Theophania

Eusebius of Caesarea (c. AD 260–339)

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Book 1

THEOPHANIA. THE FIRST BOOK OF EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA ON THE DIVINE MANIFESTATION. 1. THOSE who say on the constitution of the whole of this great and beautiful world, and on the diversified subsistence and manifold structure of the heavens and the earth, that it has neither beginning nor governour; and that there is no Lord, and no Providential care (existing); but that it has arisen of itself, casually, undesignedly, and by blind (lit. foolish) accident, however this may have, happened, are altogether impious and godless1: on which account they are excluded from the divine assemblies, and with propriety shut out from our holy temples. Because, neither can they themselves possess a house without contrivance and care; nor can a ship be well constructed with its appurtenances, without a shipwright; nor a garment be woven, without the art of weaving; nor a city |2 be built, when the science of the architect is wanting. And, as they themselves confess these things, I know not by what estrangement of the intellect it is, that they do not consider the courses of the sun (as being) according to their manner; the changes of the moon, according to their appointments; the (several) orders of the stars, as in their due course; and the revolutions of the curvatures of the heavens, and the recurrence and changes of times and seasons2. And again with these, that (they do not consider) the weight of the mountains (as regulated) by the balance3; the equalization of days and nights; the unimpeded production of the animals;

the traditionary and unchanging succession of life of long duration; the herbs of every sort of flower which spring out of the earth; the provisions for all the animals, as suitable for each; their several senses; the members of the body; their properties of excellence, and as located in their (several) situations, so that (men) see with their eyes, and feel with their hands: which they also say, is obvious to the blind. So that with atheistical affirmations, and injurious wickedness of mind, |3 (they assert) that there is no work either of wisdom, of the WORD OF GOD, or of Providence (evinced in all this); but they imagine on the contrary, that (all) is of blind fortune, and happens just as it may be, without object or end. These same therefore are, as being atheistical, driven far away from the Divine hearing (of the Word), and entirely from the society of those who fear God. 2. The company too of the Polytheists, on the other hand, set in order against the preceding, seems to

me to be in extreme error;----that they err, as children in intellect, who change the worship of the Maker of the world, the Governour of all, the God who is over all, for (that) of the things which are of Him; and (hence) honour the sun, the moon, and the rest of the parts of the universe, the primary elements, the earth, water, air, and fire, with the name due to Him, who is their Maker and Creator; and call those Gods4 which never existed;

nor had existed, nor had been (so) named, had not the Maker5 of the universe, THE WORD OF GOD, willed that they should exist. Nor do they appear to me better than those who leave the chief Architect, to admire the excellency of workmanship (visible) in the houses of kings; the wrought cielings7 and the walls; their many coloured and flowered pictures; their roofs variegated with gold and sculpture of precious stones; and attribute to these the praise and wisdom due to their Artificer; which they ought to ascribe, not to the things seen, but to Him alone who is their chief Architect; to confess Him to be the cause of their wonder, and of these many works |4 of wisdom. For He alone is wise who supplied the cause, that these many things should thus be. These differ, therefore, in no respect from mere infants. Nor do those whose admiration is expended on the lyre with its seven strings,----the (mere) instrument of music,----but not on him who is the inventor of its structure, nor on him who knows its use, nor yet on his wisdom. Nor (again) do those who leave him who is eminent in war, to adorn his spear and shield with the crowns of victory. Nor do those who honour the streets, squares, buildings, temples, gymnasia----things inanimate----with the admiration due to the great king, who caused the erection of such chief city of his kingdom:

when it was right they should admire, neither the pillars nor the stones, but the great maker and lawgiver6 of these instances of wisdom. 3. In7 conformity with these (considerations) also, we make this same (Being) the (efficient) cause of all which we see with the eyes of the body; not the sun, the moon, nor any other of the things in the heavens. It is becoming too, that we should confess them all to be the works of wisdom: but not, that we should honour or worship them by means of any similitude of Him, who is their Maker and Creator. From the contemplation of these too, we both praise and worship, with the whole affection of the soul, Him who again is known, not by means of the bodily eyes, but only by the mind which is pure and enlightened; |5 Him (I say) who is the King of all, THE WORD OF GOD. For no one ever graced the (mere) body of any wise and intelligent man, (or) his eyes8, head, hands, feet, or the rest of his flesh, much less his external clothing, with the title of wisdom; nor yet has termed the vessels in the houses, nor the service-vessels, of the philosophers, wise; while every thinking person has expressed his wonder at that concealed, and unseen, mind which is in man. 4.

Thus, and more particularly,----before these visible ornaments which are (but) the bodies of this whole universe, and which have been fabricated from one (species of)

matter,----let us express our wonder at that unseen and invisible WORD, that Maker and Adorner of the exemplars9 of all things, who is the ONLY (begotten) WORD OF GOD: whom, the Maker of all, He who is beyond all, and above all being, generated of Himself as a ray of light from His own Godhead, and constituted Him both the Leader and Governour of this whole (world). |6 5. For it was impossible that this perishable being of bodies, and this Nature of reasonable creatures (such) as it now is, could be brought near to God the Governour of all, on account of its exceedingly great imperfection. For He is an Essence beyond and above all, which can neither be described, comprehended, nor approached; and (which) dwells in the glorious light, to which nothing can be compared,----as the Divine words declare10. For this had no existence, and out of nothing did He send it forth. And (hence) it was greatly different, and very far removed, from the nature of (His) Essence. Well therefore did He, the fulness of all good, the God of all, first appoint a Mediator11, the Divine Power, His ONLY (begotten), who should be sufficient for all12;

who could accurately, abundantly, and as present, hold converse with His Father4, receive of His inward and secret (nature), and be meekly lowered to the form and manner of those who were (so) far removed from His princely state. In no |7 other way could it be either glorious or right, that He, who is beyond and above all, should be mixed up with matter that is perishable, and with a body. On this account, the DIVINE WORD entered by a (sort) of commixture into this whole, and bound together the bands (as it were) of all things, by means of the Divine power which is incorporeal: leading on and carrying forward, and governing (the whole) by every species of wisdom, as it seemed good to Him. 6. The proof then, of this conclusion is obvious. For, if those which we usually term the primary elements of all,----the earth, water, air, and fire, were themselves the constituent portions of the universe, and are constituted of a mixed nature, which we even see with our eyes is the case,----and, if the essence of all were one, and that comprehending the whole, and were (as) the Mother and Nurse (of all these things), as those who are subtle in these matters love to term it; and were without figure and visibility, and wholly destitute of soul and of reason;---- Whence, one may ask, was it, that this world was made to consist of that of which it now does? Whence also the distinction of the (several) elements?

And whence the |8 concordant course of those things which were adverse to agreement? And, Who commanded this heavy element of earth, to ride over that of humid matter? 7. And, Who is He that has caused water, the nature of which is to run downwards, to take an opposite course, and to ascend to the clouds? 8. And, Who is He that has so constrained the power of fire, that it shall insinuate itself into wood? and has made it to mix itself up with things which are in their natures opposed to it? 9. And, Who has attempered this cold air with the power of heat; has released these from their (natural) contentions with one another, and has reconciled them (as it were) to love? 10. Who is He that has distinguished the race

subject to mortality with the character of extension, and drawn it out to the length of the life which is immortal? 11. Who is He that has so formed the Male, fashioned the Female, and associated them both as one compound, and (thus) discovered one source of generation for all animal life? 12. Who is He that changes this fluent generating seed from its fluid, perishing, and senseless state, and makes it (that) of the generation of animal life? 13. Who is He that performs even to this time all these things, and innumerable others beyond them, and which exceed all wonder and astonishment? 14.

Who is He that daily and hourly, secretly and by a power that is invisible, effects the generation and changes of these things? 15. But, the efficient Cause of all things is justly said to be that worker of miracles, THE WORD OF GOD. For THE WORD OF GOD who is Almighty, has in truth |9 extended himself into every thing: above into the heights, and beneath into the depths, has He drawn out His incorporeal soul. He also holds, as it were in His hands, the breadth and length of all in (its) extent. This whole has He brought, and bound up together; and has (thus) set up for himself this (immense) vessel filled with every sort of compound. He too, by every species of wisdom, and by means of the power which is rational, has made well to combine and to harmonize, according to their several measures, this essence of bodies destitute of reason, form, and visibility; governing by words unutterable, and directing for the advantage of all13, the Sun, the Moon, and those (other) luminaries that are in the heavens. 16. This selfsame WORD OF GOD too brought himself down also upon the earth, and (there) set up all the various kinds of animals, and every beautiful form of plant. 17. This selfsame WORD OF GOD also immerged even into the depths of the sea14, and determined those swimming natures: and here again he made the myriads of forms which are innumerable, with every various kind of living creature. 18.

The selfsame also completes, by the effectuating art of nature, those (beings) which are inwardly |10 conceived in the womb, and forms (them) into animals. The same too makes to ascend to the heights as light, this humid, heavy, and naturally descending, matter (of sea-water15), and thus, completing the course of his government, changes it to sweetness, and brings it (again) in due measure, and at determined seasons, upon the earth: and, like the excellent husbandman who waters his land well, and attempers the wet with the dry, he changes (things) into every sort of form: at one time, into beautiful flowers; at another, into the forms peculiar to each species; at another, into delightful scents; at another, into different and diversified sorts of fruits; at another, into every kind of taste which gives pleasure. 19. But why need I take upon myself to discuss the powers of THE WORD OF GOD? or, venture upon a thing, the doing of which is impossible, and, it is clear, greatly surpasses all mortal mind? 20. Others indeed name this same (Being) Universal nature; others, the Universal soul; others, Fate; and others say, that He is the God who is beyond all. But, I know not how they confound together the things, which

are so greatly and widely different; and (thus) cast down to the earth, and mix up, that Governour of all, that Power of (eternal) existence which is above all, with bodies, (and) |11 with perishable matter;

affirm, that He is the medium both of irrational and rational animals, and is comprehended both in those that are mortal, and immortal. But these things they (do). 21. The Divine doctrine, however, declares that He who is above all that is good, the same is the (efficient) Cause of all, and is beyond all comprehension; and that on this account He cannot be described, enounced, or named: and, not only that He is elevated above all verbal description, but also above all mental apprehension; that He is neither contained in place, nor existing in body, neither in the heavens, nor in the aether, nor in any one portion of this whole. But that He is at once within, and independent of all, reserved in the unseen depth of (His own) knowledge. The Divine declarations teach us to recognize Him alone as the God of truth, who is far removed from all essence of body, and a stranger to all service of government. It has, therefore, been delivered to us, that all is of Him, but not that it is by (or through) Him16. 22. But He, as a king within the concealment and privacy in which He is incomprehensible, sits in the elevation of His own splendour, governing and ordering (all) solely by the power of His own will. For, by His will exists whatsoever does exist; and, had He not (so) willed, neither had it (so) existed. He wills, however, every good thing, because He is also good in His own essential being. |12 23.

He therefore, by whom are all things, THE WORD OF GOD, proceeded forth from above, from His good Father, as a river ever flowing from an unlimited fountain, and distilling as rain, in words unutterable, to those who were perishing, completely furnished for the common salvation of all. And, as in the case with ourselves, that secret and invisible mind which is within us, no man ever knew, either how, or why, it exists in its own essential character, but (which) sits as a king within the secrecy of its chambers, and considers of the things to be done; so the only word then proceeding from it, begotten as it were of a Father in the privacy of retirement, and being the primary angel (messenger) to all, of the mind of its Father, openly publishes those things which its father considered in secret; and, passing on into the hearing of all, brings to full effect the will (so made known). These (hearers) then receive the benefit of the word, while the secret and invisible mind, this father of (such) word, no one had ever seen with the eyes. So also,----that is, (in a manner) surpassing all examples and comparisons, that completing WORD OF GOD, the King of all,----was, as being the only (begotten) Son of His Father, established, not by any mere emanating virtue; nor constituted in his nature by the enunciation of names and words; nor designated by any sound produced by the percussion of the air:

but THE WORD is living, and is the minister of God who is |13 over all, and in His essence, He is ”the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God. He proceeds moreover from the Godhead and rule of His Father; and is the17 good offspring of the good Father, and the common Saviour of all. He also waters all, pouring out from his own fulness upon all, life, and reason, and wisdom, and light, and every good thing. He waters too, not only the things that are before Him and near Him, but those also that are removed far away on the earth, and in the sea; and if there be any other creature, in any thing that exists. He too keeps in order, by His justice and the power of His rule, every border, place, law, and possession: to each and every thing does He distribute and give that which is suitable: apportioning (this) to some who are in the sphere above the world; to others, who reside in the heavens; to others, whose habitation is the aether; to others, that are in the air; and to others, on the earth. Then passing on from these, He again well distinguishes, in other quarters, the lives of all; carrying forward with due discrimination, their customs and various observances. He also provides the food for the animals, not only for those that are rational, but also for those that are not so: (and this) for the advantage of those that are. 24.

To some he gives the comforts of a mortal and temporary life; to others, that they may partake of immortality: and of every thing, as THE WORD OF GOD, is He the Doer. And, being near to every thing, and |14 pervading all with a power which is rational, and, looking up to His Father, He governs the things that are below according to His intimations, and after Him accordingly as the Saviour of all. And thus, mediating and bringing near to the (eternal) Being this essence of things, He constitutes the bond which cannot be severed. THE WORD OF GOD (I say), which is in the midst, which binds together those which are diverse, and suffers them not to fall off (and) away, He is the Providential care which is watchful over all, He is the Director of all: He is ”the Power of God, and the wisdom of God”: He is the only (begotten) Son of God; the God which is begotten of God, THE WORD. For, ”In the beginning was THE WORD, and THE WORD was with God, and THE WORD was God. Every thing was by Him, and without Him was not any thing:”---- the glorious words of the divine men (so) teaching. 25. This is the common Saviour of all, on whose account this universal essence is productive, and rejoices that it ever drinks from his dewdrops; is always youthful in its stature, and ever presents the appearance of beauty.

He therefore holds its reins, and, at the intimations of His Father, rightly guides the mighty ship of this universe, |15 (and) with His own helm He governs it. This (Being) excellent of art, did He who is God above all, as a good Father beget as good Fruit, the ONLY (begotten) SON, and give (him) to this world (as) a most excellent gift; did cast as a Soul into a body destitute of soul, and into the nature of irrational bodies, His own rational WOHD: and (so), by virtue of the DIVINE WORD, did He both enlighten and enliven this (otherwise) shapeless, unsightly and colourless, be-

ing ----by Him, (I say) whom we ought, both to know and to worship, as being ever near to the matter and elements, of (all) bodies. Thus, that which was immaterial, bodiless, and unconscious (lit. unwise), became, as from others, endued with consciousness (lit. became wise). But He is THE LIFE, and He is THE LIGHT; the intelligent offspring of THE LIGHT which cannot be described. He too, is ONE in His Essence, even as He is |16 from ONE Father. He possesses however many powers (virtues) within His own person. For, we should not suppose that, because the (constituent) parts of the world are many, they therefore constitute many powers1 (Demons): nor, because the operations are many, we ought therefore, to set up for ourselves many Gods. 26.

Those therefore who follow many Gods, commit, as children in soul, a grievous mistake when they make into Gods the (constituent) parts of the Universe, and (virtually) divide the one world into many18. As if one should take from the person of a man the eyes only, and then affirm that these were the man; and again, that the ears were another; and so again, the head (another); or, should gradually sever the neck, the breast, the shoulders, the feet, the hands, or the rest of the members; or, that he should (so) divide the faculty of sense by |17 process of reasoning, and then affirm on this one man, that these (portions) really were many men: he would deserve nothing better of the wise, than the ridicule due to folly. Such as this man would be, would he likewise be who fabricated for himself many Gods out of the (constituent) parts of the one Universe, and would sever into many sections those Bodies of all, whose nature is fleeting and dispersive, and which are fabricated out of one primary material; and then again, would by an effort of reason make these his Gods?. 27. Much worse than this would he be, who would also imagine that this entirely made world,----constituted as it is wholly and altogether of many parts,----is God: not considering that the Divine nature could never subsist of parts or be complex, or could stand in need of some other to compound it: nor again, that if it consisted of parts, could it be Divine.

For, How can it consist of things different and dissimilar, faulty and excellent? Because that which is compounded, must also be dissoluble; and that which consists of many parts, is of necessity dissimilar19: while that which is equal in all and unchanging in all, is simple and incomplex. That too which is complex, is compounded of things dissimilar. And that which is dissimilar has in itself something faulty, opposed to that which is excellent. For if the whole were excellent, it would (then) be equal and similar. And, if it were so in the whole, it would in the whole be consistent with itself: and thus would it be in essence simple, |18 and without parts. But this nature (of things) does not shew itself to be such, since this world is viewed as wholly subject to sense: for it is constituted of many parts, and is (therefore) compounded; it is too, in many of its parts, changing. And where it is thus, there is also the capability of a nature of an opposite description. And hence this world associates beings, at once both mortal and immortal, rational and irrational;

in matter too, both cold and hot; wet and dry. From all which, God is (necessarily) free. For, if the nature of God be simple, it is also without parts, and is uncompounded; (placed) beyond, and far removed from, every ordinance of this visible world. On this account the Preacher of Truth thus openly says:

"The Word of God proclaimed, He who is before all, is alone the Saviour of all rational beings." But God who is beyond all, is the head (source) of the generation of THE WORD. He alone is the Cause of all; and, of His ONLY (begotten) WORD, He is truly styled THE FATHER. Above Him therefore, no other Cause can be assigned. He therefore is God alone20; and from Him proceeded forth, by (virtue of) His own secret will which is unutterable, the ONLY (begotten), the Saviour of all, the one WORD of God, who (is) through all. 28. This sensible world is therefore, not unlike the lyre of many strings, consisting of many dissimilar portions:|19----of acute and grave, lax and intense; and of others between these, all well combined together by the art of the Musician. Such then is also this (universe), collected (as it is) into one compound, consisting of many parts, and many compositions; of cold at once, and warm its opposite; and of matter, wet and dry. It is moreover a mighty vessel, and is the work of the God of all. 29. But the DIVINE WORD has not been constituted of parts, nor has it been compounded of any opposing (nature), nor does it consist of (either) part or compound; but both wisely and well does He in every thing resemble His Father; and to the King of all does He give back the praise, which to Him is both suitable and due.

(And) as in one body there are many parts, members, viscera, and bowels, collected together, and one invisible soul (only) is diffused through all; and one is the mind which (consists) of neither body nor parts; so also (we say) of this one world, which is constituted of many parts. So also the WORD OF GOD, manifold in power and Almighty, is one extended into all things, and is invisibly diffused throughout them: and of all, in which He (thus) subsists, He is the (efficient) Cause. 30. Do you not see with your eyes, that one heaven surrounds the whole world? and that many orders of stars revolve in this? And again, (that) there is one sun, not many? and that this eclipses the splendour of them all by its superior light? So likewise is there one Father, the WORD of whom also is one, who must be the good |20 offspring of the good Father. If therefore any one complain, that there are not many Sons; so should he also complain, that many suns, moons, and worlds, are not established, and at many other things, after the manner of madmen, who endeavour to subvert those of nature which are right and good. But, as in things visible, one sun gives light to the whole sensible world; so also in things intellectual, the one WORD OF GOD, filled with all power, secretly and (in a manner) imperceptible to us, gives light to all. For Why should many suns be required, when one is sufficient to effect every thing?

And again, What need can there be of many Sons of God, when the ONE, the only (begotten), is sufficient to effect the will of His Father? For, if there were many, then would they be either similar, or dissimilar21. And if they were similar, then would their multiplicity be in vain; because one Effectuator, and this Almighty, would be sufficient for the performance and due ordering of all. But the WORD OF GOD, and the WISDOM OF GOD, which is ONE in its essence, brings along with it the light, and the life, and (indeed) all the fulness of goodness. The multitude (then) of those who were (thus) vainly, and not well joined together in a power that were similar, could have no advantage. But, if it were necessary they should be dissimilar, How then could that which were dissimilar, or incomplete and defective in its nature, be on the |21 other hand an Effectuator, and that sufficient for all? But nothing which is horn of God is incomplete. The only (begotten) of God is therefore complete (the Efficient). Nor are there many WORDS OF GOD. On the contrary, THE GOD who is OF GOD is sufficient for all, and is Almighty; is the one Image of the light of His Essence, as the divine words declare; who, for the convenience of governing and healing all existing beings, was necessarily appointed; who is also in His essence one, but in His powers manifold. And Him alone do we declare to he sufficient for the adorning of all things. 31.

Because too, there is in man (but) one Soul and one reasoning faculty, and this at the same time capable of comprehending many things; whether (for example), it cultivate the earth, or fit up a ship, or guide it, or build (a house), still it is one and the same: or, whether it learn and do many things, still there is but one mind and cogitative faculty in man. It is moreover capable at once of many sorts of knowledge: the same man will be the geometrician, or will be skilled in the courses of the stars, or be perfect in the precepts of the grammarians and rhetoricians; or, he will become a leader in the science of healing, or in its manual operations. Nor has any one ever yet imagined, that there are many souls in (any) one body: neither has it been made matter of wonder, that there exists many essences in man, because of his |22 capability of many sorts of knowledge. For, should a man find a shapeless piece of clay, and afterwards so model it with his hands, as to impress upon it the forms of certain animals; on one figure, the head; on another, the hands, the feet, or the eyes (of a man); and again, that he otherwise imitate by the art of the modeller, the cheeks, ears, mouth, nostrils, breast, and shoulders, Would it be right also to suppose that, because many forms and members had been (so) wrought in this one body, many were therefore their makers?

We ought rather to bestow the full meed of praise on the one artificer of the whole, who had by one train of thought, and the exertion of one executive power, (so) disposed the whole:---- 32. So also, of this universal world which is one, consisting nevertheless of many parts, it cannot be right to erect the many powers (visible within it) into makers; nor again to call these many Gods: but rather, to bless the ONE who abounds in every species of wisdom, and every sort of compounding

(power): Him (I say) who is in truth ”THE POWER or GOD, and THE WISDOM OF GOD; who, by means of one (almighty) power and virtue, pervades, and remains in, the universal whole; who also gives establishment and life to all: and who, for the whole and singular of |23 these bodies and elements, in their several situations, produced at once from himself, the several and various means of subsistence. 33. So also the light of the Sun is one; yet, by its one incidence, it at once illuminates the air, affords light to the eyes, warmth to the touch, ripens the (produce of) the earth, gives growth to the plant, and fixes the several periods of time. It also precedes the stars (in its course), makes the circuit of the heavens, rises upon the world, and clearly establishes the power of God with respect to all things22. All these things it completes in a momentary period of nature.

Thus too, the nature of fire (is such) as to purify gold, to melt lead, to dissolve wax, to dry (wet) clay, and to consume dense (bodies): by means of one burning power, it effects all these things. 34. So likewise THE WORD OF GOD, the King of all, He who is extended throughout all, is in and pervades all, that is both in the heavens and the earth; He is the governour of the things which are invisible and visible, and He directs by powers unspeakable”, the Sun, the Heavens, |24 and the whole Universe. He is present to all things in His effectuating power; and He remains throughout all. He also makes to distil as rain, from His own resources, the never-failing light to the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars. He has established, and perpetually holds fast, the heavens (as) an image of his own greatness. He also fills from the treasury that is with Him, those hosts of Angels and Powers of intelligent and rational spirits, at once with life, light, wisdom, and all the abundance of every species of beauty and of goodness. And by one and the same effectuating art, He never fails to supply substance to the material elements, and to Bodies (their) commixture and concurrence; (their) forms, appearances, and characters. He otherwise varies also and time after time, (His) innumerable operations, (whether) in the animals, the plants, or in the beings rational or irrational: at once He provides every thing for all, by (His) one power;

and clearly shews, (that this) is not a mere Lyre (as it were) of seven or many strings, but is the one universe of manifold composition, the workmanship of the ONE WORD, the Maker of the world23. 35. Such therefore, is the common Saviour of all, THE WORD or the GOD of all, of whom one discoursing on God24 thus mysteriously speaks: ”He25 was in the world, and the world was (made) by Him; and the world knew Him not” For, from ancient times (and) hitherto, it knew Him not, until He manifested Himself, in the latter times, to those who were holden in the darkness of vice. But He, the Maker of the whole world, He, who is the common Saviour of all, has been directly made known to us, as thus existing; and as affording to this whole, all this assistance. But, as to this whole world which is |25 governed by one Ruler, (and) which consists of the heavens, the earth, and of the things therein, it is now necessary we should shew in a few words, what

the nature of the being is which He has assigned to it. 36. This (universe) then, partakes of two natures; of the essence which is more excellent and is allied to THE DIVINE WORD; which, being intellectual and rational, is perceived by the mind, and apprehended by the reason: and to this is possible all that is superior to (material) Bodies. (It partakes) also of that which was necessarily brought forth for the use of this;

which is matter,----is the offspring of Bodies, and is understood by the sense of reason, both to exist and to be perishable: and which, as I think, has been well said never to have had any (independent) being26. But this, which is visible to the bodily sense, designates the one Universe. This same (too), the whole of which is visible, as well as that which is invisible, may thus be well said to constitute one family of rational beings; just as in the things that are visible, the nature of bodies is one; while of tin's, some are in the heavens and the aether27,----those among these being distinct, and different;----some in the air and on the earth; and of which, the things visible are the animals and plants. So also, in the essence which is intelligent and invisible, the common kind of them all is one. One also is the nature of the generation of the rational and intelligent faculties, while many and various are the distinctions existing in this28. 37. This same therefore, which has been fabricated out of matter, and (material) bodies; this, which we usually |26 name the sensible world, which consists of the heavens the earth and of the things therein, may be likened to an imperial city in which there are many citizens, the houses of some of which have been distinguished (as) apartments of the state. Of these, the inner ones are neither entered into, nor trodden, by the many.

Some again are for stations without, (set apart) for the keepers of the middle portions. Others again, are far distant from the court, and are left for the inhabitants (generally) and their various assemblies29. Many are (thus) the stations in the heavens, and many are those inferior to these in the sether, and in the air above the earth. The habitable |27 part of the earth, (assigned) to those who walk upon it, is this broad space known to us all. Those (places) however which are beyond the heavens, are (exalted) above all mental apprehension, as are those also which are distinguished as inner apartments of the divine house of rule. But those (beings) who surround the King of all, and exult at the side of THE DIVINE WORD, are both enlightened and upholden by means of the rays which are drawn forth from Him, as from unfailing fountains of light; and are established in the fulness of light. (Thus) too all the enlightened, with the incorporeal assemblies of light, hold that rank of station which is beyond the heavens, and honour with the highest praises, (and) which are worthy of God, the God who is King of all. 30 In the midst moreover, has He cast (spread) forth the vast heavens, the curtains (as it were) of the azure threshold, which exclude those who are without from the mansion of rule;

while the keepers of the intermediate part perform (their) rounds in this, as being without the gate, with those who in the heavens are |28 invested with light and holding lamps, as the sun and the moon, honouring Him who is beyond all, the King of all. And, at his intimation and word, these supply light by means of lamps which cannot be extinguished, to those whose lot it is to be in the place of darkness, and without the heavens. Thus are brought near to Him the powers of the air, which are invisible to bodily eyes, as also the animals and other earthly things (which are visible): so is man also the chief of them all, whose race was no stranger to that intelligent and rational Essence which is invisible, and who was created on the earth to render praise to the Godhead and rule of Him who is the Cause of all things. Like as on earth therefore, there is spread over the whole world but one, and that the same human nature; and, as many nations have arisen out of this, and the manner of life of every race, its fashions, modes, and governments, are different, not only of the barbarians and wild, but also of the peaceable, fashionable, and wise; and, (as) there are among these both slaves and freemen, poor and rich; those also who differ in colour, as the Scythians, and those whose lot it is to dwell without, in the west;

the Hindoos also, at the rising of the sun, and the Ethiopians at its setting; Greeks, too, and others whose destiny it is to reside among princes; and, among all these again, some bear rule over portions of the nations, and others are wholly subject: with the great king of all moreover, some are considered as in the place of friends, some are elevated to the greatest honours, others are more especially ennobled for their virtuous deeds: some, again, fill the rank of slaves; and others, bearing spears and shields, surround the sovereign: others again, are military officers in the cities, while others fill the situation of rule in these: others too, have met the fate of the |29 vulgar; and others are considered as in the place of enemies and haters: still, the whole of these are men, and one is the common species of them all. Over them all too, is there one king, one only power, vested with his own authority which is all-supreme. And to this same, according to the law and edict of the state,----to him alone, the Father and Lawgiver,----is (the title of) great king ascribed: while He (the WORD) descending from above, and running (as it were) throughout the whole of the governours and governed, subjects to the one yoke of rule every race (placed) under his hand; elevating some to the highest honour, and to others rendering that which is their due31. 38. As it is with these things, (so) one is the generating, intelligent, and rational Essence which is over all.

And well might it be said, that one is the kind (genus) even of these, and that they all are nothing more than brethren (derived) from one, as made of Him who is the Father of THE WORD OF GOD32. There are then, multitudes of nations, and of kinds (of these); and there is a portion the more virtuous, and the contrary. The differences too of these, as to mind (opinion) are innumerable, as are the fashions, modes of life, constitutions, and the contrary; but not as to their natures, for the

nature of them all is one, and the kind is one. It is of the variety of their wills, that they have found out many and different fashions and modes of life. Hence, are the companies of angels, of spirits, and of incorporeal and invisible powers; some of which are resplendent and glorious, as enlightened by the splendour of THE DIVINE WORD; others are dark, blacker than any Ethiopian, and |30 destitute of all rational light. This kind is quite deserving of the middle place, as capable at once of both the excellent and the base. But the King is one, that ONLY power which is God above all, both of those who are in the heavens, and above the heavens. And He it is who holds by the law and edict of sovereign rule, the things that are in the air, on the earth, and under the earth, and which are of all, and in all. This law and edict is moreover one, (viz.

He who lives in all, THE WORD OF GOD, the minister, (lit. agent): not as that dying (utterance) which is sent forth from the mouth of mortals into the air33; but is,----as it has now been made known to us (by the Gospel)----of things (in their nature) possible, the Governour of all in all wisdom and power. He (I say) who, as THE WOED OF GOD, distributes fully and in justice to all, the things which are most suitable to them; and gives to each, and to every one of them, the stations which are suitable: to those which are near, (those) of happiness; but those of the contrary, to them who have fallen from virtue, as they may have (severally) deserved. He at once gives to all---- like those who are on the earth,----to reside in different localities; to some, to exult at the side of the heavenly sovereignty; to others, to keep watch without; toothers, to dwell beyond (these), and at a distance: while all with one mouth, and according to the doctrine and instruction of each, celebrate the praise of the King and God of all: ----(all I say) who bear this law in their hearts and in the mind of their nature, that they should confess that ONE, who is the likeness of the image of sovereign rule, who is the only (begotten) WORD,----Him ” who is the Image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature34,”----as the divine words mysteriously teach. 39.

And to the honouring of Him are all, whether the rulers or the ruled in every house and city, at once devoted: not, with inanimate colours variously set forth in pictures (or images,), but within, on the hearts of their |31 intellectual faculties as upon intelligent tablets, is the worship of His Godhead inscribed. Thus do all those, who are subject to His power, tender their worship, irrespective of those vicious Demons, and wicked Spirits, and ”Rulers of this world,” who consider themselves as in the situation of enemies and haters; those who have assimilated themselves to the image of fraudulent rule35, and put forth various books in the place of others36; that is, innumerable false scriptures (ascribed) to that fearful name, and to that expressed name, which governs the Law. But far superior to the Law is the name (which) they have surreptitiously assumed to themselves. Thus do they succeed in casting down to the earth among bodies, elements, and the portions of the world, the (whole) race of mortal men. Hence have men feared and served the

creatures, more than the Creator of these37. 40. And again, they named (as gods) for themselves, these very powers, contenders and rebels against God, which in their perverseness so became gods; these (I say) which never existed (as such).

And well may those be considered as enemies and haters, from whom the law of truth has commanded us to flee, and to take refuge in Him alone who is the WORD, the Saviour of all;----Him, who has cast forth the seed which is of Himself, in order that it may produce, not only in the heavenly places, but also on the earth; and has assigned both to those that are in the heavens, and to those that are in the elements of |32 the earth, one and the same portion of kind. So that the rational mind which is in man, (and) is of that incorporeal intelligent essence, and of the kind of the DIVINE WORD which pervades all that has hitherto been generated, is nourished on earth by its meditations on Him, and previously trained for its transition (conversion) to virtue. Hence too, is it previously instructed and taught, to provide for its passing to the children of its own kind. Wholly therefore is this alone, of those that are on the earth, through its participation with THE DIVINE WORD, worthy of the name of rational. He has then, necessarily assigned a place on earth (to) the mind and rational soul; so that a small image of the great City of God, mentioned in the example a little while ago (given), has been set up on earth: nor is there in the whole empire of God, nor even a place on the earth, exempt from this lot.

And it was right, that praise should be ascribed in every part of the universe to THE WORD, the common Father of all, by those who had been generated of Himself. Hence, even the element of earth is not exempt from being entrusted with this rational portion. Not only by those who are beyond the world, and in the heavens, and the rational (beings) that are in the air; but also by those that dwell on the earth, is that just praise sent up to the Maker and Father of all: which indeed the Divine Word teaches, when it thus commands every man to sing the praise which is due to God38: ” Praise ye God from the heavens; praise ye him in the heights. Praise him all ye his angels; praise him all ye his hosts. Praise him sun and moon; praise him all ye stars and light. Praise him ye heavens of heavens. After the things which are upon the earth, he (the Sacred Writer) reasons thus: ”Praise ye God from the earth (all)” other things. He then also (reasons upon) this rational family of man,----this (I say) which divides itself from every thing else into various companies and orders of rank,----in this manner:----” Praise him, ye Icings of the earth, and all |33 people: ye great, and all ye judges of the earth: young men and maidens: old men with children. Let them praise the name of the Lord; for great is his name alone; and his praise is in the earth, and in the ”heavens.”39 41.

With these (words) therefore, he leads over against and along with the companies that are in the heavens, those also that are on the earth, to the praise of the King of all. For to Him alone in truth, and to no other God,----(to) Him who is beyond

all the heavens above,---- do the companies that are above the curvatures of the heavens ascribe honour and praise. To Him (as) their Father do the hosts of angels and spirits, the offspring of the light which is intelligent, render the praises which are unutterable. To Him also the sun, the moon, and the stars which are in the circuits of distant worlds, and run their lengthened courses in the spaces of aether, and form a crown (as it were) to Him;----the invisible powers also, which wing their way in the free expanse of air,----proclaim the meed of praise and blessing which is (both) due and becoming. 42. How then, after (the detail of) these things could it be becoming, that the element of earth alone should be wanting in the provision which (prevails) in all? Or, that this nature which is generative of all these fruits, |34 should stand alone, in withholding its meed of praise? Or, that the life which is (passed) on the earth, bearing every sort of fruit, should be barren as to (that of) the intelligent creature?

Would it not rather appear that this would seem good to Him,----who is the fulness of all wisdom, the Maker of all,----that He should for His own sake, sow this locality of earth with beings intelligent and rational? and should, for the use of these, provide the rest of the creatures, as also that which is generative of fruits and flowers? And that He should here also join the praise of men, to that which is rendered by the companies of all (else), to His own Father? And this was so done in former times:----this, that man, who had been made in the image of God40, honoured with hymns and songs THE WORD, his Father, together with the divine and rational assemblies, and with the several orders of angels. His mind had not then erred in the setting up of inanimate images under the phantasms of demoniacal deception, nor under the stories of error common to polytheism: for these things recently, and after a time, became known through the vain babblings of the poets. Those primitive chiefs of our race, who hitherto had not learned the arts of modelling, hewing, and carving, and had made no use of this extreme metal-working art of evil deeds, called upon the Maker of the whole universe and their Lord, in the simplicity of their souls, and in the mind of their (unsophisticated) nature: and Him alone did they confess, in their instruction which was mental41, to be the Lord and God of all.

And as these did, so did the chief of our nature (Adam), as also did the Hebrew race, which was in ancient times beloved of God, and received, |35 as a son from his father, the good inheritance of the observances of the fear of God. But these honoured nothing with purity of life, and with the observances of the fear of God, except the one God, the King who is above all, and His WORD who is the Saviour of all. On this account, they were considered worthy of the revelation of the Word of God, of prophecy, and of the doctrines of righteousness. 43. Thus therefore, THE WORD OF GOD, the Maker of all things, fills, with His seed of intelligent and rational being, all parts and places that are above the world, that are in the heavens, and on this element of earth. That seed then, which falls upon the earth, constituting the intelligent and rational plant, is itself the knowledge which belongs

to man, (and) which is now contained in the multifarious stem and herbage (as it were) of an earthly and perishable body: many stars of the life which is mortal surrounding it. If then, an enlightened cultivation meet it, so that it be cleansed from the obstinacy of matter, and recognize the Sower, THE WORD, who is above the heavens, and henceforth render praise to Him, meditating as a child on His primitive teaching, and in due time rendering the corn-ears of its superiority, the complete fruit of its rational nature;

it shall as in the time of harvest lay down, by the death of the life which is mortal, those luxuriances of the stem that are without, together with the earthly and corruptible clothing of the body, which it shall have now well employed for the growth and perfection of the fruit. And happily shall it put off this in due time. The same too, as he becomes more excellent, and collects the powers of his superiority into the treasury of things that are good, is preserved (as) the perfect, that with the perfect he may be led on. To Him also, who is the Sower and the Cultivator of all, he renders the perfect fruit of that praise which is due to God. And, because he has in this- life recognized Him alone as his Father, King, and Lord, and has, together with his relative and sister beings (already mentioned), confessed Him alone to be God, his Maker and Creator; He will,----that he also may (as) in the place of the society which is more excellent, exalt and honour Him with the |36 honour that is becoming and just,----not name any other thing God, which it is not right should be called God, but Him alone to whom all things give (a similar) testimony; Him, whom all creation, visible and invisible,----even as He alone is the efficient Cause of all,----names its God, and whom it worships. 44. These things then being such, let us now again approach our subject afresh, as already laid down.

These heavens then, and places in the heavens which are viewed by the bodily senses; this earth also, and air, as well as this whole constitution (of things) which is of them, (and) which may be likened to a great city, differ in no respect in their nature from those inanimate elements which are in its portions, the earth, the waters, the air, and fire. But it is not necessary, that the denizens of this great city should be considered as of the same material; nor is it, that we should affirm the seed of the rational soul, and of the perishable body, to be one and the same. For the mind, the reason, the rational soul, and the whole of the nature which is intelligent, may accurately and well be affirmed to be the seed of THE WORD OF GOD, the Creator of all. Nor were these any part of the earth, or of the air; nor, of any essence cold or hot; but, of those superior faculties, by which they were made worthy to partake in things most excellent. Because things prior in order, are the causes of those which succeed them. And the first things were those generated of THE WORD: after these, those that are irrational. After the primary essences therefore, were those latter ones, which followed (these as) causes. But these primitive ones,----the origin of production,----exist (only) in intelligent souls; on whose account it was, that the seed of passive bodies was also prepared.

For it was necessary, that a sufficient house or residence should be prepared for these. Hence the primary heavens appeared to be a place suitable to the people of this city, who were both above it and in it; and the curvatures42 within the heavens, for those |37 inhabitants who should be distinguished accordingly. But thou (reasonable soul), wouldest never designate as denizens of the city on earth, either the sensitive being of the fierce animals, or any kind of reptile refusing instruction; or indeed, any of all those that partake in the nature and name of irrational. For these are thy slaves, which have been subjected by the law of nature; and they necessarily render the service which is due to rational beings, as to their lords. For the agricultural ox places his neck willingly in the yoke, for the purposes of agriculture for man; the carrying ass too, confesses his own nature; the horse also, on which his lord rides, exults43; and the hunting dog fondles on him who feeds him. 45. The flocks too, and herds, (and) again, all sorts of possession (in animals), are given to men; even the fierce beasts are (at his ready) service. These same too, we kill and reduce to subjection. We also take, by means of reason, the bird that flies in the heights. We also bring up those (beings) which are beneath in the depths of the sea, and (otherwise) within it. And nature plainly teaches, that all these things have been established for the sake of man.

Man is therefore the progeny of the DIVINE WORD; not for the sake of any other thing, but |38 for that (only) of his Father, THE WORD; in order that he might see, and by his knowledge distinguish, all the wisdom of his Father, which (consists) in the workmanship visible throughout all creation; and that he should assimilate himself to this same, while hitherto youthful, and should in every thing emulate his Father, as to law, reason, knowledge, and wisdom; should live as taught, (that he is) the image of excellence; and should learn that, together with the companies that are in heaven, he should, as a prophet and priest, send up from the earth those praises which are due to the King of all, and to God who is the Cause of all. 46. In representations not unlike these therefore, does THE WORD, the instructor of all nature,----wondering at the various excellency of the nature that is in man,---- cry out, and say in the divine praises, ” What44 is man that Thou art mindful of him? and the son of man that Thou visitest him? Thou hast made him a little less than the Angels: with honour and glory hast Thou clothed him, and hast given him dominion over the work of thy hands, and hast placed all beneath his feet: all flocks and herds; even the wild beasts of the desert, and the birds that are in the heavens, and the fishes of the sea, which dwell in the paths of the sea.” 47.

It is this rational species alone, beloved of God, of those that are on earth, respecting which another prophet speaking of God, teaches, thus plainly (but) mysteriously, that in his essence he is in the image of God: ” And God said, Let us make man in our Image, according to our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fishes that are in the sea, and over the fowl of the heavens, and over the beasts, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.

And to the word He also added the deed: ” So God made man,” and said that He made him in the image of God. And again more particularly, He established (the fact) that the image was in the likeness of God, from |39 the Divine inbreathing, when He said, ” And he breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and the man became a living soul45. He also teaches, that He gave to him the more excellent authority and rule, in these words when saying, Let them have dominion over all that is on the earth, over the beasts, the fowls, the creeping things, (and) the animals. And, to all these words does that nature give (its) testimony, which has put every thing under his hand, and has subjected all (things) to this rational creature.

But, if the Divine words can obtain no hearing with thee, still, I cannot think that thy mind is so entirely darkened, that thou canst not think within thyself, How it is, that bodies and bodily substances,----or, whatever other divine thing it is which moves the body,----should consist of this possible excellence,----this, I say,----that (such body) should know how to avail itself of a discriminating reason, as to what its own essence is?----this, that it should deliver instruction by memory?----this, that it should extend itself to the contemplation of all things? But, be thyself and ask, whether the nature of the body can understand the constitution of the world; the operations of the primary elements; the beginning, the end, the middle portion, enumeration, and succession of the seasons; the changes of times; the revolutions of the year; the appointed order of the stars; and (I know not) how many other things, which men have by the experiments of geometry, computation, and enumeration, pointed out. For these (results) are incorporeal, and the contemplation of them is (purely) rational: that any one should make them adjuncts of the bones, the flesh, or the blood, would be folly infinitely great. And, well might they be asked, who thus think of these things, since these five senses comprehend all the faculties of the body, Which of them is it that can teach man the contemplation of any doctrine? Is it the sight of the eyes? But this distinguishes between colours and forms only. If you say, The hearing;

you (only) name the recipient of sounds acute and grave, but not of any rational perception. And again, in like manner, the taste is the sense discriminative of sweetness, or of food, as it might |40 be. The smell too, is the trier of scents, but not of doctrines. And again, this sense which is extended over the whole body, will touch (and discriminate) things cold and hot, hard and soft; but not virtue, nor (yet) that wisdom which is much more excellent. And, How is it with the irrational animals? Have they not eyes, ears, and nostrils? the sense of taste, and of touch? But nothing of these can be brought near to the efficiency of reason: because the doctrines, which philosophy alone can apprehend, are not of the body, nor of the sense that is irrational: they belong solely to that superiority which attends the rational soul; which is superior to the nature of the body, and which takes up its abode in mankind alone. If however, any one wish impudently to persist by way of reasoning, and affirm, That we possess nothing beyond these irrational

animals; that like these we are born, and are subject to corruption; because the one provision of us all, is of the earth: the passive nature of the body is the same; the sense is in nothing superior; the labour again, and rest is, in the same manner, one; as is the blood of us all, the corruption of the body, and (its) dissolution into the primitive elements.

Hitherto however, you do not say, that any one of these can, like the rational animal, be brought near to the contemplation of things incorporeal; can bear about it any rational instruction, or lay up learning in its memory; can consider discourses about virtue and vice; and, as to philosophy, that it ever even entered its mind. But all these things I might omit, because all men do not possess them. I (only) ask your reason these things: Was there a city ever (yet) constructed by beings destitute of reason? Or, is there in these the mind of the Artificer, of the Builder, of the Weaver, or, of the Agriculturist? Or, has a ship ever been fitted up by them? Or, has the astonishing art of governing (such vessel) so much as even entered their minds? When, |41 behold! the things which are bodily (only) are with them, far more excellent than with us: because, of all animals, man is the most defective, and, as the Poets sing, "The human race is infirm46," Nor can we say how much he is inferior, in magnitude of body, to the Elephant; or, to be thought of, as to strength and abundance, with the Camel species. And, to many other animals must he cede the victory, both as to power, and swiftness of foot. What can they scent better than the tracing dogs, which are taught to course by the smell? or, be said to see better than any Antelope; which, because they see (well) are, in the Greek, named "the Seers?

And, is it necessary we should hence say, how much weaker the body of man naturally is, than that of the Bear, the Lion, the Panther, and of many other animals? or, how quickly or easily he is deceived and overcome by those that attack him? Nevertheless, this diminutive (creature) will, whenever he pleases, subdue any of those already mentioned; not by bodily or corporeal |42 strength, for (in this respect) he is greatly the inferior, and is insufficient to fill the stomach of even one Bear. But there is a certain nature within him, more excellent than the body, the power of the mind, and of the intelligent soul. And it is by the superiority of wisdom that he effects these astonishing things. By means of these (things) hast thou, as a dear child, been honoured of God. Why (so) despisest thou thy greatness as to think, that this thy whole is (mere) flesh? and likenest this body, with the divine and rational knowledge which is within thee, to these irrational beings, the whole of which is perishable? Will then, neither the irrational nature of the animals, nor this common name irrational, nor (yet) the openly apparent useful servitude, under which these have never sought excuse from the bearing of burdens or of labour, suffice to persuade thee, (that all is thus) because God has given to thee the dominion and sovereignty over them all47? 48.

Man alone therefore, of those that are on the earth,----he who is in the image of God, carries on and introduces (his matters) wherever he pleases: at one time, he trains the animals that are suited to the chace; at another, he pastures the flocks that are adapted to this: at another, he avails himself of the tame animals for (his) service; reducing (their) fierce nature to peaceable subjection: at another, having so reduced them, he brings them into peaceable proximity with himself: at another, having brought them together by the multifarious means of reason, be confines them to the house. And not (this) alone, but he will also take into his hands the injurious reptiles, and play with them: and of those that breathe out death, and reject instruction, will he make his sport. 49. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, is not to be persuaded to take up his residence in the caves that are in the deserts, or in the heights. He accordingly builds cities with walls, and adorns (these) with streets, palaces, mansions, and other edifices. 50. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, considers not of (his) provision after the unchangeable manner and |43 usages of the irrational animals. For these, destitute (as they are) of knowledge, avail themselves of the aid of nature alone, and receive their provision from the stem, unprepared by agriculture, and uncleansed from the weed. He however, by his knowledge cleanses (this);

thus too does he pulverize, fully season, and make it well to pass the fire. Of the wheat also he will, whenever he pleases, make bread. He is moreover, careful so to provide, that a healthy provision of food may be secured. And every profitable commodity, either of the vine, the olive, or of the fruit tree of every flavour, does he appropriate; and these does he alone apply to the sanative uses of the body. 51. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, has, by means of rule and reason, discovered that mode of life which is regular and orderly:----has become a leader of armies; has engaged in the public conflicts, and in the subsidiary arts: and these very many (things), pertaining to doctrine, has he, by his rational superiority, put forth. 52. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, preserving (in himself) the model of excellence, has determined the measure, the weights, the extents, and several sorts, of justice. He too, distinguishes,----governing (all) by reason,----the things which should, and should not, be done: and (hence) he knows, how to give to every one, as it shall be right. The fishes however, the birds, and the animals, will devour one another: because no law (prevails) among them. But to men has (God) given justice, which is their supreme excellence, as says one of the poets48, (and) according to my opinion, extremely well. |44 53.

This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, evincing within himself the image of THE WORD OF GOD, erects on high a house of judgment; and, acting after the manner of God’s just Judge49, duly determines (the award) of life and of death; apportioning life to some, and assigning death to others. 54. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, will confide his life to the small section of a tree50. He has also discovered the science of ship-building. He too will guide the ship on the

back of the sea; will commit his person to the depths of the humid element, and beat back the death that stands at his side. He (alone) looks up to the heavens, and to that Governour of all, who binds together all distances, as to the safety of those who navigate (the seas). 55. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, has discovered the doctrines of astronomy: has, while moving below in the body, and clothed with the weight of mortality, ascended up in his mind on high; and, making the circuit of the sun, the moon, and the stars, foretells1 what shall come to pass, as he also does the eclipses of the moon, the vicissitudes of the seasons, and the changes of times. |45 56. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, is viewed (as) the assistant of nature; has discovered the means of healing;

and has, by his understanding, applied (to this) the powers of roots, and of drugs, with their combination and mixture by weight and due proportion. He too has become skilful in the healing of infirm bodies, and the helps of the life of man. 57. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, not having arrived at the manner of life of the graminivorous (animals), has well applied (himself) to (the requirements of his own) nature. In the winter season he accordingly casts the seed into the earth; and, applying the sweat of his labour to agriculture, is repaid in the autumn with the fruits consequent upon his toil. 58. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, collects together, by (his) rational knowledge, the doctrines relating to all (things); the science and composition of music, as well as (that of) investigation by discussion. He also proceeds on to the manner of life, and to the fame attendant on philosophy; and (thus) he hastens forward the love of that superiority, which is vested within him: availing himself, not of the bodily sense, but of the faculty of knowledge, and of the stimulating power of reason. 59. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, bears about him, by means of his memory, the histories of things done in former times; converses with those who are (now) no more, as with those who are at hand: examines the opinions of the wise who have existed at any period;

and from these, rather than from those who are his contemporaries, does he receive profit. And (thus) by the faculty of reason,----cognate with that of thought,----does he exist with those who have long ceased to be. 60. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, duly regulates the voice of the chant, by the divisions |46 of the chord. He also has divided the primary letters (of the alphabet) by the grammatical art, and has discovered the powers and province of reason. He too, has determined the combination of verbs and of nouns, as well as the precepts of rhetoric and grammar. All these moreover, does he bring together, preserve in his memory, and bring forward, as stores filled with every sort of treasure. In one mind too, does he comprehend both the events and histories of former times; and these will he bring forth whenever he pleases, as a river from an unfailing source, and inundate (therewith) the hearing of all present. 61. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, is, in his works, like unto God who is over all. Any thing which he pleases will he

form into animals; even this inanimate matter will he change into the form, figure, and fashion, of every sort of creature. By means of this instructive nature, (and) the reasoning faculty, will he set about emulating (even) the Maker of all things; and man will make man, at one time in stone; at another, in wood; at another, in flowers of (many) colours;

as well as in the forms that are impervious to change: and (indeed) every sort of animal and of plant, will he, by the same means, imitate: shewing forth fully, by his works, the power (vested within him) of the image of God. 62. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, will imitate on the earth whereon he walks, the celestial sphere, and will engrave on the matter of brass the likeness of the very heavens, and on this will he impress a copy of the stars, both wandering and fixed. He will also appoint, by the modeller's art, the limits both of times and of seasons; and will surround the exterior (of his sphere) with the images of (various) animals. By the abundance of (his) knowledge moreover, and the means of (many) observations, will he imitate the heavenly sphere; and,----like God,----will allow the heavens whose revolutions |47 are above the earth, and with the universal whole,---- and whose revolving is an unceasing miracle,----to revolve with the things that are on the earth, (in) the similitude which is of earthly material. The angel of the seasons too, will shout (as it were) with a loud voice, and all, at once and in a moment, are in motion; the doors, too, at the coming in of the seasons51, throw themselves open (as it were) of their own accord, and the inanimate images of the birds, placed round about it (the sphere), speak out in chirpings52.

The moon also which is on the earth, runs its course with that in the heavens; and the (mere) brass of itself, changes its fashions, after the manner of the moon; shewing itself now dichotomized, now on the wane, and now in its full light. Thus the images of the seasons follow the analogy of those in nature, and the human-made world contends with (that of) the workmanship of THE WORD OF GOD! 63. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, can, by means of words not to be uttered, of prayers acceptable to God, and by virtue of the fear of God, (evinced) both in word and life, drive far away the invisible nature of concealed demons53. But further, when he had even departed |48 from the right way, he could effect all this by a power, such as would, by songs and incantations, subject the kind of these which flies in the air; and, again, would seize, by means of force, and the appetencies restrictive54 of nature, those unembodied powers which fly over any part of the earth, just as they would the flying sparrows. He would lead on, or bind, (these), whenever he chose: and, sitting upon the images of fabricated gods, would shew by these his doings, that his own power was far superior to that of the fabricated deity of such. 64.

Man alone shews of what kind the superiority of (his) intellectual and incorporeal being is, and establishes (the fact) that (this) his power is impervious either to

subjugation or deterioration by calamity. For, he will prepare his body for the fire, the sword, the fierce beasts, (and) the depths of the sea; and he will approach every species of torment. He knows too, this his nature, that it is perishable and fleeting, transient and dissoluble. But that which resides within, is unyielding; and, that this is different from that which perishes, he proved who cried |49 out, ”Bruise, bruise the form55; but me thou wilt not bruise. And again another, proclaiming with freedom of speech: ” Burn or roast the body, and be satisfied with me when thou hast drunk my blackened blood; but, before the stars descend to the earth, and the earth ascends to the heavens, I will present to thee no one conciliating perturbed expression. One of the friends of God moreover, when suffering evils, put forth these words: ” What shall separate me from the love of God? (shall) tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or hunger, |50 or nakedness, or cold, or the sword 56? I myself too have seen, in these times, some whose eyes were digged out; others, who were deprived of their legs by the cautery; and others who were crucified; their whole bodies hastening to dissolution, and their mortal nature subject to rebuke;

while the conscious mind residing within them, attached to God, was immoveable, impervious to subjection, and unyielding to these hardships3; clearly proving to those of sound minds, that their faculty of excellence was a thing altogether different from that which was perishable. 65. This alone, of the animals that are on the earth, partaking of the divine inbreathing57, is worthy of the favour57 of the Deity. He too, will hold converse with the Angels of God, and will apprehend the foreknowledge of things to come to pass; at one time, by means of dreams; at another, when so invested by the power of God with the Spirit, that he will even enounce the prophecy of things future; and, by the manifestation of deeds such as these, he will confirm (the fact of) his fellowship with Deity. 66. This (animal) alone recognizes in every thing, something greater and more excellent than any that is visible;----Him who is invisible to the eyes, and imperceptible to the touch, as well as to every faculty of bodily sense; but is visible to the mind and understanding alone. Him does he, by His (special) teaching, and the learning of which his nature is capable, confess; and Him does he call God: to Him also does he render praise; and shews, by means of this (his) knowledge, his relationship with the Deity. 67.

This (being) alone has arisen (to be) the spectator of the great works of THE WORD OF GOD, and is |51 fitted to worship his Father----Him (I say) who is higher than the heavens,----with the praises which are proper for the Deity; and to be assimilated to the company of the Angels in heaven. Because to him alone, of the animals that are on the earth, has this superiority been assigned. By means of this he recognizes, from the mind of his nature, Him who is the cause of every good; and is enjoined to render, as the return due to a Father, the praises of thanksgiving and blessing which are becoming. 68. The testimonies to all these things, does that word of the doctrine and erudition which is divine, confirm: (viz. that of this undying nature, and equal of the citizens that are in heaven, is this (being) alone of those that are

on the earth; this intelligent and rational essence (I say) which is in man: and, that he is the dear child of THE DIVINE WORD, the common Saviour of all; and that in his nature, he agrees both as to image and form with (this) his Father. 69. For if this rational animal,----this, who has become partaker in all this superiority; this, which alone of those that are on the earth, is in the image of God;

this Brother of the divine hosts, and of the Angels, which are in heaven,----had been duly led by his nature, and had from ancient time adhered to the divine law; he would indeed have been freed from this earthly and corruptible (mode of) life4, and would have continued in his conversation on earth, as in a state of migration. Had he first (of all) studied divine things (only), he would indeed have effected his departure hence to those things which belonged to him; and would have been registered (as) among those that were perfect, apart from this his state of defect, and of infantine constitution. Thus therefore has man, of necessity, put on a corruptible and dissoluble body, (and this) through the mercy of his Father, that calamity may not be his permanent lot, and that he may not be tied interminably to corruption. Soon therefore, shall this corruptible be |52 dissolved, and shall receive a participation with those who are incorruptible. For, just as that which is conceived in the womb, puts on the clothing of its locality; and the infant to be born, when the period of its destined months has arrived, casts this off, and accordingly comes forth into the light, inhales the purer air, and henceforward is considered as of the nature of man; so also is this perfectible species, (as) believed to be among men, (and as) opposed to the (still) superior one,----a mere infant, and as yet a foetus (only) conceived on earth,---- clothed in this corruptible skin;

which, by the mercy of the great gift of God, it is necessary it should cast off, in order that it should not be for ever harassed with these defective things, but should, in due time, go forth into the light, and pass on to the life, which is impervious to corruption. On this account, well have the companies of the wise, the attached to God, pressed (as) they have been by a participation in these corruptible bodies, desired their change for the better, and followed after their equals, the children of their city which is above, even as he was (circumstanced) who said in the divine word, ”Wretched58 man that I am! Who shall deliver me from this body of death? And again, ”Even59 if we live in the body, still we labour not in the flesh. He adduces his reason too, and says, ”For our labour (of culture) is in heaven60; and we61 draw near to the city of the living God which is in heaven, and to the assembly of myriads of angels, and to the church of the firstborn who are written in heaven.”----These are the words of a notable man, and of (all) those who love God. 70. If however, many are so foolish as to be attached to the lusts that are here, that they are to the present time but infants in intellect; What has this to do with right reason?

For, that which is conceived in the womb, exults in this its usual locality, fears its departure from it, and lest it should be extracted from internal |53 darkness, and weeps when it comes forth to the light. Still even these, did but those things which happen to their natural birth duly take place with them, would come forth from darkness to light, well and elegantly born. Thus would they, at the due time and season, be brought forth, (each) receive the natural air and breath, and bear about him the healthy vigour of man. Thus would (each) be delighted with the provisions of the breast, and of infancy; then be placed under the hands of a nurse, and be delivered over to instructors, teachers, and doctors, until he came forth a man complete. Thus too would he pass a virtuous and honourable life, great in wealth, in the abundance of possessions, in power, rule, and the other stages (of distinction), in the increase of (all) those things which result from a happy birth; of those which multiply by means of instruction, and of those other innumerable things, which conduce to the experience of a happy life. 71. But, if any unnatural contortion should happen to that which is conceived in the womb, so that it affect such an one at his coming forth in birth; What need can there be for my saying, that the infant was distorted within (the womb)? and refused to come forth to the light?

and that it must suffer,----by the iron instruments prepared for parturition, which shall violently and painfully be placed upon it,----the revulsion which is also unnatural? Nor would it be worthy even of the one birth,----even of the life of man,----or of the things belonging to this: but, on the contrary, that it should go forth from darkness to darkness, and not only be deprived of the life of man, but also of the name. 72. As are these things, so is he who passes the life which is human on earth, differing in nothing from the irrational and ignorant infant, or, from that |54 which is yet, but a foetus in the womb. Nor can he be compared with those bodies which are without, the Angels and Divine spirits. He is even (as) an ignorant child; and, because of the excess of his childishness, he exults in the clothing of the body which is about him; loves the womb his (place of concealment), and knows not the locality which surrounds him, where murder, darkness, and (all) the other species of mishap, feed, as it were, in the pastures of wickedness. One of the ancients says,----when shewing that the air, which is on the earth, is humid and unclear,----that ”it consists of many compounds, (resulting) from the innumerable vapours which (arise) from the earth62. One would think too that (man were such), although as an infant good.

Nevertheless, if he pass the present life as it is becoming to his nature, and evince accordingly the conduct which is suitable to its law, ” that he think not beyond the measure of his stature,” nor spurn the nature which has borne him as a mother; nor again, remain ignorant of his Father, but recognize his Father who is in heaven, the common Saviour of all, and render to him the service of thanksgiving, because he has made him to partake in the things which are good;----be brought up in the

instruction of righteousness, and previously study in his conversation which is on the earth, the life of heaven; well shall such an one, when he shall depart this mortal life, and shall put off the body, have the Angels of God for his obstetricators;----when he is to be born to the life to come, then shall both the good Powers receive him as the nurse, and the Divine assemblies teach him; that WORD OF GOD too, that teacher of the conversation which is in heaven, shall lead him on, as a dear child, to the completion of every thing that is good, and shall instruct him in the doctrine of the kingdom of heaven. And, when He shall have made him complete and wise, He shall give him up to His Father, the King of all:

and shall clothe him, both in body and soul which are (now) incorruptible, with a vesture of light exceeding description. |55 So that henceforth, he shall be even for the common advantage of all. Such is the last state of such an one.---- But he who exults against the course of his nature, participates in the perversion which is not good, and despises the earth, the mother that bore him; and again, impiously recognizes not THE WORD OF GOD, the common Saviour of all, but subscribes to a multitude of fathers who have no existence, instead of that one who is; and calls those gods which never had any being, instead of that one who alone is true; and again, wholly plunges in pursuit of the things of this moist, humid and corruptible being, into the filthy and lawless lusts; and this not as the infant, involuntarily; but willingly, and of his free counsel, chooses to himself these vices, and so acts; his latter state shall clearly be but the counterpart of that pointed out by the example (above given). For no happy countenance, or smiling of good Angels, shall greet him; nor, when he goes forth into light, shall the Divine Powers receive him as fosterfathers.

On the contrary, endeavouring in his extreme state to escape egress, and to hide himself within, in the concealment of the body and members:----when the dissolution of the body draws near, and he would assume the perversion which is out of nature;----(then) shall those who are appointed to this, forcibly attach themselves to him, and drag him forth. Then too, after his departure hence,----his miserable soul being reduced to sighing and lamentation,----shall he not have the light and life which is good, for his receptacle; but, on the contrary, darkness and the place of corruption. The judgment of God moreover, shall consign him (thus) impure and unclean, as filthy and abominable to the purification63 and punishment which is by fire: because he would not be instructed by THE WORD (or Reason), nor |56 adhere to the Divine law, when it was in his power to do so. 73. He therefore, who, in the example (above) was, as an infant conceived in the womb, in every thing so defective, and in every respect so destitute of power, that hitherto he could make no use either of the thoughts of his soul, or the senses of his body;----that mind, indeed, which is hitherto but (as) an infant in man;----may well be said, by way as it were, of experimental comparison with those incorporeal and Divine rational (be-

ings) that are in heaven, to be altogether a child. Even, if (such) were the wisest of men, or even more perfect than those that are on the earth;

still he would, when compared in himself, with his (future) perfect state, be nothing better than an infant. For, what his state of excellence shall be when he arrives at manhood, it will be easy thus to shew:---- For if, when hitherto (as) an infant, and confined within this unyielding wall of earthly and corruptible being, he bears about him such a faculty of excellence, that he knows, not only the things that are on earth, and fabricates them by art, but also anticipates the life which is in heaven, |57 and becomes like to God himself; makes too, whenever he pleases, likenesses of the things in the heavens, and of those on the earth;----can do all these things, just as those which have already been recounted64:----these (I say), when immersed (as he is) in all this refuse of the body and blood; What then, ought we to suppose he will do, when he shall have proceeded to the perfect measure of man's estate, and shall have been liberated from these injurious bonds of corruption?----these humid and wasting properties of the body? and is made a partaker of the life which is incorruptible, and of a body which is impervious to death? For, if this seed alone of the reasoning faculty be thus all-able and powerful on earth, when as yet it is incapable of rendering the full return (of fruit), but has even been cast forth into the moist locality of the refuse of a corruptible body;

it shall henceforth be able (fully) to know, of what sort the return of perfect fruit of this seed shall be as (sown) in the soul, when it shall have been made to partake of an adequate culture; shall have been removed hence, and have been planted in a superior locality, in land good and fertile; where that heavenly WORD, that Sower of all things, and Planter of every good thing, shall receive (back) his own seed, and shall, in the pastures of incorporeal and unembodied souls, as in the Paradise of them who love God, Himself water his own plant, shall nourish it to perfection, and make it arrive at the increase of goods innumerable. 74. You will perceive therefore, the greatness of the complete state of man's superiority, from his changes and increments here, if you will consider, that the infant just born is in no respect superior to the worm; that it cannot, after the manner of the irrational animal, even make use of the bodily senses. Nevertheless this defective, lame, infirm, and thoughtless being, will, when grown in his stature, arrive at all this change and variation in the course of time, ---- will receive all this superiority, power, and beauty both of body and soul,----so, that should those who begat him see him, they could not distinguish whether this |58 were he, who was sown (by them) in the womb, and conceived in darkness:----whether this were he, who came forth out of (this) darkness, to be brought up with milk and the swaddling bands;

this,----who is now the man, who in wisdom and knowledge contemplates the whole world;----this, who subjugates every thing that is on the earth. And should any one by comparison, as it were, of the Divine faculty and of the Angels, and of the child

just now born, place the complete man in the midst; he would not find a perfect equality as to the child, with respect to the perfect man; and of the perfect man, with respect to the superior power; but, the inferiority of the person of the child to the man, to be much greater, than is the inferiority of the man to the faculty of the Angels. For, the human infant lately born, cannot be compared in its being even with those irrational animals, which may just now be brought forth. But he, who has come out the perfect man, and is contemplated as the friend of God, will henceforward become a partaker in the divine Spirit, and will hold converse with the Angels: will arrive at a love and attachment to the conversation which is in heaven, and will previously prepare himself by purity of life, and the fear of God,----not (placed) at any great distance of limit,----for an equality with the Angels, and will be made a partaker both of (their) life, and superiority: which the Divine Word also shewed, when it said, ”What65 is man that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man that thou visitest him? Thou hast made him a little lower than the Angels:

with honour and glory hast thou crowned him. is man that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man that thou visitest him? Thou hast made him a little lower than the Angels: with honour and glory hast thou crowned him.” 75. If then the child, when brought up to the (full) stature of his nature, and supplied with the provision and instruction proper for it, receives all this change and variety;----and no one can disbelieve (this) his change, on account of the openness of the experiment;---- Why need we wonder, if even this perfectible mind which is in man, such as it is when still in |59 childhood, with respect to its more complete and perfect growth, should, when it comes forth to the full growth of its stature, be in dignity as the Angels? We do see however, that the nature of man undergoes dissolution by death. But, What of this? Is it not that we are the more convinced by it, that the soul is immortal? For if, when immersed in a corruptible and mortal body, it evince all this force of superiority, which we have already shewn; How shall it not, when it shall have separated itself from its participation in corruption, and shall have laid down mortality as a bandage, then act in its own power, in a manner less impeded than it now does? Do you not perceive, that so long as it entertains an attachment to the body66, it thence acts basely?

But, if it refuse participation (with the body), it (then) subsists within itself. And hence, is its essence clearly known to be incorporeal. For, How can that which is opposed to the body, be of (its) nature? The thoughts too of the soul are healthy, so long as the bodily passions are infirm, but the same will be dark and obscure when the body labours under the lusts. Hence, so long as the soul is infatuated, its whole attachment will be to the body; and, when attached to the body, it will be shorn of its excellence. When however, it becomes strong in opposition to the body, and flies from tha lustful passions, it (then) becomes wise; and, when it has become wise, it turns away its face from a participation in mortality, and forthwith gives up itself

to the knowledge which is pure, and, in a small degree, withdraws itself from the stimulating nature of the body. When moreover, it is powerful with respect to the riches which are its own, it (then) happily becomes more abundantly enlightened, directed, and stirred up. Then too, will it partake in knowledge, wisdom, and every sort of excellence, when it has ceased to countenance the motions of the bodily passions. And, so long as it counts upon (this) |60 excellence, it deigns not to draw near with the eyes of the body; nor will it act by any other of its senses.

When moreover, it (thus) vigorously shuts itself up, carries itself within, and withdraws to a distance from the things which affect the senses, and are visible; and (when) near only to the body, still turns with the eye of the soul to another quarter, and is itself united with itself; then again, will it avail itself of the mind that is enlightened, and of the recollection which is pure; and will put forth, and nourish for itself, the reason which is imperturbed: and (thus) will every reasoning power exert itself without contrbul. But, should any of the things which are hurtful suddenly happen to the body, so that a mote should injure the sight of the eyes67; immediately would the sight of the soul be disturbed: and, should remissness be given to the body, and the soul partake in the drunkenness, gluttony, lusts, and the rest of its pleasures; (thus) reduced in itself to vice----the corruptible body too domineering over it like a wild and fierce beast, and itself remaining below (as it were) in the depths,----will be filled with error, folly, and every sort of infatuation. What necessity then is there, that we should fear death, which is (only) the determination of the freedom of the soul from the body68? And, for What (purpose) is the laying down of that which is faulty? Is it not for receiving the aid of that, which is more excellent?

and, that we should confess the lives of those who loved God, then to be in truth, holy and happy, when nothing of an adverse nature shall controul them? If then, while this rational nature continues in this locality,----and resides in this vessel (as it were) on the earth, clothed with a dense and earthly body, not unlike some earthen69 vessel, |61 (and) wholly compressed within this its vesture,----it be such that it will mount on high in thought, will mortify the members of the body together with their lusts, by means of patience, and the restraint of the desires; will be hastened, and hastening on, to the life of those that are incorporeal; will separate and deliver itself at all times, by the precepts of wisdom from an admixture with that which is vile; and will ever delight itself beforehand (with the thoughts) that it shall soon submit to death:----if indeed (such) be, at any time, released from the bonds and agitation of wing (common to) the cares and anxieties that are here, and thus fly away in his departure, and change the place on earth, and meet with that which he loved:---- how he will then be circumstanced, ask not. For, when he shall receive his body, and shall have changed his nature from corruption to incorruption; his shall be a conversation which is equal to that of the Angels in

heaven: in the semblance of light, and of the sun-beam, shall he be; and of the form, in which even the Angels of God live;

and, as reason with probability holds, he shall partake at once in their superiority and immortality70. 76. For, just as the form (assigned) to the seed which falls upon the earth, is given for many: the WORD, which is called the seed, now secretly exerting itself within the same seed, but silently after the manner of a spark confined within some dense body;----and (as) this same seed, when it shall fall to the earth, and its dense clothing which encircles |62 it from without shall dissolve through corruption;----then will it shew itself to be lively (vigorous), put in motion the power that is vested within it, and take of the material which is beneath it: then too will it begin to act, and assume its lively (energetic) nature: its old dense clothing, which is without, will it also cast off, and put on the new, which is greatly its superior;---- 77. So also is the nature of the rational faculty, which is in man, (circumstanced), that it is now bound up in a corruptible body, and of its own power acts but feebly.

But, should it be freed from the corruption which surrounds it, and receive (as a possession) the locality which is in heaven, and henceforth be sown and planted (as it were) in the society which (is far) beyond it, and be fitted for the clothing of heaven and of the Angels;----of what sort it shall be, when it shall partake of the life that is pure, and shall be freed from a participation in mortality, it is neither becoming in me, nor necessary for me, to say: for this will be obvious to all who can see, from the example (given). For the whole of the wheat (seed) is not subject to corruption: it is only the part that is without which perishes, when it falls to the earth: while that concealed WORD and living power which is within it, lives and remains; and the excellence which is of this is such, that it will give forth vigorous corn-ears. Of plants too, the same is the WORD (invigorating cause), and so it is with every sort of seed. And, Shall man alone be wholly and in every thing subject to corruption, when released by death71? And, Shall the clothing which is without, at once and together with that WORD which resides within him, cede to corruption? And, as to the knowledge which is incorporeal,----that which partakes in all these powers; that, which on account of its superiority, is likened to God himself;----Shall it not be (considered) even as one of those seeds which fall to the earth? or:

rather greatly (their) superior? for it is not the beard, nor yet the blade, but those mature and fat corn-ears of his superiority, which he shall give forth. Then, when he shall be taken away |63 from the corruption which is of the earth, and shall have been delivered as from bonds, and shall not imprudently have bartered the conversation which is in heaven, for that on the earth; and, when he shall be at the side of God; (then) shall he in truth render as the Angels do, the fruits which are acceptable to God: those (I say), the seed and power of which he possessed from ancient times in a mortal body, and contained as it were in an oven72. 78. All these things having been said for the purpose of shewing, that the essence which

is in man is intelligent and rational; let us now proceed in our discourse to those consequent upon them. Had man then, brought up as he is in the conversation that is on earth, (but) known his own greatness, and continued careful of the teaching which is of God; there could have no impediment happened to him, that when taken hence, he should not delight himself in a conversation like that of the Angels, and take part in the life which is in the kingdom of his Father who is in heaven.

But, because it is not one man, nor two, nor is the multitude small;----on the contrary, it is the whole rational family on earth which has received the potwer to govern self----(and) because his nature, which has received the seed of the kingdom from the DIVINE WORD the King, is free; (nevertheless) he has not well availed himself of his power; but has, by means of the subsidiary arts, laboured in all vain glory, |64 after those other things, which impel men to the bodily desires, and are advantageous to life; has become skilful in agriculture, in the building of ships, in merchandise, and in the purchasing of possessions: nor (this) only, but he has also become great from every quarter, in the abundant increase of the wealth which puts forth no zeal against any kind of lust. All these things however, which conduce to the salvation of the soul, and to that life of righteousness which is well-pleasing to God; all these, (I say,) has he annihilated in his mind from their very roots; has disregarded his own excellency, and that of the race of his brethren who are in heaven, and has honoured, through the freedom of his will, those abominable bodily lusts, more than (this) his own greatness: of the righteousness of his Father who is in heaven, and of His praise, he has also been unmindful. These irrational itchings and delusions of childhood has he chosen:

these which the fools of childhood usually do, who fly from the instruction and careful training of those who would enlarge their minds; extravagantly to honour the things which are sweet for the present, but which corrupt at once both the body and soul; and to hunt out for themselves the error and foolish knowledge of that voluptuousness, which is too vain to be conceived. All mankind being then, thus (circumstanced), the Increment of wickedness, that envious (being), the hater of every good, and deceiver as to every thing lovely, in conjunction with the wicked Demons, became their waylayer: this same, in his wicked zeal, prepared the nets, and snares, and riches,----the abundant means of every sort (of sin,)----against the salvation of all; and so drove them down from above into the depths of evil, that none on earth could see, but transgressed the law of their nature: and (thus), the germ of wickedness, instead of the seed of excellence, sprung up within them; and he that was more peaceful, more wise, and more rational, than all that were on the earth, so fell into the last stage of brutality and irrationality, that one of those beloved of God |65 wept over this overthrow of their fall, and cried out saying; ”Man understood not his own honour; but was given up to be as the brute73, and became assimilated to it.” 79. On these accounts therefore, a mighty Saviour, greater than any son of man, was evidently needful to them.

And such is He who anxiously undertook to provide for all, THE WORD OF GOD: He who has, like a good and loving Father, shewn by deeds His providential care over the rational souls that are on the earth; and who hastened, in the mission of Himself, to the call, and for the healing, of those who were thus fallen and perishing. The End of the First Discussion (Book) of (Eusebius) of Caesarea. [Selected footnotes. Notes concerned only with points of the Syriac have been omitted]

1. 2 "Cujus sententiae," says Lactantius, de falsa religione, Lib. i. cap. ii., "auctor est Democritus, confirmator Epicurus, sed et antea Protagoras, qui Deos in dubium vocavit; et postea Diagoras, qui exclusit," &c. These are the Atheists, ἄθεοι, of the ancients, on whom some excellent remarks from Plato's xth Book of Laws will be found quoted, Pref. Evang. Lib. xii. cap. 1. p. 621. Edit. 1628. ---- But more on this subject when we come to our second Book. It does not appear that this exclusion took place, except at the celebration of the Lord's supper.

2. 1 This argument is also used by Athenagoras. Legat. pro Christ. p. 60. seq. and by Theodoret in the place just cited. 3. 2 Alluding to Isai. xl. 12. Theodoret's comment on the place is, [Greek]: "nihil enim otiosum, nihil redundans, in lucem productum est. The Mohammedans----who borrowed most of their early notions from the Christians, (see my Persian Controversies, p. 124. seq.),----tell us, moreover, that the mountains are placed as studs on the earth, for the purpose of giving it stability, and of restraining one part from moving off to another. See M. de Sacy's Notes on the Pandnamah of Attar, p, 35. sen. Some beautiful remarks on this subject generally, will be found in Theophilus of Antioch, addressed to Autolycus, near the beginning. Among our own writers, Paley, Tucker on the Light of Nature, and the authors of the Bridgewater Treatises, will be read with interest. 4. 5 Not unlike this, our Author in his "Oratio de laudibus Constantini," cap. vii. p. 512. D. Edit. 1695: and particularly cap. xi. p. 524. A. seq. which is identical with it. 5. 6 It is common with our Author to consider Christ as the Maker of the World, and Father of the intelligent creature man. 6. 1 Syr. [Syriac] which is an error, for [Syriac]. And here I may inform the reader, that where I have supposed an error to exist in the Syriac text, I have generally proposed its emendation in brackets thus []. 7. 2 See Orat. de laudd. Constant, ib. p. 524. C. D.

from which our text slightly differs. 8. Imitated apparently by Theodoret,----Graec. affect. curat. Edit. Gaisford, p. 183, &c.:----who, it may be remarked, is a very constant imitator of our Author. 9. 4 The Greek text (I.e. of the Orat. de laudd. Constant, (p. 525. A. has no term corresponding to this. Syr. [Syriac]. 10. 1 Alluding to 1 Tim. vi. 16. 11. 2 Our Author argues in his tract against Marcellus, pp. 8, 9, that even before the incarnation, Christ was a Mediator between God and the angels, and this he grounds on Gal. iii. 19,----"ordained by angels in the hand of a Mediator. His words are: "[Greek] . He has misunderstood the Scripture here. 12. 3 This sentence is not found in the Greek, Orat. de laudd. Constant, ib. p. 525.

B. See the note of Valesius on this place. It is, however, in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. vi. p. 155. 13. 6 Alluding to Job xxxvii. 7. See my Translation and Notes. 14. 9 Alluding to Job xxxviii. 10. 15. 1 It is evident, from what follows here, that the sea-water is meant: for, in no other case, can we suppose the water spoken of to be changed into sweetness. Syr. [Syriac] This argument is also beautifully and powerfully urged by Theodoret. Serm. de Provid. i. Tom. iv. p. 330. C. 16. 10 By this is meant, that all is OF the Father as the great source of Divinity;

but is BY the Son as the Creator, Upholder, and Governour of all things. 17. 5 So Didymus on the Holy Spirit, as preserved in the works of Jerome: ” Bonus Dominus uoster Jesus Christus ex bono Patre generatus est.” 18. 2 This place may be adduced to shew how literal our Syrian translator has endeavoured to be, and how very greatly he has distorted the order of his Syriac, in order to suit it to that of his Greek original. The Syriac stands thus: [Syriac]. Than which nothing can be more preposterous. The Greek is this: [Greek] Which is not a bad specimen of Eusebius’s want of simplicity. ---- This argument is also given in the Demonst. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. v. p. 150. D. seq. 19. 5 Anaxagoras imagined that the origin of all things consisted of similar parts. (Plutarch, p. 876. Vol. ii. Edit. 1620.). His theory is manifestly taken from the Bible. He says, [Greek] All things were (confused) together: but MIND divided and adorned them: i. e. the ” Spirit” of the Bible. Zeno too, according to Aristotle, argued thus, (cited at § 30. infra.) 20. 3 It may perhaps be supposed that our author shews his Arian propensity here. But the same might be said of Justin Martyr, and, indeed, of the Fathers generally, if this were allowed. See Whitby on Eph. iv. 6. and the note on Book ii. sect. 3. below. 21. 1 There is much reasoning of this sort in Aristotle’s Tract on Xenophanes, Zeno, and Gorgias;

and which cannot but be read with interest here, particularly the part on Zeno. See also Diog. Laert. Life of Plato near the end. This same argument is also urged by Lac-tantius, Lib. i. cap. iii. A little lower down, cap. v., he shews how some of the greatest poets and philosophers taught, that ONE supreme God formed and governed all things. Among the poets, Orpheus, Virgil, Ovid, &c.: among the philosophers, Thales, Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Antisthenes, &c. See also Prep. Evan. Lib. ix. capp. ix.----xiii. Ib. Lib. in. capp. ix. xii. xiii. &c. 22. 7 Alluding to Ps. xix. 4----6. 23. 2 Our Greek (Orat. de laudd. Constant. leaves us here, and does not join us again till we come to Book 11. Sect. 3. 24. 3 Syr. [Syriac], a paraphrase for Theologian: a title very applicable to St John, who spoke much of the

Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ. 25. 4 John i. 10. with the Peschito. 26. 6 Alluding to the reasoning of Plato, see Book ii. § 33. seq. 27. 7 See the Note to sect. 41. below. 28. 8 So also Aristotle, Lib. de Juventute et Senectute, cap. ii. ”Necesse autem est, ut anima vegetatrix in haben-tibus, actu simplex unaque sit, potentia multiplex ac plures.” 29. 2 Our Author knew how to accommodate his reasoning to the class of readers

whom he was addressing, who were the classical scholars of his day.----Homer's councils of the Gods gave the first outline perhaps of the sketch given here: so Ovid---- Mac iter est superis ad magni tecta Tonantis, Regalemque domum; Dextra laevaque Deorum Atria nobilium valvis celebrantur apertis. Plebs habitant diversa locis: a fronte potentes Coelicolae, clarique suos posuere Penates. Hic locus est; quem, si verbis audacia detur, Haud timeam magni dixisse Palatia coeli. Metam. i. 1. 170. seq. The Stoics in like manner affirm, that the world is a sort of city, consisting both of Gods and men: the Gods being the rulers, men the subjects, &c. [Greek]. From the epitome of Arius Didymus. Prep. Evang. Lib. xv. cap. xv. so also Philo, ib. Lib. xiii. cap. xviii. Ed. Viger. p. 704. making the heavenly bodies, the sun, moon, &c. a sort of ministry to the whole. A passage similar to this is also to be found in the Oration of our Author, "de laudibus Constantini," cap. i. near the beginning. The most complete discussion on this subject is, perhaps, cap. vi.

of Aristotle's Liber de mundo. See also Plato's heavenly earth. Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xxxvii. 30. 3 This passage has been introduced into the Oratio de laudd. Constant. cap. i. p. 409. C. D. And, as it is extraordinary, and not very clear, I give both the Syriac and Greek of it: [Syriac, Greek] Matt, xxvii. 51. &c. The place is apparently an imitation of Job xxvi. 9. Sec my Translation and Notes, and the Greek of the LXX. 31. 2 Much to the same effect though not so full, Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. vii. p. 704. who compares the all-pervading power of Christ to that of a magnet acting upon a series of iron rings, and affecting at once both the least and the greatest. 32. 3 The Syriac is ambiguous here [Syriac] , which may mean, either as given in the text, or, as being made by its Father, who is the Word of God: ascribing the creation of all, as is frequently the case in this work, to Christ. I think the former, however, more likely to be the true meaning. 33. 1 To the same effect, our Author in his work against Marcellus, Lib. i. cap. i. p. 4. C. seq. 34. 2 Col. i. 15. 35. 3 Syr. lit. who have assimilated to themselves the Image of fraudulent rule. [Syriac], which is only a peculiar way of making the comparison: the Person meant is Satan, as opposed to Christ. 36. 4 The Syriac is peculiar here, and stands thus: [Syriac]:

a practice common to many of the early heretics. 37. 6 Alluding to Rom. i. 25. 38. 1 Cited from the cxlviiith Psalm, with a few variations from the text of the Peschito. 39. 1 Syr. [Syriac], lit. In the Stadia: i. e. places appointed for racing. The aether has been usually supposed to constitute that portion of the upper regions which approximates to that of the fixed stars: by some it has been thought to consist of fire, by others of a very subtile fluid. Aristotle's opinion may perhaps, be taken here as the most authoritative. He says, then, (Lib. de Mundo, cap. ii.), [Greek] "Coeli porro siderumque substantiam appellamus setherem: non quidem ideo quod ignita flagret ipsa, ut aliqui censuerunt, plurimum utique aberrantes circa potentiam illam maxime ab ignea natura abhorrentem: origine vero hujus vocabuli inde ducta, quod semper aether currat motu circumductili: cum sit illud elementum a

quatuor illis diversum: tum divinum, tum interitus expers." 40. 1 Gen. i. 27, 1 Cor. xi. 7. The argument shewing that revealed religion is much more ancient than the vanities of idolatry is admirably prosecuted in the Prep. Evang. Lib. x. cap. iv. Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. I. p. 302. A. seq. 41. 3 Syr. [Syriac], lit, in the doctrine of their mind:

which, as it is intended to be opposed to image worship, seems to me to imply doctrine mentally received and applied. 42. 1 This expression will be understood, when it is considered that the ancients supposed the heavens to consist of sphere upon sphere, encircling each other, like the coats of an onion. 43. 3 " Shares with his lord the pleasure and the rifle."----POPE. This argument is similarly urged by Plutarch, (De Fortuna,) p. 98. Edit. 1620. [Greek, Latin] 44. 1 Ps. viii. 5. varying in some respects from the text of the Peschito. 45. 3 Gen. ii. 7. 46. 2 Syr. [Syriac]. Similar, though not identical, sentiments will be found in extracts given by Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. v. p. 492. Edit. 1029; by Theodoret, Gr. Affect, curat. Serm, i. p. 477. Edit. 1642. Ib. Edit. Gaisford, p. 193. The nearest is, perhaps, to be found in a Fragment of Menander preserved by Plutarch, (De consolat. ad Apoll. p. 103. Edit. 1620.) ..... "ἀσθενέστατον γὰρ ὂν (ζῷον)

Φύσει." ....."cum sit infirmissimum (animal) Natura. Another not unlike it is (ib. p. 104) cited from Homer: " Οὐδὲν ἀκιδνότερον γαῖα τρέφει ἀνθρωπόιο . " Nil homine in terris infirmius aetheris aura vescitur." 47. 1 Matter, in some respects similar to this, will be found in the Orat. de laudd. Constant. Cap. v. p. 509. B. seq. and Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xxviii. p. 556. seq. 48. 3 There is a passage in Plutarch very nearly allied to this, who probably has in view the same poet (Pindar), it is as follows: [Greek] "Medicinam enim animae, quse Justitia cognominatur, omnium esse artium maximam, praeter sexcentos alios etiam Pindarus testatur, principem et dominum omnium deum appellans Aristotechnam, id est, artificum praestantissimum: quippe justitise administratorem, quae jus habet determinandi quando, quomodo, et quatenus quilibet malorum sit puniendus. It is not improbable, I think, that our author had this place in his eye when he wrote the above paragraph. Clemens Alexand. also cites the place in Pindar, Strom. Lib. v. p. 598. B. but in a different sense. Plutarch, de his qui sero, &c. ib. p. 550. A. 49. 1 That is, considering Christ as appointed the final Judge of all, man here acts like him. 50. 2 i. e. the section of a tree formed into a boat, as was much the case in former times. See the Prep. Evang. Lib. i. cap. x. p. 35. A. 51. 2 Syr. [Syriac]. lit.

hours, a literal translation, in all probability, of the Greek w[rai, signifying seasons. 52. 3 One would think from this, that the ancient Astrolabes were furnished with an apparatus for the purpose of exhibiting animated nature, while they presented the places and groups of the stars; not unlike, perhaps, our modern Orreries, supposing them accompanied by a sort of cuckoo-clock. Lactantius thus describes the

sphere of Archimedes, Lib. n. cap. v. p. 115. Ed. 1698. ”An Archimedes siculus concave sere similitudinem mundi ac figuram potuit machinari, in quo ita solem, ac lunam composuit, ut inaequales motus et coelestibus similes, conversionibus singulis quasi diebus efficerent: et non modo accessus solis, ct recessus, vel incrementa, diminutionesque lunae, vel etiam stellarum, vel inerrantium vel vagarum, dispares cursus, orbis ille dum vertitur exhiberet,” &c. According to the Greeks the sphere was invented by Anaximander: Diog. Laert. in the life of this philosopher. 53. 4 So Porphyry, Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xxii. [Greek] ”Qui…nec oculis, nec alio quovis humano sensu attingi omnino possunt. Eusebius, perhaps, first alludes here to the practice of Exorcism, as had recourse to in the primitive Church: see Suiceri Thesaurus, sub voce, Εξορκισμός --There was moreover, a very general belief that a sort of magic virtue consisted in the pronunciation of certain words. Origen (contra Cels. Lib. v. pp. 261----2) tells us that any name, or word, having effect in incantations, if changed or translated into any other language, immediately lost its whole magical efficacy. His instances are, The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob:

the names Israel, Adonai, Sabaoth, &c. Nor does he restrict these usages to the professors of the true religion. See also ib. p. 374, and Spencer’s very curious note on pp. 17. C. 41: notes, p. 16----19, where we have every thing we can require on this subject. 54. 1 This is perhaps, an instance of hypallage, as occasionally met with in the Scriptures (see the note to §. 57 above. So Rom. vii. 24. [Greek] Syr. [Syriac]. Here, the [Syriac], by the desires of the bonds (the lusts) of nature. Our author probably means, (by hypallage) the mortifications to which persons of this sort usually submitted, just as it is the case with the devotees of Hindustan at this day; all of whom generally hold, that they have power over demoniacal agents. A belief however, in these things as expressed here, must be classed among those, which more enlightened times have very properly rejected. Our author might, however, have intended this as a sort of argumentum ad hominem, it being religiously held by the heathen of his times, as may be seen Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. C. xxii. seq. Where (p. 173. D. he tells us that in this ease he used not the testimony of Christians, but of the heathen Philosophers themselves, [Greek]. See ib. cap. xxiii. on the means used for expelling and opposing these Demons, from Porphyry. See also Sect. 12. Book ii. below. 55. 2 According to Celsus (Origen contra Cels. Lib. vii.

p. 367,) Anaxarchus was thrown into a mortar, and, when beaten there, uttered these remarkable words. The tyrant who reduced him to this, was Aristocreon of Cyprus (ib. p. 368.). Epictetus is here also celebrated for a similar act of fortitude. This account, moreover, of Anaxarchus will be found at length in Diogenes Laertius, under his life. 56. 1 Rom. viii. 35. differing considerably from the text of the Peschito and Philoxenian Versions. 57. 3 See §. 47, above. 58. 1 Rom. vii. 24, as in the Peschito. 59. 2 2 Cor. x. 3, differing considerably from the Peschito. 60.

3 Phil. iii. 20, as before. 61. 4 Heb. xii. 22, cited from memory, apparently. 62. 1 Several passages similar to this, though not identical with it, are to be found in Plutarch, and other writers. 63. 2 The views of some of the Fathers on this subject were extremely dark and perplexed, out of which evidently grew the Purgatory of the Roman Catholics. How far our author partook of this, I have not been able to ascertain. Origen tells us in his 24th Hom, on Luke, that, as John baptized with water, so shall Christ baptize in a river of fire all who shall pass to Paradise; but here, the baptism by water must first have taken place. In this case all must submit to this second purifying baptism. Again, near the end of his 8th book of ex planations of the Epist.

to the Romans, he says, that he who spurns the purifications of the Word of God, and of the Gospel-teaching, will reserve himself to the sad and penal purifications of the fire of hell: in conformity with the Scripture, ”I will purify thee with fire even to purification. (Is. i. 25. Sept. He goes on to tell us, that, how long this purifying by fire with sinners shall continue, He only, to whom the Father hath delivered all judgment, can know: evidently inclining to the notion that it is not eternal. This is however, according to him, one of those things which the Apostle considered as a mystery, and to be held as such by the faithful, secretly within themselves: and, for this he cites ”Mysterium Regis (ut ait Scriptura) celare bonum est. (Prov. xxv. 2?). But, who does not see that all this is a miserable perversion of Scripture? See Spencer’s Notes on Origen contra Cels. pp. 47-50: it. p. 77. The Bishop of Lincoln’s Eccl. Hist, illustrated from Tertullian, p. 342. seq. Camb. 1826. Out of this also grew the Mohammedan purgatory, styled [Arabic]. Elaraf. They have also a Bason (pond), styled [Arabic] out of which all the faithful are to drink before they enter Paradise. Our author however, does speak also of earthly plagues sent as purifiers. See Book ii. §. 80, below: and so does Origen contra Cels. Lib. iv. p. 173, where Plato is cited as using similar phraseology. 64. 1 See §. 62, seq. above. 65. 1 Ps.

viii. 5, 6, differing slightly from the Peschito. 66. 2 Similar reasoning will be found in the Phaedo of Plato, Edit. Lond. p. 170; and in Plutarch de consolat. ad Apollonium. (p. 107. seq. Edit. 1620) beginning with, [Greek] 67. 1 Alluding to Matt. vii. 3, 4, 5: and meaning apparently that, should light be impeded by any means from passing through the natural inlets to the soul, so far must the soul remain unenlightened, and in intellectual darkness. 68. 2 Plato’s [Greek] Phaedo. Edit. Lond. p. 183. And so a Poet cited by Plutarch, (de consolat. ad. Apoll. 108. E. [Greek] 69. 3 Alluding to 2 Cor. iv. 7. 70. 4 Much to the same effect Plato, Phaedo. Edit. Lond. p. 178. seq. So also Clemens Alexand. (Strom. Lib. v. p. 740.)... [Greek] ... ”Quinetiam precatur cum Angelis, ut qui jam sit etiam aequalis Angelis, neque est unquam extra sanctam custodiam, et licet oret solus, habet chorum Angelorum una assistentem.” 71. 1 It was one of the errors of Tatian, that he believed the soul partook of the matter of the body: Orat. contra Graecos,

p. 169. B. seq. Edit. 72. 2 Syr. [Syriac]. Ovens in the East are not unlike large stone jars, as may be seen in Mr. Taylor's Fragments to his Edition of Calmet's Dictionary, No. cix. Plate 38. fig. 5. Edit. 1838.

The allusion, made to the spark of fire, in the last section, is perhaps intended to be kept up here, with the notion of a silent process going on, as in baking any thing in an oven. 73. 2 Ps. xlix. 21. according to the Peschito, except that we have [Syriac] instead of [Syriac]: but differing slightly from the Septuagint, as it also does from the sense of the Hebrew.

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Book 2

BOOK II. THE SECOND BOOK AGAINST THE PHILOSOPHERS. 1. THE human race, O my friends, stood (thus) in need of God the Saviour : and God alone was the helper, who, could give abundance to those who had suffered loss, and life to them who had become subject to death. The advent therefore of God, and the divine manifestation of the common Saviour of all;----of him who arose (as the sun) upon mankind was necessary, because all that was upon the earth, had, through the insanity (inculcating) a plurality of gods, and the envy and solicitation of demons, become corrupted to the last stage of vice, and (immersed) in the depth of ungodly error. 2. But again, that the cause of the Divine manifestation of the common Saviour of all among men, might the better be known, let us first of all speak on the great fall of the human race, on their lawless wickedness and iniquity : and then let us pass on to the hidden mysteries of the doctrine of this divine Revelation.

3. For, it was not as some disease which (lay) on man, and was mighty as opposed to every other; but it was, that the evil Demon so led, and ruled over, the whole human race, like a pestilence that is mortal, (and) far surpassing every thing that is (generally) evil and hateful, that he drove him who was more peaceful than any other being, to the last stage of brutality; and him who was rational, to that of being the most irrational of all. Hence it was that men, in the blindness of their souls, recognized not the God who is over all; The Cause and Maker of all; The Reverend Name of that nature of the ONLY (Begotten) which had no beginning, Him who was before all, THE WORD OF GOD; The Father of the essence which is intelligent and rational; Him who rules both in heaven and earth ; Him who is at all times present to this world, and is in it, and is the (efficient) Cause of every good to all; That providential care ; That Saviour; That Upholder; That Giver of rain, and Dispenser of light, and Prince of life; That Creator of this whole (they recognised not, I say), but gave that Reverend Name to the Sun, the Moon, the very Heavens, and the stars; nor did they confine themselves to these,----

4. But also, to matter warm and cold, wet and dry, to the very waters, the earth, the air and fire;----things which we perceive with our eyes, have neither soul nor reason ;----and to the rest of the (constituent) portions of the world, they likewise

gave the names of Neptune, Vulcan, Jupiter, Juno, and of others, and honoured them with the title of god: nor did they confine themselves to these,---- 5. But, they also made Gods of the earthy nature of the fruits of the earth, and of the provisions intended for the bodies of every kind (of animal, and named them) Ceres, Proserpine, Bacchus : and, of other things allied to these, they made Idols: nor did they confine themselves to these,---- 6. But, they hesitated not to call the cogitative faculty of their minds, and their reason, which is the interpreter of of these, also Gods. Their faculty of thought they named Minerva, and their speech Mercury. The powers inventive of moral doctrines, they called Memory, and the Muses : nor did they confine themselves to these things,----

7. But, increasing in manifold impiety and the excess of wickedness, they made themselves Gods of their own passions; which it was becoming they should have put away, and have cured by the effort of pure reason :----of their lust, their baser infirmities and passions; of their grosser members also fitted for corrupt acts, and of the different parts of the body. And again , the appetency to the intemperate lusts, they named Cupid, Priapus, Venus, and other things allied to these: nor did they confine themselves to these,---- 8. But, they also prostrated themselves to that which was born of the human body, and to the life which is subject to death; they made men into Gods; and published of these, after undergoing a common mortality, that they were Gods and Demigods; imagining that the divine and immortal essence moved about the sides of graves, and among the monuments of the dead: nor did they confine themselves to these things,----

9. But, they also honoured with the Reverend name, every species of irrational animal, and noxious reptile! nor did they confine themselves to these ",---- 10. But, they also cut down trees, and hewed the rocks: the metals too of the earth, brass, iron, and other matter, they sought out, and formed into the appearances of women, forms of men, and into the likenesses of wild beasts, and of reptiles; and to these again they gave the name of Gods! nor did they confine themselves to these,---- 11. But, they also ministered, by means of libations and the fumes of sacrifices, to the evil demons which had insinuated themselves into these same images, which had been set up in the innermost recesses of darkness; and to them they gave the name of Gods! nor did they confine themselves to these,----

12. But, they also drew over to themselves, by means of the ties of those who used abominable incantations, by songs and other forcible and lawless enchantments, tho se invisible Demons and Powers which fly in the air: and again, they availed themselves of these, as abettors of the error of the deities, which they had (so) fabricated. And thus did they set up mortal men, as the Gods of Others. For the Greeks honoured Bacchus, Hercules, Aesculapius, Apollo, and other men, with the names of Gods and Demigods ; while the Egyptians imagined of Horus, Isis, Osiris, and again of other men such as these, that they were Gods. Nor did their wise

men, who are boasted of for their excessive wisdom, and the invention of Geometry, Astrology, and Arithmetic, know or understand how to weigh or to discriminate in their minds, between the distinguishing measure of the Divine power, and that of irrational mortal nature. On this account, they hesitated not to give the name of Gods, to every frightful image of the animals ; to every sort of untamed beast, and reptile; and to the fiercest animals. The Phoenicians too, named Malkuthrudun, Ousurun, and other mortal men more contemptible than these, Gods ; while the Arabians did the same to Dusarin, and Oubadon; the Getas (Goths), to Zalmacusin : the Cilicians, to Mopsus ; the Thebans, to Amphiaraus. And with others, again, others,----who differed in no respect from mortals, but were in truth men only,---- they also honoured with the name of Gods.

13. The whole of the Egyptians, therefore, at once with the Phoenicians and the Greeks, (thus) availed themselves, contrary to humanity, of every mortal species,---- --even as the rising of the sun illuminates (all) the portions of the universe,----of the very elements, of the fruits which grow out of the earth, even of their own passions; and again, even of the madness of demons, and (other) delusions; and before these, of mortal men! Nor did they set up, during their lifetimes, the doctrine which is excellent; nor did they point out to men, the instruction which attends purity of life; nor did they shew forth the requirements of (true) philosophy, or discover the practices favourable (to this) : nor did they leave behind themselves any disciples of their superiority, or deliver either precepts or writings conducing to happiness of life. On the contrary, they busied themselves with women, and the baser lusts ; and, as it happened,----I know not by what error of the participation in the deeds of Demons,----they named (these) Gods and Demigods, and honoured (them) with sacrifices, and services (connected) with the error of enchanters! They also built Fanes and Temples (to these) both in the cities and villages: but Him who alone is beyond the universe, THE WORD OF GOD in verity, the King of all, and Maker of all, they set at nought! These same multiplied all this, in the madness and corruption of (their) mind, to such an extent, that they forthwith called any men, with whom they happened to meet, Gods;

and immediately attached themselves to these same passions of mortals! And to these did they ascribe lawless adulteries, abominable deeds, and perverse lives and deaths. Nor did these things come from others, so that they could say these were their calumniators; but they themselves are the witnesses of these things, confessing the error, the sorrows, the deaths; and prior to these, the adulteries, the corruptions, of men (with men), and the rapes of women. Nevertheless, they filled all their cities, villages, and (other) places, with the Fanes, Images, and Temples (of these)!

14. Nor was it this only, but also, from the speeches which they made about their Gods, they received every provision for the life which was lawless and base; and,

in the first place, corrupted by every sort of abomination, at once both their souls and bodies. And, that such were the things which they did, when assimilating themselves to their Deities, we can readily shew from this, that the Phoenicians our neighbours, as we ourselves have seen, are busied with these things, even now, in Baalbeck; the ancient injurious excesses and corrupting paths of vice, being persevered in there, even to this time; so, that the women there enter not into the bands of lawful marriage, until they have been first corrupted in a way contrary to law, and have been made to partake in the lawless services of the mysteries of Venus. Now indeed, this city alone remains in this sickly state of folly, by way of proof of these ancient vices; when, from ancient times, many thus suffered while the disease inflicted by Demons had more abundant hold.

15. Nor was it this only, but also, the very men who rejected the gods mentioned (above), preached up, by means of hymns, elegies, sacrifices, mysteries, books, and votive offerings to Idols, that Father and Leader of all the Gods, who was overcome by bodily lust, and fell in love with Ganymede: and, as it were in emulation of their Gods, they transgressed the bounds of nature, and remained in this excess, at a distance not to be described, or (received) as real into the hearing. They fearlessly abused each other, as the Divine declarations affirm : ”Man with man working that which was shameful, and receiving in themselves the return of reward, which was due to their error”. 16. Nor was it this alone, but they also subverted the common mind of all, placing under an irrational Fate, and natural necessity, the constitution and essence of every thing. They led too, the lives of beasts, even the life which was no life. Nor did they enquire into the essence of the soul, or think on the righteous judgments of God. The victory attendant on virtue, they never called to mind, nor again, the punishment due to a wicked life.

17. Nor was it this alone, but they also ran as herds into the midst of the theatres, old and young together ; mothers with their sons and daughters; and, conformably with the doings (there), they contracted every base and intemperate disposition. Men and women too, being (thus) congregated together, became at once filled with intoxication (as it were) and lasciviousness! How then, could they do that which was good, when they stored not their hearing by listening to words that were pure, inculcating the fear of God? and applied not their eyes for the advantage of their souls? but (the hearing), to the instruction of sentiments that were base; and the sight, to the representation of every (sort) of lascivious-ness? For, things such as these, were those which (were presented) to the sight; (and), on which whole multitudes so fixed their attention, that in them (was evinced) the maddened excitement of the stallion, the vile pleasure (felt) over those devoured by wild beasts; (the excitement) of grains of corn parched (by the fire); (or over) those killed in the lion-hunt; but not (any feeling) belonging to human beings! And again, the impudent laugh (set up) at the vilest things; the intense and foolish desire excited by the music; the lascivious shows personating women; and the loud uproar set up

at the songs! For these, indeed, and such like things, were immense multitudes of the ignorant inhabitants brought together, with those who were their Princes, their Generals, and their Governours, and became saturated (as it were) with the corruptions which debase the soul.

18. Nor was it this only, but they also built seminaries of the precepts of ungodliness both among the (country) people, and in the cities. Instead of the precepts of righteousness, and those which were advantageous to the world ; and, instead of the doctrine which was pure, and the love of God; they received into the memory,----through the impious babblings of the poets, in which there were corrupt recitations, and stories about their male and female deities,----passions filled with every thing shameful, as well as hard sufferings, differing in nothing from (those of) mortal nature; (I say), through the instruction and study of the lying writings of the Dramatists, both tragic and comic, these things, corrupting and injurious (as they were) of life, they first sowed in their own souls, and afterwards in those of the young. And accordingly, (through) the iniquity, which was the first and last of every other,----which was, at once and entirely, that of all men, of Princes and Subjects, of the Sovereigns of nations, of Lawgivers, of Armies, of the Inhabitants both of villages and cities, among both Greeks and Barbarians;----the praise which was due, and was suitable to Him alone who is King of all, they perversely gave to that which was adverse (to Him), and called the demons that had corrupted them, (their) Gods! They sang hymns moreover, to earthly and wicked spirits, to the inanimate elements, and to the sensible portions of the universe!

And (thus), the companies of the rational animals which were on the earth, rendered not the praise of the officiating priest; nor, with their brethren who are in heaven, the holy Angels and Divine Spirits,---- those who praise the King of all,----did they render praise, the praise (I say) which is proper for such : but, on the contrary, they sang, both in their feasts and festivals, that which was foreign to propriety, and was unsuitable, to those seducing Spirits which had led the world astray! To them, too they gave the honour of worship; insomuch, that henceforth, the whole element of the earth, uniformly with all nations throughout the whole of creation, became nothing better than the vessel in the storm, whose entire and violent wreck in the extreme depths of perdition, is momentarily threatened!

19. Much therefore, on account of all these things, was God the Saviour and (only) helper, needed by mankind. Had some societies only been led to this state of error, the evil would indeed have been (but) small. But now, the Princes of cities, the Leaders of the nations, the Kings of countries, the Heads of territories, and the Honourable of the nations, had at once become fully, and completely, diseased in this same error of Demons, and of a plurality of Gods. And behold! again, even those,---- who boasted themselves among the Greeks of (their) philosophy, and made the profession, that in them was knowledge superior to any that was in the many ;

were pompous in the streets, swelling with pride, and casting their mantles loosely about them ; had wandered in the great and wide earth; had freely taken from other nations this magnificence of doctrine about things; from this place, geometry; from another quarter, arithmetic; and again from another place, music, the art of healing, and those other things, which have their being in rational experiment: for, these things, and others like them, they got together from every place:----these fell (nevertheless), into a deadly and ungodly state of mind! By the mere discovery of persuasive words moreover, some of these set it up,----as if they would make no experiments even after the truth,----that indivisible bodies (atoms), having no extent, or having projecting parts, and infinite, were, forsooth, the origin of all things! These same too, determined Rest to be the extreme good :

that which is, and evidently (so), a greater corruption than all the (other) vices. For, What could be more worthy of honour than Rest, with those who laid it down, that there is in this something which exists, neither Providence, nor God, nor soul that is immortal, nor intelligent essence, nor WORD OF GOD which is above all, nor (yet) beginning, nor end? and, that the things alone that are irrational and inanimate, which are indivisible and subtile bodies (atoms), and fall not, on account of their excessive smallness, under the (observation of the) senses;----that they should predetermine these very things, which are inanimate, irrational, as being without beginning, ungenerated, and in their multitude infinite, and as having, from times not to be comprehended, been dispersed just as it has happened?---- still, things being thus, have affirmed, that these were the cause of this universal order; and, that there was neither God, nor Providence, nor Reason which viewed, or which governed, the whole? But, even if there were, that He would not possess the being of any one thing; neither would He give it to others! And, as my judgment is, the ”Rest” which was (so) lovely to them, and which they also attributed to God Himself,----just as the doings of those were who arose as Philosophers of the school of Epicurus and Democritus, and as was the whole traditionary (doctrine) of those amongst the Greeks,----was that of (this) life. And, being thus eminent, they approached the multitudes; at one time, walking to the temples with the inhabitants (generally) ;

at another, shewing themselves to be those who feared the Gods; because of the fear of punishment (otherwise to be expected) from the law. But such were these, who contended for Rest (as the extreme good).

20. Others too, fixed the limits of Providence as far off as the moon; the company of those too, who were of the school of Aristotle, excluded it from every other portion of the world: which same also, determined the extreme good to be, neither Virtue, nor Philosophy, unless indeed, it happened to be attended by wealth of possession, abundance of gold and of silver, Family, and and the glory which takes with the many! And, What could hinder such from boasting themselves in these things? ----

men, who had shut up, as with bolts and doors at the distance of the moon, the Providence which is over all? or, that they should affirm, that the intelligent and rational soul which is in man, is mortal; and, that it is nothing, but even as the body, or as its colour, or its form? They usually term it moreover, Entelechia. Nor did they, by any means, place in apposition with the chief good, either the life of Philosophy, or the superiority of rule: on the contrary, they lapsed into the things of accident, riches, greatness, and family: (affirming), that with these existed the superiority that was worthy of reason ; and that, without these things, it was nothing! Nor had the wise man any thing superior, unless he were also rich : nor had he, who was careful about purity of life, any thing good about him, unless he were a person of family!

nor, would justice itself, or the complete beauty of virtue in the person of any one, be sufficient for the life of happiness, unless he happened to have a complete symmetry of bodily limbs! These men then, considered these things as being apart, in a place (removed) from the things pertaining to men, (and) higher than the moon : that a Godhead existed; but affirmed, that the providence of God looked not to the things on earth. Nor did they recognize the common Saviour of all, THE WORD OF GOD, the Preserver of all things; but drew near for the purpose of reverencing those Deities, that were in certain places, and in the cities: professing themselves to be wise in some things, with those who knew them ; but performing others in their deeds. In their writings and common conversation, they made the oaths of their Gods: but, in their minds, no such thing existed. On the contrary, they submitted to this for the sake of the applause of the many. So that hence these same were Demons, rather than men, (and) to be despised by every sort of sound Philosophy.

21. Others also, besides these who boasted themselves (as being) the best of Philosophers, dared with ungodly mouth to affirm, that God is a body; and, that His nature differs in no respect from fire. And this is the extreme error of the Stoics, who say of this sensible world, that it is God : and (so) set up a doctrine, which is impious and all-corrupting. For (they affirm), that the operative Cause, and the passiveness of matter, are of one and the same essence; and, that the maker and the made, are both bodies : and also, that the King of all, God who is above all, differs in nothing from sensible fire; but, that he mixes Himself up at once, with every thing,----just as fire does in (its) progress,----at the appointed times. But great is the sin (to affirm), that God is subject to change; and again, to combustion! This therefore, is the doctrine of the Stoic Philosophers, that all being, even the whole world, shall in time be mixed up with God in fire: and, (that) the whole shall effect a change, as in seed; and, that out of this, universal order shall again be produced, just as it was at the first: and that all these are Gods, as are all the portions of the world; and, because the whole consists of all its parts, the entire universe itself wholly constitutes the Deity! These same again affirm, that this intelligent and reasonable soul which is in man, is corruptible, just as it is corporeal.

What then, could hinder such from daring to speak against God, the King of all? or again, from determining, that these souls (consist) of matter, and body? and, that they are nothing else but the dense smoke, and fumes of bodies? and again, that after the close of life, they shall continue, during the times destined for them? and (this) not of all, but only of the souls of the Philosophers ? and, that at last, with the general conflagration, these also shall burn together with God, and the whole universe? and, that at the same time, the souls of the wicked and of the just shall be dissolved ; the thing's also of the just, together with those of the atheists, shall be fused, as it were, by one and the same fire? and again, that the worlds shall be reborn from this consumption of universal fire, differing in nothing, but in every thing, similar to the former; so that again, as from a beginning, these (worlds) shall in those be reproduced; as shall this same traditionary (life). Modes of life again, such as shall in all respects be similar, and not differing: the same fashions too, customs, regulations, and passions, shall exist within these. In the same manner also, the same sorrows, honours, recreations, oppressions, shall subsist among these, and happen to the same individuals. So that Helen, and the calamities of Ilium, (Troy) may again be expected: and again, Anytus , and Melitus, and the deadly poison of Socrates: again too, the contentions of the Philosophers themselves:

the same divisions on the same subjects; and, at last again, shall the whole be consumed by fire ; and again, after it has been burnt, again shall it be restored anew: and again shall consist of the same reducible materials. And indeed these, adhered thus violently to their error!

22. The descendants however, of the Philosophers, who were named the "primitive (students of) Physics", (and) who preceded all (others), laid the origin of all upon the inanimate Elements, and recognized neither God, nor Providence, nor Creator, nor Maker of any thing; but vainly, emptily and falsely, arrogated to themselves the name and show of Philosophers: some of them affirming the earth, and dry substance, to be the origin of all; others the ocean, the Parent of all ; for thus they named the humid substance and waters : others, fire; others, the air; and others, a compound of these. They also introduced many male, as they likewise did, female Deities. Marriage too, and the bringing forth of children, they perverted by natural metaphors, and the specious diction of the fictitious stories of the Poets, to the adorning of (this their) vain glory. So that these also, fell down again, as it were by perverseness, from the heights above, upon the material elements and sensible portions of the universe!

23. Others however, exclusive of these, determined the reverse of all those mentioned ;----that there was nothing divine in (all) this which exists; neither God that was over all; nor the (Deities) which were in certain places, nor that superior name, nor the imposition of (plastic) hand upon matter, were things really existing: so

that they proceeded to the greatest extent of impiety. 24. Plato alone, of all the Greeks, (as) it seems to me, adhered more eminently to (the true) Philosophy ; and held correctly, respecting that good Being who is the First, and Cause of all; and became truly wise, respecting the Second (Cause), who is the Creator of all. 25. He also established (it) justly and well, that the heavens, the sun, the moon, the stars, and wholly and at once, the whole world, were made by the God of all. 26. He also affirmed of the essence of the soul, that it is incorporeal and foreign to corruption. He was also cognizant of the intelligent Essences; and confessed, that the mind which is over all, (and) which we call THE WORD OF GOD, is King of all. To the same he gave the Rule over all, after the manner of a shipmaster, who well and duly provides for all: Him he also shewed was Governour. This man alone, of all the Greeks, confessed----just as we do,----of THE WORD OF GOD the Creator of the world. But, he is at hand, and we may hear (this) from himself, when discoursing of God thus :----

27. ” Let us render honour, neither to that (heavenly body) which is of the year, nor to that of the month. Nor let us cut off to these indeed, any portion : neither the time in which it proceeds in its orbit, and completes the visible world, which THE WORD OF GOD has set in order. Of all who are in it, he who is happy will have wondered (at Him), and afterwards acquired such love, as to investigate (Him) as far as mortal nature is able. 28. This man moreover, now calls THE DIVINE WORD, the Father, the Lord of all, and also Governour of all, in the very same words, and names Him just as we do ; expressing himself thus :---- 29. ”This Epistle, all you who consist of three should read, particularly in society: but, if not, between two in common, as each may be able. As often as ye shall be able, avail yourselves of compact (together), and of the Law; and, by that Lord, who is justice (itself) swear ye, at once with care ;----not without wisdom,----and with erudition the sister of care; and, by that Governour of all, of the things that are, and of those that shall be; and, by the Father of the Governour and of the (efficient) Cause, the Lord, swear ye:----Him, whom, if we are truly Philosophers, we shall all clearly know, as our power (may be, being) of those who are happy men.”

30. This (philosopher) also taught, that there was a just Judgment of God, and that He would render to every man as he should deserve: he very divinely shewed too, that the extreme good was this, that (men) be like to the Godhead; be attached, and made (as it were) twin brothers, to virtue. Nevertheless, he also fell justly4, (and as it was) likely, more than they all under reprehension. Why? Because he knew God as He was; but honoured Him not as God. He concealed the truth too, and put forth falsehood to the many. To those whom he loved, he spoke openly and well, as a Philosopher, of the Father and Creator of this whole. But, with the inhabitants of Athens, he conducted himself as no Philosopher; and went down to the Pirasus to Socrates, at his word, to pray to the Goddess, and, at once, to complete the festival of Bendis, together with all the inhabitants. And again, he himself said of his master,

that, when the end of his life drew near, he commanded them to sacrifice a cock! Nor did the best of Philosophers blush;----nor was it concealed :----that, the Father of his philosophy commanded them to propitiate the Deity, by means of fabricated earthly matter, and a little blood ;----the body of a dead bird! And again, he called those (Deities) that were honoured in the cities, Demons: and this he did well. But, he further confessed, that these same were, and that they were formerly known as being, mortal men. And (here) he spoke the truth. Nevertheless, he advised that (men) should worship these same as Gods! And, because he submitted himself, with the multitudes, to the error of these, he may well have been memorialized as (implicated) in their pretences, because he concealed the word of truth under the show of Philosophy, and attached himself to falsehood. Hear therefore, the things that he has said in the Timaeus:----

31. ” To speak of the other Demons, and to know their power, is too great for us. We assent however, to those who have said before us, that they were the sons of the gods, even as they have affirmed : and they well knew their own fathers. It is impossible therefore, we should not approve of the sons of the gods, when behold, they advance neither probabilities nor strong proofs. But, as they affirmed, that they narrated respecting those who were their own (fathers) ; (so) we, adhering to the law, believe. Thus therefore, as these affirmed a generation respecting these gods, (so) let it be; and be affirmed, that the Ocean and Tethys were the sons of the Earth and the Heavens; and of these same, Phorcys, Saturn, and Rhea (Ops): and of Saturn and Rhea, Jupiter and Juno: and those others, whom we know were all of them brothers of those mentioned: and others again, the children of these.”

32. You (now) view the very Philosopher----who is from above, and of the exemplars that are above the world, and of the intelligent essences which are incorporeal,---- beneath on the earth and on the ocean, immerged as it were in the depths of error! He has moreover, introduced a generation of the gods,----him who could himself alone, say with a mind, the voice of which was more elevated than that of man,---- ”What is that which always is, but that it might exist, has no being? And it is this same which is apprehended by knowledge together with reason, and exists in all time according to itself. But, that which is to be considered by the sense that is irrational, and was, and is corruptible; that it might fully exist, it never had even being.”

34. This selfsame Combatant therefore, now honours this identical (something,)---- this which was, and is corruptible, but never fully existed, on account of its elemental and dissoluble character,----with the name of gods! And again the very same, (virtually) reprehending the expositors of this story of the gods, says of them, that it was neither from probabilities nor from strong proofs, that they spoke and put forth the error of these Deities. And, having accused them in this manner, he afterwards says, ”We give our assent to them, and approve ;” when, behold! they had

said nothing truly! Besides, when he called them the sons of the gods, he clearly knew, that he was introducing their fathers who were, like all (other) men, subject to mortality! And again, he memorializes mortal gods, and mortal sons, who were like to their fathers, and who plainly said that they knew their own fathers. Nor does he conceal himself when he says, ”It is impossible therefore, that we should not believe the sons of Gods;” still, he immediately accuses them, that they had advanced neither probabilities, nor strong proofs, and adds, ”We approve of them, as saying that they narrated respecting their own” (fathers.) He says not----and (this) fully and carefully,----that they narrated; but, as ”they said that they narrated;” and, we ”assent to them as saying, that they were the sons of the gods.” And, Whence had he learned this, that he should affirm just as they had said? For (says he) they said this: It was not I. That is; Still to them, when speaking of themselves, and unable to establish (the assertion) respecting themselves, either by probabilities or strong proofs, we nevertheless give our credence! He says too after this: ” Thus therefore, as these affirmed the generation of the gods, (so) let it be;” necessarily, says he, just as these say! Not indeed as my opinion is, but as theirs (was,) let these things be affirmed!

35. You perceive therefore, that he advises it as proper, that we should adhere to error! And, For what cause does he set this up? Not because of any other thing, except the Law : that is, because of the death that was suspended on the Law! And this he openly acknowledges when he says, ” We, adhering to the Law, believe.” The fear then of man, and of the Law, dismissed from the Philosophers, that Fear, and Law, which (were) of the truth! Where then, are those excellent and wise things, which the same elegant tongue,----(and) wholly for the sake of which,----said in astonishing language, and thus magnificently?---- 36. ” For there is neither law, nor any one ordinance superior to erudition; nor is it just, that the mind be subservient or subjected to any thing: it is, on the contrary, Prince of all, if indeed it be free in its nature.” This same too, is he who said, that ”Wheresoever a man places himself, thinking it to be best, there he ought, as I think, to remain, (even) in the storm; making no account of any thing, neither of death, nor of any other thing, before things hateful.” He also said afterwards; ”For this, that one should fear death, O men, would be nothing else, but that we should suppose him to be wise when he is not so.”

37. How then can you, O Philosopher! be moved by death after these expressions? or, draw near to honour” mortal Gods, on account of the Law? And, How can you dignify these, as sons of the Gods, in order that we might approve, and give (our) assent to them? In your own words you both reproach, and chastise (them), as having said nothing soundly, or by way of proof, respecting (these) their own Fathers. How then, having thus accused them, can you now advise men to approve of them? But, of these their Fathers, let us make inquiry :---- 38. Of the Earth, you say, and the Heavens, the Ocean and Tethys were the progeny: and again, Phorcys,

Saturn, and Rhea. And so after all these, Jupiter and Juno! Jupiter, after the Earth and Heavens! Jupiter, after Saturn! and Rhea, after the whole of these! What say you, O Combatant?----Where is the great Jupiter, who drove the flying chariot in the Heavens? Or, Is not that a sentiment of thine, over which every body cries out and wonders, when thou thus sayest:----

39. ” The same great Jupiter therefore, drove and guided the flying chariot in the heavens, and to the same adhered the hosts (both) of the Gods and of the Demons?” 40. But, I know not whence Jupiter is to be viewed, after these (viz.) the Earth, the Sea, the Ocean, Rhea, and Saturn, mortals! or How, according to this sentiment of thine, we can give our assent to that of those who said before us, that ” they are the sons of the Gods, just as they affirmed; as they clearly knew their own Fathers. It is impossible therefore, we should not approve of the sons of the Gods, when, behold! they advance neither probabilities nor strong proofs.” And he adds; ”Thus therefore just as they affirmed a generation, respecting these Gods (so) let it be, and be affirmed.” After this he makes a long story, which is that of the generation of the Gods, (as) related by the Poets. And, upon this He assures us and says, that from Saturn and Rhea were Jupiter and Juno, and all those whom we know ; and the brothers of these, are they all said to be; and others again, who were the children of these.

41. Do you observe then, how this man goes on stating, ---- stating too not things that are not difficult, but impious, and those which are directly opposed to his own Philosophy? For this is he who in the Republics, drives away contemptuously (and) entirely from his commonwealth, those whom he here calls the sons of the Gods! ----those ancients (I say) who spoke of the Divinity of these; Homer himself, Hesiod, and prior to these, Orpheus! But now, the same Philosopher advises, that we give credence to these; calling them the sons of the Gods! He supplicates too,----subsequently to the earth and the heavens, and to that humid substance which he names the Ocean, (implicated) in generation and corruption!----that Father of all, both of men and Gods; and Juno, with those others succeeding them, who----as he affirms----are said to be their brothers; and confesses, that they are the sons of those who are of the Earth, and of the Ocean: and he afterwards advises, that we should worship these as Gods! Where then is that multitude of intellectual Essences? And, Where that incorporeal Form which is beyond the world? or, that Divine story about the nature that has neither colour nor form? And, if indeed every soul be immortal, Why dost thou subject to mortal beings, those that are immortal? And, to the bodies of Demons, that which is Incorporeal? The intelligent and rational Essence too, to those that are of sense, and subject to corruption?

It seems right to me therefore, to consider this man more reprehensible than (all) the rest; since an attachment, on account of the kindred character of his doctrines, drew me to him. For, as it appears to me, this man alone of all the Greeks, at-

tached himself to the outward portals of the truth, and shewed, in many (of his) sentiments, a relationship with us. Nevertheless, such cannot be honoured by the truth; because he is, as it appears to me, more reprehensible by it than all others. For he,----whose (main) desire was to live, while those things which attached themselves to his doctrine (virtually) effected his condemnation to death; and, while his opinion was that, (these) were no Gods;.----he did nevertheless submit himself (to them), as if he recognized no other life, but that only which was present.

42. The Peripatetics too, so attached,themselves to a belief, similar to that of the Originator of this Philosophy, that they supposed the soul which is in man to be mortal; and affirmed, that its form and body, was (what they termed) the Entelechia. For the sake of the present life,----which alone they acknowledged,----they submitted to the many. They believed too, that those were never Gods, which were (made) such by the law of the commonwealth: they submitted themselves (nevertheless to these) through the fear of death, and of the punishment of the Law. 43. The Stoics again, who taught that all was body, and that this sensible world alone was God, and that the (constituent) portions of this were Gods, persuaded themselves to do the things----although these might be odious,---- which were conformable to these their precepts! And, because they called the (constituent) portions of the world Gods, and worshipped the earthy substance, How could they escape severe reprehension? These too, as they determined that the Elements were the origin of all things, worshipped the Elements accordingly.

44. He however (i. e. Plato) determined, as by divine revelation, what that is ”which exists in all time, but which could not be (of itself) ; and what that is ”which is apprehended by knowledge together with reason, and (is) in all time according to itself. He also said, in what way it exists; stating openly, well, and wisely, (and) in plain terms, the true account of the Deity, as (its) nature is, in these words: ”God therefore, according to our former discourse, holds the beginning, middle, and end, of this all which exists: and, proceeding according to nature, He rightly disposes (it). And to Him does justice ever adhere, awarding punishment to those who swerve from the Divine Law. But, How came he to swerve from the Divine Law, and to think defectively of the justice which is over all? and to put forth for us, these laws of mortal men? this Philosopher too,----this (I say), who could send the soul above the curvature of the heavens,----to fear Death? Besides, I cannot think that this same man held soundly of the immortality of the soul, because he made the notion of the vulgar his own. For, it was not (according to this) that the souls of men only were immortal; but also, (those) of dogs, hedgehogs, ants, horses, asses, and of the rest of the irrational animals ; and, that (these) differed in nothing, as to their essence, from the souls of the Philosophers!

He (also) affirmed after the Egyptian manner, that these same eiFected a change into every sort of body ; those of men being transfusable into the beastly nature.

On these accounts, he is as worthy of reprobation in this case, as in that in which he gave his approval, but lied on the other side! And, although this was (such) an astonishing man, that he could apprehend the Maker and Creator of this whole; nevertheless, as he put not forth the word of righteousness, he is particularly deserving of the reprehension of every man : because ” he knew God, but honoured Him not as God; but worshipped and served the creature, exclusive of the Creator. He also named those Gods, and worshipped them (as such), which were (supposed to be) fixed in visible bodies; the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, confessing at once, and at the same time, that they were made, were perishable, and compounded in their nature of fire, earth, and at the same time, of the rest of the elements! And these same he worshipped, he honoured, and called them Gods! And then again, he afterwards confessed that these very same (Deities) were both dissoluble, and subject to corruption! But we may hear him,----as the thing said is at hand,----saying in the Timaeus:----

45. ”Gods of the Gods, of whom I am the Creator: every thing therefore, that has been bound together, is dissoluble; hence, because you came into being, in order to exist, you are not immortal: neither (are you) wholly indissoluble.” And again (speaking) on their being, whence this is, and how to be determined, he says: ”What fire is to air; such the air is to the water; and the water to the earth : out of which He bound up and established the visible and sensible heavens. And, by means of these things, and out of them, which are thus and the number of which is four, the body of the world came into being.” After this he says : ”And, as to the existence of time, in order that time might be, the Sun, the Moon, and the five other Stars, which have the title of wandering (planetary), came into existence; (and this) for its determination, preservation, and calculation. So God made each one of these bodies, and placed them (each) in (its) course.” And again, he says of the heavens, how they existed in all time; there being no beginning of the essence (of these) not even one: or being, of what sort this was in its primitive commencement. He then turns his discourse to his soul, and says, ”it became existent, is visible, is subject, to sense, and has a body: and, that all such things are thus subject to sense, and, that those which are subject to sense, are apprehended by thought, and (so) perceived to be existences”.

46. Was it not therefore, lapsing far from soundness of mind, that he, who spoke so orderly and well of these things, should call them Gods? that he should confess also, that they were made out of the perishable and corporeal matter of fire, water, air, and earth? and affirm that they were subject to dissolution, and in their nature corruptible? and, again, should name these selfsame beings Gods to be honoured? For, What participation can that Name and Honour have, which is the Cause of all things, with bodies that are subject to sense, and to dissolution? Or, What sort of companionship of the WORD, inseparable from Him who is in all time, but cannot be, (i. e. as we are, subject to corruption), with that which always was, but never

had an existence (of its own), so that he should call these Deities God? For, if He is truly God, He who exists in all time, but has not that he might be (as we are) ; so far as He existed not thus, He was no God. But if he be God, who was at all times, but never existed (of himself): whatever he might otherwise be, he is no God. And, What sentiment can be more impious than this? For, the two things are opposed in their natures ;----this, which is apprehended by reason and knowledge; and that, which is to be considered by irrational sense:----this too, which is capable of action : and that, which is passive.

How (I ask) can such opposites deserve one (and the same) name? For, this would be, as though a man should wonder at the science of the architect, but should attach the honour (due to him) to the work that was by him ; and (so) invert the order (of things)! And, should any one name the ship, the shipmaster; or the coachman, the chariot with its horses; so likewise, would he act most foolishly, who should dare to name the Creation of God, Gods; when behold! it had not escaped him,----but he had openly confessed,---- that they were bound up in the bands of God the Creator of all, and (affirmed, that they) were constituted out of the inanimate elements, fire, water, air, and earth! Nevertheless even this man thus (taught)!

47. But, What necessity can there now be, that I should bring to light, how the wise men collected themselves together in ranks, as it were, sectioned themselves off, separated, and mightily armed themselves against one another, just as in battle array, and met with shields, spears, and hosts,----as one of the Poets says, ”Behold the abundance of the uproar thickened----of the destroying and the perishing?”----for Plato termed their warfare with one another, the conflict of Giants when he thus spoke,---- 48. ”And behold! the conflict between them might be assimilated to that of Giants, because of the contention they had with one another about matter.”

49. Nevertheless, Plato himself said these things either against the Philosophers who were before him, or against those who were his contemporaries: and, that these also,----(as) he also afterwards cries out,----were those who took up arms against him, the evidence is clear. For Aristotle, who arranged himself against Plato, went off with his whole school from his doctrines. Others again, the Juniors afterwards arose, who attacked the philosophical notions of Aristotle; and, on the other hand, animadverted on the Stoics. Others, the Sceptics, put forth Pyrrho and the reserve: and, at once, ridiculed every body! For, they all fully equipped themselves for a mighty war of soul against one another: and (this) by means of words, fell moreover, but little short of arming themselves, fighting, and attacking one another, with spears and shields! Where it was any thing but right, they divided: but, where it was necessary they should contend with all their power,----I know not how it was,----they agreed; and particularly in the error of a multiplicity of Gods! They agreed (I say) in that, which before all men, and more than all men, they knew was a non-entity! That is to say, the Epicureans, (agreeing) with the

Stoics: the followers of Aristotle, with those of Plato: the professors of Physics, with the Sceptics; (these) one and all, together with their wives, their daughters, and the ignorant crowd, going to the Temples, and presenting themselves for the purpose of worshipping with (their) vows, as Gods, the inanimate Idols, (formed) in the likeness of men:

and these they honoured with libations, fumes, blood, and the sacrifices of irrational animals: shewing by this means,----and in this one thing only did they relax their enmity towards one another,---- that they all studiously gave their assent to this their error. And (again), when the truth was laid open to them, they opposed it! For it was right, that where their knowledge was correct, there should they have shewn their character to be firm: that they should have contended and warred for the truth; and, had it been necessary, they should have even died for it: (and) should have received it readily in the love (thereof), as men boasting themselves that they were Philosophers. These same persons were therefore, friendly to one another in this, that they brought themselves together for the sake of falsehood: and, about those things, on which it was unbecoming they should contend,----because of the hidden and unknown properties of these,----they contended as if it had been for the truth; readily too was their contention carried on about shadows, while they attacked and reproached one another, with innumerable wounding expressions. But, What need can there be, that (I should record) the contentions of the Philosophers against one another, their controversial expressions, and the common warfare which they set up, and in which they fell; since they availed themselves of human wisdom (only), and of the reasoning of the mortal mind: God the Teacher not having presented himself to them?

50. How was it then?----How, that those who contended about these things, had no God; when, behold! there was a multitude of Deities among them?----since that of Delphos, and that of Lebadia, was (each) a Diviner? ----that of Colophon gave responses?----'that of Miletus was also a Diviner?----and another was crying out from another quarter? Nevertheless, not even one of these could so teach these wise men, that they could apprehend the truth! All of them too worshipped these, as did their Fathers; and all the Greeks confessed, that they were gods: yet, they were not the more assisted in the discovery of the doctrines which are divine; when, behold! there was nothing hindering them from being forthwith (so) instructed in the truth, (or) from availing themselves of the Gods, who were on the earth and at hand, as (their) Teachers. Nor should they have injured, and reviled one another ; but, should have ceased from dispute, and have enquired of the Gods about the matters of contention; and so have learned the truth, as it were from Physicians, and (thence) have received advantage. And first, it was the duty of the school of Epicurus to have learned not to be godless, and not to have subjected themselves to "Rest" (as the chief good) : nor so to have infatuated themselves with ridiculous (notions), as to ascribe to subtile and indivisible bodies the power of making the

universe; but to have persuaded themselves from the Gods, when (so) taught of the things respecting them.

It was also the duty of the school of Aristotle,----who saw with their own eyes the Temples, Fanes, and Idols (that were) on earth : not one (only) but myriads (of these), in every city and place,----to have examined them as to their power: and, from the fact, no more to have confined their discussions about Providence, either to the (regions) above the heavens, or even to (those) above the moon; but, to have persuaded themselves, that there were Gods also on the earth, and that they exercised a providential care over the men among whom they resided. And, as it was in their power to learn from these same their own (Deities), they should no more have contended with those that were arrayed against them, as to whether the soul was mortal, or immortal. They should therefore, have asked the God who was at hand, and (so) have received, as from the Gods, the true decision (of this question). Thus also, (it was the duty) of the Stoics; and thus too, of the Platonists: thus also, of the Sceptics who are termed Pyrrhonists : and thus also, of those who were in former times styled the Philosophers of Physics, that they should not have desisted from inquiry as to the truth, nor have supposed, as those do who play at chess, that every thing coming into their mind was truth. They should, on the contrary, have asked the Gods who were residing among them about every thing that was unknown:

but not even one of the Wise Men has done this, nor did it even enter his mind! Was it then, that they were godless, and evil-minded towards the Gods, that (the task) was unwelcome to them, and (that) they acted thus? But, thus were they all at once godless; and the Philosophers appear to have been particularly so, and much more wicked than those who were unintellectual: those (I say), who made it no unwelcome task to enquire of the Gods about the taking of wives; the taking of a journey; blindness, or the infirmity of the body :----these too, were readily heard: and to those, who so sought did (the Gods), not in.vidiously, give their divinations. But, behold! it was any thing but becoming in the wise, to have enquired of those Gods who were among them, and to whom they rendered worship and honour, respecting their bodies (only) ; but not about the healing of their souls. And, as not even one of these marvellous Philosophers did this ; it remains, that we assure ourselves of one of two things; (viz. Either, that these men were no Philosophers; or, that those (Deities) were no Gods. For if, when (these) were really Gods, they set them at nought; they were no Philosophers, but were fools and ignorant men: but, if they had in truth made any approach to the love of wisdom, and abounded in knowledge more than the many; it is clear that they would, with pure conscience, have laughed at the folly of the many ;

and it is likely (they did so).

51. But, if those who have been mentioned, were really Gods; Why was it, that the conversation which is on earth, happened to be that of their lives? Was it for the common advantage of all? If indeed this was the case; Why did they not give up those (their) vain stories, and preach to all men the things, that would aid in the acquirement of virtue? And, Why did they not give themselves to the enacting of laws for man, corrective of the common conduct? and (to the performance) of deeds, pointing out the life of virtue to all? And, Why was not their care more particularly exerted for healing the passions of the soul, than (the sufferings) of the body?----rather to deliver those who fled to them, from foolishness and ignorance, than from the loss of possessions, when they saw that men desired wisdom ; that they were labouring night and day for the discovery of the truth ; and were seeking (both) by labour and contention, for a decision as to the reverence due to these same Gods? And again, (these) went in among the Diviners, and offered sacrifices just as their Fathers had done; and honoured those (Gods) with the honours which they had by custom retained. Why then, did they not receive these with terms of affection? praise them for their labours?

and, so delivering them from the contention which they had with one another, give them such aid from their labours, that they should become truly wise in God, and be (real) Philosophers?----and (thus) teach them the science of that true Philosophy, which is free from falsehood? But, as they did not this, they made it plain to every man’s perception, that they were no Gods: and, that those who boasted that they were Philosophers, were unworthy of that name! For, had they been truly wise, they never could have supposed that these were Gods: inasmuch as they had afforded to them nothing worthy of Deity, nor had it in their power to teach those, who were anxiously careful about the knowledge respecting them, the things pertaining to Deity.

52. Thus these (Philosophers) became in (appearance) what they (really) were not: besides, they presented themselves to the many, and called those Gods, which they knew more accurately than all (other) men, were no such things! What sort of name these deserve, it is not necessary for me further to say, except, that those who made their locks to flow down, frequented the Temples together with tavern-keepers, with men the refuse (of society), and harlots! And, Did these wise men (then) ask of the Gods the things advantageous to the Philosophers? There is no one who will say this of them!----nor, in like manner, how it was, that no instructing Deity presented himself to afford the erudition which would aid them. But (the things asked) were,----as the Diviners (themselves) say,----the commodities and helps of life generally; the discovery of a slave, if one had happened to run away; of a broken vessel; the purchasing of an estate; merchandise; the taking of a wife; or, other things similar to these. About these it was, that their admiration and reverence were called forth to their Gods; (and this) in the little blood of a cock, the immolation of a ram or of a bull; the (offering of) cups and bowls, or of a little wheat flower, or of purchased

crowns! And, Had they any truth----teaching Deity, as to the things (comporting) with virtue, or to those which respected the healing of the soul? No, not (even) one!

On this account, these Philosophers appear to me, to have laboured insolently in (their) warfare against one another, greatly to have aggravated their mutual differences, and to have departed (willingly) from the real knowledge of God : and accordingly, one might hear from them in words, of the Gods, the sons of the Gods, of Demigods, and of good Demons : but in deeds, every thing was adverse: and in opposing, they boasted themselves of opposition! Just as if one should he willing to point out the sun, with the luminaries that are in the heavens; but be unwilling to lift up his eyes to Him who is above (these): should cast down both his hands and soul to the earth, and seek among the clay and mud, the Powers that are in the heavens! In this manner therefore, had the whole race of men persuaded themselves, together with their Philosophers, and Kings,----through an estrangement of the intellect, and the error of wicked Demons,----that the rational and Divine Essence which is above the heavens, and beyond the universe, existed in place, below, among material bodies, and subject to the passions of both mortals, and immortals! And, since this entire estrangement of mind had infected the whole human race, Have we not soundly affirmed that God the Saviour, a Divine Revelation, and a common Helper of all, was required for this our state of life?

53. And again, all had been led to such a state of insanity, that they even sacrificed their friends to those who were thought to be Gods: nor did they spare their own nature; on the contrary, they put to death, through the madness and bondage of their minds, even their only children, and the friends of their children! And, What madness can be greater than this, that (men) should sacrifice human beings, and pollute all their cities and houses with their own blood? And, behold! Do not all the Greeks bear testimony to these same things? And, Is not the whole of their histories filled with the records of them? 54. For, the Phoenicians annually sacrificed (some of) their friends, and their only children to Saturn! To the same again, was a man also sacrificed in Rhodes on the sixth of the month Conun (March)! This same custom too greatly obtained, and was thus changed : They kept one of those, who had been publicly condemned to death, until the feast of Saturn; and, when the feast arrived, they brought the man out beyond the gate, over against the Image of Aristobule (Diana): they then gave him wine, and put him to death.

55. In the (place) also which is now called Salamis, but formerly Coronea, was a man sacrificed in the month named among the Cypriots Aphrodisius, to Argaula the daughter of Cecrops and daughter-in-law of Argaulis! And this custom continued to the time of Diomedes; and was (then) so changed, that they sacrificed the man to Diomedes! And in one (and the same) inclosure was the Temple of Minerva, of Argaula, and of Diomedes. He then, who was to be sacrificed, was accordingly-

---when his equals in age had led him three times round the altar, ----stricken on the stomach with a lance by the priest. He was then wholly burnt on a fire that had been got together. This law however, Diphilus,----who was king of Cyprus in the times of Seleucus the Theologian,----abrogated: He also changed this custom for that of sacrificing a bull. 56. The law too, whereby men were sacrificed in Heliopolis (a city) of Egypt, was abrogated by Amosis, as Manetho attests in what he wrote about primitive justice.

57. Men were also sacrificed to Juno, and were chosen just as immaculate calves were sought after, and were slain! There were three moreover, sacrificed in one day! But Amosis commanded that equivalents of wax, resembling these, should be substituted for them. 58. They also sacrificed a man to the Omadian Bacchus in Chios, when they had torn him (to pieces)! and also in Tenedos, as Euelpis the Carystian affirms! 59. The Lacedemonians also, as Apollodorus affirms, sacrificed a man to Mars! The Phoenicians too, in their greater calamities, whether wars, pestilences, or famines, sacrificed one of their friends, who was selected (for this purpose), to Saturn. The history too of the Phoenicians ----composed by Sanchoniatho in the language of the Phoenicians, and (which) Philo Biblius translated into the Greek, in Eight Books,----is full of this, (viz.) as to those who were (so) sacrificed. 60. Ister also says, in (the) collection of select sacrifices, that the Curetes formerly sacrificed boys! And Pallas, who collected abundantly on the mysteries of Mithra, affirms, that the sacrifices of men entirely ceased every where, in the days of Hadrian the Emperour.

61. A Virgin was also annually sacrificed to Minerva, in Laodicea of Syria; but now a hart is. 62. The Carthaginians also, who were of Libya, made the same sacrifice ; which Iphicrates caused to cease. The Dumatians too, of Arabia, sacrificed a boy annually: him they buried beneath the altar, and this they used as an Idol! 63. Philarchus too has left it on record, that all the Greeks commonly sacrificed men, before they went out to battle!

64. But I omit the Thracians and Scythians; and also the Athenians, who put to death the daughter of Erectheus and Praxithia. But, Whom has it escaped, that even to this time, a man is sacrificed in the Great City (Megalopolis) at the feast of Jupiter Latiaris? For even up to this time, it was not only to Jupiter in Arcadia, nor to Saturn in Carthage, that they all commonly sacrifice men ; but, through the remembrance of the law, they shed their own blood upon the altars every year! The most select Philosophers also attest, that things were thus: for Diodorus who abridged the Bibliotheca has affirmed, that the Libyans publicly sacrificed two hundred of the sons of the nobles to Saturn! Nor did they add to the sacrifices, fewer than three hundred others! He too, who wrote the history of the Romans, whose name is Dionysius (of Halicarnassus) has said, that Jupiter and Apollo required upon a time, human sacrifices from those in Italy who were called the Aborigines.

These however, had sacrificed to the Gods that select part (Tithes) both of their fruits and flowers, which was required of them. But, as they had offered no human sacrifices, they fell into every sort of calamity. Nor did they obtain any relief from these evils, until they had decimated themselves! Thus therefore, having selected a tithe of the men, and sacrificed them to Jupiter and Apollo, they became the cause of (their) country's ruin! And, so far had this entire corruption of soul destroyed human life, that no other hope of salvation could be prescribed, except that which was from God the Saviour: this alone, and no other, was wanting to the race that is mortal.

65. And thus, in these (distresses) of soul were all men, in every place : nor, was it enough for them, after these things, to act basely ; but, they were also harassed by innumerable other incurable calamities from without, in every place and city. For, all nations at once, throughout the whole creation, Barbarians and Greeks, were so inflamed by means of the maddening deeds of Demons,---- were so stirred up by the grievous and calamitous disease (of these), that neither intercourse nor agreement existed among men,----that so far,----and farther,----was the great body of (our) common nature forcibly urged on, that, in every corner of the earth in which men lived, they were, both from their usages and laws, in a state of warfare with one another. Nor was it this only, but they were also so fierce in the commotions and wars, in which they opposed each other, that, always and throughout their whole lives, they so engaged themselves that no one who desired (this), could take a voyage for the purpose of merchandize to any place, unless he (first) armed himself as for war. In the villages and fields too, the Agriculturists put on swords, and furnished themselves with an excess of equipment, over and above that of the implements necessary for the cultivation of the earth. Men considered it (also) a virtue to rob, and steal from, their neighbours: and, to our affirmation do all the writings, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, give testimony. The Books also, which are among the Jews, teach (us), that, from times prior to Augustus and Tiberius,----in whose days our Saviour appeared,----there were in the world, in every city and village, kings and Toparchs fully (established) from the earliest times.

66. The Jews therefore, immediately after the egress from Egypt by Moses, when they had come into Palestine, expelled the Kings, thirty in number, from their cities. Those however, who were not extirpated, remained and availed themselves of their population, local residences, and kings: those (I say), who resided apart in Gaza, Ashkelon, Joppa, and Azotus, again rebelled among themselves. Scythopolis too, and the cities about it, were accordingly so governed, that hence it happened, that their study was in contention and wars with their neighbours. And also, when in Jerusalem the wonderful Temple was built, (and) which Solomon erected, What necessity can there be for saying, how many subsequent wars (happened) and dealt vengeance even on the Jews, on account of their dissimulation in the worship of their God; and on which account, they became divided from each other? They also

arose against themselves, and availed themselves of (the aid of) various Kings and enemies ; some of whom took the metropolis formerly called Samaria, but now Sabastia; others again, resided in Jerusalem, and were always engaged in wars with their own people, and these with them.

67. Not unlike these too, did those suffer who resided in Arabia : for, among these also, there was a multitude of local Princes. The same also was the case with the Syrians, who were in subjection to their (many) kings. The Phoenicians again, so guarded their territories, that no one could mix himself with them, or pass through them: while they were continually desolating the lands of those who resided on their borders, and were constantly engaged in the reduction of cities, and in making captives of one another. Nor was it this only, but also the whole of Libya and of Egypt, subjected themselves to all these Princes and Kings, as if they had been Gods! They had too, thousands of different Gods, both in the villages and cities, as they also had of kings, who enacted laws adverse to them, and were the inventors of every form of Deity. These were they, from whom many places in Egypt received their names, as well as laws; which they still retain. These Deities moreover, and Laws, so affected those who were subject to them, that they made them at once, both enemies and haters to those who were in their neighbourhood; and that hence, they gave up the whole period of their lives to contention! And they were as much excited against one another, as if they had employed the many princes of the vilest Demons!

Hence also, the error of a multiplicity of Gods began and obtained dominion,----like some evil and destructive disease of soul,----over the rest of the countries of the heathen! The Egyptians were moreover, (occupied) more than all other men in the worship of the Gods; and more able were they than all others, scientifically to honour them. But, that such fruits were the recompence of their worship, Do not thou (now) enquire. For, the causes of peace and mutual agreement, now so visible to the eyes, had no existence in former times; on the contrary, every thing opposed to these. On this account they were, during the whole period of their lives, harassed with wars and contentions against one another; and (hence), they filled their lands with their own blood, and with the slaughter of themselves; these very Deities apportioning to them, as a recompence for their worship, these and similar doings!

68. If however, these things are not known to all; yet Who, of those that are fond of reading of the affairs of the Greeks, can be ignorant of them?----of the war (for example) of the Peloponnesians and Athenians, of which Thucydides is the writer?----how Greeks warred with Greeks?----how they subdued the Potidaeans?----how they trampled on the Thebans and Plataeans?----how the Thracians and Macedonians at one time assisted the Athenians, and at another became their enemies?----how the Athenians reduced Corinth, and desolated the country of the Epirotae and Traezenii?-

---how they wasted the Lacedemonians; and these again, suffered in like manner from the Lacedemonians when they invaded Attica, and depopulated the country of the Athenians? At another time, the Olynthiansmade war on the Athenians; and these again, on others: and these, on their neighbours! Every species of warfare moreover, abounded among them: fights in ships (by sea), fights by land, and fights with cavalry! All these innumerable things did the Gods,----as one may affirm,---- fully bring to pass at that time among the Greeks! Nor was it (this) only, but they were also conversant among men; they were honoured, and they were served : not as is now the case; but,----as (all) affirm, ---- as their fathers worshipped those ancient (Deities), and gave themselves up to them, so as to be their friends and to converse with them, as being Gods (present) with them, and residing with them on the earth. And in many things, both by divinations and revelations, did these assist them. Nevertheless, the fruits of honouring these Gods were these; wars, contentions, desolations, and captivities!

69. But, if you wish to investigate things more ancient than these, contemplate with your mind him who was in Delphos, and held his seat (there) in the presence of the Greeks. I speak of the Pythian ; of him who was preached to all the Greeks, and who proclaimed to the Lydian (Croesus),----but was infirm when he did so,----" I know the number of the sand, and the measure of the sea: the deaf I understand, and the dumb I hear. He therefore, sent to this same (as) a reward for this song, the bricks of gold of two talents (weight), the phials of gold, and bowls in like manner. Nevertheless, Croesus was, with this his declaration, all infirmity : nor did this Deity in any way help those descendants of his house, so that they might live happily and soberly. On the contrary, Pisistratus became embittered against the Athenians, while this Pythian was seer among the Greeks, and the rest of the Gods had dominion over them, and were even partakers in (their) wars! The people of Argus accordingly, fought against the Corinthians; the Lacedemonians, against the Traezenians; the Locrians again, waged war with the other Greeks, and the Corcyreans with others. Messena too, was taken four times by the Lacedemonians; and the Arcadians were reduced! The walls of the Orchomenians were also rased to the foundations, and the Athenians: overcame the people of Aegina: and again, the Megarians, the Corinthians; the Lacedemonians, the Athenians; the Athenians, the Boeotians; and the Locrians, the people of Phocis!

These things therefore, (did) all the Greeks to the Greeks; the Gods nevertheless, sitting at the side of Jupiter while all these came to pass! The Clarion Pythius; that of Dodona, which was in Epirus, did----since they were Demons filled with fumes,---- very gladly receive the sacrifices which were of Demons, both the sacrificial bestial hecatombs of bulls, and those human sacrifices, which were of their own friends! And, while they were inflamed with this vile delirium and love of war, and were (even) rabid against one another; these Grecian Gods,----behold! when with them; these friends, (I say) and provident beings, these lovers and guardians of the

Greeks,----restrained them not! But, if we must speak truly, these were the friends of war; these the haters of mankind; these the contenders with God! For, they were the cause of all these things, because they delighted in the slaughter of mankind. And when they had it not in their power to delight in war, they forthwith did so in human sacrifices, and in the libations of human blood, with which they glutted themselves in every city!

70. One of two things is, therefore (the case) : Either, they were nothing; and it was grievous error that had then so taken hold of mankind, as to induce them to honour inanimate images as Gods, and vainly, emptily, and by a sort of madness, to sacrifice their own friends (to them) : or, if they were possessed of power, it is likely that this would be fully effective, either of good, or of evil. Now, if they were in their nature beneficent Deities, remaining too on the earth, and occupying the middle part of the cities; they would not have evinced this sufficiently, unless for the advantage and safety of those among whom they lived. But, if they were wicked Demons, they would be engaged in every thing opposed to goodness. What then, can constitute a surer proof as to these things, than the fruits which (grew) out of their government; for, "from its fruits is the tree known."

71. It is time therefore, that we enquire whether the wars and contentions----not of enemies, nor yet of Barbarians who arose against the Greeks, but of the Greeks themselves, who subscribed to the Gods of their fathers, and were infuriated against one another; ---- were these fruits: the Gods too being within (their cities), and nearer than the (very) gates, and daily honoured by their citizens. What (then) did they give, worthy of this worship, to those who so worshipped them? Was it, first of all, peace? that they might live a life of ease and comfort? ---- and thence, laws that were efficient, arid preservative of every thing good? If indeed, the things just now said were of this sort; there is no necessity we should doubt of the existence of good governours. But, if the extreme of evils had taken hold of the whole family of the Greeks:----the Gods being more numerous than the inhabitants: nor was it, that they were honoured in every city only, but also in every house:---- and, (if) when they were (so) honoured, they supplied nothing more to those who honoured them, than the slaughter of wars, the desolation of villages, the rasing of cities, captivity, and spoil; the Greeks being inflamed against the Greeks by these things:----What can there be wanting to our knowing, and (thence) affirming, one of the two things supposed (above)? For, either these Gods could do nothing, because they were nothing: and thus, were far from being the cause of the evils :

or, they possessed some power, and were the cause of these: or, that they permitted these things to be so: or, that they themselves did them. If then, they were the doers of these evils, it would thus seem, that they should be styled the Princes of evil. But if, when these evils were done by others, they connived (at them), they

were again, the betrayers of their Friends: they were not (their) helpers: but (their) deceivers; and were therefore, vicious.

72. For, if they were no Gods, and in their nature by no means superior to ourselves, but, were otherwise men who had realized sincerity through their excellency and wisdom ; Would they not have interposed themselves, and have relieved their Friends from contention?---- either persuading them by reason, or, saving them by power, and severing them to a distance from each other? counselling them also in the things which were becoming?---- when acting (I say only) as good men; and, as being their Friends, relieving them from their (mutual) enmity, and bringing them together for peace? 73. How then ;----for good men would have done this, had they happened (to be circumstanced as just mentioned): ---- did the Gods (act), being present with the Greeks and conversant among them, and honoured by all? Did they neglect their Friends, giving them up to bloodshed, desolation, and mutual slaughter? and, Why? Because they were unable to help them? or, being able, were unwilling? For if, when able, they were unwilling; it was no office of helpers which they performed for those who honoured them, but of enemies and deceivers! For those, who can deliver from calamities, but do it not, are in nothing better than enemies. But if, when willing, they were unable ; they merited desertion on account of their weakness. And, if they were thus circumstanced, the reputation of their being Gods was superfluous: nor did men truly ascribe to these the title of helpers; inasmuch as they did not help them to salvation, because of the weakness of their own nature.

74. But, if they advance a superintending fate, such as to take hold of every thing, and even of the Gods themselves, and (affirm), that this was the cause of the wars, and of every thing which came to pass among men ; this will overthrow the whole course of our life, as it will make every thing that is (virtuous) among us, vain ; and a doctrine false and vicious will, instead of this, make its ingress among us. And thus also, will the purposes of the Gods themselves be rendered vain, since they can do nothing hut that which has been fated. The things, which this makes it necessary should happen, (shall happen) even when the Gods will (them) not! And thus again, will the anxiety of those who reverence these Gods become vain and empty, since they render honour to beings who can effect nothing. 75. But in this were these astonishing (Deities) caught, that they had not the power to help against the evils of mankind ; that they were openly seen delighting in base and abominable stories about their own divinity, and in the wicked and unlawful sacrifices of men. From these things therefore, it becomes us to judge of these same Gods, as doing such things among the men of those times ; because, as their nature was attached to evils and to wars, they were convicted by their own deeds.

76. But now in our times, every anxiety about the Beings just mentioned has suddenly lost its power ; and the things belonging to this ancient disease have been cut

off: every city, region, and locality, among the heathen, now remaining in the profoundest peace! The whole of Asia, Europe, Lybia, and Egypt, which were formerly not better than a ship in a storm, on which the violent winds and tempests had fastened from every quarter, and had thus far, ---- and still farther by the northern blast, ---- contributed to her immersion ; are now so righted by the happy guidance of the helm of peace, in a serenity that is peaceful and a calm that is resplendent, that they subscribe to the ONE Ship-governour of all things. Such are all things now, since he that was in Delphos has been desolated; since that Pythian, (I say) has been extinguished, and since the recollection of the rest of the Gods has been wholly withholden from the hearing of mankind. Nor have such things as that necessity of fate, or (those) war-loving Demons, agitated the cities. For, since the doctrine of our Saviour has obtained throughout the whole creation of man, in every city, village, and place ; and again, since no race of Demons, but He alone who is the King of all, God, and that Creator of the whole world, THE WORD OF GOD, has been made known and honoured by all men, Barbarians and Greeks; every word about fate has been rendered unavailing:

every war-making necessity too has been removed far away: the Divine peace-making WORD is hymned throughout the whole earth: the race of man is reconciled to God its Father ; and peace and love have been restored to all nations! The things, which pertained to the Gods, are now no more done; ----nor are those which set up the system of warfare (that men carried on) against one another, when those (their) ancient temples occupied the highest positions throughout the whole earth,----(now that these) have fallen under the extremity of desolation, and all those Gods, which formerly uttered their cry in every place, have either from shame or fear, been reduced to silence: every city too, nation, and region, have by means of the right hand of love, been made at once to enjoy peace, and are delighting themselves under one government in the deepest established order and agreement. In what manner of life all, both among the Greeks and the Barbarians, existed formerly, when they honoured the Gods far more than their own friends, there is now no need we should shew at length, having shortly laid these things open already, except (to say) that these ancient things are, as such, matters of record.

77. But, Why should any one say that these are things of recent occurrence? since, as far back as (the death) of Alexander of Macedon, not long before the manifestation of our Saviour, many governments arose. For Arridaeus, the brother of Alexander, received the Kingdom of Macedon: of those that were in Europe, Antipater took possession ; Ptolemy, of Egypt and Alexandria ; Seleucus became Governor of Phoenicia and Coelo-Syria: Philotos, of Cilicia; Antigonus, of Asia ; Casander, of Caria ; Leonatus, of the Hellespont ; Eumenes, of Paphlagonia ; and Lysimachus, of those parts that bordered upon Thrace. From this time these, with those who had received their governments, poured forth as rivers against one another in war. For, Ptolemy the son of Lagus, marched fifteen times out of Egypt. Seleucus too, met

Ptolemy King of the Macedonians, and was killed. Perdiccas also, entered Egypt with an army. Ptolemy took Cyprus, and Demetrius seized upon Syria. Another too, went forth to another place, and, with the violence usually attendant on robbery, seized upon those who resided on his borders.

78. Thus therefore, during this same time, were things brought to pass one after another in every quarter of the world. When the worship of many Gods prevailed, there was neither peace nor agreement ; while mutual enmity abounded. Sacred places, Fanes, and Temples too, were abundantly appropriated to these in every city. With many votive offerings were these temples adorned. Much talk too was engaged in respecting these Gods, by the kings of those times, as was also by the people, the inhabitants of villages, and of every (other) place; so that they honoured with images and altars these (Deities) of their fathers, in their houses, their very treasuries, and inner chambers. Nevertheless, when thus circumstanced, they were no better than demoniacs whose souls had been perverted by madness, (and) that during their whole lives, they polluted themselves with the blood of their own countrymen! And truly demoniacal were they in their wars with one another, and in their pertinacity in the reduction of cities: the demons, the leaders astray of the world, being their helpers in these matters!

79. Those too who were thought to be Gods, who gave out divinations, and foreknowledge (of things to come) to their worshippers, were not so discerning as to foreknow, or to foretel, their own destruction: which happened to them all, at the manifestation of our Saviour among mankind! This too is a mighty proof of their inferiority, as it is a well grounded reproach on the divinations which were formerly published among all the Greeks. Nor did any one of the Diviners indeed, foretel that manifestation of our Saviour, which (has taken place) among men ; nor yet, the new doctrine which has been given by Him to all the nations. Neither did that Pythian (Apollo), nor any other of the great Demons, foreknow his own destruction; nor did he prophesy respecting Him who was to come (to be) the destroyer and uprooter of them all; nor yet, did he foresee respecting all those of the nations, both Greeks and Barbarians, who should leave the error of a plurality of Gods, and acknowledge the God who is over all.

80. What Diviner then, or Enchanter? What Demi-god, Demon, or God, has foreshewn by divination, that these their beauties should be extinguished, when He should be manifested, who was to be a new thing in the life of man, and (is) the ”knowledge of God” who is above and over all, and whose worship has now been communicated to all nations? Who is he (I ask), that has prophesied of the destruction of their Temples, and of their own utter ruin? and, Who,----supposing of these Images of gold and silver which are every where, whose fusion was by fire, and whose change as to appearance was quite useless, were supremely serviceable to man;----that, as (these) their Gods were (but) molten, they should, by way of con-

tempt and derision, be afflictively cut to pieces? Which (I ask) of the Gods has ever put (this) on record? And, How was it with their supporters, that they lent no aid to their Temples, when these were rased to the ground by men? And, How were those circumstanced who, in former times were engaged in creating wars, that in their own calamities they should look with complacency on their uprooters, who were in the profoundest peace? But, the wonder of the matter is this, that, when their Temples were subjected to destruction, a peace, administering increase to every excellency and good, had taken firm hold on the life of men: every thing happening to the contrary, when the Gods were in peace!

For, during their prosperity, wars, conflicts, commotions, and the reducing of cities,----as shewn in history, and as we have already said,----(prevailed) among men: but, in their desolation, an entire peace with every good thing without drawback. Whence it must be evident to every one capable of reflection, that these were no Gods, as it also must, that they were not good Demons, but on the contrary, vicious ones. Those must also have been destroyers, whose prosperity was the cause of calamities to mankind, and whose ruin led the way to the bringing in of every good to all. But, how (all was) formerly in commotion among the Greeks, and how the nations throughout the whole earth were agitated, we now know, as to a few things:----

81. And hence we may perceive why appointments, the character of which was varying, subverted the lives of all. For the Egyptians had a law, allowing them to take their own sisters as wives: the Persians, to hold shameful and sinful converse with their own mothers: others, to pollute their own daughters in unlawful wedlock: and of these, the extent was such, that (”the natural use of) the woman was interdicted. The wickedness too, of the Philosophers themselves, as also the intercourse with men which is out of nature, had reduced all the Greeks to insanity. Besides there were some, by whom it was thought right to conceal (their own while living) in the earth in Sepulchres; and by others, to deliver (these) to the flames! Others however, gave up these things as impious, and exposed their dead (only) to the dogs and birds of prey. Others murdered those who came to them as guests! Others too, feasted themselves on human flesh! And again, there were those who, when their friends were in the agonies (of death), sacrificed them and feasted on them, before they expired! Others, who were approaching old age, they threw from rocks! Others they gave up to strangulation! Others they threw to the dogs, while still living; and others, while dying! Others they buried with these (alive)! while others put the living to death on the funeral pile; those (I say), whom those (now) dead had loved !

82. Thus therefore, had the whole human race been led on to the last stage of brutality, so that he, who was (once) rational, became the most irrational of all. Nor was there any other (being), of those that were on the earth, more vicious

than man; who had been (so) led into every vile affection, and had (so) corrupted his mind with every species of wickedness, that he readily forsook even the reflection which belonged to his nature, and did nothing well, either of the things pertaining to the soul, the body, or of those, which were external to him; but, he every where became subject to vice upon vice!----For, the lives of men are divided among the things which are of the soul, of the body, and of those which are external (to both). But, the error of the Demons had (now) so possessed in every form, and had so corrupted, the lives of men, that the things of the soul were at war with them, through the madness of the Demon-worship which had (so) seized upon them, and through their foolishness and blindness as to the truth,---- about which (truth) even the family of Philosophers was in a state of agitation. And, as to the things of the body, (they consisted) in the human sacrifices which (prevailed) throughout the whole earth ; and again, in the base, lawless, and corrupt practices, which were foreign to nature.

The things too, which were external (to both, consisted) in this, that in the cities, localities, and nations, all were, at one time, divided into parties ; at another,---- when they were brought together,----they contended against each other, by means of the desolations and reductions of cities, in which they mutually laboured. And, the length of the day would be insufficient for me, were I to relate all the things pertaining to this ancient disease, which had (so) seized upon the whole race of man. And, on this account more particularly, was God the Saviour necessary to this our (mortal) life, as to those who had been cast down to the last extremity of evil: nor was there any other cure or aid (for this), except by means of the glorious and divine manifestation (of Christ).

83. What, then, was it right that THE WORD, the Father of rational beings, the Saviour of all, the Guardian, the providential Care, the Shepherd of the rational flock which is on the earth, should, after (the occurrence of) these things, do, in order to raise to great honour the rational and intelligent Essence which is in man, (and) which had (so) fallen into the vast depths of evil? And that he, who had with his own hands (so) dragged upon himself the cause of his ruin, might see (and know Him as) his friend? Would it have been well, that (even) a man should pass over the safety of his friends, and unpityingly neglect them when thus perishing, who had the highest claim to his providential care? No Captain indeed, would ever be termed wise, who should give up his ship with its crew to go down, having by him that which (would secure) the safety of those who sailed with him, but not applying it. Nor was there ever a General so merciless, as to give up, unavenged, the soldiers of his army to their enemies. Nor is there any good Shepherd, who unfeelingly neglects the (single) sheep that has strayed from his flock; but, he leaves those that are not lost and in a secure place, and undergoes every thing for the discovery of that which has strayed ; and, should it be necessary, he will even engage with the wild beasts(in its defence).

The providential care, however, of THE WORD, the Saviour,----of Him who has provided every thing for (His) rational creatures,----was not put forth (merely) for a flock that is irrational. For, it is man (only) of the creatures that are on the earth, who is (thus) beloved of God; and it is man also, to whom He has, as a Father, given up every kind of irrational animal in subjection. It is to man too, to whom He has assigned the navigation of the seas; and for whom He has adorned the earth with every sort of plant. To him He has subjected both the (various) kinds of beings that swim in the unseen depths, and of the birds that fly in the heights. It is man moreover, to whom He has granted the faculty of knowledge for receiving every sort of learning. To him likewise, has He made plain the observation of things in the heavens, the (annual) courses of the sun, the (monthly) changes of the moon, and the progress of the stars both planetary and fixed.

84. How then, after (the occurrence) of these things, could it have been becoming, that the fatherly anxiety and providential care which is over all,----which had (so) rightly exerted its care for those other things of the body, and of this sensible world,----should be so crippled as to become inactive, as it respected the healing of the rational Essence vested in man? It had afforded every sort of provision for man, every sort of remedy, and (means) of health, for the body, growth also, strength, beauty, riches, delights, and the increase of possession for (his) convenience. And, Would He put forth not so much as one effort of care, that they might become acquainted with the things which are most excellent in them, with their own souls, and the Essence which is intelligent? But thus, it is likely one would rather blame the imbecility (or) carelessness, not of the sheep wandering from the flock, but of the shepherd: and again, not the infirm of soul, or those calamitously circumstanced ; but the contempt or imbecility of the physician, if he gave not every sort of medicine for the healing and aid of those, who (so) needed (it). Every necessity would therefore call upon Him, who is the Guardian and Saviour of all, for the healing of his (rational) flock.

85. It is likely therefore, that the compassionate WORD OF GOD would, as a good Shepherd, Saviour, and Guardian, when His rational flock on earth was (thus) implicated in the greatest evils, deign openly to make a Divine manifestation of Himself; since, behold! He had never allowed even a period to pass, in which He did not fully exert His providential care, for the supply of every good thing to those who were in need. At every period therefore, in all ages of the world, He both looked, and engaged Himself, upon the things belonging to the earth; and gave freely in times of necessity, of the things which were (laid up) with Him: and so without upbraiding, evinced He the promptness of His providential care towards all men, that He even afforded instruction to those among mankind who were worthy (of this), by revelations of Angels, and by raising up holy Ministers of God : by Prophecy also, and familiar intercourse, He preached the Godhead of His Father, and the life that was most excellent, to those who were capable of being taught in the mys-

teries of the worship of God: at that period, too, he gave the instruction which was from Himself to our Fathers, as to those who were still infants, and inexperienced in evil.

86. Because then (men) had by a perversion which was not good (growing) out of their liberty, and from the will of their minds, set themselves up, and (hence) had fallen from the life that is excellent into (many) evils; it is likely, that the same WORD OF GOD, would again,----as the Physician of souls,----by adequate aids succour those who suffered this malady, and bring back by bitter medicines, those who had not benefited by these His gifts. On these grievous diseases of vice therefore, He took vengeance by pestilences, famines, wars, conflagrations, and inundations (of waters); and thus turned back to Himself, those who stood in need of these things. At one time He purged the entire life of all, by destructions of waters: at another, He punished the wicked by excessive rains in (certain) places, by strokes of the lightning, by burnings, or by withholding the (necessary) rains. And again, in the abundance of His mercy, He made certain by these same deeds, both (his) rebukes and teachings against the errors of Demons. The Temples too, of those who were thought to be Gods, and (their) Fanes, together with the images and Gods themselves, did He desolate by destructive strokes of lightning; and thus He put to shame those follies. Nor was it (this) only, but He taught them to distinguish by their own reason, that these never were Gods, and, that it was not in their power even to help themselves:

and also, that they were neither of the household of God the King of all, nor friends of Him, who (thus) waged war against them. For, How could He who is the cause of every good thing, give up to destruction by fire, the Temples which (men) had built to His own honour; unless (indeed) He did this for a reproof of their error? For, if it was His will that the Demons which resided in these should be honoured, Why did He destroy their Temples together with their images? By means of the arrows which were sent from above from God, He drove far away from their eminences those who resided in these (Temples), and fully preached, in this way (and) by these doings, in the hearing of all men, crying out (as it were), Cease ye from the error of Demons, and (from affirming) that there are many Gods; and acknowledge that Lord of heaven and earth and of the whole universe, who is God (indeed): that Saviour, that Nourisher, that Preserver;----Him, who, (as) they may see with their own eyes, has openly shewn His providential care over them ; at one time, in the supply of seasonable rains, of fruits borne of all (that springs) out of the earth, of wealth, and of comforts, unsparingly : at another, by the chastisements sent from God, and by the modes of discipline which were from Himself, has He brought back as with a bridle, those who were insensible of the good things, with which He had furnished them.

Nor was it (this) only, but He also so cured the error of those who supposed these to be Gods, by a continuance of the lightnings and conflagrations which (came) upon them, that the Temples of the Gods were even burnt, together with those who had fabricated Gods for themselves, by ambushments of men: plainly exhibiting to those who could see, the rebuke which was due to the error of these. Nevertheless, when these worshippers of the Gods witnessed these early (occurrences), they entertained no greater a disposition towards the correction of their impiety!

87. And again also, when they believed in these Gods, who had (virtually) confessed by their divinations, that they could effect nothing beyond what had been fated;----for Fate is the cause of all (in this acceptation);---- they understood not, nor did they consider, that, as (this) Fate took hold both of themselves and of the Gods, vain must be (every) trust put in these, as they could neither help, nor injure mankind in any thing. And, Only so? ----If it were right to honour Fate, as the cause of every thing; still this, as being a necessity impervious to change, could have no power even over itself! But, He has put forth the knowledge of Himself,----in order that (men) might know Him to be Lord of this (fate), and also of every (other) thing;----at one time, by the supply of every sort of good thing; at another, by chastising the error of a plurality of Gods in thunderings and in lightnings. And it has accordingly been made matter of history, that the Temple of Delphos,----of that Pythian (Apollo) who was (so much) preached of formerly,----underwent upon one occasion (an entire) conflagration; but these, remaining in their error, raised it up a second time; and God the second time destroyed it! They renewed it also a third time; and He again, expelled entirely from its place, not the Temple, but the Demon that resided within its chamber, by his Divine manifestation! so that now, this is no more a house of divination ; nor does he, who formerly led the Greeks astray, (any more) practise there.

88. The Temple of Diana too at Ephesus, came to (its) destruction three several times. On one occasion, the Amazons burnt it; on another, Herododus (Herostratus), one of the inhabitants of Ephesus; and lastly, on another, (it was ruined) by God who is over all. So that now, after the manifestation of our Saviour, nothing more is visible even there, except the great (and) signal mark of the victory of (its) overthrow. 89. They have recorded moreover, that the Temple of Juno in Argus was destroyed on one occasion by fire; as was also that in Abas, in like manner, when the Thebans made an incursion and burnt it, and with it five hundred men! 90. It is also said, that on one occasion, lightning struck the statue of Jupiter in Olympia. 91. The Roman histories likewise inform us, that the Temple of Vesta which is in Rome, and which is called the Pantheon,----(all) the Gods being assembled together there, as it should seem,----was again, destroyed by lightning.

92. And again, on one occasion, lightning fell from heaven on that which is called by them the Capitol, and destroyed that house of every Temple.

93. With all these modes of discipline therefore, has the Providence which is over all, THE WORD OF GOD, put to shame from all time, those who worshipped Demons. Nor was it (this) only, but He also taught them, from ancient times by doctrines worthy of God, that they should worship His Father. He has likewise, cast forth (as seed) among mortal men, the doctrines conducive to life; divine laws, and precepts of righteousness, as herbs (productive) of things that are good, and as medicines for the salvation of reasonable souls. Thus (did He) in ancient times with the Hebrews through Prophets, men who partook of the Divine Spirit. And again, from a long extended antiquity, through other Friends of God: and again afterwards, through those who were vested with the Divinity, did He call those who had been cast off to death, to (the means of) recovery. He also sowed (as it were) in the souls of men, the rudiments of the Divine laws;----of various kinds of instructions ; of doctrines of every kind; of predictions, and of prophecies of things to come; as also the love of that life (which is devoted) to the worship of God. Hence poured forth as from a fountain, even in every part of the creation, the seed, (and thence) the rational observances (of life): and hence, laws and lawgivers were seen among all the nations; and the name of virtue and of philosophy became known among men. (Now) came into being the love of things most excellent;

and, the desire to discover the truth was in such active operation with the many, that the error of their forefathers came into utter contempt, and, with the intelligent, those things which belonged to the worship and love of God, into repute. The truth too had been wanting; and great had been the differences respecting this with the many, as had the contentions and divisions of those, who disputed about doctrines. And thus did these things shew, that the Providence (exerted) over mankind, was from all time great, (and) evincing the care for every man, which was both suitable and sufficient.

94. Because then, great would be the change for the better in every one, upon human life’s becoming tranquillized, and the common conduct (of all) being changed from its former wildness to something approaching to benignity ; it is likely, that the common Saviour of all, the compassionate WORD OF GOD, would more particularly, and the more readily, make his Divine manifestation at a time that would be (most) suitable. He accordingly came in by the mission of himself, and shewed forth to men,----who could by no other means arrive at the knowledge of the truth, by the instrumentality of a human vessel,----the God of truth. The God of truth did then, through the divine operations and astonishing miracles which were evident to all, shew forth the doctrine of heavenly teaching which respected His Kingdom ; in order that by these, He might henceforth,----even as He had formerly afforded aid by means of the things already mentioned,----instruct the whole human race in the doctrine which is heavenly. It was impossible indeed, in ancient times, to make those who had been driven to the last stage of vice, pure by words (only), inviting (them) to the perfect knowledge of God, and to the better life of purity and

of righteousness. On this account, just as Physicians prescribe their remedies to those who are sick and debilitated by pains and sufferings, not the healthy food proper for the robust, but things that give uneasiness and pain; and, should it be necessary, do not excuse themselves from applying cauteries and bitter draughts, to coerce the disease:----not the aliments proper for the healthy, but those suitable to the sick: but, when they have become convalescent, they will henceforth allow them to partake of wholesome and strengthening food :----

95. So likewise the common Saviour of all, as the Shepherd and Physician of His rational flocks on earth, taught those----who had previous to His last divine manifestation entered into the many follies of a plurality of Gods, and had been maddened by the evils and fierceness attending (this) corruption of mind,----by bitter punishments, by pestilences, famines, and the continuance of wars against each other. And again, by excessive rains, by the withholding of the rains, and by calamitous strokes of lightning, did He annihilate these instances of obstinacy : besides, He afforded opportunity to the worshippers of the Demons to see, by the vengeance taken in the strokes of lightning sent upon the Idols, the reproach due to the error of a plurality of Gods. 96. He again as a good Father, thus also afforded instruction to the foolish; for He imparted to them ungrudgingly, the gifts which were from Himself, in the provision of every good and rich thing: rains in their seasons; the production of fruits; the changes of the seasons ; and the carrying forward of animal life. The rational means also of all kinds of art; the seeds of these, and the (due) consideration of them, He cast forth into the souls of men. Again also He sowed (as it were), by means of the Prophets who are preached of among the Hebrews, the rudiments of the Divine precepts; the instruction pertaining to the fear of God; the entrance, the stages, and principal things, attending the Divine laws ; such (I say) as were suitable to the men of those times. He again from his providential care, (and) by means of many others, also gave the aid which was convenient for men as then (existing).

97. Because therefore, the life of man had henceforward undergone a change, by means of these things, to a state of peacefulness and rest, and was prepared to receive the perfect doctrine relating to God ; well again, did the common Saviour of all, the only (begotten) WORD OF GOD, the King of all, shew forth at a time that was suitable, and by these same operations, the Divine manifestation of Himself. But, as these things have been largely set forth already, it is (now) time we should proceed to those that (should) follow them. The End of the Second Book of (Eusebius) of Caesarea. [Selected footnotes. Notes concerned only with points of the Syriac and large chunks of Greek have been omitted]

Book 3

BOOK III. THE THIRD BOOK OF (EUSEBIUS) OF CAESAREA.

1. BECAUSE then, human life had undergone a change, through the things already mentioned, to a state henceforth of peace and rest, and had been prepared to receive the perfect doctrine relating to God; well again, did the common Saviour of all, the only (begotten) WORD OF GOD, the King of all, shew forth the divine revelation of Himself by very deeds, and at the time which was suitable. For, immediately and at once, when He appeared in the world, those things which appertained to the ancient service of Demons, were undone by the overthrow as it were, of (some ruinous) war-engine; tidings announcing good things were preached to all nations, and God who is over all, the Propitiator of the children of men, was announced. The whole error of a plurality of Gods was also overthrown, and all the operations of demons were forthwith cast aside. Men again were no more sacrificed ; nor were the slaughterings of human beings, which from former times had ruined the world, (persevered in). Nor again, were there multitudes of Rulers, Princes, Tyrants, and Governours of the people. Nor again, existed those things, on account of which wars, and the reduction of cities, had been set on foot in every city and place: on the contrary, one God was preached to all men : the one empire too of the Romans had extended itself over all : and the peaceless and uncompromising enmity, which had so long been the portion of the nations, came to an entire end.

And, as the knowledge of the one God, and of one just and righteous conduct resulting therefrom, was, by the teaching of our Saviour, delivered to all men; so also one king, at one and the same time, was established over the whole Roman empire, and a profound peace prevailed in every thing. At once too, and at one period, as it were at the intimation of the one God, two singular advantages sprung up among mankind ; the Instruction that was in righteousness, and the Empire of the Romans. For formerly, this error of the Demons had grievously enslaved the nations: and, as the whole had been divided into many (parts), some taking Syria by way of portion; others bearing rule in Asia; others, in Macedonia; others cutting up and seizing upon Egypt; others, in like manner, upon the country of Arabia: the race of the Jews again, had possession of Palestine. And, in every village, city, and

place, they were, as from madness (and) like marauders and demoniacs in reality, careful (only) about warfare and contention one against another;--of which enough has already been said.

2. But (now), two great Powers sprung fully up, as (it were) out of one stream; and they gave peace to all, and brought all together to a state of friendship : (namely) the Roman Empire, which, from that time, appeared (as) one kingdom ; and, the Power of the Saviour of all, whose aid was at once extended to, and established with, every one. For, the divine superiority of our Saviour swept away the authority of the many Demons, and many Gods; so that the one kingdom of God was preached to all men Greeks and Barbarians, and to those who (resided) in the extremities of the earth. The Roman Empire too,-- since those had been previously uprooted who had been the cause of the rule of many--soon subjugated all (others), and quickly brought together into one state of accordance and agreement, the whole race of (man). And, behold ! it henceforth brought together such a multitude of nations, as soon to take possession (of all), even to the extremities of the earth; the teaching of our Saviour having, by the divine power, already prepared all parties, and established (all) in a state of equanimity. And this is indeed a great miracle to those, who set their minds on the love of truth, and are unwilling to be envious against that which is good. For at once, was the error of evil Demons put out of sight; and, at the same time, did the enmity and contention of the nations, which had always existed, lose its power:

and again, at the same time, was the one God and the one knowledge of Him, preached to all men through the teaching of our Saviour: at the same time too, was the empire of the Romans established among men; and, at once, was the (state or) the whole race of man changed to (that) of peace; and all, professing a common brotherhood, betook themselves to the instructing of their own nature. Forthwith too, they became born, as it were, of one (common) Father, and as the children of the one God ; of one Mother too, righteousness and truth; and so received they one another with the salutation of peace, that henceforward the whole creation was nothing less than as one household, and as a race governed by one law. It was (now) practicable too, that any desiring to send, for the purposes of merchandise, and to proceed, whithersoever he pleased, to do this with the greatest facility. Those of the West could come without danger to the East: and again, those who were here (in the East) could proceed thither as to the house of their own fathers, according to the words of ancient prophecy, and of many other burdens of the Prophets, which we have not now leisure to mention, excepting these respecting our Saviour, the WORD OF GOD, which proclaimed thus: ” He shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the rivers to the extremities of the earth: and again, ”In his days shall righteousness spring forth, and abundance of peace : and again.

” They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into reaping hooks, and nation shall not lift up the sword against nation; nor shall they learn war.”

3. These things were foretold in the language of the Hebrews, (and) have been published a very long time ago: they are now in our times witnessed in their operation, confirming the testimonies of those ancient declarations. If then, thou desire other proofs of the excellency of the truth, (shewing) that it is not of mortal nature, but is the word of God in truth; and (that) the ”power of God,” the Saviour, has been revealed in the world, not by words (only), but by deeds; accept thou of them. Open the eyes of thy understanding, unbar the doors of thy mind; and let thy soul be wholly collected within thee. Consider and ask thyself, as if thou wert interrogated by another, and thus investigate the nature of the things (to be brought before thee). 4. Who, of those that ever existed, is the mortal man, King, Philosopher, Lawgiver, or Prophet, whether Greek or Barbarian, who bore all this pre-eminence,--not after his death, but while he was still alive, and drew breath;--and could effect so much, that he should be preached throughout the whole earth ? and, that his name should fill the hearing, and tongues of every people upon the face of the whole earth ? But this, no man has done excepting our Saviour alone, who said to his disciples by word, and fulfilled it by deed: ” Go and teach all nations.” He said (also) to them,--what He had foretold and previously revealed,--that it was necessary His Gospel should be preached throughout the whole creation, for a testimony to all nations. And, with the word, He brought the deed also to pass: for, immediately,--and not at a great distance of time,--the whole creation was filled with His words !

5. Now. What can he have to say on this matter, who dares to oppose the truth; since the testimony which is by means of the sight, is better than that which is by any sort of words? But, if thou give up this first (sort of proof), betake (thyself) to the latter: and now consider with thyself,-- 6. What mortal nature has ever appeared, which appointed like Him, by word only and not in writing, laws that were just and pure, and sent these same forth by the hands of His disciples, from one extremity of the creation to another? and, Who so opened out His doctrines throughout the whole earth, that immediately and day by day, the instructions which it was becoming should be delivered by Him, were sufficiently preached in the hearing of all men, Barbarians at once, and Greeks? But, if thou seek, thou shalt find no other: for this is a work, resulting from the power of the Saviour of us all, alone.--Nor will this persuade him who is not to be persuaded. Let the same then say to us, for we are willing to learn--

7. Who, of those who have been praised for the wisdom of their observances, has ever so delivered the barbarous and brutal of barbarous nations, by his merciful laws, that those who became (His) disciples among the Scythians, feast (now) no

more on human beings? nor, among the Persians, take their own mothers (as wives) ? others too cast not their dead to the dogs? nor do others deliver up those that are aged for strangulation ? nor are other brutal and beastly things allied to these, done with others? But these are only small proofs of the revelation of the Godhead of the Saviour of us all. Look now also at others, and consider with thyself:-- 8. What mortal man, of all the Princes at once, and Kings, and Armies, and Companies, and Inhabitants, and Nations, ever existed during all these periods, who added this also (to his exploits), that even those who were thought to be Gods by the many, should wage war with Him,--and who at all times did wage war with Him;--but, that He shewed his pre-eminence so far to exceed that of man, that day after day there was exultation, and (that) His doctrine took effect throughout the whole world ?

9. And, Who is that other (person) who, since the life of man was set up, ever sought to constitute a people after his own name;--a thing never yet heard of:--and this, not in a corner, or obscurely in some part of the earth, but in the whole earth under the sun; (and) did so settle by the power of the rule of his Godhead, and so complete his wish, that he delivered the knowledge of the one God who is beyond the heavens, the King of the whole world, together with his fear, to all men on the face of the whole earth, to the nations both Barbarian and Greek ? 10. Who ever set about to teach, and, after he had so engaged himself, brought, as in this marked instance, the matter to its right effect ? and forthwith, through his own efforts, so made known his undertaking, that by the love of God, he closed rather the mouths than the doors of all; and proclaimed God who is over all ? He commanded moreover, that all nations should truly acknowledge Him alone ? And, because he willed that which was acceptable to God, He deigned to give His aid and assistance to him, who was his own ambassador ? The doctrines therefore, accompanying this preaching, were delivered; they were also received into the hearing of all men, and they were by deeds confirmed!--How they were, see thou, and consider;--

11. What other person ever arose (as the sun) with his rational light to the souls of men, and so prepared them to laugh at the error of the Demons of their forefathers, that they no more attached the divine name to wood, stone, and matter that is inanimate ? 12. What other, excepting our Saviour, persuaded the Egyptians,--more attached as they were to the fear of Demons than any other people, and from whom came the error of a multiplicity of Gods to the Greeks,--that henceforth they should be no more (so) infatuated, and no more give that venerable name to beasts, reptiles, noxious and irrational animals; but should acknowledge that one God alone who is above all, and contend for his righteousness in every sort of death ?

13. And Who invisibly, and by the powerful means and force of his doctrine which was every where preached, drove out as evil beasts, from among his own human flock, that injurious and destructive family of Demons, which from ancient time

had ruled the whole race of man; and, by means of the exciting power of Idols, had put forth innumerable errors among them, so that these Demons should no more give out their divinations at the springs and fountains ? Nor again, should any earthly spirits, leading the world astray, implicate mankind in error ? The fountain therefore, that was in Castalia became silent, as did the other which was in Colophon: other fountains of divinations also became silent; the Pythian, the Clarian, the Nemean; that in Delphos, and Miletus; that in Colophon, and in Lebadia, of which (last) so much was boasted from ancient times. To the doctrine of Christ did they all accede. Where are (now) Amphilocus and Mopsus? There is not a man in (either) place! Where are Amphiaraus and Aesculapius? Where is that (Image) of Ammon, and (which was) in the Desert of Lybia ? All these Gods have crept under the earth, being alarmed at the name of our Saviour! not unlike those their Princes who could not, when He went about among men, bear the rays of his Godhead, but grievously complained, crying out, ” What have we to do with thee, Jesus ” (thou) ” Son of God,” and saying, ” Art thou come before the time to torment me?

We know thee who thou art, that thou art the Holy One of God. The Egyptian Demons therefore, when hearing that the doctrine of our Saviour was preached in the whole of their land, confessed that they themselves were nothing ! They gave up accordingly the places subject to their customs to be destroyed, together with (their) Fanes and Images, and betook themselves to flight and departure; driven away as they were by the Divine power. The divinations too of every place were destroyed ; and the Christ of God alone, and the one only God who was preached by him to all men, became the object of divine worship.

14. What other (person) moreover, has, like this our Saviour, given such power to those who have, in purity and sincerity, arrived at the life of excellence and of wisdom which has been delivered by Him, that they should by calling on Him, and by means of pure prayers offered up through Him to Almighty God, cast out that superabundance of evil Demons from the human body ? 15. What other too, except Him alone, has granted to those who draw near to Him. that they should perform the rational and unbloody services which are (offered) by means of prayer, and the secret (use of) the Divine announcements ? and, on which account He has appointed, throughout the whole creation of man, altars without fire, services worthy of God, the setting apart of Churches, and, that intellectual and rational sacrifices should, by means of rites becoming the Deity, be put forth to that one God alone, who is the King of all nations ?

16. Who moreover, tacitly, and by means of His invisible power, has abolished those sacrifices which were completed with blood, impurity, smoke, and fire ? -- those abominable shrines also for the slaughter of men ; and so provided, that human sacrifices should no more be offered, and these things be no more done ? -- that the writings of the Greeks also should attest, that it was not from ancient times,

but (only) after the divine teaching of our Saviour, in the times of Hadrian, that human sacrifices ceased throughout the whole earth ? 17. Since then, all these are clear proofs confirming the divine power of the Saviour of us all, Who is he whose soul (partakes) so much of iron, as not to give his testimony to the truth ? and to confess His divine and living (active) power ? For it is of the living, and not of the dead, that these deeds are. For the visual perception of something distant is, they say, (the effect) of some thing (really) visible.

18. The Race therefore which contended with God, disturbed the life of man, and introduced, led on, and could effect much, has suddenly, lately, and but a short time ago--because driven out from among men,--been cast to the earth, as an object deserving of the utmost contempt, breathless, motionless, speechless, and again, bereft both of utterance and of remembrance !

19. This mortal nature therefore, and again that which has no proper existence, is (as) nothing. And that which is (as) nothing, is likewise inoperative. But, (as to) Him who acts at all times, and is every moment operative, and is more potent than any living creature, How can He be supposed to have no proper existence, although not visible to the bodily eyes? But, discrimination is not by the senses; nor do we try the terms of art, the perception of doctrines, nor yet the mind of man, by the bodily senses: much less can man ever see with the eyes the person, or the power, of God. Nevertheless, these things may be known from the effects of their (several) operations. On this account, it is our duty to inform ourselves respecting the unseen power of the Saviour of us all, to prove His works, and to distinguish, whether we ought to confess that the things which have hitherto been done by Him, are of one living; or, whether we are to affirm, that they are of some one, who had no proper existence; or, whether this same thing be foolish, and the question respecting it inconsistent. For, he who has no proper existence in all his parts, has, it is clear, no proper existence at all, and is unable either to act, or to effect any thing. Such is the nature which is dead ; while that opposed to it is living.-- But, it is now time we should investigate those works of our Saviour which appertain to our days, and to take a view of the living (effective) works of the living God. For the living works of God are life indeed. Learn (then), what those things are about which thou enquirest, and Him (at the same time), who lives in His works.

20. Some of the contenders with God did, but a little while ago, rebelliously, forcibly, and with a mighty hand, so rase to the foundation and overthrow His houses of prayer, that the churches disappeared: by every means too, they made war with Him who is invisible to the eyes, attacking and reproaching (Him) with innumerable injurious expressions. But He, while unseen, secretly avenged Himself of them. And they again (felt this), not by one intimation from God (only). They (I say) who, but a short time before, were delighting themselves and happy;-- they who were worshipped by all men, as if they had been Gods, and who, during the revolutions

of many years, gloriously administered the affairs of their rule: for before they made war with Him, they had the most perfect peace and friendship (with all) ; but when they became changed, and dared to contend with God, and arranged their Deities before them in battle array against Him who is our (God), in order that (these) might be their strength;-- (then), forthwith--in one moment--and at the intimation of God, and through the power of Him with whom they had contended, did all they who had been thus daring, suffer punishment, so that they gave in to Him on whom they had made war, turned their backs (in flight), and confessed His Godhead ! They allowed also, and persuaded, that (men) should boldly do the reverse of those things which were from ancient time.

He therefore quickly established throughout the whole earth the signal mark of victory, and adorned (it), as from the first, with Temples which were pure, and distinguished (set apart) as for the prayers of the whole creation; so that He consecrated holy and dedicated places, in every village, city, place, and even in the deserts of the Barbarians, to the One God (and) King of all; -- to Him who is the Lord of all;-- that He might hence dignify the things (so) set apart, with the name of Him who was their Lord. Nor was it of man, that (this) happy appellation fell to their lot; but it was of Him who is Lord of all, that hence they were each dignified with the name of ”the House of the Lord. Let any one who wishes then, stand forth in the midst and learn, who it was that, after all this subversion and destruction, raised up on high from the earth, buildings such as these throughout the whole creation; and who it was, that vouchsafed to afford to these things, of which every hope had been cut off, a renovation far better than they formerly had! Nor was the great miracle of THE WORD, which renewed these, delayed until after the death of those who contended with God, but (took place) during their stay in the world. Those very persons (I say) who rased (the churches), did by their words and writings preach the new birth, which directly opposed their own (former) darings :

and this they did, not when enjoying rest, so that any one should imagine that it was of the friendship of men; but when driven forth by the stroke of God.

21. He then, even after all these storms of persecution, did, by means of sharp calamities and His divine teaching, so enlighten and set up throughout the whole creation, men zealous of the life of wisdom, multitudes both of men and of ministering women, and of congregations of virgins, that they (all) were (thus) established throughout the whole of their lives in perfect holiness. 22. Who moreover persuaded women, multitudes of children, and of men, voluntarily to suffer the privation of food and of wine for many days ? to sleep on the earth ? to have recourse to a hard and robust discipline, coupled with chastity ? and made them exchange the food of the body, for those spiritual and rational provisions of the soul,--the one for the other,--which are obtained by the divine reading ? 23. And, Who taught men,

barbarian and rustic, as well as women, children, and innumerable multitudes of heathen slaves, to despise death ? to be persuaded that their souls were immortal ? that the eye of justice was open, viewing the deeds of all men, just and unjust ? and to hope for the judgment of God ?--That it was, on account of these things, their duty to be careful as to the life of righteousness and temperance ? And, that if they were not so, they could not otherwise be brought under that yoke of righteousness, which hitherto had been brought into operation by Him alone whom we call God ?

24. But, let us dismiss these things, and let us otherwise approach him whose mind is (as) the rock; and let us interrogate him thus, with the questions (growing) out of these things (following):--O bring thou forth the word of reason, not from a heart implicated in error, but advancing (this) as the fruit of the intelligent and rational soul; and, having meditated much, say between thyself and thy soul,-- 25. What other, of those preached of from ancient times, ever did like Him who is called God by us, become known, established, and declared, by the enouncements from above of the Prophets many ages ago, among those ancient friends of God, the Hebrew family ?--those (I say), who also previously delivered in writing, in the divine scriptures, the place of His manifestation, the time of His advent, the manner of His life, His power, His words, and His deeds?

26. Or, Who so suddenly appeared as an executor of vengeance against those who dared to oppose Him, that, upon the Jews acting (thus) impiously, He forthwith dealt out punishment by means of His unseen power on their whole nation ? and overthrew to the foundations, both their place and rule ?--For He at once levelled to the ground, both their Temple, and their sacred (things) ! 27. And Who, like this our Saviour, has clearly foretold the things that respected the impious (Jews), and respecting the Church which was established by Himself throughout the whole creation, and in the very things themselves? and has shewn their confirmation in their effects?--who said of the impious (Jews), ”Behold, your house is left desolate; nor shall stone remain upon stone in this place, which shall not be thrown down.” And of His Church He said; ” Upon this rock I build my Church, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail against it ?”

28. And this also, that He should change men poor and rustic, from the occupation of fishing, to that of rule ? and, that He should make these into Lawgivers, and Teachers, of the whole creation of man ? How is it to be imagined by thee, that He then (so) made the promise by word, and brought it to pass in deed, that He made them ”Fishers of men?” He gave them moreover, all this excellency and power, that they should compose and complete Books; and, that they should give such confirmation to these, that they should be received throughout the whole creation, in the languages of both the Greeks and Barbarians ? and, that in all nations they should be taught, and believed, as containing the written words of God? 29. And, How does it appear to thee, that He should foretel what was about to take place ?

and should previously testify to His Disciples, that, because they should give their testimony to Him, they should come before Kings and Governours: and that they should be punished, and undergo grievous torments?--

30. And this also, that He should so prepare them, that they should voluntarily suffer ? and, that they should so firmly arm their souls with the armour of righteousness as with adamant, that they should be seen (engaged) in conflict against those who opposed them ;--How does not this surpass all description ? 31. Nor was it only, that He impressed on the souls of those who (immediately) followed Him such power, that when, having clone nothing worthy of death, they willingly underwent every species of punishment and torment, for the sake of the righteousness of that God who is overall; but also, on those who received (it) from them; and so again, on those who came afterwards; and on those even to this present, and (who live) in our own times;--How does this not transcend every sort of miracle ? 32. Besides, Which of the kings ever remained prosperous in his rule, throughout all this length of time ? And, Who is he, who so conquered after his own death, and established the mark of victory over his enemies, that he subdued every region, place, and city, both of the Greeks and Barbarians? and beat down, by the hidden and invisible power of (his own) right hand, that which opposed him ?

33. But, the chief of all the things that have been mentioned, is that peace which was, by His power, supplied to the whole earth; of which we have already said what was proper. And, What mouth of the calumniator would not (the consideration) close, that love and concord so ran together with His doctrine in (effective) operation, into all nations ? and, that the peace which took place among the nations throughout all the world, and the word, which was sown (as seed) by Him among all nations, had formerly been so foretold by the Prophets of God ? But a (whole) day would be too short, were I to attempt to collect and shew within it, the open proofs of the divine power of the WORD OF GOD, the Saviour of all, which have been put forth up to this time. So that there never was a man at any time, no not among the Greeks, who has shewn forth such transcendent and divine power as He has, who has been preached to every man, and is the Saviour of all, and the only (begotten) WORD OF GOD who is above all. But, Why do I say ”of men ? when behold! no such nature as His has appeared upon earth, even of those who have been named Gods by all nations? If (not so), let him who wishes shew (this):

let every existing Philosopher too come forward and tell us, What God or Hero has at any period, or ever, been heard of, who delivered the doctrine of eternal life, and of the kingdom of heaven, --a thing not of recent occurrence,--to mankind, as this our Saviour (has done) ? who has caused innumerable multitudes, throughout the whole creation, to be instructed in His own doctrines of wisdom ? and has persuaded them to follow after the life which is heavenly, and to despise that which

is of time (only) ; and to hope for the heavenly mansions, which are kept for the souls that love God?

34. What God or Hero is it, that has ever so fully arisen (like the sun) and given light from the East even to the West by the bright rays of his doctrine, that, immediately and with the swiftness as it were of the course of the Sun, all the nations of the earth (thence) rendered to the one God, one and the same service? 35. What God or Hero is it, who ever contended with all the gods and heroes both of the Greeks and Barbarians, and laid down a law, that not one of them should be thought a God ? and, having so legislated, persuaded (men of this) ? and who, when they all afterwards waged war against Him, being one and the same, overthrew every power opposed to Him; and shewed that He was superior to all, both gods and heroes, that ever existed, so as to be called throughout the whole creation of man, and by all people, the ONLY (begotten) WORD OF GOD ?

36. What God or Hero was it, who ever delivered to all nations dwelling on the great element of the whole earth,--to those on the land, and on the sea,--that they should make a feast in holiness, both of the body and the soul, on the day of every week which is called among the Greeks the Sun’s day? And, that they should assemble themselves together, not that their bodies should hear-- but their souls--that it was by means of the divine teaching, they should live ? 37. What God or Hero was it who, when they so made war with him, set up, as our (Saviour) has done, such a mark of victory in opposition to his enemies ? For they ceased not to contend both with His doctrine, and His people, from first to last: while He, being invisible, secretly overthrew them, and advanced His own, together with the houses of God, to great glory ! But, Why should we wish to circumscribe by words, the divine powers of the Saviour of us all, which exceed all description ? When behold ! should we remain silent, the things themselves would cry out to those, whose souls have ears ?

38. This is strange indeed, and something not to he imagined; at any period too, it must be a singular thing (which) He brought to this world of mankind, and, that the only Son of God should in truth, ever have appeared to those that are on the earth:--and that the whole race of man should through Him, receive one who should in his own (human) nature, so introduce him to the righteousness which is true, that henceforth there should be set up throughout the whole creation of man, places for instruction in the Divine enouncements and teaching ; and that men, barbarous and fierce, should so change their minds to peacefulness, that the rational disposition of their souls should receive of His virtue; and, by His means, acknowledge their Father who is in heaven, with the Saviour of all, the ONLY (begotten) WORD OF GOD, the King of all; and that to Him, and through Him who is the Cause of every good thing, they should so render the praises that are due, and the blessings and thanksgivings which are right, that henceforth the righteous praises and

thanksgivings, which are suitable to the companies of the Angels that are in heaven, should also be put up, day and night, by the inhabitants of this element of earth !

39. These acts, therefore,--pertaining to salvation, and advantageous to the world, and to the Divine Manifestation of THE WORD OF GOD among men, as well as innumerable others like them, on account of which he came into the world of men--He performed not in His usual manner, that is, incorporeally; for, He had acted throughout the whole world secretly, and, by these his works, shewed both to them who are in the heavens, and to them who are on the earth, His innumerable operations. But recently, (he has done this) in a manner foreign to His own custom. For He has, by means of a mortal vessel,--not unlike the king, who (acts) through an Interpreter,--openly declared His edicts and methods of government among men; in order that He might evince His providential care for mortals, by that which was like to themselves, (and) that they might find life. But, as it has been seen that not one, but many were the causes, why the Saviour of all made His Divine manifestation among men; it becomes necessary, that we should also say in a few words, in their order, why He availed himself of this human vessel, and came for the purpose of ruling among men.

How then, could the Divine, concealed, invisible, and untangible, Essence,--that unembodied and incorporeal mind, THE WORD OF GOD,--otherwise exhibit himself to men immersed in the depths of evils, and the corporeal substances (of nature), seeking God upon earth, but otherwise not finding Him;--or, being unwilling to search after the Maker and Creator of the whole creation, --if not by means of (some) human compound, and in some form known to ourselves, and, as it were by an Interpreter ? For otherwise, How could the eyes of the body look upon the incorporeal nature of God ? And, How could mortal nature discover Him who is concealed, (and) invisible, whom they knew not from the multitude of His works ? On, this account therefore, He required a mortal vessel, a help which would comport with the conversation (had) among men; because, this would be agreeable to them ; for they say, ”Every thing loves its like . For, just as some great king might stand much in need of an Interpreter, who could enounce his words to the inhabitants of both countries and cities, whose understanding (of languages) was diverse; so also did THE WORD or GOD,--who was about to be for the healing of souls,--that He should exhibit himself in a body, and upon the earth. He would want a Mediator, not unlike an Interpreter, and a bodily compound. And this would be some human instrument, by means of which He could make known to men, what those concealed (properties) of the Godhead were.

Nor was it (this) alone, but also that He, the compassionate WORD OF GOD, should exhibit Himself to those who delighted in the sense of things seen, and were seeking God by means of inanimate Images, and carved Idols; and imagining, through (mere) material bodies, that there was a God; but, from the infirmity and deficiency

of their minds were giving to men, mortal in their nature, the name of Gods. On this account, He prepared for himself a Temple more holy than all ; a bodily vessel, and sensible habitation, for the rational Power ; an Image pure, and in every thing excellent, and more honourable than the whole of inanimated images. For that which was of inanimate matter, and in the form of an Image of brass, iron, gold, ivory, stone, or wood, was fabricated by the hands of artificers of (mere) matter, altogether for the residence of Demons, and to administer to the error of fools. But the Divine Image, variously adorned by the wisdom of the Divine Power, partook of life and of the Essence which is intelligent: the Image, filled with every excellence,--the Divine Image, the habitation of THE WORD OF GOD, and the holy temple of the holy God,--was prepared by the power of the Holy Ghost, in order that He, who resided therein, might become known among mortal men by means of one who was their equal, as it were by an Interpreter;

but who should not fall after the manner of their passions, nor be bound in the body, as the manner is with the soul of man : nor yet, when appearing small (in reputation), should undergo any change on that account as to his Godhead. For, as the rays of the sun's light suffer nothing from their filling every thing, nor when they permeate the unclean bodies of mortals; so, in a far higher degree, the Power which is incorporeal, THE WORD OF GOD, suffers nothing in its own Essence, neither is it mutilated, nor is it ever diminished, when, incorporeal as it is, it permeates that which is corporeal. In the same manner therefore, the Saviour of all presented himself to every man (as) the helper and Saviour, by means of the human vessel which He put forth, just as the musician (does), who is willing to shew his skill by means of his lyre. History too among the Greeks teaches (us), that Orpheus moved by his song every sort of animal, and pacified their angry feelings by means of a hollow instrument, the strings of which he struck. This is moreover sung in the assemblies of the Greeks; and it is believed, that an inanimate lyre soothed both the animals and trees, and so changed even the oaks that they became imitators of music. This (personage) therefore, filled with all wisdom and all prudence, THE WORD OF GOD, put forth every sort of healing for the souls of men which had been reduced to all kinds of evil.

He took into His hands the instrument of the musician, the work of His own wisdom : this He struck with His hand, (producing) songs and sweet strains to rational man, not to animals that are irrational; and healed, by the medicines of His heavenly teaching, every kind of the fierce, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, as well as the rude and beastlike passions of the soul; and did, as a skilful physician, shew by the aid of one of their equals, and who was like to themselves,-- to the souls which were implicated in disease, and seeking God among bodies and substances which were elemental,--God in man ! Nor again, was He less careful as to the body, than He was as to the soul. For He provided, that the things which He did by means of the Body, should be apparent to men's bodily eyes; (that is) that they should see astonishing

miracles, signs, and (other) divine powers. And again, He preached to the hearing of the body, these doctrines through a bodily tongue. All these things therefore, He delivered by means of the Body which he bore,--as it were by an Interpreter,--to those who otherwise could not,--except only in this way,--be made sensible of His Godhead. Thesethings too, were (thus) administered by the will of His Father: He still remaining with His Father, as He was before, immaterial, incorporeal, (and) unchanged as to His (eternal) Essence. Nor did he suffer corruption from His (former) nature; nor was He confined by the bonds of the body ;

nor was He here, only such as His human vessel was ; nor was He restrained from being in other places of (this) whole: on the contrary, even then, when He conversed among men, did He fill all things: was with His Father and was in Him; and then also, He fully and providentially took care of all things, whether in heaven, or on the earth. Nor was He ever, as we are, withholden from being near to every thing; nor was He hindered from acting, after His own divine manner. On the contrary, the things that were of Himself He gave to man; but, those which were of man, He took not. Of His divine power too, He provided for mortals; while from His participation with the mortal, He received nothing. Neither was He who was incorporeal, polluted when born in the body. Nor again, did He who was impervious to passion, suffer in His (eternal) Essence, even when mortal nature had been assigned to Him. For, neither does he who strikes the lyre become in any thing subject to suffering, although the instrument should be broken, or the strings be cut: in like manner too, we do not say when punishment is inflicted on the person of a wise man, that the wisdom of the wise man, or the soul which is in his body, is either cut off, or consumed.

So, much less is it right we should affirm, that the Power of the Divine WORD can receive any thing like loss from the sufferings of the body. Nor, does any thing forbid our affirming that,-- since, in our example, the rays of the Sun sent down from heaven to earth, permeated the clay, mire, and every sort of impurity,--the light was therefore in no respect polluted, although these things received light from its splendour. For the light did not (thus) become clay, nor did the Sun become polluted, by its commixture with (such) body; because these things are not foreign in their nature to bodies. But He,--who is immaterial and incorporeal, THE WORD OF GOD, who is both the life, and intelligent light,--impels, by the divine power which is incorporeal, every thing He approaches, both to live and to remain in this rational light. In like manner also, the body to which this is near becomes sanctified; and quickly does He enlighten it: all diseases too, pains and sufferings, pass away (from it) ; and that which was defective is supplied from (His) fulness. On this account He gave up His whole life, at one time exhibiting His image under sufferings like those common to ourselves; at another, revealing himself, God THE WORD, in great and astonishing works and acts, as God. And, when He foretold something by His prophetic words which should come to pass, He likewise exhib-

ited Him who was invisible to the many, THE WORD OF GOD, by works, and by astonishing deeds;

by signs, wonders, and extraordinary powers (put forth) : and again, instructing the souls of men by the divine doctrines, He prepared them to draw near to the heavenly city which is above, and to hasten to those their fellow-citizens there, as to their own brothers and equals : also, to know their Father who is in heaven, and the excellency of their kind, which is of the Essence that is intellectual and rational: teaching them also, that they should no more err, but henceforth so live in all purity and holiness,--so (I say), that they might make their departure hence to that place easy, and without hindrance; and, that they should be prepared to receive forthwith, with the companies of the holy Angels, everlasting life with God the King of all, and the light which cannot be described, and the kingdom of heaven.

40. Thus therefore, the ONLY (begotten) WORD or GOD, who availed Himself of a human instrument, and set up His own Interpreter, administered every thing for the healing of men by the will of His Father; still remaining immaterial and incorporeal, just as He formerly was, with His Father. By means of a man also. He shewed forth God to man, through mighty acts and wonderful works. In the divine Power and in true Wisdom, He scattered His doctrine (as seed); and taught these things, with others allied to them. Nor became He inferior, from what He did: nor, (as so) doing, became He the less dignified from what He taught and delivered.--The doctrines of life and words of light, He laid not down in any book of paper, nor in the perishing skins of animals; but He inscribed on the very souls of His disciples, as upon intellectual tablets, the doctrines respecting the kingdom of God. In the whole of His instructions on heavenly things, hidden enouncements, and which had never before been heard, were delivered. It was also by means of these things, that He taught that the souls which were on the earth, were beloved of God; delivered the memorial of the life that is with God the Father, in heaven; and also, stirred (men) up to cry in prayer and to say, ”Our Father who art in heaven,” and, that they should be cognizant of their family which is above.

If then, thou art desirous of being a partaker in the contemplation of these things, there is no feeling of jealousy hindering thy approach to the hearing of the Scriptures of His Disciples, and to the knowing of His record in all its parts, both as to His deeds and words ; so that thou mayest in truth, view God, and THE WORD OF GOD ; and see, how He existed by means of an Interpreter with men, in the example of (His) sufferings ; how He, who was immortal, conversed with mortals; how the Image (of God), which is incorporeal, became vested with the nature which is human: and, how the Image of God, which was in Him, moved (Him): how He sent forth enouncements, and made public the Divine teaching; and (how) the Saviour of all, healed every sort of disease and infirmity: and, how ready He was, in whom there was no sin, to good works; and, how those things which eyes had not seen,

and which had not entered into the hearing of men, He delivered in mighty deeds; and thus made His Disciples to approach the very summit of excellency with God; made them wise through the power which cannot be described, and constituted them true preachers of His Godhead. Thus again He healed those, whose souls were corrupted by every sort of sin; at one time, inflicting the sufferings (which were) helpful and right;

at another, delivering a view of the mystery and doctrine of His Godhead to those who were able to receive it. And, What need is there we should say, how easily and well, and with (what) just rebuke, He received those who were enemies to the truth : at once healing and instructing even these, by the open enouncement of His words ? and, how meekly he presented His person to all as a helper, and as long suffering and passive ? as a Physician also, not of souls only, but also of bodies ? On this account, the name of JESUS was previously imposed on our Saviour;--which is a Hebrew word, designating JESUS as the Physician of all. Now, the (propriety of the) imposition of the name designating healing on Jesus, He evinced by the works (which He did); for He instructed the souls of men by the Heavenly doctrine, while he healed the Body of all sufferings, pains, and infirmities, by the power of the healing WORD. At one time, He cleansed the leprous in body: at another, He cast out by (His) command the Demons that (possessed) men: and, again at another, He freely healed those who had been reduced by disease ! At one time also, to him--whose body was debilitated, and all his limbs powerless,-- He said by word only, ”Arise, take up thy bed, and walk; and this (man) did what He commanded ! And again at another time, He gave the perception of light to the Blind!

And thus again, at another, a woman,--who had been afflicted with an issue of blood, and had during the revolution of many years been reduced by her complaint, seeing that great companies were round about Him, and not allowing her to kneel and pray that she might be healed of her complaint,--thought, that if she could but touch the border of His garment, (she should be healed) ; she accordingly pressed in, and touched the border of his garment; and at once, she was both healed of the evil, and immediately became healthy; bearing (away with her) a mighty proof of the power of THE WORD OF GOD ! Another man also, the servant of a king,--because his child was grievously afflicted,--fell down before Him, and He forthwith took and healed him ! There was another again, the chief of a synagogue of the Jews, whose daughter (He restored) ; but this was after she was dead ! And, What need can there be, that we should tell how another aroseby the power of the Saviour of all, who had been dead four days, hearing only the voice of the all life-giving WORD which called him ? Or, how He made His paths upon the sea as upon dry land, causing His Vessel to traverse the back of the waters? Or, how when His Disciples were sailing and the storm was against them, He rebuked the sea, the storm, and the winds;--gave the commandment by word;

and they were instantly silent, so that they were wrought upon, as by the voice of their Lord ? (How) He so filled and satisfied five thousand men,--when there was with them a company of many women and children,--with five loaves, that they took up an entire remainder which would suffice to fill twelve baskets ! To Whom is not this astonishing ? and Does it (not) likewise challenge the inquiry which relates to his unseen power ?

41. Let any one therefore who will, take up the true faith, together with the open proof of the revelation of our Saviour's Divinity, from many other great miracles; and particularly from this,--if he will also consider,--that He foreknew by the divine power what should come to pass, and openly foretold the great change to His better (doctrine) which should take place among men throughout the world; and also predicted, that He himself would be the doer of this: and from these very deeds, let such place faith in (this) His promise. Many other great and evident proofs of His Godhead moreover, (afforded) in many things similar to these, will any one, carefully enquiring, find from His predictions with their fulfilment: which we ourselves shall also examine in this work at the proper time. But, that which we now have before our eyes,--that our discourse may not lengthen itself greatly out, so as to detain thee upon all His mighty works--is the death, which (His) Interpreter,--the clothing of THE WORD OF GOD, and the Image that was openly revealed,--underwent, and which (event) every one acknowledges.

42. This His death therefore, which has been made public, was (so) accompanied by the miracle, that it was unlike that of the rest of mankind. For it was not, that He perished by disease, by strangulation, or by fire; or was, even on the cross itself, cut off by the sword, as a mark of victory, in the manner of others who are evil-doers; nor yet, did he suffer less than any one of those whom they usually put to death; for He suffered a death of violence: but He himself alone, by his own will, delivered up His Vessel to those (his) accusers; and forthwith He raised Himself from the earth ;-- 43. For said (the Evangelist,) "He cried out greatly, and gave up His Spirit to His Father: and (so) effected a release from His soul, and made His departure from the body. On this account, He had previously delivered this same His death to his disciples, when teaching (them) and saying; "No man taketh my life from me;" and, "I have power to lay it down:" and again, "I have power to take it up: and again, "I am the good shepherd, and I know my own, and my own know me; and I lay down my life for my sheep." The cause of His death too, He establishes in a few words, when saying, that, "Unless the grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it remaineth alone ; but, if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit."

44. Having then, delivered representations of this sort respecting His own death, He effected the release from his soul, and made (His) departure from the body. After this, His body was taken up by his acquaintances, and was consigned to (its) due interment. Again on the third day, He resumed that (being) from which He

had before, by the exertion of His own will, departed. And again, He shewed to his Disciples the selfsame person, both in body and substance, just as it formerly was:--to them (I say) with whom He conversed a little, and with whom He remained a short time. He was then taken up whither He was before : and, before their eyes, did He make his departure and ascension to heaven, in order that they, to whom He had delivered (His) pledge as to deeds, might be made the Teachers of the fear of God who is above, to all nations.

45. Now, What can be wanting after these things, except that we should state the cause of THIS, which was the chief of all ? I (now) speak of the close of His life, which has been spoken of by all; of the manner of His passion, and of the great miracle of His resurrection after death. After viewing these things then, let us now come again to our proofs; and let us confirm these same by open testimonies. He availed Himself therefore, of a mortal Vessel,--for the reasons already given,--as of an Image becoming the Deity; and this He both put forth into life, and by means of this, as some great king by means of an interpreter, He performed every thing that was worthy of the Divine Power. 46. For, if He had done otherwise,--after His dealings among men,--so as not to have been seen, and had suddenly taken flight, and secretly stolen away His Interpreter; or had, in escaping, been careful to convey away His Image from death; or again, had led on that mortal (being) by means of His person, to corruption and perishing ; He would have seemed to the many (but) as a spectre.

47. Nor could He have done any thing, which it was right He should do, as being the LIFE, the WORD and the POWER of God; having given up His Interpreter to corruption and ruin. 48. Nor, could those things which He did against the Demons, (or) in His contention with death, have been worthy of completion. 49. Nor could it have been known, where He remained. 50. Nor could it have been believed by those, to whom He had not delivered (it) ;--nor had it been seen,--that His nature was superior to death. 51. Nor, could He have delivered mortality from its own (mortal) nature. 52. Nor, could He have persuaded His disciples to despise death. 53. Nor, could He have established a hope of the life that is with God after death, with those who drew near for (the reception of) His doctrine. 54. Nor, could He have fulfilled the promises of His own words; nor have given to the prophecies, which went before respecting Him, a due fulfilment.

55. Nor, could He have overcome in the last conflict of all, which was opposed to the death that exists in all these things. For it was above all things right, that this mortal vessel should, after it had completed the service which it rendered to THE WORD OF GOD, obtain to itself an end worthy of God, (and that this) be through this same ordinance of death. For, there were two things resting upon (this) consummation ; (viz. either, that He should deliver up (His vessel) to entire corruption and destruction, and (so) make His whole conflict, and egress from this

world, matter of shame; or, that He should afford proof, that this same was superior to death; and (so), by the divine power, make immortal that which was mortal. The first however, was incompatible with the promise. For, it is not the property of fire, to be cold; nor, of light, that it be dark : neither is it of life, that it should die; nor, of THE WORD OF GoD, that He should act with impropriety. For, What cause could He have, who promised life to others, for being unmindful of His own vessel when subject to corruption:--for delivering up His Image to destruction, and for surrendering the Interpreter of His own Godhead, to the corruption of death ?--for Him to do so, who had previously promised to those, who should take refuge in Him, the life which is impervious death ?

This (one) then, of two things was necessary :--this, I say, that He should shew him (His Interpreter) to be superior to death. And, How was it, that it was necessary He should do this ? Secretly, and by stealth ? or, openly before all men, and manifestly? But, if this fact had taken place covertly and secretly; it would then have remained unknown, and unprofitable to man. But, as it was preached (to all), and heard of by all; it afforded to all, the advantage which (grew) out of the miracle. Well therefore,--because it was necessary He should shew His vessel to be superior to death,-- did He also do this, not secretly, but before the eyes of (all) men. He escaped not from death; for this would have been pusillanimous, and it would have been thought that He was inferior to death. But, by this contention with Death as with a contemporary, He established the immortality of that which was mortal; and, this last conflict which was for the salvation of all, secured (for all) the life which is immortal. For this was done, in the first place, against the Demons, for the destruction of the error of a multitude of Gods, when He began to be known among men.

It also appeared particularly necessary to Him, that, as He was to make His circuits among the flocks of men, He should immediately, (and) in the presence of all, drive out the enemies and haters of mankind,--as being the princes of wickedness, and like to cruel and fierce beasts, those (I say),--who had, from former times and falsely, been esteemed Gods. He therefore, THE WORD OF GOD, immediately led out His Vessel into the land of these enemies and haters,--that (land I say), which the words of mystery style ”The Desert” as (being) destitute of every good thing; and there ”forty days, and as many nights,” He wrought and performed those things of which no mortal knew, and which the eyes of man did not see. The testimonies however of prophecy teach, that to these things the declarations of the prophetical Scriptures agree, where it is written, that ”Jesus was led of the Holy Ghost into the desert, that he might be tempted of Satan. And He was there forty days and forty nights, and was with the wild beasts. And, What are these but the princes of the Demons, whom the Holy Ghost has said are,--and has named by way of figure,--”Serpents” ”Adders” ”Lions” and ”Dragons” on account, of the similitude to the viciousness

of each of these: (saying) ”Thou shalt tread on the serpent and adder, and shalt trample on the lion and the dragon?

The other things also which were done in the desert, this declaration intimates, saying thus in the person of the Vessel which He bore, ” His truth shall gird thee (as) a weapon: neither shalt thou be afraid of the fear of the night, nor of the arrow that flieth by day; nor of the thing that walketh in darkness: nor of the wind that bloweth at noon. Thousands shall fall at thy side, and tens of thousands at thy right hand: but they shall not touch thee.”

56. These things have been said in parables and mystically, on the conflict which (took place) in the desert between the Vessel of salvation, and the invisible spirits. During all these nights therefore, and days in like number, He contended with the whole race (of Demons) that was beneath the air. Nor was it tardily that THE WORD OF GOD drove these out, nor, that He pursued the whole congregation of the enemy; nor, that (He did this) as God in his abstract and unembodied power, but, by means of the body which He took. Because the whole race of man had, from ancient times, been subjected to these as to Gods: on this account therefore, principally, He subjected all the families of the Demons to this (His Vessel). For it was right, that He should make him who had been conquered, and iniquitously subdued to his enemies, not only (man’s) Deliverer, but also the Conqueror of his enemies; and that He (THE WORD) should shew, that His Friend, whom He had made in His own Image and similitude, was, on account of his participation in THE WORD, superior to the Demons who were formerly thought to be Gods; just as it is written in the words of mystery (the Scriptures).

57. Because then, the Saviour of us all had completed the conflict which was opposed to these (spirits), He went up thence, clothed (as it were) with victory, entered upon the life common to men, and delivered their souls: having relieved them from the bonds of the Demons: and, having revealed to His Disciples those other secret things,--as well as these which he performed in opposition to the enemies that are unseen,--He thus spoke, and He established (it), ”Be of good courage, I have overcome the world. The manner too of His victory, He taught by those things which He said to His Disciples in parables (viz.): ”No man can enter the house of a strong man and spoil his goods, unless he first bind the. strong man; and then he shall spoil his house. He therefore bound the strong man, and drove out the whole race of Demons. And forthwith, He (so) wrought on the souls of those who were His, that He freed them from the bitter state, slavery, and errror, of a multiplicity of Gods. This His first conflict however against the Demons, was completed at the outset of His manifestation among men. But the last (His crucifixion), was the commencement of His sovereignty over Death. For it was right that He,--who was superior to (that which was) no God, and to the error of Demons, and, had been

attached to GOD THE WORD,--should receive the honour compatible with this His deed (viz. the victory over Death.

For the Demons, which had assembled together against Him, with their Head, and with the spirits residing above the earth in the air, (and) invisible to mortal eyes, turned their backs (in flight) in His first conflict (with them) ; directing their view to the second, and waiting for His last egress, and departure by death, from the world, which they expected would be like that of other men. For, they had no notion that the mortal nature could ever exist, which should be superior to death ; or, that Death was (not) the common king of all those, who had once experienced the birth of mortals. They thought too, that this was, of all evils, that which no man could either avoid, or evade. But, immediately after the signal mark of His first victory over the Demons, He engaged also in conflict with Death. And, just as one wishing to shew that some vessel was incombustible and its nature superior to fire, could in no other way establish this astonishing fact, except by placing the one which he held in his hand in the fire, and then taking it out of the fire, safe and sound; so also THE WORD OF GOD, the life-giver of all, willing to make it known that the mortal Vessel, of which He had availed Himself for the redemption of man, was superior to death, and, to shew that He made it to participate in His own life, conducted the matter both well and virtuously as it was most convenient.

He left the body for a short time, and consigned mortality to death, for the rebuking of its (sinful) nature ; and again, He soon raised up the same from death, for the purpose of proving that the Divine power, which was by Him,-- that eternal life, (I say) which was preached by Him,-- was superior to every kind of death.

58. This therefore was the first cause. The second was, to shew that the Divine power resided in the human body. Because men had formerly made gods for themselves of those who were men mortal in reality, had been overcome by death, (and) in whom the last common extremity had been witnessed ; and had named those heroes and gods, who had been taken away by death; on this account therefore, He happily shewed Himself; and for this cause, the same compassionate WORD OF GOD exhibited to men, the nature which was superior to death, and brought in mortality--after its dissolution--to a second life. He also afforded to all, the means of viewing the signal victory of life immortal over mortality; and taught (them) by (His) death to confess Him alone to be the God of truth, who had (so) bound the crown of victory over death, about His own head.

59. The third cause of (His) death was, the redemption that is (taught) in hidden (mystical) terms, which are these in effect: He was the sacrifice which was consigned to death, for the souls of the whole race (of man) : the sacrifice (I say) which was slain for the whole flock of mankind: the sacrifice turning (men) back from the error of Demons. The sacrifice therefore,--the great offering, and that which was superior to all (other) sacrifices,--was the Body of our Saviour which

was sacrificed as a Lamb, for the whole race of mankind: and it came up for the souls of all the nations that had been held in the impiety of their forefathers, the error of the Demons. And thence, the whole impure and unholy power of Demons was destroyed ; this whole vain and earthly system of error, was instantly dissolved and ruined by a superior power! He therefore who was, from among men, the sacrifice of Redemption,--the bodily Vessel of THE WORD OF GOD,-- was sacrificed for the flock of all mankind. And this is He, who was, by the accusation of men, delivered up as a sacrifice to death; of whom the Divine words exclaim, speaking at one time thus: ”Behold! The Lamb of God: behold! He (it is) who taketh away the sins of the world. And at another, thus previously enouncing: ”As a Lamb He was led to the slaughter; and, as a sheep before the shearer, He was silent. And the same (Divine word) teaches the cause, saying:

” Truly He underwent our sufferings, and bore our pains; but we considered Him bruised and stricken of God, and humiliated. He was slain because of our sins, and was humbled because of our iniquity. The chastisement of our peace was upon Him, and by His stripes are we healed. All we have strayed like sheep, and (each) man has turned to his part; and the Lord has made to meet in him the sins of us all. This bodily vessel therefore of THE WORD OF GOD, was, for these reasons, sacrificed. But He, the great High Priest who officiates as Priest to God, the King of all, and Lord of all, is another distinct from the sacrifice, (viz. THE WORD OF GOD, THE POWER OF GOD, and THE WISDOM OF GOD : He too, after no long time, raised mortality from death, making him (so raised) by participation, the beginning of the redemption of us all, and of that immortal life which is with God. Him too, (thus) vested with the mark of victory over death, and the deeds of the Demons; of those human sacrifices which had been delivered down from ancient times, did He constitute the Destroyer, for the sake of all mankind. Hence also was the name of Messiah (Christ) given to Him; which, among the Hebrews, attaches in like manner to the chief priest. He therefore received the two names: the name of Jesus, implying the sacrifice of salvation;

and that of High Priest, the WORD OF GOD, who officiates as Priest for us all:--the custom of the Hebrews intimating (this) of the Messiah (Christ.)

60. After the things which have been said, the latter was the great cause of (His) death, viz. the Redemption spoken of: because, it was necessary to the disciples that they should see, with their own eyes, the life which was after death, He (thus) openly taught them to place their hope in this second birth. And, because He also encouraged them to be strong in the yoke of righteousness, He well delivered this, in order that they might, with their own eyes, see it. For it was necessary for these, who were about to be brought to the life of righteousness, that, first of all, they should receive this most necessary doctrine by means of open view; and much more, for those who were soon to preach it throughout the whole creation, and to

cause the knowledge of God, (so) given by them, to arise (as the sun) in all nations, (and) among all men. It was necessary, that these men should receive the strongest persuasion of the life which is after death, so that they might accept fearlessly, and unmoved in their mindsby death, the conflict against the error of many gods. For, if they had not been taught to despise death, neither would they have ever been prepared to approach afflictions. On this account, He the more particularly armed them against the power of death. Nor was it by precepts and words (only), that He delivered to them this doctrine: nor, in persuasive terms or similitudes, that He composed (his discourses) as men do, on the immortality of the soul; but He shewed them in the deed itself, the signal mark of the victory (obtained) over death.

61. For death had been, from ancient times, fearful to all men as the destroyer of our mortal race; its power being considered the undoing of the whole nature of man, both soul and body. Nor was there ever a man, who could relieve human nature from this fearful being. All were pierced, (as it were,) small and great, Princes and Subjects, Kings at once and People, as well as the Inhabitants and Societies of all nations and families, by the fear of death. Nor had mankind any solace for this evil, either in word, or form, or manner of life, opinion of the wise, writing of the Ancients, prophecy of the Prophets, or revelation of Angels. He was superior to all, supreme over all, and victorious over all! Death, like an inflated boaster,--who had subjected to himself the whole mortal race,--was conversant with every species of iniquity, both the impurities of blood-shedding, and the deeds which were unrighteous; with the error also of every sort of vile (and) ungodly impiety. For, of all these things he was the Cause; and, as if there were again no existence after death, the many did in their conduct the things which deserved death, and as if unsubdued by (the fear of) any impending punishment. On account of this dissoluteness (resulting) from death, they lived a life which (in reality) was no life: they entertained not God in their thoughts, nor the righteous judgment of God : nor did they cherish the remembrance of the rational Essence of their own souls.

They were conversant (only) with the one hard Ruler, Death; and were reconciled to the corruption resulting from this, which was the undoing of their whole soul. On this account it was, that they gave the name of Pluto,-- the god of riches,--to Death : and Death became their god ! And not he alone, but also those precious things which were in his presence, and contributed to a life of lust, became their Gods ! The very lust of the body therefore, became to them a God ! the common aliments, a God ! the seed which fell into the earth, a God ! the pleasant blossoms of this, a God ! the flowers of the apples, a God ! the pleasure that was in drunkenness, a God ! the love of the body, a God ! and the very lust of these things ! Hence, the mysteries of Demeter and of Proserpine: as also the rape of the Maid to Hell; and again, her return. Hence the feasts of Dionysus (Bacchus)--and of Hercules--who was overcome as by some great god by drunkenness ! Hence the mysteries of the adultery of Mars and Venus ! Hence the madness of Jupiter after women, and his

love of Ganymede! the rambling stories about Gods lovers of lust, and attached to the vilest affections! And of all these, was Death the (originating) Cause: for they believed Death to be the end and conclusion of all, the dissolution and corruption both of bodies and souls;

and that there was no other life, except this of the body, and which is corporeal:--living a life worse than that of the whole irrational nature of beasts! On these accounts, it became the desire of the universal King, THE WORD OF GOD, at the intimation of His merciful Father, and for the purpose of affording help to these, to hasten,--as a king great in mercy,--and to undertake the reprehension of Death, by means of human nature; being as He was, THE LIFE, THE WORD, and THE POWER. OF GOD. Nor was it but that help should be obtained, that He caused that fearful being among men to be reproved: on this account, He, who was incorporeal,--availing Himself of human armoury, and of a mortal body,--by means of mortality overcame mortality. Hence His primary mystery, that of His Body, was instituted; and hence, the signal mark of the victory of the Cross; hence too, the commemoration of the life which is eternal and imniortal, He namedHis remembrance. Of the armoury which is mortal, He availed Himself, and exhibited that greatest of miracles to all men, the mark of victory of eternal life, which He established in opposition to Death. For, He gave up mortality to be food for the beasts; and He himself was forthwith affixed to the cross of crucifixion, in order that to all might become known the nature of mortality. Nor was that which was done concealed by any means; neither from men, nor from Demons, nor from the Powers which are superior.

For it was necessary, that all should take an accurate view of mortality, as in a great theatre, when He (thus) testified of the nature of His (human) person ; and afterwards (see) Death coming in like a fierce beast: and (also see), why it was that it slew Him : and (that) then, the Power of life came in after Death, and again established for all the victory which is over Death, when he had thus made that which was mortal, immortal. The Power therefore, which had taken hold of him, (viz. THE WORD OF GOD, left the Body for a short time; and it was suspended for a short space on the Cross, and became a corpse. But the WORD, which gives life to all, became not a corpse. He therefore (thus) attested the mortal nature of his Person. This corpse too, of which Death had (so) taken possession, was now borne by men ; and--being worthy of the usual care--was afterwards consigned, according to the laws of men, to burial. The grave itself was a cave which had recently been hewn out; a cave that had now been cut out in a rock, and which had experienced (the reception of) no other body. For it was necessary that it, which was itself a wonder, should have the care of that Corpse only. For it is astonishing to see even this rock, standing out erect and alone in a level land, and having only one cavern within it;

lest, had there been many, the miracle of Him who overcame Death should have been obscured. The Corpse was therefore laid there, the Vessel of the living WORD ; and a great stone held (the entrance of) the cave. And much did Death exult in this, as if, behold ! he had (now) taken even this (Personage) under his power, together with those whom he had ever (so taken). But, when the period of three days had not yet passed, the same life shewed itself, after the rebuke which was sufficient against Death. For, if He had risen earlier (and) immediately, He would not then have been believed to have been dead. But, since He was (thus) in reality raised, He had also in reality died; and had, for a time, been in reality subject to Death ; then also did the all-life-giving WORD OF GOD evince the hope that is laid up for all men, by means of the second birth of this selfsame mortal (body) !

62. What things then came to pass after these, as to their being (actually) performed, it is not my intention henceforward to be thy teacher. Those who saw them will be the witnesses best fitted for the truth (in this respect); those (I say) who, from having seen the acts themselves, did, both by their blood and persons, attest their faith in Him; and who, by the power of Him, to whom they gave their testimony, filled the whole creation with the righteousness which was preached by them. Those therefore, who were spectators of the things then done, and who saw with their own eyes the Second Birth which became theirs , have delivered (this) by their own testimonies. It was not indeed, that the things done had been heard of by them, as far as word or enunciation (went); but, they had been seen, and accurately felt by those who testified respecting them: and on this account, these same, who had by open vision and in reality apprehended (these things), and had received the signal mark of victory over Death, learned well to be daring against Death; and taught this same thing to their Disciples, (viz.) that they had received from their Saviour, the truth pertaining to life immortal. And thus also, was the whole mortal race thence refreshed (as freed) from the fear of Death: because he, who had formerly been terrific, had suffered rebuke in the presence of all; and the life which was after death, bad (now) received certain credibility ; not from the artificial enouncements of Sophists, nor from the discovery of persuasive words; but, by the deeds which came forth to light. Nor again, did (men) as formerly tremble at death, but they laughed much and greatly in the hour of this fearful being; so much so that they even followd after death, on account of (their) desire of that immortal life, which should succeed it.

63. Hence indeed, originated the care of mankind for the life which is holy and pure, and the diligence to attain to every (sort of) excellency : the (constant) recollection of God, and of the many enouncements respecting the righteousness of truth, and of the turning away from vice and ungodliness. Nor was it this only, but also the true notion of the life which is after death, was stirred up among all men, and (so was) the right and true state of mind, respecting the righteous judgment of God, the King of all. On this account did the whole race of man,--which

had (now) been changed to a state of virtue by means of enouncements not to be described,--henceforward spit in the faces of the Idols, trample under foot the unjust laws of the Demons, and laugh at the ancient traditionary system of error of their forefathers. 64. Henceforward therefore, men became so instructed in the heavenly doctrine, and the enouncements respecting the knowledge of God, that they no more reverentially viewed this visible creation with the bodily eyes; nor, when looking upwards and seeing the Sun, Moon, and Stars, did they address their veneration to them: but they acknowledged Him who is beyond these;--Him who is secret and invisible,--Him who is the Creator of all, and the Maker of every thing: even as they had been taught to fear Him alone.

65. Nor did he, who had been instructed in the new doctrine, again imagine as formerly, that this nature of the body, which is fleeting and corruptible, inanimate (in itself,) and irrational;--nor, that the primitive elements, Earth, Water, Air, and Fire,--were Gods; since he had also been taught, that the superiority of his own soul greatly excelled these. 66. Nor is he as formerly, a slave to his own lusts; nor is he overcome by the baser desires: for he was then vanquished, and could not overcome: (nor) can he, who has been commanded to be careful to root up the sin (of idolatry) from his mind and soul, together with every evil desire and folly, again fabricate Gods to himself, or, even dare to look upon a woman lustfully. 67. Nor will he again as formerly, venerate the Interpreter of his own soul, or dare to call it a God: nor will he name his own mind Minerva; nor indeed, any of those other things, which are in like manner but for an hour; but Him alone who is beyond all, the WORD OF GOD, the Artificer of all, the WISDOM OF THE GOD OF ALL, will he recognize and bless, as his Saviour.

68. Nor again as in former times, does he,--who has subscribed to the one who alone is superior to Death; to the Conqueror, who has possessed himself of the signal mark of Victory over the power of Death ; to his Saviour ; --give the names and appellations of Heroes and Gods, to mortals who left this world in shame, and surrendered their lives to the dominion of Death. 69. Nor again as in former times, will he revere inanimate Idols. Nor will he honour the nature which is irrational, and of Beasts, through that fear of Demons which is out of nature. But, he will laugh at the error of his forefathers, and will turn his face from their manner (of life), which was destitute both of the knowledge of God, and of the contemplation (of this). 70. Nor will he again as in former times, express terror at the images of evil Demons, nor at the vain and erroneous phantasms of earthly spirits:--he (I say) who is constrained by the prevailing power of THE ONE WORD the King of all, has been taught to undo through Him, the whole race of the accusers of men, and (so) to abolish and expel, both from souls and bodies, these (causes of) injuries.

71. Nor will he as formerly, again pollute himself with libations, fumes, blood, and sacrifices; nor yet with the sacrifices of irrational animals: much less will he delight

himself with the slaughter of men, and with human sacrifices. He has been taught, that God stands in need of nothing.--Nor will he delight in bodily matter, nor in the fumes of earthly sacrifices; but only in the enlightened mind, in purity of soul, and in holiness of life; in the sacrifices also which are without smoke and blood: those which are in the words of the mysteries: those (I say) which the Saviour of all has appointed to be delivered throughout the whole creation of man, for a remembrance of Himself. 72. Nor again will he, who has been taught by the words of his Saviour, to "mortify his members that are on the earth" dare, as formerly, to give the title of gods to the aliments of the body, and to drunkenness; nor yet to the lusts and passions.

73. Nor again will he,--who has subscribed to the only One who is above all, the life-giving WORD OF God, who is his Saviour, and the Conqueror of Death,--be afraid of the solution of his soul, from the body which (now) accompanies it. Nor will he call Death, God. 74. With all these instructions of righteousness therefore, will he be armed who has been taught in the new doctrine. Nor will he, in opposition to the truth, give in to those who dare to contend with God; but will stand up, in the mind (so) confirmed, against fire and sword; will bear up in the presence of fierce beasts, of the depths of the sea, and of every other terror of death. Those too, who in their natures are (mere) children and women, will sport with that death which was formerly (so) grievous, and the hearing about which was (so) dreadful. Barbarians at once and Greeks, who have received the powerful persuasion respecting the life which is immortal, by means of the resurrection of our Saviour, do follow after the life of that better wisdom, the fear of God, the signal mark of their victory over death, and of the eternal life which follows, having subscribed to their Saviour.

75. Hence it is, that this rational race of man,-- since it has been its lot to reside on the earth,--this same (I say) acts henceforth according to its nature; being taught to live in the remembrance of God, in the fulness of every good, and in accordance with the prediction of the prophets, who, many years ago (inspired) from above, thus previously preached : "All the ends of the earth shall remember themselves, and be turned to the Lord their God; and before Him shall worship all the families of the nations: because the kingdom is the Lord's, and He is Governour over the Gentiles." 76. Hence, places of instruction have been established throughout the whole creation of man ; so that the words of God, the doctrine of purity of life and of the fear of God, are preached in the hearing of all nations. 77. Hence, in every city and place, congregations (assembled) from among all, ascribe, in songs of victory, honour to the all-life-giving WORD of God.

78. Hence, the hymns which are suitable to the assemblies of Angels in heaven, even the race of mankind tenders to God the King of all. And henceforth,--together with those spirits, the intelligent and unembodied powers that are with God who is above all; those also, whose lot it is to reside below on this element of earth, as

also the rational souls of the just,--do, by means of the body, as by an instrument of music, send forth the hymns which are becoming, and the blessings which are due, to their one Saviour, the cause of every good. And that, which never (before) existed, the fruit which is due to God the universal King, is now daily rendered (to Him) throughout the whole creation of man, by every race as by one general agreement, and at the same befitting hours and seasons.

79. Those genealogies of the Demons, and stories about the Gods, which are now superannuated, perished when (so) consigned to oblivion. But, the word of Christ is renewed, and in (vigorous) youth with all. Now are the Divine Laws and Lessons preached throughout the whole earth, and they succeed in purifying all men. The instruction too, of the fear of God in truth, has filled all places, both of the Barbarians and the Greeks. Now do those of foreign, as well as those of many, languages, send forth in one manner of life, and with one consent, the ascriptions of blessing which are becoming, to the Creator of all:--one enouncement, the same Law, and one mystery, suitable to God: and to this same conduct do they adhere. Now has there been established, throughout the whole creation, one combination of souls, and one accordance of doctrine. And hence, at one moment of time do those whose lot it is to reside together in the east, along with those at the setting of the Sun, glorify, by means of the same doctrines, the One God who is beyond all, the Lord of the whole world. Nor do they subscribe to any other, except only to the Christ of God, who is the cause of their happiness. Those also, who have possession of the northern parts, together with those who are in the south, at once call Him THE SAVIOUR.

And, so do they honour God in the same (forms of) words, that no difference will again soon be made--although it might be imagined as to speech,--between the Barbarian and the Greek; nor, that the Greek be a person to be distinguished from the Barbarian; for with God ”there is neither Barbarian nor Greek. For every one fearing God, is (here) a wise man. And now Egyptians, Syrians, Scythians, Italians, Moors, Persians, and Hindoos, all and at once, have be-become wise by the doctrines of Christ. In these things too are they all, at once made wise, and (so) instructed, as to be intrepid against Death; to despise the things of this life, and to put forth the one good hope, which is in the promise of the word of our Saviour. But they also learn, that they shall receive that life of the soul which is immortal, and which has henceforth been promised to them as a deposit, in the habitation of the circle of the heavens, and in the kingdom of God. This promise, their Saviour confirmed by deeds in His conflict with Death ; by which He proved to his Disciples, that Death which had (hitherto) been so fearful to all men, was nothing. The life moreover, which had been promised by Him, He established by open view to their very eyes; so that they should even see it;

and made this His Image (body), by its resurrection, the commencement of our hope,--of the imperishable life of our bodies, of the soul as being immortal, and of our greatness as like to that of the Angels.

80. The deeds therefore, pertaining to Redemption and affording aid to the world, as to the Revelation of THE WORD OF GOD among men, are these. If however, any one require a greater abundance, so as to be supplied with many other proofs of the Divine power (in this respect), personal leisure will be requisite, for the examination of the things which have been written respecting Him. Of these I will select a few from the writings of His Disciples,--which he previously preached as predicting the things which should be done by Him,--in proof of his Godhead: and will so lay before those, who do not acknowledge the conclusiveness of my former statements, this as the last (and greatest). The End of the Third Book (of Eusebius) of Caesarea. [Selected footnotes. Notes concerned only with points of the Syriac and large chunks of Greek have been omitted]

Book 4

BOOK IV. THE FOURTH BOOK OF (EUSEBIUS) OF CAESAREA.

1. IT is desirable then, that we should hear from the common Saviour of all himself, who, speaking with men after the manner of a good Parent, became as a child, and gave (his) answers, as the nature of mortals was able to hear, by means of the vessel which he assumed, as through an Interpreter. For, when he made his Divine manifestation among men, he gave many other proofs of the power of his Godhead, by means of deeds which any one who chooses may collect, from the Books (that have been written) about Him. Nor will that again, be a trifling conviction as to His truth, which takes its stand on the words which he uttered, and which it is necessary we should bring forward against those, who do not readily give credence to his astonishing Divine performances. Even in those other things which have been preached respecting Him,--which (consist) in the power of His words,--there is no small proof afforded to those who possess mind. For, as on many occasions, we know those whom we have never seen with our eyes, and whose words only we have heard ; and distinguish the speaker by what we hear, whether he be Greek, --as the case may be,--or Roman, or even Egyptian; or, whether in age old, or young; or, whether the strain be that of man, or woman ; or, the enunciation that of the wise and rational, or, on the contrary, of the foolish or ignorant;

so also, although we might not have happened to see with our eyes those Divine acts which THE WORD OF GOD performed, when He made His conversation on earth; still, from the teaching of His words, the enunciation of which was foreign, and surpassing general apprehension;--also, from the foreknowledge of things to come to pass which he predicted ;--and, from the things which he promised he would do in after times ;--as well as from the issue of the things (so) predicted, the fulfilment of which is now before our eyes, (and) brought about by his power;--there must result no mean proof, as to those (declarations) which bear testimony to His Godhead. For, the miracles which were performed by Him may he divided into (two) periods; that, in which the conversations He made on earth are commemorated, and that which succeeded, and extends to our times. Those great acts then, which he formerly did when he was with the men who happened to exist at that time, it

was in their power openly to view ; but to us, these were unseen ; and they are laid down, (as) having been unseen. And thus again also, the things which have been fulfilled in our times,--in the order in which His words foretold them, and are even to this present witnessed by us in the very facts,--could not, to those of the times in which they were foretold, have yet been known as to their results; and they were, no doubt, considered by them, who believed not, as impossible.

It is nevertheless likely that even then, those whose character was that of sound judgment,--although not witnessing the results of the predictions,--did still believe in them, on account of His other acts. For, Is it likely that they who saw with their eyes the evident powers of God, the miracles and astonishing acts and deeds which eclipsed all mortal nature, believed only the things which were then seen, but, (as) confirmed by these of his foreknowledge, did not (as) readily also believe those which were afterwards to come to pass ?--So that again, it is right that we should, from those miracles which we ourselves have seen, also give our credence to the things which were then witnessed by his Disciples. For, the very things which were delivered in the hearing only of (our) predecessors, are (now) visible to our own eyes: and, they are sufficient for those whose judgment is incorrupt, as proofs setting a seal on the things which have been recorded. And these are the things which then existed not; nor had they yet been set up; nor had they so much as ever entered into the minds of men: but they were foretold by Him, from His divine foreknowledge of the future ; and, in after times, they have been fulfilled, and are in (these) our times seen by us, even to this very day.--Of these, our means of knowledge are at hand.

2. A certain man, illustrious from (his) service to the rule and power of the Romans, was in a state of suspense, because his favourite boy had become paralytic in his limbs, and was laid (up) in his house; who, when he saw that our Saviour shewed forth such powers upon others,--healing the sick, and curing every pain and infirmity,--he perceived in his own mind, that this miracle was not of man. He approached Him accordingly as God;--not looking to the vessel of the Body which was visible, and by means of which He carried on His discourses with men, but to that God who was unseen ; to Him, who by means of a mortal being, made known these His excellent doings;--he fell down and worshipped Him, praying and striving (with Him), that He would afford to him for his boy the aid which is from God. And, when our Saviour said to him, ”I will come and heal him,” the Chiliarch answered Him,--for he had been considered worthy of this rule among the Romans;--and said to him, ” Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof; but, speak the word only, and the child shall be healed. For, I am a man in authority, and there are soldiers under my hands; and I say to this, Go; and he goeth: and, to another, Come; and he cometh: and, to my servant I say, Do such a thing: and he doeth it.

Hear therefore what our Saviour did upon this request, not from me, but from the Writer himself,--teaching (us) thus--in the very words : ”But, when Jesus heard it, He wondered, and said to those who followed Him, Not even in Israel have I found such faith as this. And I say unto you, that many shall come from the East and from the West, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven; but the children of the kingdom shall go out into outer darkness. And, after these words, He thus spoke to the Chiliarch: ”Go: as thou hast believed, shall it be unto thee. And his boy was healed from that hour. And, when the Chiliarch returned to his house, in that very hour he found his boy well.

3. With so much power therefore, did the word of our Saviour go forth, and shewed so much virtue, and so replete was it with power and with so much mercy, and with such ease were the good aids (it afforded given), that He readily promised He would come. And such indeed was the miracle which accompanied the act, that it is impossible to conceive of it as we ought. For this, that He said to the Chiliarch no more than, ”As thou hast believed, so shall it be unto thee,” and, with the word, gave health to his son, How effectually does it shew, that it was God who spoke in mortal voice ! But, should any one be persuaded of this with difficulty, on account of the greatness of the miracle; still, such cannot fairly be excused as to His prediction, in which a powerful argument will be afforded in favour of the deed, if any one will consider that at this period, the Roman who drew near to our Saviour, was ONE (only), namely, the Chiliarch, who made a greater and better profession of Him, than (did the whole) Jewish people; and, that our Saviour prophesied that instead of ONE, those, who should like this man draw near to Him, should be MANY ;

and, that these should be of those residing in the East, and in the West:--those (I say), who, by means of the knowledge of Him, and of the confession (made) of Him, should be considered worthy of honour with God, equal to that of the Hebrew Fathers:--even of him who is preached of as being the Father of their Fathers, Abraham, who went forth from among his idolatrous forefathers, and changed his manner of life; and, leaving the error of many Gods, recognized the ONE GOD who is over all. He also foretold, that like to this (man), and to his sons Isaac and Jacob, there should be myriads of men throughout the whole creation; and particularly of those who resided both in the East, and the West. To these things He added,--and this (constitutes) the greatness of the prediction,--that these very Jews, the descendants of these Friends of God, who make their boast of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, should, on account of their resistance to Him, and their want of belief in Him,--as if cut off from the light of knowledge,--go forth into outer darkness : and, because of their extreme ignorance and foolishness, (be consigned to) an entire disseverance from the light of salvation.

Thus He predicted.--It is now right we should consider the fulfilment of these things, and receive from the testimony of our eyes how these very Jews, who boasted of their descent from the family of those called the Friends of God, have been cast out, not only from the kingdom of God, but also from their own metropolis, the most excellent place of rule, in which the law appointed that their noblest service should be performed ! and (how) those who were formerly free, and the virtuous children of these Fathers, have become slaves; and, being mixed with foreign nations,--a thing unlawful with them,--wander about in lands not their own, and are not permitted to view, even from a distance, the land of their own religious worship! Being moreover, deprived of those princes and kings, who were vested with rule by traditionary right, they now remain in subjection to those who have rased their temple to the ground, and have subdued their whole nation ! Nor is there, as formerly, either prophet or revelation; nor is there help, or act of God. Of all these things, not one existed from ancient times; it was (only) after our Saviour had turned away His face from them that these came upon them, according to His predictions; and such are the things respecting the Jews.

4. Instead then, of that one Chiliarch who drew near to our Saviour at that period, a number of men exceeding description has, from all nations, drawn near to Him, not of Chiliarchs only, but also of the mass of the Roman armies; so that even myriads of princes and governours bearing rule among the nations, and in the (various) regions; and also of others, much more honourable and exalted than these,--those who are great, and glory in the royal apartments,--have like the Chiliarch approached the Christ of God ; and have, by means of his doctrine, acknowledged the God of those Friends of the Deity, who (formerly) arose among the Hebrews; and they have accordingly, been considered worthy of a return from God the supreme King, equal to that afforded to these. If indeed any one will consider, what numbers of Christians and of churches, and of vast congregations, are said to be in the country of the Persians and of the Hindoos, residing in the East; and, how there are with these, through the words of our Saviour, women, virgins desiring, and men coming over to, holiness, and to the provisions which are for the life of philosophy and of purity, and how numerous the confessors are, who live among these:--

5. Also, how those very persons who confess Him who has arisen from the seed of Abraham, and that He is the Christ of God; and have become, by means of the new birth which is in Him, the children of Abraham ; and have (thus) set their seal to the prophetic Word of our Saviour: and this also, that, in like manner, in the western parts of the world, the whole of Spain and Gaul , in the countries of the Moors and Africans, in the (Islands of the) Ocean itself, and in Britain, men subscribe to Christ, and even acknowledge the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: upon Him also they call in their prayers, and are looked upon (as) partakers with these same (Fathers) in the worship of God:-- If (I say), any one will therefore take these things into his consideration, he will then understand what the power of the prophetic word (was)

that declared and said, ”Many shall come from the East and the West, and shall sit down in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven.” These things therefore, He said, and foretold to the Chiliarch : and, on many other occasions, things not unlike these to the Jewish Doctors. And in this manner He spoke: ”When ye see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the Prophets, in the kingdom of God, and yourselves going out. And they shall come from the East, and from the West, and from the South, and shall sit down in the Kingdom of God.” Of these things an open confirmation is afforded by the fact, of all nations having been converted to the God who is over all. These, He therefore said to them, respecting the conversion of all nations to God, who is over all.

6. Thou wilt learn moreover, from the writings of His Disciples,--that it was by their means He was about soon to call in the nations--which are to this effect: ” When Jesus passed over a part of the sea of Galilee, he saw two brethren, Simon who is called Cephas, and Andrew his brother, casting nets into the sea :--for they were fishers. -- He said to them, Follow me; and I will make you fishers of men. And they, in the same hour, left their nets and followed him. And, when he departed thence, He saw two brethren, James the son of Zebedee and John Ms brother, in the ship with Zebedee their Father, and He called them ; and they, in the same hour, left the ship and their Father, and followed Him. Another writer too has left it on record, that He spoke to Simon on two occasions, a prediction similar to this: ”When a great multitude was standing over against Jesus” He (this writer) has said, that ” He went up into one of the ships, which was Simon’s; and, when He had sat down in it, He interpreted to the multitude. But, after the teaching which was sufficient,--because it was suitable that He should add some Divine work to His words, for the advantage of those who were looking on,--He commanded Simon to ”cast forth his net for a draught: and he said to Him, We have toiled the whole night, and have found nothing ;

nevertheless at thy word, I will cast out the net. And, what He had been commanded, he did. And, when he had taken a great number of fishes, their nets were breaking,--because they were heavy with the many (fishes),--and they called to those who were in the ship at their side, to help them. And thus, when they had drawn up the fishes, they filled both their ships, insomuch that they were pressed to sinking; and, upon these things, Simon was astonished and wondered, confessing that he was not worthy, that our Saviour should come near him. But, when He had thus shewn him a representation of what was about to take place, He also gave its explanation (thus); ”and Jesus said to him, Fear not; Thou shalt henceforth be a fisher of men unto life. It was to Galileans,--men unacquainted with any thing beyond the Syriac language, and this mean profession and necessity of fishing, by which they were driven,--that our Saviour well promised, that He would ”make them fishers of men” and preachers of His doctrine. And, He made them (such). Nor did He belie His promise; but He shewed forth the ”POWER OF GOD,” the

Doer of a thing, which eclipsed every human excellence! For, had He brought near to Him the Intellectual and the Wise, the Rich, and Illustrious, among the Jews; and had made use of these (as) the Teachers of His words; it would indeed have been likely, that men would have supposed this matter to have been brought about by human means only.

For thus are most men usually overcome; (namely), they are either wrought upon by the gifts of the rich, or, they are led astray by excellency of speech, or, by the phantasms of science : or, they fear the power of illustrious personages. But He made use of no such disciples as these: on the contrary, by the poor, the despised ;--by men ignorant as to speech, Syrians in language, and in their character humble and mean,--did He openly manifest His work (of redemption). It was the Divine Power alone, which He made use of;--that which He evinced when He previously called them, and made them go forth ; and so promised that He would make them both "Fishers of men," and Preachers; that, instead of the nets which they then had, they should receive from Him the net, which should comprehend in its texture, an aggregate of the declarations of both the Law and the Prophets, as well as of those comprehended in (all) the Divine teaching. This they should cast into the sea of mankind as existing in the world, and inclose (therein) as many as they could; filling these their rational nets with every sort of the fish that are rational. But these things, which were then heard by word, were words and sounds, and nothing more: it was an effort of the Divine Power itself, which, at no distant time, brought them to pass;

and so fulfilled by deeds the things which had been foretold, that, in a short time, He made His own possession the whole creation of mankind,--congregations innumerable,--by means of these poor and illiterate men; and, that His Churches were every where filled, both with Greeks and Barbarians. For, it was not by that one Divine word of promise, that He would teach His Disciples, but, that He would MAKE them Fishers of men. Nor was it therefore, that He knew only, what should come to pass; nor, that He foretold this; but, that He should also be looked upon (as) the Effectuator of all this knowledge.--He spoke in word, and He performed and established the deed:-- that something (I say), which was to be brought about, (He foretold) by demonstration and representation; and of this He gave the fulfilment in the fact itself! For, to them who formerly toiled throughout the lengthened night, which was dark and destitute of the true light and knowledge of God, and could find nothing which they could take, (leading) to salvation, He arose (as the sun) in His brightness, and commanded those who were in the light and the day,--not by their art, but by trusting in his word,--to cast out their nets into the deep. And they so enclosed this great multitude of fish, that their fishing vessels were pressed to breaking, and the ships themselves to remaining in the deep from their weight. And, because these things were so done, astonishment and great fear came upon Simon.

But, our Saviour said (as it were) these things to him, Let not these things alarm thee: they are (but as) recitations for the present, and representations of something hereafter to come to pass: for, these are fish unendued with either voice, or reason; these too, are ships and nets, composed of (earthly) material, and are inanimate; but, not as these things, are those of which these are the representations : for shortly afterwards,--that is, immediately, nmv, and forthwith,--thou shall be a fisher of men unto life (eternal). This laborious fishing which returns no profit, thou shalt relinquish; and, thou shall become a fisherman of reasonable creatures, in place of these which are irrational. Nor shalt thou again draw up those whom thou shalt catch from the depths of the sea, but from the bitterness of the life that is hateful; from the chambers of ungodly darkness and from sin, into the light which is intellectual; and to the elevation of purity. That is, thou shalt catch them for life, by means of that which is of life: it is not death that thou preparest for them. These first indeed, which are drawn up out of the sea, and which formerly enjoyed life in darkness and the deep, perish immediately on their ascending and receiving the light. But, those who shall be caught by thee from among men, shall be caught up out of the darkness of ignorance, and shall be changed to the life that is of God.

These things therefore, (namely,) ” Thou shalt henceforth catch men unto life,” our Saviour foretold by the Divine power: and the same, our Saviour shewed by very deed, were sure and true. This Syrian fisherman therefore, this net-caster,--did by means of his net,--the texture of which was by the Divine power composed of the words of mystery,--catch innumerable multitudes of men. And, ” The visual perception of something hidden, is something visible. The things therefore, which the long life of the world,-- and which from the first experienced not the rising (as of the Sun) of our Saviour,--could not effect:--the things which neither Moses who gave the law to the Hebrews, nor the Prophets who came after Moses, could ; nor yet the multitmdes of others, who from ancient times carried as fishermen the doctrine of God to man, and who toiled throughout the whole night which preceded his manifestation,--could do, this Galilean, this Pauper, this Barbarian, this Simon did, by means of his voice bring to pass. The demonstrations indeed, then given of Simon as to these things, are the Churches which up to this time have arisen, far more in number than the ships (then present), and these, filled with fish that are rational. Such is this of Caesarea of Palestine, and such is that of Antioch of Syria; and such is that of Rome; for, by these Churches--which Simon set up, and by all those near them,--are these things commemorated.

Those too that are in Egypt and in Alexandria itself, did he again, not by his own means, but by those of Mark, his disciple, erect. Of those also, that are in Italy and among the nations adjoining, he was the Steward (Dispenser): and he made his disciple Mark the Teacher and Fisherman of those in Egypt. Now, give thy consideration likewise, to the rest of our Saviour’s Disciples, on those whom He said He would make Fishers of men;--and this his word He has shewn forth by

deeds. For up to this time He did, and caused, that, forthwith, and throughout the whole creation of man,-- His rational net should be filled with every sort of rational fish, Barbarian and Greek ; and that He should draw up from the depths of evil, and the darkness of ungodliness, the souls of men ; turning these daily and hourly to the light and knowledge of God which had been delivered by Himself. Which things, seen as they are with our own eyes, establish,--as it appears to me,--beyond (all) doubt, the Divine manifestation of our Saviour.

7. Art thou desirous then, of hearing a third declaration of the Divine word, which foretold that His Disciples should arise (as the Sun) throughout the whole world ? Hear this also, for it is after this manner : ”Ye are the light of the world: and, ”A city that is built on a hill cannot lie hidden: ”nor do men light a candle, and place it under a bushel, but upon a candlestick; and it giveth light to all that are in the house. So let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven. Here again, these very fishermen, who went forth from Galilee, --a corner of Judea so called, which is situate on the sea; and of which Isaiah,--one of the Prophets,--making known at once its obscurity, and at the same time, the rising (as of the Sun) of our Saviour, which he announced should take place there,--proclaimed (saying), ”Galilee of the Gentiles, a people sitting in darkness have seen a great light:”--those (I say) who went forth from thence; men, mean, necessitous, illiterate in speech, and poor in circumstances;--those very fishermen He said, should be the light of the world; and this promise He confirmed by deed ; (namely), that this same Simon who was called Cephas, (and) who went forth from Capernaum which is a village of Galilee,--should enlighten many souls of men with the light of the knowledge of God ;

and should himself become known throughout the whole creation, even to the regions of the West: and, that even to this time, his memory should be more celebrated among the Romans, than that of those of former times, so that he should be considered worthy of an honourable sepulchre in the very front of their city ; and, that great multitudes of the Roman Empire should run to it, as to a great asylum and temple of God. How then, Does not the truth bear testimony to Him, who said to his Disciples, ”Ye are the light of the world? So again, the name of John the son of Zebedee also,--who (was engaged) in fishing with his father and brethren, and mending the net, whom He (Jesus) saw, and considered worthy both of this call and promise,--arose (as the Sun) throughout the whole creation ; and whose words have, through the Gospel which was delivered by him, also enlightened the souls of men !-- which has been translated into all languages, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, and is daily preached in the ears of all nations ! And more particularly, the sepulchre of this (Disciple) which is in Ephesus of Asia, does glorious honour to his death, and shews to the world the memorial of that light which cannot be hidden. In like manner also, the writings of the apostle Paul are preached throughout the whole creation, and they enlighten the souls of men.

The martyrdom of his death, and the sepulchre which (is erected) over him, are, even to this day, greatly and abundantly honoured in the city of Rome. And, What need is there we should say, that the mode of life set up by means of the Disciples of our Saviour throughout the whole creation,--like the exhibition of a banner of victory,--is as a famous city which has nothing hidden within it ? but which is in authority in the midst of all other cities, (and) according to the enouncement of our Saviour, ”Is like to a city placed upon a hill? And this is the very word, which they preached respecting their master. It was not, as (if) hidden under a bushel, or given up to error and darkness; but, as upon a lofty candlestick, and lifted up to an exalted eminence, and giving light to all that were in the house of the whole world ! And this, (viz. ”Let your light so shine before men” evinced (both) foreknowledge and prophecy; not precept only, but also intimation of what should come to pass. He fully too named them all (here), the light when He said, ”YE are the light of the world. Not, that they were many lights; but, that they all together (constituted) one light: as if from an equality of them all, there should be at once an arising (of light as of the Sun) to the whole world. For, it was His alone to say, ”I AM the light of the world.

And of Him it has been truly said, that ”He is the light that came into the world, which enlighteneth every man. But, since these things have been thus foretold, and fulfilled; observe how He again spoke of, and explained, them to His Disciples: ”That which I say to you in darkness, speak ye in the light; and, that which ye hear in your ears, preach ye on the housetops. And fear not those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul. But fear ye Him rather, who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell. He also promised by these things, in the very beginnings (of the ministration) of His Disciples,--when they knew nothing of them, but were as if they had been in the dark,--the knowledge of the light. He prophesied also, to those (then) hearing His precepts, that they should preach openly to all men that which was (now) secret, in darkness, and invisible. He taught them too, not to be perplexed, but to suffer affliction with all their soul; to preach Him in the ears of all; and not to fear those, who would kill the mortal body: the soul not being subject to loss of life by men, because it is incorporeal and immortal. For it is God only, who is able to inflict punishment and death, at once on both body and soul. It may be observed therefore, that He taught by these things, that the soul is incorporeal; and set up, in a few words, the ordinances of (true) philosophy,--

In that He foretold at the outset to His Disciples, that He would make them Fishers of men; and, that they should eventually, openly, immediately, (and) through His power, make Disciples of all nations. From the Gospel of Matthew.

8. After his resurrection from the dead, all of them,-- being together as they had been commanded,--went to Galilee, as He had said to them. But, when they saw Him, some worshipped Him, but others doubted. But He drew near to them, spoke

with them, and said: ”All power (both) in heaven and earth, is given to me of my Father. Go ye and make Disciples of all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And teach them to observe all that I have commanded you. And, behold! I am with you always even to the end of the world. Observe now, in these things, the consideration and caution evinced by the Disciples: (viz. that they did not all worship Him when they saw Him. Some of them indeed did this faithfully and devotedly, but others refrained for the present. It was not easily and suddenly, that they gave in to this miracle; but, it was after much investigation and with every caution they were so at last persuaded, that they went out to all mankind. They became too, the Preachers of His Resurrection; because it had prophetically said in the Scriptures of the Prophets, in His Person, ”Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and (for thy) possessions, the uttermost parts of the earth. Just as the testimony of this prophecy has now been fulfilled in fact, He said to His Disciples;

”All power is given to me, as in heaven, so in earth. For, He had possessed the sovereignty of the things which are in heaven from eternity; but now, He said was given to Him, by His Father, those upon earth, in conformity with this (viz. ”Ask of me, and I will give thee the nations for thy possession. For, from ancient times,--as Moses attests,--” The most High, when dividing the nations, appointed the boundary of the people, according to the number of the angels. So that the Angels of God were, from ancient times, Rulers over all that was on the earth. But, when mankind had been perverted to the error of many Gods, and the Angels, who were the Rulers, were unable to afford any remedy for this; the common Saviour of all Himself taught, by means of His Divine manifestation, and after His victory over Death, that the empire of the nations upon earth, should no more be given by his Father to the Angels, but to Himself. And on this account, He commanded his Disciples,--not from ancient times--but now, that they should make the circuit, and make Disciples, of all nations. And He necessarily added the mystery of cleansing. For it was necessary to those, who should be converted from among the heathen, that they should be cleansed by His power from every pollution and uncleanness;

because they had been defiled by the error of Demons, and had been holden by the worship of Idols, and by uncleanness of every sort, but had now first been changed from that life of abomination, and of lawless practices. These very persons then, did He direct to teach,--after this cleansing, which is by the mystery of His doctrine,--not, that they should observe the precepts of the Jews, nor yet the Law of Moses, but all those which He commanded them to observe. And these are those which the whole of the Disciples,--making severally the circuit of all the nations,--equally delivered to every Church throughout the whole creation. He necessarily therefore, stirred them up, and made them readily to confide,--to undertake the circuit of all nations, and to make Disciples of all races of men, through the promise by which He counselled them, saying: ”Behold, I myself am with you. To this word of promise,

He also superadded the performance. He was present in the Divine Power with each and every one of them; to the whole of them was He at once present, and with them He acted and wrought. He confirmed too, even to victory, (the promise) constituting them Teachers to all nations, of that fear of God which was delivered by Himself. In this promise therefore, they trusted; and forthwith, did they fulfil His words by deeds: nor did they in any thing hesitate; hut they (so) went forth with all readiness to the disciplining of all nations, that they engaged in the work.

With their eyes they had seen Him who was a little while before dead, then living: and, Him whom they had denied with cursing,--on account of what then happened to them,--they had seen openly, present, and in his own person; and, as His custom was, He had conversed with them, and promised them the things of which we have already spoken. Nor could they disbelieve His promises, because of His appearing (to them); which (appearing) they bad investigated. Now in this precept, there must have been (much) that was discouraging to them, knowing as they did in themselves the rusticity and illiterate character which they sustained; on account of which, they might indeed have sought to be excused, and have well imagined it impossible that those, whose Language was the Syriac (only), and who knew nothing beyond the art of catching fish, could he Teachers both of the Greeks and Romans, of the Egyptians also, the Persians, and the rest of the barbarous nations : and set about to legislate,--in opposition to all other Legislators and Kings throughout the whole creation,---that which was opposed to the things delivered to them from all ages, respecting the Gods of their Forefathers. But it was not possible for them to think such things, who had heard the voice of God saying to them, ”Behold, I myself am with you always. They had too, openly viewed the Godhead of Him who spoke with them. It had been seen to be superior to Death : respecting which however they had entertained fear.

On the contrary they (now) hear, that henceforth they shall, with all their soul, undergo afflictions. They had now taken up from their Master, the certainty of life after death ; they went out tllerefore, with confidence to make the circuit of all nations, that they might confirm by fact, the promises of Him their Lord. But He attached to the promises made to them, a more excellent word ; and,--what exceeds all wonder,-- this He shews forth even to this present time; (viz. ” Behold, I myself am with you always” He added also, ”even to the end of the world” And this applies, not only to them, but also to all those who came after them, and from them received His doctrine; and, thenceforward, even to this time, is He present to all those who have become His Disciples. Hence, His Church, which is kept by Himself, is daily increasing and multiplying to myriads; and by His Power shall it be congregated, even to the end of the world !

On the conversion of all nations to God. From the Gospel of Luke.

9. Again, upon another occasion after His resurrection from the dead, He appeared to the other disciples, and to them,--yet doubting and not believing in Him,--He put forth and said these words: ”These are the words which I said, to you, when I was yet with you; that it is necessary every thing should be fulfilled which is written respecting me in the Law of Moses, in the Prophets, and in the Psalms. Then He opened their understandings that they should understand the Scriptures : and He said, Thus it was right that Christ should suffer, and that He should rise from the dead on the third day; and (that) repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations, beginning from Jerusalem. And ye are the witnesses of these things. On one occasion indeed, He said, that ”in His name should be preached repentance to all nations. (Now), if the Deed did not follow upon the Word; neither can His resurrection from the dead be credited. But if, even up to this time, the things which His prediction foretold, remain in fact, so that His lively, (energetic) and operative word is visible (in effect) throughout the whole creation to our eyes; then is it unbecoming we should disbelieve Him who spoke this. For He, whose power is living (energetic,) operative, and visible to the eyes, powerfully impels us first of all to confess thereupon, that He is living;

and that He brings to effect the living things of God, whose living (actual) deeds are seen fulfilling His words. These His words then, --being varied and translated into all languages, both of the Greeks and the Barbarians,--has He made intelligible to all, so that His doctrine is heard by all nations, and has stirred up myriads of congregations of those, who were formerly wickedly led on in the error of many Gods, in the worship of Idols, and in (the course of life) which was unbecoming, to conversion and repentance. He did not command them first to preach remission of sins, and then repentance; but first, repentance, and then remission. For it was to those, who evinced a sincere repentance of former sins, that our Saviour’s grace gave the pardon of their deeds;--on whose account indeed He suffered Death, and gave His soul a ransom for the souls of those, who should be saved through Him. Thus therefore, these His disciples,--men rude of speech and altogether illiterate, poor and needy, (as) they were in their character,--trusted in the power of Him who appeared to them after Death, and openly held converse with them. And they began from Jerusalem according to His commands, and went forth into all nations; the things too, which they were commanded, they performed, and preached repentance to all men, and remission of the former sins of the soul.

And such was the entire superiority which they evinced, that, even to these our times, the doctrine of these poor and illiterate men, is in active operation throughout the whole creation of man. How His acts should be heard, and preached of, throughout the whole world. From the Gospel of Matthew and of Mark.

10. When our Saviour was in Bethany, a village not far from Jerusalem;--having been invited by one who was (named) Simon, and sitting down there ;--a certain

woman took an alabaster box of balsam (ointment), which was very precious, and came and poured it out upon his feet: but His Disciples forbade her ; complaining of what had happened. But He received the tiling done as a sign, and intimated that this act should be preached of, and heard, throughout the whole world. He prophesied accordingly, and said: ”I say unto you, that wheresoever this my Gospel shall be preached in the whole world, what this (woman) hath done, shall also be spoken of for a memorial of her.” Now these things He foretold, when, at that time, the writing of the Gospel had yet entered into the mind of none, nor had it come to the hearing of any. Nor, as it is likely, had what was then done, been learned by any who resided in the neighbourhood, but by those only who were present. Nevertheless, He left this whole enouncement in word, and prophesied that the Gospels, which should be written by His Disciples, should be preached throughout the whole world. And to the word He at once also superadded the deed, and said, that with His acts should be written in the Gospel, and spoken of throughout the whole world, even that which had been done by this woman, for a memorial of her:--which same thing has (now) been seen confirmed by Him in very deed! For there is neither people, region, nor place, in which the memorial of this woman, as recorded in the Gospel, has not been mentioned; and, together, with the doctrine respecting Him, is it preached throughout the whole world.--Of the things therefore, respecting this(Gospel,) and respecting His Church, hear (now) how He made His promises : --

How He mentioned His church by name, when yet it had no existence: and how He declared, that the gates of Hell should never prevail against it. From the Gospel of Matthew.

11. When asking His Disciples on a certain occasion, what men said of Him, and they answering according to the opinion of the many, He asked them the second time, ”But what say ye? and, when Simon had said unto Him, ”Thou art the Christ of the living God” He answered him, and said : ”Blessed art thou Simon son of Jonas, since flesh and blood hath not revealed (this) to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I also say to thee, Thou art Cephas: and upon this rock do I build my Church, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail against it. The (term) ”this” He took (as implying) the knowledge, that He was the Messiah, the Son of the living God ; and Cephas (the rock), because it should neither be rent nor moved. It is not unlikely, that He named (in) ” THIS” the whole sense comprised here. On this account too, He designated that same Disciple, who had formerly been called Simon, Cephas (Peter), with reference to this knowledge; (and) of which He afterwards prophesied, and said: ”On this rock do I build my Church, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail against it. He foretold at once something to come to pass, and promised, that Himself would build it (the Church), and bring the work to completion, by the things of this knowledge which had now been given concerning Himself; that it should be made firm as on a confirmed foundation ;

and that His Church should be built, solely by means of His own power which is everlasting, and that the gates of Hell should never overcome it. He himself afforded a proof (of this) in the fulfilment, better than any (that) words (can give). For innumerable persecutions, and many forms of death, have sprung up against His Church, but in nothing could they prevail against it. He has therefore, openly confirmed the enouncement of His prediction, by deeds; its truth He has shewn, by the fulfilment. The Church too, which He called the congregation, about to be set up in His name, evinced no small foreknowledge: for the congregations of the Jews had been termed Synagogues; and, during the time of His going about among men, He frequented the Synagogue of the Jews. Nor was there hitherto, so much as one Synagogue only, set apart to Him. And, Who is not astonished, that He so foreknew those congregations which should afterwards be set up, at a great distance of time, in His name, and, that He should not name them, after the Jewish custom, Synagogues, but Churches ? He added too, that the gate-bars of Hell should not prevail against them:-- things, which we perceive with our own eyes ! Nor should we wonder at the prediction only, but also at His promise, namely, "I build my Church upon the rock, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail against it: which is (all) so brought near in fact, that we can see it !

For it was not by the power of men, nor yet by the superiority of the Teachers (employed), that His Church was raised ; but, it was He who promised, and in deed fulfilled His promise ! --He (I say) who up to this time has, by the Divine Power, built up, and enlarged, His Church throughout the whole creation of man !

On the divisions which are in Houses and Families up to this time, on account of His doctrine. From the Gospel of Matthew.

12. Think not, that I am come to send forth peace upon earth : I am not come to send forth peace, but a sword. For I am come to divide a man against his Father, and the Daughter against her Mother, and the Daughter in law against her Mother in law : and the enemies of a man (shall be) those of his own house. (Or), as Luke enounced (it) ; " Think ye then, that I am come to send forth peace on earth ? I say unto you, No ; but divisions. For, there shall be henceforth five in one house, who (shall be) divided, three against two, and two against three. And the Father shall be divided against his Son, and the Son, against his Father; and the Mother shall be divided against her Daughter, and the Daughter, against her Mother; and the Mother in law, against her Daughter in law ; and the Daughter in law, against her Mother in law. And, Who is not astonished, that the things which should take place in every individual house, in times far removed (from those of the prediction), and even up to this time, did not remain hidden to the foreknowledge of our Saviour ?

For He foretold to His disciples, the things which up to this time are taking place, just as one present to the things themselves, and making the circuit of the dwellings of all the children of men :--things which hitherto have not existed, nor did they at

the period in which He enounced these words. Nor, were there yet any such doings; they were then heard only in the ear. But now, that the prediction has in fact come to its completion, and is visible to the eyes, How can any one, who would think justly, but confess that they are in truth the words of God ? And again in these things also,--"For I am come to divide and to send forth a sword, and divisions among the children of men,""--we likewise see with our own eyes, that no word of man, either of philosopher or prophet, whether Greek or Barbarian, ever shewed forth power such as this, that he should so hold the whole creation, that there should be divisions in every house; that he should pass through and distinguish every race, throughout all their families ; and, that of these some should be considered as his own, and others as opposed to these ! But it was our Saviour alone, and this WORD OF GOD, who promised to do this, and He confirmed the promise, in very deed !

The cause therefore, of the divisions of soul that came to pass in houses He Himself taught, as we have found in a place in the Gospel existing among the Jews in the Hebrew language, in which it is said: "I will select to myself these things: very very excellent are those whom my Father, who is in heaven, has given to me. And, one may learn from this, how in every house in which the word of Jesus should prevail, the excellent would be distinguished from the vile. For, if a man make a comparison among brothers, or servants, or in families generally, as to the customs, forms, manner of life, and the purity and meekness of those, who have chosen the doctrine of our Saviour;--for this is what is meant by those who have been selected by Him :-- and, of those who have not yet become worthy of Him ; --he will perceive what sort of power that is, of which He has made use; and, that He did not only foretel what should come to pass, but that He has, according to the prediction, also brought the works to pass : and, with other things, these also in which it is written that He said, "I will select to myself the very excellent, those whom my Father who is in heaven has given to me. Nevertheless, (what He) now (said), " I am not come to send forth peace on earth," with other things, He explained to the Disciples themselves and said;

"I leave peace with you, my own peace give I unto you: it is not as the world giveth peace, that I also so give peace. It was the knowledge and love of God, which He had prepared for His disciples ; and this, that the soul should not be perturbed. And in this way, He named the light, and confirmation of the mind. These things therefore He foretold, and also respecting these (men) : but, of those which He foreknew and foretold respecting the Jewish People, (the time) is at hand that we should enquire.

On the things which He prophesied against the Jewish people in parables. From the Gospel of Matthew.

13. When the Rulers of the Jewish people, the chief Priests, and the Doctors of the Law, were assembled together in Jerusalem, and He was in the Temple; He

foretold covertly and by parable, the things they were about to dare against Him, and the destruction which should overtake them on account of this daring, in this manner : ” There was a certain master of a house, (who) planted a vineyard, and surrounded it with a fence, and digged a wine-press therein, and built in it a tower, and delivered it to husbandmen, and departed. And, when the fruit-season drew near, he sent his servants to the husbandmen that they might bring to him the fruit. But these husbandmen seized his servants, and some of them they smote, and some they stoned, and some they killed. And again, he sent other servants, more than the former; and to these, they did in like manner. But at last, he sent his Son, and said, Surely they will reverence my Son. But these husbandmen, when they saw the Son, said among themselves : This is his heir ; come let us kill him, and the inheritance will be ours. So they took him, and cast him out of the vineyard, and killed him. When therefore, the Lord of the vineyard shall come, What shall he do to those husbandmen? They say to him, he shall most miserably destroy them; and his vineyard he shall deliver to other husbandmen, who shall render him the fruits in their seasons.

Jesus himself said to them, Have ye never read in the Scripture, ’The stone which the builders rejected, has become the chief corner stone of the building: This is of the Lord, and it is a miracle in our eyes?’ Wherefore I say unto you, The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a people which shall render the fruits” (thereof. And this parable is of a sort with that, which is in the Prophet Isaiah, which is (given) in this manner: ”My beloved had a vineyard on the horn of a fat place. And he cultivated it, and surrounded it with a fence, and planted in it vines, and built a Tower within it. He also made a wine-press in it. And he expected that it would produce grapes; but it produced wild grapes. But this that is in the Prophet, accuses the vineyard; which he thus interprets, as to who was (really) intended, when he says, ”For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house that is in Israel, and the men of Judah are (His) one beloved plant. I looked for judgment, but there was rapine; and for righteousness, but behold, howling!”

14. The parable then, spoken by our Saviour, was so like to that of the Prophet, that it was known to point out those who were present and heard (it). But, it was not of the vineyard that it was spoken, because the Prophet had already made his prediction of this. The things however, which were not mentioned in the Prophet, He supplied in His parable: those, I say, which respected the husbandmen of the vineyard; and these were the Elders of the people, the chief Priests, the Rulers, and Doctors: those, who indeed were the cause to the whole congregation, that they should render evil fruit, and, on whose account, the vineyard itself was left to destruction. That is, the whole of their people, with their fence, was rooted up; those who formerly contended for the people, and watched over the people, together with their place. The Tower that was in it, was the Temple; the wine-press, the Altar. And all these were therefore, wholly taken away, even to their

foundations ; because the husbandmen had become polluted with blood ; those (I say), who had openly slain the servants first and last; those Prophets, who had, time after time, been sent unto them. The Old Testament also gives its testimony (otherwise) to this matter; and, of the Prophets, Elias who in his prayer to God says, ”Lord, they have slain thy Prophets, and broken down thy Altar: and I am left alone, and they seek to take my life.

Of these things therefore does this Prophet, by his prayer, accuse the rulers of the Jewish people. These however, the pollution of the Prophets’ blood had not satisfied, and at last they slew the Son himself, that is, the Son of God! Nor was it that they knew Him not; but, when they knew fully and accurately, that He was the heir ! These things then, our Saviour Himself delivered by parable, respecting Himself, before His suffering. He also foretold,--by His foreknowledge, what should come to pass; (viz. these things when walking in the Temple,--to those husbandmen of the vineyard of His times, the Chief Priests, the Doctors, and the rest of those who were at the head of the people. And much (and) openly did He, in the parable, prepare them to pronounce condemnation against themselves : asking them in the close of the parable, and saying, ”What shall the Lord of the vineyard, when He comes, do to those husbandmen? And they, not yet understanding that it had been spoken of themselves, gave judgment against themselves, saying, ”He shall most miserably destroy them, and shall give up the vineyard to other husbandmen, who shall render to Him the fruits in their seasons. Jesus then said to them : ” Have ye never read in the scriptures, The stone which the builders rejected, has become the chief corner (stone) of the building: This is from the Lord, and is a miracle in our eyes?

Very consistently after the prediction of His death, He pointed out, from the testimony of the prophets, His own resurrection from the dead. For He had previously taught, that the Son of the Lord of the vineyard should be slain by the wicked husbandmen, and had obtained from themselves (their own) condemnation. After that, He brought this forward : ” The stone which the builders rejected, has become the chief corner (stone) of the building: which, in the prophecy, had been given by way of parable on His resurrection. For,--after He had been rejected by those husbandmen who were also the builders, He (I say), who was (as) a precious stone, and of whom the Prophet Isaiah says, ”Behold, I lay in Zion a choice and precious stone, the chief corner (stone) of the foundation: And he, who believeth in it, shall not be ashamed,”--He became the chief corner (stone) of another building, of which the (divine) word has said: ”And this is a miracle in our eyes: by which He meant His Church. And thus deservedly did He, according to their own judgment on themselves, repay them, saying, ” The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a people, that will render the fruits” (thereof) : which corresponds to this declaration (already) mentioned, (viz. ”from them; that He would ” give the vineyard to other husbandmen, who should render to Him the fruits in

their seasons. For He named the ”kingdom of God,” those observances in which the worship of God consisted;

and these Hedeclared, should be taken away from those husbandmen: and (this) He has most openly shewn, and brought to effect; giving (the vineyard) to another people, which does bring forth its fruits. And this is the Christian people, which docs, throughout the whole creation, bring forth the fruits, that are both conformable, and suitable, to the observances of God; and shews this daily, both in words and works.

On the rejection of the Jews at once, and the calling of the Gentiles: also on those who should unworthily be gathered into His Church ; and on the end of these, From the Gospel of Matthew.

15. After the Parable which has already been mentioned, the word of the Divine Scripture states, that ”When the chief Priests and Pharisees had heard His parables, they knew that He spake against themselves, and they sought to take Him: but they feared the people, because they held Him as a Prophet. ”And Jesus answered them, and said again in a parable: The kingdom of heaven is like to a (certain) man, a king, who made a (marriage) feast for his son, and sent his servants to call those who had been bidden to the feast; but they would not come. And again, he sent out other servants, and commanded them to say to those who had been bidden: Behold, my dinner is ready, my fatted oxen are slain, and every thing is prepared for you : Come to the feast. But they disregarded and went away, One to the village (farm), and Another to (his) merchandise. But they who remained seized his servants, and abused and slew (them). And the king was enraged, and sent his army and slew those murderers, and burnt up their city. He then said to his servants, My dinner is ready, but those who were bidden were unworthy of it. Go ye out therefore, into the ways and paths, and every one that ye find, call to the feast. So those servants went out into the ways, and they brought together all they could find, (both) bad and good.

Now, in the former Parable, the Vineyard, the Tower, the Winepress, and the Husbandmen, were evil: and the servants sent, first and last, were killed. And, at last, even the Son of the Lord of the vineyard was himself slain : by which were pointed out, the People, the Temple, the Altar, and the Rulers of the Jews; and also those wicked husbandmen, who, standing at the head of the people, slew both the former and latter Prophets, and at last the Son of God Himself!

16. Now the Parable before our eyes, obviously introduces the familiar feast, and bringing together, of the Bridegroom and Bride, with a marriage-supper: and again the servants also, who are here destroyed and slain, and the former and latter persons bidden. By means of these again, He points out covertly, the things that happened after His resurrection from the dead. For the Bridegroom is, THE WORD OF

GOD ; the Bride, the rational soul, which is associated with Him, and receives the Divine seed that is of Him. And (this) Divine and rational association, (represents) that of His Church : and, consequent upon these things, the rational feast and marriage supper, (represent) the Divine and heavenly aliments (so prepared). He does not here speak of the inviting servants, with reference to those who were formerly sent to the vineyard, but, with reference to the latter ones. For those were the Prophets; but these, His own Apostles, who were sent forth to make the call, (and) first, of those who were of the circumcision. For, when He first sent these forth, He charged them, saying, "Into the way of the Gentiles go ye not; and into a city of the Samaritans enter ye not; but rather go ye to the wandering sheep of the house of Israel. These same persons therefore, the servants did first invite; but, when they hearkened not to the call, He sent also, the second time, many Evangelists and Preachers of the Gospel ;

those whom He chose, after the twelve Apostles, the seventy other Disciples, who also first preached the Gospel to the Jewish people, and called them to the feast of the New Testament. But they availed nothing, because they, who had been bidden, were busied with their merchandise; and who, after they had heard the call of the servants, abused some, and killed others. And it is in our power to find from the Scriptures, how many of the Disciples of our Saviour they afterwards killed, both in Jerusalem and in the rest of Judea. Stephen then was, in the first place, forthwith slain by them by stoning. After him, James the brother of John. And again after them, he who first chose (to accept) the throne of the Church of that place, James who was called the Brother of our Lord: whom, on account of his great excellence, they called "the Just. Him too, the Jews of those times killed by stoning. How they abused the Apostles by stripes, the Book of the Acts relates. And these things did He, by His divine knowledge, foretel before they happened; He also foretold the things which should befall them from the Jews. By means of a parable too, He predicted what should come to pass before these things took place, by these expressions, (viz. "The king was enraged" at the abuse and slaughter of his servants, " and sent his army, and slew those murderers, and burnt up their city.

And, What can be more obvious than this foreknowledge, and the fulfilment of the things themselves (so predicted) ? For the army of the Romans came soon after, and took the city, and destroyed the Temple itself by fire. And, of Whom was it, except of Him who is King of all, God over all, that it was thus said, that "the King shall send his army, and shall slay those murderers, and shall burn up their city? To this very time indeed, the remnants of the conflagration which took place in various parts of the city, are obvious to the sight of those who travel thither. But, how those murderers of the Apostles were taken in the reduction (of the city), and suffered the punishment which they deserved, it is not necessary we should say, as the things which were done to them, may readily be found in the record of the Romans by

Flavius Josephus. After the slaughter of these therefore, and the reduction of the metropolis of their kingdom, they,--who remained of those servants that had first heard it said by their Lord, ”They who were first called were not worthy; but go ye out into the ways and paths, and all that ye find, call to the feast”--performed even the thing commanded. Our Saviour said to them therefore, after His resurrection, ” Go ye and make Disciples of all nations in my name,” And these things He said, who formerly had commanded:

” In the way of the Gentiles go ye not” but (enjoined) that they should preach to the Jews only. But, when these had abused (their) Inviters, then He dismissed the servants the second time, and said, ” Those that were called were not worthy. Go ye out into the ways and paths, and all that ye find call to the feast. And this they fulfilled in deed. They went out into the whole creation, and they preached to all nations, the divine and heavenly calling; and ” they collected together as many as they could find, (both) bad and good. Let no one therefore wonder, that, of those, who are collected into the Church of Christ, all are not good; but, that in the mixture together with the good, the evil will also be collected. Nor did this escape the foreknowledge of our Saviour. And it is accordingly seen to remain in fact, in conformity with that foreknowledge : and, what the end of those will be, who are brought together unworthily in His Church, He Himself shews; for He afterwards teaches these things in the parable, saying, ”And the feast was filled with guests: but, when the king came in to see the guests, he saw there a man who had not (on) wedding garments. And he said to him, My friend! how earnest thou in hither not having put on wedding garments ? And he was silent. Then the king said to the ministers: Bind him hands and feet, and cast him out into outer darkness.

There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. For many are the called, but few the chosen. He likewise previously rebuked, with these predictive words, those who should conduct themselves unrighteously in His Church.

Again, on the rejection of the Jewish people. From the Gospel of Matthew.

17. ” Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, How shall ye escape hell ? Wherefore, behold, I send unto you Prophets, and Wise men, and Scribes: and some of them ye shall kill and crucify, and some of them ye shall scourge in your synagogues, and shall persecute them from city to city; so that there shall come upon you, all the blood of the Righteous, which has been shed upon the land, from the blood of Abel, even to the blood of Zecharias the son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the steps and the altar. I say unto you, All these things shall come upon this generation. There is no need we should affirm, that all these things are so plain, as to require no explanation whatever; which, being afterwards fulfilled in very deed, confirmed by (their) open fulfilment, the foreknowledge of our Saviour. For the Apostles were scourged by the Jews at a subsequent period, in Jerusalem itself; when also, they went forth from their synagogues, ”rejoicing that they were found worthy to be

reproached for his name's sake that they were found worthy to be reproached for his name's sake. Stephen also was stoned by them; and James was slain with the sword; and again, the second James was put to death with stones. And Simeon, who after James held the Episcopal chair in Jerusalem, was given up to crucifixion, as the history reminds (us). And many others again, who were slain by the Jews, have (thus) set their seal to the foreknowledge of our Saviour.

On account of all which, the judgment of God took vengeance on the generation that dared to do all this: and, upon it turned back the (just) consequence of all its deeds. For it was of that generation that their Temple and altar were rooted up, and the kingdom, which had, by tradition from their forefathers, been preserved to that very time, was dissolved. And of the same, was their freedom taken away: and, from the effects themselves it was evident, that the avenging of the blood of all the Righteous was on that generation, in conformity with the words of our Saviour. It is necessary then we should see, with what entire power, and by what sort of force, it was said, "Behold I send to you Prophets, and Wise men. For (this), "Behold I send" is an intimation of the power of God. And, that He called the Rulers of the Jews to their face, a "generation of vipers," affords no proof of deficiency (in this respect). The prediction too, of the destruction which should overtake them, does, after all the rest, afford ample confirmation as to these declarations; and this their complete fulfilment proves. These things are therefore sufficient (here). Let us then, now enquire accordingly, how it happened to the land which had always been precious to them, and to those glories of the metropolis of the kingdom which had been (so) famous with them;

of which, by His divine foreknowledge He attested ;--weeping bitterly as He did over them of his mercy,--that the whole should undergo a change to the extremes of calamity, because of the insolence of its inhabitants against Him.

On the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem.

18. What the end of those things should be, which had been foretold respecting the Jewish people, has (already) been said and shewn. But, as He, THE WORD OF GOD, prophesied also respecting these places themselves, it is necessary we should see His words on them. Now, when the Rulers of the Jews would not bear the purity of His Doctrine, its publication, nor His rebukes, they so acted as to rid their city of Him. He then, leaving Jerusalem, pronounced these words over their city: "Jerusalem, Jerusalem! that hast killed the Prophets, and stoned them that were sent unto thee, How often would I have gathered thy children together, as the hen gathereth her chickens under her wings : but ye would not. Behold I your house is left desolate. For I say unto you, that ye shall not see me henceforth until ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Impurity (and) pollution afterwards marked their doings: and this was the sin in which they dared to persist against our Saviour. And it was right, not only that the Inhabitants of the

city, but also the land itself,--in which they so greatly boasted.--should be made to suffer the things, which the deeds of its inhabitants deserved. And these they did suffer ! For it was not long, before the Romans came against the city: and, of the inhabitants, some they killed by the law of war; others they destroyed by famine; others they led away captive ; and others they persecuted.

The captive (City) and Temple they burnt, and reduced to utter desolation ! But the things which took place afterwards, did our Saviour, from his foreknowledge as THE WORD or GOD, foretel should come to pass, by means of those which are (now) before us. For He named the whole Jewish people, the children of the City; and the Temple, He styled their House. And thus He testified, that they should, on their own wicked account, bear the vengeance thus to be inflicted. For many times would He have gathered their children together beneath the yoke of the worship of God, just as all formerly was; even as He had from ancient times been careful for them, and had, during all ages, instructed them by one or other of the Prophets, and called them, but they would not hearken to his call;--on this account, He gave judgment against them, and said, ”Behold your house is left desolate. It was therefore with special care that He said, not (only) the City itself should be desolate, but the House that was within it: that is, the Temple; (and) which He was unwilling should again be called His, or yet ”the House of God,” but theirs (only). He prophesied too, that it should be desolate in no other way, than as deprived of that providential care, which was formerly exerted over it: hence He said, ”Behold your house is left desolate.

And, it is right we should wonder at the fulfilment of this prediction, since at no time did this place undergo such an entire desolation as this was. Not at the time when it was rased to its foundations by the Babylonians, on account of their great wickedness, their worshipping of Idols, and pollution in the blood of the Prophets. For seventy years was the whole period of the desolation of the place in those times: because it was not (thus) fully said to them at that time, ”Behold your House is left desolate. Nor was it (then so) forsaken; an event happening soon after, which dignified it with a renewal much more illustrious than its former state, as one of the Prophets had foretold : (viz. ”The glory of this latter House shall be greater than that of the former. After the enouncement therefore of our Saviour,--that they should so be left, and their house come, by the judgment of God, to utter desolation ;--to those who visit these places, the sight itself affords the most complete fulfilment of the prediction. The period too has been that of many years, and (of duration) so long, as not only to be double of the desolation of seventy years,--which was that in the time of the Babylonians,--but even to surpass four times (its duration) ; and (thus) confirming the judgment pronounced by our Saviour.

Again, on another occasion, our Saviour--walking by the side of the Temple, just mentioned, and His Disciples wondering at the building which surrounded it, and

pointing out to Him the greatness and beauty of the same Temple;--returned to them answer and said, ”Behold! see ye not all these things ? I say unto you, stone shall not be left here upon stone, which shall not be thrown down. The Scriptures do moreover shew, that the whole building and the extreme ornamenting of the Temple there, were indeed thus worthy of being considered miraculous: and, for proof (of this), there are preserved, even to this time, some remaining vestiges of these its ancient decorations. But, of these ancient things, the greatest miracle of all is, the Divine word (declaring) the foreknowledge of our Saviour, which fully enounced to those, who were wondering at the buildings (of the Temple), the judgment, that there should not be left in the place at which they were wondering, ”one stone upon another which should not be rased” For it was right, that this place should undergo an entire destruction and desolation, on account of the audacity of its Inhabitants; because it was the residence of impious men. And, just as the prediction was, are the results in fact remaining: the whole Temple, and its walls,--as well as those ornamented and beautiful buildings which were within it, and which exceeded all description,--have suffered desolation from that time to this! With time too, this increases :

and, so has the power of THE WORD gone on destroying, that, in many places, no vestige of their foundations is now visible! which any one who desires it, may see with his own eyes. And, should any one say, that a few of the places are still existing; we may nevertheless, justly expect the destruction of these also, as their ruin is daily increasing: the predicting word, just mentioned, daily operating by a power which is unseen. I know too--for I have heard it from persons who interpret the passage before us differently,--that this was not said on all the buildings, except only on that place which the Disciples, when expressing their wonder upon it, pointed out to Him ; for it was upon this that He spoke the predicting word. Again, the Scriptures of His Disciples which teach respecting Him, (teach) us these things (following), on the utter destruction of the place.--

On the taking of the City. From the Gospel of Luke.

19. ”And, when He saw the city, He wept over it, and said, If thou hadst known, even in this day the things of thy peace.--But now, they are (so) hidden from thine eyes, that the days shall come upon thee, in which thine enemies shall surround thee, and shall press upon thee from every part of thee: and they shall utterly root thee up, and thy children within thee. The things, prior to these, were predicted respecting the Temple; these, which are now before us, respecting the City itself; which the Jews named the City of God, because of the Temple of God that had been built within it. Over the whole of this then, the compassionate (Saviour) wept. It was not, that He had so much pity on the buildings, nor indeed upon the land, as He had first upon the souls of its inhabitants, and (then) upon (the prospect of) their destruction. He pointed out moreover, the cause of their desolation when He

said, ”If thou hadst known, even in this day, the things of thy peace: intimating too His own coming, which should be for the peace of the whole world. For this is He, of whom it was said, ”In his days shall righteousness arise (as the sun), and abundance of peace. He came also for this purpose, that ”He might preach peace to them that were near, and to them that were afar off. And, of them who received Him, He said, ”PeaceI leave to you I leave to you;

my peace give I unto you: the peace, which all nations who believed on Him throughout the whole creation, have received. But the people, who were of the circumcision and believed not on Him, knew not the things of their peace : and, on this account, He said afterwards, ”It is now (so) hidden from thine eyes, that the days shall come upon thee, (in which) thine enemies shall surround thee. The things (I say), which were therefore to take hold on them, a short time after, in the reduction (of the city) : (and), because they had no previous perception of the peace, that had been formerly preached to them, it should now be concealed from their eyes. They had therefore, no previous perception of any thing, which should afterwards befall them; He then plainly foretold these things by His fore-knowledge, and gave open intimation of the reduction (of the city), which should come upon them through the Romans, (when saying), ”The days shall come upon thee...because thou knewest not the things of thy peace. For, for this cause ”there shall come upon thee the days, (in which) thine enemies shall surround thee, and shall go round about thee, and shall press upon thee from every quarter of thee; and they shall root thee out, and thy children within thee. In these (words) then, has been recorded the form of war which should come upon them.

And, how they were fulfilled, we shall presently find from the writings of Josephus, who was himself a Jew, and descended from a tribe of the Jews ;--one of the well known and famous men among that people. At the time of the reduction (of the place), he committed to writing every thing that was done among them; and (so) shewed, that the predictions before us were, in their facts, fulfilled.

Again, on the reduction of the City. From the Gospel of Luke.

20. ”When ye shall see Jerusalem surrounded by an army, know ye that its desolation is near. Then let those who are in Judea flee to the mountains. And let those that are within it (Jerusalem) give up: and let not those that are in its borders, enter into it. Because these are the days of vengeance, that all which has been written should be fulfilled. But, woe to them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days; for there shall be great tribulation upon the land, and great wrath upon this people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led captive into all nations. And Jerusalem shall be trampled on by the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled. Previous to this He said, ”Behold your house is left desolate. He now gives by the words before us, the signs of the times of the final destruction of the place; and these He shews, saying, ”When ye shall

see Jerusalem surrounded by an army, thence know ye that its desolation is near. Now, let no one imagine, that, after the reduction of the place, and the desolation that should be in it, another renewal of it shall take place, as it was in the times of Cyrus, king of the Persians; and afterwards in those of Antiochus Epiphanes; and again, in those of Pompey. For many times did this place suffer reduction, and was afterwards dignified by a more excellent restoration.

But, when ye shall see it reduced by armies, know ye that which comes upon it, to be a final and full desolation and destruction. He designates the desolation of Jerusalem, by the destruction of the Temple, and the laying aside of those services which were, according to the law of Moses, formerly performed within it. You are not to suppose, that the desolation of the city, mentioned in these (words), was to be such that no one should any more reside in it: for He says after this, that the city shall be inhabited, not by the Jews, but by the Gentiles, when speaking thus, ”And Jerusalem shall be trampled on by the Gentiles. It was known therefore to Him, that it should be inhabited by the Gentiles. But He styled this its desolation (viz), because it should no more (be inhabited) by its own children, nor should the service of the law he established within it. And, how these things have been fulfilled, many words are not wanted (to shew) ; because, we can easily see with our own eyes, how the Jews are dispersed into all nations; and, how the inhabitants of that which was formerly Jerusalem,--but is now named Aelia by Aelius Hadrian,--are foreigners, and the descendants of another race. The wonder therefore of the prophecy is this, that He said of the Jews, ”they should be led captive into all nations; and, of the Gentiles, ”that Jerusalem should be trampled on by them. This miracle is then complete :

the Jews being now fully (dispersed) throughout the whole creation, so that they are (found) remaining among the Ethiopians, the Scythians, and in the extremities of the earth. It is only their own city, and the place in which their worship formerly was (carried on), that they cannot enter! But, if the city itself had been utterly desolated, and without inhabitants, men would have thought that this was the cause (of their exclusion from it). Now however, that the place is inhabited by foreigners, the descendants of a different race, and that it is not allowed to them alone even to set a foot in it, so that they cannot view even from a distance the land of their forefathers; the things foretold of it are fulfilled, in exact accordance with the prediction: (viz). ”They shall be led captive into all nations, and Jerusalem shall be trampled on by the Gentiles” The manner moreover of the captivity, points out the war. of which He spoke; ”For (said He) there shall be (great) tribulation upon the land, and great wrath upon this people : and they shall fall by the edge of the sword. We can learn too, from the writings of Flavius Josephus, how these things took place in their localities, and how those, which had been foretold by our Saviour, were, in fact, fulfilled. He also shews plainly the fulfilment of the predic-

tion of our Saviour, when He said, ”Woe to those that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days.

For he has put it on record, how the women roasted their children by the fire and ate them, on account of the pressure of the famine which prevailed in the city. This famine therefore, which took place in the city, our Saviour foresaw, and counselled His Disciples that, in the reduction which was about to come upon the Jews, it was not for them to take refuge in the city as in a place guarded and preserved by God, but in which many should suffer ; but, that they should depart thence, and ”flee to the mountains; and, that those, who should be within Judea, should give up to the Gentiles; and those, who were in its lands, should not take refuge in it as in a fortified place. On this account He said, ”Let those who are in its borders not enter into it, since these are the days of vengeance, that all may be fulfilled which has been written. Any one therefore, who desires it, may learn the results of these things from the writings of Josephus. And, if it is right we should lay down a few things from him in this book, by way of testimony, there is nothing that should hinder us from hearing the historian himself, who writes in this manner;--

From the sixth Book of Josephus.

21. ”And, How can it be necessary, that I should describe the severity of the famine, as to things inanimate? I come then to the making known of a fact, the like of which has not been recorded, either among the Greeks, or the Barbarians : one which, it is shocking to mention, and, to the hearing, incredible. I myself indeed, would gladly have left this calamity (unmentioned)--that I might not be thought by those who shall come after, to have related falsehoods,--had I not had many witnesses among those of our own times. I should indeed otherwise have rendered but a doubtful good, as to the land of my fathers, had I omitted to mention the things which, it has, in fact, suffered. A certain woman, of those who resided on the other side of the Jordan,--whose name was Mirian, well known on account of her family and wealth,--took refuge with many (others) in Jerusalem, and with them was shut up (in the siege). This woman’s other possessions, as they were after she left the passage (of the Jordan) and came into the city, the Tyrants seized. The residue of her treasures moreover, should it have sufficed for her daily sustenance, was invaded and seized by the attendant soldiers. Grievous indignation therefore, took possession of her; and many times did she excite the robbers against herself, by curses and reproaches. But, when no one put her to death.--either on account of her indignation or in mercy;

and she became weary of seeking sustenance for others from every quarter, and (as) suspicion was excited against her, even if she found (it) : hunger, at the same time, remaining in her bowels, and indignation inflaming her more than hunger;--she took for her counsellor impetuosity and necessity, and dared to do that which was contrary to nature. She seized upon her son,--for she had a sucking infant,-

-and said, ”Wretched (babe) ! for Whom do I preserve thee in war, famine, and tumult?-- that thou shouldest be a slave to the Romans ? If thou shouldest indeed live happily with them, still famine precedes (this) servitude ; and the seditious are cruel. Come ; be thou thou to me for food; to the seditious, the vengeance;--and to the world, the tale which alone is wanting to (complete) the sufferings of the Jews ! And, saying this, she at once killed her son. She then roasted him, and ate a part of him ! the rest she hid, and kept! These sufferings out of many, I have here set down on account of the Divine prediction of our Saviour, which declared, ”Woe to them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days: and because it adds this also to the predictive words of our Saviour, ”There shall be great tribulation on the land, and great wrath upon this people:

or, as Matthew has said, ”For there shall be at that time great tribulation, the like of which has not been since the beginning of the world, even until now ; nor shall be” (hereafter). It will be well therefore, to hear this writer himself, when thus putting on record the fulfilment of these same things.

From the fifth Book of Josephus. 22. ”It would be impossible to give an account of each and every of their iniquities singly; we say then summarily, that no (other) city (ever) suffered all these things; and, that there never was a generation so fruitful in vices as this : for they destroyed the city itself! and (were the cause) that the Romans should be recorded,-- as forced by them against their own wills,--to this sad victory ! They accordingly dragged them on forthwith, unopposed, to the Temple ; and viewed from the upper city, the fire that was burning within it.” Nor were they pained, nor did they weep at these things ! Because, ”there should be at that time great tribulation, such, that its like existed not since the beginning of the world.” This very thing was foretold by our Saviour, which this writer attests ! the whole of which was fully brought to pass forty years afterwards, in the times of Vespasian the Roman Emperor. Our Saviour moreover, added to His predictions,--determining the time,--how long Jerusalem should be trampled on by the Gentiles; for He said, ”Until the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled:” intimating by this, the end of the world.

Again, on the laws of the Jews, (viz.) that they should no more be observed, either on mount Gerizim, or in Jerusalem. And, on the service worthy of God, which should be set up in His Church. From the Gospel of John.

23. On the side of this our neighbouring city Neapolis of Palestine,--which was not small, but is even (now) a city of celebrity,--a woman of Samaria drew near to Him ; and, after other words, said to Him, ”Sir, I perceive that thou art a Prophet. Our fathers worshipped in this mountain; but ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where (men) ought to worship. Upon which, our Saviour returning this answer, said to her, ”Believe me woman, the hour cometh (in) which, neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem shall they worship the Father. And, after a few other things,

He said : ”The hour cometh, and now is, (in) which the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh even such as these to worship Him. God is a, spirit, and it is right that those who worship Him, should worship him in spirit and in truth. And, by these things also, He fully proved that His foreknowledge was not small. For formerly, in the days of Tiberius the Roman Emperor,--in whose times these things were said,--the Jews were particularly collected together in Jerusalem, for the observance of the precepts of their Law; and the Samaritans, on the mount called Gerizim which they honoured, on the side of Neapolis, affirming that it was right the Law of Moses should there be observed. Now, these mounts are, as it were, anathemas of God. With both, certain parts were honoured; and of both, the Scripture of each bears record ;

that of Moses, respecting Gerizim ; and those of the Hebrew Prophets, respecting Jerusalem. The sentence of judgment therefore, put forth in the Divine enouncement of our Saviour was, That no more, either in Jerusalem, or on mount Gerizim, should those henceforth worship, who then adhered so pertinaciously to these places : which came to pass soon after. (For), in the days of Titus Vespasian, and in the reduction which happened in those of Hadrian, both these mounts were, according to His words, desolated. That on the side of the city Neapolis, was defiled by unbecoming Images, by Idols, by Sacrifices, and the shedding of blood, and (thus) rendered abominable. The Temple also of Jerusalem was rased to the foundations, and has remained, during the whole of the time mentioned, in utter desolation and (destruction by) burning. And, from that time and even until now, has the prediction of our Saviour been fulfilled, which declared, ” The hour cometh, (in) which neither in this mount, nor in Jerusalem shall they worship,” He terms the time (meant) ”the hour; which was not yet at hand, but was about to be. And, speaking to His Disciples on the rational service to be completed by Himself, He added, ” The hour cometh, and now is, that the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth. He necessarily added therefore here, It ”now is. For immediately, from the very hour (in) which he said these words, (viz.

” The true worshippers”--of whom He was the Head and Teacher,--His Disciples, who received the rational service,--from Him, did perform the service of God, ”in spirit and in truth. But the thing, above all (others) prophesied of in these words, implies, that no more on any mount, nor in any distinct corner of the earth, but throughout the whole creation, should those ” true worshippers” worship the God who is above all, and should present to Him the Divine services, which should be performed without blood, ”in spirit and truth. Not by similitude, nor by those things of which He was the antitype, as were those of Moses observed by both Jews and Samaritans, in slaughter, sacrifices, incense, fire, and many other bodily modes;--that all of these should be abolished through the things now before us, did THE WORD OF GOD here predict. He also said, henceforth ”in spirit and truth. That is,

”the true worshippers” shall render to God, the service which is worthy of Him, in a manner divine and with both the soul and mind.

On the people which should be set up out of foreign nations, by means of his teaching. From the Gospel of John.

24. ”I am the good Shepherd, and I know my own, and my own know me. Even as the Father hath known me, so know I the Father....And I lay down my life (lit. self) for my sheep. And I have other sheep, those who were not of this fold; and it is necessary that I should bring in these, and that they should hear my voice. And there shall be one flock and one shepherd. By other words (too) He taught and said, ”I am not come, but to the sheep that have strayed of the house of Israel. It was the Jewish people then, that He named under this figure; but, by the things before us, He predicted, that it was not those only who had become His disciples from among the Jews, that were considered (as) of the number of His flock; but those also who were without this fold. For thus, the word (Scripture) usually names at one time, the whole Jewish people; at another, Jerusalem, and the service there performed according to the Law of Moses.--That ”He would collect other sheep which were not of that fold” implies the whole creation; and He foretold by these things, that out of them (this) rational flock should be so brought together to Him, that to the one and self-same worship of God, all, (both) Jews and Idolaters believing in Him, should come over;

and, that there should be ” one flock and one Shepherd.”This is His Church, which has been established both from among the Jews, and Gentiles. And thus, has it come to pass ! For at once, at the outset of the preaching of the Gospel, great multitudes of the Jews were convinced that He was the Christ of God, who had been preached of by the Prophets. And with these, (those), who believed on Him from among the Gentiles, were brought together in one Church, under the hand of the one Shepherd,--of Him who is THE WORD or GOD. For in Jerusalem itself arose, from among the Jews, one after another fifteen bishops of the Church there, from James who was the first. There were too thousands, at once both of Jews and Gentiles there, who had been brought together, even to the time of its reduction in the days of Hadrian. And, that He was the (good) Shepherd who had been many times preached of in the words of the Prophets, it is obvious to us: the words (I say), which mention THE WORD OF GOD and teach, that He is the Shepherd of the souls of men, as of rational flocks. For it is thus said on one occasion by the Prophets: ” The Lord feedeth me (as a shepherd), and I shall lack nothing. And on another; ”Shepherd of Israel look, (thou) who leadest Joseph as a flock: and, on another, He introduces (one) saying, ”He is the Lord, and the Shepherd of the sheep.

He therefore alone, is truly declared to be the Shepherd of rational souls. For, just as the case is among men, the nature of the sheep is one, and that of the shepherd

another; and, (as) the rational nature rules and leads that which is irrational; so also is it with respect to the superiority of the Shepherd (here), THE WORD OF GOD, the nature far excels that of man. We indeed are His flock, and, as compared with His power, we are less rational than any sheep. But He is in truth the good and pure Shepherd, who does not so neglect His flock, that it may be devoured by the wolves; that is to say, by the wicked demons, the corrupters of souls. This constrains us to look to His word which declared, with great power and might, ”I am the good Shepherd; and which also said, ”I lay down my life for my sheep. (This) He said in a mystery respecting His death. He also taught at the same time the cause; viz. that it was for the redemption of the souls of the rational flocks, that He (so) gave His life. And this also: ”I have other sheep,” shews, that the Jews were not His only possession; but also, that the whole of the nations had been given to Him of His Father, according to this (declaration), ”Ask of me, and I will give thee the nations for thine inheritance.”

How His death was the cause of the redemption of many. From the Gospel of John.

25. He was often with the Jews, because to them were known the predictions of the Prophets respecting Him. But, because the Greeks upon one occasion also approached His Disciples, desiring to see Him,--it is written, that, when they had told Him this, He said: ”The hour is come, that the Son of Man should be glorified. I say unto you, that unless the grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it will remain alone; but if it (so) die, it will bring forth much fruit. By these things also) He obviously declared in a mystery, that, among the Greeks, among foreign nations and the children of a different generation, those things which comprehended the praises of His Godhead should be embraced. For it was not when He was among the Jews that he said, ”His hour had come that He should be glorified,” but, when the Greeksdrew near to Him. After this, he necessarily continued shewing of His own death, His resurrection, and of the calling of the people, among whom He then was. For, just as the grain of wheat, before it falls into the earth, remains alone, but contains the life-producing-power, with the energies of the seed included within it, (and) which the ears shall produce; but, after falling into the earth,--just as that which lives after death,--it will increase, and, from the power vested within it, produce many ears of corn; so did He also declare respecting Himself, that the things should be. And this indeed, the result of them has plainly evinced.

For, it was not the Greeks alone who, after His death, received of His power and of the provisions of His Godhead, but also many nations. He was therefore, that seed which fell, and sprang up again, ”He who was dead, but is alive. He, who after His fall which was by death, increased greatly, is He who has, by His resurrection, filled the lands of the heathen, as it were cultivated fields, with the Divine unutterable power. On this account He said, ”The harvest is great, but the labourers are few. And again, ”Lift up your eyes and see the fields, that they are white for the harvest.

These things He also foretold (figuratively), of those who should after His death establish themselves in Him, through the pure faith which is by Him; the multitude of whom should, throughout the whole creation both of Greeks and Barbarians, constitute the Church to be established in myriads of congregations ;--collected together, as it were, (the produce of) rational well-cultured fields, into one place ; (that is) the souls of men, into the granaries of His Church. Hence it has been said, "He whose fan is in His hand, and who will cleanse His floor, and collect the wheat into (His) treasuries: but the straw He will burn with fire unquenchable."

How Simon the chief of the Disciples, should, like his Master, be given up to crucifixion, and depart this life. From the Gospel of John.

26. "My children, a little while I am with you; and ye shall seek me: even as I said to the Jews, whither I go, ye cannot come; and thus also I say again unto you. Simon Peter said unto Him, Whither goest Thou ? And Jesus answered him: Whither I go, thou canst not now come, but, after a time, thou shalt come. And again, in the latter part of the book, Jesus, after his resurrection from the dead, said to Peter: "I say unto thee, When thou wast young, thou girdedst thy loins, and wentest whither thou wouldest ; but, when thou shalt have become old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and others shall gird thy loins for thee, and shall lead thee whither thou shalt not be willing. And these things which He said (were) to shew, by what death he should glorify God. And, when He had said this, He said to him, Follow me" And, Who is not astonished, that, when He said these things to His Disciples, they should be prepared and ready to adhere to Him even to death ? For He did not deceive them by intimating, or promising to them, the things considered good in this life ; nor did He by any such means, allure them to give their adhesion to Him ; but, He simply foretold those obvious tortures which should, on His account, befall them.

And (so) He previously shewed to Simon the mode of crucifixion, by which he afterwards closed his life in the city of Rome, in this which He said, "When thou shalt have become old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and others shall gird thy loins for thee. And similarly, He also shewed mystically in this which He said, "Whither I go. thou canst not now come; but, after a time, thou shalt come. Now, these things were not said to them all, but only to Peter ; because it is he alone, who, in the Scripture, (is said) should end his life after the manner of the suffering of our Saviour.

How He foretold to the rest of His Disciples, the persecutions which were about to arise time after time against them. From the Gospel of Matthew.

27. "Beware of men, for they shall deliver you up to their Rulers, and shall scourge you in their Synagogues, and shall bring you, before governours and kings for my sake, for a testimony to themselves, and to the Gentiles. And again, "Blessed are

ye when they persecute you, and revile you, and say every evil (thing) against you, for my sake. Rejoice and exult, since great is your reward in heaven ; for so they persecuted the Prophets who were before you. Now, the wonder is this, (viz. the additional word here saying, ”for my sake. For it was not sufficient, that He should only foreknow and foretel the persecutions which should arise against His Disciples; but, that He might also shew the cause of these, He said, they should suffer these things for His sake. Nor was it on account of any evil practices, nor yet for any other fault; but,--(as) He previously testified,--that every thing (of this sort) should befall them for His sake: which is present in the fact for our information ! For if any one, during the time of the persecutions, denied only that he was a Christian, he was released from all blame and cause of accusation. But, so irreprehensible and sinless were the lives of His Disciples to be, that they should suffer every sort of calamity for no other cause, except only their confessing, and giving testimony to, Him.

He did indeed, fully stir up and make’them ready (for this), by comparing them with the ancient Prophets and Friends of God ; for, (said He), even as they persecuted the Prophets who were before you, so shall they, without cause, drive you out; and, after the manner of the Prophets, shall ye be punished, because ye worship the God who is over all; on which account, they also persecuted the Prophets. Now that He should foretel, that even governours and kings should be moved by these things; that the time was then at hand; that He should (so) speak with His Disciples; and that His words should so come to pass and remain in fact, How greatly does it exceed (all) wonder ? For there have been many others, both Barbarians and Greeks, who have said and promised many wise things to their Disciples. Of these, some supposed that there was no God; others annihilated every consideration about Providence; and others (received) those who were thought Gods by the many: others arose (as) the leaders of vicious factions; others (who thought), that Rest was the extreme (good) : and others, that Rest indiscriminately was; and who indeed talked just as they might be circumstanced. But never did any one of these, previously determine such things for His Disciples. Nor do we know of any persecutions that opposed them, such as those were that opposed the teaching of our Saviour.

How then shall we not wonder, and confess, that these are indeed the words of God ?--these (I say), which not only previously attested, through the Divine foreknowledge, the persecutions which should come upon His Disciples; but also, previously pointed out the cause of these, by this which He said, that these things should happen to them, for His sake?

How those also who were equals should arise, and persecute each other, in the times of the persecutions. From the Gospel of Matthew.

28. ”The brother shall deliver his brother to death, and the father his son: and the children shall rise up against their parents, and shall cause them to be put to death. And ye shall be hated of all men for my name’s sake; but he, who shall bear even to the end, shall live. Now, how these things have, even to the present time, been fulfilled in fact, What need is there that we should shew at length, since these facts are superior to all report ? We have seen too with our own eyes, how many things of this sort took place, both during the persecutions, and in our own times. Nor do you simply hear this, that ”the brother should deliver his brother to death; for even this might have been as any mere matter of opinion. But we can investigate (the case), and inform ourselves how it was, that ”the brother delivered his brother to death.”-- When one surrenders himself to fraternal affection, and chooses the love of life, and denies God, and particularly with respect to his brother, whom he will solicit and persuade to worship idols; will excite and inveigle, putting forth (his) fraternal affection, so as to make him disregard the command of our Saviour; then indeed, will the brother deliver up his brother to the death of his soul. In like manner also, will the father cause his son to err (by enticing), and will persuade him to worship the idols, and (so) deliver him to death.

So also the children, their parents: they will, through their affection for them, (so) lead them on, that they will choose the mortal life which now is, rather than that which is with God; and will (so) become the cause, both of the death and perdition of the soul of their parents. And many such things as these, did we witness with our own eyes, during the times of the persecutions ; so that in them was fulfilled the (prediction) : ”Ye shall be hated of all men for my name’s sake. In this place also was this addition carefully made, teaching the Disciples that, it should not be for any hateful deed, but for His name’s sake, they should be hated.

On those who should impurely collect themselves into His Church, and on the punishment that should come upon them. From the Gospel of Matthew.

29. ”The kingdom of heaven is like a net that fell into the sea, and collected of every sort (of fish) ; and, when it was full, they drew it up to the shore, and sitting down they selected those that were good, and put them into vessels; but the bad, they threw away. Thus shall it be in the end of this world: the angels shall go forth, and shall separate the evil from among the just, and shall cast them into a fiery oven: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.” The ”net”--which is here (put) by a figure for the word,-- and which is woven (as it were) from the various mind of the old and new Scriptures, He names His own doctrine : the fluctuating life of man, which is subject to hardship in its doings on account of the calamities attending it, ”the sea.” Out of this (sort of) life, as from the sea, the ”net,” so foretold, was to catch up tens of thousands. And under it were to be (taken), the various multitudes of those opposed to each other in their characters; and of these, the good and bad in their dispositions. Of these too he spoke mystically, as being caught up from

the sea after the manner of fish, when He said in the first calling of His Disciples, ”Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men.” This collecting together therefore of such men, bad and good, in His Church,--assembled (as they are) to this very time,-- was not unknown to Him : for He taught, that these same should at last be separated by the Angels, who should be appointed to this (work) ; and (so) should the punishment, due to the disposition of each one, be awarded.

How Impostors and Seducers should invest themselves with His Doctrine, and formally present themselves to Him. From the Gospel of Matthew .

30. ”Beware of lying Prophets who come to you in lambs’ clothing, but inwardly (are) rapacious wolves. By their fruits ye shall know them. For men do not gather grapes from thorns, nor figs from thistles. So every good tree produceth good fruit, but an evil tree giveth forth evil fruit. He (here) counselled (them) by His foreknowledge, to beware of those ungodly persons, who, availing themselves of the opinions of others, and of the words of the Scriptures of His Divinity, should in after times formally assume the name of Christianity. He also shews the marks and vouchers of the evil concealed within them, and which should deceive the many, when saying, ”By their fruits ye shall know them. Now the fruits of such are these ; the ungodly words uttered by them; their unrighteous and perverse manner of life. These things then, when uttered and foretold by our Saviour, afforded at that time no visible testimony whatever to those who heard them, (as to their truth) ; but, in after times, the facts (so) declared became openly visible to all: the followers accordingly of Marcion, Valentinus, Basilides, and those other corrupters of souls, sprang up, (viz. Bardesanes, and that madman in opinion of yesterday, and of our own times, whose name became the titular badge of the Manichean heresy; who all became the sources of lying and ungodly doctrine. Nor did they otherwise come to light, but as outwardly clothed with the skins of our Saviour’s lambs. And He plainly styled His Disciples ”sheep;

saying, ”My sheep hear my voice: and again, ”Behold, I send you as sheep among wolves. Of these then they outwardly assumed the manner, while in themselves they were ”rapacious wolves. (And), How many thousands of the sheep of our Saviour, did these Deceivers snatch away ? Who, presenting their persons in form as to Christ, attached themselves to His instruction, and to the terms of the doctrines relating to His Godhead, and exhibited themselves as (His) lambs ! But, that ungodly bitterness which lay (as) in ambush within them, adhered secretly to those who had been ensnared by them. These, therefore, who were now thought to be ”sheep,” because of their (thus) drawing near (to Him), openly appeared afterwards to be ”rapacious wolves. And hence, our Saviour taught us previously to beware of them, when He said by way of instruction, ”By their fruits ye shall know them.”

How even He and His Disciples should be thought to have taken men, by means of Magicians, and of intercourse with Demons.

31. ”The disciple is not greater than his master, nor the servant than his lord. It is sufficient for the disciple that he be as his master, and for the servant, as his lord. And, if they have called the Lord of the house Beelzebub, How much more the children of his household? Fear them not therefore, for there is nothing hidden that shall not be revealed; nor concealed that shall not be made known.” The Jews held that Beelzebub was an evil Demon, and prince of the Demons: they blasphemed our Saviour accordingly, (affirming) that by the power of this, He expelled the rest of the Demons from men . But, He returned the true answer to those who thought this, which is also written among His words. He foretold too, to His Disciples, that they also should be thought to overcome men, through intercourse with Demons and Magicians: which very thing, now affirmed by the many, has sealed and confirmed the prediction of our Saviour. He also gave His testimony, that this notion, (so) ascribed to them, should come to nothing, from (the consideration) of their lives, and conduct; their purity of doctrine, and that (inculcating) the worship of God. He said therefore, ”Fear them not; for there is nothing hidden that shall not be revealed, nor concealed that shall not be made known.” He therefore reproved these (Disciples), for a considerable time, because the things formerly escaping the many, had, on this account, been supposed (by them) to be incapable of publication; as also those, belonging to the doctrines of the (true) worship of God, of being made openly known. But, His ordinances and precepts have now been made known to every man ; and He has extinguished that (injurious) opinion respecting them, (His Disciples) which had formerly been held by the many.

On those who should remain in complete holiness in His Church, and in the life inexperienced (in conjugal) Society. From the Gospel of Matthew.

32. When He determined for them, that (one) should not leave his wife except in the matter of fornication , and His Disciples said to Him, ”If the cause of a man with the wife be thus, it is not advantageous to take wives;” It is written, that He said upon these things, ”Every man is not sufficient for this matter, except those to whom it is given. There are eunuchs, who were, thus from their mothers’ womb; and there are eunuchs, who were (made) eunuchs by men ; and there are eunuchs, who have made themselves eunuchs, for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. He who can bear (it) let him bear (it).” It is evident from the context of the Scriptures, that there never was among men, and particularly among the Jews, any one who uttered by revelation any thing like this ; or, who did any thing like it: or that, throughout the whole creation and among all nations, whether in the cities or villages, there were multitudes, not of men (only), but also of women, who kept themselves in perfect holiness, and the state of virginity, through the hope and expectation of the kingdom of heaven. We have seen in the very experiment itself, that they learned they should soon be prepared for this. The fulfilment however, of the claim to foreknowledge, was not simply (realized here); for we have seen many men, well known to us, who (actually) availed themselves of the iron (knife,)

and made eunuchs of themselves for no other cause, except that of the hope of the kingdom of heaven: who neither hesitated, nor were weak in the doctrine of our Saviour, but simply and boldly betook themselves to the thing itself. So that the foreknowledge of our Saviour, even respecting these things, sets to its seal, that His word was in truth the word of God.

On the distinction of those who should not worthily receive the seed of His doctrine. From the Gospel of Matthew.

33. When a great multitude of men had come near Him, He thus foretold by a parable what those should be, who should receive the seed of His doctrine, saying : ”Behold, a sower went forth to sow: and, as he sowed, some fell by the way side, and the fowls of heaven came and devoured it: and some fell on the rock, where there was not much earth, and immediately it sprang forth ; and, because there was no depth of earth beneath its root, it dried up. And some fell among thorns, and the thorns sprang up, and choked it: and some fell upon good ground, and it gave forth fruit, some an hundred, some sixty, and some thirty-fold. After these things He cried out and said, He that hath ears to hear, let him hear” After this also, He was asked by His Disciples, what the interpretation of the parable should be; and He taught them, saying, ” Hear ye therefore the parable of the sower. Every one that heareth the word of the kingdom, but understandeth it not,--the Evil one cometh, and snatcheth the seed out of his heart. This is that which is sown by the ivay side. And that which is sown upon the rock, is he who heareth the word, and with readiness receiveth it: but, not being confirmed therein, he is offended by a little affliction.

And that which fell among the thorns, is he who heareth the word, but the care of the world, and the deceitfulness of riches, choke the word, and it remaineth without fruit. But that which is sown on good ground, is he who heareth the word, and understandeth it, and produceth fruit, some an hundred, some sixty, and some thirty-fold. Now, Whence could it have happened to human nature, not only to declare bv (one’s) foreknowledge something that should come into being; but also, to determine the kinds and sorts of persons (who should), unless indeed He were truly THE WORD of God ?--He (I say), who at that time (so) prophesied and taught;--of whom it is said, ”The WORD OF GOD is lively (energetic), and more sharp and cutting than the two-edged sword, and passeth even to the parts of the soul and of the body, and of the joints and marrow; and is the Judge of the thoughts and intentions of the heart, and from whom no creature is hidden? He well declared therefore, the distinguishing marks of those who should afterwards receive His doctrines; and He also foretold, that those who should in impurity receive the seed of His instruction, should be of three kinds; as should in like manner the good, who should like good ground hear much, and give great increase to the word itself. Of

those corrupters of the seed too, which should fall into their souls, He declared there should be three (moving) causes :

Either from the considerations of life, and the care of things not (absolutely) necessary, and from riches and pleasures, immersing (as it were) the seed sown within them, and making it resemble the seed choked by thorns: or, others not receiving it into the depth of the mind, but immediately extinguishing it when affliction overtakes them: or, the third cause may be, that the source of the destructions of the seed within them is, the surrendering of a lax and ready hearing to (men) wishing to seduce them, and to snatch away the seed that had fallen into their souls. And these same are, in no other way cut off from bearing the fruit that is of God, except as by one or other of the means just mentioned. But those who are opposed to these, and receive the seed of salvation into a soul that is pure, and a mind that is devoted, do again, as their power may be, greatly increase their fruits. He moreover assimilates the distinctions of these, to those of good and excellent lands which bring forth some thirty, some sixty, and some an hundred-fold. For such as these powers are, are those occasionally found in the souls of men. These things therefore, He prophesied on these matters. But, of the multitude of those who should in after-times bear (much) fruit, through the instruction of His words, He thus cried out and said, ”The harvest is great, but the labourers are few.

Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He would send forth labourers into His harvest. And again, of these same He said on another occasion : ”Do not ye yourselves say, that there are yet four months, and the harvest cometh ? Lift up your eyes, and see the fields that they are white for the harvest! And, Who does not wonder, that He should shew even the fewness of those who should in purity be the chiefs of His word, for He said, ”The labourers are few? And, as prayer was necessary for the obtaining of these, He said therefore, ”Pray ye the Lord of the harvest, that He send forth labourers into His harvest. When He said therefore, ”The sower went out to sow,” He also said, that there was another sower, and another seed ; and He also shewed and taught, whence, and whither, he went forth by the things said in the parable immediately following this, which is in this form:--

On the teaching of Heterodoxy, which should be sown together with His word in the souls of men. From the Gospel of Matthew.

34. He added another Parable, and said: ”The kingdom of heaven is like to a man, who sowed good seed in his field. But, when men slept, the Enemy came and sowed Tares among the wheat, and departed. When therefore, the wheat sprang forth and produced fruit, the Tares appeared in like manner. And his servants drew near and said to him : Our Lord, Didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? Whence are there Tares in it ? But he said to them, The man (who is) the Enemy hath done this. They say to him: Is it thy will therefore, that we go (and) gather them ? But he

said to them, No; lest, while ye gather the Tares, ye also root up the wheat with them. Let them both grow until the harvest. And at the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather up first the Tares, and bind them in bundles for burning; but gather ye the wheat into the granaries" (lit. treasuries). This same Parable too, He explained to His Disciples in the house, when they drew near to Him and said, "Explain to us the Parable of the Tares of the field. And He answered them, and said: The sower of the good seed is the Son of man; and the field is the world. (As to) the good seed, these are the children of the kingdom; and the Tares, those are the children of the wicked one; and the Enemy, who sowed them, is the Accuser.

And the harvest is the end of the world, and the reapers are the Angels. Even therefore, as the Tares are gathered up, and fall into the fire; so shall it be at the end of this world. The Son of man shall send His Angels, and they shall gather out of His kingdom all offences, and those that do evil, and shall cast them into the Gehenna of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. And then shall the righteous shine in the kingdom of their Father. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear. Our Saviour shewed therefore, by His explanation of the Parable, these things (viz.), who the sower that went out to sow the seed was, and what the seed was which He cast forth, in the expressions: "The sower of the good seed is the Son of man ; and the field is the world. For He usually called Himself the "Son of man," on account of His going about among men. He therefore went forth from within, and came out. Where then was He within, but above the world ? where (indeed) He existed; and in the end of the world He came forth, and came down to us, who were without (out of) the kingdom of heaven. And with Him He brought the heavenly seed, which He sowed in the souls of men as in distinguished lands.

For the Parable placed before us teaches respecting the field, as of what sort it is, into which He cast the seed;--which says, "The field is the world; and it shews of this field, that it belongs to none but Himself;--to Him who came forth from the inner part of His kingdom, to those who were "without" (out of it), when saying, "the servants drew near and said to Him, "Our Lord, didst not thou sow good seed in THY field? He therefore taught plainly, that even this field is His own : and this He interpreted and shewed, was the world. In the former Parable therefore, He shewed His foreknowledge as to what the distinctions of those would be, who should receive the seed into their souls; but in this, which is placed before us, the perverse doctrines and errors of the ungodly Hereticks: when not one of them had yet so established himself among men! Nevertheless, it was not unknown to Him that this should come to pass. For, as false scriptures were scattered as seed in succeeding times throughout the whole earth, with enouncements assimilated to those of His doctrine, by an opposing nature, not unlike the Tares (sown) among His pure words and life-giving doctrines;--and there are myriads even to this time, some of whom make their boast of Manes, some of Marcion, and some of others, of

those (I say) who put forth ungodly heterodoxy, and ”Tares” (as it were), assimilated to the doctrine of our Saviour;

making use of His name, and holding false books of the Gospels:--but he who was the Father of these things; --he who first sowed them in the souls of those who received him, was the Accuser himself: so He (our Saviour) well evinced, by the Divine power, the foreknowledge of what should come to pass; and these things He previously testified, which have been thus fulfilled in fact; and accordingly their fulfilment was, as His words (had foreshewn). As He therefore truly shewed forth these things, and as we see in the facts themselves, the fulfilment of these predictions of our Saviour; so ought we also to think, that the rest shall come to pass. And these are, ”the harvest,”” ”the end,” and ”the angels the reapers: also that the Tares shall be gathered, and shall fall into the fire:--the extreme good things too of those, who shall have preserved and multiplied the living, pure, and life-giving seed ; of whom it is said, ”Then shall the righteous shine as the sun, in the kingdom of their Father.”

On those who should falsely name themselves the Christ. From the Gospel of Matthew.

35. ”When He sat on the mount of Olives, His Disciples drew near, saying between themselves and Him, Tell us, When shall these things be ? and What is the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world ? And Jesus answered them, and said, See that no man deceive you: for many shall come in my name, and shall say, I am the Christ; and shall deceive many” And again, after a few things He said, ”If at that time any one say to you, the Christ is here, or there; believe ye not. For false Christs shall arise, and false Prophets, and shall give great signs and wonders, so that if it were possible they should deceive even the elect. Behold, I have foretold (it) to you. If therefore they shall say to you, Behold, He is in the desert, go not forth; or, Behold, He is in the chamber, (it) not. For, as the lightning shineth from the East, and is seen even to the West; so shall the coming of the Son of Man be” And on another occasion, when speaking with the Jews, He added these things and said, ”I am come in the name of my Father, and ye receive me not; but, if another come in his own name, him ye will receive. These things He foretold when warning His Disciples against the lying Antichrist, whom they were expecting:

and one (of these) shewed of another in the Epistle to the Thessalonians, who (should be) in (the time of) the end. But, that others also should be before this, our Saviour Himself foretold in several places: ”For many,” said He, ”shall come in my name, and shall say, I am the Christ, and shall deceive many. And there were many (such) after (these) His words. And so the Samaritans were forthwith persuaded that Dositheus, who was after the times of our Saviour, was the prophet of whom Moses predicted . And he so deceived them, that they declared he was the Christ. Others again, in the times of the Apostles, named Simon Magus ”the great

power of God" and thought that he was the Christ. Others (thought the same) of Montanus in Phrygia: and others again, of others, in another place. Nor did the deceivers cease. And it is necessary we should suppose, that there were many such as these; so that even from them, testimony may be had, as to the reality of our Saviour's foreknowledge. Our Saviour taught moreover, that His glorious second coming should not again be, as it was at the first, in some one place, so that it may be supposed to be visible in some corner of the earth: and, that no one should thus think, He said, "If any one shall say to you, Behold, the Christ is here, or is there, believe ye not.

For opinions such as these comport by no means with Him, but with those false Christs and false Prophets. He indeed appeared once in the form of man, and in a certain district. But, of what sort his glorious second coming from heaven should be, He taught and said, "For, as the lightning goeth forth from the East, and is seen even to the West; so also shall the coming of the Son of Man be."

On the events that should happen at the end of things. From the Gospel of Matthew.

36. "Ye shall hear indeed of wars, and rumours of wars: see that ye be not moved, for it is necessary they should be; but the End is not yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. And there shall be famines and pestilences, and commotionsin divers places. And all these are the beginning of sorrows. Then shall they give you up to affliction, and shall kill you in divers places. And all these are the beginning of sorrows. Then shall they give you up to affliction, and shall kill you; and ye shall be hated by all nations for my name's sake. And after this He added, and said, "Then shall many stumble, and shall betray one another, and shall hate one another. And many false prophets shall arise, and shall deceive many. And, because of the abundance of iniquity, the love of many shall wax cold. But he, who shall bear until the End, shall live. And the Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world, for the testimony of all nations; and then cometh the End. He clearly foretold also by these things, that His Gospel should, of necessity, first be preached in the whole creation, for the testimony of all nations, "and then should the END come. For the END of the world should not come, before (the Gospel) had been preached; but, when His word should have so taken effect among all nations, that the people should be few, among whom His Gospel had not been preached;

so also should the time of the END be short (in its coming). He further teaches and says, "Ye shall hear of wars, and rumours of wars: see that ye be not moved, for it is necessary they should be; but the End is not yet. He also shews when this shall be, for He says, "The Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole creation, for the testimony of all nations: and then cometh the end. When also, "famines and pestilences, and commotions (shall be) in divers places, and nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom" and there shall be overwhelming

persecutions, and great afflictions. After these things too, He says, ”And ye shall be hated of all nations” not on account of any other hateful acts, but ”for my name’s sake.”

37. These proofs of the Divine manifestation of our Saviour, which we have thus far seen, are at the same time demonstrative, that both the words and deeds (had in view) are Divine. For in former times, the words were simply heard; but now, in our times, the fulfilment of these words is openly visible in deed, together with powers eclipsing those of all mortal nature. And, if men will not be persuaded by these, we ought not to wonder: because it is usual with man so to resist things the most plain, as even to dare to oppose by his words the existence of an universal Providence; and hence also, to deny God himself! And thus also, will he disingenuously contend against many other things, to which the truth bears testimony. But, as the injurious conduct of these detracts in no respect from the word, which is in its own nature true; so also will the wicked unbelief of men, in no way injure the evident excellency of the Godhead of our Saviour. But, if it is right that we should compose, for these also, a form (of prescription) conducing to intellectual health ; it is time that we should here again present, for their use, (other) proofs of the (truth of the) Gospel, and now also recite the things, which have formerly been investigated with reference to other (objectors), as to those who will not be persuaded by the things (hitherto) said.

The End of the Fourth Book (of Eusebius) of Caesarea. [Selected footnotes. Notes concerned only with points of the Syriac and large chunks of Greek have been omitted]

Book 5

BOOK V. THE FIFTH BOOK OF (EUSEBIUS) OF CAESAREA.

1. SUCH as these (then), are the proofs of the Divine manifestation of the common Saviour of all, Jesus the Christ, which have been thus far visible to the eyes, shewing forth at once the Divine words and deeds. For in ancient times, the words, of which we have already spoken, as to things which should come to pass, were simply heard ; those (I say) which He prophesied to His disciples when He was near, (and) in their presence. But now, in our times, the fulfilment of these words is openly viewed in fact, with powers eclipsing that of all mortal nature. And, if men will not be persuaded of these things, we ought not to wonder: because man is accustomed so to resist the clearest things (possible,) as to dare to oppose in his assertions even the existence of an universal Providence, and thus also even to deny God Himself! And thus disingenuously, will he also contend against many other things, to which the truth (itself) bears testimony. But, as the injurious conduct of these detracts in no respect from the word, which is in (its own) nature true; so also will the wickedness of the unbelief of men, injure in no respect the evident excellency of the Godhead of our Saviour. Let us not deign therefore, even in word to attach ourselves to these. For those, whom the works of God will not persuade, the word of man will be (too) abject to move. Nevertheless, let us again take up the more vigorously, those things against such, which we formerly investigated by questions, in proof of the Gospels. If therefore ally one should, after all this, impugn the truth and dare disingenuously to affirm, that the Christ of God was not (such) as we believe He was, but was a magician, seducer, and impostor; we would present to him, as an infant in mind, those things which we also formerly investigated:--

Against those who suppose that the Christ of God was a magician and deceiver. 2. Let us now ask then, Whether there ever was a man heard of at any period, who (as) a magician and deceiver, was (also) a teacher of humility, meekness, purity, and of every other virtue? And, Whether it is just to call by these names, Him who would not allow, that (men) should even look upon women with evil desire? And, Whether he could be a magician, who delivered the chief philosophy by teaching His disci-

ples, that the indigent should of their wealth adhere to Him, and that compassion and liberality should abound with them? And, Whether He could be a magician, who forbade the assembling together of ferocious and tumultuous inhabitants, and taught them to love the retirement only, which devotes itself to the word of God ? How could He,--who deterred from every species of falsehood, and commanded that men should so honour truth above all things, that they should not stand in need of a true oath, much less of a false one,--be justly named a magician? But, What need can there be, that I should now say many things (on this point,) since we may readily inform ourselves from His own words,--which have, even to this day, been preached throughout the whole earth,--what the sort of conduct was, which was disseminated by Him in the world ? Every one who loves the truth will confess of Him, not only that He was neither magician nor deceiver, but was THE WORD OF GOD in truth, and the teacher of the divine philosophy and righteousness; and not of this common philosophy of the world ;--

3. But the things pertaining to His form of doctrine were such as these.--Come then, let us enquire whether this His error, consisted in (any of) the many things of His teaching. Observe then, Was it not God, the King of all, Him alone, of whom it is written that He is the cause of every good thing, that He taught and presented to His disciples ? And, Do not the words of His doctrine to this very time, raise the mind of every Greek and Barbarian in existence, to the God who is supreme, to Him (I say) who is the maker of the heavens and of the earth, and of the whole world; making (them) overleap all visible nature, and every thing fabricated ? Was this then His error ? or, Was it, that He did not allow those to worship many gods,--to whom it had been made clear, from this worship of God only, that He could not be convicted of falsehood:--(and) who had fallen after their Head, on account of this real error? But this was not new, nor was it His word (only), but that of those Hebrews, friends of God, who arose in ancient times. And from them it was, that these recent (true) philosophers were aided in these great (performances), and gave in to their doctrines: the wise men of Greece too, glorying in the divinations of their deities, have put it thus on record of the Hebrews, that ”wisdom came to the Chaldeans alone, and the Hebrews purely worshipped the Essence of the person of God, the King of all.”

4. If then those ancient friends of God,--those to whom (these) divinations have more particularly home testimony,--did raise the act of worship (directing it) to the God who is over all; How should we confess of Him, that He was a deceiver, and not a most wonderful teacher, who has extended this worship of God--as to the things which were known only in former times to these descendants of the Heads of the Hebrew fathers,--to all mankind ! And this to such a degree, that no more, as in those times, a few, and those easy to be numbered, hold the orthodoxfaith respecting God; but thousands of congregations of barbarians at once, and of those who in ancient times were perfectly savage, also of the wise, and men of Greece,-

-of those (I say) who now, like the prophets and just men of old, have been taught in the worship of God, solely by means of His power, and of His instruction !

5. But, let us also investigate this third (consideration). Was it then for this, that they called Him a deceiver (viz.), because He taught, that men should no more honour God with the slaughter of bulls, or with the sacrifices of irrational animals ? Neither with blood and fire, nor with incense, which are of the earth, because these things are of small value and earthly ; and shewed that they never could comport with the nature which is immortal and incorporeal?-- determined also that to keep the commandments of God, and by their means to purify both the soul and body, was more acceptable and becoming to God, than any sort of sacrifice ?--inculcated too that men should be careful to become like God, both in enlightenment of mind, and in the knowledge of his worship ? And, should any one of the Greeks find fault with these things, let him know that it is not to be imagined, that the things (so) received are against (even) those of His own teachers, who have put much together on this (matter,) viz.; That (men) should not suppose they honoured God by means of blood and the sacrifices of irrational animals, or by those of fire, smoke, and the fumes of fat.

6. We know too that we are, after these things, taught by Him that the world was made; and that these Heavens, the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, are the work of God; and that it is not right we should worship these, and not Him who is the Maker and Creator of them all. It may be well therefore for us to see, how He could have deceived men, from whom we have learned to think that this system (of things) is nothing new, but is that of the Hebrews, the ancient friends of God. Even this sentiment was also from these famous philosophers;--they delivered these same (particulars), affirming that these beavens, the sun, the moon, the stars, and the whole world, were also made by Him, who is the Creator of all things. He also taught us to believe, that the soul which we possess is immortal, and that it is in no respect like the animals that are irrational, but that (the faculties) within it resemble the powers of God. He likewise taught, that all those who were barbarian and ignorant, should (at once) make this their own, and be, and know. And, How was it, that we were not made wise by those sages among the Egyptians, or by those Greeks who made broad their foreheads; those who said that the soul which was in man, was in no respect better in its essence than were gnats, fleas, worms, or reptiles; nor even, than the soul of the serpent, the viper, the bear, or the panther? and that swine, as to their soul, differed in no respect, (from men) ?--

7. And, that after these things, He perseveringly admonished (men) of the judgment of God, and of the punishments and vengeance,--things from which we cannot be exempt,--which are recorded against the wicked; also, of the promises of eternal life, of the kingdom of heaven, and of the life of happiness with God, respecting the just. Whom then did He deceive ? Did He not rather stimulate (men) to hasten

on to virtue, because of the victories reserved for the righteous ? and, to flee from, and repel from them, every vice, because of the punishments to be inflicted on the wicked ? Such then, being the instructions contained in the doctrinal ordinances of our Saviour; What room does there remain for imagining, that we should suppose Him to have been a Deceiver and Magician ?--But, let us also investigate these things.-- 8. When a magician associates his companions with the things of this vice, Like to what men does he make them ? Is it not to magicians, deceivers, and fabricators of magical drugs,--in all respects like himself ? Was there ever, then, a man found among the whole Christian race, who fabricated magical rites or drugs, from the doctrine of our Saviour ? There is no (such thing) existing for any man to say; but, the contrary to this, that they have been seen passing over to the precepts of the philosophy which is Divine. How then, can He be justly styled other, in truth, than the Teacher of the life which worships God, the common Saviour of all,--who became throughout the whole habitable world, and to all nations, the (sole) cause of purity and of holiness of life, and of the knowledge (inculcating) the worship of the Creator of all things ?

9. Those too, who adhered to Him from the first, as well as those who afterwards received the traditionary account of the manner of their conversation, were, as to all these matters, so far removed from suspicion of evil and bitterness, that they did not even allow the sick to do many things which the many dared to do; either, that they should write (charms) upon tablets, or make use of amulets; or, that they should in their minds have respect to those who promised to use enchantments; or, that they should prescribe for the persons (of the sick), as cures for complaints, either the fumes of roots, or of apples, or of any other similar things. All these things were therefore, excluded from the doctrine of our Saviour: nor was there ever a Christian to be found who used amulets, or enchantments, or the means of written tablets, or, indeed, any other forms allied to these; the indiscriminate use of which was in repute among the many. What then can be said against the men who had been instructed in these things, so as to cast the imputation on them, of their having been the disciples of a master who was a magician ? when, behold, the association of any one among the disciples, who promised any (new) doctrine, was severely reprehended! Those men therefore both of art and science, to whom He was the cause of their (christian) instruction, fully confessed of Him, that He was much their superior (in these respects).

For, even as physicians are witnesses of the goodness of the doctrine of their master ; so, of geometricians, Who has assigned any other instructing heads, except geometricians ? and of arithmeticians, except arithmeticians ? And in like manner, of the magician, the best witnesses as to these things have been His disciples, who have (always) fully resembled their Master, and have done (as he did). But no man has ever been found, during all these years, a magician and (at the same time a) Disciple of our Saviour; when, behold, kings and governours have, during the

whole of these times, made the most careful inquiries into (these) things by means of the worst of torments !

10. And thus indeed, neither was there (ever) any magician His Disciple, so as to be left free and exempt from every (sort) of condemnation; being only reduced by them (the persecuting emperors) to sacrifice. 11. But, that our discourse may not wander from Scripture, take the proof of these things even from the writings of those primitive acquaintances and Disciples of our Saviour, (as found) in the book of their own "Acts." They so wrought upon those of the Gentiles who received their doctrine, that many of these,--who formerly accused them of magic,--so entirely changed their conduct, that they boldly brought forward the abominable books which they had formerly kept secret, to them into the midst of the assemblies, and threw them into the fire in the presence of all. Hear then the statement of these things, which runs thus:-- 12. "The greater part then of those who practised magic brought in their books, and burnt them in the presence of all men; and they reckoned their price, and it was found, that they were worth fifty thousand" (pieces of silver).

13. Such therefore were the Disciples of our Saviour, and such was the entire power of the word, which they put forth in their discourses with (their) hearers, that it became fixed in the depths of their souls;--were so struck and inclined, that every one took up the resolution no more to suffer those things to remain hidden, by which the many had formerly been implicated in error, but that these secret things should be brought out into the light, and that they should become witnesses against themselves, of their own former wickedness. Such also were those who became their Disciples, so pure, noble in soul, and abundant in love, that they allowed nothing impure to remain concealed within them, but, on the contrary, they gloried and exulted in their change from vice to virtue. Sincetherefore, the Disciples of our Saviour were seen to be such, Must not their Master have first been much more excellent? But, if you wish to know from those who are Disciples, of what sort their Master was, you have tens of thousands of the Disciples of the precepts of our Saviour even to this time; of whom there are multitudes of congregations of men, who have armed themselves against the lusts of the nature of the body, and have accustomed themselves to preserve their minds uninjured by any of the evil passions : those (I say), who have passed their whole lives, (and) grown old in purity ; and have put forth, from the provisions of His word, the most brilliant examples (to others).

14. Nor was it that men only were in this manner (attached) to Him, and became Philosophers; but also tens of thousands of women throughout the whole creation; those (I say), who like Priestesses of the supreme God, attached themselves to the most exalted service, and applied themselves to the love of the wisdom which is heavenly. On the generation of the body they cast contempt, giving all care to

their soul, keeping themselves in purity from every thing sordid and unclean, and extending their desiresto all holiness and to virginity. The Greeks, indeed, sing of one shepherd who left his place for the sake of philosophy, and him they hawk about here and there. This was Democritus. They also express their astonishment at one Crates, who gave his possessions to his citizens. He then took with him himself alone, and boasted in the provisions of liberty. But these counterparts of the word of our Saviour, are tens of thousands in number; nor was it one, or two (only), who sold their possessions and distributed them to the poor and needy: indeed we ourselves are witnesses, that these were even such among men ; and, in the effects themselves, we have seen the righteousness of the doctrine of our Saviour.

And, What need can there be that we should say, how many myriads even of the barbarians themselves, and not (of these) only, but also of the Greeks, have, by the doctrine of the words of our Saviour, been raised above every error of a plurality of gods, and have recognized and confessed the one only God, the Father and Creator of this whole world? Him (I say), whom one Plato formerly knew, but confessed that he durst not speak of Him before all men; because such power as all this of God's worship was not with him: but to these the Disciples of our Saviour it was, through the help of their Lord, easy to acknowledge Him, and to find Him (at hand as) the Father and Creator of all. To every race of men did they reveal Him, and so preached the knowledge of Him to all, throughout the whole creation, that, from their teaching, there are even to this time, among all nations, tens of thousands of congregations, not only of men, but also of women, children, slaves, and villagers! All this (then accrued to them) from this philosopher, so that they were not wanting, not only to make Him known (as) the Maker and Creator of this whole world, but they also became his ambassadors in every place. Such were the victories of the common Saviour of all; these, the deceptions of Him who was thought to be a Deceiver! While, behold, such alone were His Disciples and acquaintances;

from whom it was (but) right, we should learn of what sort their Master was.

15. Come then, let us again try the matter thus,-- You say of Him that He was a magician; and not (only so,) but, that He was a maker of magicians. You style Him cunning, and a deceiver. How then was it, that He was the first, and the only one, who has arisen capable of this matter? Or, Is it (not) right we should, according to custom, ascribe the cause to the Teachers ? If then He was the first and only one capable of this;--no one having taught Him, and He having never learned any thing from others, nor yet derived it from the ancients;-- How is it not then incumbent on us to confess of Him, that His nature was Divine? He (I say), who without book, without precepts, and without teachers, (so) learned of Himself, and was seen to know from Himself, the Maker of all these things? when, observe, it is impossible for any one to acquire a knowledge of the art of the goldsmith, of logic, or of the primitive elements (of the world), without some one to instruct and teach

him. But, if He was out of nature;--and no one ever, (so) taught of himself, came out a teacher of grammar, or of rhetoric; not having previously been taught; nor, has there been a physician, or builder, or practitioner of any other art: these things being but small, and belonging to men; but this, one might say, is of the Teacher of the whole habitable world; (viz.) that He performed the miracles recorded in the Scriptures, (and) whose Disciples (taught) by Himself were such; having received nothing from the ancients, neither having had any help from those moderns who performed things not unlike what others had done, who had preceded Him;--What other thing can we testify or confess, but that the matter is in truth Divine, and such as exceeds all human nature?

16. But. you say of Him that He had deceiving teachers, and that neither the sciences of the Egyptians, nor those mysteries which were formerly preached among them, escaped Him: that from these He collected together (His doctrines), and that He seems to have been a man of this description.--If then others, His superiors, appeared before Him, and were His teachers, whether in Egypt or elsewhere; Why did not the fame of these also run forth, prior to His name among all men, just as His has done? and, Why is not the praise of them also proclaimed, even to this time, just as His has been ? and, Who is the magician, of those who arose at any time, Barbarian or Greek, who was the teacher of such disciples; the originator of all such laws and precepts as these are; and has shewed forth the power of (this) the common Saviour of all ? and, of Whom has it ever been written, that He did such cures as those which have been recorded of our Saviour?--The knowledge too of something to come to pass, with all those predictions ? those too, which like these, have by their means been laid down as principles, What other has, either before, or after Him, been memorialized as having delivered ?

and, Who is it that has promised that he would effect those things, throughout the whole habitable world, which he had (so) predicted, and has, in fact, so confirmed His words, that, even to these our times, the fulfilment of His predictions is visible to our own eyes ? And, Whose disciples and eye-witnesses of the things themselves (here had in view), have ever so sealed the truth regarding those which they attested of their Lord, by the trial of both fire and sword, as these Disciples of our Saviour have done ?--who (indeed) bore the reproach of all men, for the sake of the things which they had seen and witnessed of Him, and submitted to every species of torment; while the end of their testimony respecting Him was, as that of the Son of God ! How much less would magicians seal with their blood their testimonies? And, Which of the magicians, even if it ever came into his mind to set up a new people in his own name, did not only think of doing this, but also gave effect to his project ? How would not this eclipse all human nature, that he should also frame laws opposed to the error of a plurality of Gods, and adverse to the ordinances of Kings, Legislators, Philosophers, Poets, and Theologians? and,

that he should send these forth and shew, through the period of a long life, that they were (at once) triumphant and faultless?

17. Which of the magicians is it, who ever projected that which our Saviour did ? But, if one did so project; still he dared not to advance this. But, if one so dared; still he brought not the matter to effect. He (the Saviour) said in one word and enouncement to His Disciples, ”Go and make disciples of all nations in my name, and teach ye them every thing that I have commanded you.” And the deed He made to follow the word. For thence, every race of the Greeks and Barbarians became at once, and in a short space of time, (His) Disciples: The laws too of our Saviour were not written in any Book of His; but, without book, were disseminated at His command among all nations; (and) these were opposed to the ancient worship of a plurality of Gods:--laws at enmity with the Demons, and unfriendly to every error of a multitude of Deities :--laws purifying the Scythians, the Persians, and other Barbarians, and converting (them) from every savage, and lawless sort of life:--laws subversive of the customs, which had obtained from ancient times among the Greeks, and teaching the new and genuine worship of God. How then have they dared so (to advance) such things as these, that one should say of Him, that He was probably aided (in) this magic by others,--the ancient magicians,--who were before His times? But, if there was no other person, whom any one could say resembled Him ; neither was there consequently, who could have been the cause of His possessing all this superiority.--It is now time therefore that we should confess, that an extraordinary and Divine Nature came into the world, which first and alone performed the things which had never before been commemorated among men.

18. Let us again ask, after these things, Whether any one ever saw with his eyes, or learned by hearing, that there were magicians such as He was, and composers of (magical) drugs, who, without libations, sacrifices, and invocations of Demons, performed the rites of magic ? When, behold, it is well known and clear to every one, that the whole process of magic is usually effected by these things. For, How can any one bring an accusation of this sort either against our Saviour, or against his Disciples, or against those who are, even to these times led by His doctrine ? Is there a man who can bring such an accusation as this against them? Is it not evident, even to the blind, that we are prepared for every thing the reverse of these things ? And that we dare to surrender up ourselves to death in an instant ? but that we will not sacrifice to Demons :--that we instantly submit to be put out of life; but do not submit to be subjected to Demons! And, Who is he who knows not how delightful it is to us, that, through the name of our Saviour, (coupled) with prayers that are pure, we cast out every kind of Demon ? And thus the word of our Saviour, and the doctrine which is from Him, have made us all to be greatly superior to the power which is invisible, and impervious to inquiry;

and, (such) that we are ready to be enemies and haters of the Demons, but not that we should be friends, or followers, of (their) customs; much less be subjected and obedient (to them). How then could He have been a slave to the Demons, who delivered such things as these, to those who were devoted to Himself? And, How could He have sacrificed to evil spirits? Or, How could He have called upon the Demons (as His) assistants and helpers, when all the Demons and impure spirits have been agitated, as by some torment or punishment even to this very time, at the mention of His name ? (and) have departed and fled before His power, as it was the case in former times, when He conversed with men, when they could not bear to see Him ; (one and) another, crying out from another place, and saying, ” What have we to do with thee, thou Son of God ? Art thou come to torment us before the time?”

19. Now, Is not the man whose mind is intent on magic only,--and is wholly addicted to things (thus) base,-- in his character openly odious, vile, corrupt, iniquitous, ungodly, and impious ? And being such, Whence, and How, can he teach others, either the things which pertain to the worship of God, or which respect purity ? or, which concern the knowledge of God ? or, which are on the immortality of the soul ? or, which inculcate righteousness, and the judgment of God who is over all? Would he not be an ambassador of the things which are opposed to all these? persevering in those that attend on hatred, and the denial of God ? and rooting up as fabulous the (doctrine of a) general providence of God ? and laughing at the words which treat of virtue, and (affirm) of the soul that it is immortal ? If indeed, such things as these had been witnessed (of Him), then would there have been nothing, even respecting this our (Teacher), which we could have said to the contrary. But, if in all His words and His deeds, He was seen to call upon God who is over all, and King of all; and prepared his Disciples to be such; and, if He was Himself temperate, and a Teacher of temperance ; if too, He was a doer and a preacher of righteousness, of truth, of mercy, and of every virtue; and, if He shewed forth the worship of God, the King of all; How does it indeed not follow upon these things that we should think of Him, that not one of those wonderful acts which He did was done by magic ? and confess that it was, in truth, by the unseen power of God ?

20. These things then, are directed (against) those who dare, with ungodly mouths, to blaspheme against Him. But if they change and confess of Him, that He was a teacher of purity and sobriety of life, and a bringer in of the doctrine of the (true) worship of God; still, that He was no doer of those wonderful, powerful, and miraculous works which are recorded of Him, or of those divine deeds which are superior to man; and, that His Disciples have fabricated these same; it is now time that we should also meet this accusation. Against those who do not believe the testimony of the Disciples of our Saviour, respecting His miraculous deeds.

21. If then (these) should say of Him, that He wrought no complete miracle, nor yet any of those wonderful works of which His disciples bore testimony, but that His disciples have otherwise falsely stated them, and have lied for the purpose of putting forth miraculous relations about Him ; let us see whether the word of these is to be taken as satisfactory: there being no (earthly) cause that they can assign, why they the Disciples, and He their master, went forth into the world. For He who teaches, gives a promise of some doctrine: and they again, the Disciples, love both the precepts and doctrines, as if (conveying) some (valuable) art, and give themselves up (accordingly) to the Teacher. What ground therefore, can there be for any one to speak against the disciples of our Saviour, on account of their conversation with Him ? And, What could have pressed them to this care respecting Him, and that they should have recorded Him (as) the teacher of such doctrines to themselves ? Or, Is (not) this clear ? For the things which they learned of Him, they also declared fully to others: and these were the appointments of this His philosophy. They were too, the first ambassadors of God who is over all, of the providence of God, of the righteous judgment (of God,) of the soul's being immortal, of the distinction between the life of the good and the bad, and of other things of this kind, which are written in their Scripture.

It was also a precept pertaining to the life of this philosophy, which He laid down for them when He said, "Possess ye neither gold nor silver in your purses, neither scrip for the way,"? with other similar things: but (His great precept was), that they should give up their souls, only to the providential care of the Governour of all, and not be anxious on account of want. And He so instructed them, that they should consider (His precepts) much better than those which Moses delivered to the Jews. For he laid down a law for them, --as for men to whom murder would be easy,--that they should not kill. And in like manner, that they should not commit adultery, as to men dissolute and adulterous. And again, that they should not steal, as to men to whom slavery would be suitable; and, that they should not injure, as to men who were fraudulent. But of these, He knew that it was desirable they should stand in need of no such laws; but that this should above all things be precious in their sight, (viz. that their soul should be subject to no (evil) passion; and that they should root up and expel from the bottom of their heart, as from its root, the germ of (every) vice; (and,) that they should be superior to wrath, and every base desire: that is to say, that they should not even be angry, because of the superiority of their soul, as being free from passion ;

that they should not look upon a woman with evil desire; that they should so labour against theft, that they should give of their own to them that needed; and further, that they should not glory in this, that they injured none, but (rather) in this, that those who wished to injure them, they bore with without anger. But, What need is there that I should collect together all the things which He, and they, taught ? He also counselled them,--together, with all these things,--that they should be so

confirmed in the truth, as not to be under the necessity of giving even a true oath, much less a false one: but that they should so form their character, that in it, apart from every sort of oath, they should appear as true, and should proceed no farther than ”yea” (yea), and should in their conversation truly apply this.

22. We may ask therefore, whether there is any thing--whatever it might be--against those who were the hearers of these things, and who forthwith arose as teachers of them to other Disciples, (out) of which we may suppose they fabricated all the things, which they attested their Master had done. And, What is there in this leading us to suppose, that they all thoroughly lied ? They were, in number, the Twelve who had been chosen, and the remaining Seventy of whom it is said, that He sent them before Him, two and two, into every place and part to which He was about to go. But, there is not so much as a word that can be said of this whole company, (shewing) that they belied Him :--of men, who loved the life that was pure, and the worship of the (true) God ; who cared but little for all the children of their own families; and who instead of their friends, their wives I say, their children and all belonging to them, took to the life which had no possessions; and fully gave their testimony to their Lord, as from one mouth, among all mankind.

23. This is therefore, the leading, primary, and true reason. Let us then, also investigate that which is opposed (to it). Let Him therefore be (considered) the Teacher, and them the Disciples ; and so, as it were in a relation of hypothesis that He taught none of the things already mentioned, but those opposed to them (viz.); that they should forthwith be transgressors of the Law; should act impiously, iniquitously, fraudulently, and falsely; should swear falsely, and do (many) hateful things, and if there be any other vice that can be named. Now, all these things are wholly foreign to the doctrines of our Saviour; they are opposed (to them,) and would be the (offspring) of arrogance and impudence. Nor, are they only opposed to His words and doctrines, but also to the mode of life which has hitherto been delivered to all nations; that which is practised in all His Churches. But, even if the matter be (wholly) false, then cannot its like be advanced; (viz.) that we should have been a race so negligent, as not even to have examined the things now before us!--Let Him then be (supposed to have been) the Teacher of every vice, and iniquity; and that the chief care was, that they should after all these things remain concealed. And such custom is most wisely concealed under the form of a doctrine which is pure, and putting forth a new (mode) of worship. These then, were led by such things, and by others still worse. For vice previously ensnares, and it constitutes the teaching of itself. They would (then,) exalt their Master to a state of greatness by lying words, and spare not even one expression of falsehood; and falsely ascribe to Him every sort of miracle and wonderful work, that (men) might wonder at them and felicitate them, that they were dignified by being the Disciples of such a Master.

24. Come then, let us now see,--if they really were such, --whether it was possible that could have been established, which they endeavoured to do for Him. For they say, that "Evil is friendly to evil, but not to good. Whence then, is this agreement in vice to be discovered in the multitudes of all these men ? And, Whence this testimony respecting them (viz.), that the object of them all was in unison ? And, Whence this doctrine about the Divine appointments, and the teaching of the (true) Philosophy ? Whence also, the mind (intent) on the life of virtue ? And, Whence the doctrine (inculcating) flight from every vice ? Whence also, the knowledge and recording of precepts such as these ? And, Whence the glory of the conduct and conversation which was delivered by them, throughout the whole creation of man ? Whence too, all this power ? Whence this courage ? Whence this confidence ? Whence this resignation even to death?--But, Who would at the first, even in opinion, have had respect to the man who taught vice and bitterness,--as it is (here) said of Him,-- and who promised such things ? They would surely say (such were the deeds) of a Magician. But, the Disciples of this Leader were in nothing vicious. And, Must not they have understood these things at the end of their Master ? and, by what sort of Death he was affected ? Why then, after such an end of shame, did they continue in these things ?

and affirm of Him who was then among the dead, that He was God, unless they thought it a thing of no moment, that they themselves should suffer similar things ? Now, Who is it that has voluntarily and openly ever chosen punishment for the sake of nothing profitable ? For, had they been desirous of possessions, so would they also of profit: and, if they had been abominable in character, they would have been lustful. We may then think of them perhaps, that they had thus dealt with the matter for the sake of these things, and intrepidly exposed themselves even to death ! But, if they preached what was adverse to these, and fully proclaimed (it) in the hearing of all the congregations (of Christians); and also, immediately instructed (men) in the doctrine of the Scriptures, (viz. that they should flee from every vicious and base desire; should avoid every thing fraudulent; should overcome every sort of lust, and the love of money; and that they did moreover, so teach those who became their disciples; it will be likely that they carried on no merchandize, collected no wealth, and took no part in a life either of ease, or of pleasure. Since therefore, they were led by none of these things; How could they have been induced to suffer, for no object, the worst of punishments and of vengeance, for the testimony given of their Master, which, again, had no foundation in fact?

25. But let it be granted, that they honoured Him while He was yet with them, and had His conversation among them, and led them astray by deception, as it has been affirmed; How was it then, that even after His death, and then much more strenuously than before, they went on calling Him God ? Because, while He was yet among men, it is said that they even forsook and denied Him, at the time when His deceivers were ready (to take Him); but, after His departure from among men,

they joyfully chose death, rather than relinquish the good testimony they had given respecting Him ! Those (Disciples) therefore, who formerly knew no good thing of their Master, neither the life, deed, doctrine, nor work, that was worthy of praise; and, who had received no advantage from Him, except indeed vice, and the leading astray of men; How was it, that they so easily gave themselves up to death, not, because they were in any respect guilty, but because they had attested things so glorious and praise-worthy of Him; when behold, it was in the power of every one of them to live in safety, and to lead a life of comfort at home with his friends? But, How could men, who were themselves deceived and deceiving, submit willingly to death for another, who, as they knew with certainty, (and) better than all others, had not been in any one thing the cause of good to them, but--as men say,--the Teacher of every evil ?

A man endued with mind and virtue, may indeed for some noble conquest, or for some excellent person, occasionally with propriety, and even with glory, submit to death. But he, who is so base in character as to have been in pursuit only of the things of a temporal life, and the enjoyment of lusts, has never chosen death rather than life; nor has suffered severe punishment for the sake of his friends, much less for one convicted of vice. How then, could the Disciples of the (Person) mentioned,--who could not have been ignorant that He was a deceiver and magician, if He really had been such, and even retaining in themselves every vice that was hateful,--have willingly undergone every species of torment and of punishment from their countrymen, on account of the testimony they had given of Him ? But this is by no means, the disposition of the vicious. For I myself have seen many, who have faithfully kept society and oath with the living; but who, as soon as these died, dissolved every compact of this sort entered into between them. And we all know accurately how the Sophists,--brought together in the cities (generally), and in glorious repute for their erudition and display of words,--load with praises the governors, and those vested with great power and rule, just so long as they retain this; but, as soon as any change (in this respect) happens to them, these also change their words;

and no more will they willingly memorialize those whom they formerly did, purely from the fear of those (now) in power.

26. If then, these Disciples of our Saviour were deceived and deceiving, I would add this also: They were unlearned, and altogether illiterate; that is, they were even barbarians, and understood no language except the Syriac. How then did they, after the departure of their Lord from among men, go forth into the whole creation, and give their testimony to His Godhead ? And, by What sort of advice were they prevailed on to attempt this ? By What power too, did they effect that which they undertook? It might have happened indeed, that some rustics at their own homes would be perverted and led astray. But, that they (the Disciples) should

be sent forth into foreign countries, and should not relinquish their object through remissness, but should preach the name of our Saviour to every man, together with His deeds of wonder; and not this only, but should also teach His commandments both in the villages and cities;--some of them to the Roman power (itself), and (so) apportion to themselves this city of the empire: others also, to the Persians; others, to those among the Armenians; others, to the nation of the Parthians; and again, to that also of the Scythians: (that) some of these should go forth, even as far as the extremities of the creation, and arrive at the country of the Hindoos; others pass over to the Islands beyond the ocean, and which are called Britain;--could not, I think, have been the things of men; How much less, of those who were deficient and illiterate? How much still less, of deceivers and magicians?

27. How then could those, whose experience of their Master was, that He was vicious and a perverter,-- and who had with their own eyes witnessed His departure by death,--have used such terms with each other, for this (viz.), that they should unanimously lie respecting Him ? For they all attested as with one mouth, the cleansing of lepers, the casting out of Demons, the raising of the dead, (the restoring of) sight to the blind, and many other instances of cure, which were effected by Him :--

28. And after these things, His resurrection after the death which they had previously witnessed? For, to such things, not happening, nor even being heard of in their times, How could they, with one mouth, have given testimony, and convinced (themselves) that they came to pass ? and have continued to place faith in (this) their testimony, even to death ? Was it, either that they were brought together, and that they swore to do this ? and that they entered into compact with one another, to fabricate, and falsely to put forth, things which never came to pass? And shall we say, that they used terms to this effect as the pretence for such compact? or, such as these? Men, our friends!--Him who was, (as it were) yesterday or the day before, a Deceiver and Teacher of error,--who suffered extreme punishment before the eyes of us all,--we know better and more accurately than any other, how far He excelled, because we were the Disciples of His secret mysteries. He appeared as pure to the many, and thought that He possessed something better than the many. But He possessed nothing great, nor yet any thing worthy of (that) His resurrection ;

unless one might say, that He was cunning and impure in character, and that those were perversions which He taught us, and the false boastings which was favourable to such things;--come, let us give the right hand to one another, and let us all at once enter into compact among ourselves, that we will unanimously put forth, among all mankind, falsehood respecting Him, and will say, that we saw ” Him give sight to the blind,” a thing which no one (of us) ever heard of; and that ” He cleansed the lepers” and ”Raised the dead. And we will in a body affirm, that things were done by

Him which we (indeed) never saw; and were said (by Him) which we likewise never heard. Those things too which were done, as it were in reality, we will contend for (as such). And, if this His last end has been published, and He so openly received His death that no one can conceal it, we will nevertheless, impudently make this of no effect; attesting pertinaciously that He rose from the dead; was also with all of us, and accompanied us both in conversation and in the usual meals. Let this then, be pertinaciously and shamelessly retained in all these things, and so remain with us, that we persist in it even to death !--For, Why might we (not) expose ourselves to death for nothing ? And, Why should it molest us, willingly to receive stripes and torments in our persons, for nothing that is necessary ?

And, if it be required that we should suffer imprisonment, injury, and affliction, for nothing that is true; should submit instantaneously to this; should all of us together lie by consent, and put forth falsehood for no profit whatever, either to ourselves or to those who may be deceived by us; or, to Him, of whom these lies have been told by us; affirming that He was God: and that we should extend this falsehood, not only to our own people, but should also go out among all mankind, and fill the whole creation with the things we have (thus) laid down respecting Him; and should thence proceed forthwith, to make laws for all nations, subversive of the opinions respecting the Gods of their forefathers; those (I say), which had from ancient times been established among them : and, that we should first of all lay our commands upon the Romans, not to worship those whom their forefathers supposed to be Gods; that we should then also pass off to the Greeks, and preach that which is also adverse to their wise men : that we should not neglect the Egyptians, but contend also with their Deities, but should not draw out against them the things of Moses, which were in former times adverse to them, but place against them the Death of our Teacher as something terrific:

and should destroy that fame respecting the Gods, which formerly went out from among them to all mankind, not by mere words, and stories, but by the power of our Lord, of Him who was crucified; and, that we should again proceed even to the extremities of the land of the Barbarians, and subvert the things (prevailing) with all men: and for this purpose not one of us should be wanting : For the reward pertaining to the things which we (so) attempted, would not be small, since the triumphsto which we should present ourselves, would not be simple ones; but, as it is likely, (would be) punishments awarded by the laws of every place; open bonds, torments, imprisonments, fire, sword, (death by) the cross and (by) wild beasts: but, because we would acquire a likeness to our Teacher, we would willingly rather, and with joyfulness one and all, continue (partaking) in these calamities! For, What can there be better than this, that we should be found enemies to both God and man, for no one thing profitable ? And also, that we should obtain nothing of ease ? neither should see our friends, nor in any way increase our wealth ? nor even

possess the hope of any good to perfection ? but should, on the contrary, vainly and without any object err ourselves, and lead others (also) astray ?

For this is the helpful thing (had in view), that we should both be opposed to all nations, and also engaged in contention with those Gods, whom all men have from ancient times confessed: and, that we should preach of Him who was our Teacher, and who died before our eyes, that He was God, and the Son of God : and that we ourselves should be ready to die for Him, having learned from him nothing true, and nothing advantageous! And that we should particularly honour Him, because He aided us in nothing excellent: and should moreover do every thing in order to glorify His name; suffer every sort of injury and vengeance, and willingly receive every form of punishment for nothing that is true! For, evil certainly is truth, and falsehood has that which is opposed to vice. On this account we say, that "He even raised the dead, also cleansed the lepers, also cast out Demons, and was the doer of other wonderful works," when we know of no such things done by Him, but have fabricated all these things for ourselves; and (thus) led all astray, on whom we could prevail to do so ! But, if any one would not be (so) persuaded, still we ourselves should,-- for the sake of the things which we had (so) bargained upon among ourselves,--have brought forth upon ourselves the things worthy of such a system of error.

29. And Do these things appear to you as convincing ? And, Can you so far persuade yourself, that they (His Disciples) did falsely put forth such things as these ? And, that men so deficient and unlettered, did actually make (such) compact among themselves, and (triumphantly) walk over the power of the Romans ? Could human nature, possessed as it is with the love of life, have ever submitted, for no object and of its own will, to death ? Or, Could the Disciples of our Saviour have been carried on to such an excess of madness, that they should at once,--when they had seen no act of a miraculous character performed by Him, --have falsely put forth by compact such things as these? And again, Could they have put together such lying statements respecting Him, and then have readily submitted to death in support of them?

30. But they went not forth by compact, to this (work of) preaching respecting Him; nor did they make (any compact) among themselves. Whence then, had they this perfect agreement of testimony respecting His deeds ? Is it (not) likely, from seeing the things which were done by Him ?--For one of (these) two things must be the fact: (viz.) Either, they made compact among themselves, and lied; or else, they attested (what) they had seen with their eyes. If then, they really saw (the things), and preached (them) to all men; they were worthy of credit when they said of our Saviour, that He was God; and, that He permitted them to see with their eyes, (the putting forth of) Divine powers, Miracles, and wonderful Works. If however they really saw none of the things (so) recorded, but put together false statements; and

accordingly made oath, and sworn covenant, on this, (viz.) that they would say nothing true, and (then) lied, and attested of their Lord what was false; How could they in reality have submitted to death, for nothing true ? and, that neither fire, nor sword, nor fierce beasts, nor the depth of the sea, could make them falsify the accounts, which they had (thus) falsely put forth respecting their Lord ?

31. But, How can you say that they neither expected nor hoped, that they should suffer any calamity from this their testimony respecting Him; and, that they therefore went out, even boldly, to the (work of) preaching about Him ? On the contrary, it was impossible they should not have hoped, that they should suffer every sort of calamity: superinducing as they did the destruction of the Gods, at once of the Romans, the Greeks, and the Barbarians. Now the Book itself, which (speaks) of them, shews plainly, that after the death of their Lord certain men, enemies of the word and who lay in wait for it, laid hands on them; delivering them first to imprisonment, and then strictly commanding them, that they should speak to none in the name of Jesus. And, when they found them afterwards openly teaching the multitudes the things respecting Him, they violently seized, and scourged (them), and forbade them (so) to teach ; Simon Peter answering said to them, ”It is right that we should rather hearken to God, and not to men. After these things too, Stephen was stoned with stones, and died; because he had openly spoken (of Him) in the assembly of the Jews. And there arose no small persecution against those, who were the ambassadors of the name of Jesus. And again at another time, when Herod the king of the Jews slew James the brother of John with the sword, he, the same, confined Simon Peter in bonds, as it is written in the Acts of the Apostles.

And, while these suffered such things, the rest of the Disciples persevered, grew strong, and remained in the doctrine of our Saviour ; and again preached to all men more particularly respecting Him, and His wonderful works. After these things, James--whom those who formerly resided at Jerusalem called ”the Just” on account of his great excellence,--was interrogated of the chief priests and doctors of the Jewish people, as to what he thought of Jesus; and, when he returned answer to them, that ” He was the Son of God,” he was also stoned with stones by them. Simon Peter too, was, after his Head (i.e. Christ), crucified at Rome. Paul also was taken off (slain,) and John was committed to the island (Patmos in banishment). And, while these suffered such things, not so much as one of the rest forsook His (Christ’s) doctrine; and (indeed) all of them prayed, that such things might befall them, in order that they might, for the sake of the worship of God, be like to those already mentioned. And, on this account again, they openly gave their testimony of our Saviour, and of His wonderful works, the more abundantly.

32. And observe, If the things which they preached respecting Him were lies, and they had fabricated them by compact; we ought to wonder how this whole company could have observed this agreement, in what they had fabricated, even to death.

And no one of them ever betrayed any fear, on account of the things that had happened to those who had previously been slain; or left their society; or preached that which opposed what his companion had; or brought to light the things they had (so) agreed upon. But even he, who,--filled with the love of money,--dared to deliver Him up to (His) enemies, did forthwith, and with his own hands, inflict punishment on himself !

33. Now, Is not this replete with wonder, that men, who were deceivers and unlettered, knowing neither how to speak, or understand, any language beyond that of their fathers, should not only undertake to go forth and to pass into all nations, but should also (so) go forth and effect (their) purpose ? And, let this also be considered, that not even one of them ever uttered a word adverse to the marvellous deeds of their Lord ! If then, the agreement of witnesses is sufficient to settle any of those things, about which there is doubt, and which is commonly brought into dispute in the courts of law;--and the law of God has declared that "in the mouth of two or three witnesses, every matter shall be established,"--Shall not the truth also be established by these, who were the chosen twelve, and the Disciples seventy in number, and thousands of others besides these, all of whom at once exhibited (so) wonderful an agreement, and who have (so) given their testimony to the things done by our Saviour ? This too they did, not without affliction; but in the suffering of torments, and of every species of injury, of scourgings, imprisonment, and deaths! On this account they were through God believed, in order that (He) might everywhere confirm the word preached, by their means, throughout the whole habitable world, even to this day !

34. Let it be considered then, that we have granted these things, by connivance at an unjust principle. For (in) this, that a man might imagine that which is adverse to the Scripture, and, that we should say of the common Saviour of all that He was a Teacher, not of righteous precepts, but of those of vice, fraud, and of every sort of abomination; and, that these His Disciples learned the same from Him, and were all lustful and vicious in every thing, beyond all men that ever existed; we allowed, by connivance, according to the statement (supposed), that which is of all things the most improper. For this would be, as if one should in a similar manner, injuriously accuse Moses who said in the law, "Thou shalt, not kill; neither shalt thou commit adultery ; neither shalt thou steal; neither shalt thou bear false witness; and should say, that he uttered these things by way of irony and in hypocrisy; for, it was his wish (nevertheless) that his hearers should kill, commit adultery, and act in direct opposition to the things, which he himself shewed the Law laid down; and put forth (merely) the form of an approach to purity of life!--But there is nothing so shameless as this ! In like manner also, might any one arraign the positions of the Philosophers among the Greeks, whose lives were those of patience, as were all their words, and might say, that they were in their conduct opposed to what they wrote;

and so shewed themselves to have made a mere (hypocritical) approach to the life, which belongs to philosophy. And thus, we affirm, might any one simply arraign all the writings of the ancients, and shew cause against the truth which they contain; and might Himself receive that, which is diametrically opposed to these! But, as it cannot be difficult to any one possessed of common sense, to pronounce of this that it would be madness; so also, of the precepts of our Saviour and of His Disciples, should any one pervert the truth which is (found) in these, and then attempt to fix upon Him the things diametrically opposed to His teaching.-- But, let that be granted which the statement itself requires. How much more will it then appear, that the assertion of the opponent cannot stand, as (being grounded) in a connivance (concession) which it is improper to (allow) ?

35. These things being then refuted, let us also consider the testimony of the Scriptures of the Divinity, and the spotless and truth-loving manner of the Disciples, of our Saviour. Any one therefore, who chooses (to exercise) a sound mind, may hence see, that they were worthy of all dignity, since they confessed that they were mean and unlettered in their discourse, and betook themselves to a love for the doctrine of the worship of God, and of philosophy. They also desired the life, capable of submitting to sufferings, and afflicted by fasting, (by) abstinence from wine and from flesh, and (by) many other humiliating things of the body; by prayer and supplication to God, and more particularly by temperance, and the chief holiness of body. and soul. And, Who is not astonished at this, that they should, for the sake of the excellency of wisdom, have even separated themselves from the wives that had been lawfully given to them ? and that they were led by no natural desire, and subdued by no love of children; since they desired not the children that were mortal, but those which were immortal ? And, How can any one fail to wonder at this their character, that they desired no money ? or (How) imagine this, that they fled not from, but loved, a Teacher who despised the possessions of gold and silver ? and the Lawgiver, who laid it down that they should not enlarge their possessions even to two coats?

which any one hearing, would doubtless seek excuse from its severe requirements; while they were seen to act upon it, even to the letter ! For, upon a certain occasion a lame man--one of those who begged, on account of the extreme doubt as to provision,--asked (alms) of those who were about Simon Peter: and, when Simon Peter had nothing that he could give, he confessed that he was destitute (lit. clean) of every sort of possession of silver and gold, and said, ”Silver and gold have I none. After this he brought forth the precious name,--which is of all things the most precious,--and said, ”This which I have give I to thee. In the name of Jesus the Christ, arise and walk.”

36. And, when they attended to their Teacher, (Jesus) enjoined upon them the grievous things, (which should happen to them) in these words which He said to

them, (viz. ”In the world ye shall have tribulation; and again--” Ye shall weep and mourn, but the world shall rejoice,” How plainly did the firmness and deep (sincerity) of their character not appear, since they fled not from these (severe) exercises of the soul, nor betook themselves to the things of the desires ? nor did their Lord moreover allure them by way of deception, or make them His by promising them the things which supply ease and comfort; but, truly and freely foretold to them those which should happen to them; and enabled them to choose for themselves the sort of conduct, which He had laid down for them. Of this sort were the things, which He foretold and attested, respecting the persecutions that were to happen to them, because of His name, (viz. ”that they should come before governours, and even kings; and, that they should suffer every sort of punishment and vengeance, not on account of any thing hateful, nor for any other just cause ; but for this only, (viz.), for their testimony respecting Him; which (indeed), we have seen with our own eyes, has happened even to this time ? His prediction moreover, is worthy of our admiration ; for the testimony (given) respecting the name of our Saviour, and the confessing of Him, had usually the effect of inflaming the anger of the Rulers.

And, even if nothing hateful had been perpetrated by any one confessing Christ, they punished and injuriously treated him, on account of His name, as evil, and more evil than any other thing: but, if any one did not confess His name, but denied that he was a Disciple of Christ, he was immediately set at liberty, even if he were implicated in many things which were abominable! But, What necessity can there be, that I should collect and endeavour to record, the many things relating to the lives of the Disciples of our Saviour, when the things already advanced, will be sufficient proof of (all) that is before us ? To these (however) we will again add the things (following), here in (their) place; and with these we will conclude our discussion.

37. As to Matthew the Apostle his former manner of life was not that which was excellent; on the contrary, he was one of those whose business was tax-gathering and fraud. This however, not one of the rest of the Apostles has laid open to us, neither John the Apostle who was with him, nor Luke, nor Mark, the writers of the rest of the Gospels: but Matthew, recording his own manner of life, has become his own accuser ! Hear then, how openly he has memorialized his own name against himself in his own writing, and has thus spoken :--

38. ”And, when Jesus passed from thence, He saw a man sitting among the Tax-gatherers, whose name was Matthew; and He said to him, Follow me: and he arose (and) followed Him. And it came to pass that when He was sitting in the house, Behold many Tax-gatherers and Sinners were sitting with Jesus, and with His Disciples. And again, after these things, when passing away, and reciting the number of the rest of the Disciples, He added respecting Himself the name of Tax-

gatherer, and spoke thus: ”The names of the twelve Apostles are these: The first, Simon who is called Cephas, and Andrew his brother, James the son of Zebedee and John his brother, Philip and Bartholomew, and Thomas and Matthew the Tax-gatherer. Thus therefore Matthew evinces, through the greatness of (his) humility, his truth-loving character, calls himself a Tax-gatherer; conceals not his former mode of life, and counts himself among sinners ! He also numbers himself second to the Apostle who was with him; for he associated (himself) with Thomas, as (he did) Simon with Andrew, James with John, and Philip with Bartholomew ; placing Thomas first, and honouring him as the more excellent Apostle with himself; while the rest of the Evangelists have done the reverse of this. Hear therefore how Luke bears record of Matthew, not giving him the appellation of Tax-gatherer, nor placing him after Thomas; but, because he considered him the more worthy, numbering him first, and placing Thomas after him, just as Mark has done: His words then, are these:

”And, when it was day, He called His Disciples, and chose twelve out of them, those whom He named Apostles: Simon, whom He named Cephas; and Andrew his brother, James and John, and Philip and Bartholomew, and Matthew and Thomas. Thus therefore Luke honoured Matthew, just as they, who had from the first been eye-witnesses and hearers of the word, had delivered to him. And thus Matthew, through his humility, made little of himself, confessed that he was a Tax-gatherer, and numbered himself the second (in order), after the Apostle who was (named) with him.

39. You will also find that John is like Matthew (in this respect) ; for in his Epistle he does not so much as make mention of himself, or call himself Elder or Apostle, or Evangelist. In the Gospel too, which was written by him, he says of himself that Jesus loved him, but he does not reveal his own name.

40. Simon Peter moreover, did not so much as attempt the writing of a Gospel, on account of his great fear (of responsibility). But Mark, they say, who, being well known to him and his Disciple, put on record the declarations of Simon respecting the deeds of our Saviour. Who,--when he betook himself to the recording of these things, (viz. when Jesus asked what men said of Him, and the Disciples themselves what they thought of Him; Simon answered and said to Him, ”Thou art the Christ;”--made the statement that Jesus did not even answer him, or say any thing to him; but that He forbade their telling this to any man. Now Mark committed these things to writing, although he was not present with Jesus when He said them; but he had heard them from Peter, when he taught them. Peter however, was unwilling to state the things which Jesus had said either to him, or about him, by way of testimony (favourable) to himself. But, the things which were said of him are these, (which) Matthew has put forth in these (words): ”But you, Whom say ye that I am ? Simon said to Him, Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and

said to him; Blessed art thou Simon son of Jonas, since flesh and blood have not revealed (this) to thee, but my Father who is in heaven.

And I also say to thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church, and the gate-bars of hell shall not prevail against it. And I give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and every one whom thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and every one whom thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven" When (therefore), all these things were said to Simon Peter by Jesus, Mark did not record so much as one of them ; because, as it is probable, neither did Peter mention them in his teaching. These things therefore, Simon Peter well kept silent, and thence Mark omitted them. But the things of his denial (of Christ), he preached to all men; and (so) caused an accusation to be recorded against himself! That he wept bitterly too, over this, you will find Mark to have given the record in these (words): "And, when Peter was in the court, one of the maid-servants of the High Priest came to him; and, when she saw that he was warming (himself), she looked upon him and said to him, Thou also wast with Jesus the Nazarene. But he denied and said, I know (him) not, nor do I perceive what thou sayest: and he went out into the outer court; and the cock crew. And again a maid saw him, and began to say to those who were standing (by) ; This (man) also is (one) of them. And he again denied.

And again a little after, those who were standing (by) said to Simon, Truly thou art (one) of them; for thou art also a Galilean. But he began to curse and to say, I know not this man of whom ye speak. And immediately, the cock crew the second time" These things Mark wrote; and these, Simon Peter witnessed against himself. For all these things of Mark are, they say, the memorials of the declarations of Peter himself.

41. Of those therefore, who excused themselves from saying the things which would contribute to their own good fame, and who recorded against themselves accusations which can never be forgotten, charging themselves with their own foolishness, in things which none of those who came afterwards could have known, had they not been recorded by themselves; How (shall we not assert) they were free from every feeling of self-love, and lying statement ? and justly confess of them, that they openly and clearly put forth the proof of an ardent love of truth? Those therefore, who evinced such a character as this,--of whom men thought that they were the authors of falsehood and of lying, and whom they endeavoured to malign as Deceivers ;--How are these not (now) found to be a laughing-stock, lovers of hatred and envy, and enemies to the truth ? For, How should not those be such, who (insisted) on the things which were guileless, and of no hateful observance; these same (I say), whose characters were true and pure, and who shewed forth their habitual dispositions by their words ?--(not) that (men) should say of them, that they were cunning and wily Sophists, and fabricators of things that had no

existence, and laid upon their Lord, by way of favour, things which He never did. It does appear to me, that we may well put the question to these, Whether it be right we should give credence to the Disciples of our Saviour, or not ? And, if we are not to give credence to these only, Whether we should to all those also, who have long ago preached the memorial of their conduct and precepts, (both) among the Greeks and the Barbarians; and have committed to writing time after time the victories attending this ? And also, Whether it be just to extend credence to others; but to withhold it from them only?--How clearly then, does not the malice of such (opponents) appear!

42. But, Why should these have lied respecting their Lord ? and have delivered down, in their writings, things of Him which had no existence, as if they had really happened ? Why too, should they have falsely stated of Him the sufferings, and (other) grievous things (which He bore) ? His betrayal by one word of His Disciple (Judas) ? the accusation of those who criminated Him ? the ridicule ? the contempt of the judgment (passed on Him) ? the reproach ? the smitings on the face ? the scourges laid upon His loins ? the crown of thorns which was placed upon Him in reproach ? the purple robe which they put upon Him after the manner of a cloke ? and, at last, the bearing of His cross, the signal mark of His victory ? that He was then affixed to this? that He was pierced both in His hands and feet ? that they gave Him vinegar to drink ? that one struck Him on the head with a reed ? that He was derided of those who looked on Him ? Is it right (I say), that we should suppose His Disciples to have falsely stated even these, and many other similar things that are written about Him ? Or, that we should believe they truly stated these (disreputable) things ? but, that we should not give credence to those which are honourable (to Him)? But, How can this system of contrariety be supported ?

For this, that (men) should affirm that these same persons were true; and again this, that they were false, would be nothing else but to affirm of them, that which is in itself contradictory ! Of What sort then, should the reprehension of these be ? For, if this stigma is to be fixed upon them, (viz. that they propagated falsehood, and exalted their Lord by lying statements, and adorned Him by means of (fabricated) miracles; they surely never would have committed to writing the things already mentioned, which were adverse to themselves; nor would they have made it known to those, who should come afterwards, that He, whose ambassadors they were, was ”oppressed and ” exceedingly sorrowful” and was perturbed in his soul: or, that they ”forsook Him and fled-” or, that he, who was the chosen of all the Apostles, and His Disciple, the same Simon Peter (I say),--who is preached of,--did, without either pain (inflicted), or torment threatened, deny Him three times! For these things, even if said by others, it was necessary they should deny; they (I say), who betook themselves to nothing else, except the fabrication of false statements favourable to Him, and magnifying both themselves and their Lord.

43. If then, they appear to be lovers of truth in those grievous accounts (which they give) of Him ; much more are they so in those glorious ones. For those, who chose to lie on any one occasion, would the more particularly avoid those things which brought difficulty with them, either by silence or denial of them : because, those who should come after, would not have it in their power to blame the things, which they had (so) kept silent. Why then, did they not lie and say that Judas who betrayed Him, forthwith became a stone, when he dared to give the kiss--the signal of betrayal? And, that he who dared to strike Him on the cheek, had his right hand immediately withered ? And the High Priest of the Jews, because he ran along with those who criminated Him, became blind in his eyes? But, Why did not they all lie, (and say) that, in truth, no grievance (whatsoever) happened to Him ? but, that He concealed Himself from men, and laughed at their judgment-hall? and, that those who accused Him, were deceived by spectres sent from God ; thinking that they were doing something adverse to one who was not near them ? And, Why should not this have been (deemed) more glorious, than their falsely stating that "He raised the dead," and was the doer of wonderful works ? This, that they should have recorded, that nothing either human or mortal happened to him;

but, that He did every thing by the Divine power ?--That He made His ascension to heaven in the Divine glory ? For those, who gave credence to their other accounts, could not have with-holden their belief from these. How then, should those be (deemed) worthy of exemption from every suspicion of vice, who concealed nothing of the truth, as to the difficulties and calamities (so happening); and not also worthy of all credit, as to the other miraculous deeds which they attested respecting Him ? The testimony therefore, of these men respecting our Saviour, is sufficient. There is nevertheless, nothing to prohibit our availing ourselves, even the more abundantly, of the Hebrew witness Josephus; who, in the Eighteenth Book of his Antiquities of the Jews, writing the things that belonged to the times of Pilate, commemorates our Saviour in these words: --

(The testimony) of Josephus respecting the Christ. 44. " At this period then was Jesus, a wise man, if it be right to call Him a man; for He was the doer of wonderful works, and the Teacher of those men who, with pleasure, received Him in truth. And He brought together many (both) of the Jews, and many of the profane (Gentiles). And this was the Messiah (Christ). And, when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal ancient men among ourselves, laid on Him the punishment of the Cross, those who formerly loved Him were not reduced to silence. For He appeared again to them, on the third day, alive: things which, with many others, the Prophets had said respecting Him : so that from thence, and even until now, the race of the Christians has not been wanting to Him."

45. If therefore, as (this) author attests of Him, He was the doer of wonderful works, and that He made His Disciples,--not only the twelve Apostles, or the seventy Disci-

ples, but also attached to Himself,--myriads of others both of the Jews and Gentiles; it is clear, that He possessed something excellent beyond the rest of mankind. For, How could He have otherwise attached to Himself the many, both of the Jews and Gentiles, unless He had made use of miracles and astonishing deeds, and of doctrines (till then) unknown ? The Book of the Acts of the Apostles also attests, that there were many thousands of the Jews, who were persuaded that He was that Christ of God, who had been preached of by the Prophets. It is also on record, that there was a great Church of Christ at Jerusalem; which had been collected from among the Jews, even to the times of its reduction by Hadrian. The first Bishops too who were there, are said to have been, one after another, fifteen (in number), who were Jews; the names of whom are published to the men of that place, even until now. So that by these, every accusation against the Disciples may be undone; since, what was prior to them, and independent of their testimony, these attest of Him, (viz.), that He, the Christ of God, did by means of these wondrous works which He performed, reduce many, both of the Jews and of the Gentiles, beneath His power.

46. You will also be made acquainted with the Divinity of His power, if you will consider of what nature He was; and how it was that all this superiority of the Divine power (operated) in the overcoming of tilings exceeding all description. For let it be considered, No one--who ever wished to disseminate his laws, or any strange doctrine among all nations, and, who would shew himself to be a Teacher of the worship of the one supreme God, to all races of men,--would be willing to make use of those as the ministers of his will, who were of all men the most rustic and deficient. And it is likely, one might think, he would attempt this with the greatest impropriety. For, How could they who could scarcely opentheir lips, ever be the Teachers of any one man, much less of multitudes ? And, How could they,--destitute of every sort of erudition,--address whole assemblies, unless this were indeed a shewing forth of the will of God ? For He called them, as we have already shewn, and said in the first place ”Follow me, and I will make you Fishers of men. And, because He thenceforth made them His own, and they adhered to Him, He breathed into them the Divine power, and filled them both with strength and courage: and, as He was THE WORD or GOD in truth, and the Doer of all these miracles, He made them the Fishermen of intellectual and reasonable souls;

adding, at once to the word ”Follow me, and I will make you” the Deed, making them both the Doers, and Teachers, of the worship of His God. And thus He sent them forth into all nations throughout the whole creation, and demonstrated that they were the Preachers of His doctrine. And, Who is not astonished, and probably incredulous, as to this miracle,-- which could scarcely (indeed) have been imagined ? Since no one, of those who have been eminent, has ever been commemorated as having had recourse to any such thing as this; or has come up to any thing resembling it. For it has been the desire of each one of these, to set up something

promising to himself, in his own land only; or, to be able to establish such laws as seemed to him good, among some one people of his own. But observe of Him, who availed himself of nothing either human or mortal, how, in reality, He again put forth the word of God in the precept, which He gave to these His powerless Disciples, (viz. ”Go ye and make Disciples of all nations! It is likely too, His Disciples would thus address their Lord, by way of answer: How can we do this ? For, How can we preach to the Romans ? And, How can we discourse with the Egyptians? What diction can we use against the Greeks; being brought up in the Syrian language only ?

How can we persuade the Persians, the Armenians, the Chaldeans, the Scythians, the Hindoos, and other nations called Barbarians, to desert the gods of their forefathers, and to worship the one Creator of all things? And, upon What superiority of words can we rely, that we shall succeed in this ? Or. How can we hope, that we shall prevail in the things attempted ? (viz. that we shall legislate for all nations, in direct opposition to the laws laid down from ancient times, (and this) against their gods ? And, What power have we upon which to trust, that we shall succeed in this enterprise ? These things therefore, the Disciples of our Saviour would either have thought, or said. But He who was their Lord solved, by one additional word, the aggregate of the things of which they doubted, (and) pledged them by saying, ” Ye shall conquer in my name. For it was not that He commanded them, simply and indiscriminately, to go and make Disciples of all nations; but with this excellent addition which He delivered, (viz): ”In my name. Since it was by the power of His name that all this came to pass ; as the Apostle has said, ”God has given Him a name, which is superior to every name: that, at the name of Jesus, every knee should bow which is in heaven, and which is in earth, and which is beneath the earth.

It is likely therefore, that He would shew forth the excellency of the unseen power, which was hidden from the many, by His name; and, (accordingly) He made the addition, ”In my name. He thus accurately foretold moreover, something which should come to pass, (when) He said, ”It is expedient that this my Gospel be preached in the whole world, for the testimony of all nations. Now, this matter was then declared in a corner of the earth, so that those only who were at hand could have heard it. But, How could they have believed Him when He said this, unless they had taken experiment as to the truth of His words, from the other Divine acts which were done by Him ? For this, you are compelled to confess when it is considered, that they gave credence to what He said. For, when He gave them the command, not so much as one sought to be excused; but they confided in what He had intimated : and, just as His promises had been, so DID they make Disciples of the whole race of men ! They did go forth from their own land into all nations ; and, in a short time, His words were seen in effect! His Gospel was therefore shortly preached, throughout the whole creation, for the testimony of all

nations, so that the Barbarians and Greeks received the Scriptures, respecting the common Saviour of all, in the handwriting of their Progenitors, and in the words of their spiritual Fathers.

47. A man might therefore well stand in doubt, as to what the form of the doctrine of our Saviour's Disciples was; how they passed on into the midst of cities, and so proclaimed (it) in the middle of the streets; lifting up their voices, calling to those with whom they met, and thence conversing with the people: also, of what sort the language was in which they addressed them, so that we can imagine the hearers were persuaded thereby: and (again), how (such) men, inexperienced in words and far removed from every sort of erudition, could speak before the people ; and (this), if not in large assemblies, still with the few with whom they met, and then addressed: and, of what, and of what sort of terms, they made use for persuading (their) hearers. Nor was their effort small, since they by no means denied the ignominious death of Him, whom they preached. But, even if they concealed this, and did not confess before all, what, and how many, things He suffered of the Jews, but put forth only those splendid and glorious things--I say indeed,--His wondrous works, His miraculous operations, and His doctrines of the (true) Philosophy; still, the matter will not thus be made easy, (viz.) how they could make those who heard them, easily to give in to their declarations: because their diction would be foreign. They would too, now be listening to declarations entirely new, (coming) from men, who possessed nothing worthy of truth, in testimony of the things affirmed by them.

48. But, let it be supposed that the persuasives now put forth were these, (viz.) that those who were His ambassadors, should at one time preach that He was God ; that, in body, He was human ; and that, in his nature, He was no other than THE WORD OF GOD: on which account also, He performed all these miracles, and (put forth these) powers: but, that at another time, He suffered reproach and infamy, and at last the capital and shameful punishment of the Cross; which is inflicted on those (only), who are in their deeds the worst of all men. Who then, would not (now) properly treat them with ridicule, as affirming things opposed to each other ? And, Who is he, whose intellect would (partake) so much of stone, as readily to believe them, when they said that they saw Him after His death ? that He rose from the dead?--Him (I say), who could not help Himself when among the living? And (again), Who would ever be persuaded by men so illiterate and deficient as these, when saying; You should despise the things of your own forefathers; charge as folly those of the wise of ancient times; suffer yourselves to be persuaded by us alone, and to be commanded by the precepts of Him who was crucified: for He only is the beloved, and only (begotten) of that God alone, who is over all ?

49. I myself however, investigating for myself with effort, and in the love of truth, this same thing (singly), should perceive not one virtue in it (making it) credible, nor even any thing great, or worthy of faith, nor so persuasive, as adequate to

the persuading of even one illiterate person, much less men wise and intellectual. Nevertheless, when again I view its power, and the result of its doings; how the many myriads have given their assent to it, and how Churches of tens of thousands of men have been brought together, by these very deficient and rustic persons; --nor that these were built in obscure places, nor in those which are unknown, but rather in the greatest cities, I say in the Imperial city of Rome itself, in Alexandria, in Antioch, in all Egypt, in Libya, in Europe, in Asia, both in the villages and (other) places, and among all nations; I am again compelled to recur to the question of (its) cause, and to confess, that they (the Disciples) could not otherwise have undertaken this enterprise, than by a Divine power which exceeds that of man, and by the assistance of Him who said to them, "Go, and make Disciples of all nations in my name." And, when He had said this to them, He attached to it the promise, by which they should be so encouraged, as readily to give themselves up to the things commanded. For He said to them, "Behold I am with you always, even to the end of the world." It is stated, moreover, that He breathed into them the Holy Ghost with the Divine power; (thus) giving them the power to work miracles, saying at one time, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost;" and at another, commanding them, to "Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, and cast out Demons:---freely ye have received, freely give."

50. Even you yourself see therefore, how this their word took effect; since even the Book of their Acts attests things like to these, and which accord with them ; how,--(for example,) when writing also of those by whom miraculous deeds were done in the name of Jesus,--those, who were present and saw, were astonished. They were astonished, as it should seem, at those who had formerly seen (this power) by means of deeds ; and who then made them (i. e. the chief Priests,) readily to ask, Who this was, by whose power and name the miracle had been wrought ?--And thus, as they taught, they found that these had in faith (even) run before their instruction. For, it was not by words that they were persuaded; but it was by the deeds which preceded these, that they were readily prevailed upon to accede to the things said. It is also said, that men suddenly brought to them sacrifices and libations, as if they had been Gods ; thinking that one of them was Mercury, the other Jupiter: and the whole of this astonishment was, to their minds, a demonstration that the deeds done were miraculous. And, as all those which they preached respecting our Saviour, were such as these, they were thenceforth quickly, and with propriety, received. Nor did they give their testimony of His resurrection from the dead, by mere words and without proofs; but, by their power and by deeds did they persuade, and shew forth the works of the living (God).

51. If then, they preached that He was God, and the Son of God, and that He was with the Father before He came among men ; Why should they not have especially added to this, that they believed what was adverse to have been impossible and incredible ? For they must have justly thought it impossible, that these acts could

have been those of men ; but, on the contrary, those of God, even the more though no one would say (this).

52. And this, and nothing else, is indeed the thing required, (viz. by what power the Disciples of our Saviour gained credit from those, who had from the first heard them: and how they persuaded both Greeks and Barbarians to think of Him, as of THE WORD OF GOD: and how they set up in the midst of the cities, and in all villages, Houses (appropriated to) the Doctrine of the worship of the supreme God. And, Who is not also astonished at this, when he considers with himself, and feels satisfied, that this could not have been of man ; that never at any former time, were the many nations of the whole creation subject to the one sovereign rule of the Romans, except only since the time of our Saviour? For it happened, immediately upon His passing about among men, that the affairs of the Romans became great;--that, at that time, Augustus was primarily the sole Sovereign of many nations; and that in his time Cleopatra was inflamed with love; and the traditionary (kingdom) of the Ptolemies in Egypt was dissolved. For, from that time, and until now, that kingdom which was from ancient time; and of it, as one might say, the ancient germ of men which was established in Egypt, have been rooted up. From that period too, have the Jewish people been in subjection to the Romans; as has that, in like manner, of the Syrians, the Cappadocians, the Macedonians, the Bithynians, and the Greeks;

and, to speak collectively, all the rest of those subject to the rule of the Romans; and, that this did not come to pass without regard to the Divine teaching of our Saviour, Who will not confess, when He has considered, that it would not have been easy for His Disciples to be sent forth, and to pass into foreign parts, when all the nations were divided one against another ? and when there was no one uniting element among them, on account of the many Satraps (stationed) in every place, and in every city ? But, in the extirpation of these, they immediately, fearlessly, and with pleasure, set about doing that which had been placed before them; because God, who is over all, had previously made their course peaceful, and had restrained the wrath of the worshippers of Demons in the cities, by the fear of the great Empire. Consider then, If there had not been something to restrain those who had been stupified with the error of a plurality of Gods, how they would have contended with the Doctrine of Christ. For, you would doubtless have seen in every city and village, commotions (stirred up) against each other, with persecutions and wars of no mean description , had the worshippers of the Demons possessed the sovereign rule over us. But now, this also is a work of the God who is over all, that He might subdue the enemies of His word, by the greater fear of a superior kingdom.

For it was His will, that (His word) should daily increase and extend itself to all mankind : and again, so, that it should not be thought, that, it was by the connivance of the Rulers, and not by the superior power of God, it took effect.--When

any one of the tyrants was so elated by wickedness, as to set about resisting the word of Christ, the God of all even allowed such at once to do his will; because he would afford proof to those combatants for (establishing) the worship of God, and also that it might be seen clearly by all men, that it was not by the will of man that the word was established, but by the power of God himself. And, Who is not instantly amazed at the things which usually come to pass in times such as these ? For, those ancient combatants from among men for the worship of God, kept secret the nature of their superiority ; at that time they became known and seen by all, when they were adorned with the victories which were from God : while those, who were the enemies of the worship of God, received the punishments which were justly their due: chastized (as they were) by strokes sent from God, and their entire bodies wasted by grievous and incurable diseases, so as to have been speedily driven to confess their wickedness in opposing our Saviour!

But these, the rest of all those who were worthy of the Divine name (Christian), and who gloried in thinking of the things which belonged to Christ, did in a short time shew,--being brought through trials,--the purity and refining of their minds, and that they had thus also obtained freedom for their souls. And soon did God cause, that, by their means, THE WORD, the Saviour, should arise (as the sun) on tens of thousands.

The End of writing the Five Books of Eusebius of Caesarea, which are called ”The Divine Manifestation.” [Selected footnotes. Notes concerned only with points of the Syriac and large chunks of Greek have been omitted]

Preface

E U S E B I U S
BISHOP OF CAESAREA ON THE THEOPHANIA OR DIVINE MANIFESTATION OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH WITH NOTES, FROM AN ANCIENT SYRIAC VERSION OF THE GREEK ORIGINAL NOW LOST ; TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A VINDICATION OF THE ORTHODOXY, AND PROPHETICAL VIEWS, OF THAT DISTINGUISHED WRITER. INSCRIBED BY PERMISSION TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND, CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE. BY SAMUEL LEE, D.D. D.D. OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE; MEMBER OF THE SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE OF PARIS; OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF RHODE ISLAND, AMERICA; CANON OF BRISTOL, RECTOR OF BARLEY, HERTS., REGIUS PROFESSOR OF HEBREW IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, &c. CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS DUNCAN AND MALCOLM, 37, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON. M.DCCC.XLIII. TO HIS GRACE HUGH DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND, &c. &c. &c. CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, THIS ENDEAVOUR TO RESTORE TO THE Christian Church A LONG LOST WORK, AND TO VINDICATE THE OPINIONS, OF ONE OF ITS MOST LEARNED AND LABORIOUS PRELATES, IS, IN TESTIMONY OF A DEEP SENSE OF OBLIGATION FOR THE MANY MUNIFICENT FAVOURS CONFERRED ON THE UNIVERSITY, IN WHICH HE HAS THE HONOUR OF BEARING OFFICE, BY HIS GRACE’S PERMISSION, MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED, BY THE TRANSLATOR AND EDITOR.

PREFACE.
HAVING now to discharge the very agreeable duty of presenting to the Christian Church (in a translation), a long lost work of one of its most learned and laborious Pastors, my first duty will be, to give the best account I can of this Work ; my second, to describe the Manuscript from which it has been taken ; my third, to lay down the principles by which I have been guided, both in editing the Syriac text of this Manuscript, and in making and illustrating my English Translation of it. When I shall have done these things, I shall,--because some of the opinions of my author have been branded as heretical, and some others will in all probability be considered as groundless and untenable, I mean those which contain his views on

Prophecy,--give as brief and candid a review of these opinions as I can : leaving it to the reader to make the conclusions for himself, which he shall deem right and just.

I am well aware of the responsibility attaching itself to an undertaking so perilous, as that of offering to the learned of Europe, for the first time, a work coming from a man so learned, so celebrated, and so often eulogized and condemned, as was the Bishop of Caesarea and Father of Church History. But, for the purpose of satisfying this responsibility to the best of my power, I now proceed, in the first place, to give all the account I can of the Work which I have the honour and pleasure of presenting to the public. The first, and probably the only, mention of this Work which occurs in any ancient Father of the Church, is to be found in the catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers' by Jerome. And in this, all that this Father says,--after speaking of some of Eusebius's other works,--is, "θεοφανείας libri quinque," i. e. Of the Divine Manifestation, five books. After him, Suidas says "θεοφανείας λόγοι έ," which is a mere echo of the words of Jerome. Harles, in his edition of the Bibliotheca Graeca of Fabricius, speaks of it in this manner. (Vol. vii. p. 408). "Εὐαγγελικὴ θεοφάνεια, bis citatur in catena in Lucam in cod. Vindobon. caesareo xlii., teste Lambecio comment, tom. iii. p. 166. not. 4. conf. supra nr. 8. Harl".--" Fragmentum ex Eusebii opere deperd. Theophania Evang. e cod. Coislin. Gött. 1740. 4". And again, p. 395, nr. 8, speaking of the work of our author against Marcellus, he says: " Hos quinque Libros adversus Marcellum Labbeus putat innui ab Hieronymo in Catalogo cap. 81. et Suida, quando inter Eusebii Scripta memorat libros quinque περὶ θεοφανείας. Videtur enim hoc idem illi esse quod θεοφανείας. Sed id tamquam incertum omitto, quum Hebed Jesu quoque in catalogo Librorum Chaldaicorum memorat Eusebii librum de ortu divino"

The Catalogue of Hebed Jesu, here referred to, will be found in the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Asseman, tom. iii. pt. 1, and the place in p. 18 of this: where, after speaking of the Ecclesiastical History of our author, Hebed Jesu says, [Syriac], i. e. and the Book on the Divine Manifestation. Asseman refers us, in a note, to Cave's Historia Literaria, p. 95, where mention is made of this work of Eusebius, entitled περὶ θεοφανείας, libri quinque; but Cave tells us nothing more about it, than that it is a work not now extant. But the thing most worthy of remark here, is Asseman's referring us to Cave at all; when, if the work had existed in the Library of the Vatican, he would, in all probability, as he has done in many other places, have given us a detailed description of it. It may be added that, although Asseman has given us very extensive lists, in this work, of Syriac books deposited in the Vatican, he has never once spoken of this as being there. And the same might be said, with respect to the present very learned librarian of the Vatican, who has, in his erudite and laborious work entitled, "Scriptorum Veterum nova Collectio," said much, and edited some works, of Eusebius, and even given several fragments from our Theophania; yet he has nowhere informed us, that either the Greek text, or the

Syriac version, of this Work is to be found there. I may perhaps conclude therefore, that it is not known to exist in that library.

The Citations as noted above in Fabricius, will be found in the following Work, pages 216, 321-2. The Fragment printed at Göttingen in 1740, also mentioned by him, will be either reprinted or noticed hereafter in this Work, if it can be obtained before the last sheet goes to press. It must be evident, I think, from what has now been said, that the work of our author entitled the Ecclesiastical Theology, noticed above, could not be the same with that entitled the Theophania, or Evangelical Theophania,--for by this latter title is our Work designated in the Catena of Vienna:--while it must be equally certain, that a work by Eusebius bearing the title assigned to it by Jerome, did exist in the Syrian Church : and, as no reason can perhaps be assigned why the Syrians should forge such a work, it is probable, that this is the very work so described by Jerome.

Again, from the fragments of this Work hitherto brought to our notice, (see the places referred to above,) it seems sufficiently certain, that this is the work of Eusebius so described by Jerome. I would add, let the reader also examine in the following pages, the very many places marked as corresponding word for word, with several in the undoubted productions of our author. In our Second Book, for example, a very considerable number of the Sections or Paragraphs, are found to be identically the same with many occurring in the ”Oratio de laudibus Constantini:” while in our Fifth Book, the far greater part is also found word for word in the ” Demonstratio Evangelica;” not to insist on several others, found either in the ”Praeparatio Evangelica,” the Ecclesiastical History, or some other work of our author, as shewn in the Notes. There are also certain peculiarities in the writings of Eusebius which may be mentioned here; they are these: It is customary with him, though not constantly, to commence a subsequent book with the matter, and occasionally with the words, which closed the preceding one. The close and commencement of the First and Second, and of the Second and Third books, respectively, of the ”Praeparatio Evangelica” will supply examples of this; as will the corresponding ones of our following Work, and more particularly those of the Fourth and Fifth.

To this may be added the Style of Eusebius, which is universally allowed to be any thing but simple and obvious. His periods are often long, and his style both inverted and involved. He seems moreover, to have been studious to avoid the language in common use, and often to have be-iaken himself to that peculiar to the poets. This latter consideration could not have affected our original text, which is only a translation; while the former has, to a very considerable extent. For our Translator, anxious to shew himself faithful in the discharge of this his duty, has so closely followed his original by endeavouring to render it word for word, that his translation may occasionally be considered as obscurity personified ; the Syriac

very ill admitting of either inversion, or involution, of style. Several instances of this sort,--to which many more might have been added,--will be found in the Notes attached to the English Translation. Another consideration is, his Platonic manner of speaking of the Deity as a self-existing Being, and with reference to which, no other can be said (properly) to exist, of which we shall speak more particularly a little farther on. His manner of speaking of the Son has too its peculiarities; His being God of God, begotten of God, proceeding from the Father; hence complete, and in all respects like Him; His having ever been, and still being, with, and in, the Father ; extending Himself nevertheless throughout all things, and meekly lowering Himself to converse with men, and the like ;

which will be more particularly noticed hereafter. His occasional allusions moreover to the things passing under his own eyes, as the sufferings of the Martyrs (p. 50) ; the state of the Church of Caesarea over which he presided, may all be considered, I think, as genuine evidences that Eusebius was the author of this Work ; and to these may be added his reasoning generally after the manner of Plato, and in many instances, his adopting the terms used by that philosopher.

From these considerations, I think it must be sufficiently evident, that our Work is a copy of the genuine Greek work of Eusebius, so long lost.--But if not, let it be supposed for a moment that it is a forgery, and that some Syrian was the author of it, who, the better to secure its reception, attached the name of Eusebius to it. I would now ask, Where are we to look for the man, among the writers of the Syrian Church, equal to this task ? Philoxenus of Mabug, and Jacob of Edessa, had, no doubt, ability sufficient to compose a work on the same subject; but neither of them, nor yet any other Syrian writer, of which I have any knowledge, had any thing like the vigour and learning evinced in this. Much less likely is it, that in such an attempt the Syriac language would have been subjected to the unnatural contortions and involutions so visible in this Work, or that it would be found to have copied Eusebius word for word, to the extent noticed above.

Nor is it in any degree probable, that such an imposition could ever have been practised upon the learned of the Syrian Church. Besides, the original of the Theophania must have been in existence when this Syriac work first made its appearance, and indeed for a long time after; which would have effectually given the lie to any attempt of this sort had it been made. And to this, its unquestioned reception in the Syrian Church, affords full and sufficient testimony. Having then disposed of this question, let us now approach our second, which is to give some account of the Manuscript from which our Work has been taken. Sometime in the year 1839, the Rev. Henry Tattam of Bedford, who is an excellent Coptic scholar, formed the resolution of visiting Egypt for the purpose of procuring Coptic manuscripts, in order to complete, if possible, an edition of the Coptic Scriptures. At the suggestion of his friends a subscription was set on foot, for the purpose of assisting in defraying the

expense of this undertaking, and this subscription was headed by a contribution of £300. by government. Individuals contributed to a small extent: and Mr. Tattam accordingly set out for Egypt. In a short time he returned, having procured some good Coptic manuscripts, of which a list has been printed and circulated; and also about 50 volumes of Syriac manuscripts, some of which were of an extreme age, and very valuable.

These manuscripts Mr. Tattam sent to me, with the request that I would give him some account of their contents ; and, at the same time, say what I thought their value might be: which I did as soon as my other engagements would allow. It was in looking over these manuscripts that I had the extreme pleasure of discovering that of which the following Work is a translation. Knowing then, as I did, the extreme rarity of this Work; in other words, that no other copy of it was known to exist, I requested Mr. Tattam to allow me to take a copy of it before it should leave my hands, in order that the Work might not be lost, whatever might happen to this MS. Mr. Tattam, with the disinterestedness for which he is so remarkable, instantly gave his consent, allowing me moreover to retain the MS. as long as I might want it: and, although he soon after disposed of the collection generally to the trustees of the British Museum, he was so obliging as to make this stipulation, that I should be allowed to retain this MS. as long as I might deem it necessary.

My first business now was, to make a correct copy of this very rare and valuable Codex, as far as our work was concerned ; and I accordingly copied it out myself with all the expedition I could command. Soon after I had done this, I applied to the Society lately established in the Metropolis for printing Oriental Texts, requesting they would print it, and thus multiply the copies, so as to ensure the safety and permanency of the work. To this request the Committee of that society very graciously acceded. The work was accordingly put to press, and printed by Mr. Richard Watts, a tradesman long and well known for his ability in printing Oriental works generally. In his hands it had moreover the advantage of being printed in a Syriac type, which was made some years ago under my own inspection, for the purpose of printing a Syriac Bible for the use of the Syrian churches in Malabar. I will add here, that during the passing of the sheets through the press, I collated every one of them with the MS., so that I do trust the Syriac text, now some time completed, will be found as neatly and correctly printed, as the greatest care on the part of both the editor and printer could be expected to insure.

The MS. containing our Work, is very neatly written in the Estrangelo, or old Church-hand-writing of the Syrians, on very fine and well prepared skin. It is of the size of large quarto, each folio measuring about 14½ inches by 11½, and containing three columns each of the width of 2¾ inches, as may be seen in the fac simile prefixed to this Work. The exterior margins average 2½ inches in width, the interior 1¼; and the space between the several columns is about 5/8 of an inch.

The MS. contains 245 folios; 71 of the first of which contain a Syriac translation of the Recognitions of St. Clement, as they are called. The 83 next following, the work of Titus Bishop of Bostra, (or Bozrah) against the Manicheans ; the next 76 folios contain our Work of Eusebius ; the next 14, Eusebius's account of the Martyrs of Palestine, as published in the 8th book of his Ecclesiastical History ; and the last folio, Encomiums on their excellencies, entitled, [syriac]. This last work is incomplete, some leaves having been lost from the end of the MS., and on this account the original date of the MS. has not come down to us in its close, as is usually the case.

We have nevertheless on the reverse of the fourth folio, after the conclusion of our Work, written on the outside margin of one of the folios of the Tract on the Martyrs of Palestine, the following Inscription in a bold, but rather unsightly hand, and in the common Peschito character ; [Syriac] See, my brethren, if the latter part of this ancient book has been cut off, and has perished together with that (with) which its writer closed and completed it ; it was thus written at its end, viz. that "This book was written in the city of Edessa of Mesopotamia, by the hands of a man named Jacob, in the year seven hundred and twenty and three, (and) was completed in the month of the latter Teshrin." (February). And, just as that which was written there, I have also written here without addition. And the things which are here, I wrote in the year 1398, in the (aera) of the Greeks (i. e. the Seleucidae).

If then we are to take the first of these dates, as given in the aera of the Seleucidae, and this Note as containing a true statement respecting the age of our MS., A. D. 411 will be its date, and its age 1432 years ! The date of this Note is, we are told, that of the Greeks (or Seleucidae), that is, A. D. 1398, corresponding to A.D. 1086, just 757 years ago, when, as its author tells us, this manuscript was such as to merit the appellation of ancient! I was once inclined to think that our MS. could not be so old as this first date made it, and that the year 723, must be that of our common aera; which would give 1120 years for its age; and that this, both from the appearance of the MS., and from some other considerations, was nearer the truth. Yet I must confess, as I have never seen, or heard of, a Syriac MS. bearing a date in our common aera; and, as all Syriac MSS. said to be written at Edessa, do,--as far as I know,--always bear dates according to the aera of the Seleucidae; I do not see how this date can be given in our common aera.

As to the appearance of the MS., although it certainly is in very perfect and clean condition, yet as the climate of Egypt, in which it has been kept probably for many centuries, is extremely dry, it is by no means impossible that the fresh appearance of the MS. is anything more than the nature of the case requires. There certainly are MSS. in the same collection bearing a date, making them but little short of 1300 years old, and yet appearing in quite as sound a state of preservation as this does, but which, as written on skins of a description greatly inferor to this, do not

present so clean and bright an appearance. Asseman too, gives us an account of a Syriac MS. of a gospel, preserved in the library of the Vatican, which was written in the year of our Lord 78 : and this he affirms was, in his day,--about 100 years ago,--as plain and perfect as ever it was.

From this it should seem, that it is impossible to say how long a MS. written on good skin and well preserved may endure; and consequently, how unsafe it is to pronounce positively on the age of any MS., merely from its appearance. The colour of the ink must in all such MSS. as Montfaucon and others have well remarked, necessarily have faded ; but to what precise extent, it must, as before, remain undefined for many reasons. The ink in our MS. is so faded though not, I think, to so great an extent as is observable in the Beza MS. at Cambridge. But this might have been occasioned by the place, or manner, in which that MS. was preserved, which was apparently less favourable than that of ours. This question therefore, I am disposed to leave in the state of uncertainty, in which I found it. I said, in my Preface to the Syriac edition of our Work, that the MS. from which it was taken was, probably not less than a thousand years old. I was not then aware that a date was to be found in it. I am not sorry however to find, that I had greatly underrated its age, as this must be a good evidence to my readers, that I had no disposition to exaggerate.

It may be suggested however, that this very early date might be that of the MS. from which it, or some other prior to it, was copied: it being no uncommon thing with copyists to transcribe, with MSS. which they copy, their dates also; so that a MS. of very modern date, may, in its epi-graphe, carry with it one of the highest antiquity. To this I would answer: If we are to ascribe any credit to the Note given above, this MS. must have been considered an ancient one 757 years ago: and to such a MS. we cannot, perhaps, ascribe an age less than 600 or 700 years: if we take the least of these, the age of our Codes will be 1357 years: if the greatest, 1457 : while the date, actually ascribed to it by the Note, makes it 1432 years old, just twenty-five years less than this last computation would make.

There are however some considerations, which would at first sight seem to prove the contrary, and which indeed operated forcibly on my mind in this way, when the very early date given to our MS. first occurred to me: they are these: First, Eusebius died about A.D. 340. If then our MS. was written A. D. 411, this must have happened 71 years only after the death of the author of the original Greek work. We shall now have therefore 71, or a few more years, for the period within which our Syriac translation was made, and, as it appears to me, must have been copied out several times before our MS. could have been written; which might seem too little. I see no reason however, why this Work of Eusebius,--which must have been a popular one,--could not have been translated into Syriac very soon

after it was published : and if so, the Syriac version might have been copied out times innumerable, before the date of our MS.

When the school of Edessa was first founded, I have not been able to discover. It is certain however that it was, and had been, a considerable time in vigorous operation before A. D. 411, the date assigned to our MS. Our Work might therefore have been translated into the Syriac at Edessa, even during the lifetime of its author, or at least early enough to have allowed of our MS. being copied there in A.D. 411, after innumerable copies had been taken from the autograph of the translator, and from one another. But there are, I think, better reasons for supposing that our translation was not made at Edessa at this early period, but rather in Palestine. We are told by Asseman (l. c. p. CMXXV.), that there were, both at Caesarea and at Scythopolis, (the Bethshan of the Old Testament) in Palestine, schools of sacred literature; and that at Scythopolis the business of interpreting from the Greek into the Syriac language, was vigorously carried on; and, that to this fact our author himself has given his testimony: as also have both Socrates and Sozomen the historians.

If this may be relied on, it is not improbable that our translation was made during the lifetime of Eusebius, and it might be under his inspection, and that of Patrophilus who was then Bishop of Scythopolis. And I think there are certain peculiarities of language in it, tending to shew that it was not made at Edessa, which are these: We never find the form of the feminine plural in verbs, as we constantly do in the works of Ephrem, Jacob of Edessa, and other writers of that school. The pronoun of the first person plural is rather of the Hebrew, than the Syriac, form. The pronominal forms, [Syriac], never occur in the language of Edessa; nor does the adverbial [Syriac], nor the impersonal [Syriac], nor the combination [Syriac] in the sense of immediately, nor the occasional redundancy, and even defect, of the relative pronoun [Syriac] , as far as my knowledge goes: all of which will be found marked in the Notes. I am therefore inclined to believe, that our translation was not made at Edessa, but in Palestine.

The language of this translation,--allowing for the instances just mentioned,--appears to me to be the purest Syriac, and such as might be well expected in a work of so ancient a date. I have already remarked, that its order is very greatly inverted, and its collocation involved, from its having been made servilely to follow the Greek original. Of this any one will satisfy himself, by comparing any of its sections with the places pointed out, as found in Greek, in some of the still existing works of Eusebius : which,-- although it has had the effect of giving me a great deal of trouble, as it will any reader of the Syriac text,--is nevertheless a circumstance of infinite value in other respects; and particularly, as it has preserved to our times a most exact copy of an original Greek work of our author, which has, no doubt, been long ago lost.

There is another advantage arising from the circumstance of so much of this work's being still found in the Greek of its author, which is this; we are hence enabled to judge of the extent of Greek learning possessed by the translator. And this, I am induced to believe, was very considerable. I have pointed out in my notes, some instances in which I think he has erred; I am nevertheless bound to say, that I believe his translation to be, upon the whole, quite as accurate as are the best translations hitherto published of the Greek works of Eusebius.

It has been stated above, that our MS. is written neatly and correctly for the most part, and in the ancient character termed Estranghelo. I have now to say that it is entirely without vowel marks, and that the interpunctuation is frequently such, as to supply nothing whatever towards a just conception of the construction of the text. That the Syrians had a system of interpunctuation answering, in some respects, to that afforded by the accents of the Hebrew Bible, I have no doubt; yet I must say, that hitherto this has not been satisfactorily developed. Mr. Ewald has indeed endeavoured to do this, in a work published at Gottingen in 1832, entitled "Abhandlungen zur Orientalischen und Biblischen Literatur; in which, at p. 103 and following, he has treated on the "accentuationssystem" of the Syrians according to some MSS. found in the Royal Library at Paris; and this, I have no doubt, he has done with all good fidelity. Yet I must say, the system made out by him, receives but very little countenance from any ancient MS. hitherto seen by me. The older writers seem to have adopted a system much more simple, and less encumbered with marks ; the more modern ones, particularly the Maronites,--to whom we owe the interpunctuation of the greater Polyglotts,--appear to me to be the real authors of his system. However this may be, all I have done in printing our Syriac text has been, to follow the MS. as closely as I possibly could;

I say this, because cases occur in which it is scarcely possible to say, whether the Copyist intended the point to stand on the line of the text, above it, or below it. Some remarks will be found, in my notes, on the use of Ribbui, ([Syriac]) the mark commonly attending the plural number in nouns, and occasionally in verbs, in which our MS. seems to be singular. In this case too, I have rigidly adhered to the MS.

The rules, under which I have proceeded in making my translation from the Syriac, are the following. As I professed to undertake the office of a translator, and not of a commentator, I thought it right to confine myself as closely to my original, as the nature of the case and my best endeavours would enable me. If therefore, I have followed my original as closely as I could, I trust I have not done this to such a degree, as to have made my English either harsh, or difficult of apprehension. Where I found the Syriac greatly obscure, I generally added a note, and referred to the Greek, if accessible. And, for the better understanding of the mind of my author, I have occasionally pointed out parallel passages occurring in the Fathers, who

were either prior to him, and therefore probably imitated by him, as Justin Martyr, Theophilus of Antioch, Tatian, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, and others; or, who succeeded him, particularly Theodoret, who was evidently a great imitator of him. I have also cited such passages from the classical, and other writers, as my author either referred to, or commented upon, as Herodotus, Thucydides, Diogenes Laertius, Plato, Aristotle, Josephus and others; which cost me much time and trouble. I did not however deem it necessary to make a collation of all, or of any, of the Greek or Latin Fathers for this purpose:

all I have done, or intended to do, was, to mark down such coincidences as occurred generally in my reading, during the time in which I was engaged in this work. Many other similar passages might doubtless be found in the writings of the Fathers of the Church, and particularly in Justin Martyr, Tatian, Tertullian, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Arnobius, Lactantius, Chrysostom, and Theodoret, which I leave to the greater industry and time of others, who may choose to follow out the enquiry. Such illustrations and notes as are given on the Syriac text, were intended for the use of students who may be induced to read that work. I trust I have, in this way, provided a very useful Chresto-mathy for the advancement of Syriac literature.

The divisions, i. e. the paragraphs, or sections, which I have made in my text, both of the Syriac Edition, and of my English Translation, are in all respects exactly what I found them in the MS. I have however added numerals for the purpose of facilitating reference, either from the Syriac Text to my Translation, or from either of these to the original Syriac Manuscript. I might indeed have made a more equal distribution of these paragraphs or sections, but I thought it would be best, for the reasons just now given, to abide by the old one. I thought too, that, if the original Greek should be discovered hereafter, it might be as well not to alter this division of the text,-- particularly as it is one of a very ancient date,--for the purpose of affording the fullest opportunity for seeing what its ancient state was, and thence the more easily to verify the identity of such work, should it indeed ever be found.

I will now add a few remarks on the Work itself, and as to the period at which it was probably written. I think I may say, that the Work itself is worthy of the piety and learning of the deservedly celebrated Father of Church History. As a brief exposition of Christianity, particularly of its Divine authority, and amazing influence, it has perhaps never been surpassed. The work of Theodoret, entitled ”Graecarum affectionum curatio” lately reprinted by Dr. Gaisford, is certainly more full on the particular points which it was intended to illustrate: but then it owes much to the industry and learning of our author, and is less comprehensive in its context. The Stromateis of Clemens of Alexandria, and the ”Civitas Dei” of Augustine, are perhaps more abundant on particular questions; while the work of Clemens is less orderly, and both of these take a less extensive range of inquiry, and are not so well adapted for general reading. When we consider the very extensive range of

enquiry occupied by our author, the great variety both of argument and information which it contains, and the small space which it occupies; we cannot, I think, avoid coming to the conclusion, that it is a very extraordinary work, and one which is as suitable to our own times, as it was to those for which it was written. Its chief excellency is, that it is argumentative, and that its arguments are well grounded, and logically conducted.

If it once or twice appeals to the power of Christianity in inducing many to devote their lives to a state of virginity, and to some other things quite unessential to vital religion ; we should bear in mind, that this was the foible of his day, and that, of the thousands who may be found both able and willing to deprecate and blame this, not so much as one perhaps will to follow his virtues, or give any thing like such evidences of real learning, and of Christian piety and zeal.

As to the period at which it was written, I think it must have been, after the general peace restored to the Church by Constantine, and before either the ”Praeparatio,” or the ”Demonstratio Evangelica,” was written. My reason for the first of these suppositions is: Our author speaks repeatedly of the peace restored to the Church; of Churches and Schools restored, or then built for the first time : of the nourishing state of the Church of Caesarea; of the extended, and then successfully extending, state of Christianity : all of which could not have been said during the times of the last, and most severe persecution. My reasons for the second of these suppositions are, the considerations that whatever portions of this Work are found, either in the ”Praeparatio,” the ”Demonstratio Evangelica,” or the ” Oratio de laudibus Constantini,” they there occur in no regular sequence of argument as they do in this Work: especially in the latter, into which they have been carried evidently for the purpose of lengthening out a speech. Besides, many of these places are amplified in these works, particularly in the two former as remarked in my notes; which seems to suggest, that such additions were made either to accommodate these to the new soil, into which they had been so transplanted, or, to supply some new matter, which had suggested itself to our author.

And again, as both the ”Praeparatio” and ”Demonstratio Evangelica,” are works which must have required very considerable time to complete them, and which would even then be unfit for general circulation ; it appears probable to me, that this more popular, and more useful work, was first composed and published, and that the other two,--illustrating as they generally do, some particular points only,--argued in order in our Work,-- were reserved for the reading and occasional writing of our author during a considerable number of years, as well for the satisfaction of his own mind, as for the general reading of the learned. It appears probable to me therefore, that this was one of the first productions of Eusebius, if not the first after the persecutions ceased.

Of the authors cited in the following pages, I have not always had it in my power to quote either the latest or the best Editions. In many cases I could consult those only which happened to be in my own possession, not only because it is not always in my power to be within the precincts of the University, and to avail myself of its Libraries; but also, even when there, its Libraries are neither large nor rich in this respect. I have in some instances written the proper names as I found them in my Syriac original, which I could hardly avoid, both as it appeared to be my duty to represent this rather than any other exemplar, and also because the nature of the passage occasionally required this.

If I have in any instance failed to seize the sense of my author, I can only say, by way of defence, that I have done the best in my power to ensure accuracy in this respect. I have spared no pains, and have thought no inquiry too great, to do justice to him. Still, as Syriac Literature is but in a state of infancy among us, whether as it respects the character of the Grammars, Dictionaries, Authors, or other helps of this sort; if I have any where failed, I may perhaps hope for the indulgence which the nature of the case requires: and nothing beyond this do I wish. In all such cases, I shall be most happy in receiving suggestions which may improve my Work, and shall be as ready both to adopt these, and to be thankful for them. Of the Work itself I may say, If it has cost me much labour and research, and crowded upon me an increase of labour, depriving me in many instances even of necessary relaxation and exercise; it has nevertheless brought with it pleasures, which I shall ever remember with the greatest thankfulness. To have had the privilege of restoring to the Christian Church, a Work of one of its brightest ornaments as a Scholar and Theologian in the best of its days, is indeed an honour of which few can boast: while the satisfaction of hoping, that it may be instrumental for ages to come, in bringing many to the knowledge of the truth, is more than sufficient to repay any labour which its restoration might have cost.

I have now to express my thanks to the Syndics of the University Press, for their liberality in taking upon themselves the principal part of the expense incurred in printing this Work ; and to add, that I hope this will not have been thrown away on the present occasion. Note on the electronic text: The preface given above is then followed in the book by 5 ’Preliminary Dissertations’, taking up pp.xxiv-clix: over 130 pages! These are somewhat diffuse, but not without interest. They deal with topics such as Eusebius’ opinions on various theological issues, but I believe most people will not find them interesting, and it would take more time than I have to spare to transcribe them. If anyone really wants them and is prepared to share in the labour of proofing them, by all means contact me. Otherwise I will save myself the labour. RP. [Selected Footnotes: some were omitted which required transcribing Syriac but were of no interest to the non-Syriac speaker]

Source. English translation: an older public-domain translation as collected in the Writings-Database (HistoricalChristianFaith), mostly from the Ante-Nicene, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers and similar nineteenth-century editions. SermonIndex has only divided it into chapters and short sections; the wording is the translator's own. Square brackets, Greek or Latin words and footnote-free text are as the source file prints them, and a transcription error may remain. No Greek or Latin text is shown beside it yet, and no modern English version has been made.