeon(HV) “scarcely”

<sup>19</sup> Life (“stretching-up”) / Simeon “being-able to stretch-up”

<sup>20</sup> Life / Simeon add

<sup>21</sup> Simeon / Life “made the prayers of the usual thing”

<sup>22</sup> Life / Simeon add

<sup>23</sup> Life, Simeon (ABCEFGOQT) / Simeon(DHIJLMPRSV) “finished”

<sup>24</sup> Life / Simeon “consecrated”

<sup>25</sup> Life (literally “conversers”) / Simeon “learners”

<sup>26</sup> Life / Simeon omit “after he pastured himself”

<sup>27</sup> Life / Simeon “with these individuals”

<sup>28</sup> Life / Simeon omit “also”

<sup>29</sup> literally “which”

<sup>30</sup> Life / Simeon omit “to them”

<sup>31</sup> Life, most Simeon / Simeon(EH) omit “of the individuals”

<sup>32</sup> Life / most Simeon “if he is still yet living-through” / Simeon(T) “if he is still yet living”

<sup>33</sup> Life / Simeon “for”

<sup>34</sup> Simeon / Life “, they forced him”

<sup>35</sup> This has been emended from the original source by the additional information provided by Chrusostom. Life (lit. “, into three-times-as-statured-as he was being-able, he forced himself and he spoke-up”), supported by Chrusostom / Simeon “however-statured-as he was being able, they forced him, and the third time he spoke-up the”  
<sup>36</sup> (312)-01-07

<sup>37</sup> Life / Simeon “Maximianus”

<sup>38</sup> literally “to/toward”

<sup>39</sup> literally “in-standing”

<sup>40</sup> literally “the”

<sup>41</sup> Life / Simeon “to”

<sup>42</sup> Life, most Simeon (“the...these”) / Simeon(JM) “such matters” / Simeon(ILST) “these matters”

<sup>43</sup> Life / Simeon “cast”

<sup>44</sup> most Simeon (literally “fastened-out”) is accusative / Life “fastened-out” dative / Simeon(AB) “stood themselves in” accusative

<sup>45</sup> Life (lit. “to the right arm of him”) / Simeon “to the right arm”

<sup>46</sup> Life (lit. “accomplished”) / Simeon “made-to-disappear”

<sup>47</sup> Life / Simeon add

<sup>48</sup> literally “to/toward”

<sup>49</sup> Life / Simeon omit “day”

<sup>50</sup> literally “the”

<sup>51</sup> Life / Simeon “were spending their time”

<sup>52</sup> Life / Simeon “somewhere”

<sup>53</sup> literally “spit-off”

<sup>54</sup> literally “in”

<sup>55</sup> may also be translated “wintry” (“storm” is the Greek word for “winter”)

<sup>56</sup> Life / Simeon “his”

<sup>57</sup> literally “stretched-beside”

<sup>58</sup> literally “drooped”

<sup>59</sup> literally “seeking”

<sup>60</sup> Life / Simeon “prolonged, these individuals were preparing the discovery”

<sup>61</sup> Life / Simeon “standing itself over” (lit. “standing itself on”)

<sup>62</sup> Simeon / Life omit “Glycerius”

<sup>63</sup> Simeon / Life puts “the” before “at-that-time”

<sup>64</sup> literally “the”

<sup>65</sup> literally “roamers”

<sup>66</sup> Life / Simeon “he declares”

<sup>67</sup> literally “O this man”

<sup>68</sup> literally “be being-away”

<sup>69</sup> Life / Simeon “He made-clear the place.”

<sup>70</sup> Life, most Simeon (lit. “smiting”) / Simeon(IP) “astonishing” (lit. “smiting-down with astonishment”)

<sup>71</sup> Life / Simeon “as-well-as day already radiating-under”

<sup>72</sup> more literally “of-one-libation”

<sup>73</sup> Life / Simeon “And after he took\*-along with him some different ones of the ones-fond-of-piety”

<sup>74</sup> literally “made-clear”

<sup>75</sup> literally “being-up”

<sup>76</sup> literally “sinking-up”

<sup>77</sup> Life (“But...monster”) / Simeon “And a dolphin, some greatest monster—this dolphin, rising-to-the-surface (lit. “sinking-up”) of the sea, was going-up (lit. “being-up”) presently.”

<sup>78</sup> usually translated “appearance”

<sup>79</sup> Life / Simeon omit “the surges themselves coming both forcibly and”

<sup>80</sup> literally “something-which-is-beheld”

<sup>81</sup> literally “the”

<sup>82</sup> Life / Simeon add

<sup>83</sup> literally “come-to-be”

<sup>84</sup> Life / Simeon “having come (lit. “become”) to be picked-up in-midair by-means-of the waves and to have become”

<sup>85</sup> Life / Simeon omit “and”

<sup>86</sup> Life, most Simeon (lit. “breathed-off/-away”) / Simeon(HV) “breathed-on”

<sup>87</sup> Life, most Simeon / Simeon(BER) “safe alongside all which were fit”

<sup>88</sup> Life (literally “fastened-up”) / Simeon “attached” (lit. “fastened-out”)

<sup>89</sup> Life “body of it (fem.)”

<sup>90</sup> literally “the thing which was being-proper”

<sup>91</sup> most Simeon / Simeon(R) “being pressed” / Simeon(CD) “who came-to-be-upon” /

<sup>92</sup> literally “him bringingly”

<sup>93</sup> literally “the things having been made-lawful”

<sup>94</sup> literally “most-shined-on”

<sup>95</sup> literally “the”

country.<sup>1</sup> And indeed, they stood themselves around it for some-kind of sign<sup>2</sup> as they were then<sup>3</sup> enabled. Lucianus was buried at the bay<sup>4</sup> of Nikomédeia in Bithynia, upon which the name Helenopolis was later added.

Most-truly, in a short time, so-much had been prepared-to-be-put-together by-means-of the beauty-hating Maximinus against the Christians, so as for this persecution which was arisen-over<sup>5</sup> the Christians to be seeming much harsher than the former one.

## CHAPTER 87: RESCRIPTS OF MAXIMINUS DAIA AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS [312-04-12]

Yet-consequently, up in the middle of the cities, voted-propositions<sup>6</sup> ranging about against the Christians, and rescripts of royal dispositions attesting to these things, having been imprinted<sup>7</sup> on bronze monuments, were being set-up-again (a thing which was not-even done at-any other time). Also, throughout every day, the boys up in the teaching-places, were bringing forth through their mouths the names of Jesus and Pilatus and the memorandums which were fashioned on-the-basis-of outrage.

2 This is a copy of one of the petitions which was sent to Maximinus Daia against the Christians:

[To the saviors of the en]tire<sup>8</sup> nation and race of humans, [to gods, August-Ones, Cae]sars: Galerius Valerius Maximinus and [...] and Valerius Licinianus Licinius.

A beseeching and supplicating from the nation [of ... the Lucians and] Pamphilians.

[O] most-[shining]<sup>9</sup> kings (with even the gods, your\* companions of-one-race, [having shown themselves] off with works of philanthropy [to all]), to whom the religion has been given-careful-attention [with-effort in-behalf] of your\* [perpetual sal]vation, [our] masters who are being-victorious over all the things, we have beautifully approved for us to flee-for-refuge [to your\* immor]tal kingdom, and for you\* to be beseeched to have the [Chri]stians (who were long-ago [standing-in-sedition] and until-now<sup>10</sup> are [carefully-observ]ing the same sickness) be made-to-cessate at-some-time, and not to be, by-means-of any crude in[novation], transgressing [the honor] which is being-indebted to the gods.

[Surely the] work [would especially] reach its goal, if, by-means-of your\* divine and perpetual [nod], it would be appointed<sup>11</sup> [all-in]-all: Indeed, [for the evil-work] of the inimical doing-business of the godless ones to have been stated and to have been prevented. [But for all to have been ordered to be being]-at-leisure [constantly]<sup>12</sup> for the religion of your\* gods who are of-one-race with you\*, [doing so in-behalf] of your\* perpetual and incorruptible royal-palaces. This-very-thing is clear-beforehand to be being most [bene]ficial to all your\* humans.

3 In answer to such petitions, rescripts of Maximinus Daia were set-up in pillars, which manifested<sup>13</sup> the pretentious and arrogant stubbornness of the god-hating man.

A rescript of an interpretation of the rescript of Maximinus in reply to the voted-proposition<sup>13</sup> against the Christians, which was taken from<sup>14</sup> the pillar in Zor and other locations:<sup>15</sup>

{At-some-time already, the weak over-boldness of the human mindest became-strong enough to shake-off<sup>16</sup> and to diffuse-up-and-down every dimness and mist of misleading—which ever misleading before this time was besieging the senses<sup>17</sup> of humans (not so-much the ones who were committing-impiety as-much-as the one who were struggling)<sup>18</sup> after it wound them up in a ruinous darkness of ignorance—and to recognize that it is being administered and is being-made-to-be-standing-fast, as by-means-of the good-loving foresight of the immortal gods.

4 It<sup>19</sup> is a faithless matter to speak: how having granted-favors to us, how both most-pleasant and friendly<sup>20</sup> it has become to us, as for you\* to have given to us a greatest example<sup>21</sup> of your\* god-loving preference—<sup>22</sup> since<sup>23</sup> even before this, it was being unknown to no-one what-kind of close-observation and reverence-for-god you\* were happening-to-have toward the immortal gods, in whom is being made-known, not bare and somewhat-empty words of faith, but instead contiguous and incredible signs of famous works. 5 For-this-very-reason, your\* city would be being worthily called<sup>24</sup> both an establishment<sup>25</sup> and dwelling place for fear of immortal gods. Accordingly, it is plainly-appearing, by-means-of many things-which-are-publicly-shown, that it is<sup>26</sup> flowering by-means-of the temporary-populating of the heavenly gods among it.

6 Now-consequently, behold: Your\* city (after it became-unconcerned about all the private advantages which were being brought-through and after it looked-past the former beseechings of the affairs in its behalf), when it sensed that the ones having come-to-be of the accursed vanity were beginning<sup>27</sup> to be creeping again (and even-as pyre which was being-neglected<sup>28</sup> and having fallen-asleep, when the firebrands are being rekindled, it is refilling the greatest fireplace)<sup>29</sup> straightaway without any procrastination<sup>30</sup> fled-for-refuge to our piety (even-as to a metropolis of every reverence-for-god), requesting-to-have-back some healing and help.

7 It is clear that the gods have<sup>31</sup> thrown-in among you\* whichever saving-like mindset is due to the faith of your\* reverence-for-god. For-consequently, that one, that highest and greatest Zeus, the one who has sat himself before your\* brightest city, the one who rescues your\* paternal gods and women and children and hearth and houses from every ruinous corruption inspired<sup>32</sup> the salvation-bringing state in your\* souls, exhibiting and shining-in how exclusive<sup>33</sup> and bright and saving-like it is to be approaching,<sup>34</sup> with the indebted<sup>35</sup> object-of-veneration, the religion and the consecrated-religions of the immortal gods.

8 For who is being-able to be found mindless or foreign of all mind in-this-manner? Who is not sensing that it is happening<sup>36</sup> by-means-of the good-loving effort of the gods for neither the earth to be denying the seeds which are being delivered to it, slipping the hope of the farmers into empty anticipating? But further, for not an aspect<sup>37</sup> of an impious war not to be being unpreventably established on a plot of earth, and for the bodies which are being-squalid to be being dragged-down toward death after the good-temperature<sup>38</sup> of the heaven was corrupted? But truly, for the sea which is surging not to be being capped by-means-of spirits of winds without-measure? But yet for unexpected gusts which are ripping themselves down not to be arousing<sup>39</sup> a ruinous storm?<sup>40</sup> But now-consequently yet, for the earth which is nurse and mother of all not to be sliding-down from its lowest<sup>41</sup> flanks in a fearful trembling? But yet for mountains which are being laid-upon it not to be being dissoluted<sup>42</sup> into chasms which are coming-to-be?

That all these<sup>43</sup> things and many evils still harsher than these have<sup>44</sup> come-to-be many-times before this, no-one is being-ignorant-of. 9 And these things were coming-to-be due to the ruinous misleading of the somewhat-empty vanity of those illicit humans, at-the-time-when it was floating-to-the-surface throughout their souls, and (to almost speak) was pressing the things everywhere of the inhabited-earth with shame. }

10 After different matters, he additionally-speaks<sup>45</sup> in these words:

{Let them be gazing-upon, even the flowering crops with waving<sup>1</sup> heads-of-grain in the wide plains, and the meadows being made-to-shine

<sup>19</sup> literally "Which"

<sup>20</sup> literally "friendly-toward"

<sup>21</sup> literally "showing"

<sup>22</sup> literally "choosing-of-one-thing-before-another"

<sup>23</sup> literally "whenever"

<sup>24</sup> literally "called-upon"

<sup>25</sup> literally "situation"

<sup>26</sup> literally "showing to be flowing"

<sup>27</sup> literally "sensed for the ones...vanity to be beginning"

<sup>28</sup> literally "being-unconcerned-with"

<sup>29</sup> literally "a place-for-a-fire-to-be-kindled"

<sup>30</sup> literally "straightaway apart-from any going-to-be-doing" (as in, "going to be doing, but is not")

<sup>31</sup> literally "clear for the gods to have"

<sup>32</sup> literally "spirited-in"

<sup>33</sup> literally "taken-out"

<sup>34</sup> literally "to be being-to"

<sup>35</sup> literally "being-indebted"

<sup>36</sup> literally "sensing for it to be stepping-together"

<sup>37</sup> literally "seeing-toward"

<sup>38</sup> literally "good-mixture"

<sup>39</sup> literally "arising-over"

<sup>40</sup> may also be translated "winter"

<sup>41</sup> literally "furthest-down"

<sup>42</sup> literally "released-down"

<sup>43</sup> literally "which" (emphatic)

<sup>44</sup> literally "For all these...these to have"

<sup>45</sup> literally "he says-on"

<sup>1</sup> Life ("after they conveyed...country") / Simeon "after they took-hold, and after they conveyed it out by-means-of domestic hands, as-well-as after they finished all the things on-the-basis-of him which have been made-lawful, they put it down (CF + "for themselves") in a famous place."

<sup>2</sup> Life / Simeon "and they stood some-kind-of thing around the (CE omit "the") tomb, as the season was pressing."

<sup>3</sup> Life / Simeon "at-that-time"

<sup>4</sup> literally "bosom"

<sup>5</sup> literally "for a persecution this to have been arisen-over"

<sup>6</sup> literally "countments"

<sup>7</sup> literally "typed-in"

<sup>8</sup> literally "all[together]"

<sup>9</sup> literally "most-[shining-on]"

<sup>10</sup> usually translated "come-here", but has this meaning in this context

<sup>11</sup> literally "stood-down"

<sup>12</sup> literally "[remain-in-ly]"

<sup>13</sup> literally "countment"

<sup>14</sup> literally "taken\*-from from"

<sup>15</sup> The inscription on the pillar of Zor exists only in a contemporary Greek translation by Eusebios. Some of the original Latin has been restored from two fragmentary Latin inscriptions found at other locales

<sup>16</sup> literally "quake-off"

<sup>17</sup> literally "senses"

<sup>18</sup> literally "competing-athletically"

with growths and flowers through abundances-of-showers,<sup>2</sup> and the condition<sup>3</sup> of the air *which* was given-back to us both temperate<sup>4</sup> and most-meek. **11** For the remaining *time*, let **all** be rejoicing due to **our** piety, *due* to both consecrated-work and honor of the most-powerful and most-solid<sup>5</sup> air *which* was being-well-disposed-forth. And, due to this,} may they be being made-to-be-gleeful through *the* leisure *which* has been permitted to them-in-the-end.<sup>6</sup> And those who, after they were liberated of [those] blind [and mis]leading roundabout-ways,<sup>7</sup> went-back to a straight and good<sup>8</sup> mind, therefore, indeed,<sup>9</sup> [may] they be [giving] *the* most thanks;<sup>10</sup> but may they also,<sup>11</sup> as *though* having been kept<sup>12</sup> from out of an all-sudden tempest or-even as *if* they might be creeping<sup>13</sup> out of a grave sickness, be thereafter sensing a more-luscious voluptuousness<sup>14</sup> of life for themselves into the future.<sup>15</sup>

**12** Truly concerning those who have persisted<sup>16</sup> in the execrable superstition.<sup>17</sup> After they might be having been congregated from your\* civil-community as-well-as your\* territory and *might* be having been removed<sup>18</sup> from it<sup>19</sup> (exactly-as<sup>20</sup> you\* are requesting), whereby<sup>21</sup> (in accordance-with *the* broadcasted eagerness of your\* petition)<sup>22</sup> your\* civil-community (*which* was disjoined from the blot of every imp[et]y,<sup>23</sup> as it has instituted)<sup>24</sup> might be responding<sup>25</sup> to the ceremonies of *the* immortal gods with the veneration *which* was indebted.

**13** However, so that *all* of you\* might be knowing how-much<sup>26</sup> your\* petition about this *matter* has been acceptable<sup>27</sup> to us, see!<sup>28</sup> (without any decree<sup>29</sup> and without<sup>30</sup> any entreaty from you\*, by-means-of a spontaneous wish<sup>31</sup> to ou[r] ju[st] and benevolent soul),<sup>32</sup> we are granting-permission to your\* Devotedness<sup>33</sup> to be petitioning<sup>34</sup> for<sup>35</sup> whatsoever [munific]ence<sup>36</sup> you\* might be wishing on-behalf-of this mode of your\* religious proposition.<sup>37</sup> **14** [But may you\*] also<sup>38</sup> already [be putting] this [into-motion and be requesting it, knowing quite-clearly *that*<sup>39</sup> you\* will receive it<sup>40</sup> by-request without any procrastination.<sup>41</sup> This,<sup>42</sup> having been presented<sup>43</sup> to your\* civil-community, might as-much be attesting {into **all** the age} in-accordance-with our religious [piety] for<sup>44</sup> *the* immortal gods, as, truly, it might be indicating to your\* sons<sup>45</sup> as-well-as grandchildren, how-many completely-dignified premiums **you\*** have been instituted *with*<sup>46</sup> from our clemenc[y] *since* you\* have followed] *this* vesture.<sup>47</sup> *All* of you\*, be faring well.<sup>48</sup>

**15** This had been inscribed-up-on-a-monument against the Christians throughout every province (the one at Sardes having been issued to the Colbassians during the 2nd consulate of Constantinus and Licinius *the* August-Ones on the 2nd day before the Ides of April),<sup>49</sup> locking-off every hope of *something* good (at least on-the-basis-of humans) *among* the Christians.

## CHAPTER 88: FAMINE AND PESTILENCE SENT BY GOD

Now despite Constantinus' warning to desist from these pursuits against the Christians, Maximinus Daia's own usage too did not intermit, so that in the Palatium he would be sacrificing throughout every single day. And he had first invented this: that all animals by which he was fed would not be prepared from cooks but instead would be being immolated at the sacrificial-structure from priests; that nothing would be laid right-on the table if it was not either having been offered-as-a-libation or having been sacrificed or having been thoroughly-drenched<sup>50</sup> with unmixed-wine, so that whoever might have been called to the dinner, might be going-out from-there stained but-also impure.

In the rest of things too, he was similar to his-own magistrate. For if either Dioklés or-even Maximianus had left-behind<sup>51</sup> anything remaining<sup>52</sup> intact, this Maximinus shaved it off, bearing-away everything without any seemliness. So surely, rushing from<sup>53</sup> this time forward, Maximinus was distressing and oppressing, indeed, not one city nor-even a country, but the whole provinces under him were utterly-taken by-means-of unrelated exactions of gold and silver and monies, as-well-as by-means-of the heaviest impositions and, at-another-time, other executions-of-rightful-punishment.

So the barns of private-owners were being closed. The storehouses were being sealed-up. Debts were being led-out *which* were reserved for<sup>54</sup> future years. Doves but-also heads-of-livestock were being seized from out of fields to be used for the sacrifices of-every-day. He had so-far corrupted his-own persons by this<sup>55</sup> practice, that they were spurning-with-aversion the yearly-produce. And he was pouring it out randomly without choice, without measure, when he was recompensing<sup>56</sup> his satellites universally (which were unnatural in number) with precious vestures and golden nummi.<sup>57</sup>

Yet truly, while he was taking-away from the good-incomed men their wealths *which* were acquired from<sup>58</sup> their ancestors, he was granting amassed riches and piles of monies to the flatterers *who* were on-both-sides of him. He was giving silver to the herdsmen and to the rookies. He was honoring barbarians with every kind<sup>59</sup> of largess. For he<sup>60</sup> was carrying-away the goods of living individuals, or-even was giving it as a donation to his-own persons, so that each had petitioned for things-which-did-not-belong-to-him.<sup>61</sup>

Yet consequently, already, while the anticipation in-the-presence-of the majority of the Christians was almost loosing-its-soul, while the ones *who* were ministering the writing *which* was having been laid-before and against the Christians were on<sup>62</sup> their way and still not completely-accomplishing their journey<sup>63</sup> in certain countries, in-a-mass, the God *who* is fighting-on-behalf of his-own assembly, was exhibiting for himself the heavenly auxiliary in-behalf of the Christians, nearly<sup>64</sup> stuffing-the-mouth of the great-vaunt of the tyrant against the Christians.

Therefore, from-here an unexpected<sup>65</sup> famine imposed<sup>66</sup>, *even* with fields bringing forth crops. Dearness was unheard-of.<sup>66</sup> Indeed, both the customary<sup>67</sup> showers and heavy-rains of winter<sup>68</sup> (of the hour *which* was then existing) were holding-up their usual bearing upon earth. And there was a pestilence on top of this, and a bringing-on of some different sickness. But *this* sickness was an ulcer, being titled with-the-name "anthrax" (*which* means "charcoal") on-account<sup>69</sup> of the fire-like nature of it. This,<sup>70</sup> creeping even down the whole bodies, was making perilous<sup>71</sup> dangers in the ones having suffered from it, no truly, instead,

competitions-on") from our fondness-of-goodness for-the-sake of your\* preferring (lit. "choosing-of-one-thing-before-another") of this (lit. "the") lifestyle will also be exhibited to both your\* sons and grandchildren."

<sup>48</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) / Gk(Eusebios) omit "All of you\*, be faring well."

<sup>49</sup> 312-04-12

<sup>50</sup> literally "poured"

<sup>51</sup> literally "relinquished"

<sup>52</sup> literally "relinquishing"

<sup>53</sup> literally "out of"

<sup>54</sup> literally "in"

<sup>55</sup> literally "which"

<sup>56</sup> literally "expunging"

<sup>57</sup> the nummus, a bronze coin of low value

<sup>58</sup> literally "out of"

<sup>59</sup> literally "trace"

<sup>60</sup> literally "who"

<sup>61</sup> literally "for alien-things"

<sup>62</sup> literally "throughout/by/according-to"

<sup>63</sup> literally "going"

<sup>64</sup> literally ("nearly") "only not-surely"

<sup>65</sup> literally "un-thought-of"

<sup>66</sup> literally "inaudible"

<sup>67</sup> literally ("customary") "out of custom"

<sup>68</sup> may also be translated "of a storm"

<sup>69</sup> literally "for-sake"

<sup>70</sup> literally "which"

<sup>71</sup> literally "slippery"

<sup>1</sup> literally "surging-upon"

<sup>2</sup> may also be translated "flowers due to an abundant-shower"

<sup>3</sup> literally "down-standing"

<sup>4</sup> literally "well-mixed"

<sup>5</sup> literally "most-stiff"

<sup>6</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) / Gk(Eusebios) "let them be being sweetened, having-enjoyment of the well-whirling fair-weathered peace firmly with tranquility."

<sup>7</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) / Gk(Eusebios) "And as-many-as were helped all-in-all out of that blind misleading and roundabout-way and"

<sup>8</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) / Gk(Eusebios) "most-beautiful"

<sup>9</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) / Gk(Eusebios) add

<sup>10</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) / Gk(Eusebios) "let them be greatly rejoicing"

<sup>11</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) / Gk(Eusebios) omit "but may they also"

<sup>12</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) / Gk(Eusebios) "as if they would have been pulled-away"

<sup>13</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) / Gk(Eusebios) omit "might be creeping"

<sup>14</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) / Gk(Eusebios) "sickness, and reaped-fruit for a sweet enjoyment"

<sup>15</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) / Gk(Eusebios) add (literally "into coming-on")

<sup>16</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) (literally "...have hardened") / Gk(Eusebios) "But if they would be remaining-on"

<sup>17</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) / Gk(Eusebios) "in their accursed vanity"

<sup>18</sup> literally "moved-under"

<sup>19</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) / Gk(Eusebios) "After they were separated-from your city and surrounding-country, let them be driven-out very (lit "much") far from it"

<sup>20</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) (lit. "so that") / Gk(Eusebios) "exactly-as"

<sup>21</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) / Gk(Eusebios) "in order that, in-this-manner"

<sup>22</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) / Gk(Eusebios) "in-accordance-with your\* praise-worthy effort about this"

<sup>23</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) / Gk(Eusebios) "which was separated-from every stained-thing"

<sup>24</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) / Syr(Eusebios) "in-accordance-with its ingrown preposition" / Gk(Eusebios) "and its ingrown preposition"

<sup>25</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) / Gk(Eusebios) "obeying"

<sup>26</sup> literally "knowing in how-much"

<sup>27</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) (literally "petition is having been accepted") / Gk(Eusebios) "has become friendly"

<sup>28</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) / Gk(Eusebios) omit "see!"

<sup>29</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) / Gk(Eusebios) "voted-propositions" (lit. "countments")

<sup>30</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) / Gk(Eusebios) add & also omit "any" before "decree" and before "entreaty"

<sup>31</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) / Gk(Eusebios) "by-means-of its-own-choosing wish"

<sup>32</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) ("to...soul") / Gk(Eusebios) "and our soul is most-eager for the fondness-of-goodness"

<sup>33</sup> literally "statement"

<sup>34</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) / Gk(Eusebios) "to petition"

<sup>35</sup> literally "that"

<sup>36</sup> Lat(Kusbaba,Aricanda) / Gk(Eusebios) "whichever-kind of great-gift"

<sup>37</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) / Gk(Eusebios) "this god-loving preposition of yours"

<sup>38</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) (lit. "[But]-also [may you\*]") / Lat(Aricanda) "Now [may you\*]"

<sup>39</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) / Gk(Eusebios) "(14) And indeed, all of you\* already begged to be doing and to be receiving. For"

<sup>40</sup> Lat(Aricanda), Gk(Eusebios) ("it") / Lat(Kusbaba) "the same"

<sup>41</sup> literally "restraint"

<sup>42</sup> literally "which"

<sup>43</sup> literally "stood-toward"

<sup>44</sup> Lat(Kusbaba, Aricanda) / Gk(Eusebios) "about"

<sup>45</sup> Lat(Kusbaba), Gk(Eusebios) / Lat(Aricanda) "children"

<sup>46</sup> Lat(Kusbaba) / Gk(Eusebios) "have obtained"

<sup>47</sup> Lat(Kusbaba+Aricanda) / Gk(Eusebios) "This, having been granted-as-a-favor to your\* city, will afford into all the age: a testimony of the god-loving piety about the immortal gods. But a proof of the fact that you\* have already obtained (lit. "fact for you\* to have obtained") worthy additional-prizes (lit. "prizes-of-athletic-

coming-to-be more specifically against the eyes, it was depriving<sup>1</sup> as-many-as tens-of-thousands of men, simultaneously with women and boys-and-girls.

In addition to these things, the war against<sup>2</sup> the Armenians stood-up-against-and-came-toward the tyrant, men, who, from-the-beginning, were both friendly and allied to<sup>3</sup> the Romans. Since they<sup>4</sup> were also being Christians themselves and making the piety in-regard-to the divine-one for themselves through effort, the God-hating one, having tried to put-an-obligation-upon them to be sacrificing to idols and demons, appointed<sup>5</sup> enemies in-place-of friends and warring-men in-place-of allied-men. After all these things were surely flowing-together in-a-mass at<sup>6</sup> one and the same season, it utterly-convicted the great-vaunt against the divine-one of the over-boldness of the tyrant, because he was surely emboldened, that, on-account<sup>7</sup> of the effort concerning<sup>8</sup> his idols and the of the siege against the Christians, not a famine, but-neither a pestilence, but-neither truly a war happened to come upon<sup>9</sup> his season. But therefore, after these things came-upon him unitedly and throughout the same time, he had embraced the preludes of his own overturning.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, indeed, he himself, simultaneously with his military-encampments, was being exerted-down about the war against<sup>11</sup> the Armenians, but both the famine, simultaneously with the pestilence, were terribly completing-wearing-out<sup>12</sup> the remaining individuals of the ones who were dwelling in<sup>13</sup> the cities under him, as to cause one measure of wheat to be being exchanged-for 2,500 Attic drachmas.

Therefore, indeed, the ones who were becoming-dead throughout various cities were happening to be tens-of-thousands, but the ones throughout both fields and villages were more than these, as to even already cause the registrations of the field-dwelling individuals (registrations which long-ago were full-of-men) to suffer an almost complete<sup>14</sup> wiping-out, almost all the humans having been utterly-destroyed in-a-mass by-means-of indigence of nourishment and a pestilence-like sickness.

Therefore, indeed, certain individuals were deeming-it-worthy to be bartering-off the possessions which they were most-fond-of<sup>15</sup> to the ones who were better-incomed for<sup>16</sup> the littlest nourishment. But others, thoroughly-selling their acquisitions little by little, were driving-forward into the last state-of-being-at-a-loss of indigence. But some individuals, already chewing-through small pieces of grass and unrestrainedly<sup>17</sup> eating herbs which cause-corruption, were, while maltreating the habit of their own bodies, being totally-annihilated.

But even of women: Some of the highborn-women throughout various cities, after they were driven-forward into a shameless obligation to the state-of-being-at-a-loss, had come-forward to be requesting-for something at<sup>18</sup> the marketplaces (bringing-to-light-from-under concealment an example of the liberal nourishment which they had of-old through the proper regard hanging around their face and the orderly-behavior on-both-sides-of their clothing). And indeed, the humans who were having become-parched-away even-as shades<sup>19</sup> of dead persons, while letting-their-soul-break-loose, both quaking-in and slipping-about here and-there under lack-of-power of the act to stand, were falling-down. They also, having unfolded themselves headlong in the middle of various broadways, were imploring for a small crack of bread to be held-out to themselves. And holding their soul to their last drawing-of-breath, they were crying-loudly, that they were hungering,<sup>20</sup> being appointed<sup>21</sup> with well-potent strength only for<sup>22</sup> this most-anguished voice. But the others, as-many-as were seeming to be the better-incomed ones, who were being struck-down with astonishment at the multitude of the ones who were requesting things, after their act to afford tens-of-thousands things, were withdrawing into an unsoothing and relentless<sup>23</sup> disposition for the remaining time, anticipating that they themselves were also to soon<sup>24</sup> suffer for themselves as-many of the same things as the ones who were requesting, so-as, throughout the middle of marketplaces and narrow-passages, for dead and naked bodies, which were having been flung-around untombed for<sup>25</sup> more days, to already be affording a most-pitiful view<sup>26</sup> to the ones who were seeing it. Yet

consequently, certain persons were even becoming feed of dogs. Especially due to this<sup>27</sup> cause, the ones who were living turned to<sup>28</sup> the killing-of-dogs, out of anxiety, lest after the dogs became-rabid they would resort to glut themselves on human flesh.<sup>29</sup>

But not smaller than these, was also the pestilence. It was grazing-upon all houses, but especially the houses which the famine was not able<sup>30</sup> to also wear-out<sup>31</sup> due to the fact that they were making-good-income<sup>32</sup> for<sup>33</sup> nourishments. Accordingly, the ones in surpluses (chiefs, and leaders, and tens-of-thousands of the ones in a magistracy), as-though having been purposefully left-behind by the famine to the pestilential sickness were enduring a sharp and swift end. But therefore, every place was filled-up full of wailings. But also throughout every narrow-passage, both marketplace and Broadway, there was nothing to be perceiving other than dirges with the usual both pipes and dins of them. Surely, making-an-expedition in this manner by-means-of two weapons (the ones having been previously-mentioned,<sup>34</sup> both pestilence and famine unitedly), the death was spread-among<sup>35</sup> whole generations in little time, as to be already seeing two or three bodies of dead humans being-conveyed-before a place of burial under one bringing-out. Such were the rewards-of-the-undertaking of the great-vaunt of Maximinus and of the voted-propositions<sup>36</sup> against the Christians, when even the convincing-proofs of the Christians concerning<sup>37</sup> every both effort and piety became<sup>38</sup> utterly-clear to all nations

Accordingly, they alone, among<sup>39</sup> so-large a circumstance<sup>40</sup> of evils, were exhibiting for themselves the sympathetic and philanthropic nature by-means-of works of theirs. Through every day, indeed, the ones were persevering-toward the funeral and entombment of the individuals who were being-dead (now there were tens-of-thousands with whom was not-one of the individuals who would be taking-care of them). But the ones who were gathering the multitude of the ones up through all the city who were being completely-worn-down<sup>41</sup> by<sup>42</sup> the famine under one congregating, were propagating<sup>43</sup> loaves-of-bread to all the persons, so as for these affairs to become<sup>44</sup> shouted-abroad among<sup>45</sup> all humans, as-well-as for the faithless-ones to be glorifying a god of the Christians, as-well-as, after they were convicted by the affairs themselves<sup>46</sup> to be confessing that these Christians alone were<sup>47</sup> truthfully pious and god-revering.

#### CHAPTER 89: SEXUAL-IMMORALITY OF MAXIMINUS DAIA

Yet truly, while Maximinus Daia was a cultivator of every most-wise man and every man of literature, and quiet by nature, he was far more avid for wine. And he was brought into so-much bearing of drunken-behavior and of intoxication, as to be being deranged<sup>48</sup> in the drinking-parties and to be being standing-out of his mind.<sup>49</sup> Also, while he was getting-intoxicated and was inebriated with wine, with his mind corrupted and tipsy, he was directing certain harsh measures. But on-the-day-after, in a sober and serious time, when he was ashamed of what had been done, he was leading himself into a change-of-interest after he sobered-up, and he deferred what he had instructed. In fact, at the admonition of his prefect, he constituted that no one should execute any commands which he was making after a luncheon.

But after he allowed no-one to surpass him in<sup>50</sup> inebriation and debauchery, he was appointing<sup>51</sup> himself to be a teacher of evil to the ones on-both-sides of him (to both chiefs and to those who were being ruled). Indeed, he was leading the soldiery to be being cracked through both luxury and unchastity. But he was calling leaders and encampment-chiefs to-come-forward to progress against the ones who were obeying them through ravenousnesses<sup>52</sup> and greed almost<sup>53</sup> as if they were tyrannizing-together with him.

The impassioned shameful-works of Maximinus<sup>54</sup> (which were blind and unbridled), and the multitude of the women with<sup>55</sup> whom he committed-adultery

<sup>1</sup> literally "working-up"

<sup>2</sup> literally "to/toward"

<sup>3</sup> literally "of"

<sup>4</sup> literally "who"

<sup>5</sup> literally "stood-down"

<sup>6</sup> literally "under"

<sup>7</sup> literally "for-sake"

<sup>8</sup> literally "around"

<sup>9</sup> literally "emboldened, on-account...Christians, for not a famine...war to step-together on"

<sup>10</sup> literally "turning-down"

<sup>11</sup> literally "to/toward"

<sup>12</sup> literally "was wearing-out-down"

<sup>13</sup> literally "of"

<sup>14</sup> literally ("almost complete") "small to be being necessary all-ends"

<sup>15</sup> literally "the most-fond-of things of themselves"

<sup>16</sup> literally "of"

<sup>17</sup> literally "let-upingly"

<sup>18</sup> literally "on"

<sup>19</sup> usually translated "idols"

<sup>20</sup> literally "loudly, to be hungering"

<sup>21</sup> literally "stood-down" (or may be translated "standing themselves down")

<sup>22</sup> literally "toward/to"

<sup>23</sup> literally "unwetable"

<sup>24</sup> literally "not-yet"

<sup>25</sup> literally "on-the-basis-of"

<sup>26</sup> literally "beholding"

<sup>27</sup> literally "which"

<sup>28</sup> literally "on"

<sup>29</sup> literally "to work human-gluttony"

<sup>30</sup> literally "not such-as"

<sup>31</sup> literally "rub-out"

<sup>32</sup> literally "the fact for them to be making-good-income"

<sup>33</sup> literally "of"

<sup>34</sup> literally "been made-clear-beforehand"

<sup>35</sup> literally "pastured-in"

<sup>36</sup> literally "countments"

<sup>37</sup> literally "about"

<sup>38</sup> literally "stand-down" (usually translated "appointed")

<sup>39</sup> literally "in"

<sup>40</sup> literally "standing-around"

<sup>41</sup> literally "being worn-out-down"

<sup>42</sup> literally "to/toward"

<sup>43</sup> literally "pasturing-through"

<sup>44</sup> literally "to stand-down" (usually translated "to appoint")

<sup>45</sup> literally "into"

<sup>46</sup> literally "affairs to themselves"

<sup>47</sup> literally "confessing for these alone to be"

<sup>48</sup> literally "falsely-cut"

<sup>49</sup> literally "of the diaphragm"

<sup>50</sup> literally "he left-behind a surpassiveness to no-one of"

<sup>51</sup> literally "standing-down"

<sup>52</sup> literally "snatchiveness"

<sup>53</sup> literally ("almost") "only not-surely"

<sup>54</sup> literally "of the man"

<sup>55</sup> literally "to/toward"

were beyond-counting. Yet-consequently he was not *able* to come-past a city unless out of all he surely worked corruptions of women as-well-as snatchings of virgins. For eunuchs, *that is* lions, were scrutinizing all *things*. Wherever *there* was a liberal face, fathers but-also married-men had to secede. Vestures were being drawn-off noble females *and* likewise virgins; and they were being inspected across<sup>1</sup> every single limb, lest some part of the body might be undignified for the royal bed. If she<sup>2</sup> had been detracted<sup>3</sup> in any way, she was being put-to-death in water as-though bashfulness might be being a crime *against* majesty under that adulterer. Some *men*, with wives having been completely-debauched (whom they were holding most-dear due to *their* chastity but-also *their* faithfulness), when they were not being-able to be bearing the pain, furthermore put themselves to-death by their *own hand*.<sup>4</sup> Under this monster *there* was not-any integrity of bashfulness, except<sup>5</sup> as-soon-as a marked deformity was warding-off his barbarous libidinousness.

Finally, he had already introduced this custom, that no-one might be leading a wife without *his* permission, so that he himself might be being the foretaster in every marriage. He was donating inborn virgins *who* were having been impaired<sup>6</sup> to his-own servants for wives. Instead, even his counts, under such a prince, were imitating his-own [debauchery and] were violating the beds of their-own [hosts] with impunity. For who would be vindicating? Each was seizing<sup>7</sup> the daughters of mediocre *citizens* in-whatever-manner he had liked. The primary *women*, who were not being-able to be being seized,<sup>8</sup> were being petitioned for as<sup>9</sup> benefits. And it was not licensed for *someone* to make-a-case-in-defense<sup>10</sup> while the emperor was subscribing to the *petition*, or he would be perishing<sup>11</sup> or having some barbarian for a son-in-law. For *there* was almost not-any minion at<sup>12</sup> his side, unless<sup>13</sup> they were from out of the nation, who, after they had been knocked out from their-own Gothic plots-of-earth at the time of the twenty-year-celebration, had delivered themselves to Maximianus Galerius (the evil of the human race), so that those *individuals*, while fleeing the servitude of those barbarians, would be being-lords among<sup>14</sup> the Romans. He, having been belted with these satellites and protectors, held the east for his plaything.

Yet-consequently, he himself was succeeding<sup>15</sup> in these *things* against all *persons*, with an exception<sup>16</sup> of Christians alone. For the women, having performed-the-noble-duties-of-males no less-inferior than the men by the teachings of the divine account, indeed, after they stood-under the contests themselves<sup>17</sup> with the men, carried-away equal prizes of their excellence. But while *some of the women* were being drawn away onto corruption, they delivered their soul more-quickly to death than their body to the corruption.

Accordingly, a female-Christian named Dorothea<sup>18</sup> (who was both the most-famous and brightest of the *ones* at Alexandria), alone of the *ones* who were having adultery-committed-to them by the tyrant, won-a-complete-victory-over the impassioned and unchaste soul of Maximinus through manly tenacity<sup>19</sup>—indeed, glorious instead for both her<sup>20</sup> riches and race and discipline, yet truly having put all of these *things* for herself second to sound-mindedness.

Even after he importuned her<sup>21</sup> much, although she was indeed holding ready to be being-dead, he was also not able<sup>22</sup> to kill her since his<sup>23</sup> desire was rather prevailing-over<sup>24</sup> his fury. But after he deprived her by-means-of flight, he took-away all her<sup>25</sup> wealth.

But tens-of-thousands of other *women*, not-even having been-able to hear a threat of sexual-immorality, stood-under every form<sup>26</sup> of tortures and twistings and death-bringing chastisement from<sup>27</sup> the chiefs throughout each nation.

At length, when he had given this law to his-own acts-of-libidinousness, so that he was reckoning whatever he might have been lusting after to be suiting, he was indeed not able to be tempering himself from the August-Woman, Valeria (widow of Maximianus Galerius and daughter of Diocletianus, whom he had newly given-the-appellation ‘mother’).

<sup>1</sup> literally “through”

<sup>2</sup> literally “who”

<sup>3</sup> may also be translated “been drawn-off”

<sup>4</sup> literally “death by themselves”

<sup>5</sup> literally “if-not”

<sup>6</sup> literally “lessened-in”

<sup>7</sup> literally “raping”

<sup>8</sup> literally “raped”

<sup>9</sup> literally “in”

<sup>10</sup> literally “re-cause”

<sup>11</sup> may also be translated “disappearing”

<sup>12</sup> literally “in”

<sup>13</sup> literally “if-not”

<sup>14</sup> literally “in”

<sup>15</sup> usually translated “progresing-before”

<sup>16</sup> literally (“with an exception”) “not that”

<sup>17</sup> “themselves” is referring to “contests”

<sup>18</sup> Eusebios / Rufinus add

<sup>19</sup> literally “standing-beside”

<sup>20</sup> literally “the”

<sup>21</sup> literally “who” (feminine)

<sup>22</sup> literally “not such-as”

<sup>23</sup> literally “the” (also later in verse)

<sup>24</sup> literally “being-mighty-down”

<sup>25</sup> literally “the”

<sup>26</sup> literally “sight”

<sup>27</sup> literally “to/toward”

After the death<sup>28</sup> of Maximianus Galerius, Valeria had come to him, when she was reckoning to herself, *that* it would be safer<sup>29</sup> for her to be staying in his part, because he was having a wife. Instead, the nefarious animal was blazing-in his heart on-the-spot. The woman was still in sable vestures, the time of mourning not-yet having been fulfilled. By-means of legates *who* were commissioned beforehand, he requested<sup>30</sup> for her in matrimony, and stated that he would eject his current wife if she might receive-the-request.

That woman responded in the only way which she was being-able to be being-glad: First, it was not being-possible to be moving toward nuptials while she was still in that funeral<sup>30</sup> clothing, with the cinders of her marriage-partner (his father) still tepid. Next, that man was acting<sup>31</sup> impiously, if he might be repudiating a mate who is faithful to him, and he would by-all-means do the same thing to her also. Finally, it is a nefarious-thing for a female of that name and<sup>32</sup> place, without any custom, without any example, to be experiencing another marriage.

What was being-audacious for her to say was announced to the human. His libidinousness was converted into anger and fury. Straightaway, he proscribed<sup>30</sup> the woman, seized<sup>30</sup> her goods, carried-away<sup>30</sup> her counts, and put-to-death<sup>30</sup> her sexually-impotent-servants in torments. He relegated<sup>30</sup> her with her mother into exile, and-not into a certain place; instead, he drove her headlong here but-also there as if she were a plaything. And he condemned<sup>30</sup> her female-friends, who were having been slandered with adultery.

There was a most-clear female, to whom there were already grandchildren born from<sup>33</sup> her juvenile sons. Valeria was loving this woman for another mother. He suspected<sup>30</sup> that Valeria denied<sup>34</sup> him due to her counsel. He gave<sup>30</sup> a task<sup>35</sup> to the president Eratineus, so that he might be killing her with indecency.

Two different women were adjoined to this woman, who were equally noble, one of whom had left<sup>36</sup> a daughter at Roma who was a Vestal Virgin. This woman was then familiar to the furtive Valeria. The other had a man who was a senator, but she was not very near to the August-Woman. Instead, each-of-them<sup>37</sup> were being put-to-death due to exemplary prettiness of body but-also bashfulness. The women were seized<sup>38</sup> suddenly, not to a judgment, but instead to freebooting. For not-even anyone was standing-forth as an accuser.

A certain Judean (a culprit to different deeds) was made-to-come-in,<sup>39</sup> who, having been induced by a hope of impunity, would be lying against the guiltless-women. The judge, equal and diligent led him forward outside the civil-community with a garrison,<sup>40</sup> lest he might be being buried<sup>41</sup> with stones. This tragedy of Nikaia was being put-in-motion.

Torments were<sup>30</sup> being asked-for-against the Judean. He said what he would have been directed to utter. The women were<sup>30</sup> coerced with fists from the torturers. The innocent-ones were<sup>30</sup> directed to be being led to death. Weeping and loud-complaint, not so-much of each<sup>42</sup> married-man who was being-present of a merited wife,<sup>43</sup> but instead of all of those whom the undignified and unheard-of<sup>44</sup> thing had dragged-together.<sup>45</sup> But not even by the rush of the populace were the women being seized from the hands of the butchers. They were being followed-after<sup>46</sup> by oven-bearers (these are certain mail-clad soldiers) and arrowmen which were moved-forward and were built-into military mode. So the women were led-out to supplication in the middle between wedges of armed-men.

They would have lain without-a-burial-place since their domestics turned in flight, unless<sup>47</sup> the mercy of furtive friends had buried them. And the promise of the impunity was<sup>30</sup> not released-to the adulterer. Instead, after he was affixed to a forked-gibbet, he revealed<sup>48</sup> all the mystery, and, under his last breath,<sup>49</sup> he testified<sup>30</sup> to all who were seeing him, that innocent women were cut-down.

Truly, the August-Woman, having been relegated into certain deserted solitudes of Syria, made her father Diocletianus aware<sup>50</sup> of her calamities through messages which were made-secret. That man commissioned<sup>30</sup> legates, and he asked<sup>30</sup> that his daughter might be sent-back to him. He profited nothing. Again but-also often he beseeched<sup>30</sup>. She was<sup>30</sup> not sent-back. Finally, he sent-a-legate: a certain kinsman of his, a military but-also an able man, who might be pleading-

<sup>28</sup> literally “going-down”

<sup>29</sup> literally “more-gazed-upon”

<sup>30</sup> literally “bearing” (as in bearing a dead body)

<sup>31</sup> literally “doing/making”

<sup>32</sup> literally “but-also”

<sup>33</sup> literally “out-of”

<sup>34</sup> literally “she was negated”

<sup>35</sup> literally “negotation”

<sup>36</sup> literally “relinquished”

<sup>37</sup> literally “each-of-which”

<sup>38</sup> literally “raped”

<sup>39</sup> may also be translated “was found”

<sup>40</sup> literally “presiding-over”

<sup>41</sup> literally “tumbled-over”

<sup>42</sup> literally “that”

<sup>43</sup> more literally “of a wife having been merited”

<sup>44</sup> literally “inaudible”

<sup>45</sup> literally “contracted”

<sup>46</sup> literally “prosecuted”

<sup>47</sup> literally “if-not”

<sup>48</sup> literally “made-to-appear”

<sup>49</sup> literally “his extreme spirit”

<sup>50</sup> literally “knowing”

against<sup>1</sup> *him* with an admonition of his-own benefits. He too brought-back-a-message *about his* void entreaty by an imperfect legation.

Most-surely, so-much bearing of evil was brought-together by<sup>2</sup> the two tyrants (Maximinus and Maxentius, who had taken-hold of the east and the west)<sup>3</sup> which was worked-out<sup>4</sup> under one and the same *time*.

#### CHAPTER 90: TESTIMONIES IN THÉBAIS [c. mid 312]

But the testifiers throughout Thébaïs endured torments and pains, being combed-out *over* the whole body with clay-shards instead of fingernails even until they were released-from the *present* lifetime. Women *were* also being-bound-from the one foot, being drawn-up both in-mid-air and through-the-air, head downward, into a height by-means-of certain winches, with *their* bodies also naked to all-ends and not-even having been covered-up—this most-shameful and all most-cruel<sup>5</sup> and misanthropic view<sup>6</sup> being afforded to **all** the *ones* who *were* seeing it.

But once again, others *who were* being bound to trees and to tree-trunks were dying-off-in *these* tortures. For *while* they *were* drawing-together the most especially stiff of the branches with certain machines onto this, as-well-as stretching-out<sup>7</sup> the legs of the testifiers into each of these singly, they were discharging the branches to be bringing *them* back into their-own nature, *thereby* having-in-mind a massive utter-spasm of the members against *those* of whom they were bringing-into-their-hand.

And yet, all these *things* were being operated, not for<sup>8</sup> a few days or some short time, *but* instead for<sup>9</sup> a long interval of whole years—indeed, when more than ten, but when above twenty in number<sup>10</sup> *were* being done-away-with; but even at-another-time not lesser *than* thirty, but somewhere already nearly sixty, and again at-another-time a hundred men in one day simultaneously with mere infants and women were being killed, being executed-by-a-rightful-punishment by-means-of punishments *which were* various and interchanging.<sup>11</sup>

But after Eusebios (future overseer of Caesarea) and other Christians came-to-be upon the place, they themselves historicized many *individuals* in-a-mass throughout one day: Indeed, the *ones* who suffered a chopping-off of the head, but the *others* the punishment through a fire, as for the murdering iron to be becoming-dull as-well-as, *while* weakening, to be being thoroughly-smashed, as-well-as for the *ones* who *were* doing-away-with them themselves, *while* becoming-quite-weary, to be accepting an alternation<sup>12</sup> for one-another in-turn.

And Eusebios and the Christians with him were fully-seeing a most-marvelous impulse<sup>13</sup> as-well-as *something* truly like<sup>14</sup> a divine power and eagerness of the *ones* who have put-faith into the Anointed-One of God. Accordingly, simultaneously with the court-decision<sup>15</sup> against the former *individuals*, others from-another-place were hopping-on to the platform before the dealer-of-justice, confessing themselves to be Christians. Indeed, *while* they *were* fully-disposing themselves with a manner *which* was without-concern for<sup>16</sup> the terrible *things* and the multiform<sup>17</sup> tortures, but *while* they, without-being-struck with *astonishment*, *were* being-outspoken onto the piety into the God of the whole *universe*, with both joy and laughter and gladness, they *were* fully-accepting<sup>18</sup> the last<sup>19</sup> court-decision<sup>20</sup> of the death, so-as to be psalming and to be sending-up hymns and thanksgivings into the God of the whole *universe* until the last drawing-of-breath.<sup>21</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

Now the pursuit against *the Christians*, indeed, began from the taking-down of the assemblies, but it progressed into a great *state* in the insurrections<sup>22</sup> throughout *various* times of the chiefs of *the Romans*. In these<sup>23</sup> *insurrections*, many-mannered and multiform<sup>24</sup> contests of the *ones* having become-athletes in-behalf of piety composed a certain numberless multitude of testifiers throughout every province in the *areas* stretching-along from Libyé and through *the* whole of Egypt, both Syria and the *places* from *the* east<sup>25</sup> and in a circle as-far-as<sup>26</sup> the

*places* throughout the region of Illyricum. The *ones* in this inhabited-region endured tens-of-thousands upon tens-of-thousands of contests.

Accordingly, on-the-basis-of the pursuit against *the Christians*, the *region* of the kingdom was divided<sup>27</sup> asunder, *so that* the *Christian* brothers *who were* indwelling<sup>28</sup> in a different part (all Italia and Sicilia, both Gallia and as-many-as *are* by the setting<sup>29</sup> sun, in<sup>30</sup> Spania, both Mauritania and Africa), *who* did not endure the war *against the Christians* for even two whole years, had-enjoyment of peace.

Yet furthermore, through all the ten-years' time throughout the pursuit, *the rulers of the Romans* exhausted *the* provinces by-means-of every race of humans, and they had not stopped<sup>31</sup> anything of the *things* leading into a plot and a war against one-another. Indeed, *the places* throughout *some* sea *were* unboatable, but-neither was it licensed for *those*, from no *matter* where *they* sailed-down, to not-surely be being led-under-subjection with all torments—being twisted and *their* sides being combed-out, as-well-as being examined with all-sorts-of tortures *whether* as-a-result they would not be being-there from *their* enemies through *any* contrary *region*, and in *the* end being led-under-subjection by-means-of crosses or by-means-of the chastisement through fire.

In-addition<sup>32</sup> to these *things*, they were welding-together throughout every place by-means-of preparation of round-shields and of breastplates, as-well-as by-means-of readiness of missiles and of spears and of the other arrangement of-war, as-well-as of triremes and of the arms in-accordance-with a naval-battle.<sup>33</sup> But-neither was someone anticipating anything else<sup>34</sup> than an onset<sup>35</sup> of wars throughout every day. Such were the *things* having *been* prolonged through all the pursuit of *the Christians*.

#### CHAPTER 91: CONSTANTINUS' VISION OF A CROSS [312]

Now Emperor Constantinus was formerly having suspicions toward *Emperor* Maxentius, *who at this time* was being-savage by-means-of destruction<sup>36</sup> against all the nobles. But he learned that Maxentius was beginning to be treating the *ones* who *were* obeying *him* licentiously and heavily and that the city of *the* Romans was wearying *under* the evils of Maxentius. For the manner of the kingdom to him was being thrown-into-a-different-position, into a cruelty<sup>37</sup> of tyranny.

Therefore, after Constantinus heard about these *things* and many different *things*, but after he himself still also accepted bodies-of-elders about these *things*, he was becoming-sharpened and was being distressed exceedingly. And he first took6-up pity for<sup>38</sup> **all** these *things* and looked for a way to be sparing the *ones* who *were* being tyrannized-down at Roma.

Now Constantinus first called<sup>39</sup> *Maxentius* to join a league<sup>40</sup> of peace with *him*. But upon learning of his desire,<sup>41</sup> *Maxentius* fled-back°. He was turned-away°. He become-horrified° at it. He computed° that there was° nothing in common *between* *Constantinus* and himself (because *in truth* they were° nothing alike).<sup>42</sup> And after *Constantinus* urged Maxentius many-times through documents to be distancing himself *from* the evils and after they were not heard and after *the* will of making-peace was° having been alienated, *Constantinus*, under constraint,<sup>43</sup> was thinking that it was° certainly no-longer *within* virtue to be *remaining* quiet, and for *the* remaining *time* that it was *necessary* to be fastening<sup>44</sup> the arms and to come-to-ward-off *these* evils from the Romans *who were* suffering the *things* such as *these*.

Next, Constantinus comprehended-in *his* mind, that the entire<sup>45</sup> element of the earth was as-though *it were* a great body, *and*, after-that, fully-saw the head of the entire<sup>46</sup> *body* (that is, the reigning city of the Roman principality) having been led-down to tyrannical slavery. *Therefore*, indeed, he, at the first, was granting-room to the *others* who *were* ruling<sup>47</sup> the remaining parts (inasmuch-as they were already preceding<sup>48</sup> *him* in time) to be warding-off *enemies* from it.<sup>49</sup> But since not-one<sup>50</sup> of these *men* were *able* to also be aiding *it* (instead, even the *ones* who

<sup>1</sup> literally "deprecating"

<sup>2</sup> literally "to/toward"

<sup>3</sup> literally "of rising-up and sinking"

<sup>4</sup> literally "worked-down"

<sup>5</sup> literally "most-raw"

<sup>6</sup> literally "beholding"

<sup>7</sup> literally "stretching-off/away"

<sup>8</sup> literally "onto"

<sup>9</sup> literally "onto"

<sup>10</sup> literally "when above the number to the twenty"

<sup>11</sup> usually translated "exchanging"

<sup>12</sup> usually translated "recompense"

<sup>13</sup> usually translated "rush"

<sup>14</sup> literally "as"

<sup>15</sup> literally "an appearing-forth"

<sup>16</sup> literally "toward/to"

<sup>17</sup> literally "multisighted"

<sup>18</sup> literally "accepting-down"

<sup>19</sup> usually translated "afterward"

<sup>20</sup> literally "appearing-forth"

<sup>21</sup> more literally "respiration"

<sup>22</sup> literally "standing-up-upon"

<sup>23</sup> literally "which" (plural)

<sup>24</sup> literally "multisighted"

<sup>25</sup> literally "rising-up"

<sup>26</sup> literally "until"

<sup>27</sup> literally "taken-through"

<sup>28</sup> literally "dwelling-down"

<sup>29</sup> literally "slipping"

<sup>30</sup> literally "on"

<sup>31</sup> literally "left-off"

<sup>32</sup> literally "On/Upon"

<sup>33</sup> literally "ship-fight"

<sup>34</sup> literally "anticipating another thing to all"

<sup>35</sup> literally "way-on"

<sup>36</sup> literally "exiting"

<sup>37</sup> literally "rawness"

<sup>38</sup> literally "of"

<sup>39</sup> literally "voiced"

<sup>40</sup> literally "society"

<sup>41</sup> literally "appetite"

<sup>42</sup> literally "similar"

<sup>43</sup> literally "driving-together"

<sup>44</sup> literally "touching"

<sup>45</sup> literally "all"

<sup>46</sup> literally "all"

<sup>47</sup> literally "having-might-over"

<sup>48</sup> literally "leading-before"

<sup>49</sup> literally ("to be warding...it") "for the act to ward-off in-behalf of it"

<sup>50</sup> literally "not-one such-as"

wanted to take an attempt<sup>1</sup> at it endured a shameful end), he spoke that his life was not-even<sup>2</sup> worth-living, if he would take-no-notice<sup>3</sup> while the royal city was wearying in-this-manner. Therefore, he prepared himself for the act toward the taking-down of the tyrant *Maxentius*.

But comprehending-in his mind full well that, due to the evil-arted and witching magical-powers which<sup>4</sup> were being worked-with-effort<sup>5</sup> in-the-presence of the tyrant *Maxentius*, it would be necessary to be having help<sup>6</sup> himself mightier<sup>7</sup> than by soldiery, and since other gods, such as Mars and the Invincible Sun, had proven to be ineffectual, he was searching-for a god to be a helper. Indeed, he was considering<sup>8</sup> the things derived from out of heavy-armed-men and a multitude of-soldiers to be second. For he was deeming that, while being-away from the help from a god, these things were being-able to do nothing. But he was saying, that the things derived from out of a god were<sup>9</sup> cooperation and unable-to-be-worsted. Most-surely he was comprehending-in his mind what-kind of a god it would be being necessary for him to inscribe<sup>10</sup> for a helper.

But while he was seeking, a certain thought came-under-into him, how<sup>11</sup> a majority of those who had formerly laid-hold-of the principality (indeed, the ones who had fastened themselves upon their hopes to more gods, who treated these gods with both libations and sacrifices and votive-offerings), after they were deluded at the first through soothsayings which had been granted-as-favors, as-well-as oracles which brought-messages about the auspicious things to them, did not find an auspicious end; but-neither had a certain god stood-by at their right-hand<sup>12</sup> for<sup>13</sup> the result for them to not be thrown-under a god-driven catastrophe.<sup>14</sup> But it was his-own father alone who was turned to the course opposite to theirs, indeed, to pronounce-guilty their misleading, but who himself, through all his life, honored the god who is beyond<sup>15</sup> the whole universe, coming to find him for himself to be a savior and guard of the kingdom as-well-as supplier of everything which is good.

After *Constantinus* discerned these things in his own presence as-well-as accounted very well how,<sup>16</sup> indeed, the ones who founded-their-courage-upon a multitude of gods also have fallen-upon more ruins, as for neither race nor growth, not a root, neither name nor memory to be left to them among<sup>17</sup> humans; but how the paternal god had<sup>18</sup> given to him evident and very-large examples of his power. Instead, he even thoroughly-looked-over<sup>19</sup> the ones who had already formerly made-an-expedition-against the tyrant *Maxentius*: Indeed, they had made their array along with a multitude of gods, but they endured a shameful end. For indeed, the one of them was retiring along with shame of the engagement which was never-put-into-action. But the one became an incidental death after he was slaughtered-down even in the middle of his troops.

Therefore, after he congregated all these things in his<sup>20</sup> mindset, he was supposing it, indeed, to be a work of stupidity to be working-vanity for the things concerning<sup>21</sup> the gods which are nothing and to be being misled-from them after so-much conviction; but he was imagining it to be being necessary to be honoring the paternal god. Most-surely, he was calling-up this god to himself in prayers, imploring and wailing for him to show to him who he would be,<sup>22</sup> and to hold-out his-own right hand to assist him in the challenges lying-before him.

But while he was praying these things and supplicating importunately, a certain most-incredible godly-sign was made-to-appear<sup>o</sup> to *Constantinus* the king. About<sup>23</sup> the midday hours of the sun, while the day was already declining,<sup>24</sup> he saw with his eyes,<sup>25</sup> in a heaven itself: a trophy of a cross being composed out of light which had<sup>26</sup> been laid-above the sun, as-well-as for a writing to have been touching it, which was saying,<sup>27</sup> “By-means-of this, be being-victorious.”

But astoundment over what-was-beheld<sup>28</sup> overpowered both him and all the soldiery, which surely, while being placed in order somewhere, was both altogether-following him on a journey<sup>29</sup> and became a perceiver of the marvel.

And he was surely being-completely-at-a-loss for<sup>30</sup> himself, as to what the phantom would be. But while he was pondering to himself and was rationalizing<sup>31</sup> on much, night was coming-on which overtook him. Surely, while he was slumbering there, it came-to-be for a divine being along with the sign which was made-to-appear throughout a heaven both to be made-seen to him and for him to be incited to, after he made for himself an imitation of the sign which was made-to-appear throughout a heaven, be using this for a defense against<sup>32</sup> the engagements<sup>33</sup> of the belligerent-ones.

But simultaneously at day, he, after he thoroughly-stood-up, was acclaiming-forth the ineffable vision to his<sup>34</sup> friends. After-that, he, after he called-together crafters of gold and of very-expensive stones, seated<sup>o</sup> himself down in the middle of them, and he explained<sup>o</sup> the image of the sign. He was also thoroughly-directing for them to be making-an-imitation-from it with gold and very-expensive stones.

Now it was having been furnished in a semblance such-as-this: A high spear having been vested-down with gold was having a traverse horn which had been<sup>35</sup> made into a semblance of a cross. But upward toward the summit of the entire<sup>36</sup> thing, a crown having been braided-together out of very-expensive stones and gold had been permanently-established.<sup>37</sup> Against it,<sup>38</sup> two alphabetical-characters,<sup>39</sup> Rho (P) and Chi (X), which were intimating the name of ‘Anointed-One’ (ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ) through the first impressions, were throwing-out-hints of the token of the saving appellation, the Rho (P) being chided (X) in the direct-middle.



(These<sup>40</sup> letters the king has also surely been-accustomed to be bearing against his<sup>41</sup> helmet even-at-any-time during the days after these things.)

But from the sideways horn which had been<sup>42</sup> punctured by the spear, a certain hanging<sup>43</sup> linen-sheet had been suspended-up. It was a royal weaving being covered with varieties of very-expensive stones (which, having been fastened-together,<sup>44</sup> were flashing-forth with radiations of light) as-well-as having been interwoven<sup>45</sup> along with much gold, affording an indescribable wealth<sup>46</sup> of the beauty to the ones who were seeing it. Therefore indeed, this banner, having been fastened-from<sup>47</sup> the horn, was receiving-from them a commensurate outline of both length and width. But the straight-up spear (being lengthened upward in-mid-air onto a great height from the downward tip),<sup>48</sup> under the trophy of the cross toward their summits<sup>49</sup> of the weaving which was diagramed, was bearing<sup>50</sup> the golden image of the emperor (which reached down-to<sup>51</sup> the bust<sup>52</sup>) as-well-as those of his boys likewise. Therefore indeed, this saving sign was being used by a king throughout everything for a ward against every opposing<sup>53</sup> and belligerent force.<sup>54</sup> He was also ordering for the likenesses of this to be leading all his military-camps. (Instead, this was a short time afterward.)

But (in-accordance-with the mentioned<sup>55</sup> time) after *Emperor Constantinus* was struck-down with astonishment by the incredible sight,<sup>56</sup> he, after he approved to not-even be revering a different god other than the one who was made-seen to him, was calling-up to himself the initiates of his accounts. And he was asking, who would this god<sup>57</sup> be, as-well-as what was the account of the sight<sup>58</sup> which was made-seen of the sign.

But the men declared, indeed, that the god was<sup>59</sup> an only-begotten boy of the one and only God; but that the sign, the one which was made-to-appear, was<sup>60</sup> indeed the token of immortality, but also exists<sup>61</sup> for a trophy of the victory against the death, which he made for himself at-some-time after he came-by on a

<sup>1</sup> literally “trial”

<sup>2</sup> literally “spoke for his life to not-even be”

<sup>3</sup> literally “would see-by-/past”

<sup>4</sup> literally “the ones”

<sup>5</sup> literally “being efforted”

<sup>6</sup> literally “to”

<sup>7</sup> literally “as mightier”

<sup>8</sup> literally “putting for himself”

<sup>9</sup> literally “saying for the...god to be”

<sup>10</sup> literally “to write-on for himself”

<sup>11</sup> literally “as”

<sup>12</sup> literally “at a right-hand of theirs”

<sup>13</sup> literally “to/toward”

<sup>14</sup> or may be translated “overturning”

<sup>15</sup> literally “on-the-far-side of”

<sup>16</sup> literally “as”

<sup>17</sup> literally “in”

<sup>18</sup> literally “god is having”

<sup>19</sup> literally “thoroughly-watched-out”

<sup>20</sup> literally “the”

<sup>21</sup> literally “around”

<sup>22</sup> literally “wailing to shine himself to him, whichever one he would be”

<sup>23</sup> literally “On-both-sides-of” (is this actually a reference to the location of the sign?)

<sup>24</sup> literally “bending-off (clining-off)”

<sup>25</sup> literally “with eyes of his”

<sup>26</sup> literally “light having”

<sup>27</sup> Sozomen, in his paraphrase, interprets these words as having been spoken by messengers.

<sup>28</sup> literally “the thing-which-is-beheld”

<sup>29</sup> literally “going”

<sup>30</sup> literally “to”

<sup>31</sup> literally “accounting”

<sup>32</sup> literally “to/toward”

<sup>33</sup> literally “throwing-togethers”

<sup>34</sup> literally “the”

<sup>35</sup> literally “horn having been”

<sup>36</sup> literally “all”

<sup>37</sup> literally “established-down”

<sup>38</sup> literally “which”

<sup>39</sup> literally “elements”

<sup>40</sup> literally “Which”

<sup>41</sup> literally “the”

<sup>42</sup> literally “horn having been”

<sup>43</sup> literally “hanging-out-on”

<sup>44</sup> literally “touched-together”

<sup>45</sup> literally “woven-down”

<sup>46</sup> literally “money”

<sup>47</sup> literally “touched-out”

<sup>48</sup> literally “onto much of the downward beginning”

<sup>49</sup> literally “toward summits of theirs”

<sup>50</sup> literally “bringing”

<sup>51</sup> literally “until”

<sup>52</sup> plural

<sup>53</sup> literally “lying-against”

<sup>54</sup> literally “power”

<sup>55</sup> literally “made-clear”

<sup>56</sup> literally “seeing”

<sup>57</sup> There is no definite article before “god” here or later in the verse

<sup>58</sup> literally “seeing”

<sup>59</sup> literally “indeed, for the god to be”

<sup>60</sup> literally “but for the sign...appear, to be”

<sup>61</sup> literally “but to be existing”



plot of earth. They were also teaching *him about* the causes of his passing-by,<sup>1</sup> laying-down-for<sup>2</sup> him the precise account of his<sup>3</sup> household-stewardship in-accordance-with humans.

But the *king* was even indeed making himself a learner of these accounts. But he was having a marvel at the manifestation-of-god *which* was delivered to his eyes.<sup>4</sup> *While* he was also pondering<sup>5</sup> the heavenly sight<sup>6</sup> *along* with the interpretation of the *things which were* being said, he was establishing his mindset, being persuaded that the knowledge of these *things* were being-present<sup>7</sup> to him *because they were* taught-by-god. But he himself was also already deeming-it-worthy to be paying-attention to the god-inspired things-being-read-aloud. And surely, after he made for himself the priests of God *to be* sitting-beside him, he was imagining for it to be being necessary to be honoring the god *who* was made-seen to him with all treatments. After-that, he, after he shut himself *up* with the good hopes into God,<sup>8</sup> was rushing to be extinguishing the threat of the tyrannical fire.

## CHAPTER 92: PREPARATIONS FOR WAR [312]

Now upon hearing emperor Constantinus' resolve to attack the city of Roma, almost all his counts and leaders were not only hushingly speaking-in-low-tones *but* instead were furthermore openly becoming-fearful. But at-that-time Constantinus, having been presently exhorted by his experience with the god, against the counsels of humans, against the admonitions of the entrails-diviners, was himself sensing that *the time had* come to liberate *the city*. But yet, due to having-fondness for him and him for them, his troop (robust and flowering, full of strengths, full of soul, cheerful *in arms*) was following-out *its* duties of military-service more *out of* eagerness than necessity.

Therefore, he was then arming himself more with every preparation for the battle against Maxentius and the tyranny. And he congregated forces<sup>9</sup> out of both: barbarians whom he obtained (having won *them* by-the-spear), and Germanic and the other Keltic nations, and the *ones* having been collected from Britannia—all *to*<sup>10</sup> *the number of* about 90,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry, which was scarcely a fourth part of his troops.

For he indeed left<sup>11</sup> *the* Rhenos guarded<sup>12</sup> after he disposed troops along *the total extent of its* limits. For *in* his excessive<sup>13</sup> fondness for its inhabitants, he did not move all his arms *out of the country*. However, its citizens became-susceptible to greater dread because he took-counsel to prefer them to himself, and he made-their peace more firm than *the war* which he was stepping-toward.

After this and after Constantinus himself most-surely set-over<sup>14</sup> himself the heavenly God *who is* over all and was calling-on him for himself through prayers, he was calling-up to himself the account of this *God, the Anointed-One* himself, the Savior of all, *to be* a savior and helper and allied *to him*. And after he also led-forward the trophy, the saving sign, on-both-sides of both his heavy-armed-men and spearmen, he, leading<sup>15</sup> all-the-army, was stepping-across the Alpes, and then he was driving-forward out the Alpes onto Italia, endeavoring-to-obtain for<sup>16</sup> *the* Romans the *things* of the freedom *which was derived for them from* out of their ancestors.

But Maxentius also prepared for himself a greater force,<sup>17</sup> because he also retook his father's troop from Sevérus. Indeed, *to*<sup>18</sup> *the number of* 80,000 Romans and Italians were being-auxiliaries to him, and *so were* **all** the Tyrrhenians (as-many-as were dwelling *in* the sea-coastal regions). But the Carthaginians were also affording themselves a troop of 40,000. And he had recently<sup>19</sup> extracted his special<sup>20</sup> force from the Maurians but-also from the Gaetulians. And *there were* Sicilians who were added to these—so-as for all the troop to be 170,000, but the cavalry *to be* 18,000.

Maxentius, most-surely founded-his-courage-upon the machinations<sup>21</sup> according-to witchcraft rather than the goodwill of the *ones who were* obeying *him*. Yet truly, he contained himself at Roma and did not-even dare<sup>22</sup> to come-forward as-much-as *beyond* the gates of the town, because he had received<sup>23</sup> *a* response that he would perish<sup>24</sup> if he might go-out outside *the* gates of the city.

Nevertheless, *the war* was being carried *out* through suitable leaders. But he shut *in* every place and country and city (as-many-as any which had been enslaved by him in a circle *around* the Romans and **all** Italia), with a numberless multitude of heavy-armed-men and with tens-of-thousands of ambuscades of military-encampments.

## CHAPTER 93: CONSTANTINUS' INVASION OF ITALIA [312]

Accordingly, *the* first civil-community on *the* journey of emperor Constantinus' Italian expedition was that of Segusio, which having been surmounted<sup>25</sup> by *the* Alpes, threw *forward* a lock against Italia. For since *its inhabitants were* holding<sup>26</sup> *a town* beneath the Alpes *which was* most-enwalled by a wall but-also by *its* situation, they festered obstinacy, and they became-audacious *enough* to be resisting his imminent *approach* but-also to be closing *their* gates. For they certainly did not believe that he himself was-present (for who would be believing that *an* emperor with a troop flew-through from Rhenos to *the* Alpes so quickly?). But when Constantinus arrived, relying-on<sup>27</sup> the auxiliary *from* out of a god, the inhabitants of Segusio refused<sup>28</sup> *the* pardon *which* was offered to them from his clemency.

Now *the* blockade *against the city* did not begin by a wall-of-stakes having been dug, nor by burrows, nor by machines, nor by rams. Instead, torches were straightaway thrown-back at *the gates and* scaling-ladders and bulwarks. And-not only with slings and missileing arrows from-a-distance,<sup>29</sup> *but* instead with spears and swords. But *the* pertinacity of the *ones who were* resisting *him* converted *the* emperor's strength against<sup>30</sup> itself *only to the extent* so that it, nevertheless, did not alienate *his* piety.

For when *the* strength of *the hand of his army* would have been seeking an entrance<sup>31</sup> and *the* inflaming of *the gates* would have brought *the* fire abroad *and* wide (whereby, through easy contact with *whatever* was adjoining *it*, it was gaining-strength<sup>32</sup> by-means-of pestilential fodder),<sup>33</sup> *the* benign emperor was taking care, not only that *the* burning might be dying-out<sup>34</sup> after it was not bolstered, *but* instead that it might be able to be dying-out after it was oppressed. Therefore, he commanded clemency upon *the victors*. And his clemency was perceived<sup>35</sup> *to be* far more-laborious<sup>36</sup> than his fortitude, when more labor had been originated in *the* conserving of *the city* than in *its* capturing. So *with the* affair<sup>37</sup> having begun and having ended simultaneously, *the* try and *the* exit of *the* rebels were concurrent.<sup>38</sup> But *while* he was departing,<sup>39</sup> he made *the* civil-community so<sup>40</sup> lustful of him, that it was not dread of *his* victory *but* instead admiration of *his* leniency *which* was composing *it* to every yieldingness.

A short while later in *the* open-plains in Taurinorum, Constantinus fought a grave fight *while* he was coming to the Taurinians. For *the* wasting of Segusio did not admonish<sup>9</sup> *them* in order that they might be taking-heed to themselves. But *the* rebels, not being-trepidated *but* instead having become-angered from<sup>41</sup> *his* victory, were incensed to make-a-reprisal.

So-many soldiers of his foes had fully-filled *the* open-plain (but not by-chance or randomly wandering, *so* that they would have been being easily cut down *while they were* straggling). Instead, *their* battle-line was structured in the form of a wedge<sup>42</sup> with the sides descending backward in altitude. If Constantinus had avidly conflicted *with them* at *the* first, they, having bent-back would have been going-around *his* soldiers who would have been impeded by *the* struggle. Instead, *while* he was foreseeing this, he commissioned *men* before *him* on-both-sides who would be obstructing<sup>43</sup> *them*, and, simultaneously, if any might be hiding *in* ambush,<sup>44</sup> would be shaking *them* out.

Now in *the* army of *the* Taurinians were horses and humans having been fully-hedged with a covering of iron, which are named 'oven-bearers'. *The* upper *portion* of *the* humans were sheltered<sup>45</sup> with a cuirass *which*, dropping-down to *the* breast of *the* horses and hanging as-far-as *the* legs, was vindicating *them* from *the* harm of a wound without any impediment to *their* steps. It was in these heavy-armed-horsemen<sup>46</sup> where *their* greatest strength<sup>47</sup> of *the* fight stood.

But none of these *things* terrified *the* emperor. For having come-to-know all *the* ways of warring, he knew *the* discipline of *the* 'oven-bearers' for fighting:

<sup>1</sup> literally "by-way"

<sup>2</sup> literally "laying-down to"

<sup>3</sup> literally "the"

<sup>4</sup> literally "to eyes of his"

<sup>5</sup> literally "throwing-together"

<sup>6</sup> literally "seeing"

<sup>7</sup> literally "persuaded for the knowledge...to be being-present"

<sup>8</sup> literally "him"

<sup>9</sup> literally "powers"

<sup>10</sup> literally "into"

<sup>11</sup> literally "relinquished"

<sup>12</sup> literally "gazed-at"

<sup>13</sup> literally "too-much"

<sup>14</sup> literally "stood-over"

<sup>15</sup> Life / EusCH "being-before"

<sup>16</sup> literally "wooing to"

<sup>17</sup> literally "power"

<sup>18</sup> literally "into"

<sup>19</sup> literally "newly"

<sup>20</sup> literally "proper"

<sup>21</sup> may also be translated "machines"

<sup>22</sup> literally "dare-upon"

<sup>23</sup> literally "accepted"

<sup>24</sup> may also be translated "disappear"

<sup>25</sup> literally "made-superior-by"

<sup>26</sup> usually translated "grasping"

<sup>27</sup> literally "touching-up"

<sup>28</sup> literally "recaused"

<sup>29</sup> literally "hands-apart"

<sup>30</sup> literally "in"

<sup>31</sup> literally "a going-in"

<sup>32</sup> literally "gaining-valor"

<sup>33</sup> literally "pasture"

<sup>34</sup> literally "becoming-senile"

<sup>35</sup> literally "perspected"

<sup>36</sup> literally "be long more-working"

<sup>37</sup> literally "thing"

<sup>38</sup> literally "joined"

<sup>39</sup> literally "digressing"

<sup>40</sup> literally "in-this-manner"

<sup>41</sup> literally "out of"

<sup>42</sup> literally "in the mode of a cone"

<sup>43</sup> literally "be going in-the-way"

<sup>44</sup> literally "plot"

<sup>45</sup> literally "roofed"

<sup>46</sup> literally "These fully-shut-in-ones"

<sup>47</sup> literally "robustness"

When they have rammed *their enemies*’ battle-line, they preserve the interrupted-course of *their assault*;<sup>1</sup> and being immune to wounds, they are breaking-through without hesitation whoever is opposing them. Therefore, Constantinus spotted aid from out of his ingenuity, that it was the safest<sup>2</sup> to be eluding those whom it was difficult to be sustaining.

After Constantinus’ battle-line was led-apart, he poured-out<sup>3</sup> an irrevocable rush upon his foes. Next, after his men were led-back into a single moving-band, he retook his foes whom he had fooled.<sup>4</sup> It was no use for them to be stretching forth against them, when the emperor’s men would be withdrawing<sup>5</sup> from the battle out of diligence.<sup>6</sup> Iron rigor was not giving them a bend toward following-after<sup>7</sup> them. So Constantinus’ men attacked those who were given<sup>8</sup> to them with clubs (which had heavy iron-clad knots) which made any armored foe whose flesh was not lying-wide-open fatigued with a wound by-means-of their cutting. But-also, after wounds were greatly afflicted on their heads, they were forcing<sup>9</sup> those whom the hits had perturbed to be tumbling off. Then for them to be going headlong,<sup>10</sup> to be sliding leaning-back,<sup>11</sup> to be vacillating half-dead or dying, to be detained<sup>12</sup> in their saddles, to be laying entwined in the mixed crushing of horses (which, in unbridled pain, after the locations of maiming them were spotted, were shedding<sup>13</sup> their own horsemen randomly).

But after that head which had been made-very-firm was dejected and their battle-line was turned in flight, Constantinus himself advanced<sup>14</sup> and gave-forth a massacre.<sup>15</sup> So after his enemies were poured-out and were cut-down up-to the walls of Taurinorum, they, after they met the gates which had been barred-up by the ones who were colonizing-inside the city, closed them furthermore by the bulk of their-own bodies.

After every one of them was killed and Constantinus’ own soldiers were untouched, they transferred the horror of their armor to the miracle of the victory, because those who were having been invulnerable had been killed without any of Constantinus’ men in wounds. But in the aftermath, because they had not licensed him to be receiving their salvation by request before the battle had broken out, the victory itself virtually displeased him.

But the same soul was not in the Taurinians themselves, not-even in the rest of the civil-communities of Italia. For most of them, exalting with joy, eagerly<sup>16</sup> called Constantinus “emperor” to themselves. After legates were sent by all, convoys-with-supplies were offered from-everywhere, so that it was being-apparent how day-by-day they had desired someone to whom they might be promptly committing themselves while the war was still standing-firm.

After Constantinus stepped-into Mediolanon (that is, Milan), there was a giving-of-thanks of the princes of the civil-community, clappings of the populace, the security of mothers and of virgins who were gazing-at him were fearing no license. All were showing themselves and dancing without any dread of the remaining<sup>17</sup> war, and they were measuring the beginning<sup>18</sup> of his victory to be<sup>19</sup> the consummation. While Constantinus was remaining<sup>20</sup> for some days in Mediolanon, he gave all of his enemies in the Transpadane province time to be taking-counsel for themselves so that they might be expecting<sup>21</sup> him.

Now at Brixia, a band of cavalry, certainly great and sharp, feeling safer<sup>22</sup> in flight than in its-own force and having been knocked back at Constantinus’ first rush,<sup>23</sup> reached<sup>24</sup> up-to Verona for<sup>25</sup> a greater garrison.<sup>26</sup>

However, when the civil-community of Verona itself received<sup>27</sup> the report that there were already crushings of many men by Constantinus, they, due to the formidability of Constantinus’ coming-to them, conducted themselves into one. Therefore, Verona, having been crammed-tight with immense battalions,<sup>28</sup> was being held<sup>29</sup> by a great hostile troop, with the sharpest leaders and the most-pertinacious prefects

<sup>1</sup> literally “impression/impressing”

<sup>2</sup> literally “gazed”

<sup>3</sup> literally “made-a-mockery”

<sup>4</sup> literally “ceding”

<sup>5</sup> literally “industry”

<sup>6</sup> literally “-in”

<sup>7</sup> literally “to give-before”

<sup>8</sup> literally “driving-together”

<sup>9</sup> literally “precipitate”

<sup>10</sup> literally “reclining”

<sup>11</sup> literally “attained”

<sup>12</sup> literally “pouring-out”

<sup>13</sup> literally “processed”

<sup>14</sup> literally “spread”

<sup>15</sup> literally “strugglingly”

<sup>16</sup> literally “voiced”

<sup>17</sup> literally “relinquished”

<sup>18</sup> Latin “auspicious”

<sup>19</sup> literally (“to be”) “for”

<sup>20</sup> literally “resisting”

<sup>21</sup> literally “hoping for”

<sup>22</sup> literally “being more-gazing”

<sup>23</sup> literally “impetus”

<sup>24</sup> literally “stretched-completely”

<sup>25</sup> literally “to/toward”

<sup>26</sup> literally “presiding-over”

<sup>27</sup> literally “accepted”

<sup>28</sup> literally “copiousnesses”

<sup>29</sup> literally “grasped”

Indeed, Ruricius Pompeianus was-present (most-experienced in war and the column of the leaders of the tyrant Maxentius) with a great force of humans fully-measured along<sup>30</sup> total length of the city-walls. Instead most of them had already been shattered at Brixia, and the portion of that multitude having been affected by evil dissipated the contagion of fear to the total troop. Therefore, they had been made more-cautious for-a-short-time by-means-of dread, not more-felicitous by-means-of rationalization. They vindicated<sup>31</sup> themselves from an attack<sup>32</sup> with its walls.

Of-course, that Athesis River, with hopeless boulders and with turning whirlpools and by a ferocious rush<sup>33</sup> was prohibiting any attack upon the city, and it was standing-against<sup>34</sup> every region behind it, having been made-safe<sup>35</sup> with the conveyed battalions<sup>36</sup> and having been defended.

Nevertheless, the river was made to no longer be bolstering the foe day-by-day by-means-of Constantinus’ foresight, when he sent a part of the troops into a more-superior place, where there was a more-lenient stream and their foes were ignorant. There he drove his foes (who were closed and were blockaded by peril at two-fronts)<sup>37</sup> to be being experienced with arms after their hope of delay was omitted, and his foes made<sup>38</sup> an attack.<sup>39</sup> Constantinus cut down all who had attempted<sup>40</sup> an eruption from the city against him. And his foes who had defended themselves for-some-time by hiding from death, weighed-out<sup>41</sup> the punishment of their chance eruption after they were made to have a cause to fight. That same leader, Ruricius, by a great crushing of his-own men, was thrown-back into the city-walls, hope already lax and mind still less-than-sane. And soon, Ruricius himself, with a part of his battalions,<sup>42</sup> went-out from the walls and he ripped himself forward from Verona to fetch auxiliaries in order to lead a greater troop against Constantinus.

Ruricius put-in-motion new troops to-the-same-place. And, while the day was already setting,<sup>43</sup> he did not decline<sup>44</sup> the war, being more-avid for a fight than for safety. Indeed, at that time, the care and the magnitude of soul of emperor Constantinus simultaneously became especially<sup>45</sup> apparent. For he preferred to be engaging<sup>46</sup> Ruricius by-means-of a more-minor troop while he was going-back than to be intermitting the blockade of the city, so that he would not be allowing<sup>47</sup> them to be respiring after they were enclosed or to be fleeing-forth or to be hanging-down-over his rear.

And at first, indeed, Constantinus had built his men into a twofold battle-line. Soon, after he foresaw the number of his adversaries, he ordained their position<sup>48</sup> to be being wound-out in front and directed the armies<sup>49</sup> to be being extended more-widely, measuring that a weight however much heavier<sup>50</sup> was being-able to be being infringed by-means-of a rush<sup>51</sup> of few men.

But with the thickest<sup>52</sup> darkness of the night, everything<sup>53</sup> in the engagement<sup>54</sup> was licensed to fortune. Nevertheless, emperor Constantinus himself fought. He mixed himself into the densest orb of his savage foes and was standing-in place against them. And no-one watched him while he was fighting, due to the gift of the cover of night. But night itself, a cause of terror to the warriors, had made him more-vehement to be putting-in-motion the slaughters.<sup>55</sup> Unterrified and seized<sup>56</sup> with ardor, he came-into the middle of the arrows of his foes, and he waded through infested battle-lines, and he opened a way for<sup>57</sup> himself by-means-of the cutting-down of his foes. He broke-through whatever densest ranks there were. He threw them down. He trampled them down.<sup>58</sup>

After Constantinus’ foes were cut down and were made-to-flee and furthermore their leader, Ruricius himself, was killed (death being the only thing which tamed his fury), Constantinus’ counts and tribunes, shedding-tears, together seized the emperor. And after they wound their arms around his panting breast and bloodstained hands, and whatever else had emerged out of the blood of the profound cutting down, they clamored from-here and from-there, “What might you have been carrying-out,<sup>59</sup> emperor? To<sup>60</sup> what fate had you projected us, if

<sup>30</sup> literally “through”

<sup>31</sup> literally “impetus”

<sup>32</sup> literally “impetus”

<sup>33</sup> literally “standing-toward”

<sup>34</sup> literally “been gazed”

<sup>35</sup> literally “copiousnesses” (possibly translated “supplies” here)

<sup>36</sup> literally “two-heads”

<sup>37</sup> literally “impetus”

<sup>38</sup> literally “tempted”

<sup>39</sup> literally “pending”

<sup>40</sup> literally “copiousnesses”

<sup>41</sup> literally “precipitating”

<sup>42</sup> literally “detract”

<sup>43</sup> literally “taken-beforehand”

<sup>44</sup> literally “congregating”

<sup>45</sup> literally “licensing”

<sup>46</sup> literally “state”

<sup>47</sup> may also be translated “arms”

<sup>48</sup> literally “graver”

<sup>49</sup> literally “impetus”

<sup>50</sup> or “crowded” (Latin “spissus”)

<sup>51</sup> literally “total”

<sup>52</sup> literally “congregation”

<sup>53</sup> literally “spreads”

<sup>54</sup> literally “raped”

<sup>55</sup> literally “to”

<sup>56</sup> literally “he rubbed-forward”

<sup>57</sup> may also be translated “What had you put-in-motion”

your divine virtue might not have vindicated you? What is this impatience? Or what are our hands to you, if you yourself are instead<sup>2</sup> fighting for us?"

Now after the engagement was scarcely made-complete much by night, *Constantinus* (tired by the cutting down of his foes, panting from<sup>3</sup> the war, having been smeared with bloodshed of his foes) was running-back toward the vigil of the blockade of *Verona*.

For when the ones who were blockaded were given a time of repenting, *Constantinus* retook *Aquileia* too by-means-of the supplications of their legates. And after those who were conjoined had given themselves to him (whom he kept by blockading them), he pardoned<sup>4</sup> them all and he gave-back life which they had despaired-of. And indeed, he directed for them to be laying-down their arms, so that they might be being protected<sup>5</sup> much more safely<sup>6</sup> by the piety of the victor. Nevertheless, so that they would be sensing the merits of their-own pertinacity, he directed for them to be being completely-seized and to be being fettered (not to supplications, but instead toward life), lest they might be fleeing-in-different-directions by the fear of their conscience and might be being gravely delinquent and might not be being made-to-merit that they were being conserved once-more,<sup>7</sup> if they had not been kept safe.

But from-where would he acquire so-many fetters which would be being-able to be containing the hands of so-large a number of humans who were soldiers having been armed shortly before? The soldiers who had welcomed the prisoners who were being led-through were stupefied, and they shook-their-heads-in-refusal<sup>8</sup> to be undertaking the care of guarding the unfettered prisoners, and they did not know at-all<sup>9</sup> what they would be doing. Furthermore, those who were in council with *Constantinus* themselves, furthermore even the prefect himself, were at-a-loss, when *Constantinus* (who some thought had been admonished by a divine instinct) directed for double locks for their hands to be being adapted out of their-own swords, so that their-own swords which had not defended them while they were fighting-back might be keeping them after they were made-to-surrender<sup>10</sup> to him.

Therefore, *Constantinus* conquered *Aquileia* and *Mutina* and the remaining regions to which the injury of the attacking itself was most-thankful due to the following commodities of incredible good things. For after the rudder of their-own fortunes were transferred to the most-fortitudinous prince, they sensed how easily all things were going-back to a salutary course, when everything was being deferred in-this-manner, so that soon either they would have been colliding<sup>11</sup> with the crags of all evils or would have been adhering to the wadis of miseries.

Therefore, indeed, after the cities of all Italia on-this-side of the *Padus River* were retaken (indeed, the ones which were leading themselves to a truce,<sup>12</sup> were dismissed unharmed, but the ones which were being into arms, were overturned) and after he obtained the victory over the leaders of the tyrant *Maxentius* at *Verona*, *Constantinus* aimed to *Roma*.

#### CHAPTER 94: BATTLE OF THE MULVIAN BRIDGE [312-10-26-28]

Up-till-now, emperor *Maxentius* was shuddering and unwarlike but-also loathsome-prone in sitting-idle, so that while the war was burning throughout Italia and after his-own men were poured out at *Verona*, he was taking-care of his usual-things with no less-sluggishness. In fact, in response to so-many messages of their crushing-defeats,<sup>13</sup> he had dared<sup>14</sup> to try nothing against *Constantinus*. Of-course, that most-vile human was blockading himself in the city of *Roma* by-means-of laziness, and he was daring<sup>15</sup> to be stepping-out no-where outside the partition-walls. For so he was admonished either by prodigies or by presages of his dread, to not be aspiring in the open-field, nor to be being made-to-exercise in arms, nor for dust to be being endured.<sup>16</sup> Indeed the crafty man, lest the ones who might be seeing him might be contemning him while he was tempting the officers<sup>17</sup> of the men under his command to rebel against himself, he was also walking-around so-much in that *Palatium* of partition-walls which were marbled. (For it was being computed to be a stay-in-a-foreign-land<sup>18</sup> and an expedition to go into the *Sullustianus* orchard.) And indeed these delicacies were protecting this most-ugly fearfulness<sup>19</sup> of his for that total time which he had blockaded the city and had shut himself in.<sup>20</sup> For he was not wishing for himself to be being seen to be unwarlike but instead happy; not inert, but instead secure. As-often-as he was

<sup>1</sup> literally "in"

<sup>2</sup> Latin ("instead") "verse vice"

<sup>3</sup> literally "out of"

<sup>4</sup> literally "ignored"

<sup>5</sup> literally "roofed"

<sup>6</sup> literally "gazedly"

<sup>7</sup> literally "again"

<sup>8</sup> literally "refused-by-a-nod"

<sup>9</sup> literally "right-on"

<sup>10</sup> literally "made-to-give themselves over"

<sup>11</sup> literally "hurting-in"

<sup>12</sup> literally "holding-of-hands"

<sup>13</sup> literally "crushes"

<sup>14</sup> literally "been-audacious"

<sup>15</sup> literally "being-audacious"

<sup>16</sup> literally "suffered"

<sup>17</sup> or "offices"

<sup>18</sup> literally "peregrination"

<sup>19</sup> literally "formido"

<sup>20</sup> literally "and had included himself"

calling<sup>21</sup> the soldiers to come into a convention, telling them that he alone was commanding with them,<sup>22</sup> he was tossing different men to be performing-military-service throughout the limits on-behalf-of him. "All of you\*, be enjoying," he was declaring. "Be dissipating. Be squandering." This was the brief and fallen felicity of the miserable man.

But indeed not even at-that-time, when *Maxentius* had ascertained<sup>23</sup> so-many engagements of his men having been adverted, did he try<sup>24</sup> to be going in-the-way against *Constantinus* nor was he making-use of the limit of the *Padus* or the mountain-range of *Apenninus*. Instead, he was suppressing letters which were indicators of his-own calamity. Furthermore, he was sometimes opting that a battle<sup>25</sup> with *Constantinus* might be forced-to-come up to the gates of the city. However, he was not gaining-intelligence that that majesty of the city (which in-time-past had solicited the troops which had moved-toward it) went-over<sup>26</sup> as auxiliaries to *Constantinus* after it was already deformed by-means-of *Maxentius*' outrages and having been knocked from its-own seats. Nor was anyone of *Constantinus*' army being-able to be corrupted by-means-of premiums (who, in-addition-to<sup>27</sup> *Constantinus*' liberality and their faith of sacrament, had dedicated so-many victories of glory to *Constantinus*). But without any delay of hesitating, *Constantinus*, by-means-of a hurried<sup>28</sup> march,<sup>29</sup> flew-to *Roma* through the *Venetii* where the shortest<sup>30</sup> journey is.

Now on the 7th day before the *Kalends* of *November*,<sup>31</sup> *Maxentius* migrated from the *Palatium*. He conceded with his wife as-well-as his son in a private house, after he was agitated by terrible dreams and after he was knocked by nocturnal reprimers.

Now *Maxentius* sent his army out from the city of *Roma* to fight against *Constantinus*. Since the *Mulvian Bridge* across the river had been cut, the terrified *Maxentius* himself was pitching a bridge on the *Tumbris* (that is, the *Tiber*) a short distance above from the *Mulvian*<sup>32</sup> Bridge, which he yoked with sea-crafts in order for his army to cross over to *Constantinus*. Not all of the bridge touched-together from the one bank which<sup>33</sup> was toward the city as-far-as<sup>34</sup> the other bank, but instead it divided<sup>35</sup> itself into two parts, so-that, in the middle of the river, the materials filling each part of the bridge were somehow meeting with one-another with iron pins. These pins were part of a secret machination which he pitched-together<sup>36</sup> after he bridged the river especially well. For these were able to be pulled-up at-the-time-when someone might be pressed-to-be-wishing for the bridge not to be yoked any longer. He commanded the machine-makers, whenever they might see the army of *Constantinus* having stood-upon the yoking of the bridge, to pull-up the pins, and to dissipate the bridge, so-as for the ones having stood on it to fall into the river. And this was indeed what *Maxentius* was machinating.

Now the forces of *Maxentius* progressed across the bridge into *Saxa Rubra* (almost nine miles away), and his soldiers engaged with those of emperor *Constantinus*. They were skirmishing and the soldiers of *Maxentius* were prevailing, till after *Constantinus*, having made-firm<sup>37</sup> his soul and having been made-ready for each-of-two outcomes, moved all his battalions<sup>38</sup> nearer toward the city of *Roma*. But after *Constantinus* came-forward until the city, simultaneously with the army, he sat-down not far from the region of the *Mulvian Bridge*. And they were setting-up-a-military-encampment in the plain, the plain before the city, which was both having been spread-out<sup>39</sup> and suitable<sup>40</sup> for<sup>41</sup> horsing. Therefore, *Constantinus* was at the place closest to *Roma*.

Now the day which *Maxentius* had captured the imperial-command was-imminent, which is the 6th day before the *Kalends* of *November*,<sup>42</sup> and his sixth-anniversary<sup>43</sup> was being terminated. *Constantinus* had<sup>44</sup> been completely-admonished in quiet, so that he might be marking<sup>45</sup> the heavenly sign in the oblong-shields but-also so he might be committing an engagement against *Maxentius*. He did<sup>46</sup> that which he had been<sup>46</sup> directed; and by-means-of the letter

<sup>21</sup> literally "voicing"

<sup>22</sup> literally "convention, for him alone to be commanding with those men"

<sup>23</sup> literally "completed-opened"

<sup>24</sup> literally, "is he having tried"

<sup>25</sup> literally "wrestling"

<sup>26</sup> literally "went-across"

<sup>27</sup> literally "besides"

<sup>28</sup> literally "seized/raped"

<sup>29</sup> more literally "moving-band"

<sup>30</sup> literally "briefest"

<sup>31</sup> 312-10-26 (literally "two-days in-front of the battle")

<sup>32</sup> Lactantius, Pan12, Eutropius, Orosius, Aurelius(Epitome), Chronography354, Consularia, Gelasius,

Socrates / Aurelius(Liber), Chronicon(Jerome) "Milvian"

<sup>33</sup> literally "bank, the one"

<sup>34</sup> literally "until"

<sup>35</sup> literally "distributed"

<sup>36</sup> Life / Eus "composed" (lit. "stood-together")

<sup>37</sup> literally "confirmed"

<sup>38</sup> literally "copiousnessness"

<sup>39</sup> literally "spanned-up"

<sup>40</sup> literally "requisite"

<sup>41</sup> literally "into"

<sup>42</sup> 312-10-27 (He captured it on 306-10-28), which means that this is the day (night?) before

<sup>43</sup> emendation / manuscript "fifth-anniversary" (literally "quinquennial")

<sup>44</sup> literally "is having"

<sup>45</sup> literally "noting"

<sup>46</sup> literally "he is having been"

X having been transversed with *its* topmost head having been bent-around, he marked<sup>1</sup> the Anointed-One in the oblong-shields:



After he was armed with this<sup>2</sup> sign, his troop took<sup>3</sup> the iron. It proceeded<sup>4</sup> in-the-way to their foes who were without an emperor. And the army of Maxentius stepped-across<sup>4</sup> the bridge. The battle-lines ran-together on equal<sup>5</sup> fronts.

But Constantinus was already being-filled-with-fear of one thing, lest Maxentius, having been completely-terrified after he was gravely afflicted by Constantinus' strength and forced-back<sup>6</sup> into a squeeze, might be taking-counsel of what is good and might, by-means-of a blockade, be deferring<sup>7</sup> the punishments which were being indebted to the republic. Of-course, after all Africa (which he had stationed to be destroying)<sup>8</sup> was exhausted, and after all the islands were emptied-out, Maxentius had carried-together yearly-produce to hold out for an infinite time.

But there was<sup>9</sup> a sedition in the city, and the leader Maxentius was<sup>9</sup> being rebuked even-as a deserter of the public safety. And when he was being spied,<sup>9</sup> (for he was giving-forth the pleasures of-the-circus in honor of his birth) the populace all-of-a-sudden by-means-of one voice were<sup>9</sup> clamoring-in-protest,<sup>10</sup> that Constantinus was not being-able<sup>11</sup> to be being vanquished.

After Maxentius became-consternated by this<sup>12</sup> voice, he ripped<sup>9</sup> himself forward. But after he locked himself off, he led consecrated-victims to the gods and he enquired-up-and-down from the consecrated-victim-inspectors about the fortune of the war. And after he also called certain senators, he directed for the Sibylline books to be being inspected, and he was searching-through the things of Sibylla. And he found something in them which was god-declared, which was signifying as if it might not only be obliged for a pitiful death to fall-around the certain individual who was performing harm onto the Romans, but that on that very day a foe of the Romans<sup>13</sup> would perish. He was receiving the saying<sup>14</sup> toward himself, as if he was warding-off from the city the ones who came-upon Roma and who were thoroughly-comprehending that they were going to take this city.

But this which occurred<sup>15</sup> was truthful. For Maxentius, having been induced into the hope of victory by-means-of this<sup>16</sup> response, proceeded. For the strength of the divinity ripped the good council out of the nefarious human, and altogether-shook him out of his accustomed loathsome hiding-places, so that that man was breaking-out<sup>17</sup> of his inveterate torpor.

And after Maxentius led the army out before Roma and after he stepped-across<sup>18</sup> the bridge which had been composed by boats and which he himself yoked, owls which were a limitless multitude, after they flew-down, filled the outer-wall.

After Constantinus beheld this,<sup>19</sup> he was directing his soldiers on to be being assigned into battle positions with the domestics. While this was being done, Maxentius, after he hurried to be entering from the side on<sup>20</sup> the bridge, came<sup>9</sup> into the battle-line and he elected an open-plain above the Tiber in which he would be skirmishing.<sup>21</sup> Accordingly, he built the battle-line in place at the Tiber and placed his men at the riverbanks, so that someone was not being-able to be evading, or someone, having been moved from his place, was not being-able to be retracing<sup>22</sup> a step and to be instating another engagement at any time when he might be being pressed from the front by-means-of arms and from the rear by-means-of the Tiber stream. Therefore, with flight having been shut-between Constantinus' lines and the river, dying would be being a necessity when he might not be having any hope of victory remaining. This disposing of his troops proved<sup>23</sup> that he had a ruined<sup>24</sup> mind and entangled<sup>25</sup> council.

But after the military-encampments stood, set-against one-another horn by horn, Constantinus discharged the cavalry upon him. Constantinus himself was<sup>9</sup> the first to invade the opposing battle-line. He alone irrumped into it. Ineffectual<sup>26</sup>

tossings of arrows overshadowed<sup>9</sup> him while he was going. The boss of his shield secure from hits resounded<sup>9</sup>. These men, whom his beam-like spear threw-down,<sup>27</sup> his horse, jumping-at, trampled<sup>9</sup>.<sup>28</sup> The noble helm flashed<sup>9</sup> with the gleaming light of gems. The shield shined-on-every-side with gold, the arms with gold. After the most-fortitudinous soldiers followed this ardor, they, man-by-man, labored as-if the topmost affair was being held<sup>29</sup> by the hand of each single man.

At this time, troops were seen in the heavens. And although heavenly things are not usually to be coming under the eyes of humans, nevertheless they were enduring<sup>30</sup> to be being looked-at and to be being heard. The gleaming bosses of their shields were burning with something to-be-reverenced, and the terrible light of their heavenly arms was blazing. This was the discourse of themselves, this they were sowing between those who were hearing, "We are aiming for Constantinus. We are going to be an auxiliary for Constantinus."

Now while the cavalry of Constantius was approaching, it was overpowering<sup>31</sup> the opposing<sup>32</sup> cavalry-units of Maxentius. But even after the sign was lifted to the infantry, these men were also rushing-upon<sup>33</sup> their foes along with good order. But after a perseverant battle came-to-be, indeed the Romans themselves and the auxiliaries from out of Italia, were shrinking-from<sup>34</sup> the act to be becoming-endangered, praying to be finding a release-from the bitter tyranny of Maxentius. But an unutterable multitude of the other soldiers were falling, both being tread-underfoot by the cavalry and being done-away-with by the infantry.

Therefore, indeed, as-long-as the cavalry of Maxentius were holding-against Constantinus, Maxentius was somehow seeming to be being-under hope. But after the cavalry gave-in and the battle-line was cut, he, simultaneously with the ones being left, were vanquished. Maxentius was<sup>9</sup> terrified-before them, and so were his troops. And since the Mulvian bridge was being split from his rear, he and many of them turned into flight across<sup>35</sup> the bridge of the boats of the river onto the city of Roma itself; while other soldiers of his, who attempted to cross the Mulvian Bridge, were shut-out by its narrowness.

Most-surely in-this-manner, by-means-of a nod of a god, the machination upon the yoking of both ends of the bridge as-well-as the thing-hidden in it (which he had placed as a trap for his foe), after they did not converge<sup>36</sup> according-to the time which was hoped for, indeed, after the yoking over the river was dissipated, the crossing<sup>37</sup> crouched-under<sup>9</sup>. But instead after the pieces-of-wood which did not bear<sup>38</sup> the heavy-weight broke, the seacrafts withdrew in-a-mass, men-and-all, down to a deep-place.

And yet the irreverent and terrified Maxentius himself, when he was trying in frustration to be evading with both his horse and marked arms by breaking-away through to the ulterior riverbank, he, having been pressed and hindered<sup>39</sup> between the narrowness of the multitude<sup>40</sup> who were fleeing, was, by the slipping<sup>41</sup> of his horse, cast-headlong<sup>42</sup> into the flowing-water in his stepping-across the Tiber. The leader was the first, having been altogether-seized, to be devoured by a whirlpool.<sup>43</sup> But next, another multitude (even both the heavy-armed-men and the round-shield-bearers and spearmen<sup>44</sup> on-both-sides-of him) slid into the deep-place<sup>45</sup> as-if lead or stone in exceeding waters and were being brought down<sup>46</sup> the Tiber River and perished. And indeed, the rolling flowing-water conveyed-away the bodies and arms of many different foes. However, it held<sup>47</sup> that man in the same place where it had extinguished him. For Maxentius' body was swallowed in the lime by the weight of his thorax (which was scarcely spotted). As a result, the riverbanks were roofed with a continuous spread of carnage; and the Tiber was fully-filled with heaps of bodies; and, by ill force but-also scarcely by-means-of whirlpools<sup>48</sup> which were wrestling-out, the river was scarcely going-forth between the high bulk of cadavers which were being carried-together.

Now Maxentius commanded<sup>49</sup> Italia as its emperor for exactly 6 years to the day, which is the 5th before the Kalends of November,<sup>50</sup> in the 5th<sup>51</sup> year of Constantinus' kingdom. And Maxentius signed the day of his accession<sup>52</sup> by his final death<sup>53</sup> in the Tiber.

<sup>1</sup> literally "notes"

<sup>2</sup> literally "which"

<sup>3</sup> literally "captured"

<sup>4</sup> literally "transgressed"

<sup>5</sup> literally "paired/par"

<sup>6</sup> literally "put-in-motion-back"

<sup>7</sup> literally "bringing-abroad"

<sup>8</sup> literally "deleting"

<sup>9</sup> literally "looked-at-attentively" or "made-to-be-conspicuous"

<sup>10</sup> literally "sub-clamoring"

<sup>11</sup> literally "for Constantinus to not be being-able"

<sup>12</sup> literally "which"

<sup>13</sup> literally "spotted to be for a foe of the Romans"

<sup>14</sup> literally "account-thing"

<sup>15</sup> literally "stepped-out"

<sup>16</sup> literally "which"

<sup>17</sup> literally "breaking-forward"

<sup>18</sup> literally "stepped-through"

<sup>19</sup> literally "which"

<sup>20</sup> literally "in"

<sup>21</sup> Pan12 / Pan4 "and he captured a place for a fight"

<sup>22</sup> literally "bringing-back"

<sup>23</sup> literally "taught"

<sup>24</sup> literally "send-to-perdition"

<sup>25</sup> literally "entwined"

<sup>26</sup> literally "Void"

<sup>27</sup> literally "dejected"

<sup>28</sup> literally "rubbed-down"

<sup>29</sup> literally "grasped"

<sup>30</sup> literally "suffering"

<sup>31</sup> literally "having-might-over"

<sup>32</sup> usually translated "contrary"

<sup>33</sup> literally "being-upon"

<sup>34</sup> literally "hesitating-from toward"

<sup>35</sup> literally "through"

<sup>36</sup> literally "flow-through"

<sup>37</sup> literally "stepping-through"

<sup>38</sup> literally "bring"

<sup>39</sup> usually translated "warded-off"

<sup>40</sup> Lactantius / Aurelius(Epitome) "populace"

<sup>41</sup> literally "lapse"

<sup>42</sup> literally "precipitated"

<sup>43</sup> literally "gurge"

<sup>44</sup> literally "spear-bearers"

<sup>45</sup> Eusebios / Epitome "was plunged-down (demerged) in the depth (profoundum)"

<sup>46</sup> Eusebios / Lactantius "being pulled-down" (lit. "disturbed-down") / Pan12 "being drawn"

<sup>47</sup> literally "grasped"

<sup>48</sup> literally "gorges"

<sup>49</sup> AnoVal / Eutropius "is having become-potentate:"

<sup>50</sup> 312-10-28

<sup>51</sup> Socrates (correct) / Chronicon(Jerome) "6th" / Eutropius "5th" (for the start of the war with Maxentius)

<sup>52</sup> literally "birth"

<sup>53</sup> literally "by his ultimate cutting-down"

## CHAPTER 95: CONSTANTINUS' ENTRANCE INTO ROMA [312-10-29]

Now *Emperor* Constantinus celebrated-in-hymn and *in* works to the all-leading-one and to the God *who* was causative of his victory in-accordance-with the proper season.

But after *the report* of the victory was messaged to the *ones* in the city, indeed, no-one was being-encouraged to be rejoicing on-the-basis-of the *things* which were performed due to the *fact* that some were imagining that the message was false.<sup>1</sup>

But on *the day* after *the battle*,<sup>2</sup> *Maxentius'* body was lifted by *the* Tiber river. Accordingly, after it was found, some of the Romans cut it to-pieces. However, after they chopped-off<sup>3</sup> *the* head of the tyrant and fastened it to a *piece* of wood, they were ranging-about in the city *while* Constantinus was driving-into Roma (the reigning city) with *songs* of victory.

*Therefore*, after the head of *Maxentius* was brought-up<sup>4</sup> on a spear, *the* Roman populace universally, after they put *their* fear away from themselves, transferred<sup>5</sup> their lack-of-motivation<sup>6</sup> into pleasure. And, with gleefulness and joy, *the* senate as-well-as *the* plebeians blazed into joy and vindication, and they exulted at this *man's* death, for he had afflicted them so much.<sup>7</sup> *Wherever* it was being brought throughout the total city, that head did not desist<sup>8</sup> from being loathed with triumphal jokes and abusive<sup>9</sup> voices. (*Later*, when the mother of *Maxentius* had been<sup>10</sup> sought, to *ascertain* of whose origin he was, she confessed<sup>11</sup> that the begetting was from a certain Syrian and, therefore, not from *Herculius*.)

Indeed, leaders having been fettered were not being driven<sup>12</sup> before *the* chariot in which *Constantinus* was being conveyed-into the city. But in-a-mass, all, both the counselors from the senatorial *group* and as-well-as *the* nobility and the others *who* were illustrious<sup>13</sup> and most-distinct<sup>14</sup> of the *ones* *who* were there (as-though having been set-free out of barred-places), together with all the populace of the Romans, were welcoming *Constantinus* to themselves in their souls with beaming eyeballs with good-reports<sup>15</sup> and unfillable joy, unitedly both men, simultaneously with women and with boys-and-girls and with mere infants and with a ten-thousand multitude of domestics, were, with unrestrained<sup>16</sup> cries, proclaiming<sup>17</sup> him "redeemer", as-well-as "savior" and "good-worker".

But *Constantinus*, not being incited<sup>18</sup> or becoming-empty-headed<sup>19</sup> on-the-basis-of the cries nor-even being lifted *up* by-means-of the praises, but having simultaneously-sensed that the especially good<sup>20</sup> help was from out of a god, was immediately giving-back a thankful prayer to the *one* *who* was causative of the victory.

Now when Constantinus entered into *the* curia, by his sentences and acts, he gave-back to *the* senate its pristine authority. In return, *the* senate dedicated to Constantinus a sign of a god, and Italia dedicated an oblong-shield and a crown, entirely<sup>21</sup> gold.

Now barbarians were not being thrown-together into *the* prison, instead, consuls were being led-out out of *the* prison. *In* fact, since *the* joy of the populace was the outcome<sup>22</sup> of his defeat of *Maxentius*, Constantinus (due to his abolition of calumnies, his prohibition of delations, his conservation from the shedding even of the blood of homicides) indeed, lay a rightful-punishment upon *only* a certain few of the most-requisite *men* of *Maxentius*. But because of *the* hatred of the praetorian soldiers, he entirely<sup>23</sup> eliminated<sup>24</sup> *the* praetorian legions as-well-as *the* subsidiaries (which were more-apt to the factions than to the city of Roma) simultaneously with *their* arms as-well-as the using of the military dress; and he took-down the fortresses (the fortresses which the praetorian soldiers were holding).

Now these turn of events, coupled with the praises of the thanksgiving which those who had been pressed and had cried-out<sup>25</sup> toward God and had yearned-for their freedom were giving to God after the relief<sup>26</sup> of the evils, after the freedom and the token with righteousness was given-back to them, afforded convincing

proof to the emperor himself of the foresight of God and of the impressing affliction which he shows to the humans. From this time forward, Constantinus was ascribing<sup>27</sup> the good-fortune of himself, and of all the *things* of his own to God.

*Therefore*, by-means-of a great voice and great writing and monuments, *Constantinus* also loudly-preached the saving victory-making sign to **all** humans, after he arose this in *the* middle of the reigning city to be a great trophy against all *their* foes and after he distinctly etched this in indelible marks<sup>28</sup> to be a saving sign of the principality of *the* Romans and the phylactery of the universal kingdom. (This, surely indeed, was taught to be being made-known to **all** humans, yet even before *these* to all the ones of-soldiers.)

But therefore, he at-once ordered<sup>29</sup> for a high spear in a semblance of a cross (a trophy of the saving suffering) to be being laid-upon under a hand of an image of his-own (which had been produced<sup>29</sup> in a human-image). And after he surely stood this *image* up (itself holding-fast<sup>30</sup> the saving sign in its right *hand*)<sup>31</sup> in the<sup>32</sup> place of the *ones* at<sup>33</sup> Roma which was especially having been made-public, he directed-on<sup>34</sup> for a preliminary-description<sup>34</sup> in words to be assigned-in and etched-in it in the language<sup>35</sup> of *the* Romans:

In this single<sup>36</sup> sign, which is<sup>37</sup> *the* true insignia<sup>38</sup> of virtue, I have restituted the city of Roma (which has been ripped-out of the tyrannical domination), and both *the* senate and *the* populace of *the* Romans<sup>39</sup> to *their* pristine liberty and nobility.<sup>40</sup>

Therefore indeed, *while* Emperor *Constantinus* was somehow brightening *things* here by-means-of the confession of the "victory-making" cross along with outspokenness (a sign which he later wore upon his own helmet), he was at every *event* making the son of God known to *the* Romans themselves. But in-a-mass, all the *ones* *who* were dwelling in the city itself, with a senatorial *body* and with multitudes of populaces (as if they were *those* *who* breathed-again from a bitter and tyrannical domination) were seeming to be having-enjoyment of purer<sup>41</sup> radiations of light as-well-as to be having-a-share of a rebirth of a new and young lifestyle.

Still, *the* conjoined lot of work, which *Maxentius* had magnificently constructed, *the* shrine of *the* city as-well-as *the* basilica, *the* fathers set-apart-as-sacred to *the* merits of *Flavius* *Constantinus*. Furthermore, after this, *the* Circus Maximus was miraculously<sup>42</sup> refined by *Constantinus* as-well-as a washing place<sup>43</sup> instituted which was by-no-means much different from *the* rest. Sublime porticoes and columns glowing-red with gold gave such an unusual ornamentation to *the* Circus Maximus itself, that people would be convened at that place no less lustfully for the grace of the place than for *the* voluptuousness of the spectacle. Statues were at *the* most-crowded places, most of which were<sup>44</sup> made out of gold or of-silver.

With paired eagerness, *the* head of *the* tyrant *Maxentius* was sent for<sup>44</sup> *the* appeasement<sup>45</sup> of Africa, so that he, having been lacerated, might be filling-out to-the-max *the* place which he had afflicted while he was alive. And although they did not-yet have a satisfactory time for sailing the sea,<sup>46</sup> however, felicitous air and following flows were given to those who were going-by-boat. And at the report of Constantinus' victory over *Maxentius*, Africa tossed *itself* with growls of gleefulness, with unusual voluptuousness. For throughout Africa, Constantinus [removed] the crosses and savage engagements of the tyrant, and priesthood was decreed to *the* Flavian nation.

And *the* town of Cirta (which *Alexandros* had completely-cut down by-means-of a siege) was restored<sup>47</sup> and was decked-out<sup>48</sup> after the name Constantina was imparted to it. And its citizens set up a monument, declaring that "the liberty having been oppressed by *the* darkness of servitude, has illuminated us by his felicitous vi[ctory] [through a new] light."

<sup>1</sup> literally "fact for some to be imagining the message to be false"

<sup>2</sup> 312-10-29

<sup>3</sup> Praxagoras / AnoVal "cut-into"

<sup>4</sup> Zosimus / AnoVal "brought-through"

<sup>5</sup> literally "led-in-another-direction"

<sup>6</sup> or "lack-of-fury"

<sup>7</sup> literally "afflicted whom in so-much"

<sup>8</sup> literally "leave-off"

<sup>9</sup> literally "contumelious"

<sup>10</sup> literally "was having been"

<sup>11</sup> literally "to, to be having confessed"

<sup>12</sup> literally "put-in-motion"

<sup>13</sup> literally "shining-on"

<sup>14</sup> literally "most-thoroughly-signified"

<sup>15</sup> literally "good-declarations"

<sup>16</sup> literally "unholdable"

<sup>17</sup> literally "voicing-upon"

<sup>18</sup> literally "shaken-under"

<sup>19</sup> literally "becoming-porous"

<sup>20</sup> literally "well"

<sup>21</sup> literally "conjoined"

<sup>22</sup> literally "On-the-basis of these in-this-way for the outcome"

<sup>23</sup> literally "deeply"

<sup>24</sup> Zosimus (literally "rubbed-out" / Aurelius(Liber) "took-up")

<sup>25</sup> literally "voiced-out"

<sup>26</sup> literally "release-from"

<sup>27</sup> literally "charging"

<sup>28</sup> literally "types"

<sup>29</sup> literally "worked-down"

<sup>30</sup> literally "holding-down"

<sup>31</sup> literally "sign upon the right hand"

<sup>32</sup> Eus(History) / Eus(Life) "a"

<sup>33</sup> literally "upon"

<sup>34</sup> Eus(History) (lit. "pre-writing") / Eus(Life) "for the writing"

<sup>35</sup> literally "voice"

<sup>36</sup> Lat(Ruf) / Gk(Eus) "savior-like"

<sup>37</sup> Lat(Ruf) / Gk(Eus) omit "is"

<sup>38</sup> Lat(Ruf) / Gk(Eus) "conviction"

<sup>39</sup> Lat(Ruf) ("the city of Roma...and") / Gk(Eus) "I freed your\* city" (lit. "the city of you\*") after it was

brought-safely-through from a yoke of the tyrant (History / Life "of a tyrannical yoke"); still truly, after I also

freed the senatorial *body* and the populace of the Romans, I restored *them*"

<sup>40</sup> Lat(Ruf) / Gk(Eus) "to the ancient" (lit "from-the-beginning") appearance and brightness"

<sup>41</sup> literally "cleaner"

<sup>42</sup> literally "miracle-makingly"

<sup>43</sup> literally "work"

<sup>44</sup> literally "to/toward"

<sup>45</sup> literally "thorough-stroking"

<sup>46</sup> literally "time of the sea"

<sup>47</sup> literally "reposed"

<sup>48</sup> literally "ornamented-out"

Therefore, all nations, as-many-as were being fixed-around<sup>1</sup> the ocean by the setting<sup>2</sup> sun, having been freed of the evils which were formerly<sup>3</sup> oppressing them, eagerly and while rejoicing, withdrew to Constantinus. And they were continuing,<sup>4</sup> gladdening themselves in beaming national-festivals<sup>5</sup> in which they were celebrating-in-hymn “the beautifully-victorious one, the god-revering one, the common good-worker”. With both one voice and one mouth, all the persons were confessing that the common good which had come to humans from out of a god shone-upon Constantinus.<sup>6</sup> For whatever evil the fatal<sup>7</sup> domination had inflicted in six total years, the cure of almost two-months healed.

However, there was an exception. For once Constantinus was in Roma, he became-cognitive<sup>9</sup> of the perfidy of Maximinus Daia and the secret society and friendship which he had made with Maxentius. He seized<sup>8</sup> alphabetical letters. He found statues and images. The senate decreed to Constantinus (by favor of his virtue) the title of ‘the first name’, which Maximinus was vindicating for<sup>9</sup> himself.

When news of the victory of the liberated city had been brought to Maximinus,<sup>10</sup> he did not accept it in-any-other-way than if he himself was having been conquered. Next, after he was made-cognitive of<sup>11</sup> the decree of the senate, he blazed with pain in-such-a-manner that he was openly professing his enmity; he was saying outcries which were mixed with jokes against the ‘Great<sup>12</sup> Emperor’.

#### CHAPTER 96: DEATH OF DIOCLÉTIANUS [312-12-03]

Now when Dioclétianus was called by Constantinus but-also by Licinius to attend the pending festival of the nuptials between Licinius and Constantia, he excused himself on-account-of<sup>13</sup> senility, saying that he was not having enough valor to be attending.<sup>14</sup> He did this after threatening rescripts from them were accepted, by which he was being rebuked for having favored Maxentius but-also for favoring Maximinus Daia.

At the same time, both the writings on-the-basis-of honor and the statues of the senior Maximianus Herculus were<sup>15</sup> being plucked-away by the directive of Constantinus, and his human-images, wherever he might have been pictured, were being dragged-off. And as-many such things as have been made-lawful for<sup>15</sup> a setting-up of honor everywhere in every plot of earth, these were being taken-down as belonging to an unsacred and irreverent man. And because both seniors (Dioclétianus and Maximianus Herculus) had<sup>16</sup> been pictured mostly simultaneously, images of both were being laid-down.

When Dioclétianus saw, while he was still alive, what had not fallen-upon any Roman emperor at-any-time, he, through formidability and having been affected twofold with a bodily-and-mental-illness, decided that he should die<sup>17</sup> by a voluntary death. Therefore, he drank<sup>18</sup> venom.

He was tossing himself here but-also there, his soul raging through pain, not-even taking<sup>19</sup> sleep nor-even food. Sighs and groans, with consecutive tears, an ever rolling of body, now in a couch, now on the ground. So a most-happy emperor of 21 years, and 11 months, and 12 days,<sup>20</sup> having been thrown-down to a humble and private life from God, and having been trampled-upon<sup>21</sup> by injuries but-also having been led-out into a hatred of life, was<sup>22</sup> finally consummated<sup>22</sup> by famine but-also by anguish<sup>23</sup> on the 3rd day before the Nones of December,<sup>24</sup> after he suffered this long and most-grief-causing weakness of the body.

Now Dioclétianus lived for 68 years, and he came-to-his-end in a common condition<sup>25</sup> in his villa at Spalathos (which the Romans call Spalato and is now known as Split) not far from Salóna of Dalmatia. Even though Dioclétianus had committed all of these impious deeds, nevertheless, many of the ignorant Romans asserted that he was registered among the gods.

#### [CONSTANTINUS LETTERS WITH ASSEMBLIC AFFAIRS]

<sup>1</sup> usually translated “ordained-around”

<sup>2</sup> literally “sliding”

<sup>3</sup> literally “priorly”

<sup>4</sup> literally “finishing-through”

<sup>5</sup> literally “all-marketplaces”

<sup>6</sup> literally “confessing for the...of a god to shine-upon Constantinus”

<sup>7</sup> literally “bearing the dead”

<sup>8</sup> literally “deprehended”

<sup>9</sup> literally “to”

<sup>10</sup> literally “whom”

<sup>11</sup> literally “to”

<sup>12</sup> more literally “maximium”

<sup>13</sup> literally “through”

<sup>14</sup> literally “to be being-between”

<sup>15</sup> literally “on-the-basis-of”

<sup>16</sup> literally “seniors were having been”

<sup>17</sup> literally “he decreed to be dying to himself”

<sup>18</sup> literally “draw/drained”

<sup>19</sup> literally “capturing”

<sup>20</sup> Chronography354 / AnoVal, Jerome, Epiphanius, Orosius “of 20 years” / Epitome “of 25 years”

<sup>21</sup> literally “tread-upon”

<sup>22</sup> literally “having been made-complete”

<sup>23</sup> or perhaps “compression-of-the-neck”

<sup>24</sup> (312?)–12-03 (Year varies in different sources, but the best evidence coming from the earliest sources, Lactantius and Chronography354 and other internal evidence support the year 312. Consularia places it in 316 under the consulate of “Sabinus and Rufinus”)

<sup>25</sup> literally “habit”

[NEED SOME MORE INFORMATION HERE]

#### FIRST LETTER OF CONSTANTINUS AND LICINIUS TO ANULINUS

Eusebios: Church History (10.5:15–17) [Oct 28, 312 ~ Jan 31, 313]

A copy of a royal disposition which Constantinus and Licinius have made to the universal assembly.<sup>26</sup>

{Be rejoicing, our most-honored Anulinus.

This is the manner of our fondness-for-what-is-good,<sup>27</sup> most-honored Anulinus, so-as for us to be willing for those things which are belonging<sup>28</sup> to the right-of-another to not only not be being annoyed, but instead even to be restoring them. From-this-fact, we are wishing, in order that, whensoever you might get-back these documents, if anything from out of these things which<sup>29</sup> were important<sup>30</sup> to the assembly, the universal assembly of the Christians, in each of the cities or even in other place and which would now be being retained either by citizens or by any others, you might make these things to be restored immediately to the same assemblies—since we preferred<sup>31</sup> for these things, which these same assemblies had formerly had, to be restored by-means-of the rightful claim of them.

Now-consequently, whenever your Devotedness might be fully-seeing that the ordinance of this directing of ours is most-obvious,<sup>32</sup> make-every-effort for these things (whether orchards, whether houses, whether anything-anywhere which were important<sup>33</sup> to the rightful claim of the same assemblies) to be altogether restored to them as quickly as possible, so-that we would learn-from this action that you have afforded<sup>34</sup> a most-careful obedience-to-the-chief<sup>35</sup> by-means-of observing this ordinance of ours.

Farewell, our most-honored and most-yearned-for Anulinus. }

#### LETTER OF CONSTANTINUS TO CAECILIANUS, OVERSEER OF CARTHAGE [Oct 28, 312 ~ Jan 31, 313]

Eusebios: Church History (10.6:1~4)

A copy of a royal letter in which monies were flowed to the assemblies.<sup>36</sup>

{Constantinus Augustus to Caecilianus, overseer of Carthage.

Since it pleased us throughout all provinces, that is, both the Africa and the Numidian and the Mauritanian ones, for some costs to be supplemented to certain explicit persons of the assistants of the instituted and holiest universal religion, I gave documents to Ursus (the most-conspicuous<sup>37</sup> supervisor-of-accounts<sup>38</sup> of Africa) and I made it clear to him so-that he might be-careful to count-up<sup>39</sup> 3,000 folles<sup>40</sup> to your Firmness.<sup>41</sup>

Now-consequently, you, at-the-time-when you will make the previously-mentioned amount<sup>42</sup> of the monies to be received,<sup>43</sup> direct for these monies to be given-over to all the previously-stated individuals in accordance-with the brief, the one which was commissioned to you from Hosius. But if, as-a-result, you would learn-from this that something is lacking<sup>44</sup> for<sup>45</sup> the intention of this preference<sup>46</sup> of mine to be completely-fulfilled concerning<sup>47</sup> them all, you are being-indebted to request from Hérakleidés (the procurator of our properties) without-dispute the-very-thing-which you would learn-from this to be obligatory. For even while he himself was being-present, I ordered, in

<sup>26</sup> This letter is only extant in a contemporary translation of a Latin original by Eusebios.

<sup>27</sup> literally “of the fondness-of-what-is-good, the ours”

<sup>28</sup> literally “fitting”

<sup>29</sup> literally “the”

<sup>30</sup> literally “which were making-a-difference”

<sup>31</sup> literally “we choose one thing before another”

<sup>32</sup> literally “seeing for the ordinance of this the directing of ours to be most-obvious”

<sup>33</sup> literally “which were making-a-difference”

<sup>34</sup> literally “

<sup>35</sup> literally “obeying-of-the-chief”

<sup>36</sup> This letter is only extant in a contemporary translation of a Latin original by Eusebios.

<sup>37</sup> literally “most-thoroughly-signified”

<sup>38</sup> literally “universal”

<sup>39</sup> literally “to number-up”

<sup>40</sup> The follis was originally a bag of small coins which contained 3125 double denarii and was used in making large payments. Popular usage transferred the name from the bag to the coin itself, and the double denarius itself was known as a follis.

<sup>41</sup> literally “stiffness”

<sup>42</sup> the amount which is being made-clear-beforehand”

<sup>43</sup> usually translated “welcomed”

<sup>44</sup> literally “this for something to be being-indigent”

<sup>45</sup> literally “to/toward”

<sup>46</sup> literally “choosing-of-one-thing-before-another”

<sup>47</sup> literally “around”

order that, if your Firmness<sup>1</sup> might requesting any<sup>2</sup> monies for yourself from him, he might be-careful to count it up<sup>3</sup> without any wavering.

And since I was learning-by-enquiry, that *there are* certain<sup>4</sup> humans of an unstable mindset<sup>5</sup> who are happening to be wishing to be perverting the people of the holiest and universal assembly by-means-of some base secret-bastardizing, be knowing that I have given<sup>6</sup> such instructions to proconsul Anulinus, instead truly even to Patricius (the vicar of the prefects), while they were being-present, in order that they might make fitting concern<sup>7</sup> for themselves in **all** the remaining *matters* and especially to this, and that they might not tolerate overlooking such a thing which is coming-to-be.

For-this-very-reason, if you would clearly-see any such humans to be persisting<sup>8</sup> in this madness, then, without any uncertainty,<sup>9</sup> come-to the previously-state dealers-of-justice, and bring-up this very matter before them, so-that those *individuals* might turn them back even-as I directed them while they were beside me. May the divinity of the Great God carefully-guard you onto many years.}

## SECOND LETTER OF CONSTANTINUS TO ANULINUS

Eusebios: Church History (10.7:1~2) [Oct 28, 312 ~ Jan 31, 313]

A copy of a royal letter in which he ordered<sup>o</sup> for the ones who are presiding-over the assemblies<sup>10</sup> to be being released-from all the things concerning<sup>11</sup> the civic public-services.<sup>12</sup>

{Be rejoicing, our most-honored Anulinus.

Since it appears from<sup>13</sup> many affairs, after the religion was condemned (in which the capital regard of the holiest power in-heaven is being observed), for it to have brought great dangers to the public affairs, but also after it was taken-up institutionally and while this was being observed, for it to have afforded the greatest good-fortune to the Roman name and exclusive prosperosity to the affairs of the humans altogether (the divine good-work affording this) — it seemed good for those men, the ones who are affording the assistance to the treatment of the divine religion with the indebted holiness<sup>14</sup> and with the attendance<sup>15</sup> of this law, to get-back the prizes-of-athletic-competition in exchange for their-own labors,<sup>16</sup> most-honored Anulinus.

For-this-very-reason, I am wishing for those inside the province which has been entrusted<sup>17</sup> to you (*those* in the universal assembly over which Caecilianus has stood, who are affording the assistance from among<sup>18</sup> them to this religion, upon whom\* they have been-accustomed to be naming allotted-one) to be carefully-kept simply free-from-public-service from all public-services once for all, so-that they might not, through some misleading or slipping-out of a temple-robber, be drawn-away from the treatment of what is indebted<sup>19</sup> to the divinity, but instead might rather be making themselves assistants-to-the-utmost to their own law without any annoyance. For as-much-as they<sup>20</sup> are making the greatest service concerning<sup>21</sup> the divine being, it seems that the most benefit will come to the common affairs

Farewell, our most-honored and most-yearned-for Anulinus.}

## CHAPTER XX: MEETING AT MILAN / MARRIAGE OF LICINIUS AND CONSTANTIA [313-01~313-03]

But after Maxentius was oppressed at the time when Emperor Flavius Constantinus had retaken Italia, and after Constantinus composed and covenanted<sup>22</sup> the affairs<sup>23</sup> in the city of Roma, he rushed-out onto the Kelts and Galatians and withdrew<sup>24</sup> by next<sup>25</sup> winter to Mediolanon.

<sup>1</sup> literally "stiffness"

<sup>2</sup> literally "whichever"

<sup>3</sup> literally "number-up"

<sup>4</sup> literally "enquiry for certain"

<sup>5</sup> literally "of a mindset not having stood-down"

<sup>6</sup> literally "knowing for me to have given"

<sup>7</sup> literally "make the concern which is being fitting-to"

<sup>8</sup> literally "remaining-on"

<sup>9</sup> literally "state-of-being-stacked-on-both-side", as in "ambiguity" or "doubt/uncertainty"

<sup>10</sup> literally "are presiding-over of the assemblies"

<sup>11</sup> literally "around"

<sup>12</sup> This letter is only extant in a contemporary translation of a Latin original by Eusebios.

<sup>13</sup> literally "Since out of"

<sup>14</sup> literally "with the holiness which is being-indebted"

<sup>15</sup> literally "act-of-sitting-beside"

<sup>16</sup> literally "competition of the labors, the ones of their-own"

<sup>17</sup> literally "the province, the one having been entrusted"

<sup>18</sup> literally "assistance out of"

<sup>19</sup> literally "of the thing which is being-indebted"

<sup>20</sup> literally "whom\*"

<sup>21</sup> literally "around"

<sup>22</sup> or possibly "disposed/arranged"

<sup>23</sup> literally "things"

<sup>24</sup> literally "conceded"

But after he sent-after Licinius for himself in Mediolanon, Licinius came-to the same place, in order that he might be accepting Constantinus' sister, Constantia, for his wife, who had been pledged-as-a-down-payment to him. For Constantinus had even formerly promised that he would give<sup>26</sup> her<sup>27</sup> to him at the time when he was wishing to be having Licinius for a communer in<sup>28</sup> the ill-will against Maxentius, so that Licinius might lead Constantia to be his wife at Mediolanon. And by this promise, Constantinus had made Licinius to be adjoining with him by-means-of this league.

While Constantinus and Licinius the August-Ones had convened<sup>29</sup> at<sup>30</sup> Mediolanon, but-also were holding<sup>31</sup> in consideration<sup>32</sup> the universal things<sup>33</sup> which would be pertaining to the welfare<sup>34</sup> and public security,<sup>35</sup> they believed that these things (which they were seeing among<sup>36</sup> the rest) would be for the benefit of<sup>37</sup> many humans<sup>38</sup> (or-even<sup>39</sup> to be ordained<sup>40</sup> in the first place before anything else), by-means-of which the regard and the reverence<sup>41</sup> of<sup>42</sup> the divinity might be continued, that is,<sup>43</sup> so that they might be giving even to the Christians and to all individuals the liberal power<sup>44</sup> to follow any religion which each one might have wished, by-which<sup>45</sup> whatever divinity there is at-any-time in the heavenly seat<sup>46</sup> might be being-able to be existing placated and propitious<sup>47</sup> to us as-well-as to all who are having been constituted under their power. So they believed<sup>48</sup> for this<sup>49</sup> council to be going-into effect with salutary as-well-as rectitudinous rationalization, in order that they might be reckoning for the faculty<sup>50</sup> to do so to be negated to no-one altogether, who might be giving-over his-own mind either to<sup>51</sup> the observation or-even the religion of the Christians but also that authority would be given to each individual of the act to be giving his-own mindset to the religion for<sup>52</sup> him which he himself might be sensing to be most-apt for<sup>53</sup> himself,<sup>54</sup> in order that the Topmost<sup>55</sup> Divinity might be being-able to be erecting-toward<sup>56</sup> them, in all things, his-own favor and benevolence.<sup>57</sup>

And surely at this, both Constantinus himself, and along him Licinius, being-well-disposed-toward a god who was the one caustive of the all their good things, simultaneously with one wish and resolve, thoroughly-typed<sup>o</sup> up a fullest most-complete law on-behalf-of the Christians. And throughout everywhere, they sent reports about the credible things of the things having been performed amid<sup>58</sup> them from out of a god, as-well-as about the victory against the tyrant Maxentius and about the law itself to Maximinus Daia (who was still holding-the-power of the nations on the east<sup>59</sup> as-well-as hypocorising a friendship toward them).

Now after the nuptials were celebrated<sup>60</sup> and Licinius was honored by being conjoined to Constantia, and sometime after the 6th day before the Ides of March in the year of the third consulship of Constantinus and the third of Licinius,<sup>61</sup> Constantinus was indeed re-aiming to the Gauls and retiring onto the Kelts, after Licinius returned<sup>62</sup> to Illyricum.

Constantinus went-on to the limits of lower<sup>63</sup> Germania, and he straightaway began a war from the Tiber to the Rhenos. For the light and slippery<sup>64</sup> nation of barbarians had broken faith, and they were reported<sup>65</sup> to have taken-up-position!

<sup>25</sup> literally "near"

<sup>26</sup> literally "promised to would give"

<sup>27</sup> literally "whom"

<sup>28</sup> literally "of"

<sup>29</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "come"

<sup>30</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "in"

<sup>31</sup> literally "having"

<sup>32</sup> Lat(Lact) (literally "tract") / Gk(Eus) "discussion" (lit. "seeking")

<sup>33</sup> Lat(Lact) ("the universal things") / Gk(Eus) "all as-much-as"

<sup>34</sup> Lat(Lact) (literally "something-commodious") / Gk(Eus) "advantageous state"

<sup>35</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "and the useful thing in the common state"

<sup>36</sup> literally "between"

<sup>37</sup> Lat(Lact) ("would be...of") / Gk(Eus) "to be profitable among (lit. "in")"

<sup>38</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "all persons" (corruption arising on Latin level)

<sup>39</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "(but rather)"

<sup>40</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "ordered"

<sup>41</sup> Lac(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "which the regard and the reverential-awe"

<sup>42</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "toward"

<sup>43</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) add

<sup>44</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "the free choice"

<sup>45</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus)", "so-that"

<sup>46</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "whatever there is at-any-time of a divinity and of a heavenly affair"

<sup>47</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "to be well-disposed"

<sup>48</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "decreed"

<sup>49</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "our"

<sup>50</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "authority"

<sup>51</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "of the act to be following and to be choosing"

<sup>52</sup> literally "to"

<sup>53</sup> literally "to"

<sup>54</sup> Lat(Lact) has a scribal error here, which has been restored from the Greek version of Eusebios. Without the restored passage, the Latin would be rendered, "the observation of the Christians or-even to the religion for him..." / Gk(Eus) "the observation (lit. "close-guarding") or religion of the Christians, but also that authority would be given to each individual of the act to be giving his-own mindset in that religion which he himself is concluding to be joining to himself"

<sup>55</sup> Lat(Lact) Gk(Eus) omit "Topmost"

<sup>56</sup> Lat(Lact) (literally "standing-toward") / Gk(Eus) "to be affording to"

<sup>57</sup> Lat(Lact) ("favor and benevolence") / Gk(Eus) "effort and beauty-and-goodness"

<sup>58</sup> literally "into"

<sup>59</sup> literally "rising-up"

<sup>60</sup> AnoVal / Zosimus "After the time of the act which was performed"

<sup>61</sup> 313-03-10 AD

<sup>62</sup> literally "reverted"

<sup>63</sup> literally "most-inferior"

<sup>64</sup> literally "lubricated"

<sup>65</sup> literally "messaged"

at the Rhenos. *Constantinus* became-present in-the-way at-that-very-place. And by-means-of his presence, he terrified *them so that* they might not be during *the* crossing. Instead, after *an unexpected*<sup>2</sup> counsel of going-away was used (for *this was accomplished* by-means-of a report<sup>3</sup> of a greater tumult in the upper<sup>4</sup> limits which was simulated), *Constantinus* offered *an* occasion to *their* stolid and fierce minds to come into his *borders*, who might be being attacked free-from-care<sup>5</sup> by-means-of leaders *who* were relinquished *there* in secret. When they<sup>6</sup> had come, fortune followed<sup>9</sup> his counsel. With the total tub of the Rhenos having been fully-filled with boats, *Constantinus*, after he was conveyed-away, wrecked-havoc on their *plots-of-earth* as-well-as *their* sad and mourning houses, and he brought-a vast crush and waste among<sup>7</sup> *the* perjuring race .

## CHAPTER XX: REPLY OF MAXIMINUS DAIA

But *Maximinus Daia*, (such-as *any* tyrant would) having been made-to-be pained-about *this* on-the-basis of *the things* which he knew, next (not wishing to be seeming to yield to different *things*, nor once *more* to be excluding<sup>8</sup> *the command* which was directed *due* to his anxiety of the *ones* having ordered *him to do so*), on-obligation, *but appearing* as if *the decision* would have been derived from out of his-own control, fully-etched<sup>9</sup> this first document in-behalf-of *the* Christians to the leaders under him. In *this*, he himself was feigningly lying *about the things* which had never been performed by<sup>9</sup> him up-to-this-time.

A written-copy of an interpretation of a letter of the tyrant *Maximinus*:<sup>10</sup>

{Jovius Maximinus the August-One to Sabinus.

And I have become-persuaded that *it* is manifest<sup>11</sup> in-the-presence-of your Sturdiest and in-the-presence-of all humans, that our masters, Diocletianus and Maximianus, **our** fathers, at-the-the-when they fully-saw almost **all** humans, *who*, after the religion of the gods was left-behind, sharing themselves together with with the nation of the Christians, have<sup>12</sup> uprightly ordered for all humans (*that is the ones who* retired from the religion of their gods, the immortal *gods*) to be recalled into the religion of the gods by-means-of chastiment and punishment which was made clear-beforehand.

Instead, when **I**, with-good-fortune, made myself come-to-be-present for the first *time* into the east,<sup>13</sup> and *because* I knew that most of the humans *who were* being-able to be profiting the public *affairs* were being<sup>14</sup> banished<sup>15</sup> into certain places by the dealers-of-justice due to the *previously*-stated causes, I have given instructions to each of the dealers-of-justice, so-as for none of these *men* for the remaining *time* to be offering *anything* unsoothingly to the provincials, *but* rather instead, by-means-of flattery and propellings, to be recalling them toward the religion of the gods.

Therefore, at-that-time, when, in-following the directive which<sup>16</sup> **is mine**, what had been<sup>17</sup> ordered was being observed by the dealers-of-justice, it was happening for not-one *from* out of the parts of the east<sup>18</sup> to either<sup>19</sup> be becoming in-a-state-of-banishment<sup>20</sup> or<sup>21</sup> in-a-state-of-having-outrages-heaped-upon *them*, *but* instead rather to be being recalled into the religion of the gods from the fact that nothing was coming-to-be against them heavily.<sup>22</sup>

But after these *things*, when last year<sup>23</sup> with-good-fortune I stepped-on into Nikomédeia and I was remaining<sup>24</sup> there, citizens of the same city came-to-make-themselves-present to me simulatenously with the scraped-images of the gods, greatly beseeching in order that it would be being permitted for the nation such *as this* to by-no-means be dwelling in their fatherland in every manner.

Instead, when I knew that most men of the same religion were dwelling<sup>25</sup> in these very regions, I was rendering this<sup>26</sup> due answer to

them in-this-manner: that, indeed, I jovially have thankfulness<sup>27</sup> for<sup>28</sup> their request, *but* instead I clearly-saw *that* this request *did not come* from all of *them*. Therefore, if, indeed, certain *individuals were* continuing in the same terror-of-demons, for each one in-this-manner to be having his wish in whatever he preferred,<sup>29</sup> and, if they would be wishing, to be recognizing the religion of the gods.

Similarly, I had an obligation to reply in-a-way-deserving-of-friendship even to the Nikomédeians of the same city and to the remaining cities, which *cies* themselves have even made the like request to me with so-much effort-concerning *it*, quite-clearly, in order that not-one of the Christians would be dwelling-in *their* cities (because surely even all the ancient emperors carefully-observed this very *thing*, and it pleased the gods (through whom all humans and the administrating of the public *affairs* are being stood-together), therefore, so-that I would confirm so-vast a request, which they bring-up in-behalf-up of the religion of their divine *being*).

For-consequently, although<sup>30</sup> even the special *words* have been sent-by-letter through documents to **your** Devotedness before this time, and likewise it has been directed through instructions, in order that nothing<sup>31</sup> *might be done* roughly against the provincials *who* take-care to carefully-observe such a<sup>32</sup> custom, *but* instead *that* their interacting with them would be<sup>33</sup> commensurate and tolerant-of-evil—similarly, in order that they would neither be enduring outrages nor quakings by the beneficiaries nor from others, I concluded *it* proper by-means-of these documents to also cause **your** Firmness<sup>34</sup> to-recollect how you would make **our** provincials to be recognizing the care of the gods rather by-means-of the flatteries and the propellings.

From-this-fact, if someone by-means-of his *own* preference<sup>35</sup> would take\* *it* aside *that* the religion of the gods must-be-recognized, it is fitting for these *individuals* to be being welcomed. But if some *individuals* would be wishing to be following their own religion, *I wish that* you would leave *such a choice* behind for *them to decide* in their own authority.

For-this-very-reason, it is indebted for **your** Devotedness to be carefully-observing the *command* which was permitted to you, and for authority to be given to no-one so-as to afflict<sup>36</sup> **our** provincials with outrages and quakings, when (even-as I have *previously*-written) it is fitting to be recalling **our** provincials toward the religion of the gods rather by-means-of the propellings and the flatteries. But, in order that this directive of ours might come into *the* knowledge of all of the provincials which<sup>37</sup> *are* ours, it is indebted for *you* to make-clear the *command* which has been directed by-means-of an order by you.}

He, having been forced-forth *to do* this by the obligation *but* instead after he did not thoroughly-direct *this course* according-to his *own* resolve, was no-longer *thought to be* truthful nor-even trustworthy by all the *humans*, for-sake of the *previously* reversed and utterly-lying<sup>38</sup> resolve *which he had* already *displayed* after the like concession.<sup>39</sup> Accordingly, someone of the Christians was not daring to be welding-together a meeting,<sup>40</sup> nor-even to conduct<sup>41</sup> himself in a manifest *place*, because the document was not-even wanting *this to be permitted* to him. *But the only thing* this was permitting to us was the *act to be* being guarded free-from-disparagement, truly not directing *us onward* to be making meetings,<sup>42</sup> nor-even to be building houses of assemblies, nor-even to be accomplishing any other of our usual *activities*—although yet *Constantinus* and *Licinius* had both sent to him by-letter to be permitting *this* and had consented *it to all the ones who were* under them through public-documents<sup>43</sup> and laws. Truly, the most-irreverent *Maximinus Daia* was not preferring<sup>44</sup> to be giving-in to this.

## CHAPTER XX: LETTER OF ANULINUS TO CONSTANTINUS [313-04-15] Augustinus: Letter (88:2)

Now meanwhile, [GET INFORMATION FROM LETTER]

<sup>1</sup> literally "have stood-in"

<sup>2</sup> literally "unaware"

<sup>3</sup> literally "message"

<sup>4</sup> literally "more-superior"

<sup>5</sup> literally "secure"

<sup>6</sup> literally "who" (plural)

<sup>7</sup> literally "in"

<sup>8</sup> literally "setting-out/exposing"

<sup>9</sup> literally "toward"

<sup>10</sup> This Latin letter is only extant in a contemporary Greek translation by Eusebios.

<sup>11</sup> literally "persuaded to be manifest"

<sup>12</sup> literally "humans, for our masters...Christians, to have"

<sup>13</sup> literally "rising-up"

<sup>14</sup> literally "I knew for most of the humans...affairs to be being"

<sup>15</sup> literally "ex-ordained"

<sup>16</sup> literally "the"

<sup>17</sup> literally "the thing having been"

<sup>18</sup> literally "rising-up"

<sup>19</sup> literally "neither"

<sup>20</sup> literally "ex-ordained" (adjective)

<sup>21</sup> literally "nor"

<sup>22</sup> literally "gods out of the fact for not anything to be becoming against them heavily"

<sup>23</sup> literally "when with the year which passed"

<sup>24</sup> literally "finishing-through"

<sup>25</sup> literally "I knew for most men of the same religion to be dwelling"

<sup>26</sup> literally "the"

<sup>27</sup> may also be translated "favor"

<sup>28</sup> literally "to"

<sup>29</sup> literally "for each one in-this-manner to be having the wish in his own choosing-of-one thing-before-another"

<sup>30</sup> literally "if even"

<sup>31</sup> literally "that not nothing"

<sup>32</sup> literally "the"

<sup>33</sup> literally "instead they would be being carried-around-along with them"

<sup>34</sup> literally "Sturdiness"

<sup>35</sup> literally "choosing-one-thing-before-another"

<sup>36</sup> literally "rub-over"

<sup>37</sup> literally "the"

<sup>38</sup> literally "thrown-back and having utterly-lied"

<sup>39</sup> literally "concessing"

<sup>40</sup> literally "a together-way"

<sup>41</sup> literally "stand-down" (usually translated "appointed")

<sup>42</sup> literally "together-ways"

<sup>43</sup> literally "programs":

<sup>44</sup> literally "choosing-one-thing-before-another"



Anulinus, Ex-Consul, Proconsul of Africa, greetings to our august emperor.

With your majesty's heavenly writings having been accepted as-well-as adored, my Devotion took-care (among<sup>1</sup> my acts of pettiness) to introduce *them* to Caecilianus and to these *men who were* put-in-motion under him<sup>2</sup> (whichever *ones* are being given-the-appellation 'allotted-ones'). I have<sup>3</sup> exhorted *the same individuals*, so that, by unity having been made with the consent of all of *them* (when they would be seen to be having been liberated by *the* indulgence of your majesty from every *public* duty altogether, after *the* universal *party* was guarded) they, by-means-of due reverence,<sup>4</sup> might be putting-*themselves*-in-service to *the* holiness of *the* law as-well-as to divine things.

In-truth, after *a* few days,

And he himself did not stay<sup>11</sup> within his-own borders. For he *was* not *able* to be bearing<sup>12</sup> the size<sup>13</sup> of the leadership which was permitted to him. Instead, due to *his* inexperience of a sound-minded and royal rationalization, he, *while* he was putting-his-hand-in the *public* affairs with-inexperience-with-what-is-beautiful as-well-as (above all) after his<sup>14</sup> soul was lifted *up* irrationally by-means-of a great-vaunt of arrogance (even already against his<sup>15</sup> companions<sup>16</sup> of the kingdom), he was rushing, daring to be emboldening himself and to be publicly-acclaiming himself to be first in the *imperial* honors.

But after he stretched-out<sup>17</sup> the *length* of his<sup>18</sup> madness into a loss-of-mind, he, after he acted-against-the-truce, a compact which he had made with<sup>19</sup> Licinius, picked-up<sup>o</sup> a truceless war. Next, in a short *space of time*, he agitated all the *things* as-well-as disturbed-forth every city, and he let-forth every military-encampment (the multitude *which* congregated was of numberless tens-of-thousands). *And* after he founded-his-courage-upon hopes of demons (whom he was surely imagining *to be* gods) and<sup>20</sup> upon the numberless tens-of-thousands of the heavy-armed-*men*, he lifted his<sup>21</sup> soul, and he drew-up-into-battle-order into a war<sup>22</sup> with *Licinius*.

*Now* after he was thrown-across *the* strait on-the-spot, he went to *the* gates of Byzantium after he was armed. Garrison<sup>23</sup> soldiers were there, having been placed there<sup>24</sup> by Licinius for *an* event<sup>25</sup> of *this* measure. At first, *Maximinus Daia* tried<sup>26</sup> to be alluring *them* with gifts and promises, *but* afterward to be terrifying *them* with strength and by *an* attack.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, not-even any strength or promises whatever were able *to do so*.<sup>28</sup> Eleven days were already having been consumed (during<sup>29</sup> which there was a *space of time* for sending messengers and letters to *the* emperor) when *the* soldiers, *who* were made-to-despair<sup>30</sup> (not of faith *but* instead of scarcity)<sup>31</sup> gave themselves to him.

From-here, *Maximinus Daia* moved-forward to Hérakleia. And in-that *place*, after he was detained for<sup>32</sup> *the* same reason,<sup>33</sup> he lost<sup>34</sup> *a* time of some days.

And Licinius, after he already hurried by-means-of *his* journey, with *a* few *men*, had come to Hadrianopolis, when that *Maximinus Daia* (having been delayed<sup>35</sup> with *the* accepting and *the* surrender<sup>36</sup> of Perinthos) proceeded eighteen miles to *a* stay<sup>37</sup> at Tunorullum. For *Maximinus Daia* was not-even being-able *to go any farther*<sup>38</sup> with Licinius holding<sup>39</sup> *the* second stay<sup>40</sup> at Drizupara, *which* was *the* same-number-of miles distant.

After *Licinius*<sup>41</sup> collected as-many soldiers as he was-able *from* out of *the* nearby *region*, he went-on in-the-way to *Maximinus Daia*, moreso that *Maximinus* might be being forced-to-remain *there* rather than with *the* proposition of skirmishing or with *the* hope of victory—of-course when that *Maximinus* was leading *a* troop of 70,000 armed *men*, *but* he himself had collected *a* number of scarcely 30,000. For *his* soldiers had been sprinkled throughout diverse<sup>42</sup> *regions* and *the* narrownesses of time were not letting *them* all to be being made-into-one.

Therefore, *while* *the* troops were drawing-near, it was already being seen *that* *a* future engagement *would be happening* at-a-near-day. At-that-time, *Maximinus* vowed *a* vow of-this-sort to Jove, that if he would capture *the* victory, he would be extinguishing *the* Christian name and would be deleting *it* from-the-foundation.

Then *on the* next<sup>43</sup> night, *a* heavenly-messenger of God stood-by<sup>o</sup> Licinius *while* he was being-quiet, admonishing *him*, *in order* that he might be arising briskly as-well-as might be praying to *the* Topmost God with all his-own troop. *Victory* was to be his<sup>44</sup> if he might do *so*. After these words,<sup>45</sup> when he was

<sup>11</sup> literally "himself is having stayed"  
<sup>12</sup> literally "bringing"  
<sup>13</sup> literally "greatness"  
<sup>14</sup> literally "the"  
<sup>15</sup> literally "the"  
<sup>16</sup> literally "communers"  
<sup>17</sup> literally "stretched-on"  
<sup>18</sup> literally "the"  
<sup>19</sup> literally "toward"  
<sup>20</sup> Eusebios-History / Eusebios-Life "as-well-as"  
<sup>21</sup> literally "the"  
<sup>22</sup> Eusebios-Life "war" / Eusebios-History "battle"  
<sup>23</sup> literally "praesidiarius"  
<sup>24</sup> literally "placed to there"  
<sup>25</sup> literally "fall"  
<sup>26</sup> literally "tempted"  
<sup>27</sup> literally "fight-to"  
<sup>28</sup> literally "whatever had-valor"  
<sup>29</sup> literally "through"  
<sup>30</sup> literally "were filled-with-diffidence"  
<sup>31</sup> literally "paucity"  
<sup>32</sup> literally "by-means-of"  
<sup>33</sup> literally "rationalization"  
<sup>34</sup> literally "dismissed"  
<sup>35</sup> literally "stayed"  
<sup>36</sup> literally "giving-over"  
<sup>37</sup> literally "remaining"  
<sup>38</sup> literally "more-ulterior"  
<sup>39</sup> literally "grasping"  
<sup>40</sup> literally "remaining"  
<sup>41</sup> literally "Who"  
<sup>42</sup> literally "diverted"  
<sup>43</sup> may also be translated "nearest"  
<sup>44</sup> literally "that man's"  
<sup>45</sup> literally "voices"

<p>But a few days afterwards I was approached by certain persons, followed by a great throng of the populace, who held that Caecilian must be opposed, and presented me in my official capacity with two documents, one bound in leather and sealed, the other a libellus unsealed, and demanded with insistence that I should send them to the sacred and venerable Court of your Highness. This my littleness has been careful to do (preserving Caecilian in his position), and I have forwarded their Acts, that your Majesty may be in a position to determine everything. I have sent the two libelli, of which the one bound in leather has been endorsed Libellus Ecclesiae Universalae criminum Caeciliani traditus a parte Maiovini. Also the one without a seal together with that in leather. Given on the fifteenth of April at Carthage when Constantine Augustus was for the third time Consul.</p>	<p>But lest Your Reverence has perhaps forgotten this or you are pretending not to know of it or even perhaps do not know it, which we do not think to be the case, we insert in our letter a copy of the report of Anulinus, then proconsul, to whom the sect of Majorinus then appealed in order that the charges that it was bringing against Caecilian might be sent on by the same proconsul to the emperor already mentioned.</p> <p>But after a few days there came forward certain persons with a large crowd of people joined to them who thought that they must speak against Caecilian, and they presented to your humble servant a sealed document on parchment and a booklet without a seal, and they asked me earnestly to send them on to the sacred and venerable court of Your Divine Majesty. With Caecilian retaining his status, your humble servant has taken care to forward these documents along with the proceedings of these same actions attached to them so that Your Majesty can decide all these issues. Two booklets have been sent on, one on parchment with the title: 'The Book of Catholic Church with the Charges against Caecilian Submitted by the Sect of Majorinus,' and the other attached to the same parchment without a seal. Given on April 15th in Carthage, to our lord, Constantine Augustus, consul for the third time."</p>
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**CHAPTER XX: MAXIMINUS DAIA ATTACKS LICINIUS [313-05-01]**

As-soon-as *Maximinus Daia* gained-intelligence *that* *Constantinus* and *Licinius* were having been occupied with the solemn nuptials, he moved his troop out of Syria during<sup>5</sup> *the* winter *which* was being-savage to the max;<sup>6</sup> and with *his* stay<sup>7</sup> having been doubled, he ran-together into Bithynia with *a* debilitated moving-band. For, by-means-of maximum rains and snows and mud and coldness and labor, *the* beasts-of-burden of every kind<sup>8</sup> were dismissed<sup>9</sup> along<sup>10</sup> *the* way.

<sup>1</sup> literally "with"  
<sup>2</sup> literally "under the same"  
<sup>3</sup> literally "I am having"  
<sup>4</sup> literally "by reverence having been indebted"  
<sup>5</sup> literally "by"  
<sup>6</sup> literally "being-savage with maximum"  
<sup>7</sup> literally "remaining"  
<sup>8</sup> literally "race"  
<sup>9</sup> literally "are having been dismissed"  
<sup>10</sup> literally "through"

considering<sup>1</sup> to himself *that it was best* to be arising and when *the one* who was admonishing him was still standing-near *him*, then he was teaching him in-what-mode and with what words he would be praying. Next, after *his* sleep was struck-asunder, he directed for *a* notary to be being summoned; and he dictated these words as he had heard *them*:

O Topmost God, we are asking you.  
O Holy God, we are asking you.  
We are commending all justice to you.  
We are commending our safety to you.  
We are commending our imperial-command to you.  
Through you, we are living.  
Through you, we are existing victorious and felicitous.  
O Topmost Holy God, be hearing-out our entreaties.  
We are stretching our arms<sup>2</sup> to you.  
Be hearing us out, O Holy Topmost God.

These *things* were<sup>3</sup> written in many pamphlets and were<sup>4</sup> sent throughout the superintendents and the tribunes, so that each might be teaching them to the soldiers. The soul increased to *all of them* universally, since they were believing that the victory was having been messaged to them from out of the heaven.

The emperor stationed the day of the Kalends of May<sup>5</sup> for the engagement, the day which fulfilled the 8th year of his pronunciation,<sup>6</sup> so that he might rather be being vanquished on his-own anniversary<sup>7</sup> as that *Maxentius* was vanquished<sup>8</sup> at Roma. Maximinus *Daia* wished to be going-forward prematurely.<sup>9</sup> Maximinus composed the battle-line on-the-previous-day in-the-morning, so that he might be celebrating his anniversary<sup>8</sup> on-the-following-day as the victor.

It was messaged<sup>10</sup> in the camp of *Licinius*, that Maximinus had moved.<sup>9</sup> The soldiers took<sup>10</sup> their arms and they proceeded in-the-way against him. An open-plain was lying-between, sterile and bare,<sup>11</sup> which they are calling *Ergenus*. Each battle-line was already in range-of-sight.

The *Licinians* laid-down<sup>10</sup> their oblong-shields. They released<sup>10</sup> their helmets. They stretched<sup>10</sup> their hands to the heaven, with their superintendents going-before them. And they said<sup>10</sup> the entreaty for the emperor. The battle-line of Maximinus heard<sup>10</sup> the murmur of their entreaty. After that prayer was said three-times, they, already filled by-means-of virtue, laid<sup>10</sup> their helmets back on their heads. They took-up their oblong-shields.

The emperors proceeded<sup>10</sup> to correspondence-by-letters. It was not possible for Maximinus to be being brought to peace. For he was contemning *Licinius*, but he was also estimating that a desertion would go from *Licinius*' soldiers,<sup>12</sup> because that *man* was tenacious in giving-largesses, however he himself was pouring them forth; and he had moved the war with the proposition, that, after he took<sup>13</sup> the troop of *Licinius* without a struggle, he would be going-on to *Constantinus* straightaway with doubled forces.<sup>14</sup>

Therefore, he was<sup>15</sup> being drawn<sup>15</sup> nearer. The trumpets sung<sup>15</sup>. The signs proceeded<sup>15</sup>. After the *Licinians* made a rush,<sup>16</sup> they invaded<sup>15</sup> their adversaries. In truth, those *men* who were thoroughly-terrified could not-even be disengaging<sup>17</sup> their swords nor-even be throwing their missiles. This caused Maximinus to be going-around the battle-line as-well-as to be soliciting the soldiers of *Licinius* now with entreaties, now with donations. He was<sup>18</sup> not heard in any place. A rush<sup>18</sup> was made against<sup>19</sup> him, and he fled-back to his-own *men*. His battle-line was being cut with impunity; and so-vast<sup>20</sup> a number of legions, so-vast a force<sup>21</sup> of soldiers, were being reaped from a few. No-one was mindful of name, no-one of virtue, no-one of premiums of old-men, as-if they might have been coming to a vowed death, not to an engagement. In-this-manner the Topmost God subjected them to a jugulation by their enemies. An unnatural multitude was already having been strewn.<sup>22</sup>

Surely Maximinus saw<sup>23</sup> that the affair was being borne<sup>23</sup> in-another-way than he was computing. For at first, the heavy-armed force on-the-basis-of which he

had been-confident was perishing (both all the spearmen<sup>24</sup> on-both-sides of him having left him behind naked and deserted as-well-as having fled-to *Licinius*<sup>25</sup> who was having-might-over them) and he was stripped-naked of the hope arising from out of a god.

Therefore, after the terrified *man* secretly-slid-out-of the royal ornamentation as quickly as possible (which was not proper for him) and after he threw-forward<sup>26</sup> the purple, he, having taken-up<sup>27</sup> the vesture of a slave, fled. For he was imagining that it would happen for him to be totally-escaping-notice in the semblance of a domestic. Both terrified and lowly-born and unmanly, he slid-under<sup>28</sup> the concealment of the multitude, having-in-his-mind the salvation by-means-of running-away. After-that, he went-throughout<sup>28</sup> various places, hiding himself both up-and-down the fields and the villages. But even with all the wooing of his salvation, he scarcely escaped-from<sup>29</sup> the hands of the ones who were warring against him. Most-surely in-this-manner the tyrant, quite-full of shame, threw himself across the strait and came onto the parts throughout his-own country.

But a half part of<sup>29</sup> Maximinus' troop was prostrated<sup>30</sup> in that battle, however the other part either was given-over or was even turned<sup>31</sup> in flight. For the deserter who was the emperor had taken-away the shame<sup>32</sup> of deserting.

But after that Maximinus fled on the Kalends of May<sup>33</sup> (that is, one night as-well-as one day), he came-through to *Nikomédeia* on a different night, when the place of the engagement was now 160 miles away.<sup>34</sup> After he seized his sons and wife and a few counts out of the Palatium, he aimed for the east. Instead, in *Kappadokia*, he substituted his force with soldiers which were collected from out of the flight as-well-as from the east. For he<sup>35</sup> went-away<sup>36</sup> through the eastern<sup>37</sup> region onto *Egypt* with a hope of the act to congregate sufficient forces<sup>38</sup> into the war. So Maximinus *Daia* resumed the vesture.

## CHAPTER XX: EDICT OF CONSTANTINUS AND LICINIUS [313-06-13]

In truth, *Licinius*, after he accepted a part of the troop as-well-as distributed them, threw the troop across into *Bithynia* a few days after the fight. And after he stepped-into *Nikomédeia*, he brought-back thanks to the god by whose help<sup>39</sup> he had been-victorious. In fact, at this time, on the very last day of May and the first days of June (when *Constantinus* and *Licinius* were in their 3rd consulship), the time of the 110 years was completely-fulfilled, in-accordance-with which it was necessary, according-to what was accustomed<sup>40</sup> by the Romans, for the festival of 'Secular Games' to be led. But this festival, which consisted of sacrifices to the so-called detestable gods of the Roman, was not observed.

But-also, on the day of the Ides of June, with *Constantinus* as-well-as himself being consuls for the third time,<sup>41</sup> he directed for letters of the restitution of the assembly, after they were given to the presidents, to be being laid-before the people. These royal dispositions were of this measure:

2<sup>42</sup>{Indeed, while we were already, long-ago,<sup>43</sup> watching-out for the freedom of the religion not to be denied, but instead for authority to-be-given to the mindset and the wish of each one to be taking-care of the affairs of the divine-being according-to each one's own preference.<sup>44</sup> we had directed, both to the Christians [and to all persons],<sup>45</sup> for them to be observing<sup>46</sup> the faith of the sect and of the religion of their-own choosing. 3 Instead, since many and diverse sects<sup>47</sup> were obviously seeming to have been added in that rescript (in which such authority was consented to the same individuals), it might be that perhaps some of them, after a little while, were being knocked-away from such close-observance. }<sup>48</sup>

4 When I, *Constantinus the August-One* (being made-felicitous at-that-time), as furthermore, I, *Licinius the August-One*, had both

<sup>1</sup> literally "seeing/viewing"

<sup>2</sup> Latin "bracchia"

<sup>3</sup> 313-05-01

<sup>4</sup> Latin "nuncupatio"

<sup>5</sup> literally "birth"

<sup>6</sup> literally "is having been vanquished"

<sup>7</sup> literally "more-maturely"

<sup>8</sup> literally "birth"

<sup>9</sup> literally "camp for Maximinus to move"

<sup>10</sup> literally "captured"

<sup>11</sup> literally "nude"

<sup>12</sup> literally "estimating for desertion to be going from soldiers"

<sup>13</sup> literally "accepted"

<sup>14</sup> literally "strengths"

<sup>15</sup> literally "being going-to"

<sup>16</sup> literally "impetus"

<sup>17</sup> literally "expediating"

<sup>18</sup> literally "impetus"

<sup>19</sup> literally "intro"

<sup>20</sup> literally "so-much"

<sup>21</sup> literally "so-much a strength"

<sup>22</sup> literally "spread"

<sup>23</sup> literally "carried"

<sup>24</sup> literally "spear-bearers"

<sup>25</sup> literally "to the one"

<sup>26</sup> literally "projected"

<sup>27</sup> literally "gotten"

<sup>28</sup> literally "being-throughout"

<sup>29</sup> literally "in"

<sup>30</sup> literally "troop is having been prostrated"

<sup>31</sup> literally "either is having been given-over or having been turned"

<sup>32</sup> literally "seemliness"

<sup>33</sup> 313-05-01

<sup>34</sup> literally "was being-absent 160 miles"

<sup>35</sup> literally "who"

<sup>36</sup> literally "was-away"

<sup>37</sup> literally "morning" (adj)

<sup>38</sup> literally "powers which were sufficing"

<sup>39</sup> literally "auxiliary"

<sup>40</sup> literally "according-to the thing have been made-lawful"

<sup>41</sup> 313-06-13

<sup>42</sup> Lactantius preserves nearly the entire document in its original Latin version. The section in {brackets} only exists in a contemporary Greek translation of Eusebios.

<sup>43</sup> literally "of-old"

<sup>44</sup> literally "the choosing of one thing before another"

<sup>45</sup> Something seems to have been accidentally omitted here.

<sup>46</sup> literally "guarding"

<sup>47</sup> possible emendation "conditions" (since "sect" in Eusebios also translates "conditions" in a passage later in the document where the original Latin text is still extant.

<sup>48</sup> literally "close-guarding"

convened<sup>1</sup> at<sup>2</sup> Mediolanon, but-also were holding<sup>3</sup> in consideration<sup>4</sup> *the* universal *things*<sup>5</sup> which would be pertaining to *the* welfare<sup>6</sup> and public security,<sup>7</sup> we believed *that* these *things* (which we were seeing among<sup>8</sup> *the* rest) would be for *the benefit*<sup>9</sup> of<sup>10</sup> many humans<sup>10</sup> (or-even<sup>11</sup> to be ordained<sup>12</sup> in *the first place before anything else*), by-means-of which *the regard and the reverence*<sup>13</sup> of<sup>14</sup> *the* divinity might be continued, *that* is<sup>15</sup>, *so* that we might be giving even to *the* Christians and to all *individuals* the liberal power<sup>16</sup> to follow *any* religion which each one might have wished, by-which<sup>17</sup> whatever divinity *there is* at-any-time in *the* heavenly seat<sup>18</sup> might be being-able to be existing placated and propitious<sup>19</sup> to us as-well-as to all *who* are having been constituted under our power.

5 So we believed<sup>20</sup> for this<sup>21</sup> council to be going-into *effect* with salutary as-well-as rectitudinous rationalization, *in order* that we might be reckoning for *the* faculty<sup>22</sup> to *do so* to be negated to no-one altogether, who might be giving-over his-own mind either to<sup>23</sup> *the* observation or-even *the* religion of *the* Christians {but also *that* authority would be given to each *individual* of the *act* to be giving his-own mindset} to *the* religion for<sup>24</sup> him which he himself might be sensing to be most-apt for<sup>25</sup> himself, *in order* that *the* Topmost<sup>27</sup> Divinity (whose religion we are yielding to with a liberal mind),<sup>28</sup> might be being-able to be erecting-toward<sup>29</sup> us, in all *things*, his-own usual favor and benevolence.<sup>30</sup>

6 For-this-reason, it is convenient for your-own Devotedness<sup>31</sup> to be knowing that this has been<sup>32</sup> pleasing to us,<sup>33</sup> *so* that, after all the conditions<sup>34</sup> were altogether removed<sup>35</sup> (*the* conditions which {were being contained} in our prior writings which were given<sup>36</sup> to your-own office<sup>37</sup> concerning *the* name of<sup>38</sup> *the* Christians, {and which} were being seen {to be right-on<sup>39</sup> sinister and alien from our clemency}, these *things* might be removed. And)<sup>40</sup> now, each of them who are carrying *the* same wish<sup>41</sup> to be observing *the* religion of *the* Christians, might himself be contending to be observing it for himself,<sup>42</sup> liberally and simply, apart-from any unquietness as-well-as molestation.<sup>43</sup>

7 These<sup>44</sup> *things* we believed<sup>45</sup> were good to be fully signified<sup>46</sup> to your-own Solicitude, that you might be knowing that we have given<sup>47</sup> liberal as-well-as absolute<sup>48</sup> faculty<sup>49</sup> to *the* same Christians to be

cultivating their-own religion. 8 When you might be surveying<sup>50</sup> that this indulgency is being given<sup>51</sup> to *these* same *individuals* from us, your-own Devotedness,<sup>52</sup> furthermore, has-intelligence *that* the open and liberal power was conceded to different *individuals* similarly, *power* of their-own religion or-even observation on-behalf-of<sup>53</sup> *the* quietness of our times, *so* that each *one* might be having *the* liberal faculty<sup>54</sup> in cultivating what he might be choosing.<sup>55</sup> {This<sup>56</sup> has been<sup>57</sup> done by us, *so* that} something {might} not-even {be made-seen} by us to have been {detracted}<sup>58</sup> from any honor whatsoever nor-even any religion whatsoever.

9 But, over-and-above, we also assessed for this to be stationed in<sup>59</sup> *the* personage of *the* Christians: that, if<sup>60</sup> *those* same places,<sup>61</sup> at<sup>62</sup> which they had previously become-fully-accustomed<sup>63</sup> to be convening (of<sup>64</sup> which, furthermore,<sup>65</sup> in *the* letters which were given to your-own office,<sup>66</sup> a certain form<sup>67</sup> had been comprised<sup>68</sup> before-*this* time),<sup>69</sup> some<sup>70</sup> *individuals* might be made-seen to have purchased either from our imperial-treasury or-even from whatever other *source* prior to *this* time, may they be restituting *the* same<sup>71</sup> places to *the* Christians themselves<sup>72</sup> without money<sup>73</sup> or without any-other petition of a price, with all frustration as-well-as ambiguity having been postponed. 10 Furthermore, *those* who *happen* to<sup>74</sup> have obtained<sup>75</sup> *them* by-means-of a donation, may they be giving *the* same places<sup>76</sup> back similarly to *these* same Christians as-quickly-as-possible. Furthermore,<sup>77</sup> either *those* who have bought *these* places<sup>78</sup> or-even *those* who have obtained<sup>79</sup> *them* by-means-of a donation, if they might aim to have<sup>80</sup> something of our benevolence,<sup>81</sup> may they be requesting *it* from *the* deputy,<sup>82</sup> that it might also be being counseled<sup>83</sup> to them through our clemency. It will be proper for all these<sup>84</sup> *things* to be being delivered *up*, on-the-spot, to *the* body of *the* Christians through your-own intercession<sup>85</sup> as-well-as without *any*<sup>86</sup> delay.

11 And since *those* same Christians are being becoming-known to be having, not only so-many places to<sup>87</sup> which they have become-fully-accustomed to be convening, *but* instead, furthermore,<sup>88</sup> different places<sup>89</sup> which are pertaining not to single humans<sup>90</sup> but instead<sup>91</sup> to *the* right of their body (that is, of *the* assemblies).<sup>92</sup> You (by-means-of *the* law which we comprised further-above)<sup>93</sup> will order for all these to be being given-back to *these* same Christians right-on (that is, to *their* body and small-convent) apart-from any ambiguity or-even controversy—quite-clearly by-means-of *the* rationalization (*which* we have spoken above) *which* has been kept, *so* that those who might be restituting *the*

<sup>1</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “come”

<sup>2</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “in”

<sup>3</sup> literally “having”

<sup>4</sup> Lat(Lact) (literally “tract”) / Gk(Eus) “discussion” (lit. “seeking”)

<sup>5</sup> Lat(Lact) (“the universal things”) / Gk(Eus) “all as-much-as”

<sup>6</sup> Lat(Lact) (literally “something-commodious”) / Gk(Eus) “advantageous state”

<sup>7</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “and the useful thing in the common state”

<sup>8</sup> literally “between”

<sup>9</sup> Lat(Lact) (“would be...of”) / Gk(Eus) “to be profitable among (lit. “in”)

<sup>10</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “all persons” (corruption arising on Latin level)

<sup>11</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “(but rather)”

<sup>12</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “ordered”

<sup>13</sup> Lac(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “which the regard and the reverential-awe”

<sup>14</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “toward”

<sup>15</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) add

<sup>16</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “the free choice”

<sup>17</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “, so-that”

<sup>18</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “whatever there is at-any-time of a divinity and of a heavenly affair”

<sup>19</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “to be well-disposed”

<sup>20</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “decreed”

<sup>21</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “our”

<sup>22</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “authority”

<sup>23</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “, of the act to be following and to be choosing”

<sup>24</sup> literally “to”

<sup>25</sup> literally “to”

<sup>26</sup> Lat(Lact) has a scribal error here, which has been restored from the Greek version of Eusebios. Without the restored passage, the Latin would be rendered, “the observation of the Christians or-even to the religion for him...” / Gk(Eus) “the observation (lit. “close-guarding”) or religion of the Christians, but also that authority would be given to each individual of the act to be giving his-own mindset in that religion which he himself is concluding to be joining to himself”

<sup>27</sup> Lat(Lact) Gk(Eus) omit “Topmost”

<sup>28</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) omit “whose religion...mind”

<sup>29</sup> Lat(Lact) (literally “standing-toward”) / Gk(Eus) “to be affording to”

<sup>30</sup> Lat(Lact) (“favor and benevolence”) / Gk(Eus) “effort and beauty-and-goodness”

<sup>31</sup> literally “Statement”

<sup>32</sup> literally “knowing this to have been”

<sup>33</sup> Lat(Lact) / Eus(Gk) “It is proper to be writing-in-reply that this-very-thing is (lit. “for this-very-thing to be”) pleasing to us in-this-manner”

<sup>34</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “sects” or “choices”

<sup>35</sup> literally “moved-away”

<sup>36</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “commissioned”

<sup>37</sup> Lat(Lact) may also be translated “official” / Gk(Eus) “Devotedness”

<sup>38</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) omit “the name of”

<sup>39</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “altogether”

<sup>40</sup> Lat(Lact) has two scribal errors here, which have been restored and translated back into Latin from the Greek version of Eusebios. Without the restoration, the Latin would be rendered, “the conditions which were being seen in our prior writings which were given to your-own office concerning the name of the Christians”

<sup>41</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “preference” (lit. “choosing of one thing before another”)

<sup>42</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “, would be closely-observing (lit. “closely-guarding”) this very thing”

<sup>43</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) omit “without some trouble”

<sup>44</sup> literally “Which”

<sup>45</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “decreed”

<sup>46</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “made-clear”

<sup>47</sup> literally “knowing for us to have given”

<sup>48</sup> literally “absolved”

<sup>49</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “authority”

<sup>50</sup> literally “seeing-through”

<sup>51</sup> Lat(Lact) literally “for this indulgency to be being given” / Gk(Eus) “for this to be being given absolutely”

<sup>52</sup> Lat(Lact) (literally “Statement”) / Gk(Eus) “Devotedness”

<sup>53</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “different individuals also, that is to the ones who are wishing of the act to be coming-after their-own close-observation and religion, a thing which is manifest to be becoming proper to”

<sup>54</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “having authority”

<sup>55</sup> Lat(Lact) (“in...choosing”) / Gk(Eus) “of the act to be choosing and to be taking-care-of (Lat would be “cultivating”) whatever kind-of divinity he might be wishing”

<sup>56</sup> literally “Which”

<sup>57</sup> literally “is having been”

<sup>58</sup> Lat(Lact) has scribal errors here, which have been restored and translated back into Latin from the Greek version of Eusebios.

<sup>59</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “But to the remaining things, we are decreeing for this into”

<sup>60</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “Christians, in order that”

<sup>61</sup> Lat(Lact) (“those same places”) / Gk(Eus) “their places”

<sup>62</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “into”

<sup>63</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “which it was their custom”

<sup>64</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “about”

<sup>65</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “also”

<sup>66</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “Devotedness”

<sup>67</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “a different type”

<sup>68</sup> Lat(Lact) literally “comprehended” / Gk(Eus) “ordained”

<sup>69</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) actually add “time”

<sup>70</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) add “in order that if” before “some”

<sup>71</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “these”

<sup>72</sup> Lac(Lact) / Gk(Eus) add

<sup>73</sup> Lac(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “silver-piece”

<sup>74</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “(10) And if certain individuals happen to”

<sup>75</sup> Lat(Lact) literally “followed” / Gk(Eus) “received”

<sup>76</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “giving their places”

<sup>77</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “. In-this-manner as”

<sup>78</sup> Lat(Lact) (“these places”) / Gk(Eus) “their places”

<sup>79</sup> Lat(Lact) literally “followed” / Gk(Eus) “received”

<sup>80</sup> possible emendation, based on Greek / Lac(Lact) “might reckon” / Gk(Eus) “might be requesting”

<sup>81</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “beauty-and-goodness”

<sup>82</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “may they come-to the prefect over the place who is judging”

<sup>83</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “that foresight (or “provision”) might come-to-be”

<sup>84</sup> literally “which”

<sup>85</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “effort”

<sup>86</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) add

<sup>87</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “not only those places into”

<sup>88</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “also”

<sup>89</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) actually add “places”

<sup>90</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “to each of them”

<sup>91</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) add

<sup>92</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) “Christians”

<sup>93</sup> Lat(Lact) literally “we comprehended further-above” / Gk(Eus) “we have previously-stated”

same *places* without a price (as we have said)<sup>1</sup> might be hoping to receive indemnity out of our benevolence.<sup>2</sup>

12 In all these<sup>3</sup> *things*, you will be indebted to be exhibiting your own most-effective intercession<sup>4</sup> to the above said body of the Christians, so that our precept might be being completed as-quickly-as-possible; furthermore,<sup>5</sup> that in this, through our clemency, it might be being counseled<sup>6</sup> toward the common and<sup>7</sup> public quietness. 13 To-this-point it will come-to-be,<sup>8</sup> that (as is having been comprised further-above)<sup>9</sup> the divine favor<sup>10</sup> near us (which we have already<sup>11</sup> experienced in so-many things) might be persevering through all time prosperously<sup>12</sup> with our successes *along* with happiness for-the-public.<sup>13</sup>

14 However, so that the form of this sanction and<sup>14</sup> of our benevolence might be being-able to be coming-through<sup>15</sup> to the notice of all: It will be-convenient for you, after this *document* which has been written has been brought-forward by your program,<sup>16</sup> even to be proposing it everywhere and to be bringing it through to the knowledge of all, so that this benevolence of ours, *this* sanction<sup>17</sup> of ours,<sup>18</sup> might not be being-able to be hiding.<sup>19</sup>

By-means-of these letters which were proposed *and*, furthermore, by-means-of the word, he exhorted,<sup>20</sup> so that the small-convents might be being given-back their original<sup>21</sup> status. In-this-manner, from the time of the assembly having been overturned up-to the time of it having been restituted, there were 10 years and 4 months, more or less.

#### [SUMMARY:

*Arius delivered his so-called heretical discourse on the nature of Christ during Achilles, given in response to an earlier sermon by Achilles.*

*Arius continued in favor with him, and also for a time with Alexandros.*

*Alexandros took action against Arius only when forced to do so by the reports and criticisms of others.*

*Alexandros held Arius in high esteem for the latter's erudition and speaking ability.]*

#### ACHILLAS IS OVERSEER OF ALEXANDREIA [312/313], MELITIOS AGAINST ACHILLAS, AREIOS MADE ELDER, DEATH OF ACHILLAS [313-06-13], ALEXANDROS IS OVERSEER OF ALEXANDREIA, VITALIS AND EUSEBIOS ARE OVERSEERS

Now shortly before this time, Achilles received-in-turn the oversight of the assembly at Alexandria after Petros had testified. Indeed, Achilles retained the rudder of the assembly for a short time, and Melitios accused him.

Now Areios (who had previously supported Melitios, and later withdrew from him, but who had defended Melitios when he was thrown-out of the assembly and himself was thrown-out in reprisal) was Libyan by his<sup>22</sup> race. But after Petros had testified, Areios, after he requested concession from Achilles, was permitted to be ministering, and he was later deemed-worthy of being part of a body-of-elders. And after he became an elderly-man in Alexandria, he<sup>23</sup> was presiding himself over the assembly of Alexandria, which in-this-manner is being called "Baukalis".

For one elderly-man is specially-assigned<sup>24</sup> throughout each assembly. For there were many assemblies. And as-many assemblies as there are in Alexandria at<sup>25</sup> Egypt, they are under one chief-overseer, and elderly-men are having been commanded to these assemblies by themselves, due to the assemblc needs of the dwellers who are neighboring each assembly of theirs. And they are being called

either "avenues"<sup>26</sup> or "country blocks" by the ones who are dwelling-in the city of the Alexandreians. And the assembly being called "Baukalis" had been put-into Areios' hands (even-if another was also together with him) and he was entrusted with the exposition of the divine writings.

Now the oversight of Achilles ended on the 19th day of the month Paoni.<sup>27</sup> While the votes<sup>28</sup> of the chief-overseer were being brought upon Areios, he, after he himself rather honored Alexandros before himself, managed<sup>29</sup> for these votes to come-around to Alexandros. Therefore, Alexandros was ordained and succeeded Achilles as overseer of the assembly of the Alexandreians during the time of peace. But even after this, Alexandros was holding Areios in honor. And Melitios also accused Alexandros.

About this time at Antiocheia, Vitalis was<sup>o</sup> being ordained overseer after Tyrannus. And after the peace began in the assemblies, this leader built the assembly in the Palaia, an assembly which was torn-down by the tyrants. But Eusebios succeeded Agapios as overseer of the assembly at Caesarea.

#### CHAPTER XX: DEATH OF MAXIMINUS DAIA [313-08?]

However, in the meantime, the tyrant in-flight, Maximinus Daia, conceded to Licinius who was following him with his troop. And, turning-back, Maximinus aimed for the narrownesses of the Taurian Mountain. By-means-of enwallments as-well-as towers which were fabricated in-the-same-place, he tried<sup>30</sup> to be obstructing Licinius' journey. And from-there, after all these things were shoved-down<sup>31</sup> by the victors who were breaking-through, he finally completely-fled to Tarshish.<sup>32</sup>

There, when Maximianus Daia was already being pressed by earth and by sea and he might not be hoping for any refuge, by anguish of soul as-well-as by dread, he indeed, at first, with fury in-madness, was doing-away-with many priests and prophets of the gods (the gods which were long-ago being marveled-at by him, by whose oracles he, after he was surely fanned-up, had picked-up the war) as if they would be men who became warlocks and deluders and (above all) betrayers of his salvation.

Next, he completely-fled to death as-if to a remedy of the evils which God heaped upon<sup>33</sup> his head. Instead, with his battle-line<sup>34</sup> still having been composed<sup>35</sup> toward the plain, he, while remaining at a house of his and hiding himself, first crammed<sup>36</sup> himself with food but-also engorged himself with wine (in-the-way-which they are usually acting who determine<sup>37</sup> to be doing this for themselves in their final<sup>38</sup> time), and in-this-manner he drew in the venom. Its<sup>39</sup> strength, after it was cast-back<sup>40</sup> by-means-of a stomach which was crammed-tight, was not being-able to be availing<sup>41</sup> while he was in his present condition.

Instead, he was smote by an amassed scourge,<sup>42</sup> by a fiery missile<sup>43</sup> of a god, down the whole body, and he was<sup>44</sup> turned into evil languor similar to a pestilence, so that day-by-day he was sensing excruciations by-means-of his protracted spirit. Already the poison had begun to be being-savage<sup>45</sup> in him. Its<sup>46</sup> strength, when his midriffs were becoming-furious, was<sup>o</sup> causing him to be carried-outside<sup>47</sup> of himself by-means-of unsustainable terrible pains and excessive-sorrows, even-up to rabidness of mind, so-far, that throughout four days, after he was harassed by-means-of insanity, he, being driven to fall-down headlong,<sup>48</sup> while drawing up the earth with his hands, was devouring it as-though he was hungering. For he was being corrupted by-means-of famine as-well-as the whole fleshes being melted and all the body being wasted<sup>49</sup> by-means-of an invisible and god-driven fire, as indeed for the every sight of his<sup>50</sup> old form, after it flowed-throughout, to be made-to-disappear, but only for a form of dry bones (such as some image<sup>51</sup> having been reduced-to-a-skeleton<sup>52</sup> by-means-of a long

<sup>1</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "have previously-stated"

<sup>2</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "beauty-and-goodness"

<sup>3</sup> literally "which"

<sup>4</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "to be affording the most-powerful effort"

<sup>5</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "also"

<sup>6</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) ", foresight (or "provision") might become"

<sup>7</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) add

<sup>8</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "(13) For by this rationalization"

<sup>9</sup> literally "is having been comprehended further-above" / Gk(Eus) "has also been previously-stated"

<sup>10</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "effort"

<sup>11</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) add

<sup>12</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "firmly"

<sup>13</sup> Lat(Lact) "might be...public" / Gk(Eus) omit "with our successes...public" (in error?)

<sup>14</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) add

<sup>15</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "brought"

<sup>16</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "ordinance"

<sup>17</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "law-giving"

<sup>18</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "that the law-giving of this benevolence of ours"

<sup>19</sup> Lat(Lact) / Gk(Eus) "might be being-able to be hiding from no-one"

<sup>20</sup> literally "he is having exhorted"

<sup>21</sup> literally "pristine"

<sup>22</sup> literally "the"

<sup>23</sup> literally "who"

<sup>24</sup> literally "assigned-away/from"

<sup>25</sup> literally "according-to/throughout"

<sup>26</sup> literally "a-road-on-both-sides"

<sup>27</sup> (313)-06-13 (Note: Epiphanius 69.11:4, who places the oversight of Alexandros directly after Petros, states that an Achilles (not attested anywhere else) held the oversight of the Alexandrian assembly for three months. Due to the confusion of the order of overseers, if it not certain if the "three months" states by him for the oversight of that Achilles can be applied here.)

<sup>28</sup> literally "pebbles"

<sup>29</sup> literally "performed-down"

<sup>30</sup> literally "he is having tried"

<sup>31</sup> literally "detruded"

<sup>32</sup> Hebrew equivalent / Lactantius, Liber, Epitome, Eutropius, Chronography 354, Jerome, Zosimus "Tarsus" / Orosius "Tharsus"

<sup>33</sup> literally "God ingested in"

<sup>34</sup> literally "the arrangement-side-by-side to him"

<sup>35</sup> literally "stood-together"

<sup>36</sup> literally "crammed-in"

<sup>37</sup> literally "arbitrate"

<sup>38</sup> literally "ultimate"

<sup>39</sup> literally "Whose"

<sup>40</sup> literally "repercussed"

<sup>41</sup> literally "having-valor"

<sup>42</sup> literally "whip"

<sup>43</sup> literally "a missile having been on fire"

<sup>44</sup> literally "he is having been"

<sup>45</sup> possible emendation "burning"

<sup>46</sup> literally "Whose"

<sup>47</sup> literally "brought-out"

<sup>48</sup> Eusebios(CH) / Eusebios(Life) "being laid headlong"

<sup>49</sup> literally "spent"

<sup>50</sup> Eusebios(Life) / Eusebios(CH) "the"

<sup>51</sup> literally "idol"

<sup>52</sup> literally "skeletonized-down"

time)<sup>1</sup> to alone be left-as-a-remnant-out-of-a-large-portion,<sup>2</sup> but as for the *ones who were being-beside him* to be concluding the body to not have become anything other *than* the tomb of his soul (*which was having been buried<sup>3</sup> in a body which was already dead and had flowed-away to-all-ends*).

Next, after the smite of God was stretched-tight<sup>4</sup> *by-means-of these* many and grave excruciations, *while* the warmth was incinerating him rather still more-exceedingly *from out of the depth of his marrows*, when he was inflicting his-own head *against* the partition-walls, indeed his eyeballs sprang-forward<sup>5</sup> and<sup>6</sup> they fell-out<sup>7</sup> of their sockets.<sup>8</sup> *The smite* left<sup>9</sup> him mutilated, after he endured, *by-means-of a most-righteous sentence<sup>9</sup> of God: methods-of-chastisement identical to those which he first founded<sup>10</sup> against the testifiers of God, that is, the unrighteous gouging out of their eyes.*

And then, surely at-last, with *his* vision having been dismissed, but *while he* was still breathing-in<sup>11</sup> on-the-basis-of so-many things<sup>12</sup> at-a-late hour, he began to be seeing God *who was making-a-judgment of him by-means-of white-clothed ministers.*

Therefore, he was exclaiming (as *those* who are being tortured are usually *doing*), and he was saying that not he, but instead others had done *these things*.<sup>13</sup> Next, at-some-time also in-this-manner, he (as-if having been driven-to *it* by-means-of the torments) was making-confession to the Lord, the god of the Christians, and he was fessing-up the Anointed-One, thereupon deprecating and imploring, so that he might be made-to-have-mercy on him. And he was acclaiming-forth the battle of-his-house against-God. He was also explicitly-ordering recantations<sup>14</sup> even like his former ruler, *Galerius, had done*, confessing, by-means-of laws and orders, the misleading-of-his-house about *those* whom he was imagining *to be* gods, but *also* emphatically-testifying, by-means-of trial, to have known only the god of the Christians.

But the law *which* was sent-down by him was such. A rescript of an interpretation of the disposition of the tyrant in-behalf of the Christians *which* was translated<sup>15</sup> out of the Roman tongue into the Hellenic:

Emperor Caesar Gaius Valerius Maximinus, Germanicus, Sarmaticus, the Pious, the Good-Fortuned, the Unconquerable, the August-One.

We are having-faith that no-one is be<sup>16</sup> being-ignorant, but instead, that each *one* is retracing<sup>17</sup> onto himself what<sup>18</sup> *is* coming-to-be as-well-as that each *one* of the humans is knowing and is<sup>19</sup> holding<sup>20</sup> in himself that it is clear, according-to every manner, for us to be foreseeing<sup>21</sup> continuously for<sup>22</sup> the useful state of **our** provincials<sup>23</sup> and to be wishing to be affording to them these *things* which are especially rectifying the advantageous state to all *persons*, and as-much-as is for<sup>24</sup> the advantage and the usefulness of their common *welfare*, and whatever-kind of *thing* is joining to the public advantage and happens to be friendly to the mindsets of each *individual*.

Now-consequently, whenever, before this *time*, it has become clear to **our** knowledge,<sup>25</sup> that out of this pretext (out of which it was having been directed by the most-divine Diocletianus and Maximianus (**our** parents)<sup>26</sup> for the meetings<sup>27</sup> of the Christians to have been taken-out), many quakings and robberies have come-to-be<sup>28</sup> *done* by the officials, but also, that this progressed-ahead<sup>29</sup> into the-future against **our** provincials<sup>30</sup> (to whom we are especially making-every-effort for the fitting foresight<sup>31</sup> to be being made-to-be) *while* their own stores-of-wealth<sup>32</sup> were being worn-down:<sup>33</sup> After documents were given to the

leaders of each province *during* the past year,<sup>34</sup> we gave-law in order that, if someone would be wishing to be following the such custom or the same observation<sup>35</sup> of the religion, for this *individual* to be holding<sup>36</sup> for himself the proposition of his-own unimpededly and to be being impeded by no-one but-neither to be being prevented *from doing so*, and for an easy-handle to be *given* to them, without any fear or suspicion, to be doing this **which** is pleasing to each *person*.

Nevertheless, not-even now was it able to be escaping our notice, that some of the dealers-of-justice were pondering our directings, and they prepared **our** humans to be having-doubts<sup>37</sup> about **our** ordinances,<sup>38</sup> and they made *them* to be approaching more-hesitantly to these religions which were pleasing to them.

Now-consequently, in order that, into the subsequent *time*, all suspicion and ambiguity of the fear might be taken-up-from-around *them*, we gave-law for this order to be proposed, in order that it might become clear to all *persons* that it is allowable for<sup>39</sup> these *individuals* (whoever is wishing to be following<sup>40</sup> this sect and this<sup>41</sup> religion), out of this gift of **ours**,<sup>42</sup> (exactly-as each *individual* is wishing or *as it* is sweet to him, in-this-manner), to be approaching this religion which he chose to be religiously-observing out of custom. But it has also been consented so-that they would be furnishing the *things* of-the-Lord, the *things* of-his-house.

However, in order that **our** gift might become even greater, we considered-it-worthy to give this law also: In order that if some houses and sites, which, before this *time*, were happening to be of the rightful possession of the Christians,<sup>43</sup> out of the directing of **our** parents,<sup>44</sup> fell into the rightful possession of the imperial-treasury<sup>45</sup> or were overtaken by some city (whether *one* of these has been made-to-be a sale-to-various-purchasers or whether it has been given for<sup>46</sup> a bestowed-favor to someone), we directed for all these to be recalled into the original<sup>47</sup> rightful possession of the Christians, in order that, even in this, they all might receive a sensing of the piety and the foresight<sup>48</sup> of **us**.

These *were* the sounds of the tyrant *which* followed not-even a whole year<sup>49</sup> after the orders against the Christians *which* had been set-up in monuments. And in-his-presence, yet a short *time* previously, we were seeming irreverent and godless and ruins<sup>50</sup> of all the *present* lifetime (so as not to be being permitted to be dwelling in a city nor-even a country nor-even a desert)—in this *man's* presence, dispositions and law-givings were being explicitly-ordered in-behalf of the Christians. And the *ones* who, a short *time* before, *were* being utterly-destroyed by-means-of fire and iron, by-means-of both beasts and birds-of-prey for<sup>51</sup> feed before his eyes,<sup>52</sup> and *who* were enduring every form<sup>53</sup> of chastisement and punishment as-well-as release-from *this present* lifetime most-pitifully as *if they would be* godless and irreverent—these *individuals* were<sup>54</sup> now even being confessed by him to be religiously-observing a religion and to be being permitted *by him* to be readying<sup>55</sup> *things* of-the-Lord, and the tyrant himself confessed<sup>56</sup> that they were having-a-share<sup>55</sup> of certain rightful possessions.

Now having given glory to the God of the Christians and having also ordered a law (the most-complete and most-full law on-behalf-of freedom of theirs), *Maximinus Daia*, after he at-once longed-for-death, called-on death to himself. And, at the last-of-all, he confessed to have suffered these *things* based-on-what-is-right in favor of his<sup>56</sup> drunken-behavior against the Anointed-One.

In-this-manner, between groans which he was giving-forth as-though he might be being cremated, after preinstituted time was given to him, he blew-forth his spirit *which* was causing-harm<sup>57</sup> and he dismissed his<sup>58</sup> soul by-means-of a simple and detestable kind<sup>59</sup> of death at<sup>60</sup> Tarshish. For he, who was stirred up against these testifiers of God in savagery like some terrible beast, endured a terrible

<sup>1</sup> Eusebios(CH) / Eusebios(Life) "bones and having been reduced-to-a-skeleton after-the-manner of idols"

<sup>2</sup> Eusebios(CH) literally "to (alone) be left-under" / Eusebios(Life) "which were alone being left-around to him"

<sup>3</sup> literally "excavated-down"

<sup>4</sup> literally "flaming-down"

<sup>5</sup> literally "to hopped-before"

<sup>6</sup> Eusebios(CH) / Eusebios(Life) "as-well-as"

<sup>7</sup> Eusebios(Life) / Eusebios(CH) "fell-off"

<sup>8</sup> Lactantius (literally "caves") / Eusebios(CH,Life) "of their own domestic (lit. "of-the-house") allotted-portion"

<sup>9</sup> literally "pebble"

<sup>10</sup> literally "found-on"

<sup>11</sup> literally "spiriting-in"

<sup>12</sup> Eusebios(Life) / Eusebios(CH) "of this"

<sup>13</sup> literally "saying not for he, but instead for others to have done"

<sup>14</sup> literally "song-back" (in reference to "song-of-recantation" composed by an ancient writer)

<sup>15</sup> literally "received-from"

<sup>16</sup> literally "faith for no-one to be"

<sup>17</sup> literally "instead for each *one* to be re-running" or "...to be running-up"

<sup>18</sup> literally "himself the *thing*"

<sup>19</sup> literally "for each *one* of the humans to be knowing and to be"

<sup>20</sup> literally "having"

<sup>21</sup> may also be translated "providing"

<sup>22</sup> literally "of"

<sup>23</sup> literally "of the provincials, the **our ones**"

<sup>24</sup> literally "of"

<sup>25</sup> literally "to the knowledge, the **our knowledge**"

<sup>26</sup> literally "the parents, the **our parents**"

<sup>27</sup> literally "junctions"

<sup>28</sup> literally "knowledge, out of this pretext...robberies to have come-to-be"

<sup>29</sup> literally "also for this to be progressing-ahead"

<sup>30</sup> literally "against the provincials, the **our provincials**"

<sup>31</sup> may also be translated "provision"

<sup>32</sup> literally "the wealths of their-own"

<sup>33</sup> literally "rubbed-down"

<sup>34</sup> literally "the passed annual"

<sup>35</sup> literally "guarding"

<sup>36</sup> literally "having"

<sup>37</sup> literally "wavering"

<sup>38</sup> literally "about the ordinances, the **our ordinances**"

<sup>39</sup> literally "*persons* to be being allowed to"

<sup>40</sup> literally "to be being-after"

<sup>41</sup> literally "the"

<sup>42</sup> literally "out of this the gift, the **our gift**"

<sup>43</sup> literally "of the rightful possession, of that of the Christians"

<sup>44</sup> literally "of the parents, of the **our parents**"

<sup>45</sup> literally "fisc"

<sup>46</sup> literally "into"

<sup>47</sup> usually translated "ancient"; literally "from-the-beginning"

<sup>48</sup> may also be translated "provision"

<sup>49</sup> literally "annual"

<sup>50</sup> perhaps should be translated "ruiners"

<sup>51</sup> literally "to"

<sup>52</sup> literally "before eyes of his"

<sup>53</sup> literally "sight"

<sup>54</sup> usually translated "equipping" or "putting-packs-on"

<sup>55</sup> literally "confesses for them to be being-after"

<sup>56</sup> literally "the"

<sup>57</sup> Lactantius / Liber, Epitome "he perished" / Chronography354 "he was cut-down" / Zosimus "he came-to-his-end"

<sup>58</sup> literally "the"

<sup>59</sup> literally "race"

<sup>60</sup> Liber, Epitome, Eutropius, Chronography354, Orosius / Zosimus "in"

punishment, and he perished after the manner of a savage beast. Now Maximianus Daia was<sup>o</sup> overturned in the second engagement<sup>1</sup> of the war and came-to-the-end of this present lifetime after holding the imperial-command for [9]<sup>2</sup> years, 8 months, and 6 days (being an August-One of two-years).

With all these wicked men having been gotten-away, the rights of the imperial-command of the kingdom came into the possession of<sup>3</sup> Constantinus and Licinius, and the power of the Roman orb was acquired<sup>4</sup> by two men.

## CHAPTER XX: PUNISHMENT OF THE REMAINING PERSECUTORS

Most-surely, after Maximinus Daia was put out-of-the-way<sup>5</sup> in-this-manner (who was alone still remaining of the enemies of the reverence-for-God), the ones of the charge-of-irreverence of the enemies of the reverence-for-God were being filled-up-with the uttermost<sup>6</sup> shame and dishonor.

For also Maximinus himself, after he was the first to be publicly-acclaimed a common foe<sup>7</sup> of all by the ones who were ruling,<sup>8</sup> had been monumented through public documents<sup>9</sup> to be a most-irreverent and most-foul-odored and most-god-hated<sup>10</sup> tyrant. Various writings also, as-many-as were being laid-up throughout every city into honor both of him and of his boys-and-girls, indeed, the ones, while being cast out of the height into the ground, were being crushed, but the ones were being deprived of their faces, being blackened-over<sup>11</sup> with fully-dark paint.<sup>12</sup> Likewise, also as-many of the human-images as they had thoroughly-stood-up into honor of him were, while being cast, being crushed in-like-manner, being exposed<sup>13</sup> for the laughter and childish-play of the ones who were wanting to be heaping-outrages-upon them and to be behaving-like-wine-sodden-drunks.

But next, even all honors of the other enemies of the reverence-for-God were being taken-up-from-all-around. And in this mode, God finished-the-war against all<sup>14</sup> the persecutors of his name, so that not-even stem nor-even any of their root might be remaining.

For after Licinius became-potentate-of the summit of affairs, in the first place, he directed for Valeria, widow of Maximianus Galerius, to be being put-to-death (whom Maximinus Daia, after he become-angry, had indeed not dared to be cutting-down after her flight, when he was seeing that he himself would be perishing); likewise for Candidianus to also be killed (whom Valeria, due to her sterility, had adopted after he was begotten from out of a concubine). Nevertheless, the woman became-cognitive that he had conquered.<sup>15</sup> After her clothing was changed, she herself mixed in with his retinue, so that she might be watching<sup>16</sup> the fortune of Candidianus. Because he had offered himself to Nikomēdeia and was being seen to be being held in honor, he was<sup>17</sup> cut-down while he was dreading nothing such-as-this. And after that woman heard of his exit from this life, she fled<sup>o</sup> on-the-spot.

The same Licinius did-away-with<sup>o</sup> Sevérianus, son of Sevérus (already robust by age, who, after he followed Maximinus Daia (who had fled out of the battle-line) as-though he might have had thought about getting the purple after his going-down to death) after he was subjected to a capital sentence.

All of these,<sup>18</sup> who already in-time-past were dreading Licinius as-if he were evil, had preferred to be with Maximinus Daia, except-for<sup>19</sup> Valeria. The things which she was wishing to be ceding to Licinius, that is her-own right in all the inheritance of Maximianus Galerius, she likewise negated to Maximinus Daia.

But even all the ones who were being-minded with Maximinus were being killed, especially as-many of the ones as, having been honored by him in chiefly worthiness due to their flattery toward him, were struttingly behaving-with-drunken-violence against the account according-to the Christians.

Such a one was Peuketios (the most-honored and most-regarded to him in-comparison-to all others as-well-as the most-genuine of comrades, consul twice and consul thrice, and having been appointed<sup>20</sup> to him to be prefect of the universal accounts. There was also Culcianus, who, in-like-manner, advanced<sup>21</sup> through every chiefly authority, the one who himself even gained-distinction for himself by-means-of tens-of-thousands of bloods of the Christians throughout Egypt. On top of these, there were not a few others, through whom the affair of the tyranny of Maximinus Daia both was becoming-mighty and was being grown.

But the rightful-punishment was resultantly even calling Theoteknos, which was by-no-means delivering into forgetfulness the things which had been performed by him against the Christians. For indeed, on-the-basis-of the carved-image<sup>22</sup> which was situated for<sup>23</sup> him throughout Antiocheia, he, after he was thinking to be spending-many-fine-days, was already being deemed-worthy to be a leader from Maximinus Daia.

But after Licinius stepped-onto the city of Antiocheia, he, after he made for himself a detection of warlocks, was tormenting the prophets and priests of the newly-pitched carved-image<sup>24</sup> with tortures (some of whom were conquered from the ones among<sup>25</sup> the magistrates of the city, who surely brightened themselves on-the-basis-of the pursuit against the Christians, especially with outrages against the Christians). And he was enquiring into what reason<sup>26</sup> they would be subduing others by-acting-hypocritical by using their delusion. But as they, being driven-together to the tortures, were unable to be concealing-over their delusion, but as they were making-clear that all the mystery was a delusion having been machinated by an art of Theoteknos, Licinius, after he put the worthy rightful-punishment on all of them, first delivered<sup>o</sup> Theoteknos himself, but next even the communers of the witchcraft, to death after as-many of the most severe torments as possible. But the man-fond-of-wisdom (philosopher) and prophet also suffered throughout Milétos the like punishments to the ones having been stated.

To these were even added all the boys-and-girls of Maximinus Daia, whom he had already even made for himself communers of the royal honor as-well-as of the setting-up in wood-tablets and writings. But even the ones who, at the first, were vaunting of kinship of the tyrant, and were having been lifted-upon to be oppressing all humans, were, with the uttermost<sup>27</sup> dishonor, suffering the same things with the previously-mentioned<sup>28</sup> individuals, since they did not accept discipline. He extinguished the already eight year old son of Maximinus, who was his greatest<sup>29</sup> child, and the seven-year-old daughter who had been betrothed to Candidianus. Instead, first, their mother was cast-headlong<sup>30</sup> into the Orontes; there that woman often had directed for chaste females to be plunged.<sup>31</sup>

This-is-how all the impious ones, by-means-of a true and just judgment of God, received-back the same things which they have done.

Most-surely, indeed after those of the irreverent ones were cleaned-out in-this-way and all the race of the god-hated<sup>32</sup> ones had been made-to-disappear and {was blotted-out ἐξάλγηετο} in-a-mass from the sight<sup>33</sup> of humans, the kingdom was being guarded both firmly and unliable-to-envy for Constantinus and Licinius. And they, having sensed the good-things which were supremely-presided from out of a god, demonstrated the excellent-loving and god-loving state, as-well-as the pious and thankful state to the Divine-One, through their law-giving in-behalf of the Christians.<sup>34</sup>

And while this was being finished-up in this<sup>35</sup> manner, the great and heavenly God who fights-on-behalf-of Christians, after he exhibited for himself the threat and indignation against all humans through the things having been made-clear, in-place of those who surpassingly demonstrated evils against<sup>36</sup> the Christians, was again giving-back to the Christians the well-disposed and beaming radiation of his foresight concerning<sup>37</sup> them. Most-incredibly, as in a deep darkness, a light of peace was shining-upon the Christians from out of him, as-well-as making<sup>38</sup> it shining-forth to all persons that there is a god who himself has become<sup>39</sup> the overseer in-accordance-with the Christians through all affairs, indeed, whipping and turning-back his people again through the circumstances<sup>40</sup> time by time, and once again, after the self-sufficient discipline, shining himself up merciful and well-disposed to the ones who are having the hope into him.

## [ADD RESTORATION OF THE ASSEMBLIES HERE]

## CHAPTER XX: ANTONIUS RETURNS TO THE DESERT [after 313-08]

47 But since the pursuit of the Christians ceased itself for the remaining time, and the overseer Petros of Alexandria had testified, Antonius went-away-from-his-own-populace, and he again retired into the monastery. And he was there, day by

<sup>1</sup> literally "a throwing-together"

<sup>2</sup> The year is corrupt.

<sup>3</sup> Epitome ("came into the possession of") / Zosimus "stood-around into"

<sup>4</sup> usually translated "sought"

<sup>5</sup> literally "Maximinus came-to-be out-of-the-feet"

<sup>6</sup> literally "last"

<sup>7</sup> literally "warring-one" or "belligerent-one"

<sup>8</sup> literally "being-mighty"

<sup>9</sup> literally "programs"

<sup>10</sup> or perhaps "god-hating"

<sup>11</sup> literally "blackened-down"

<sup>12</sup> literally "complexion"

<sup>13</sup> literally "laid-out"

<sup>14</sup> literally "universal"

<sup>15</sup> literally "that for him to have conquered"

<sup>16</sup> literally "speculating"

<sup>17</sup> literally "he is having been"

<sup>18</sup> literally "whom"

<sup>19</sup> literally "besides"

<sup>20</sup> literally "stood-down"

<sup>21</sup> literally "came-forward"

<sup>22</sup> literally "scraped-image"

<sup>23</sup> literally "to/toward"

<sup>24</sup> literally "scraped-image"

<sup>25</sup> literally "in"

<sup>26</sup> literally "account"

<sup>27</sup> literally "last"

<sup>28</sup> literally "the made-clear-beforehand"

<sup>29</sup> literally "maximum"

<sup>30</sup> literally "mother is having been precipitated"

<sup>31</sup> literally "merged"

<sup>32</sup> or "god-hating"

<sup>33</sup> literally "seeing"

<sup>34</sup> Eusebios(most) / Eusebios(two Gk, Syr) omit "Most-surely...Christians"

<sup>35</sup> literally "the"

<sup>36</sup> literally "into"

<sup>37</sup> literally "around"

<sup>38</sup> literally "standing-down" (usually translated "appointing")

<sup>39</sup> literally "persons for there to be a god having himself become"

<sup>40</sup> literally "standing-arounds"

day testifying by-means-of his<sup>1</sup> conscience, and contending by-means-of the athletic-competitions of the faith. For even he had even made-use-of more exercising and *did so* more-intensely. For he was perpetually fasting. But the dress he was having, indeed, *was made-of-hair on-the-inside*, but made-of-skin on top, which he even kept till *his end*—after he neither bathed a body with water on-account-of filth, nor washed-off his<sup>2</sup> feet at-all,<sup>3</sup> or simply at-all-events tolerated to throw them in into water apart-from obligation. But, instead, neither has someone seen him after he was stripped-naked, nor-even did someone see the body of Antonius naked at-all,<sup>4</sup> except when he was being entombed after he came-to-his-end.

48 Now-consequently, *while he was retiring with himself and after he proposed*<sup>5</sup> to make a *set* time, so-as for him neither to be going-toward *anyone* nor to accept someone *inside*, Martinianus, a certain chief of soldiers, after he came, came-to-be *known* through annoyance to Antonius. For the daughter he was having *was being annoyed* by a demon. But as he was continuing for a long *time*,<sup>6</sup> beating the door and begging him to come and to pray to God on-account-of the little-girl, *Antonius*, indeed, did not tolerate to open-up.

But after he stooped-down from-above, he spoke, “O human, why are you shouting-down to me? I am also a human even-as you also *are*. But if you are having-faith in the Anointed-One, whom I am worshipping, *then* be going-away; and as you are having-faith, pray to God, and it is coming-to-be.”

Therefore, straightway, after that *man* had-faith and after he called-on the Anointed-One for himself, he came-away, having his<sup>7</sup> daughter *who was now* cleansed from the demon.

But the Lord has also done many other *things* through him. For most of the *ones who were* suffering, *while he was not opening-up his door*, were only lying-fast-asleep outside the monastery; and *while they were* having-faith and *while they were* praying genuinely, they were being cleansed.

49 But as he saw himself being crowded by many *persons* and not *being able to be* dismissing himself to be retiring according to *his* resolve as he wished<sup>8</sup>, he (after he was not moved-with-reverence out of *things* which the Lord was doing through him, or he himself might be lifted-up, or someone else might account *things* about him above what he is) watched-out, and he rushed to come-up into the upper Thébais toward the *ones who were* being-ignorant-of him.

And after he surely accepted *loaves-of-bread* from the brothers, he was sitting himself alongside the banks of the river, watching-out if whether a boat may pass, in order that, after he stepped-in, he might come-up *the river* with them. But *while he himself was* watching-out for this, a certain voice came-to-be<sup>8</sup> to him from-above, “O Antonius, to-where are you going, and due to what *reason*?”

But after the *man* was not disturbed, *but* instead as he *was* having been-accustomed to be called many-times in-this-manner, he, after he favorably-heard it, replied, saying, “Since the crowds are not permitting me to be being-quiet, due to this *reason*, I am wishing to come-up into the upper Thébais due to the many annoying-things *which are* coming-to-be to me here, and, especially, due to the fact that *whatever is* to be being requested-of me from them to *have back are* the *things which are* above **my** power.”

But the *voice* was declaring to him, “And-if-at-any-time you might come-up into the Thébais, and-if-at-any-time (as you are pondering) you might come-down into the Boukolia, you are having to be enduring more and double the labors. But if you are really wanting to be being-quiet, come-up now into the inner desert.”

But *while Antonius was* saying, “And who will show the way to me? For I am inexperienced with<sup>9</sup> this,” straightaway it showed to him *some Saracens who were* going to be making-their-way *along* that way. Now-consequently, after Antonius came-to *them* and after he drew-near to them, he was begging to come-away along with them into the desert.

But the *men*, as-though *derived* out of a commandment of the foresight, eagerly accepted him. And after he made-his-way for three days and three nights, he came into an extremely high mountain. And indeed there was water under the mountain, *which was* most-transparent, sweet, and especially cold. But *there was* a planar *region* outside, and a few palms *which were* uncared-for.

50 Therefore, Antonius, as-though being moved by-God, loved the place. For this was the *place* which the *one who* uttered to him alongside the banks of the river signified. Therefore, indeed, after he accepted the *loaves-of-bread* from the fellow-wayfarers for the beginning of *his stay*, he was remaining in the mountain alone, no-one else<sup>10</sup> being-together with him. For after he recognized it as a house of his-own, he was having that place for *the remaining time*. Also the Saracens themselves, after they perceived the eagerness of Antonius, were coming-through that way on-set-purpose. And rejoicing, they were bringing *loaves-of-bread* to

him. But he was also having the little consolation, which *was* then and cheap,<sup>11</sup> from the palms.

But after these *things*, after the brothers learned of the place (as children remembering a father), they were being-concerned to be commissioning to him. Instead, Antonius was seeing, that *due to the motive*<sup>12</sup> of the bread some there were<sup>13</sup> being bothered and enduring labor. He, *while* also sparing the monks in this, deliberated<sup>14</sup> by himself; and he begged some of the *ones who were* entering to him, to convey to him: a mattock, and an axe, and a little grain. But as he was conveyed these *things*, after he made-his-way-through the earth around the mountain, he, after he found a certain short place *which was* requisite, he farmed. And he, having the irrigation *from* out of the water plentifully,<sup>15</sup> was sowing. And he, doing this *every-year* by every-year, was having the bread from-there, rejoicing, that due to this he would become troublesome to no-one, and that he guarded<sup>16</sup> himself *so that he was* not-burdensome<sup>17</sup> to them in every way.

Instead, after these *things*, he, again looking at certain *persons who were* coming, farmed a littlest-amount-of vegetables, in order that the *ones who were* entering might be having some little consolation from<sup>18</sup> the labor of that harsh way.

Therefore, indeed, at *the* beginning, the beasts in the desert, coming by-means-of the motive<sup>19</sup> of the water, were many-times harming his sowing-seed and the farming. But after he himself gracefully overpowered one of the beasts, he was saying to the all of them, “Due to what *reason* are all of you\* harming me, *while I am* harming not-one of you\*? Go-away,<sup>20</sup> and, in the name of the Lord, may you\* draw-near to the *places* here no-more.” And from<sup>21</sup> that *time forth* for *the remaining time*, as-though they *were* beasts *who were* filled-with-fear-of the transmitted-message, they did not still draw-near to the place.

51 Therefore, he himself was indeed *going* alone into the inner mountain, *while he was* having-leisure to the prayers and to the exercising. But the brothers, the *ones who were* ministering to him, begged him, in order that they, entering every<sup>22</sup> month, might be conveying to him: olives, and pulse, and olive-oil. For *for the remaining time*, he was an old-man.

Now-consequently, *while he was* staying<sup>23</sup> there, he endured so-many wrestlings, not with blood and flesh, *but* instead with the opposing demons. For even the *ones who were* entering to him were hearing there: turmoils, and many voices, and dins as of weapons. Also, at night, they were looking-at the mountain after it became full of beasts. But they were even perceiving him *while he was* fighting *as though with enemies which were able to be* being looked-at, and *while he was* praying against them. And indeed, he was emboldening the *ones who were* entering to him; but he himself was contending, bowing his<sup>24</sup> knees and praying to the Lord. And it was truthfully worthy of marvel, that, being alone in such a desert, he was neither being intimidated by demons *which were* standing themselves over him, nor, *while* four-footed beasts and creepers *were* being so-many there, was he filling himself with-fear of the savageness of these. Instead, he was truthfully having relied on *the* Lord, having the mind *which is* unshakeable and surgeless, so-as rather for the demons to be fleeing and for the beasts, the savage *ones*, to be being-at-peace with him.

52 Therefore, indeed, the Slanderer was closely-observing Antonius and was grating his<sup>25</sup> teeth against him. But Antonius was being exhorted from the Savior, continuing unharmed from the craftiness of that *being* and *from* the various methods. Now-consequently, *while he himself was* being-without-sleep during<sup>26</sup> *some* night, he discharged beasts upon him. And after almost all the hyenas in that desert came-out of the burrows, they encircled him. And he was *in* their midst. But *while each one was* yawning<sup>27</sup> and threatening to be biting, he, gaining-insight-of the art of the enemy, spoke to all of them, “Indeed, if you\* received authority against me, I am ready to be fed-on by you\*. But if you\* were thrown-forward from demons, do not be lingering,<sup>28</sup> *but* instead be retiring. For I am a slave of *the* Anointed-One.” *While Antonius was* saying these *things*, those *beings* fled, as *if* being pursued by a whip of the account *which he spoke*.

53 Next, after a few days, as he was working (for he was being-careful to be laboring with himself), someone, after he stood-over the door, was drawing the cord of the work. For he was stitching-in a hamper. And this he was giving to the *ones who were* entering in-place of the *things being* conveyed to him. But after he stood-up, he saw a beast. Indeed *it was* having resembled a human *down* till the

<sup>11</sup> usually translated “worthless”

<sup>12</sup> usually translated “pretext”

<sup>13</sup> literally “are”

<sup>14</sup> literally “took-counsel with himself”

<sup>15</sup> literally “envylessly”

<sup>16</sup> literally “guards”

<sup>17</sup> literally “not-heavy”

<sup>18</sup> literally “of”

<sup>19</sup> usually translated “pretext”

<sup>20</sup> literally “come-away”

<sup>21</sup> literally “And out of”

<sup>22</sup> literally “through”

<sup>23</sup> literally “turning-to-and-up”

<sup>24</sup> literally “the”

<sup>25</sup> literally “the”

<sup>26</sup> literally “of”

<sup>27</sup> literally “chasming”

<sup>28</sup> literally “going-to” (as in, being on the brink of going to do something)

<sup>1</sup> literally “the”

<sup>2</sup> literally “the”

<sup>3</sup> literally “wholly”

<sup>4</sup> literally “wholly”

<sup>5</sup> literally “he set before himself”

<sup>6</sup> literally “continuing on-the-basis-of much”

<sup>7</sup> literally “the”

<sup>8</sup> literally “has come-to-be”

<sup>9</sup> literally “of”

<sup>10</sup> literally “different”

thighs, but having the legs and the feet like a donkey. And indeed, Antonius only sealed *himself* and spoke, “I am a slave of the Anointed-One. If you were commissioned against **me**, behold I am present.”

But this-was-how the beast, along with his-own demons fled, as to fall and to die-off by the sharpness of the words. But the death of the beast was the fallen-body of the demons. For they were making-every-effort-in *their attempts* to be doing everything, in order that they might lead him down out of the desert; and they were not strong *enough*. These marvelous works were followed by many more.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER XX

**54** But not long after these *things*, Antonius went out, and he who had won such great victories was forced to yield to the entreaties of the brothers. For<sup>2</sup> when he was begged from the monks to come-down to them and to look-after both them and their places for<sup>3</sup> a time, he made-his-way along with the monks, the *ones who met him*. But a camel carried the *loaves-of-bread* and the water for them. For all that desert is waterless, and there is not *any* drinkable water at-all,<sup>4</sup> except in that mountain alone (from-where they also drew-water for themselves) in which his monastery also is.

Now-consequently after the water failed in the way, and with the heat being the most-exceeding, all of them were going to be being-endangered. For after they came-around the places, and after they did not find *any* water, they were not-even being-able to be walking-around for the remaining *time*. Instead, they were being laid-down on-the-ground. They also dismissed the camel to go-off<sup>5</sup> after they despaired of themselves.

But the old-man, seeing that all of them were being-endangered, after he was grieved and after he groaned, came-away a little from them. And after he bent his<sup>6</sup> knees and after he stretched-out his<sup>7</sup> hands, he was praying-to *God*. And straightaway, the Lord made water to come-forth *right* there where he had stood praying-to *God*. And this-was-how all the *persons*, after they drank, breathed-again.

And after they filled-up the skin-bottles, they sought for the camel, and they found *it*. For the little-rush-rope happened to be wound-around into a certain stone, and it was held-down in-this-manner. Now-consequently, after they led *it back* and after they gave-drink-to *it*, they put the skin-bottles on it and they made-their-way-through unharmed.

But as he came into the outer monasteries, all were embracing him, looking upon him as a father.<sup>8</sup> But he himself also, as-though bringing travel-supplies from the mountain, was entertaining them as-strangers by-means-of his<sup>9</sup> account, and he was sharing his<sup>10</sup> profit. There was again both joy in the mountains, and zeal<sup>11</sup> of progress, and exhortation through the faith *residing* in one-another. Therefore, he himself was also rejoicing, looking upon both the eagerness of the monks and his<sup>12</sup> sister who grew-old in virginity (she herself also even leading other virgins down her path).

**55a** Now-consequently, after *some* days, he again entered into the mountain as if he had been away from the desert for a long time.<sup>13</sup> And then, for the remaining *time*, many *persons* entered to him. And others who were suffering were daring to enter. Therefore indeed, he encouraged all the monks who were entering to him with words from the holy writings and other exhortations. **56** But he was suffering-together and praying-with the *ones who were* suffering. Both many-times and in many ways, the Lord was favorably-hearing him. And neither was he boasting while he was being favorably-heard, nor was he murmuring while he was not being favorably-heard.<sup>14</sup> Instead, he indeed was perpetually giving-thanks to the Lord, always maintaining the same attitude and the same look,<sup>15</sup> but he was exhorting the *one who was* suffering to be being-longsuffering, and to be coming-to-know that a treatment is neither of him nor of humans at-all,<sup>16</sup> but instead of God alone—the *One who is* making it happen when he wants and to whom he wishes. Therefore, the *ones who were* suffering were accepting even the accounts of the old-man as though they were a treatment, themselves also learning not to be belittling, but to rather be being-longsuffering. But even the *ones who were* being treated were being taught not to be giving-thanks to Antonius, but instead to God alone.

<sup>1</sup> Gk / Lat add

<sup>2</sup> Gk / Lat add

<sup>3</sup> literally “through”

<sup>4</sup> literally “wholly”

<sup>5</sup> literally “come-off”

<sup>6</sup> literally “the”

<sup>7</sup> literally “the”

<sup>8</sup> Gk / Lat “all ran to meet him as a father, vying with each other in their eagerness to greet him respectfully with kisses and embraces.”

<sup>9</sup> literally “the”

<sup>10</sup> literally “the”

<sup>11</sup> may also be translated “jealousy”

<sup>12</sup> literally “the”

<sup>13</sup> Gk / Lat add

<sup>14</sup> Gk / Lat “suffering. Through Antonius the Lord feed many of them from their suffering, but the treatment of those whom he treated never made him arrogant, nor did he become depressed and murmur at the fact that some bodies were stilled possessed by demons.”

<sup>15</sup> Gk / Lat add

<sup>16</sup> literally “wholly”

**57** Accordingly, a *person* being called Fronto (happening to be from the Palatium)<sup>17</sup> was also having a terrible suffering.<sup>18</sup> For he was both devouring<sup>19</sup> his-own tongue and was going to be harming his<sup>20</sup> eyes. After he entered into the mountain, he was begging Antonius that he would take the time to pray about him.

But after the *man* prayed, he was saying to Fronto, “Go-away,<sup>21</sup> and you might be being treated.”

But after the *man* used-force and after he remained within for *some* days, Antonius was persisting, saying to Fronto,<sup>22</sup> “You will not be able to be treated while you are remaining here. Come-out, and after you precede into Egypt, you will see the sign coming-to-be done into you.”<sup>23</sup>

After that *man* had-faith, he came-away. And as he merely<sup>24</sup> saw Egypt, the suffering had ceased, and the human has become healthy<sup>25</sup> according to the account of Antonius, which he learned from the Savior<sup>26</sup> after he prayed.

**58** Now a certain virgin from Bousiris of Tripolis was having a suffering which was terrible and extremely shameful. For while her tears and her<sup>27</sup> mucus and the moist substance out of her ears were falling on-the-ground, they were straightaway becoming worms. But the body was also having been paralyzed, and she was not having her eyes functioning according-to nature. After the parents of this virgin learned about *some* monks who were coming-away to Antonius, they, after they put-faith in the Lord (the Lord who treated the woman who was suffering-from-a-blood-flow), begged to make-their-way-together with these *men*, along with their daughter.

But after the monks tolerated<sup>28</sup> this, indeed, the parents, along with the girl, remained outside the mountain beside Paphnuti (the confessor and monk),<sup>29</sup> but the men entered. And as they merely<sup>30</sup> wanted to bring-a-message about the virgin to Antonius, he himself preceded them. And he described both the suffering of the girl and how she make-her-way-together with them as if he himself had been present.<sup>31</sup>

Next, while these men were begging for them to be permitted to enter, indeed, this man did not permit it. But he spoke, “All of you\*, be going away. And you\* will find her, if she did not die-off, having been treated. For this is not an achievement<sup>32</sup> of mine, in order that she might come to me, the pitiful human. Instead, the treatment is of the Savior, of the one who is making his mercy in every place to the ones who are calling-on him for themselves. Now-consequently, the Lord even nodded-in-consent to that girl after she prayed. And his philanthropy has made-clear to me, that he will treat the suffering of the girl while she is there.”

Accordingly, the marvel has come-to-be. And after they came-out to Paphnuti,<sup>33</sup> they found the parents rejoicing and the girl being-healthy for the remaining *time*.

**59** But while two certain brothers were entering, and after the water failed in the way, indeed, the one died-off, but the other<sup>34</sup> was going to die. Accordingly, while he was no-longer<sup>35</sup> being-strong enough to be making-his-way, he was also laying himself down on the earth, anticipating that he would be-dead.

But after Antonius (having sat himself in the mountain) voiced two monks (for these men happened to be there), he was pressing them, saying, “Take a ceramic-jar of water, and run to the way over Egypt. For of two men who are coming, indeed, the one presently came-to-his-end, but the other<sup>36</sup> is going to be if-at-any-time you\* do not hasten. For while I was praying, this has been presently manifested to me.”

Now-consequently, after the monks came, they indeed found the one being laid dead, and they entombed him. But they regained the other<sup>37</sup> one by-means-of the water, and they led him away to the old-man. For the interval was a one day’s journey.<sup>38</sup>

**60** And again, he, having sat himself in the mountain and after he looked-up, saw in the air a certain person being led-up, while the joy of the ones who were meeting him was becoming much. Next, he, wondering and considering the choir such as this to be happy, was praying to learn what this might be.<sup>39</sup> And

<sup>17</sup> Gk / Lat “Palaestina”

<sup>18</sup> Gk / Lat “being tormented by a most violet demon”

<sup>19</sup> literally “eating-down”

<sup>20</sup> literally “the”

<sup>21</sup> literally “Come-off/away”

<sup>22</sup> Gk / Lat add

<sup>23</sup> Gk / Lat “, the Anointed-One’s mercy will be upon you immediately”

<sup>24</sup> literally “alone/only”

<sup>25</sup> Gk / Lat “Egypt, the possession of the demon ceased”

<sup>26</sup> Gk / Lat “from a revelation of the Lord”

<sup>27</sup> literally “the” (also before “ears”)

<sup>28</sup> Gk / Lat “refused” (seems to be an intentional altered detail that is also again altered below)

<sup>29</sup> Gk / Lat add lengthy addition here “whose eyes had been gouged out because of his Christian faith during the persecution of Maximinus, but who took pride in this physical disfigurement”

<sup>30</sup> literally “only/alone”

<sup>31</sup> Gk / Lat “and the journey to holy Paphnuti, as if he himself had been present.”

<sup>32</sup> literally “something-straightened-down” (as in, “something-done-correctly”)

<sup>33</sup> Gk / Lat add

<sup>34</sup> literally “different”

<sup>35</sup> literally “no-more”

<sup>36</sup> literally “different”

<sup>37</sup> literally “different”

<sup>38</sup> literally “way”

<sup>39</sup> literally “whatever this was wishing to be”



straightaway, a voice came to him, “This is the soul of Amoun, the monk in Nitria.”

Now this *man* was an exerciser *who* continued till old-age. But even the interval, the *one* from Nitria till the mountain where Antonius was, is a thirteen days’ *journey*. Now-consequently, the *ones who were* being with Antonius, looking-at the old-man *who* was marveling, begged to learn *what was going on*. And they heard, that Amoun had presently come-to-his-end. For he was well-known, due to the *fact* that he was coming-to-be-present<sup>1</sup> there more-frequently, and *that* even many signs had come-to-be<sup>2</sup> through him.

But the monks to whom Antonius spoke about the death of Amoun marked<sup>3</sup> the day. And after the brothers came-up from Nitria after thirty days, they enquired. And they knew *that* Amoun had fell-asleep<sup>4</sup> in that day and that hour in which the old-man saw his soul being brought-up. And even these and-those were altogether marveling *at* the clean *state* of the soul of Antonius, how he has learned the *event* which came-to-be from the interval of a thirteen days’ *journey* from him and saw the soul being led-up.

**61** And truly, even Archelaos the count, after he found him in the mountain, the outer *mountain*, begged only for him to pray-to *God* about Polykratia (the *one* in Laodikeia, a marvelous and anointed-one-bearing virgin). For that *woman* was suffering terribly *in* the stomach and the side from the very-vast exercising,<sup>5</sup> and she was wholly weak *in* the body. Therefore, indeed, Antonius was praying. But the count marked<sup>6</sup> the day in which the prayer had come-to-be. And after he came-away into Laodikeia, he found the virgin healthy. But *while* he was enquiring when and *on* what day the weakness ceased itself, he brought-forth the paper in which he wrote the time of the prayer. And after he learned *it*, he himself also straightaway showed the writing in the paper. And all marveled after they recognized, that then the Lord had ceased her exertion, when Antonius was praying and exhorting the goodness of the Savior about her.

**62** But even about the *ones who were* coming to him—he was many-times saying-beforehand, days beforehand, even a month beforehand, when they were coming and due to what reason<sup>7</sup> they *were coming*. For indeed, the *ones* were coming for-sake of the *act* to only see him, but the *others* due to a weakness; and others *were* suffering by demons. And all were deeming the labor of the way to not be a spoil nor-even a deprivation. For each *one* was going-back after he sensed the profit. But *while* he was saying and looking *at* such *things*, he was begging for no-one to be marveling *at* him in this, *but* instead to rather be marveling *at* the Lord, because he granted-favors to us, being humans, to be knowing him according-to power.

**63** But again, after he came-down into the outer monasteries, and after he was begged to enter into a boat and to pray with *some* monks, he himself alone received-in-return a terrible foul-odor and *which* was altogether bitter. But *while* the *ones* in the boat *were* saying *it* to be a fish and pickled-meat in the boat and these *things* to be the smell, he himself was saying the foul-odor to be *something* else. But *while* he himself *was* still saying *this*, a certain younger *man* having a demon (who, after he entered-beforehand, was hiding himself in the boat), straightaway shouted-out. But after the demon was rebuked in the name of our Lord Jesus *the* Anointed-One, it came-out. And indeed, the human became healthy. But all knew, that the foul-odor was of the demon.

**64** But even another certain *one* of the *people* of-distinction<sup>8</sup> came, having a demon near him. But that demon was terrible in-this-manner, as for the *one who* was being operated *upon* to not be knowing if he would be coming to Antonius. Instead, he was even eating-down the excrements<sup>9</sup> of his body. Therefore, indeed, the *ones who* led him, were exhorting Antonius to pray in-behalf of him.

But *while* Antonius was sympathizing with the young-man, he was praying. And he was-without-slumber-with him for all the night. And indeed, the young-man, after he suddenly came-upon Antonius about the *time* of daybreak, pushed him.

But *while* the *ones who* came along with that *man* *were* being-indignant, Antonius was declaring, “*All of you\**, do not be being-harsh with the young-man. For it is not he, *but* instead the demon in him. But after it was rebuked and after it was directed to be driven-forward into waterless places, it was maddened, and he has done this. Therefore, be glorifying the Lord. For the *action* for him to rush against me in-this-manner has become a sign to you\* of the egress of the demon.”

And after Antonius spoke these *things*, straightaway the young-man became healthy. And after he became-sound-minded for *the* remaining *time*, he both knew where he was and he was embracing the old-man *while* giving-thanks to God.

## CHAPTER XX

**65** Now at-some-time *while* he *was* going to be eating, and after he stood-up to pray about the ninth hour, he sensed himself snatched *up* in the mindset. And

having stood, he was looking *at* himself as-though he *was* coming-to-be *at a place* from-outside of himself, and as *if* being guided into the air by certain *beings*. Next, certain bitter and terrible *beings*, *were* having stood in the air and *were* wanting to prevent him so-as to *cause* him to not step-through. But *while* the *ones who* *were* guiding him *were* fighting-against *them*, those *beings* were requesting to have an account back *about* him, *to see* if he may not be amenable to them.

Now-consequently, *while* they *were* wanting to settle an account from *the day* of his birthing, the *ones who* *were* guiding Antonius were preventing *them*, saying to those *beings*, “Indeed, the Lord oiled-off the *things* from his birthing. But from<sup>10</sup> *the time* which he has become a monk and professed to God, it is allowable to make an account.”

Then, *while* they *were* accusing and *while* they *were* not convicting, the way became free to him and without-prevention. And straightaway, he saw himself as-though he *was* coming and having stood near himself; and again he was wholly Antonius. Then, indeed, after he himself forget *about* the *act* to eat, he remained for the remainder of the day and through the whole night, groaning and praying. For he was marveling, looking toward how-much the wrestling is with us, and through how-many exertions someone has *in order* to step-through the air. And he was remembering, that this is what the emissary *Paulus* was saying, “according-to the chief of the authority of the air.” (Ephesians 2:2)

Due to this,<sup>11</sup> he was urging, “*All of you\**, take-up the full-suit-of-armor of God, in order that you\* might be enabled to withstand<sup>12</sup> in the day, the wicked *day*, in order that the enemy, having nothing to be saying about us, might be put-to-shame.” (Ephesians 6:13)

**66** But he even was having this bestowed-favor. For if he, having sat himself in the mountain alone,<sup>13</sup> was being-at-a-loss when he *was* seeking something toward himself, this was revealed to him from the foresight of *God* *while* he *was* praying. Accordingly, after this, after there came-to-be a discussion<sup>14</sup> with him with certain *persons who* entered to him, about the passing<sup>15</sup> of the soul and what-kind of place will be for it after these *things*, on the subsequent night, a certain *being*, called<sup>o</sup> him from-above, saying, “Antonius, after you stand-up, come-out and be looking.”

Now-consequently, after he came-out (for he had come-to-know *who* *were* the *ones* whom he was-indebted<sup>o</sup> to be obeying), he, *while* looking-up, also perceived a certain tall<sup>16</sup> *being* *which* was not-visible-to-the-sight<sup>17</sup> and fearsome, having stood and preceding up-to<sup>18</sup> the clouds. And *there* *were* certain *beings* ascending as-though having been-winged. And-that *being* was stretching-out his<sup>19</sup> hands. And, indeed, the *ones* *were* being prevented from him. But the *others* *were* flying-over; and after they came-through, they were led-up<sup>o</sup> free-from-worry for *the* remaining *time*. Therefore, indeed, that tall<sup>20</sup> *being* was grating his<sup>21</sup> teeth over the *ones* such as *this*, but he was rejoicing over the *ones who* *were* falling-away.

And straightaway, a voice came-to-be to Antonius, “Are you comprehending<sup>22</sup> the *sight* which you are looking at?”

And after his mindset was completely-opened-up, he was comprehending-in *his mind* for it to be the passing of the souls, and for the tall<sup>23</sup> *being* *who* has stood to be the enemy, the *one who* *is* being-envious of the faithful-ones. And indeed, he was overpowering and preventing the *ones who* *are* amenable to him to come-through. But he *was* not being-able to be overpowering the *ones who* did not obey him as they *were* stepping-over him.

Having again seen this, and, as-though being caused-to-remember, he was contending *even* more to be progressing *toward* the *things* which *were* ahead *day* by *day*. But he himself was not bringing-a-message *about* these *things* voluntarily. But in the *act* to be taking-time in the prayers and to be marveling by himself, *while* the *ones* being-together *with* him *were* enquiring and restricting<sup>24</sup> him, he was obliging to be saying *things* (as a father *who* *is* not being-able to be hiding *things* from his<sup>25</sup> children). Instead, he was deeming that, indeed, *while* his conscious was<sup>o</sup> clean, but the description was<sup>o</sup> coming-to-be for<sup>26</sup> profit to those *persons*, they *would* be learning that the exercising is<sup>27</sup> good fruit, also that the supernatural-sights many-times come-to-be<sup>28</sup> an object-of-consolation of their exertions.

**67** But he was tolerant-of-evil even in his behavior,<sup>29</sup> and humble-minded *in* the soul. For *while* he was such a *person*, he was both honoring the rule of the

<sup>1</sup> literally “the for him to be coming-to-be-present”

<sup>2</sup> literally “and even many signs to have come-to-be”

<sup>3</sup> literally “signaled”

<sup>4</sup> literally “knew for Amoun to have fell-asleep”

<sup>5</sup> Gk / Lat “from excessive fasting and lack of sleep”

<sup>6</sup> literally “signaled”

<sup>7</sup> literally “to the cause”

<sup>8</sup> literally “the shining-on ones”

<sup>9</sup> literally “abundance pieces”

<sup>10</sup> literally “But out of”

<sup>11</sup> literally “which”

<sup>12</sup> literally “stand-against”

<sup>13</sup> literally “according-to alone”

<sup>14</sup> literally “a thorough-saying”

<sup>15</sup> usually translated “spending” (lit. “leading-through”)

<sup>16</sup> literally “long”

<sup>17</sup> literally “sightless”

<sup>18</sup> literally “until”

<sup>19</sup> literally “the”

<sup>20</sup> literally “long”

<sup>21</sup> literally “the”

<sup>22</sup> may also be translated “Be comprehending”

<sup>23</sup> literally “long”

<sup>24</sup> literally “putting-under-tribulation”

<sup>25</sup> literally “the”

<sup>26</sup> literally “to/toward”

<sup>27</sup> literally “learning for the exercising to be”

<sup>28</sup> literally “also for the supernatural-sights to come-to-be”

<sup>29</sup> literally “even toward the custom”

assembly overgrowingly, and was wanting for every allotted-one to be fore-leading in the honor *above* himself. For indeed, he was not lacking-respect to bow<sup>1</sup> his<sup>2</sup> head to the overseers and elders. But if at-some-time a minister was meeting with him in-favor of help, he indeed was dialoguing *about* the *things* toward help, but he was giving-place<sup>3</sup> to him for the *things* of the prayer, not lacking-respect to also be learning himself. For even he was enquiring, and he was begging to be hearing *something* from the *ones who were* being-together *with him*. And if someone was saying something useful, he was confessing that he was being profited.<sup>4</sup>

And truly, even his face was having favor *which was* much and incredible. But he was even having this bestowed-favor from the Savior. For if he was being-present with the multitude of the monks, and someone *who was* not formerly knowing this *man* was wishing to see *him, that newcomer*, after he straightaway came-forward, was indeed stepping-over the others, but was running to him, as being drawn by his countenance. But not *in* height nor-even *in* his<sup>5</sup> width was he differing *from* the others. Instead, *it was in* the constitution<sup>6</sup> of his behavior<sup>7</sup> and the cleanness of his<sup>8</sup> soul. For the soul, being without-turmoil, the outward sensing was also having freedom-from-disturbance. As from the joy of the soul, he was even having a cheerful face;<sup>9</sup> and the constitution<sup>10</sup> of the soul was being sensed and comprehended<sup>11</sup> from the movements of the body. This was even how Antonius was being recognized. For he was not-even-at-any-time being disturbed, his soul being-placid. He was not-even-at-any-time becoming sullen-looking, his mindset rejoicing.

## CHAPTER XX: DECLINATION OF LICINIUS

[Eusebios 10.8:1~3a,4 / Life 1.49:1~2, 1.50:1b]

[Ano. Val. 14-15]

[Epitome 41:5]

[Zosimus 2.18:1]

[Eutropius 10.5]

Indeed, while the Christians were experiencing so-many good *things* due to the peace which supremely-presided after the cessation of the harmful pursuit against them, and while their *affairs* were being accomplished<sup>12</sup> in gladness and national-festings, the observation of the events having happened to the previous tyrants were not self-sufficient to bring Licinius to sound-minded rationalizing.

*Although* having been deemed-worthy of his principality *which was* bearing well (King Constantinus having afforded to him the authority and administration of the *inhabitants who had* attained-by-lot the East, no less a portion of the nations under *the* Romans which Constantinus himself managed), as-well-as of second *place* of honor of Constantinus, as well as a partner of blood through connexion-by-marriage and of the topmost kindred *with him*, he,<sup>13</sup> indeed, was abandoning<sup>14</sup> himself *from* the imitation of the good *things*. But he was being-zealous-for the evil-manner and of the depravity and perference of the irreverent impious tyrants, and was trying to be following the knowledge of *those* whose overturning of *their* lifetimes he *had* gazed-upon with his *own* eyes, rather than picking to be remaining *in* both the friendly right-hand and disposition of Constantinus.

Next after some time, Constantinus sent Constantius to Licinius, persuading him so that he might make Bassianus (*who was* having another sister of Constantinus, Anastasia, *for a wife*) a Caesar, so that, *in the same* example of Diocletianus and<sup>15</sup> Maximianus, Bassianus might be obtaining Italia *to be* a medium between Constantinus and Licinius.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> literally "bend/incline"

<sup>2</sup> literally "the"

<sup>3</sup> literally "making-room"

<sup>4</sup> literally "confessing to be being profited"

<sup>5</sup> literally "the"

<sup>6</sup> literally "appointing"

<sup>7</sup> literally "of the custom"

<sup>8</sup> literally "the"

<sup>9</sup> literally "even to he having the cheerful face"

<sup>10</sup> literally "appointing"

<sup>11</sup> literally "soul to be being sensed and to be being comprehended"

<sup>12</sup> literally "finished"

<sup>13</sup> literally "who"

<sup>14</sup> literally "leaving-off"

<sup>15</sup> manuscript B add

<sup>16</sup> manuscript B "Licinius and Bassianus might be obtaining Italia...between Constantinus."

And *while* Licinius was frustrating such a *proposal*, that Constantinus was wishing to detach<sup>17</sup> a certain *one* of the nations which was allotted in a *tract* of earth of *one of* Licinius' kingdoms, through Bassianus' brother, Senicio (who was faithful to Licinius),<sup>18</sup> Bassianus was being armed against<sup>19</sup> Constantinus. However, he,<sup>20</sup> having been seized<sup>21</sup> in *the* try, was, being directed by Constantinus, convicted and overthrown.<sup>22</sup>

When Senicio<sup>23</sup> was begged to *be had* for punishment *for being* the author of *the* trap, *since* Licinius was denying *this*, the concord between Constantinus and Licinius was fractured. Furthermore, *an* additional cause was that Licinius had dejected *the* images and statues of Constantinus at Emona.

Accordingly, after their enmity became appearing-in *full view*, next they both, after they congregated *their* own forces<sup>24</sup> around themselves, convened open war and went-together into a battle, both leading *their* troops to *the* open-plain of Cibalae.

## BATTLE OF CIBALAE IN PANNONIA / VALENS MADE CAESAR [316-10-08 / 314?]

[Zosimos 2.18:2~4]

[Eutropius 10.5]

[AnoVal 16-17]

[Orosius: 7.28 (inaccurate)]

Instead, Licinius, indeed, gathered the army, consisting of 35,000 footmen and horsemen, together into Cibalae.<sup>25</sup> But it itself is a city of Pannonia, laying upon a crest. But a road leading-up onto the city is narrow, with a deep lake (having the breath of five stadia) holding a portion upon the city. But the remaining *part* is a mountain, in which is even the crest upon which the city *stands*. From-here, it is receiving-forth a plain which is spanning-up vast and into a boundless prospect. In *this place*, Licinius was setting-up-a-military-encampment, stetching-out the phalanx of the *members-of-his-house* into length under the crest, so that the horns of *his* army would not seem to be weak.

Constantinus led 20,000 footmen and<sup>26</sup> horsemen. But after Constantinus assigned the army to the mountain, he indeed was leading the horse. For this seemed to be more advantageous, in order that the *ones* warring *against him* would not, *while* falling-upon the *men* on-foot *who were* attacking<sup>27</sup> more-leisurely, be preventing *them* to be going-forward upon *their* advance due to the hard-country. After he<sup>28</sup> surely became *one who* quickly<sup>29</sup> overpowered the attack, <sup>30</sup> after the sign was lifted, he was at-once being-upon his opponents,<sup>31</sup> and a battle came-to-be.

For after the missiles were fired-by-bows by each troop, they were entwined<sup>32</sup> by the spear-points and the spears onto a long time. But the battle, after it indeed began from<sup>33</sup> daybreak but was prolonged<sup>34</sup> up-to evening, the right horn of *his* army, which Constantinus was leading, was being-victorious. And in *this* struggle 20,000 Licinian footmen and a part of *his* iron-clad horsemen were cut down.

But after *Constantinus'* opponents<sup>35</sup> were being veered into flight, since the phalanxes with him saw even Licinius hopping-up onto the horse and ready for<sup>36</sup> running-away, they were no-longer tolerating<sup>37</sup> to be remaining throughout *the* country, nor-even to partake of dinner. But they abandoned<sup>38</sup> *their* domesticated-animals and beasts-under-the-yoke and all the other packed-equipment. But *while they were* bringing so-many foods-made-from-grain, *but only* as-much-as not to allow hunger throughout that night, a great part of his horsemen, with every effort, simultaneously with Licinius, overtook Sirmium by night.

Now Sirmium *is* a city of Pannonia, which on a different *side* a river, Saos, flows-by, rushing-in<sup>39</sup> into the Istros. From-there, he took-up *his* wife, but-also *his* son and treasures. But after he even ran-by *Sirmium* and after he released the bridge of the river, he was going-forward upon the advance. He stretched *all the* way to Dacia. He, thoroughly-intending to produce a force<sup>40</sup> out of the countries throughout Thraké, made<sup>41</sup> Valens (*who was* a leader of *the* frontier) a Caesar.

<sup>17</sup> literally "pull-aside"

<sup>18</sup> manuscript B "Uicinius"

<sup>19</sup> literally "in"

<sup>20</sup> literally "who"

<sup>21</sup> literally "deprehended"

<sup>22</sup> literally "stretched"

<sup>23</sup> manuscript B "Sinicius"

<sup>24</sup> literally "powers"

<sup>25</sup> Latin / Zosimus "Kibalis"

<sup>26</sup> manuscript B omit "and"

<sup>27</sup> literally "throwing-in"

<sup>28</sup> literally "who"

<sup>29</sup> literally "in quickness"

<sup>30</sup> literally "throw-in"

<sup>31</sup> literally "upon the *ones* contrary"

<sup>32</sup> literally "braided-together"

<sup>33</sup> literally "out of"

<sup>34</sup> literally "streted-along/beside"

<sup>35</sup> literally "But the *ones* contrary"

<sup>36</sup> literally "toward"

<sup>37</sup> literally "holding-up"

<sup>38</sup> literally "left-off"

<sup>39</sup> literally "throwing-in"

<sup>40</sup> literally "power"

<sup>41</sup> manuscript B omit "made"

## BATTLE OF MARDIENSIS IN THRAKE [late 316 or early 317]

[Zosimos 2.19:1~3

[AnoVal 17

[Codex Theo 7.20:1]

But after Constantius retained<sup>2</sup> Cibalae and Sirmium and all *places*, as-many-as Licinius was leaving back behind *him while* fleeing, he sent 5,000 heavy-armed-men upon the pursuing of him. Instead, indeed, *Constantinus*, being unknowing of the way through which Licinius was fleeing, was not enabled to precede *Licinius*.

But after Constantinus hitched the bridge of the Saos (which Licinius happened to dissipate), he, simultaneously with the troop, was progressing behind Licinius. But after he crossed-through onto Thraké, he stationed<sup>3</sup> himself at Philippoi.

Now that *Licinius* had collected an unnatural multitude through Valens at Hadrianpolis, a civil-community of Thraké, he sent legates to Constantinus at Philippoi concerning peace. After they were sent-back frustratingly, *the war* was again renewed.<sup>4</sup>

Constantinus reached toward *the open-plain* of Mardiensis, in which he found Licinius *who was setting-up-a-military-encampment*. But in the night during which *Constantinus* stood-upon *him*, he, after he arrayed<sup>5</sup> his own force,<sup>6</sup> was commanding the soldiers to be preparing themselves simultaneously with daybreak for<sup>7</sup> a battle.

But after it became day, Licinius, after he beheld Constantinus along with the troop, was even arraying his *own troop* against *him, now having with him* a communer of the war, Caesar Valens (*whom* he appointed after the flight from Cibalae).

But after the military-encampments fell-together upon one-another in *the open-plain* of Mardiensis, indeed, they, after they set-at-a-distance, were at the first making-use-of bows. But after the missiles were spent, they were falling-in with spears and hand-knives.

But *while* the military-encampments were pressing-upon *each other* preseveringly, the *men who* were ordered by Constantinus to pursue Licinius stood themselves upon the troops *who were* battling from out of a certain far-off site. But after they curved<sup>8</sup> through a certain crest, they concluded *that they were going* to commingle with the *members-of-their-own-house while coming* out of a place lying-above-them-on-the-right-hand, and to stand their opponents<sup>9</sup> down into an encircling.

But *some* of the *ones* along with Licinius kept-watch and contended nobly against<sup>10</sup> *them all*. But after even many innumerable *men* fell out of each *side* as-well-as after the battle became equally-matched, due to<sup>11</sup> a preconcerted-signal, the each *of the* troops were separated. And after *the part* of Licinius was inclined, night became an auxiliary for *them*.

## PEACE BETWEEN CONSTANTINUS & LICINIUS [late 316 or early 317]

[Zosimos 2.20:1~2a

[AnoVal18

[Liber 41:6

[Epitome 40:9

[Petrus Patrician: History – Fragment 207[15]

Licinus and Valens, believing *that* Constantinus (which was even *actually* true), would precede to Byzantion to extendly follow-up *his victory*, after they were bent in *a part*, conceded for Beroia. So *while* Constantinus was vehemently hurrying in *even farther regions*, he discovered<sup>12</sup> *that* Licinius remained after *his* rear.

After *the* soldiers were fatigued by *the war* and by *the journey*, Licinius next sent a legate to Constantinus, Count Mestrianus. After the elder Mestrianus came, he petitioned for peace, making-requests by *the authority* of Licinius, and pledging *that* he would do *what* was commanded to him.

But Constantinus the king was disparaging<sup>13</sup> *him* for<sup>14</sup> some time. But after this, he looked-away-from *everything else and* to the unclear *outcome* of the war. For *Licinius* had been soundly beaten<sup>15</sup> in various engagements, but it would be being seen to be arduous to be oppressing him right-on. But even simultaneously, they had *the grace* of affinity by *marriage*. But also the *men* of Licinius, after they

<sup>1</sup> literally "limit" / manuscript B "soldier"

<sup>2</sup> literally "held-down"

<sup>3</sup> literally "constituted"

<sup>4</sup> literally "repaired"

<sup>5</sup> usually translated "assigned"

<sup>6</sup> literally "power"

<sup>7</sup> literally "toward"

<sup>8</sup> literally "bowed"

<sup>9</sup> literally "the contrary ones"

<sup>10</sup> literally "toward"

<sup>11</sup> literally "y", out of"

<sup>12</sup> literally "deprehended"

<sup>13</sup> literally "thoroughly-dragging"

<sup>14</sup> literally "onto"

<sup>15</sup> literally "knocked"

employed<sup>16</sup> a assault<sup>17</sup> *which* was escaping-notice, retained<sup>18</sup> his baggage<sup>19</sup> with the royal assistances. So Constantinus decided to redo *their* consort, and he received him.

But the *legate Mestrianus* was being-the-elder for peace to the two kings, saying, "It is not necessary for the *one who* has become-victorious *over* his<sup>20</sup> fellow-tribesman to be being-harsh against him. For whichever *thing* would be caused-to-be-lost, would this not surely be-lost to the *one who* has become-victorious, instead of to the *ones* being-worsted? And that the *man who* denies the peace for one becomes causative of many wars in-one's-own-tribe?"

But *Constantinus* the king, making-clear the greatness of his<sup>21</sup> anger *in* both his face and *in* the moving of his body, and *who* scarcely discharged a voice, spoke, "We did not make *things* come-through in-this-manner until the present *time*, nor-even did we, due to this, warring and becoming-victorious out of the ocean until the *places* here, reach *here* so-as to be not wanting, due to his foulnesses, to be having my<sup>22</sup> domestic man-connected-by-marriage for a communer and to be renouncing the closeness, but to receive-to myself into the kingdom with him a worthless captured-slave."<sup>23</sup>

Therefore, *while* this part of the body-of-elders was being-at-leisure, he directed Mestrianus, if he would also wish to be requesting *something* different, to be saying *it*. And he thought *it good* for Valens to be thrown-out of the kingdom.

Therefore, it was seeming Constantinus and Licinius *were going* to be having a communion and battle-union on which *condition*: indeed, for Constantinus to be ruling *the* Illyrians and all the nations on-the-far-side, but Licinius to be having Thraké and the East<sup>24</sup> and the *regions* on-the-far-side of this (including Asia, Moesia, and Minor Skythia). But the other condition was that Valens (who had been appointed<sup>25</sup> Caesar by Licinius) was mandated *that* he might be made a private-individual anew, as *he was* before or to be done-away-with. For he was being said to be a cause of the evil *things which* happened. After this<sup>26</sup> was surely done (for Valens was punished with death by Licinius) and after oaths were given that this *allotment* would truly be observed by each *of them*, peace was made-firm by *them* both, so that Licinius might be possessing his designated regions.

## CRIPUS AND CONSTANTINUS II AND LICINIANUS MADE CAESARS [317-03-01]

[Eusebios - Life 4.40:1b – Tricennial Oration 3:2

[Zosimus 2.20:2b] (error/lie about Min. being a concubine)

[Liber 41:6

[Epitome 41:4, 41:15]

[AnoVal19]

[Philostorgios 2.16b

[Orosius 7.28

[Consularia Constantinopolitana – year 317

[Eus/Jerome: Chronicon – Constantinus 11 (wrong year)

[Jerome: On Illustrious Men 80

Next Constantinus reverted to Serdica. From-here he made-constitutions with Licinius *who* was-absent. For<sup>27</sup> firmer faith of the *act* to remain-in the compacts and so *everything* might be being reigned concordantly by each-side, Constantinus indeed appointed<sup>28</sup> his son Crispus *to be* a Caesar (*who having been born* from Minervina, was already a young-man), and *also* Constantinus son of Constantinus (a child-who-was-brought-forth not many days before in the city of Arlate). But Licinianus, the boy of Licinius and of Constantinus' sister Constantia (his nephew *who had* advanced into *the* twentieth month of his<sup>29</sup> age), was even designated Caesar along with them.

Of these *three*, Lactantius (also known as Firmianus, a Christian who was discipled by Arnobius), in his extreme old-age,<sup>30</sup> was a magistrate to Crispus Caesar about this time. He not only educated Crispus in Latin literature, but wrote lengthy books about the Christian faith to Emperor Constantinus himself.

Now these appointments of Caesar happened in the twelfth year of the reign of Constantinus, in *the day of the calends* of March,<sup>31</sup> in *the year of the consulship* of Gallicanus and Bassus. Therefore, this, indeed, became *the end* of the second war.

<sup>16</sup> literally "made-use-of"

<sup>17</sup> literally "a way-on"

<sup>18</sup> literally "held-down"

<sup>19</sup> literally "burden"

<sup>20</sup> literally "the"

<sup>21</sup> literally "the" (also before "face" and "body")

<sup>22</sup> literally "the"

<sup>23</sup> literally "footed-man" (as in a man who is shackled as a prisoner for slave dealing)

<sup>24</sup> Zos (lit. "the regions of-the-morning) / Val "the Orient"

<sup>25</sup> literally "stood-down"

<sup>26</sup> literally "which"

<sup>27</sup> literally "toward"

<sup>28</sup> literally "stood-down"

<sup>29</sup> literally "the"

<sup>30</sup> literally "senility"

<sup>31</sup> 317-03-01

And Theotecnā said to him, “If it be that no man saw you when you came to me, obey me who am speaking to you, and depart and go to where you were before, and be there at this time. And let no man know or be aware of this that you came to me and spoke with me, and that I advised you in this manner. And do not be anxious at all about your family and the inhabitants of your village. For no man will hurt them at all, but they will remain for a few days in the prison, and the leader will then dismiss them, because the kings have not commanded anything bad or dreadful concerning them. But if you will not be persuaded by me in these things which I have said to you, I am free of your blood. Because if it be that you appear before the judge of the country, you will not escape from death by fire, according to the command of the kings, which they have given concerning you.”

10 Habbib said<sup>o</sup> to Theotecnā, “As for me, it is not about my family and the inhabitants of my village that am anxious, but about my own life, lest it should perish. Also I am much grieved about this, that I did not happen to be in my village on the day that the leader inquired for me. And on my account, behold, many are thrown into irons, and I have been regarded by him as a fugitive. For-this-reason, if so be *that* you will not be persuaded by me and take me in before the leader, I, by myself, will go and make my appearance before him.”

11 And when Theotecnā had heard him speak in-this-manner to him, he arrested him swiftly. And he delivered him up to his domestics, and they brought him with him to the leader’s court of justice.

And Theotecnā had gone in and made it known to the leader. And he had said to him: “Habbib from Tel-she has come, whom your lordship was searching after.”

And the leader had said, “Who is it who has brought him? And where did they find him? And what was he doing where he was?”

Theotecnā said<sup>o</sup> to him, “He, of his own freewill, has come to here without the constraint of anyone. For no one was aware of him.”

12 And when the leader had heard this, he was embittered against him much, and so had he said, “This fellow, who has acted in-this-manner, has indeed shown contempt toward me and has despised me, and has accounted me as no judge. Even because he has acted in-this-manner, it is not right that any mercy be shown toward him, neither that I should be in a hurry to pass sentence of death against him according to the command issued against him by the kings. But it is right for me to have patience with him, in order that his tortures and bitter sentence may be more increased, and through him I may terrify many from ever daring to flee.”

13a And when many people were gathered together and standing by him at the door of the judgment hall (some of them being his own officials and others being the people of the city), there were some of them that were saying, “You have done badly in coming and showing yourself to those who were searching for you, without the constraint of the judge.”

And there were those again who were saying to him, “You have done well in coming and showing yourself of your own freewill, rather than that the constraint of the judge should bring you. For now your confession of the Anointed-One is known to be by your own will, and not by the constraint of humans.”

13b But the things which the confidants of the city had heard from those who were saying *this* to him while they were standing at the door of the judgment hall, and also the fact that he had gone secretly to Theotecnā and he had not wished to denounce him, had been heard by the confidants of the city, they also made known to the judge everything which they had heard.

And the judge was angry against those who had been saying to Habbib, “For-what-reason did you and show yourself to the judge, without constraint from the judge himself?” And to Theotecnā he had said, “It was not right for a man, who has been made the chief of his comrades, to act deceitfully towards his own ruler in-this-manner, and frustrate the kings’ command, which they issued against Habbib the rebel, *so* that he should be burned with fire.”

13c Theotecnā says, “I have not acted deceitfully toward my comrades, neither have I looked to frustrate the edict which the kings issue. For what am I before your lordship, that I should dare to do it? But I strictly questioned him as to what your lordship also has so inquired at my hands, in order that I might know and see whether it was of his own freewill that he came to here, or whether the constraint of your lordship had not brought him by the hand of others. And when I had heard from him that he had come of his own will, I carefully brought him to the honorable door of the court of justice of your rectitude.”

14 And the leader gave orders instantly. And they brought in Habbib before him. The guard said<sup>o</sup>, “Behold, he is standing before your lordship.”

And he began to interrogate him in-this-manner, and he said to him: “What is thy name, and where do you *come* from? And what are you?”

He said<sup>o</sup> to him, “Habbib is my name, and I am from the village Tel-she, and I have been made a minister.”

15 The leader said<sup>o</sup>, “For-what-reason have you transgressed the command of the kings, and are ministering in your office, which is forbidden to you by the king, and are not willing to sacrifice to Zeus, whom the kings worship?”

Habbib said<sup>o</sup>, “We Christians do not worship the works of humans, which are not anything themselves, neither are their makers anything. But we worship the God who made humans.”

16 The leader said<sup>o</sup>, “Do not stand with that audacious mind with which you are coming before me, insulting Zeus, the great glory of the kings.”

## CHAPTER XX: MARTYRDOM OF HABBIB [319 or 320-09-02]<sup>1</sup>

### Testimony of Habbib

#### Eusebius: Church History (8.12:1c)

In the month of Ab, {of the year 620 of the kingdom of Alexandros of Makedon},<sup>2</sup> in the consulate of Licinius and Constantinus, which is the year in which he was born,<sup>3</sup> in the generalship of Julius and of Barak, in the days of Konna, overseer of Edessa in Mesopotamia, Licinius had made a persecution against the assembly and all the people of the Christians, after that first persecution which King Diocletianus had made. And the Emperor Licinius commanded that there should be sacrifices and libations, and that altars be repaired in every place, that they should burn perfumes and frankincense before Zeus. And when many were being persecuted, they cried out of their own free will, “We are Christians,” and they were not afraid of the persecution, because those who were persecuted were more numerous than those who were persecuting.

2 Now Habbib (who was of the village of Tel-she<sup>3</sup> and had been made a minister) was both going about to the assemblies in the villages secretly and ministering and reading the writings, and was encouraging and strengthening many by his word, and admonishing them to stand fast in the truth of their faith, and not to be afraid of the persecutors, and he was commanding them.

3 And while many were confirmed by his words, and received what he said affectionately, being cautioned not to renounce that covenant in which they stood, and when the confidants of the city had heard (men who had been appointed for this same purpose), they went in and made known to Ausonius (the leader who was in the citadel of Edessa).

And they said<sup>o</sup> to him, “Habbib, who is a minister in the village Tel-she, is going about and ministering secretly in every place. And he is withstanding the king’s command and he is not afraid.”

4 And when the leader had heard these things, he was filled with rage against Habbib. And he made a report, and he sent and made known to Licinius the king all which Habbib had done, both that he might learn and see what command would be given respecting him and those who would not sacrifice. For although a command had been issued that every human should sacrifice, yet it had not been ordered what was to be done to those who would not sacrifice, because they had heard that Constantinus (who was king in Italia and in Gaul and in Spania) was a Christian and did not sacrifice.

5 And Licinius the king gave orders to Ausonius the king, that “whosoever has dared to transgress our command in-this-manner, our majesty has commanded that he should perish by fire: and that others who do not comply and sacrifice, should perish by the sword.”

6 Now when this command had come to the citadel of Edessa, Habbib (the same *one* on whose account the report had been made) was gone over to the country of the Zeugmatites, in order that he might minister there also secretly.

And when the leader had sent and inquired for him in his village and in all the country round, and he could not be found, he had commanded that all his family should be arrested, and the inhabitants of his village. And they had arrested them and put them into irons: his mother and the rest of his family, and also some of the people of his village. And they brought them to the city, and they bound them in prison.

7 And when Habbib had heard of this which had taken place, he considered in his mind, and meditated in his thoughts, “It is expedient for me that I go and appear before the judge of the country, rather than that I should remain in secret, and *that* others enter and be crowned on my account, and *that* I find myself in great disgrace. For how will the name of Christian help the *one* who flees from the confession of Christianity? Behold, if he flees from this, the death of nature is before him wheresoever he goes; and he is not able to escape from it, because this is decreed against all the children of the humans.”

8 And Habbib arose, and he went to Edessa secretly, having prepared his back for the stripes, and his sides for the tearing of the combs, and his body for the burning of fire. And he went into the courtyard<sup>5</sup> to Theotecnā (a veteran, who was the chief of the leader’s guard), and he said to him, “I am Habbib of Tel-she, whom *all of you\** are seeking.”

<sup>1</sup> Not my own translation. A revision of a Syriac translation done by F.C. Burkitt, 1913

<sup>2</sup> This date seems to have become hopelessly corrupt.

<sup>3</sup> 319-08

<sup>4</sup> Syr / Gk “Thelsee” (also elsewhere)

<sup>5</sup> emendation from corrupt Syr / G1 “went secretly” / Gk1 “went down-from the house”

Habbib said<sup>o</sup>, “If this Zeus is not an idol, the work of humans, you have said well that I insult him. But if the carving of him out of wood and *the* fixing of him with nails cry out against him that he is a thing made, how are you saying to me, that I insult him. For behold, his insult is from himself and against himself!”

**17** The leader said<sup>o</sup>, “By this very thing, that you are not willing to worship him, you are insulting him.”

Habbib said<sup>o</sup>, “And if, because I do not worship him, I insult him, how great an insult then has the carpenter inflicted on him, who carved him out with an axe of iron, and the smith, who struck him and fixed him up with nails!”

**18a** And when the leader had heard that he spoke in-this-manner, he had commanded him to be scourged unsparingly. And when he had been scourged of five, he said to him, “Will you now obey the kings? And if you will not obey, I will indeed tear you with combs, and I will torture you with all kinds of torture, and then at last I will give orders against you, that you be burned with fire.”

Habbib said<sup>o</sup>, “These threats, which, behold, you are now frightening me with, are much less and smaller than those which I had already made up my mind to endure. Therefore, I came and made my appearance before you.”

**18b** The leader said<sup>o</sup>, “Put him in the iron fetter for murderers, and let him be scourged as he deserves.”

And when he was being scourged, they said<sup>o</sup> to him, “Sacrifice to the gods.”

And he was crying aloud and saying, “Your\* idols are an imprecation; and those who worship them with you\* are like you\*.”

And when the leader gave orders and they took him up to the prison, they did not give to him permission to speak with his own family and the inhabitants of his village, according to the command of the judge. Now the day was the kings’ festival.<sup>1</sup>

**19a** But on the second of Elul,<sup>2</sup> the leader had given orders. And they had brought him from the prison, and had said to him, “Will you renounce that in which you are standing, and obey the edict of our lords the kings? But if you will not obey, I will make you obey them by bitter tearings of combs.”

Habbib said<sup>o</sup>, “I have not obeyed them, nor is it set in my mind to obey them, not even if you sentence me to sentences worse even than those which the kings have decreed.”

**19b** The leader said<sup>o</sup>, “By the gods I swear, that unless you will sacrifice, I will not omit anything hard and bitter which I will not torture you with. And we will see if the Anointed-One, whom you are worshipping, will deliver you.”

Habbib said<sup>o</sup>, “All those who worship the Anointed-One are those who are delivered by the Anointed-One, so that they should not worship creatures together with the Creator of the creatures.”

**19c** The leader said<sup>o</sup>, “Let him be stretched out and be beaten with whips, until there does not remain a place in his body on which he has not been beaten.”

Habbib said<sup>o</sup>, “These afflictions, which you have supposed to be bitter in their stripes, of them are platted crowns of victory for those who endure them.”

**19d** The leader said<sup>o</sup>, “How can you\* call afflictions recreation, and account the torments of your bodies a crown of victory?”

Habbib said<sup>o</sup>, “It is not for you to ask me about these things, because your lack-of-faith does not deserve to hear the arguments for these things. That I will not sacrifice, I have said and I say.”

**19e** The leader said<sup>o</sup>, “You, because you deserve them, are standing in these sentences. I will put out those eyes of yours, which are looking upon this Zeus and are not afraid of him. And I will stop your ears, which are hearing the laws of the kings and are not terrified.”

Habbib said<sup>o</sup>, “God, whom you deny here, has another world. And there you will confess him with stripes, although you may further deny him.”

**19f** The leader said<sup>o</sup>, “Leave that world alone about which you have spoken, and attend now to this trial in which, behold, you are standing. For there is no one who is able to deliver you from it, unless the gods deliver you if you sacrifice to’ them.”

Habbib said<sup>o</sup>, “Those who die for the name of the Anointed-One, and do not worship things made and creatures, will find their lives in the presence of God. And those who love the life of this present time more than that, their torment is forever.”

**20** And the leader gave *the* order, and they hanged him up and tore him with the combs. And as they were tearing him with the combs, they dragged him about. And he was hanging for a long while, until the shoulder blades of his arms creaked.<sup>3</sup>

**21** The leader said<sup>o</sup> to him, “Will you be persuaded even now to put incense before this Zeus?”

Habbib said<sup>o</sup>, “Before these sufferings I was not persuaded by you. Now that, behold, I have suffered them, how are you thinking that I should be persuaded by you, to lose by them what I have gained by them?”

**22** The leader said<sup>o</sup>, “I am prepared to make you obey by sentences fiercer and bitterer than these, according to the kings’ command, until you do their will.”

Habbib said<sup>o</sup>, “You are sentencing me for not having obeyed the command of the kings, who behold, *you* yourself also, whom the kings have raised and made a

judge, have transgressed their command, in that you have not done to me, what the kings commanded you.”

**23** The leader said<sup>o</sup>, “*It is* because I have had patience with you, *that* you are speaking in-this-manner, like a man bringing an accusation?”

Habbib said<sup>o</sup>, “If you had not scourged me and bound me, and torn me with combs and put my feet into the stocks, it might have been supposed that you had had patience with me. But if these things have intervened, where is the patience toward me of which you have said?”

**24a** The leader said<sup>o</sup>, “These things which you have said will not help you, because all of them are against you, and they will bring upon you afflictions which are bitterer even than those which the kings have commanded.”

Habbib said<sup>o</sup>, “If I had not been aware that they would help me, I would not have spoken at all about them before you.”

**24b** The leader said<sup>o</sup>, “I will silence these words of yours. And at the same time, I will appease the gods about you for your not having worshipped them. And I will quiet the kings’ mind about you, because you have rebelled against their commands.”

Habbib said<sup>o</sup>, “I am not afraid of the death with which you are threatening me. For had I been afraid of it, I would not have gone about from house to house, and ministered. It was for its sake that I did so minister.”

**25** The leader said<sup>o</sup>, “How is it that you are worshipping and adoring a human, and you are not willing to worship and to honor this Zeus?”

Habbib said<sup>o</sup>, “I am not worshipping a human, because it is written for me, ‘Having been cursed *is* the fellow who trusts in the human.’ But the god who took a body and became a human, I worship and glorify.” (*Jeremiah 17:5*)

**26** The leader said<sup>o</sup>, “Do what the kings have commanded, and what is in your mind is yours. If you be willing to let it go, well and good. And if you are not willing, then do not leave it.”

Habbib said<sup>o</sup>, “Both these things cannot be, because falsehood is contrary to truth, nor so is it possible for that thought to be taken away which is firmly fixed in my mind.”

**27** The leader said<sup>o</sup>, “By bitterer and harder tortures, I will make you put away from you thoughts, that of which you said, ‘It is firmly fixed in my mind.’”

Habbib said<sup>o</sup>, “These afflictions about which you suppose that by them it will be rooted up from my thoughts, it is by them *that* it grows in the midst of my thoughts like a tree bearing fruit.”

**28** The leader said<sup>o</sup>, “What help can stripes and tearing of combs give to this tree of yours? And more especially at the time which I order fire against it, to burn it unsparingly?”

Habbib said<sup>o</sup>, “Those things which you are looking at, I am not looking *at*, because I contemplate the things which are not seen; and on this account, I do the will of God who makes, and not that of an idol which is made, which cannot even feel anything.”

**29** The leader said<sup>o</sup>, “Because, in-this-manner, he denies the gods whom the kings worship, let more tearing of combs be added to his former combings. For in the many questions which I have had the patience with him to ask him, he has forgotten his former tearings of combs.”

And while they were tearing him, he was crying aloud and saying, “The sufferings of the present season are not worthy to be compared with the glory which is going to be revealed in those who love the Anointed-One.” (*Rom. 8:18*)

**30** And when the leader saw, that not even under these afflictions would he sacrifice, he said to him, “So your teaching teaches you, that you should hate your own bodies.”

Habbib said<sup>o</sup>, “We do not hate our bodies. It is indeed written for us, ‘Whosoever might cause his soul to perish will find it.’ But another thing is also written for us, that we may not give the holy-thing to the dogs, and that we may not throw our pearls in-front-of-the pigs.” (*Mark 16:25 & Matthew 7:6*)

**31** The leader said<sup>o</sup>, “I know that you\* are all speaking in-this-manner, in order that my rage and the anger of my mind may be excited, and that I should give sentence of death against you speedily. Therefore, I will not be hurried on to what you are desiring. But I will have patience, not, indeed, for your ease, but in order that the affliction of your tortures may be increased, and that you might see you flesh falling off before you by the combs which are passing over your sides.”

Habbib says, “I also am looking to this, that you should multiply your tortures upon me as you have said.”

**32** The leader said<sup>o</sup>, “Comply with the kings, who have authority to do whatsoever they will.”

Habbib said<sup>o</sup>, “There are no men who do whatsoever they will, but only God, whose authority is over the heaven and over all the inhabitants of the earth; nor is there anyone who can blame his actions and say to him ‘What are you doing?’”

**33** The leader said<sup>o</sup>, “For this insolence of your death by the sword is too little, but I am prepared to decree against you a death bitterer than that of the sword.”

Habbib said<sup>o</sup>, “But I look for a death more lingering than that of the sword, which you will decree against me at the time which you wish.”

**34** And afterward, the leader began to give the sentence of death against him. And he called out aloud before his corps of officials, and says, *with* the nobles of the city also hearing him, “Habbib, this fellow who has denied the gods (as you\*

<sup>1</sup> The date of this festival should be 09-01

<sup>2</sup> (319 or 320)-09-02

<sup>3</sup> literally “spoke”

also have heard from him) and has likewise insulted the kings, it is right that his life also should be wiped out from under this honored sun, and that he should not see this light, the associate of the gods. And were it not *for the fact* that it has been commanded by former kings, that the corpses of murderers should be buried, it would be right that the corpse of this fellow should not even be buried, because he has been so insolent. I command, that a strap be cast into his mouth as into the mouth of a murderer, and that he be burned by a slow lingering fire, that the torture of his death may be increased.”

**35** And he went out from the presence of the leader with the strap thrust into his mouth. And a multitude of the people of the city was running after him. Now the Christians were rejoicing that he had not turned aside nor abandoned his state of life, and those *of the nations* were threatening him because he would not sacrifice. And they took him out by the western gate, *the gate* of the arches, facing the cemetery which was built by Abshelama, son of Abgar. Now his mother was clad in white, and she was going out with him.

**36** And when he had arrived at the place where they were going to burn him, he stood up and prayed, and *so did* all those that were going out with him. And he said, “King Anointed-One, you to whom belongs this world and the world to come, look and see, that though I was able to flee from these afflictions, I did not flee, *so* that I might not fall into the hands of your justice. Let this fire, in which I am to be burned, be to me for a recompense before you, *so* that I may be delivered from that fire which is not extinguished, and receive my spirit in your presence into the spirit of your divinity, glorious son of the adorable Father!”

And when he had prayed, he turned and blessed them. And they gave to him the greeting as they wept, men and women, and they said<sup>o</sup> to him, “Pray for us in the presence of your Lord, that he would make his peace for his people, and renewal for his assemblies which are cast down.”

And while Habbib was standing, they dug a place. And they took him and set him in the midst of it, and they fixed him up by a stake. And they came to bind him to the stake, and he said to them, “I will not stir from this place in which you\* are going to burn me.”

**37** And they brought faggots and set them in order, and they placed them on all sides of him. And when the fire burned up and its flames ascended fiercely, they called out to him, “Open your mouth!”

**38a** And the moment he opened his mouth, his soul had mounted up. And they exclaimed, both men and women, with the voice of weeping. And they drew him and took him up out of the fire. And they threw over him fine linen and choice unguents and spices. And they seized upon some of the faggots for burning him. And they carried him (both brothers and men of the world). And they wrapped him up and buried him by Guria and Shmona the testifiers, in the same grave in which they were placed, on the hill which is called Beth-Alah-Kikla, saying over him psalms and hymns, and carrying his burnt body in procession affectionately and honorably. **38b** And even some Judeans and *those of the nations* took part in shrouding and burying his body with the Christian brothers. Now at the time of his burning, and also at the time when they buried him, there was one spectacle of grief spread over those within and those without, and tears were running down from all eyes, while every one was giving glory to God, for whose name he had given his body to the burning of fire.

**39** Now the day on which he was burned was Saturday, the second of Elul,<sup>1</sup> on the day that it was heard that Constantine the Great had begun to depart from the interior of Spania, in order to proceed to Roma, the city of Italia, *so* that he might carry on the war with Licinius, who at this day has the dominion over the eastern parts of the Roman dominions. And, behold, the countries are in commotion on all sides, because no man knows which of them will be victorious and continue in the power of the empire. And at this news, the persecution relaxed a little from the assemblies.

Now the notaries wrote down every thing which they had heard from the judge. And the confidants of the city wrote the rest of the things which were said outside the door of the judgment hall; and, as was the custom, they made known to the judge all which they heard and saw, and their sentences are recorded in their acts.

And Theophilus (who had renounced the evil inheritance of his fathers and confessed the Anointed-One) gave diligence and wrote a copy of these acts of Habbib, as he had formerly written of Guria and of Shmona, his fellow-testifiers. For the afflictions of these testifiers (and of those whom he had heard of) opened the eyes of Theophilus and enlightened his mind, and he confessed the Anointed-One, that he is the son of God, and that he is a god.

[ANTONIUS Chapter 81 – Constantinus and his sons send for him, before May 22, 337. Some modern chronology gives 333 for the dating of this letter.]

**81** But the declaration of Antonius came even until kings. For after Constantinus the August-One and his sons, Constantius and Constans the August-Ones, learned these *things*, they were writing to him as to a father, and they were praying to be receiving a written-reply from him. Instead, he was neither making

something much concerning<sup>2</sup> the documents, nor had he reveled on-the-basis-of the letters. But he was the same such-as *he had been* even before the *act* for the kings to be writing to him.

But when they were conveying the letters to him, he was calling the monks, and he was saying, “*All of you\**, do not be marveling if a king is writing to us. For he is a human. Instead, be rather marveling that God wrote the law to humans, and he has uttered to us through his own son.” Therefore, indeed, he was not willing to be accepting the letters, saying that he did had not come-to-know<sup>3</sup> *how* to be writing-a-reply to such *things*.

But after he was propelled from the monks, that “The kings are Christians,” and, in order that they might not be impeded as *men who* were disregarded, he was permitting *the letters* to be being read-aloud. And he was writing-a-reply, indeed, welcoming them, because they are bowing-down-to the Anointed-One; but he was taking-counsel-together *with them* for the *things in-regard-to* salvation; and *for them* to not be deeming the *things which* are-present to be great, *but* instead to rather be remembering the judging *which is* going to be coming, and to have come-to-know that the Anointed-One alone is a truthful and perpetual king. He was also begging them to be philanthropic, and to be being-concerned-about the right way and the destitute *persons*.

And *while* they were accepting *it*, they were rejoicing. This-is-how he was deserving-of-friendship from all; and all were deeming to be having him for a father.

**82a** Therefore, he was surely being known as such a *man*, and in-this-manner was replying to the *ones who were* meeting *him...*

## SHRINE OF THE EMISSARIES

[Life: 4.58:1-60:5]

Now *Constantinus* was preparing for himself to be building the Testimony (called ‘Marturion’ in the Hellenic tongue) on-the-basis of a memory of the emissaries in the city surnamed *after himself* (that is, Constantinopolis). But after he himself lifted-up **all parts** of an inner-sanctum into an unutterable height, he was making *it* flash-forth with varieties of all-sorts-of stones, compressing it from<sup>4</sup> *the* ground into *the* ceiling. But after he divided<sup>5</sup> the roof with thin coffered-works, he was covering the entirety<sup>6</sup> with gold. But up above this toward *the* housetop itself, he indeed was affording *it* with bronze in-place of ceramaic-tile for a guard to the work from<sup>7</sup> heavy-rains. But even much gold was shining-around this, as for it to, by-means-of the reflecting rays of *the* sun, to be sending forth a sparkle to the *ones who were* seeing *it* from afar. But carving-in-low-relief made-in-net-fashion, having been worked-out<sup>8</sup> *in* bronze and gold, was encircling round-about the small-housetop. But on-both-sides of the inner-sanctum was an all-great open court, having been spanned-up into *the* clean air. But running-through in this four-sided *court* were porticos (taking-from the open middle *in the* inner-sanctum itself) as-well-as royal houses *in* the porticoes. It was being stretched-out-beside with both baths and lampstores, as-well-as other most *grand* hotels having been requisitely worked to the sentries of the place.

*The* king was consecrating-away all these *with the intention* to perpetuate among<sup>9</sup> all *humans* the memory of the emissaries of our Savior. But he was resultantly building, watching-out for even another thing *in his*<sup>10</sup> mindset, which, surely, escaping-notice at the first, was becoming detected toward the end by all the *persons*. At-least-then, he himself dealt-out the place in-here to himself for<sup>11</sup> a season *when it was* being-necessary for his end, foreseeing with surpassing eagerness that after death his own tent-like-structure (that is, his body) should become a communer of the sayings-to the emissaries, whenever even after *his* end he might be deemed-worthy of the prayers *which were* going to be completely-finished in-here on-the-basis of honor of the emissaries.

For-this-reason, he was even inciting *for them* to be assembling in-here, after he pitched a middle sacrificial-altar. But therefore, after he arose twelve sheaths on-the-spot, as-it-were, consecrated monuments on-the-basis of honor and

<sup>2</sup> literally “about”

<sup>3</sup> literally “saying to not have come-to-know”

<sup>4</sup> literally “out of”

<sup>5</sup> literally “took-through”

<sup>6</sup> literally “all”

<sup>7</sup> literally “toward”

<sup>8</sup> literally “worked-down”

<sup>9</sup> literally “into”

<sup>10</sup> literally “the”

<sup>11</sup> literally “into”

memory of the chorus of emissaries, he himself was putting his own coffin *in the middle*, of which *those* of the emissaries were being fully-disposed six up each-side. Indeed, *while* having formed<sup>1</sup> these *things* beforehand in his<sup>2</sup> rationalization for<sup>3</sup> a long *time* and very-long-ago, he was consecrating-away the inner-sanctum to the emissaries, supposing *that* this-here memory *was going* to be making to him for himself a profit-bringing profit to a soul.

Now this inner-sanctum become a great snare. For many were enticed to sin by seeking and praying to the dead and offering sacrifices to the emissaries, rather than to the Father, Yahweh God.

### CONSTANTINUS STRUCK WITH ILLNESS

[Life 4.60:5-4.64:1

For as *Constantinus* was completely-fulfilling the first exercises of the Passover festival as-well-as spent the day of *the Savior* bright but-even glad, and was completely finishing-out these *very things*, some irregularity of the body first came-to-be to him. Therefore, next, an evil-treatment<sup>4</sup> happened upon this. After that he went-forward onto baths of warm waters of his city, as-well-as from-here reached onto the city surnamed *after* his mother. In-there, after he spent *time* in the praying-place house of the testifiers, he was sending-up both supplicatory prayers and entreaties to God.

But since the end of his lifetime came<sup>5</sup> into *his* thinking, he no longer held off his immersion into the faith, but was thoroughly-comprehending this to be *the* time of cleaning of the mistakes he had made at-any-time. Consequently, after he thoroughly-comprehended this, he was bending-his-knee upon *the* ground. He was becoming a suppliant of God, confessing-forth in the Testimony itself. There he first received the prayers through *the* laying-on-of-hands.

But after he stepped from out-of-in-here upon a suburb of the city of Nikomédeia, he, after he called-together the overseers in-here, dialogued to them here in-this-way:

“This itself was my season *which* I was hoping for of-old, *while* I was both thirsting and praying to obtain the salvation in a god. *It is* even an hour of ours to enjoy the immortal-making seal, an hour of the saving sealing-thing, at-which-time I was comprehending-in *my mind* to have-a-share-of on *the* flow of the Jordan river, on which place even the Savior for<sup>6</sup> *us* is being remembered to have-a-share-of the bath. But resultantly, a god *who* has known the *things which are* being-beneficial, is already deeming us to-be-worthy of these *things* from-here. Therefore, let there not be being any ambiguity. For if the Lord of life and of death would be wanting us *to be* living in-here again, even in-this-way, let it be once ordained for me to be being herded-together for *any* remaining *time* with the people of God, and to be communing unitedly with the prayers, with all the *ones who are* assembling. I shall already thoroughly-put-in-order for<sup>7</sup> myself: institutes of a lifestyle *which are* being-proper to a god.” These indeed were surely *the things* which were said.

But the elders performed the institutes which were customary to the Christians there in those days. But as these things were being fulfilled, he was clothing himself with bright and royal adornings *which were* shining in the manner of light. He also thoroughly-rested himself upon a white bed-spread, after he was no-longer wanting to come-in-contact with a seapurple-robe.

After-that, he raised his<sup>8</sup> voice high-up. He was sending-up a thankful prayer to God, after which he was leading-on, saying, “Now I have come-to-know, by-means-of a truthful account, *that I* myself *am* happy; now, to have been shown worthy of the immortal life; now to have partook of the divine light.” Instead, he was even recalling wretched *persons*, saying *that* the *ones who were* being bereaved of these-here good *things were going* to be struggling.

But since the squadron-chiefs and tutors of the military-encampments, after they came-by inside, were bitterly-lamenting, weeping-for their own desolate *conditions* to be, they were also praying time of life over him. And he replied to them *and* was declaring, *that he now came* to have been deemed-worthy of the truthful life, as-well-as for him to have come-to-know only good *things* which he had partook of. For-this-reason, *they were* even to be hastening but-not to be adjourning the journey toward his God.

Next, upon these *things*, he was ordering the *things* belonging-to<sup>9</sup> *him* to be distributed. And indeed, *certain* Romans, the *ones who were* dwelling in the royal city, he was honoring with yearly givings; but to his boys, he was delivering (even-as a certain patrilineal possession) the lot of the kingdom, after he thoroughly-impressed<sup>10</sup> everything, as-much-as was friendly to him.

But each of these *events* was being completely-finished on the festival called ‘Fiftieth’.

<sup>1</sup> literally “typed”

<sup>2</sup> literally “the”

<sup>3</sup> literally “out of”

<sup>4</sup> literally “eviling”

<sup>5</sup> literally “became-there”

<sup>6</sup> literally “into”

<sup>7</sup> literally “to/with”

<sup>8</sup> literally “the”

<sup>9</sup> literally “fitting-to”

<sup>10</sup> literally “thoroughly-typed”

[ANTONIUS 68~80 – 338 AD – see Festal Index]

**68** But he had not at-any-time communed with the {Meletian} schismatics, having come-to-know their wickedness and secession from<sup>11</sup> *the* beginning. Neither did he converse in-a-friendly-manner with *the* Manicheans or certain other sectarians (or only up-to *the point* of an admonition of the change<sup>12</sup> into piety), deeming and transmitting-a-message that friendship and conversation with these *individuals* was<sup>13</sup> harm and perdition of soul.

Accordingly, in-the-*same*-manner, he was also abhorring the sect of the Areians. He was also transmitting-a-message to all neither to be drawing-near to them, nor to be having *their* evil-faith. Accordingly, at-some-time, after certain of the Areians came-off to him, he, after he examined *them* and learned *that* they *were* committing-impety, he pursued *them* from the mountain, saying that their accounts were<sup>14</sup> worse than poison of serpents.

**69** But at-some-time, after the Areians lied, as *if* that *man* was being of the same mind as *them*, he was becoming-indignant and was becoming-infuriated against those *men*. Next, after he was exhorted from both the overseers and all the brothers, he came-down from the mountain. And after he entered into Alexandria, he publicly-renounced<sup>15</sup> the Areians, and he was teaching his belief that the son of God was not a creature.

**70** Therefore, indeed, all the peoples were rejoicing *while* they *were* hearing the teaching of the Areians being bound-with-imprecations from such a man. But all the *ones* of the city were running-together to see Antonius. Both Hellenes and the *ones* being said to be their priests, were coming into the lord’s *house*, saying, “We are begging to see the human of God.” (For all were calling him in-this-manner.) For even therefore, the Lord cleansed many from demons through him and healed *those who* were harmed in *their* mindset. But even many Hellenes were begging even-if-at-any-time to be only touching the old-man, having-faith to be being profited. Without-concern, so-many have become Christians in those few days, as-many-as someone would see come-to-be every-year.

Next, *while* someone was concluding that he was being disturbed<sup>16</sup> from<sup>17</sup> the crowds, and, due to this, was turning all away from him, he himself, not being disturbed, was saying, “These *persons* are not more than those demons with whom we are wrestling in the mountain.”

**71** But when he was going-away-from-his-own-populace and {{WE}} were sending him on-ahead, as {{WE}} preceded into the gate, a certain woman from-behind was crying out, “Remain, O human of God. My daughter is being terribly annoyed by a demon. Remain, I am exhorting, lest even-I might become-endangered *while* running.”

After the old-man heard *her* and after he was begged from {{US}}, he, wanting *to*, remained. But as he drew-near, indeed, the little-girl had been cast on-the-ground. But after Antonius prayed-to God, and after he named the Anointed-One, the little-girl was arisen healthy, after the unclean demon came-out. The mother was also blessing God, and all were giving-thanks. But even he himself was rejoicing, going-away-from-his-own-populace, as into his own house, into the mountain.

[ANTONIUS Chapter 82~85 – Return to Inner Mountain – 338+]

**82b** He was returning again into the inner mountain. And, indeed, he was having the usual exercising. But many-times *while* he was sitting himself down and walking-around with the *ones who were* entering to him, he became-mute. And indeed, after an hour, he himself was conversing with the brothers *who were* being-together with him. But the *ones* being-together with *him* were sensing that he was looking<sup>18</sup> at a certain perception. For even many-times *while* he was happening *to be* in the mountain, he was looking at the *things which were* coming-to-be in Egypt, and he described *it* to {{Sarapion}} the overseer, *who* was inside and was looking at Antonius *who* was occupied with a supernatural-sight.

Accordingly, at-some-time, *while* he was sitting himself down and was working, he came-to-be, as-though in an ecstasy, and he was groaning much in the perception. Next, after an hour, he, after he was turned toward the *ones who were* being-together with *him*, he was groaning. And after he became trembling, he was praying. And bowing his<sup>19</sup> knees, he was continuing for<sup>20</sup> much *time*. And after the old-man stood-up, he was weeping. Now-consequently, after the *ones*

<sup>11</sup> literally “out of”

<sup>12</sup> literally “throwing-into-a-different-position”

<sup>13</sup> literally “message for friendship...to be”

<sup>14</sup> literally “saying for their accounts to be”

<sup>15</sup> literally “preached-off”

<sup>16</sup> literally “concluding for him to be being troubled”

<sup>17</sup> literally “out of”

<sup>18</sup> literally “sensing for him to be looking”

<sup>19</sup> literally “the”

<sup>20</sup> literally “on/over”

being-together *with him* became trembling and after they were much filled-with-fear, they were begging to learn from him. And they utterly-annoyed *him* much till after he was forced to speak.

But after the *man* also groaned greatly in-this-manner, he was saying, “O children, *it were* better to die-off before the *event* for the *things* of the perception to come-to-be.”

But *while the men were* again begging, he, after he shed-tears, was saying, “Anger is going to be overtaking the assembly, and it is going to be being delivered to humans *who are* like irrational livestock. For I saw the table of the lord’s *house*, and mules<sup>1</sup> having stood around it in-a-circle from-every-quarter, and kicking the *things* inside in-this-manner, as a kick would come-to-be of livestock *while they are* skipping disorderly. But you\* all sensed,” he declared<sup>2</sup>, “how I was groaning. For I heard a voice saying, ‘My sacrificial-altar will be abominated.’”

But as he saw this perception, he exhorted the *ones* being-together *with him*, saying, “All of you\*, do not be lacking-motivation, children. For as-though the Lord was angered, in-this-manner he will again heal. And *once* again the assembly will quickly receive-back for itself its own ornamentation, and it will shine-up as-is-usual. And you\* will see for yourselves the *ones who* were pursued being restored, and indeed the impiety again retiring into its own burrow, but the pious faith being-outspoken with all freedom everywhere. Only may you\* not stain yourselves with the {{Aρείans}}. For their teaching is not of the emissaries, *but* instead of the demons and their father the Slanderer. And it is rather barren<sup>3</sup> and irrational and not of an upright mindset, as the irrationality of the mules.<sup>3</sup>

**84** Accordingly, Antonius was not treating *by ordering*, *but* instead *by praying* and confessing the Anointed-One, as *for it* to become manifest to all *persons*, that he himself was not the *one* making *these things*, *but* instead the Lord, *who*, through Antonius, was showing-philanthropy and treating the *ones who* were suffering. But only the prayer and the exercising *were* of Antonius, for-sake of which he was sitting himself in the mountain. Indeed, he was rejoicing *in* the perception of the divine *things*, but was being grieved *while* being utterly-annoyed by many *persons* and being drawn into the mountain, the outer *mountain*. For even every dealer-of-justice was also begging for him to be coming-down from the mountain, since it was not possible for them to enter there, due to the *ones who were* following of the *ones who were* giving-rightful-punishments. But they were similarly begging, in order that he might come and they might only see him.

Therefore, indeed, he was turning himself aside and was refusing the way to these *individuals*. But the *men* were remaining-on, and they were sending-to *him* even more the *ones* being amenable under soldiers, in order that, even-if-at-any-time, he might come-down due to that pretext.

Therefore, he, suffering obligation and seeing them lamenting, indeed, was coming into the mountain, the outer *mountain*. But again his spoil was not unprofitable. For indeed, his reaching *them* was becoming *made* into profit and into good-work for many. But he was helping the dealers-of-justice, counseling-together *with them* to rather be preferring<sup>4</sup> the righteous *action* to all *other things*, and to be filling themselves with-fear of God, and to have come-to-know that with whatever<sup>5</sup> judgment they will judge, they will be judged. Nevertheless, he was loving the pastime in the mountain more *than* all *other things*.

**85** Therefore, at-some-time, after he suffered such a force from the *ones who were* having need and after the expedition-leader begged through many *individuals* for him to come-down, he, after he came and after he conversed a little *about the things* preceding into salvation and about the *things which they were* beseeching *him*, he was being pressed. But *while* the *one* being said-to-be a duke was begging for him to be lingering,<sup>6</sup> he was saying that he was not being enabled<sup>7</sup> to be taking-time with them. And he was persuading this *man* with a graceful *notion*, saying, “Even-as the fishes, *while they are* taking-time-in the dry earth, are coming-to-their-end, in-the-same-manner, *so are* the monks, *while they are* being-slow with you\* and *are* spending-time-out in your\* presence, are becoming-faint. Therefore, even-as it is necessary for the fish *to go* into the sea, in-the-same-manner *it is necessary* for us to be being pressed into the mountain. Lest-perhaps, *while we are* lingering,<sup>8</sup> we might forget the *things* within.”

But after the expedition-leader heard these *things* from him, and many different *things*, he, after he marveled, was saying, “Truly, *I have found* this *man* to be a slave of God. For how-is-it *that* a plebian *could* also have so-much mind, if he was not being loved by God.”

[ANTONIUS Chapter 86 - Balacius and Nestorius]

<sup>1</sup> literally “half-donkeys”

<sup>2</sup> literally “without-offspring”

<sup>3</sup> literally “half-donkeys”

<sup>4</sup> literally “to judge-before”

<sup>5</sup> literally “that such-as”

<sup>6</sup> literally “slowing-in”

<sup>7</sup> literally “saying to not be being enabled”

<sup>8</sup> literally “slowing-in”

[See History Ariens 14, where the letter is sent to Gregory, who died on June 26, 345. This story is also mentioned there.]

[Nestorius was prefect 345-352 – see Festive Index Letters, where the year 345 is from August 344 to August 345.]

**86** But one certain expedition-leader (now his name was Balacius {{Βαλάκιος}}) was bitterly pursuing the Christians due to his<sup>9</sup> effort in-behalf of the Aereians. And since *his* cruel *treatment* was so-much as to even be beating virgins and to be stripping-naked and to be whipping monks, Antonius commissioned<sup>10</sup> *someone* to him, and he wrote<sup>11</sup> a letter having a mind such *as this*, “I am seeing anger coming-on upon you. Therefore, cease yourself *from* pursuing Christians, lest at-some-time the anger might overtake you. For it is already going to be coming upon you.”

But after {{Balacius}} laughed, he indeed cast the letter on-the-ground after he spit into it; but he outraged the *ones who were* conveying *it*, after he transmitted-a-message to bring this message to Antonius, “Since you are being-concerned about the monks, I will already come-after even you.”

Not even five days passed, and the anger overtook him. For both {{Balacius}} himself and {{Nestorius Νεστόριος}} (the prefect of Egypt) came-out into the first stopping-place<sup>10</sup> of Alexandria (the *one* said-to-be Chaereu {{Χαιρέου}}), and indeed both were sitting themselves down upon horses. But these were {{Balacius}}’ own *horses*, and *the* meekest of all the *ones which* were being nourished from him. Instead, after they did not-yet precede into their place of *destination*, they began to be playing with one-another, as they have been accustomed. And suddenly, the meekest *one*, upon which {{Nestorius}} was sitting himself down, after it threw {{Balacius}} down with a bite, fell upon him. And in-this-manner, it convulsed his thigh with its<sup>11</sup> teeth, as, indeed, *causing him* to straightaway be carried-away into the city, but in three days to die-off. And all *were caused* to be marveling, because *things* which Antonius fore-spoke had<sup>12</sup> quickly been fulfilled.

[ANTONIUS Chapter 87-88 – Misc.]

**87** Therefore, indeed, this-is-how *Antonius* was urging the more-bitter *ones*. But the others, the *ones who were* meeting with him in-this-manner, he was admonishing, *so as to cause them* to be forgetting the very *act* to be executing-rightful-punishments *against one another*, and to be considering-happy the *ones who were* retiring from this *present* lifetime. But in-this-manner, he was presiding<sup>13</sup> himself over the *ones who* were being treated-unrighteously, *so as to cause one* to be concluding that he instead was<sup>14</sup> the *one who* was suffering and not another. But in-this-manner, he again was adequate toward *providing* profit to all, *so as* for many *who were* serving-as-soldiers and the *ones* having obtained their many *possessions*, to put-off from themselves the heavy-weights of the *present* lifetime, and to be becoming monks for the remaining *time*.

For who, being grieved, was meeting him and was not returning rejoicing? Who, singing-a-dirge due to the *ones* having become-dead of his, and was not straightaway putting-off from himself the mourning? Who, being angered, was coming and was not being thrown-into-a-different-position into friendship? Who, being-indifferent, was meeting *him*, and, hearing of him and looking at him, was not despising of the riches and consoling himself for poverty? Which monk, after he belittled and after he came to him, did not become *even* more stronger? Which younger *man*, after he came into the mountain and after he perceived Antonius, was not straightaway denying-forth the pleasure and loving sound-mindedness? Who, being tried by a demon, was coming to him, and was not resting himself up. But who, being annoyed in rationalizing,<sup>15</sup> was coming, and was not becoming-placid in the mindset?

**88** For even this was also a great *thing* of the exercising of Antonius, that, having a bestowed-favor of discerning of spirits, he was recognizing their movements. And he was not being-ignorant-of this: toward whatever *target* anyone of them was having for *their* effort and *their* rush. And not only was he himself not being played with by them, *but* instead, *even while* he was exhorting the *ones who were* being annoyed in rationalizings,<sup>16</sup> he was teaching *them* how they would be being-able to be overturning the plots-against *them* of those *demons*. *He did this* by describing the weaknesses and the craftinesses of the *beings who were* operating.

Accordingly, each *one*, as-though being oiled-up from him, was coming-down, being-encouraged *against* the designs of the Slanderer and *against* his demons. But even many virgins *who were* having betrothers, after they only saw Antonius from the other-side, remained virgins to the Anointed-One. But they

<sup>9</sup> literally “the”

<sup>10</sup> literally “place-to-remain”

<sup>11</sup> literally “the”

<sup>12</sup> literally “have”

<sup>13</sup> literally “standing”

<sup>14</sup> literally “concluding him to be”

<sup>15</sup> may also be translated “accounting”

<sup>16</sup> may also be translated “accountings”



were also coming to him from the outer parts. And they themselves, with all *others*, having *received* the help, were returning, as being sent-on-ahead as from a father. (Without-concern, after he himself fell-asleep, all, as *men who became* orphaned of a father, exhorted themselves only with the memory of this man, simultaneously retaining his admonitions and his exhortations.)

[ANTONIUS Chapter 89-93 – Death of Antonius – sometime in 356]

**89** Now, according to the accustomed *procedure*, *Antonius* was looking-after the monks, the *ones who were* in the mountain, the outer *mountain*. And after he learned-in-addition<sup>1</sup> from the foresight of *God* about his-own end, he was uttering to the brothers, saying, “This is the last looking-after I am making to you. And I wonder<sup>2</sup> if we will perceive ourselves again in this lifetime. It is a season for me to dissolve for the remaining *time*. For I am nearly a hundred and five years *old*.”

Therefore, indeed, after the *men* heard *this*, they were weeping, and they were furling *themselves* around the old-man and were affectionately-kissing *him*.

But *while* the *old-man* (as if lifting-off from a foreign city into his-own) was rejoicing, he was dialoguing and was transmitting-a-message to them: Not to be belittling in their exertions, but-not to be giving-up in their exercising, *but* instead to be living as *though* they were dying-off *day* by day; and (exactly-as he spoke-before) to be making-*every-effort* to be guarding the soul from filthy rationalizings;<sup>3</sup> and to be having the zeal<sup>4</sup> toward the holy *ones*; but not to be drawing-near to any {Meletians} who are the schismatics, “For all of you\* have come-to-know their wicked and profane preference”;<sup>5</sup> but not to be having any communion with the Arians, “For even the impiety of these *persons* is even quite-clear to all. But all of you\*, do not be being disturbed whenever you\* might perceive the dealers-of-justice presiding<sup>6</sup> themselves over them. For it will cease itself, and their showy-display<sup>7</sup> is mortal and for<sup>8</sup> a little *duration*. Therefore, be keeping<sup>9</sup> yourselves *even* more clean from these *individuals*, and be keeping both the traditions of the fathers and, antecedently, the pious faith into our Lord Jesus the Anointed-One, which indeed you\* have learned out of the writings, but were caused-to-remember many-times from *me*.”

**90** But *while* the brothers were forcing him to remain with them and to come-to-his-finish there, he did not tolerate *this*, indeed, due to many *reasons* (as he himself was even showing<sup>10</sup> by being-quiet), but especially even this: The Egyptians, indeed, are being-fond to be entombing the bodies of the effortful *men who are coming-to-their-end* (and especially *those* of the holy testifiers) and to be rolling-up *their bodies* all around with linen-strips, but not to be hiding *them* under earth, *but* instead to be putting *them* on small-pallets and to be guarding *them* within the-presence of themselves, concluding in this to be honoring the *ones who came-away from this life*.

But Antonius was many-times begging even overseers to be transmitting-a-message to the peoples about this. But *in* like *manner*, he was also overturning *those* of-the-people and was sharply-rebuking women, saying, that this *practice* was<sup>11</sup> neither lawful nor wholly sacred, but that the bodies of the *ones who came-to-their-end* should be hidden. Therefore, many, after they heard, hid *the bodies* under earth for *the remaining time*, and they were giving-thanks to the Lord after they were taught beautifully.

**91** But he himself, knowing this *practice* and filling himself with-fear that they might not even do *this* in-this-manner for his body, pressed himself, after he explicitly-gave-orders to the monks in the outer mountain. And after he entered into the inner mountain (where he had even been accustomed to be remaining), he became-sick after a few months.

And after he called the *ones* being-together with him (now there were two, whichever *ones* remained within for fifteen years, exercising and assisting him due to his<sup>12</sup> old-age), he was saying to them, “Indeed, *I*, as it has been written, am going the way of the fathers. For I am seeing that I myself am being called by the Lord. But you\*, be being-sober and may you\* not cause your\* exercising *which you\* have done* for a-very-long-time to perish. Instead, as *though* now having to be beginning, make-*every-effort* to be keeping your-own eagerness. You\* have come-to-know the demons *which are* plotting-against *us*. You\* have come-to-know, indeed, how savage<sup>13</sup> they are, but *how* weak *they are* in their power. Therefore, may you\* not be being filled-with-fear of them, *but* instead rather be perpetually breathing the Anointed-One again and be putting-faith *in* this *one*. And live as *though* dying-off *day* by day, paying-attention to yourselves and

remembering *any* urgings which you\* heard from *me*. And let there be not-one communion with you\* with the schismatics, nor at-all<sup>14</sup> with the sectarian Arians. For you\* have come-to-know how even-*I* was turning myself aside from these *individuals* due to their fighting-the-Anointed-One and sect *which is* holding-different-opinions. But *you\** make-*every-effort* *even* more to be perpetually engaging yourselves, indeed, antecedently, to the Lord, but after-that to the holy *ones*, in order that after death they might accept you\* into the perpetual tents, as *those who are* friendly and known to *them*. Be accounting these *things*, be being-minded *about* these *things*. And if *you\** are caring about *me* and remembering *me* as about a father, would you\* not permit<sup>15</sup> anyone to take my body into Egypt, lest-somehow I might be put-away into the houses. For in-favor of this, I entered into the mountain, and I came here. But you\* have even come-to-know how I was perpetually inverting the *ones who were* doing this and was transmitting-a-message *for them* to cease themselves of this customary-experience. Therefore, *you\**, entomb *my body*, and hide *it* under earth. And let the words from *me* be being observed by you\*, so-as for no-one to be knowing the place, except you\* alone. For *I*, in the standing-up of the dead *humans*, will receive it incorruptible from the Savior. But distribute my dresses. And, indeed, give the one sheepskin to Athanasios the overseer, and *also* the robe which was being spread-under *me*, *which*, indeed, he himself has given to me new, but *which* has been grown-old with *me*. But also give the other<sup>16</sup> sheepskin to {{Sarapion}} the overseer. And *you\**, be having the dress made-of-hair. And for *the remainder*, be being saved, children. For Antonius is stepping-from *one place* to *another*, and is not still with you\*.”

**92** After he spoke these *things*, and after those *individuals* embraced<sup>17</sup> him, he picked-up-and-stretched-out his<sup>18</sup> feet. And after he became deeply-joyful (for *while* he was being reclined his<sup>19</sup> face was appearing cheerful), he failed,<sup>20</sup> and he was added to the fathers. And for *the remaining time*, those *individuals*, after they entombed and rolled *him* up (even-as he had given instructions to them), they hid his body under earth. And no-one up-to-this-time has come-to-know where it has been hidden, except for the two of them only. But also each of the *ones who* received the sheepskin of the happy Antonius and the robe having been worn down by him, guarded it for himself as *if it were* some great amount of money (looking at it and even clothing himself with it).

**93** This is the end of the life of Antonius in a body, and this was *the* beginning of *this type* of the exercising. Antonius, the human of God, from<sup>21</sup> youth until such stature kept the uniform<sup>22</sup> eagerness of the exercising. And neither due to the old-age was he worsted by-means-of extravagance of nourishment, nor due to relaxation of his-own body did he change the semblance of his<sup>23</sup> dress or wash even his<sup>24</sup> feet at-any-time with water; and he similarly continued in all *things* unharmed. For even he was also having his<sup>25</sup> eyes unimpaired and totally-sound, *able* to be looking beautifully. But not-even one of his<sup>26</sup> teeth fell-out of him, but they had only become worn by the gums due to the long<sup>27</sup> stature of the old-man. But he even continued healthy *in* the feet and the hands, and he himself was wholly appearing more-beaming and more-eager toward strength than all the *ones* making-use-of various nourishment and baths and diverse dresses. But throughout everywhere *his name* was cried forth. And, indeed, he was being marveled at by all, but was being yearned for even by the *ones who* had not seen him, who had heard of him even in Spania and in Gallia and in Roma and in Africa *although* he was having hid himself and having sat himself in a mountain. For Antonius was not made-known from out of written-compositions, not-even out of the outwardly wisdom, not-even due to some art, but only due to a reverence-for-God.

## HILARION

Chapter 11a  
[21st to 26th year / 312-318AD]

Chapter 11b  
[27th to 30th year / 318-321AD]

<sup>1</sup> literally “learned-besides”

<sup>2</sup> literally “marvel”

<sup>3</sup> may also be translated “accountings”

<sup>4</sup> may also be translated “jealously”

<sup>5</sup> literally “choosing-of-one-thing-before-another”

<sup>6</sup> literally “standing”

<sup>7</sup> literally “making-visible”

<sup>8</sup> literally “to/toward”

<sup>9</sup> literally “guarding”

<sup>10</sup> literally “shining-in”

<sup>11</sup> literally “saying this to be”

<sup>12</sup> literally “the”

<sup>13</sup> literally “of-the-field”

<sup>14</sup> literally “wholly”

<sup>15</sup> literally “dismiss”

<sup>16</sup> literally “different”

<sup>17</sup> usually translated “greet”

<sup>18</sup> literally “the”

<sup>19</sup> literally “the”

<sup>20</sup> literally “left-out”

<sup>21</sup> literally “out”

<sup>22</sup> literally “equal”

<sup>23</sup> literally “the”

<sup>24</sup> literally “the”

<sup>25</sup> literally “the”

<sup>26</sup> literally “the”

<sup>27</sup> literally “much”

Chapter 11c  
[31st to 35th year to 63rd year / 322~326~354AD]

### Chapter 13~28

[until age 37 – 22 years in solitude, about 328AD]  
[established a monastery in Palaestina in 329?AD]

Hilarion had already having *spent* twenty-two years in solitude (having come-to-be-known by all by so-much fame, *report of him* having been divulged even through all<sup>1</sup> the cities of Palaestina), when meanwhile a certain woman of Eleutheropolis was the first to became-audacious to be interrupting Hilarion. For she discerned that she was being despised by<sup>2</sup> her man due to sterility (for already through fifteen years she had not produced<sup>3</sup> any fruit of *their marriage* conjunction). And while he was suspecting nothing such-as-this, she...

... he directed her to be...  
... he saw her with a son.

Chapter 29  
[age 63 = 354AD]

Chapter 11d  
[64th to 80th year / 355~371AD]

Chapter 30~31 + 32  
[357AD? Visits Inner Mountain the anniversary of death of Antonius]

Chapter 33a  
[Julianus is emperor]

Chapter 33b  
[Death of Julianus, new emperor Jovianus – 363-06-26/363-08-20]

Chapter 34~39  
[sometime from 363 to 365 AD – journey to Libya and Sicilia and Dalmatia]

Chapter 40  
[tidalwave and earthquake – 365-07-21 AD]

Chapter 41~43  
[from 365~367 at Paphos / from 367~371 at Kypros]

Chapter 44  
[Hilarion is now 80 years old. 371AD]

Chapter 45~47

### [WORK IN PROGRESS – BOLD IS NOT MY OWN TRANSLATION]

#### LIFE OF MARTIN: CHAPTER 2

Now there was a certain man, Martinus, who was originating in the town of Sabaria of Pannonia, but was brought up at a different place, Ticinum within Italia. His parents were, following the dignity of this present age, not inferior, however, they were unbelievers of the nations. His father, but a soldier at first, afterward became a tribune of soldiers. Martinus himself, having followed the armed militia in his adolescence, performed-military-service among the scholaris wings (a schola was an elite cavalry regiment of about 500 troops). He served here first under King Constantine, next under Julianus Caesar. However, he did not do so of-his-own-freewill, because, almost from his first years, the sacred infancy of the illustrious boy rather breathed for divine servitude.

For when he was ten years old, he, against-the-will of his parents, completely-fled to the assembly of Christians. It followed that he requested to be being made an oral-student of the accounts of God. Soon, he, marvelous in measure, having been totally converted into the work of God, when he was twelve years old, lusted for the desert to be a monk. He would have done so, if his infirmity of age had not obstructed him. However, his soul was always intent on either things pertaining to the monasteries, or things pertaining to the assembly.

But when an edict came-to-be from the kings, that sons of veterans would be enrolled<sup>4</sup> into the militia, his father, giving-forward, which

and he, on the information furnished by his father, (who looked with an evil eye on his blessed actions) having been seized and put in chains, when he was fifteen years old, was compelled to take the military oath, then showed himself content with only one servant as his attendant.

And even to him, changing places as it were, he often acted as though, while really master, he had been inferior; to such a degree that, for the most part, he drew off his [servant's] boots and cleaned them with his own hand; while they took their meals together, the real master, however, generally acting the part of servant. During nearly three years before his baptism, he was engaged in the profession of arms, but he kept completely free from those vices in which that class of men become too frequently involved. He showed exceeding kindness towards his fellow-soldiers, and held them in wonderful affection; while his patience and humility surpassed what seemed possible to human nature. There is no need to praise the self-denial which he displayed: it was so great that, even at that date, he was regarded not so much as being a soldier as a monk. By all these qualities he had so endeared himself to the whole body of his comrades, that they esteemed him while they marvelously loved him. Although not yet made a new creature in Christ, he, by his good works, acted the part of a candidate for baptism. This he did, for instance, by aiding those who were in trouble, by furnishing assistance to the wretched, by supporting the needy, by clothing the naked, while he reserved nothing for himself from his military pay except what was necessary for his daily sustenance. Even then, far from being a senseless hearer of the Gospel, he so far complied with its precepts as to take no thought about the morrow.

#### Chapter 3

Accordingly, at a certain time, when...

Accordingly, at a certain period, when he had nothing except his arms and his simple military dress, in the middle of winter, a winter which had shown itself more severe than ordinary, so that the extreme cold was proving fatal to many, he happened to meet at the gate of the city of Amiens a poor man destitute of clothing. He was entreating those that passed by to have compassion upon him, but all passed the wretched man without notice, when Martin, that man full of God, recognized that a being to whom others showed no pity, was, in that respect, left to him. Yet, what should he do? He had nothing except the cloak in which he was clad, for he had already parted with the rest of his garments for similar purposes. Taking, therefore, his sword with which he was girt, he divided his cloak into two equal parts, and gave one part to the poor man, while he again clothed himself with the remainder. Upon this, some of the by-standers laughed, because he was now an unsightly object, and stood out as but partly dressed. Many, however, who were of sounder understanding, groaned deeply because they themselves had done nothing similar. They especially felt this, because, being possessed of more than Martin, they could have clothed the poor man without reducing themselves to nakedness. In the following night, when Martin had resigned himself to sleep, he had a vision of Christ arrayed in that part of his cloak with which he had clothed the poor man. He contemplated the Lord with the greatest attention, and was told to own as his the robe which he had given. Ere long, he heard Jesus saying with a clear voice to the multitude of angels standing round — "Martin, who is still but a catechumen, clothed Matthew 25:40 me with this robe." The Lord, truly mindful of his own words (who had said when on earth — Inasmuch as you have done these things to one of the least of these, you have done them unto me), declared that he himself had been clothed in that poor man; and to confirm the testimony he bore to so good a deed, he condescended to show him himself in that very dress which the poor man had received. After this vision the sainted man was not puffed up with human glory, but, acknowledging the goodness of God in what had been done, and being now of the age of twenty years, he hastened to receive baptism. He did not, however, all at once, retire from military service, yielding to the entreaties of his tribune, whom he admitted to be his familiar tent-companion. For the tribune promised that, after the period of his office

<sup>1</sup> literally "total"

<sup>2</sup> literally "being held with despising from"

<sup>3</sup> literally "made/done"

<sup>4</sup> literally "scribed"

had expired, he too would retire from the world. Martin, kept back by the expectation of this event, continued, although but in name, to act the part of a soldier, for nearly two years after he had received baptism.

#### Chapter 4

In-the-meantime, while the barbarians were tumbling-in within Gallia, Julianus Caesar, having driven a troop into one body at the civil-community of Vangiones, began to pay-out a donative if he would not be performing-military-service any longer), remarked to Caesar, "To-this-point, I have performed-military-service to you. Permit me, so that I may now be performing-military-service to God. May he who will fight be accepting your donative. I am a soldier of the Anointed-One, it is not licensed for me to be fighting."

Truly, at-that-time, he, estimating it to be the opportune time by which he might petition for receiving his discharge<sup>1</sup> (for he supposed it not to be honest<sup>2</sup> for himself to accept a donative if he would not be performing-military-service any longer), remarked to Caesar, "To-this-point, I have performed-military-service to you. Permit me, so that I may now be performing-military-service to God. May he who will fight be accepting your donative. I am a soldier of the Anointed-One, it is not licensed for me to be fighting."

Truly, at-that-time, the tyrant fiercely-growled against this voice, saying, that he was declining the militia due to dread of the fight (which was going to be on the day after), not out of any religious grace.

But Martinus, who was intrepid, nay, made more-firm<sup>3</sup> by means of the terror which had been brought-in before him, remarked, "If this is being ascribed to laziness and not to faith, on the day of-tomorrow, I will stand-by unarmed before the battle-line, and in the name of the Lord Jesus, having been protected by the sign of the cross and not by shield or by helmet, I will penetrate the wedge of our foes secure."

Therefore, he was directed to be being shoved-back into custody, determined that he would prove his dictation true,<sup>4</sup> that he would be being exposed unarmed to the barbarians.

On the day after, the foes sent legates of peace...

and surrendered both themselves and all their possessions.

In these circumstances who can doubt that this victory was due to the saintly man? It was granted him that he should not be sent unarmed to the fight. And although the good Lord could have preserved his own soldier, even amid the swords and darts of the enemy, yet that his blessed eyes might not be pained by witnessing the death of others, he removed all necessity for fighting. For Christ did not require to secure any other victory in behalf of his own soldier, than that, the enemy being subdued without bloodshed, no one should suffer death.

#### Chapter 5

From that time quitting military service, Martin earnestly sought after the society of Hilarius, bishop of the city Pictava, whose faith in the things of God was then regarded as of high renown, and in universal esteem. For some time Martin made his abode with him. Now, this same Hilarius, having instituted him in the office of the diaconate, endeavored still more closely to attach him to himself, and to bind him by leading him to take part in Divine service. But when he constantly refused, crying out that he was unworthy, Hilarius, as being a man of deep penetration, perceived that he could only be constrained in this way, if he should lay that sort of office upon him, in discharging which there should seem to be a kind of injury done him. He therefore appointed him to be an exorcist. Martin did not refuse this appointment, from the fear that he might seem to have looked down upon it as somewhat humble. Not long after this, he was warned in a dream that he should visit his native land, and more particularly his parents, who were still involved in heathenism, with a regard for their religious interests. He set forth in accordance with the expressed wish of the holy Hilarius, and, after being adjured by him with many prayers and tears, that he would in due time return. According to report Martin entered on that journey in a melancholy frame of mind, after calling the brethren to witness that many sufferings lay before him. The result fully justified this prediction. For, first of all, having followed some devious paths among the Alps, he fell into the hands of robbers. And when one of them lifted up his axe and poised it above Martin's head, another of them met with his right hand the blow as it fell; nevertheless, having had his hands bound behind his back, he was handed over to one of them to be guarded and stripped. The robber, having led him to a private place apart from the rest, began to enquire of him who he was. Upon this, Martin replied that he was a Christian. The robber next asked him whether he was afraid. Then indeed Martin most courageously replied that he never before had felt so safe, because he knew that the mercy of the Lord would be especially present with him in the midst of trials. He added that he grieved rather for the man in whose hands he was, because, by living a life of robbery, he was showing himself unworthy of the mercy of Christ.

<sup>1</sup> literally "mission"

<sup>2</sup> literally "untouched"

<sup>3</sup> literally "more-constant"

<sup>4</sup> literally "custody making his dictation faith in the future"

And then entering on a discourse concerning Evangelical truth, he preached the word of God to the robber. Why should I delay stating the result? The robber believed; and, after expressing his respect for Martin, he restored him to the way, entreating him to pray the Lord for him. That same robber was afterwards seen leading a religious life; so that, in fact, the narrative I have given above is based upon an account furnished by himself.

#### Chapter 6

Martin, then, having gone on from thence, after he had passed Milan, the devil met him in the way, having assumed the form of a man. The devil first asked him to what place he was going. Martin having answered him to the effect that he was minded to go wherever the Lord called him, the devil said to him, "Wherever you go, or whatever you attempt, the devil will resist you." Then Martin, replying to him in the prophetic word, said, "The Lord is my helper; I will not fear what man can do unto me." Upon this, his enemy immediately vanished out of his sight; and thus, as he had intended in his heart and mind, he set free his mother from the errors of heathenism, though his father continued to cleave to its evils. However, he saved many by his example.

After this, when the Arian heresy had spread through the whole world, and was especially powerful in Illyria, and when he, almost single-handed, was fighting most strenuously against the treachery of the priests, and had been subjected to many punishments (for he was publicly scourged, and at last was compelled to leave the city), again betaking himself to Italy, and having found the Church in the two divisions of Gaul in a distracted condition through the departure also of the holy Hilarius, whom the violence of the heretics had driven into exile, he established a monastery for himself at Milan. There, too, Auxentius, the originator and leader of the Arians, bitterly persecuted him; and, after he had assailed him with many injuries, violently expelled him from the city. Thinking, therefore, that it was necessary to yield to circumstances, he withdrew to the island Gallinaria, with a certain presbyter as his companion, a man of distinguished excellences. Here he subsisted for some time on the roots of plants; and, while doing so, he took for food hellebore, which is, as people say, a poisonous kind of grass. But when he perceived the strength of the poison increasing within him, and death now nearly at hand, he warded off the imminent danger by means of prayer, and immediately all his pains were put to flight. And not long after having discovered that, through penitence on the part of the king, permission to return had been granted to holy Hilarius, he made an effort to meet him at Rome, and, with this view, set out for that city.

#### Chapter 7

As Hilarius had already gone away, so Martin followed in his footsteps; and having been most joyously welcomed by him, he established for himself a monastery not far from the town. At this time a certain catechumen joined him, being desirous of becoming instructed in the doctrines and habits of the most holy man. But, after the lapse only of a few days, the catechumen, seized with a languor, began to suffer from a violent fever. It so happened that Martin had then left home, and having remained away three days, he found on his return that life had departed from the catechumen; and so suddenly had death occurred, that he had left this world without receiving baptism. The body being laid out in public was being honored by the last sad offices on the part of the mourning brethren, when Martin hurries up to them with tears and lamentations. But then laying hold, as it were, of the Holy Spirit, with the whole powers of his mind, he orders the others to quit the cell in which the body was lying; and bolting the door, he stretches himself at full length on the dead limbs of the departed brother. Having given himself for some time to earnest prayer, and perceiving by means of the Spirit of God that power was present, he then rose up for a little, and gazing on the countenance of the deceased, he waited without misgiving for the result of his prayer and of the mercy of the Lord. And scarcely had the space of two hours elapsed, when he saw the dead man begin to move a little in all his members, and to tremble with his eyes opened for the practice of sight. Then indeed, turning to the Lord with a loud voice and giving thanks, he filled the cell with his ejaculations. Hearing the noise, those who had been standing at the door immediately rush inside. And truly a marvelous spectacle met them, for they beheld the man alive whom they had formerly left dead. Thus being restored to life, and having immediately obtained baptism, he lived for many years afterwards; and he was the first who offered himself to us both as a subject that had experienced the virtues of Martin, and as a witness to their existence. The same man was wont to relate that, when he left the body, he was brought before the tribunal of the Judge, and being assigned to gloomy regions and vulgar crowds, he received a severe sentence. Then, however, he added, it was suggested by two angels of the Judge that he was the man for whom Martin was praying; and that, on this account, he was ordered to be led back by the same angels, and given up to Martin, and restored to his former life. From this time forward, the name of the sainted man became

illustrious, so that, as being reckoned holy by all, he was also deemed powerful and truly apostolic.

#### Chapter 8

Not long after these events, while Martin was passing by the estate of a certain man named Lupicinus, who was held in high esteem according to the judgment of the world, he was received with shouting and the lamentations of a wailing crowd. Having, in an anxious state of mind gone up to that multitude, and enquired what such weeping meant, he was told that one of the slaves of the family had put an end to his life by hanging. Hearing this, Martin entered the cell in which the body was lying, and, excluding all the multitude, he stretched himself upon the body, and spent some little time in prayer. Ere long, the deceased, with life beaming in his countenance, and with his drooping eyes fixed on Martin's face, is aroused; and with a gentle effort attempting to rise, he laid hold of the right hand of the saintly man, and by this means stood upon his feet. In this manner, while the whole multitude looked on, he walked along with Martin to the porch of the house.

#### Chapter 9

Nearly about the same time, Martin was called upon to undertake the episcopate of the church at Tours; but when he could not easily be drawn forth from his monastery, a certain Ruricius, one of the citizens, pretending that his wife was ill, and casting himself down at his knees, prevailed on him to go forth. Multitudes of the citizens having previously been posted by the road on which he traveled, he is thus under a kind of guard escorted to the city. An incredible number of people not only from that town, but also from the neighboring cities, had, in a wonderful manner, assembled to give their votes. There was but one wish among all, there were the same prayers, and there was the same fixed opinion to the effect that Martin was most worthy of the episcopate, and that the church would be happy with such a priest. A few persons, however, and among these some of the bishops, who had been summoned to appoint a chief priest, were impiously offering resistance, asserting forsooth that Martin's person was contemptible, that he was unworthy of the episcopate, that he was a man despicable in countenance, that his clothing was mean, and his hair disgusting. This madness of theirs was ridiculed by the people of sounder judgment, inasmuch as such objectors only proclaimed the illustrious character of the man, while they sought to slander him. Nor truly was it allowed them to do anything else, than what the people, following the Divine will, desired to be accomplished. Among the bishops, however, who had been present, a certain one of the name Defensor is said to have specially offered opposition; and on this account it was observed that he was at the time severely censured in the reading from the prophets. For when it so happened that the reader, whose duty it was to read in public that day, being blocked out by the people, failed to appear, the officials falling into confusion, while they waited for him who never came, one of those standing by, laying hold of the Psalter, seized upon the first verse which presented itself to him. Now, the Psalm ran thus: "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings you have perfected praise because of your enemies, that you might destroy the enemy and the avenger." On these words being read, a shout was raised by the people, and the opposite party were confounded. It was believed that this Psalm had been chosen by Divine ordination, that Defensor might hear a testimony to his own work, because the praise of the Lord was perfected out of the mouth of babes and sucklings in the case of Martin, while the enemy was at the same time both pointed out and destroyed.

#### Chapter 10

And now having entered on the episcopal office, it is beyond my power fully to set forth how Martin distinguished himself in the discharge of its duties. For he remained with the utmost constancy, the same as he had been before. There was the same humility in his heart, and the same homeliness in his garments. Full alike of dignity and courtesy, he kept up the position of a bishop properly, yet in such a way as not to lay aside the objects and virtues of a monk. Accordingly he made use, for some time, of the cell connected with the church; but afterwards, when he felt it impossible to tolerate the disturbance caused by the numbers of those visiting it, he established a monastery for himself about two miles outside the city. This spot was so secret and retired that he enjoyed in it the solitude of a hermit. For, on one side, it was surrounded by a precipitous rock of a lofty mountain, while the river Loire had shut in the rest of the plain by a bay extending back for a little distance; and the place could be approached only by one, and that a very narrow passage. Here, then, he possessed a cell constructed of wood. Many also of the brethren had, in the same manner, fashioned retreats for themselves, but most of them had formed these out of the rock of the overhanging mountain, hollowed into caves. There were altogether eighty disciples, who were being disciplined after the example of the saintly master. No one there had anything which was called his own; all things were possessed in common. It was not allowed either to buy or to sell anything, as

is the custom among most monks. No art was practiced there, except that of transcribers, and even this was assigned to the brethren of younger years, while the elders spent their time in prayer. Rarely did any one of them go beyond the cell, unless when they assembled at the place of prayer. They all took their food together, after the hour of fasting was past. No one used wine, except when illness compelled them to do so. Most of them were clothed in garments of camels' hair. Matthew 3:4 Any dress approaching to softness was there deemed criminal, and this must be thought the more remarkable, because many among them were such as are deemed of noble rank. These, though far differently brought up, had forced themselves down to this degree of humility and patient endurance, and we have seen numbers of these afterwards made bishops. For what city or church would there be that would not desire to have its priests from among those in the monastery of Martin?

#### Chapter 11

But let me proceed to a description of other excellences which Martin displayed as a bishop. There was, not far from the town, a place very close to the monastery, which a false human opinion had consecrated, on the supposition that some martyrs had been buried together there. For it was also believed that an altar had been placed there by former bishops. But Martin, not inclined to give a hasty belief to things uncertain, often asked from those who were his elders, whether among the presbyters or clerics, that the name of the martyr, or the time when he suffered, should be made known to him. He did so, he said, because he had great scruples on these points, inasmuch as no steady tradition respecting them had come down from antiquity. Having, therefore, for a time kept away from the place, by no means wishing to lessen the religious veneration with which it was regarded, because he was as yet uncertain, but, at the same time not lending his authority to the opinion of the multitude, lest a mere superstition should obtain a firmer footing, he one day went out to the place, taking a few brethren with him as companions. There standing above the very sepulchre, Martin prayed to the Lord that he would reveal, who the man in question was, and what was his character or desert. Next turning to the left-hand side, he sees standing very near a shade of a mean and cruel appearance. Martin commands him to tell his name and character. Upon this, he declares his name, and confesses his guilt. He says that he had been a robber, and that he was beheaded on account of his crimes; that he had been honored simply by an error of the multitude; that he had nothing in common with the martyrs, since glory was their portion, while punishment exacted its penalties from him. Those who stood by heard, in a wonderful way, the voice of the speaker, but they beheld no person. Then Martin made known what he had seen, and ordered the altar which had been there to be removed, and thus he delivered the people from the error of that superstition.

#### Chapter 12

Now, it came to pass some time after the above, that while Martin was going a journey, he met the body of a certain heathen, which was being carried to the tomb with superstitious funeral rites. Perceiving from a distance the crowd that was approaching, and being ignorant as to what was going on, he stood still for a little while. For there was a distance of nearly half a mile between him and the crowd, so that it was difficult to discover what the spectacle he beheld really was. Nevertheless, because he saw it was a rustic gathering, and when the linen clothes spread over the body were blown about by the action of the wind, he believed that some profane rites of sacrifice were being performed. This thought occurred to him, because it was the custom of the Gallic rustics in their wretched folly to carry about through the fields the images of demons veiled with a white covering. Lifting up, therefore, the sign of the cross opposite to them, he commanded the crowd not to move from the place in which they were, and to set down the burden. Upon this, the miserable creatures might have been seen at first to become stiff like rocks. Next, as they endeavored, with every possible effort, to move forward, but were not able to take a step farther, they began to whirl themselves about in the most ridiculous fashion, until, not able any longer to sustain the weight, they set down the dead body. Thunderstruck, and gazing in bewilderment at each other as not knowing what had happened to them they remained sunk in silent thought. But when the saintly man discovered that they were simply a band of peasants celebrating funeral rites, and not sacrifices to the gods, again raising his hand, he gave them the power of going away, and of lifting up the body. Thus he both compelled them to stand when he pleased, and permitted them to depart when he thought good.

#### Chapter 13

Again, when in a certain village he had demolished a very ancient temple, and had set about cutting down a pine-tree, which stood close to the temple, the chief priest of that place, and a crowd of other heathens began to oppose him. And these people, though, under the influence of the Lord, they had been quiet while the temple was being overthrown, could not patiently allow the tree to be cut down. Martin carefully instructed them that there was

nothing sacred in the trunk of a tree, and urged them rather to honor God whom he himself served. He added that there was a moral necessity why that tree should be cut down, because it had been dedicated to a demon. Then one of them who was bolder than the others says, "If you have any trust in your God, whom you say you worship, we ourselves will cut down this tree, and be it your part to receive it when falling; for if, as you declare, your Lord is with you, you will escape all injury." Then Martin, courageously trusting in the Lord, promises that he would do what had been asked. Upon this, all that crowd of heathen agreed to the condition named; for they held the loss of their tree a small matter, if only they got the enemy of their religion buried beneath its fall. Accordingly, since that pine-tree was hanging over in one direction, so that there was no doubt to what side it would fall on being cut, Martin, having been bound, is, in accordance with the decision of these pagans, placed in that spot where, as no one doubted, the tree was about to fall. They began, therefore, to cut down their own tree, with great glee and joyfulness, while there was at some distance a great multitude of wondering spectators. And now the pine-tree began to totter, and to threaten its own ruin by falling. The monks at a distance grew pale, and, terrified by the danger ever coming nearer, had lost all hope and confidence, expecting only the death of Martin. But he, trusting in the Lord, and waiting courageously, when now the falling pine had uttered its expiring crash, while it was now falling, while it was just rushing upon him, simply holding up his hand against it, he put in its way the sign of salvation. Then, indeed, after the manner of a spinning-top (one might have thought it driven back), it swept round to the opposite side, to such a degree that it almost crushed the rustics, who had taken their places there in what was deemed a safe spot. Then truly, a shout being raised to heaven, the heathen were amazed by the miracle, while the monks wept for joy; and the name of Christ was in common extolled by all. The well-known result was that on that day salvation came to that region. For there was hardly one of that immense multitude of heathens who did not express a desire for the imposition of hands, and abandoning his impious errors, made a profession of faith in the Lord Jesus. Certainly, before the times of Martin, very few, nay, almost none, in those regions had received the name of Christ; but through his virtues and example that name has prevailed to such an extent, that now there is no place thereabouts which is not filled either with very crowded churches or monasteries. For wherever he destroyed heathen temples, there he used immediately to build either churches or monasteries.

#### Chapter 14

Nor did he show less eminence, much about the same time, in other transactions of a like kind. For, having in a certain village set fire to a very ancient and celebrated temple, the circle of flames was carried by the action of the wind upon a house which was very close to, yea, connected with, the temple. When Martin perceived this, he climbed by rapid ascent to the roof of the house, presenting himself in front of the advancing flames. Then indeed might the fire have been seen thrust back in a wonderful manner against the force of the wind, so that there appeared a sort of conflict of the two elements fighting together. Thus, by the influence of Martin, the fire only acted in the place where it was ordered to do so. But in a village which was named Leprosum, when he too wished to overthrow a temple which had acquired great wealth through the superstitious ideas entertained of its sanctity, a multitude of the heathen resisted him to such a degree that he was driven back not without bodily injury. He, therefore, withdrew to a place in the vicinity, and there for three days, clothed in sackcloth and ashes fasting and praying the whole time, he besought the Lord, that, as he had not been able to overthrow that temple by human effort, Divine power might be exerted to destroy it. Then two angels, with spears and shields after the manner of heavenly warriors, suddenly presented themselves to him, saying that they were sent by the Lord to put to flight the rustic multitude, and to furnish protection to Martin, lest, while the temple was being destroyed, any one should offer resistance. They told him therefore to return, and complete the blessed work which he had begun. Accordingly Martin returned to the village; and while the crowds of heathen looked on in perfect quiet as he razed the pagan temple even to the foundations, he also reduced all the altars and images to dust. At this sight the rustics, when they perceived that they had been so astounded and terrified by an intervention of the Divine will, that they might not be found fighting against the bishop, almost all believed in the Lord Jesus. They then began to cry out openly and to confess that the God of Martin ought to be worshipped, and that the idols should be despised, which were not able to help them.

#### Chapter 15

I shall also relate what took place in the village of the Ædui. When Martin was there overthrowing a temple, a multitude of rustic heathen rushed upon him in a frenzy of rage. And when one of them, bolder than the rest, made an attack upon him with a drawn sword, Martin, throwing back his cloak, offered his bare neck to the assassin. Nor did the heathen delay to strike, but

in the very act of lifting up his right arm, he fell to the ground on his back, and being overwhelmed by the fear of God, he entreated for pardon. Not unlike this was that other event which happened to Martin, that when a certain man had resolved to wound him with a knife as he was destroying some idols, at the very moment of fetching the blow, the weapon was struck out of his hands and disappeared. Very frequently, too, when the pagans were addressing him to the effect that he would not overthrow their temples, he so soothed and conciliated the minds of the heathen by his holy discourse that, the light of truth having been revealed to them, they themselves overthrew their own temples.

#### Chapter 16

Moreover, the gift of accomplishing cures was so largely possessed by Martin, that scarcely any sick person came to him for assistance without being at once restored to health. This will clearly appear from the following example. A certain girl at Treves was so completely prostrated by a terrible paralysis that for a long time she had been quite unable to make use of her body for any purpose, and being, as it were, already dead, only the smallest breath of life seemed still to remain in her. Her afflicted relatives were standing by, expecting nothing but her death, when it was suddenly announced that Martin had come to that city. When the father of the girl found that such was the case, he ran to make a request in behalf of his all but lifeless child. It happened that Martin had already entered the church. There, while the people were looking on, and in the presence of many other bishops, the old man, uttering a cry of grief, embraced the saint's knees and said: "My daughter is dying of a miserable kind of infirmity; and, what is more dreadful than death itself, she is now alive only in the spirit, her flesh being already dead before the time. I beseech you to go to her, and give her your blessing; for I believe that through you she will be restored to health." Martin, troubled by such an address, was bewildered, and shrank back, saying that this was a matter not in his own hands; that the old man was mistaken in the judgment he had formed; and that he was not worthy to be the instrument through whom the Lord should make a display of his power. The father, in tears, persevered in still more earnestly pressing the case, and entreated Martin to visit the dying girl. At last, constrained by the bishops standing by to go as requested, he went down to the home of the girl. An immense crowd was waiting at the doors, to see what the servant of the Lord would do. And first, betaking himself to his familiar arms in affairs of that kind, he cast himself down on the ground and prayed. Then gazing earnestly upon the ailing girl, he requests that oil should be given him. After he had received and blessed this, he poured the powerful sacred liquid into the mouth of the girl, and immediately her voice returned to her. Then gradually, through contact with him, her limbs began, one by one, to recover life, till, at last, in the presence of the people, she arose with firm steps.

#### Chapter 17

At the same time the servant of one Tetradius, a man of proconsular rank, having been laid hold of by a demon, was tormented with the most miserable results. Martin, therefore, having been asked to lay his hands on him, ordered the servant to be brought to him; but the evil spirit could, in no way, be brought forth from the cell in which he was: he showed himself so fearful, with ferocious teeth, to those who attempted to draw near. Then Tetradius throws himself at the feet of the saintly man, imploring that he himself would go down to the house in which the possessed of the devil was kept. But Martin then declared that he could not visit the house of an unconverted heathen. For Tetradius, at that time, was still involved in the errors of heathenism. He, therefore, pledges his word that if the demon were driven out of the boy, he would become a Christian. Martin, then, laying his hand upon the boy, cast the evil spirit out of him. On seeing this, Tetradius believed in the Lord Jesus, and immediately became a catechumen, while, not long after, he was baptized; and he always regarded Martin with extraordinary affection, as having been the author of his salvation.

About the same time, having entered the dwelling of a certain householder in the same town, he stopped short at the very threshold, and said, that he perceived a horrible demon in the courtyard of the house. When Martin ordered it to depart, it laid hold of a certain member of the family, who was staying in the inner part of the house; and the poor wretch began at once to rage with his teeth, and to lacerate whomsoever he met. The house was thrown into disorder; the family was in confusion; and the people present took to flight. Martin threw himself in the way of the frenzied creature, and first of all commanded him to stand still. But when he continued to gnash with his teeth, and, with gaping mouth, was threatening to bite, Martin inserted his fingers into his mouth, and said, "If you possess any power, devour these." But then, as if red-hot iron had entered his jaws, drawing his teeth far away he took care not to touch the fingers of the saintly man; and when he was compelled by punishments and tortures, to flee out of the possessed body, while he had no power of escaping by the mouth, he was cast

out by means of a defluxion of the belly, leaving disgusting traces behind him.

#### Chapter 18

##### Martin performs Various Miracles.

In the meanwhile, as a sudden report had troubled the city as to the movement and inroad of the barbarians, Martin orders a possessed person to be set before him, and commanded him to declare whether this message was true or not. Then he confessed that there were sixteen demons who had spread this report among the people, in order that by the fear thus excited, Martin might have to flee from the city, but that, in fact, nothing was less in the minds of the barbarians than to make any inroad. When the unclean spirit thus acknowledged these things in the midst of the church, the city was set free from the fear and tumult which had at the time been felt.

At Paris, again, when Martin was entering the gate of the city, with large crowds attending him, he gave a kiss to a leper, of miserable appearance, while all shuddered at seeing him do so; and Martin blessed him, with the result that he was instantly cleansed from all his misery. On the following day, the man appearing in the church with a healthy skin, gave thanks for the soundness of body which he had recovered. This fact, too, ought not to be passed over in silence, that threads from Martin's garment, or such as had been plucked from the sackcloth which he wore, wrought frequent miracles upon those who were sick. For, by either being tied round the fingers or placed about the neck, they very often drove away diseases from the afflicted.

#### Chapter 19

##### A Letter of Martin effects a Cure, with Other Miracles.

Further, Arborius, an ex-prefect, and a man of a very holy and faithful character, while his daughter was in agony from the burning fever of a quartan ague, inserted in the bosom of the girl, at the very paroxysm of the heat, a letter of Martin which happened to have been brought to him, and immediately the fever was dispelled. This event had such an influence upon Arborius, that he at once consecrated the girl to God, and devoted her to perpetual virginity. Then, proceeding to Martin, he presented the girl to him, as an obvious living example of his power of working miracles, inasmuch as she had been cured by him though absent; and he would not allow her to be consecrated by any other than Martin, through his placing upon her the dress characteristic of virginity.

Paulinus, too, a man who was afterwards to furnish a striking example of the age, having begun to suffer grievously in one of his eyes, and when a pretty thick skin having grown over it had already covered up its pupil, Martin touched his eye with a painter's brush, and, all pain being removed, thus restored it to its former soundness. He himself also, when, by a certain accident, he had fallen out of an upper room, and tumbling down a broken, uneven stair, had received many wounds, as he lay in his cell at the point of death, and was tortured with grievous sufferings, saw in the night an angel appear to him, who washed his wounds, and applied healing ointment to the bruised members of his body. As the effect of this, he found himself on the morrow restored to soundness of health, so that he was not thought to have suffered any harm. But because it would be tedious to go through everything of this kind, let these examples suffice, as a few out of a multitude; and let it be enough that we do not in striking cases [of miraculous interposition] detract from the truth, while, having so many to choose from, we avoid exciting weariness in the reader.

#### Chapter 20

##### How Martin acted towards the Emperor Maximus.

And here to insert some smaller matters among things so great (although such is the nature of our times in which all things have fallen into decay and corruption, it is almost a pre-eminent virtue for priestly firmness not to have yielded to royal flattery), when a number of bishops from various parts had assembled to the Emperor Maximus, a man of fierce character, and at that time elated with the victory he had won in the civil wars, and when the disgraceful flattery of all around the emperor was generally remarked, while the priestly dignity had, with degenerate submissiveness, taken a second place to the royal retinue, in Martin alone, apostolic authority continued to assert itself. For even if he had to make suit to the sovereign for some things, he commanded rather than entreated him; and although often invited, he kept away from his entertainments, saying that he could not take a place at the table of one who, out of two emperors, had deprived one of his kingdom, and the other of his life. At last, when Maximus maintained that he had not of his own accord assumed the sovereignty, but that he had simply defended by arms the necessary requirements of the empire, regard to which had been

imposed upon him by the soldiers, according to the Divine appointment, and that the favor of God did not seem wanting to him who, by an event seemingly so incredible, had secured the victory, adding to that the statement that none of his adversaries had been slain except in the open field of battle, at length, Martin, overcome either by his reasoning or his entreaties, came to the royal banquet. The king was wonderfully pleased because he had gained this point. Moreover, there were guests present who had been invited as if to a festival; men of the highest and most illustrious rank — the prefect, who was also consul, named Evodius, one of the most righteous men that ever lived; two courtiers possessed of the greatest power, the brother and uncle of the king, while between these two, the presbyter of Martin had taken his place; but he himself occupied a seat which was set quite close to the king. About the middle of the banquet, according to custom, one of the servants presented a goblet to the king. He orders it rather to be given to the very holy bishop, expecting and hoping that he should then receive the cup from his right hand. But Martin, when he had drunk, handed the goblet to his own presbyter, as thinking no one worthier to drink next to himself, and holding that it would not be right for him to prefer either the king himself, or those who were next the king, to the presbyter. And the emperor, as well as all those who were then present, admired this conduct so much, that this very thing, by which they had been undervalued, gave them pleasure. The report then ran through the whole palace that Martin had done, at the king's dinner, what no bishop had dared to do at the banquets of the lowest judges. And Martin predicted to the same Maximus long before, that if he went into Italy to which he then desired to go, waging war, against the Emperor Valentinianus, it would come to pass that he should know he would indeed be victorious in the first attack, but would perish a short time afterwards. And we have seen that this did in fact take place. For, on his first arrival Valentinianus had to betake himself to flight but recovering his strength about a year afterwards, Maximus was taken and slain by him within the walls of Aquileia.

#### Chapter 21

##### Martin has to do both with Angels and Devils.

It is also well known that angels were very often seen by him, so that they spoke in turns with him in set speech. As to the devil, Martin held him so visible and ever under the power of his eyes, that whether he kept himself in his proper form, or changed himself into different shapes of spiritual wickedness, he was perceived by Martin, under whatever guise he appeared. The devil knew well that he could not escape discovery, and therefore frequently heaped insults upon Martin, being unable to beguile him by trickery. On one occasion the devil, holding in his hand the bloody horn of an ox, rushed into Martin's cell with great noise, and holding out to him his bloody right hand, while at the same time he exulted in the crime he had committed, said: "Where, O Martin, is your power? I have just slain one of your people." Then Martin assembled the brethren, and related to them what the devil had disclosed, while he ordered them carefully to search the several cells in order to discover who had been visited with this calamity. They report that no one of the monks was missing, but that one peasant, hired by them, had gone to the forest to bring home wood in his wagon. Upon hearing this, Martin instructs some of them to go and meet him. On their doing so, the man was found almost dead at no great distance from the monastery. Nevertheless, although just drawing his last breath, he made known to the brethren the cause of his wound and death. He said that, while he was drawing tighter the thongs which had got loose on the oxen yoked together, one of the oxen, throwing his head free, had wounded him with his horn in the groin. And not long after the man expired. You see with what judgment of the Lord this power was given to the devil. This was a marvelous feature in Martin that not only on this occasion to which I have specially referred, but on many occasions of the same kind, in fact as often as such things occurred, he perceived them long beforehand, and disclosed the things which had been revealed to him to the brethren.

#### Chapter 22

##### Martin preaches Repentance even to the Devil.

Now, the devil, while he tried to impose upon the holy man by a thousand injurious arts, often thrust himself upon him in a visible form, but in very various shapes. For sometimes he presented himself to his view changed into the person of Jupiter, often into that of Mercury and Minerva. Often, too, were heard words of reproach, in which the crowd of demons assailed Martin with scurrilous expressions. But knowing that all were false and groundless, he was not affected by the charges brought against him. Moreover, some of the brethren bore witness that they had heard a demon reproaching Martin in abusive terms, and asking why he had taken back, on their subsequent repentance, certain of the brethren who had, some time previously, lost their baptism by falling into various errors. The demon set

forth the crimes of each of them; but they added that Martin, resisting the devil firmly, answered him, that by-past sins are cleansed away by the leading of a better life, and that through the mercy of God, those are to be absolved from their sins who have given up their evil ways. The devil saying in opposition to this that such guilty men as those referred to did not come within the pale of pardon, and that no mercy was extended by the Lord to those who had once fallen away, Martin is said to have cried out in words to the following effect: "If you, yourself, wretched being, would but desist from attacking mankind, and even, at this period, when the day of judgment is at hand, would only repent of your deeds, I, with a true confidence in the Lord, would promise you the mercy of Christ." O what a holy boldness with respect to the loving-kindness of the Lord, in which, although he could not assert authority, he nevertheless showed the feelings dwelling within him! And since our discourse has here sprung up concerning the devil and his devices, it does not seem away from the point, although the matter does not bear immediately upon Martin, to relate what took place; both because the virtues of Martin do, to some extent, appear in the transaction, and the incident, which was worthy of a miracle, will properly be put on record, with the view of furnishing a caution, should anything of a similar character subsequently occur.

#### Chapter 23

#### A Case of Diabolic Deception.

There was a certain man, Clarus by name, a most noble youth, who afterwards became a presbyter, and who is now, through his happy departure from this world, numbered among the saints. He, leaving all others, betook himself to Martin, and in a short time became distinguished for the most exalted faith, and for all sorts of excellence. Now, it came to pass that, when he had erected an abode for himself not far from the monastery of the bishop, and many brethren were staying with him, a certain youth, Anatolius by name, having, under the profession of a monk, falsely assumed every appearance of humility and innocence, came to him, and lived for some time on the common store along with the rest. Then, as time went on, he began to affirm that angels were in the habit of talking with him. As no one gave any credit to his words, he urged a number of the brethren to believe by certain signs. At length he went to such a length as to declare that angels passed between him and God; and now he wished that he should be regarded as one of the prophets. Clarus, however, could by no means be induced to believe. He then began to threaten Clarus with the anger of God and present afflictions, because he did not believe one of the saints. At the last, he is related to have burst forth with the following declaration: "Behold, the Lord will this night give me a white robe out of heaven, clothed in which, I will dwell in the midst of you; and that will be to you a sign that I am the Power of God, inasmuch as I have been presented with the garment of God." Then truly the expectation of all was highly raised by this profession. Accordingly, about the middle of the night, it was seen, by the noise of people moving eagerly about, that the whole monastery in the place was excited. It might be seen, too, that the cell in which the young man referred to lived was glittering with numerous lights; and the whisperings of those moving about in it, as well as a kind of murmur of many voices, could be heard. Then, on silence being secured, the youth coming forth calls one of the brethren, Sabatius by name, to himself, and shows him the robe in which he had been clothed. He again, filled with amazement, gathers the rest together, and Clarus himself also runs up; and a light being obtained, they all carefully inspect the garment. Now, it was of the utmost softness, of marvelous brightness, and of glittering purple, and yet no one could discover what was its nature, or of what sort of fleece it had been formed. However, when it was more minutely examined by the eyes or fingers, it seemed nothing else than a garment. In the meantime, Clarus urges upon the brethren to be earnest in prayer, that the Lord would show them more clearly what it really was. Accordingly, the rest of the night was spent in singing hymns and psalms. But when day broke, Clarus wished to take the young man by the hand, and bring him to Martin, being well aware that he could not be deceived by any arts of the devil. Then, indeed, the miserable man began to resist and refuse, and affirmed that he had been forbidden to show himself to Martin. And when they compelled him to go against his will, the garment vanished from among the hands of those who were conducting him. Wherefore, who can doubt that this, too, was an illustration of the power of Martin, so that the devil could no longer dissemble or conceal his own deception, when it was to be submitted to the eyes of Martin?

#### Chapter 24

#### Martin is tempted by the Wiles of the Devil.

It was found, again, that about the same time there was a young man in Spain, who, having by many signs obtained for himself authority among the people, was puffed up to such a pitch that he gave himself out as being Elias.

And when multitudes had too readily believed this, he went on to say that he was actually Christ; and he succeeded so well even in this delusion that a certain bishop named Rufus worshipped him as being the Lord. For so doing, we have seen this bishop at a later date deprived of his office. Many of the brethren have also informed me that at the same time one arose in the East, who boasted that he was John. We may infer from this, since false prophets of such a kind have appeared, that the coming of Antichrist is at hand; for he is already practicing in these persons the mystery of iniquity. And truly I think this point should not be passed over, with what arts the devil about this very time tempted Martin. For, on a certain day, prayer having been previously offered, and the fiend himself being surrounded by a purple light, in order that he might the more easily deceive people by the brilliance of the splendor assumed, clothed also in a royal robe, and with a crown of precious stones and gold encircling his head, his shoes too being inlaid with gold, while he presented a tranquil countenance, and a generally rejoicing aspect, so that no such thought as that he was the devil might be entertained — he stood by the side of Martin as he was praying in his cell. The saint being dazzled by his first appearance, both preserved a long and deep silence. This was first broken by the devil, who said: "Acknowledge, Martin, who it is that you behold. I am Christ; and being just about to descend to earth, I wished first to manifest myself to you." When Martin kept silence on hearing these words, and gave no answer whatever, the devil dared to repeat his audacious declaration: "Martin, why do you hesitate to believe, when you see? I am Christ." Then Martin, the Spirit revealing the truth to him, that he might understand it was the devil, and not God, replied as follows: "The Lord Jesus did not predict that he would come clothed in purple, and with a glittering crown upon his head. I will not believe that Christ has come, unless he appears with that appearance and form in which he suffered, and openly displaying the marks of his wounds upon the cross." On hearing these words, the devil vanished like smoke, and filled the cell with such a disgusting smell, that he left unmistakable evidences of his real character. This event, as I have just related, took place in the way which I have stated, and my information regarding it was derived from the lips of Martin himself; therefore let no one regard it as fabulous.

#### Chapter 25

#### Intercourse of Sulpitius with Martin.

For since I, having long heard accounts of his faith, life and virtues, burned with a desire of knowing him, I undertook what was to me a pleasant journey for the purpose of seeing him. At the same time, because already my mind was inflamed with the desire of writing his life, I obtained my information partly from himself, in so far as I could venture to question him, and partly from those who had lived with him, or well knew the facts of the case. And at this time it is scarcely credible with what humility and with what kindness he received me; while he cordially wished me joy, and rejoiced in the Lord that he had been held in such high estimation by me that I had undertaken a journey owing to my desire of seeing him. Unworthy me! (in fact, I hardly dare acknowledge it), that he should have deigned to admit me to fellowship with him! He went so far as in person to present me with water to wash my hands, and at eventide he himself washed my feet; nor had I sufficient courage to resist or oppose his doing so. In fact, I felt so overcome by the authority he unconsciously exerted, that I deemed it unlawful to do anything but acquiesce in his arrangements. His conversation with me was all directed to such points as the following: that the allurements of this world and secular burdens were to be abandoned in order that we might be free and unencumbered in following the Lord Jesus; and he pressed upon me as an admirable example in present circumstances the conduct of that distinguished man Paulinus, of whom I have made mention above. Martin declared of him that, by parting with his great possessions and following Christ, as he did, he showed himself almost the only one who in these times had fully obeyed the precepts of the Gospel. He insisted strongly that that was the man who should be made the object of our imitation, adding that the present age was fortunate in possessing such a model of faith and virtue. For Paulinus, being rich and having many possessions, by selling them all and giving them to the poor according to the expressed will of the Lord, had, he said, made possible by actual proof what appeared impossible of accomplishment. What power and dignity there were in Martin's words and conversation! How active he was, how practical, and how prompt and ready in solving questions connected with Scripture! And because I know that many are incredulous on this point — for indeed I have met with persons who did not believe me when I related such things — I call to witness Jesus, and our common hope as Christians, that I never heard from any other lips than those of Martin such exhibitions of knowledge and genius, or such specimens of good and pure speech. But yet, how insignificant is all such praise when compared with the virtues which he possessed! Still, it is remarkable that in a man who had no claim to be called learned, even this attribute [of high intelligence] was not wanting.

## Words cannot describe the Excellences of Martin.

But now my book must be brought to an end, and my discourse finished. This is not because all that was worthy of being said concerning Martin is now exhausted, but because I, just as sluggish poets grow less careful towards the end of their work, give over, being baffled by the immensity of the matter. For, although his outward deeds could in some sort of way be set forth in words, no language, I truly own, can ever be capable of describing his inner life and daily conduct, and his mind always bent upon the things of heaven. No one can adequately make known his perseverance and self-mastery in abstinence and fastings, or his power in watchings and prayers, along with the nights, as well as days, which were spent by him, while not a moment was separated from the service of God, either for indulging in ease, or engaging in business. But, in fact, he did not indulge either in food or sleep, except in so far as the necessities of nature required. I freely confess that, if, as the saying is, Homer himself were to ascend from the shades below, he could not do justice to this subject in words; to such an extent did all excellences surpass in Martin the possibility of being embodied in language. Never did a single hour or moment pass in which he was not either actually engaged in prayer; or, if it happened that he was occupied with something else, still he never let his mind loose from prayer. In truth, just as it is the custom of blacksmiths, in the midst of their work to beat their own anvil as a sort of relief to the laborer, so Martin even when he appeared to be doing something else, was still engaged in prayer. O truly blessed man in whom there was no guile — judging no man, condemning no man, returning evil for evil to no man! He displayed indeed such marvelous patience in the endurance of injuries, that even when he was chief priest, he allowed himself to be wronged by the lowest clerics with impunity; nor did he either remove them from the office on account of such conduct, or, as far as in him lay, repel them from a place in his affection.

## Chapter 27

## Wonderful Piety of Martin.

No one ever saw him enraged, or excited, or lamenting, or laughing; he was always one and the same: displaying a kind of heavenly happiness in his countenance, he seemed to have passed the ordinary limits of human nature. Never was there any word on his lips but Christ, and never was there a feeling in his heart except piety, peace, and tender mercy. Frequently, too, he used to weep for the sins of those who showed themselves his revilers — those who, as he led his retired and tranquil life, slandered him with poisoned tongue and a viper's mouth. And truly we have had experience of some who were envious of his virtues and his life — who really hated in him what they did not see in themselves, and what they had not power to imitate. And — O wickedness worthy of deepest grief and groans! — some of his calumniators, although very few, some of his maligners, I say, were reported to be no others than bishops! Here, however, it is not necessary to name any one, although a good many of these people are still venting their spleen against myself. I shall deem it sufficient that, if any one of them reads this account, and perceives that he is himself pointed at, he may have the grace to blush. But if, on the other hand, he shows anger, he will, by that very fact, own that he is among those spoken of, though all the time perhaps I have been thinking of some other person. I shall, however, by no means feel ashamed if any people of that sort include myself in their hatred along with such a man as Martin. I am quite persuaded of this, that the present little work will give pleasure to all truly good men. And I shall only say further that, if any one read this narrative in an unbelieving spirit, he himself will fall into sin. I am conscious to myself that I have been induced by belief in the facts, and by the love of Christ, to write these things; and that, in doing so, I have set forth what is well known, and recorded what is true; and, as I trust, that man will have a reward prepared by God, not who shall read these things, but who shall believe them.

[NOW WHILE HE WAS ENGAGED IN THESE THINGS... HE WAS STRUCK WITH A DISEASE...]

## NOTES:

[NOTE: AGAPIOS SUCCEEDED PAMPHILOS(?). EUSEBIOS SUCCEEDED AGAPIOS AS OVERSEER OF CAESAREA SOON AFTER 313, AND WAS CALLED ON BY ARIUS WHO HAD BEEN EXCOMMUNICATED BY ALEXANDROS OF ALEXANDREIA. THOSE IN CAESAREA PRONOUNCED ARIUS BLAMELESS.]

## LEGIONEM / GALLECIA / MANILIUS

ψιᾶθιον (ψιαθίω) = rushbasket / rushmat  
 λῶδιξ = a shaggy-blanket (Latin loanword)  
 σκιμπόδιον = small-pallet  
 σκίμπους = pallet

ἀναβόλαιον = mantle (= Latin pallium)  
 ἔξωμῖς = one-sleeved-tunic  
 ἀμφιμάσχαλος = two-sleeved-tunic  
 χλαίνη = square-wool-mantle

temonarius -? recruit-tax-collector  
 κόμης = count (Lat *comes*)  
 ταβουλαρίους = tabularius = tabulator  
 στατιωνάριος = station-guard  
 ὄφικιαλίον = official (Latin transliteration)  
 ἱερατεῖον = body-of-priests or consecrated-place  
 δικολόγος = an attorney (lit. court-of-justice-accounter)  
 λεγιωναρῖον = legionaries [not nominative form]  
 μαγιστρότητος = magistracy [not nominative form]  
 Καθολικότης = universality  
 κλιβανοφόροι = oven-bearers (mail-clad-soldiers)  
 ἱεροσκόπων = consecrated-victim-inspector  
 φύσκος = imperial-treasury (fisc)  
 στρατηλάτης = expedition-leader

βρέουιον = brief

ὑποβρύχιος = under-the-depths (of the sea)  
 βρύχιος = deep(?) / from-the-depths (of the sea)  
 καταβροχθίζω = to brought-down-into-the-depths (of the sea)

ὠμοβοΐνη = raw-ox

μύξα = mucus  
 οὐλον = gums  
 ἀγῆν = gullet  
 παρειά = cheek

μάγγανον = winch  
 ἀμυντήριον = an implement-of-defense  
 οστοκοπος = bone-labor (figurative – boneracking)  
 ποδοκάκη = foot-restrainer (lit. foot-evil)  
 ξεσμός = a scraping  
 σκολοπίζω, or protect by pales  
 ἀνασκολοπίζω = to pale-up – i.e. to put-up on a pale

πορφυρίτης = porphyrite  
 διειδής = transparent

ὑπομάζιος = one-under-the-breast  
 ὄνιος = for sale (adj)  
 δῆτα = most-surely  
 κόρος = satiety  
 ταυτότος = identical  
 ἄγχιστος = closest

πανύστατος = last-of-all  
 ἀπισχυρίζομαι = to strongly-persist  
 τιτρώσκει = to wound  
 ἱκριον / ἴκρια = a scaffolding  
 ψήχω = to curry



κωδικέλλους = codex  
θεσπίζω = to enact  
θέσπισμα = an enactment  
πινακίς = tabloid  
ἄρηξις = aid  
ἐπάρηξις = additional-aid  
πυργίσκος = cabinet  
βενεφίκιον = benefit  
μεταπλαγέντος = to fashion-differently  
ἀπίξ = tightly  
τάσις = stretching (noun)  
κληρικῶν = (transliterated “clerical”) “allotted”  
ἀνδρειότης = a state-of-manliness  
ὑπερορίζω = to banish-beyond (lit. to ordain-over)  
ὀψοφαγία = a cooked-food-diet  
τραυλιζομένης = (lispings???? – used in testimony of Lucianus)  
ἀπονίναμαι = to relish [Lucianus]  
ἐπίκηρος = doomed [Lucianus]  
μυσταγωγία = a leading-into-the-mysteries [Lucianus]  
περιστοιχίζομαι = to be in a line around [Lucianus]  
καλινδέομαι [Lucianus]  
ἐπισχίζω = splitting-on-top  
προμήκης = elongated (adj)  
σωτηριώδης = saving-like  
λήιον = crop  
θεήλατος = god-driven  
προμνάομαι = to woo  
λείβω = to fail  
ἄλεκτος = unspeakable  
προνομία = privilege  
κέντησις = a mosaic [literally ‘a stinging’] [Eugenius Epitaph]

εὐδινοτάτης = εὐδινος = well-whirling (adj)

ληλασία = a plundering

ἀνενόγητος = untroubled

ἀπερινόητος = incomprehensible-on-all-sides

ἀνήκεστος = irremediable

ἀνένδοτος = without-giving-in (adj)

ἄποτροφωτατώ = without-nourishment [Lucianus]

παρθενεύω = to remain a virgin

ἀποκηρύσσω = to publicly-renounce (lit. to preach-off)

(demw or domaw) “to construct” is only used in Josephus and here

### **Panegyrici Latini**

diatrihb = lecture / lecturing

schol = school

didaskaleion = teaching-place

παιδευτήρια = discipling-center

μοναστήριον = monastery

γραμματοδιδάσκαλος = grammar-teacher

περνάω / πέρνημι = to put up to sell