Fragments

Philip of Side (fl. c. AD 430)

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Appendix- The Religious Discussion at the Court of the Sassanids

Religious Discussion at the Court of the Sassanids [Religionsgespräch am Hof der Sasaniden / De Gestis in Perside]

[Translated by Andrew Eastbourne] Page numbers refer to Bratke's edition; section numbers refer to Bringel's edition (unless otherwise stated, her edition of the "long recension"—pp. 288-494). References to "Bringel's text" normally introduce my own translation of her Greek text, not her (French) translation, and general references to Bringel's comments refer to footnotes ad locc. in her edition. Fragments of Philip of Side, and probable references to him, are put in boldface here. [p. 1] 1. When Arrhinatus was king of Persia, and second after him was Pasargarus, who held the highest rank of the highest officials in authority, and third was Diocles, who managed the satrapies and provinces, and Aphroditianus, holding the rank of "chief cook"—dialalia abdodedôrou mou toi—"the authority will judge purely"—there arose a dispute in this land between pagans and Christians concerning Dionysarus and Philip, the writers of history. The pagans championed Dionysarus, the Christians, Philip. 2. And when many had been agitated, the King gathered together all the bishops who were in those lands, numbering more than 100, and not a few archimandrites; [p. 2] among these they urged me also to come along—the only one from Roman territory; for all [these others] were from those regions.

3. And when they had been assembled, the King brought together the Rabbis of the Jews, saying to them: "Since some have said that the fine sayings of the pagans preach about Christ, and some dispute this, become judges of the two sides, and tell me the truth accurately. For I trust neither pagans nor Christians one-sidedly, when they are speaking in defense of themselves. Therefore, laboriously unfolding every idea in the divine book, and devoting all your thoughts to it, neither favoring the one group nor the other, report them to the unconquerable authority of my

hands—knowing that if you are hindered by any other order, I will immediately see to the destruction of you all." And they fell down upon the golden pavement at his feet seven times, and said: "Imperial Master, first god of all authority and kingship, grant us space for a defence!" And he granted it, saying: "Consider the religion which you revere, without partiality to either."

And they said: "Let us not come into evil suspicion, when your hand holds sway over all the land. We shall not say anything except what is right for Your Heavenly Divinity to hear. For we are not able to listen to pagans—for they are far from our religion—nor to give heed at all to the murderous and impure Christians, who have become tyrants over the whole human race, and have attacked all the just [commands] of the divine monarchy; they apply all [p. 3] their professions of faith to one single man, whom our ancestors rightly determined to destroy; and they treat the one who died as though he were alive, and they call upon the one whom they did not see as though they see him. But if it seems good to you, righteous masters, make the all-wise and noble Aphroditianus [act as] judge for the two parties."

And immediately the King said: "By Zeus, you have uttered inspired speech today!" And quickly bringing Aphroditianus, and sending those men [i.e., the Jews] away, he said to him: "Your people began the dispute against Philip, the priest of the Christians. Therefore, whereas I know that you neither take delight in feasting nor take pleasure in wine, but instead you spurn gatherings of people and despise reputation and cast aside money, devoting yourself solely to philosophy, I give you this order: Go yourself alone and respond to the chorus of priests, showing all deference to the truth, so that in this matter too the power of our kingship shall be preeminent." 4. But the Jews were putting this man forward as a trick, so that he might trample underfoot the Christians' name. This Aphroditianus was a pagan to whom no one's mouth was able to render an account. And there was no small struggle impending for us, so as not to be defeated by this man. For all the hairs [on our heads], if they became mental processes, would not be able to disentangle one simple thought of his.

5. Now then, when before the meeting everyone had been cowering in fear of him, and they were trying to escape from his inarguable stratagems, and were lamenting—before his appearance, I said to the bishops who were with me: "Do you not know that right here, the "un-wise" [art] defeated the "all-wise" art? Have you given yourselves such expectations of being entirely overcome by him? All the wisdom of the Chaldaeans and Babylonians has been overcome by the divine thought of that young man, Daniel. [p. 4] Therefore, in imitation of him, let us say: 'There is a God in heaven who reveals deep and hidden things.' So let us take along with us Casteleus the senior priest and let us continue entirely undefeated." 6. And after fasting and making prayers of entreaty, we assembled together, along with

that man who had grown old in righteousness, Casteleus; and the bishops sealed themselves, keeping the name of the Lord Jesus Christ in their minds.

And now, Aphroditianus arrived—he himself having also grown old, being now in his eightieth year—and when he sat down upon a throne of gold, built from priceless stones, since the faces of everyone were bowed to the ground, he recognized that they were in no way able to defend themselves before him. And he said to them, having been goaded by God: ”You peaceful priests, why are you disturbed? I have not come to cause you pain by any means, but rather to encourage you. So the contest can proceed painlessly. Take heart, then, and apply yourselves to the truth correctly, in earnest, and you will have victory.” And the bishops, hearing this, recovered their wits fully. 7. Irenaeus, the bishop of Basirênê, said: ”With whom is your God-fearing will disputing? With Dionysarus or with Philip? If you are at odds with Dionysarus, he is yours! You ought to be the judge regarding him. But if [you are at odds] with Philip, then we should make a defence in his regard, since he is a Christian.”

8. Aphroditianus said: ”It is well for you, priest, if you finish as you have begun. For I bear on my lips the things [written] by Philip. But, so that you will not think that I [p. 5] have made any additions, bring the so-called ’books’ themselves and read them to the assembly.” 9. Hesiod the bishop said: ”And if I bring out a book and you attack it as having been falsified…?” Aphroditianus said: ”I know, if anything has been left out or if anything has been added.” 10. And his long-winded book was brought, in which ”Greek Oracles” were contained. And he ordered the boy standing near him to read it: Phdgse distrarek tou ô—”let the one standing beside [me] read.” But he, not paying heed to the book, quickly declared it (?). And he said to him, ”Read from the story of Cassander.” And he read as follows:

11. Cassander died, leaving behind a sister, called Doris; she was the daughter of Pylades, who had been killed in Greece. Attalus the king of the Lacedaemonians lusted after her; and when they went to bed together, she, having a sword inside [the room], planted it in his heart and took control of the kingdom. And once this had happened, she acquired great fear. And his brother Philip went to live in Achaea and there taking as wife the sister of Calliopus their general, named Alisbis [p. 6], he was seeking to destroy Doris and her people. And they were afraid. For all the peoples around her, being enamored of her beauty, were helping her. For she would not give herself in marriage to just anyone. But since they were all afraid of her—for she had attacked many and had destroyed them all—the Achaeans decided at that time to send an embassy to Delphi and to receive an oracle there about this matter. And they, after setting out, asked Euoptia the priestess at the water of the Castalian [spring], for themselves to know the object of their coming. She, having tasted the spring water, answered thus: ”Philip, <child of Olympias, of Pella, going

to places above Asia>, will strike the higher ring that circles everything with his all-powerful arm."

12. But they, deriding and cursing her, said: "Thrice-accursed one, we asked about a woman; we did not ask about a man who came from Macedonia, did we?" But she said to them that unconquerable times had begun to arise; for indeed she herself [i.e., the woman] and that man, and those with him, would vanquish everyone. And they departed, with insults for the prophetess, and went off to the temple of Athens. And while a priestly cloth was being woven and fine purple was being applied to it, they came with a will and burst in. The priestess, Xanthippe, said to them with a burst of anger: "You have entered here at an evil hour, you reckless and unruly ones!"—and they, becoming displeased in turn, mistreated her and said: "You are unworthy of any honor; [p. 8] you are foreign to the priestly disposition—and you are disgracing the purple, which the gods granted to royalty, by which those who wear it possess honor and glory. Stop speaking strange things! Depart from your wineless drunkenness, you arrogant huckster!" But she said to them: "You have brought these charges not against me, but against those who cannot be insulted. Nevertheless, receive a secure oracle and go your way: 'A certain youthful man, who is the effectual conception of a mingling bed, having the unconquerable weight of God's unconquerable scale, will circle the boundless world like an egg, capturing all with his spear.'" But they, blowing on her, withdrew, speaking unlawful things against the gods. And they said, "We do ourselves no good, if we do not go to Phoebus Apollo the Great!"

13. And they went to the temple of Apollo and said by way of entreaty: "You victorious and pure well-pleasing gods, why do you treat your servants in this way—asking to win a womanly war? You throw us into a warlike war! Do not act this way, you immortals, true masters, who have granted to us the greatest material things as gifts; instead, give us clear signs. What, then, will happen to us?" And immediately a voice came in invisibly speaking as follows: "The tripod turning a third turn, the prophet is the root;[p. 9] for [there are] three-fold of these [oracles]; a certain light-bringer, heaven-sent to earth's plain, passing by, dwells within matter, forming for himself a body in the womb of a maiden. And her name is twice seventy-six. He, demolishing the lordships and every holy object of your reverence, will transfer the reward of all glory to the heights of his all-blessed wisdom."

14. Aphroditianus said: "You have pointed out as something impressive—something that escapes my notice, in your view—the fact that [these oracles] have spoken about the Macedonian and about your Christ. But the Macedonian, when he had trodden upon the provinces of the Persians in an untimely fashion, departed from them in a timely fashion, whereas Christ prevailed when he was defeated, and he put the machinations of the plotters to shame. 15. The bishops said: "Your commendable love of wisdom has not missed anything pertaining to knowledge.

But it was in doubt about the oracles [recorded] by Philip. Hence, if there is any truth and benefit contained [in them], share salvation with us, who have fled for refuge to your serenity." 16. Aphroditianus: "You think that I am ignorant of the opinions that have been voiced regarding Christ. But the fact that there is not one single voice and one single tongue—[such that] the people around him are plentiful or that group itself is not divided or at variance with itself, advancing divided opinions itself—while the Jews speak differently about him (for indeed, I have both come into contact with their Scriptures and know yours; and the Scriptures themselves are well-constructed, but those who deal with [p. 10] them are inharmonious)—for this reason, Christian [teachings and arguments] remain implausible to me, hindered as they are by their own disputations—because [the teachers] are incoherent and thoughtless."

17. The bishops said: "And what nation does not fight against itself, both in earlier times and now? Jews, Samaritans, Greeks who live in religious ignorance, and the children of the Buddha [all disagree with themselves / each other (?)]. For indeed, Jews and Samaritans say that there is a Christ, but he has not yet come; and Greeks even unwillingly have proclaimed the doctrines concerning him, exactly as the prophets taught them."

18. Aphroditianus: "But you ought not to disagree, you who are said to rise above every [other] nation! Nevertheless, if you will bear with me, I will tell you countless further quotes about Christ. But the fact that the subject of him is so disputed by his own people leaves me in two minds. And not only that, but so does the fact that his own nation lies with all their might, never allowing truth into their thinking; they commit injustice, love impure unions, and are prone to anger, eager to destroy each other, each one believing as seems best to him, preferring his wishes over tradition—and all this is not characteristic of true religion. Therefore, I patiently urge you to listen to me; and I believe that I both give and receive help. For if I benefit you, then I myself have received a benefit. Indeed, I do not accept the eulogies you make to me: for I am nothing. I hate all that [is said] in order to curry favor, and I reject mere human glory. But if anything aims at truth, I take pleasure in it; if anything aims at righteousness, I rejoice in it; and I am not saying this by way of seeking praise—far be it from me to do anything with a view to pleasing mortal men! But [may I] speak and perform whatever is in accord with the God-pleasing laws. But as for you, noble priests—for I do not call you Christian priests, but ministers of divine power [p. 11]—pay attention to my words, as befits your consecrated status:"

Aphroditianus' Story 19. Christ was known to Persia from the beginning. For nothing escapes the learned jurists of that country, who investigate all things with the utmost care. The facts, therefore, which are inscribed upon the golden tablets, and laid up in the royal temples, I shall announce—for it is from the temples there, and

the priests connected with them, that the name of Christ has first been heard of. The temple of Hera, surpassing even the royal palace, which temple King Cyrus, who was knowledgeable in all piety, built, and erected golden and silver statues of the gods in it, and adorned it with precious stones—not to digress with a detailed description of that ornamentation... Now about that time (as the inscribed tablets testify), the king having entered the temple, with the view of getting a dream-interpretation, was addressed by the priest Prupippus thus: ”I congratulate you, master: Hera has conceived.”

And the king, smiling, said to him, ”Has she who is dead conceived?” And he said, ”Yes, she who was dead has come to life again, and begets life.” [p. 12] 20. And the king said, ”What is this? Explain it to me.”

And he replied, ”In truth, master, you have come here at just the right time. For over the whole night the images, both the males and the females, continuously danced, saying to each other, ’Come, let us congratulate Hera.’ And they said to me, ’Prophet, come forward; congratulate Hera, for she has been loved.’ And I said, ’Who was able to be loved—she who does not exist?’ They reply, ’She has come to life again, and is no longer called Hera, but Urania. For the mighty Helios has loved her.’ Then the females say to the males, disparaging the matter, ’Pege is she who was loved; for it was not Hera, was it? She espoused a carpenter.’ And the males say, ’She has rightly been called Pege, we admit. But her name is Myria; for she bears in her womb, as in the sea, a vessel conveying a myriad. And if she is also [called] Pege, let it be understood thus: This stream of water sends forth a perennial stream of spirit; it contains but a single fish, taken with the hook of divinity, and with its own flesh sustaining the whole world, while it dwells [there] as though in the sea. You have well said, ”She has a carpenter”—but not a carpenter whom she bears from a marriage-bed. For this carpenter who is born, the child of the chief carpenter, framed by his most sagacious skill the triple-constructed celestial roof, and established by his word this dwelling with its triple habitations.’ Thus, then, the statues continued to dispute with each other concerning Hera and Pege, and [at length] with one voice they said: ’When the day is brought to completion, we all, male and female, [p. 13] shall know the matter clearly.’ Now, therefore, master, tarry for the rest of the day. For the matter shall certainly receive full clarity. For that which has emerged is no common affair.”

21. And when the king remained there and was watching the statues, the harpers of their own accord began to strike their harps, and the Muses began to sing; and all the creatures that were within [the temple], whether quadrupeds or birds (made of silver and gold), were uttering their own characteristic voices. And as the king shuddered, and was filled with great fear—he was about to withdraw, for he could not endure the spontaneous tumult—the priest said to him, ”Remain, O King, for the full revelation is at hand which the God of gods has chosen to make

plain to us." 22. And when these things had been said, the roof was opened, and a bright star descended and stood above the pillar of Pege, and a voice was heard to this effect: "Mistress Pege, the great Sun has sent me to make the announcement to you, and at the same time to serve you in your giving birth—as he produces blameless offspring with you, who are becoming mother of the first of all ranks [of being], bride of the single divinity with three names. And the child born without seed is called the Beginning and the End: the beginning of salvation, and the end of destruction."

When this voice had spoken, all the statues fell upon their faces, with Pege alone still standing, on whom also a royal diadem was found to have been fastened, having on its upper side a star set with precious stones of carbuncle and emerald. And up above [i.e., in the sky], the star stood still. 23. And the king forthwith gave orders to bring in all the wise interpreters of signs, as many as were under his dominion. And when the heralds hurried them along with their trumpets, they all assembled in the temple. And when they saw the star [p. 14] above Pege, and the diadem with the starry stone, and the statues lying on the floor, they said: "O king, a divinely inspired and royal root has risen, bearing the stamp of a heavenly and earthly king. For Pege is the daughter of Karia the Bethlehemite, and the diadem is a kingly mark, and the star is a celestial announcement of marvels on the earth. Out of Judah has arisen a kingdom which shall destroy all the memorials of the Jews. And the prostration of the gods upon the floor anticipated the end of their honor. For he who comes, being of more ancient dignity, shall shake those who are new in it [i.e., dignity]. Now therefore, O king, send to Jerusalem. For you will find the Son of the Omnipotent God being carried in bodily form in the bodily arms of a woman."

And the star remained above Pege, who has been named Urania, until the magi went forth, and then it went with them. 24. And then, in the depth of evening, Dionysus appeared in the temple, unaccompanied by the satyrs, and said to the statues: "Pege is no longer one of us, but stands far above us, since she gives birth to a human being who was conceived by divine Fortune. O priest Prupippus! What are you doing sitting here? An action, indicated in writing, has proceeded against us, and we are going to be convicted [p. 15] as false by a person in action. The apparitions we produced, we produced; and that which we ruled, we ruled. No longer do we give oracular responses. Removed from us is our honour. We have become without honor and glory. There is one, one alone, out of all, who has received again his proper honour."

25. They said: "Do not be disturbed. No longer do the Persians exact tribute of earth and air. For he who established these things is at hand, and he brings tribute of actions to him who sent him—he who renews the ancient image, and puts image together with image, and brings the unlike to likeness. Heaven rejoices

with earth, and earth itself boasts at receiving heaven's boast. Things which have not happened above, have happened below. He whom the order of the blessed has not seen, is viewed by the [order of] the miserable. Flame threatens those; dew is present for these. It [was] the good fortune of Karia to give birth to Pege in Bethlehem, and it [is] Pege's grace to become heaven-desired and to conceive grace of grace. Judaea has bloomed, and our affairs are withering immediately. To Gentiles and foreigners, salvation has come; to the wretched, relief is provided in abundance. Rightly do the women dance, and say, 'Lady Pege, Stream-bearer, you who have become mother of the heavenly light-giver, you cloud that brings the world dew after heat, remember your servants, dear mistress.'"

26. The king then, without delay, sent the magi under his dominion with gifts, with the star showing them the way. And when they returned, they narrated everything to the men of that time—those very things which were also written on leaves of gold, to the following effect:

27. For when we came to Jerusalem, the sign, together with our arrival, [p. 16] disturbed everyone. They say, "What is this? Wise men of the Persians are here, and along with them an appearance of a star?" And the foremost of the Jews asked us what was going to happen, and the reason for our coming. And we said: "He whom you call 'Messiah' has been born." And they were confounded, and dared not oppose us. But they, for their part, said to us, "Justice of Heaven! Tell us what you know." And we said to them: "You have the disease of unbelief; and neither without an oath nor with an oath do you believe, but you follow your own ill-advised intentions. For the Christ, the child of the Most High, has been born, putting an end to of your law and synagogues. And it is for this reason that, struck as it were by a most excellent oracle as with a dart, you do not hear with pleasure this name which has come up against you suddenly." And they then, taking counsel together, urged us to accept their gifts, and tell no one such a thing [as the news] from this land [of theirs], lest a revolt rise against us. But we said: "We have brought gifts in his honor, with the view of proclaiming those mighty things which have happened in our country on occasion of his birth—and you bid us take your gifts, and conceal the things which have been made known to us by celestial divinity, and neglect the commandments of our own king? Or do you not know what an experience of the Assyrians you once received?" And they became afraid, and after beseeching us repeatedly, they sent us away.

When the one who was ruling over Judaea sent for us [p. 17] and had some converse with us, and asked us questions, we said to him [things] at which he was thoroughly disturbed. We departed from him, without giving any greater heed to him than to any worthless person. 28. And we came to that place to which we had been sent, and saw the one who had given birth and the one who had been born, the star indicating to us the lordly babe. And we said to the mother: "What are

you called, O renowned mother?" And she says: "Mary, masters." And we said to her: "Where do you come from?" And she said: "From this district—[the district] of the Bethlehemites." "Have you not taken a husband?" She says: "I have only been betrothed, with only pre-nuptial arrangements having been concluded; but my thoughts are divided. For I had no wish at all to come to this [state of affairs]. But while I was giving very little concern to it, at the dawn of a certain Sabbath—at the rising of the sun—an angel straightway appeared to me bringing me the good news of offspring, all of a sudden. And I was disturbed, and cried out, 'Let it not be so to me, Lord, for I do not have a husband.' And he persuaded me to believe, that it was by the will of God that I would have the son." And we said to her: "Mother of mothers, all the gods of the Persians have called you blessed: Your grounds for boasting are great, for you have transcended all women of renown, and you have become manifestly more queenly than all queens."

29. The child, moreover, was seated on the ground, being, as she said, nearly two years old, and having in part the likeness of the one who bore him. For she was small in stature even when holding her head up, and had a delicate body; and she was the color of wheat; and she had her hair bound up with a simple, very beautiful hair-style. And as we had along with [p. 18] us a servant quite skilled in painting, we brought back with us to our country a likeness of them both; and it was placed in the temple in which the oracle was given, with the following inscription: "In the heaven-sent temple, the power of Persia dedicated this to Zeus Helios, the great God, King Jesus." And taking the child up, and bearing him in our arms, each of us in turn, we saluted him and worshipped him, and presented to him gold, addressing Him thus: "[We give] to you what is your own; we lavish you [with gifts], O powerful one in heaven. Things unordered would be ordered in no way other than by your presence. In no other way could things above be brought into conjunction with things below, but by your descent. Service is not carried out to such a degree, if only a servant is sent, as when the [master] himself is present; neither [can so much be achieved] when the king sends only his satraps to war, as when he is there himself. It was quite fitting for your methods, for you to deal in this manner with the rebels."

And the child smiled and leaped at our fawning and our words. And when we had bidden the mother farewell, and when she had shown us honor, and we had glorified her as was necessary, we went to the place in which we lodged. 30. And when evening came, there appeared to us someone terrifying and awesome, saying: "Get away quickly, lest you fall prey to a plot." And we, in fear, said: "And who is it that is plotting against so august [p. 19] an embassy, O general of God?" And he replied: "Herod—but get up immediately and depart in safety and peace." And we speedily mounted our strong steeds and departed from there in all earnestness; and we reported all that we had seen in Jerusalem. Behold, then, such great things have we told you regarding Christ; and we know that Christ has become our Savior.

”But you, by your ways, are opposed to him, slandering his pain and suffering all the time. For speaking unworthy things, and doing still more unworthy things, are a mark of hatred.

31. ”As for me, I honor the Sun / Helios, which is beneficial to all, the one that sends out its rays of light; and in the same way, I marvel at Air, which stoutly encompasses our bodies round about, and embellishes the earth with its other natural qualities. [Likewise,] the irresistible Fire, to which all corporeal nature is subjected, the proof more approved than all matter. [Likewise,] Water, the life of mortals—when it is not present, nothing fleshly shall live. And while I honor all these, I honor the one who graciously gave them, the one who stands as First Cause of the universe. He was owed obeisance from the undefiled powers alone, whose thanksgivings are uninterrupted and undivided, whom no other occupation ever dominates, whose attendance on him is unvarying and who worship him in accordance with their very nature. For human beings are known to be worthless, since they are slaves to their own pleasures.

32. And when Aphroditianus had said these things, the entire gathering fell silent, having nothing to answer. But it only said, ”Glory to you, O Christ, whose gifts of grace every mouth confesses.”

Aphroditianus said: ”There have been Christians [p. 20] indeed, but there have also been pagans, who practiced the utmost virtue. King Cyrus had very attractive female bodyguards where he slept: he was sharpening his desire, but also correcting it by such trials. He used to say that all glory was worthy of the heavenly power alone. He loved his fellow man so much that there was no poor man or even the least captive in Persian territory, because of his constant bestowing of benefits upon everyone. And Concencrates, who was truly a philosopher, possessed one single rough cloak—he lived near the peak of Masgabala, being terribly worn out by the snow and cold; and the wise Neoctetius said to him: ’You will perish, wise man, and die because of the heat and cold.’ And he said: ’If I die to those here [on earth], I shall live by my future hope.’ He asked: ’What [hope] is that?’ And the other said, ’Truly, I am directing my attention to a certain other life, and offering myself myself to it. For the Providence of God will not disregard those who have labored during the day: in the evening it will deem them worthy of reward and rest. Every day I see the heavens and the things of earth that seem good diminishing and decaying. And this takes place because of our ”exasperations,” which show beforehand that everything here below perishes.

But those who have acquired the virtues above do not die, as they are spoken about and answered with eternal remembrance by them.’ This man only ate fruit, and drank a little water once a day, not wishing to know anything else [p. 21] of what belongs to the world, [but] practicing death every day. And this is sufficient. And Dichorianus, who published so many things about God, and who used to say

that he was nourished by these things, and not by those which harm the body—after preserving impassibility of body and mind for 90 years, while he was dying said: 'Glory to you, righteous Justice, who changed my [mind] regarding what was honorable.' And there are many others of whom the book-lovers know—both Christians and true philosophers. But let us leave off for today, and tomorrow we [will] inquire into the rest. If it is desired by the will of heaven that we come this far, we [will] achieve resolution of further questions in turn."

33. When everyone had departed, some archimandrites accused Aphroditianus to the king of having inclined toward the Christians, pleading on their behalf in everything, and engaging in no discourse about the true religion of the pagans, but instead working contrary to the pagans, conducting his exercise about Christ alone. The king, on the other hand, grew angry at them, and said to them: "You who are called Christians and heads of monasteries, what is your object in unsettling the affairs of the pagans? Why, as monks, are you not at rest?" And immediately Aphroditianus entered and told the king everything. And the king said to him: "In the name of our divinely inspired Fortune, I am in no doubt at all regarding you. For I know your guilelessness and truthfulness; and if only my kingdom had another one like you! But you are doing well in making known the truth to both Christians and pagans. Hence, take these sycophants and cut off their heads!" And Aphroditianus, taking them into his own house, accorded them [p. 22] all possible care, not in any way mistreating them, and [thus] he kept the Christians safe from the plot against them.

34. The following day, Oricatus the foremost of the enchanters came to him and said: "Master of everything under the sun, grant me glory, so that I may preside in this assembly, since I have three mighty acts to perform! And the king said: "Are you trying to rise above the marvellous Aphroditianus? Oricatus said: "If I do not demonstrate there a power which no one else has demonstrated, persuading them with great signs, then hand me over to be crucified! But the king did not wish to cause pain to Aphroditianus, and he told him the entire matter. Aphroditianus said: "What he intends to do, he cannot do in the midst of those men, and he [will] fail. But let him act as the king decides. And again, along with others, he troubled [the king], giving assurances to the king that he possessed the ability absolutely to undo the Christians, with all probability. The king said to him: "Go today to my council-chamber, and either persuade or be persuaded; and if you pass through this affair and persuade them without any compulsion, you will be deemed worthy of monuments—but if, on the contrary, you fail, you will be deprived of possessions and life. And he was sent to the gathering with a letter containing the following words: "The great king, superior to all glory, lord of peoples and tribes and islands, to the priests of the Christians who have assembled together, rejoice! I myself rejoice as well.

I have sent to you Oricatus, the leader of the [p. 23] enchanters belonging to my kingdom—who will in no way compel you, but will learn either to persuade or to be persuaded. But if he goes too far, he will come to know what the force of kingly power is able to do. And I am sending to you Aphroditianus, who is enthroned with me, for the sake of evaluating the aforementioned [Oricatus], and he will fill up any lack or deficiency. Abanatranête chrô katelloi ter terennatoi—that is to say: 'The heaven-born power has deigned to converse with mortals.'"

35. Oricatus himself, along with others in white robes, came wearing a necklace with three Gorgon-faces—the figure of three "dignities," he said. When the holy Casteleus, who saw ahead with a prophetic eye, caught sight of him, he said: "This man is here to destroy himself." And when everyone had sat down, the same Oricatus said to the gathering: "We have heard that before now you have honored actions more than words. What then does your wisdom wish either to say or to do?" But everyone was silent, viewing him with displeasure; and he said to them: "If you remain silent, then it is necessary for me to say this—as it were, in accordance with your Scripture: that you should give us a sign or a wonder, or I should give one to you." The bishops, together with the holy Casteleus, said: "It is proper that you, who have put forward and proposed this, should do it first." The same group, again, said: "We do not have the 'dignity' to go after amazing deeds; instead, you yourself, since you are the standard of measurement for such things, display your [p. 24] power, so that we may know whether it really comes from a divine source." And he said: "Straightaway." And taking some clay, he fashioned a falcon and immediately caused it to fly. But the holy Casteleus along with the bishops paying attention to it—it straightaway fell, becoming clay again, and shattered. Oricatus said: "Grant me five responses whereby I can persuade you that I am a child of gods and everything obeys me as a powerful being." The gathering said: "Very well."

36. Oricatus said: "There are some Ethiopian Indians here, who have come in pursuit of business: I shall make them white quickly with a word." The bishops, along with the holy man, said: "If you know of anything that is a help to you, do it." And having brought the Indians [forward], he said: "I am able to make you white and send you home with many gifts." And they were content with this. And taking a silver dish and putting spring water in it, he called on the forces with which he was familiar. And when he had made the incantation, he poured [the water] on the two men by way of finishing [the process]. Immediately their entire bodies were covered with blisters, and their shouts went up to the heavens as they were burned up by the blisters. And he threatened the forces on whom he had called, shrieking at them and growing angry. The gathering, together with the holy man, said to the Ethiopians: "Behold the gifts of Satan! But believe in God, and he himself will heal you through water and the Spirit." And they said: "We believe in the God whom you worship, who will revive us in body and in spirit." And immediately they exorcized

them—for their affliction was frothing up—and brought them down into the pool, saying: ”Now you shall know the power of God and Christ the Savior.” And they baptized them. And when they came up out of the water, their bodies were found [p. 25] free of any fault. And they said to Oricatus: ”You afflicted us by means of water, but God healed us by means of water. We are now going to tell our King about the amazing works of the Lord, and the benefits conferred by his soldiers.”

37. But Oricatus waited, protesting and saying: ”I still have three acts to perform—and by all means, if I suceed in one [of them], I win. And again, the bishops said: ”For your own judgment, do what you wish. And he said: ”I shall bring Philip the presbyter, concerning whom we are disputing, out of Hades into our midst—he will say that the History does not belong to him. The bishops said: ”And again we say to you: At your own risk, do as you will. And taking a brazier filled with coals, he first placed calves upon it, and then also threw wine-bottles into the fire, such that many stepped back so as not to be harmed; but he, bearing staves of walnut, again called upon the familiar names of the demons—while the gathering loudly laughed at him. For they knew that he was going to be refute himself. And indeed, after an interval of time elapsed, and his artifice was being hindered, and he was trying to compel the force to show itself, there came into our midst the appearance of a certain monk, to whom the bishops, along with the holy Casteleus, said: ”Where have you been a monk? Put to shame, it was transformed into a weeping woman, and they, as one, all said: ”Whom are you lamenting? And she said: ”The man who brought me here. And the holy man said to her:

”Say in the presence of everyone who you are, so that the man who brought you here will not seem to be boasting as though he had contrived some noble action. And she said: ”I am an angel; I have been put to shame before you and debased because of the contentiousness of this man alone, who is not able to perform any signs. The gathering, together with Casteleus, said: ”Behold! In the third procedure, you fail; and you remain in your failure. So then, since you have been beaten, henceforth give way before the men of God, lest you be destroyed by them. And he said: ”I have been defeated three times, but in what remains [p. 26] I believe I will win. Then they say to the demon: ”Do you confess that you are a demon, or [do you claim to be] a human being? And it said: ”I am a demon, and I have come here to deceive—if I were permitted to do so. And they breathed upon it and caused it to disappear—and he, on the other hand, would not stop gnashing his teeth and blaspheming.

38. Oricatus said: ”I shall fire up a furnace to a high pitch, and I shall walk into the midst of the fire and then come out.” The gathering said: ”Do this as your final sign.” Then Oricatus in his turn said: ”A woman has died before the gates. So then, the one in whose name she rises again, this one is a god.” And they all rejoiced and were content. And he, for his part, making use of the sweet smell of incense, began

to sprinkle the dead woman with the blood of goats." And again, he performed an ox-sacrifice and, snorting loudly, said threateningly to the familiar standing next to him: "I give you eight souls; grant me the one soul of the Nazoraean, since I am worn out because of you." And a voice came: "You have adversaries who are defeating you in all respects. Now then, yield to defeat. For the angels of Jesus are standing with swords in opposition to us, along with our followers." But he, along with the hundred oxen, slaughtered birds, not at all acting well—and groaning deeply indeed because he had been triumphed over, he said to the bishops: "At this point I will believe in you, so that you may accomplish that for which I have lost esteem."

And the bishops, casting themselves down [to their knees] together with the holy man made their request to God, with toil and humility, and standing over the body with one accord, they raised a single voice, saying: "Lord, let impiety not defeat piety, but rather, glorify your name, O God, in the midst of these unbelievers who pay heed to vain things." And when they had finished their prayer, the woman sat up and stood up straight on her feet. 39. And Oricatus said: "By Hera, this power is great! And yet, the perfection [p. 27] of the fifth sign will persuade [you]. Let the furnace be fired up, and let each person enter there, [trusting] in whichever god he worships, and then the truth of the god will be manifest. However, I am going to select whomever of you I wish to enter the fire." And he chose Se.....tianus, bishop of Homobyrrhus. And that man, removing his tunic and clothing himself with the name of Christ, entered the furnace and took his place in the middle, while conversing with those who stood nearby. And the bishops said to Se.....tianus: "Come out, confessor, so that this man too may fulfill his promise." And he came out, having not even taken in any smoke at all." And so, Oricatus, trying not to lose face, went in, and was completely engulfed in flames, along with his clothing—and they took him and dragged him out, only half alive. And they prayed over him and healed him. Now then, those who were with him, having seen what had happened, said: "No power of the gods is equal to this power!"

40. And when the king found out about this, he proceeded against all his [i.e., Oricatus'] possessions, handing him over to Aphroditianus to be crucified. The latter, however, took him and led him to his house, and after taking care of him suitably for a few days, persuaded the king to receive him. And the king said to him: "I know of no man who has helped an enemy except you!" And he said: "We have learned to give help from the one who gives help to all. For when one does good to one's enemies, the force of enmity will no longer be useful; instead, dear peace will be there, dancing for the sake of everyone."

41. Now then, when the Jewish lawgivers knew that the Christians had won and had been honored in this way, they were bitterly jealous [p. 28] and they approached the king, saying: "Master, heavenly sun, the priests of the Christians are able, if

they are willing, to resolve our doubts. So command them to make a decision on what concerns us, together with the divine Aphroditianus. For we are able, since we revere one single God just as they do, to gain insight into the question at issue—whether Christ has already been made manifest." And the king said: "Regarding Christ, hear this without evasion: To those who came before us he did indeed appear, and a heavenly star made publicly known both him and his birth. And people from here brought gifts to him; and we have the image of the mother and the child, housed in the temple of the Heaven-sent. Regarding your coming to be in harmony, by Mithras, I pray that both parties may be belong to one single religion. But I do not know whether your love of power will allow you to be reconciled. For indeed, from the beginning this [love of power] has cast you down, attacking everyone tyranically."

43. And they answered: "We implore your immortal sovereignty, now that we have come into its presence: We are willing to be persuaded, as we engage with them in discussions which Aphroditianus, your partner in the throne, will hear and [thereby] provide a speedy resolution on every subject." 44. And the king summoned Aphroditianus and said to him: "Indulge your good character by judging between the Jews and Christians. For because of your freedom from falsehood, they all choose you as judge." And he wrote to the bishops a letter running as follows: "I, the king of kings, having the magnificence of the celestial gods, write as follows to the priests of the Christians: Jacob and Pharas, the foremost of the Jews, have asked me to persuade you to have a dialogue with them and to arrive at full assurance regarding Christ, whether in fact he has come. Therefore, do not approach them as foreigners, but receive them as parts of your own body, so that they may become fellow-members with you [in one body]. For if this happens, the innermost ill-will will be weakened, [p. 29] and justice and pious simplicity, being glorified, will grant the peace that befits our times. Marthedredela kornakykola peplandereinak—which is translated: He who administers the heavenly powers has given this command to mortals."

45. Jacob and Pharas, the Jews who were mentioned earlier, came to the gathering along with the guileless Aphroditianus, and when all were seated, Aphroditianus said: "Beloved men, let us not come together with each other in striving and contentiousness, like enemies, but rather become one in purpose and receive the truthful oracles. Therefore, I urge you to interact with each other without rancor." Then he says to the Jews: "Tell us without imposture all that is contained in your Law. For I will know if you take away or add anything. So tell us, for what reason have you gathered here?" 46. Jacob and his companions said: "For us, the discussion is about the Christ who is born in Bethlehem: whether he has indeed come." 47. Aphroditianus said: "And how are you inclined, regarding him?" And they answered: "He has yet to come." Aphroditianus said: "When do you think he will be born?" The Jews said: "At the end of time." Aphroditianus said: "And what

more is there for him to do, when time is done away with?" The Jews said: "That which your inspired wisdom said—restoring what is done away with."

48. Aphroditianus: "He will restore again what is done away with by his command and will? The story is incoherent. For it has nowhere been said that after the consummation of the world another such structure is to arise. Of this, your own prophet will convince you, saying: 'I shall send to you Elijah the Tishbite before the great day [p. 30] of the Lord comes…without coming, I shall smite the earth utterly.' Now then, if this one, whom you expect as Christ [i.e., Messiah], is Elijah, one who is not coming to restore but to smite, then we must also find out this: How is it that he is not called Christ but Elijah?—and is the one who was begotten in Tishbe begotten [also] in Bethlehem, as your ancestors understood the prophet? For the one who said, 'I shall send to you Elijah,' is different from the one who is sent, and since he said, 'Without coming, I shall smite the earth utterly' through that man, he first calls his audience to witness and then does away with this structure [i.e., the earth]. What then? Is Christ's birth then, or before that time? For whom would he be pleasing or useful?"

49. The Jews: "Christ and Elijah are two different figures. For our prophet Daniel beheld a stone for the king of the Babylonians, and it became a great mountain." 50. Aphroditianus: "You have recklessly refuted yourselves, not understanding your own bulwark of protection. For this text was brought from Babylon to Persia, and I know it perfectly. It reads as follows: 'And in the days of those kings, the God of heaven will raise up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed'—and [p. 31] 'This [kingdom] shall never be destroyed'—and 'The king saw that a stone was cut without hands from a mountain, and the stone that crushed the statue became a great mountain and filled the whole earth.' So after those four kingdoms, the God of heaven raised a kingdom which he promised would be indestructible and without a successor—which is the stone that became a great mountain and filled the whole earth. Thus, you have cited this text against yourselves!"

51. The Jews: "What four kingdoms?" Aphroditianus: "The glorious and renowned ones, which came in succession one after the other: the Babylonians, the Medes, the Persians, and the fourth one, the bandit-like one that was difficult to attack, the Macedonian [kingdom]. These [first] three were powerful, and this [fourth] with its rashness has been added to the three. For it grew up after these [first] kingdoms. The Jews: "We assert that the iron kingdom is that of Augustus and his successors." 52. Aphroditianus: "Whom did the kingdom of Augustus and the rest pulverize and subdue? They both defeated and were defeated. The 'pulverizing' [kingdom] is undefeatable. How do these [i.e., the Romans] subdue anyone, when they themselves all also give tribute and gifts to this kingdom? And you should understand the statement, 'In the days of those kings, the God of heaven will raise up a kingdom,' to mean that it appeared between them. If, then, you believe that

there is a Christ, look for him at that point in time, for you will not find him afterwards. For just as your ancestors, keeping hold of their past expectation, missed its proper time, even so will it be with you as well. You should see the prophet's words, 'The stone, which the builders rejected, this has become the head [stone] of the corner,' not as still pointing to the future, but as already having taken place.

"Why should I unfold the Hebrews' prophecies and not our own? Ophianus [p. 32] Pertillaeus spoke in his 'Laws' as follows: 'Oh my! How the Caspian Gate has been adorned—it has received a mountain stone, which hands did not hew out, but rather grace discovered, and narrowed the whole Gate all around by means of it. Not only did it strengthen it, but it also opened it when it had been closed—the stone having become way and door. The door leads to an august door, and the way draws one to a pure way, as all those who see it shout: "Great is the dominion of the gods, whose will for action is more easily realized."' And Elibatus, who wrote down innumerable laws, when speaking On Eucles towards the end, says, 'A frightful cloud settled upon a mountain and cast a single stone upon the earth, and strengthened all its foundations. And how shall a single stone prevail over the entire [earth]? Did not one God alone create the universe?' And Trachelaphius, speaking Against the Falsely-Named, demonstrates his mastery also in the following solid reasoning: 'Who deceived those who trust in Dionysus so as to say about him that he, being forever without a beginning, was born from an unravished virgin? They clothe him with another's dignity. For the one without a beginning, being of the substance that is forever without beginning, takes hold of mortal substance without receiving it as a violation. For that which he formed, he shall not consider an violation, when he takes it up.

There, a virgin—[p. 33] unsullied in her body and having no falsehood in her tongue—supplies virginal flesh; [this process is the] activation of all grace dwelling within [her]. I marvel at the flux-bound taking hold of the flux-free—knowing this: that some have been deified on account of their promulgation of laws; others, because of their nobility of life and their conspicuous purity in other respects, because of which it is fitting to honor them; but to go after heavenly honors is beyond all audacity and above all blasphemy.'"

53. The Jews: "We are not familiar with these things, Lord, nor do we have them in our knowledge." Aphroditianus: "With your own prophets, you are not in agreement; your laws, you falsify. Produce for us simply your laws concerning women, if indeed you will obey them." The Jews: "Custom is law. It was established for us, and we are not able to overturn ancestral practices." Aphroditianus: "I too know that, as you hold fast to your own habits, you do not accept the true religion. For, as you safeguard your own glory, you do not subject yourselves to the glory of your God." 54. The Jews: "What, then, is your command? Are we to become Christians and fall into heresies?" Aphroditianus: "So you are not acting as heresiarchs in

living by your own customs? But when the bishops themselves are sitting [nearby], why should I wish to give an account of them—in particular when having a discussion with you, who appear to magnify yourselves by your own defeat?"

The Jews said: "Let the crowd of bishops speak to us! For we know that we will not be at a loss before them." 55. The bishops: "You have done well to come. We do not stand apart from the God who said, 'Take heart, for I have defeated the world.'" The bishops, again: "We shall set before them a challenge which shall by all means vanquish them." The Jews: "Propose it with boldness!" 56. The bishops: "In Jeremiah, he says: 'This is our God; there shall not be reckoned any other in addition to him. He searched out every path of knowledge and gave it to Jacob his servant and to Israel his beloved. After this, [p. 34] he appeared upon the earth and lived with humans.'" 57. Aphroditianus: "What can Jacob and Pharas, the Rabbis of the priests, say in answer to this?" The Jews: "It is fitting for them to make use of one other witness, as the Law says."

58. The bishops: "To whom was it said, 'Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies the footstool of your feet?'" The Jews: "Christ sits at the right hand of God, until he makes his timely arrival—which he promised through the prophets." 59. The bishops: "To the one who is sitting, he says, 'Sit at my right hand'? And with whom were the enemies at enmity? With the one who was not yet there? Indeed, the word 'sit,' which he says, refers to his going back up from earth to the heavens and sitting, as before, above his enemies—so that you are under the feet of his nation, being trampled until the last hour." The Jews: "You too should by all means expect to be trampled at the proper time."

60. The bishops: "After unjustly trampling, you are justly trampled. Hence, what will happen to you is just. The bishops, again: "As for the time which you say is coming upon you—it is approaching, quite terrible to see; and with it, both you and the deceiver in whom you trust at that time will be handed over to the eternal embrace of fire. Nevertheless, we put before you your own witnesses, who understood Christ's presence in the flesh. For indeed, you also have what we are going to say to you in your records: Your ancestors (who had suffered grave defeat and were recalling the defeat as an unconquerable victory) at that time commanded that no one possess or even look for these things, so that diligence would not procure knowledge for the many. But we say these things to those who know—even if you are compelled by your custom to conceal the truth. Did you not hear about the magi who crossed over from here to there, [p. 35] led by divine prophecy, in connection with whom your leaders at the time met with Herod and told him where [the Messiah] was [to be] born, such that Herod became jealous of the kingdom that had sprouted, and committed such a huge slaughter of children? Wasn't John the Baptist of Jewish ancestry?—to whom you sent people to ask whether he was the Messiah, and he said, 'I am not';

but he pointed him out and said, 'This is the lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world.'" Futhermore, [what about] Nicodemus, your ruler, and Nathanael and Joseph from Arimathaea, and Bizes and Alexander, who dined with him at the marriage of Simon of Galilee, where he turned the water into wine? [What about] the elders who were sent by those very men on an embassy on behalf of the centurion's servant—that he trouble himself on account of his salvation—they said: 'For he is worthy that you provide this for him; for indeed, he loves our people and he himself built the synagogue for us'? Basilicus the proconsul, the brother of Jairus the leader of the synagogue, whose son he made well? This man's brother, Jairus, who implored him [p. 36] and raised his daughter from the dead? Caiaphas, who counselled that a single man should die 'and the whole nation not perish'? Your own children who shout, 'Hosanna to the son of David! Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord,' 'King of Israel'? The disciple Judas, with whom you settled thirty pieces of silver, so that he would betray him to you? The soldiers, to whom you gave silver so that they would say, 'His disciples came at night and stole him away while we were sleeping'? Josephus your own writer of history, who spoke about Christ, who was demonstrated to be a righteous and good man by divine grace, by means of signs and wonders, one who bestowed benefits on many?

And as many other things as are recorded, which we do not bring forward now?"

61. The Jews: "We crucified a certain man, but not the Messiah." Aphroditianus: "Who was it that you crucified?" And they said: "A certain man who said that he was God, not indeed the Messiah." Aphroditianus: "You crucified, in short, the one you say was a man, the son of Mary?" They said: "Yes." 62. Aphroditianus: "And why did you crucify him?" "Because he said that he was God." "And for this reason," he said, "he was killed?" They said: "Yes." 63. Aphroditianus: "And which of those who claimed to be God have been killed, in all times? But this one, by contrast, did more good, and healed people." The bishops: "In reference to whom did they, according to the prophet David, 'divide my garments amongst themselves, and cast lots for my clothes'?" But they were silent. [p. 37] The bishops: "Concerning whom did Moses say, 'You will see your life suspended before your eyes, and you shall surely not believe'?"

64. Jacob and Pharas said: "Truly, a great mistake has occurred, even should those of our nation recoil from us in horror ten thousand times over. For as the hierophants proclaimed beforehand vinegar and gall and division of garments, we did these things because of great blindness, so that his blood would come upon the nation and the events would prove true. For, carried away by envy of his signs and wonders, which he did before them, they hurried to destroy him (because everyone followed him afterwards), so that the nation would stand firm—and not only did it not stand firm, but we were even handed over to multiple scatterings and we sang the song of the Lord in a strange land because of our power-hungry teachers at

that time, whose minds Satan had blinded." 65. The bishops: "We urge, Lord, that all this be reported back to the divine hearing."

Aphroditianus: "It shall be so reported. Dastikon labokétras; autíka pithígrisab lestrin—which means, We shall immediately make it known." And he went off and made it all known to the king. And the king rejoiced, as did those under his rule, at the uprightness of Aphroditianus. 66. And now the rest of the Jews, and their leaders, learning of this, rose up against these two, Jacob and Pharas, and cast them out of the synagogue, saying to them: "You have shamed us since you have become advocates for the Christians; you have begun to be Christians, you have scorned your ancestors, you have dissolved the Law. You have learned, in short, to worship a human being." And straightway they went off to Mithrobades the son of Arrhinatus, agreeing to pay him 30 centenaria, [p. 38] so that those men would not lead them any longer, but instead be [cast] out of the priestly rank. But Arrhinatus said to his son: "Why do you want money for such a reason, as though the Persian kingdom is in need? Count up its wealth: All the treasures of the Medes and Bactrians, the Scythians and Elymaeans and Semiramites, are in your hands. And you pay attention to this paltry sum, especially when it is provided for the sake of breaking the Law? Stand aside from this, child. Let the priests act in accordance with their consciences."

67. Jacob and Pharas, when they found out what had been said, left and assembled all their households and their friends and those who were diligent for the truth, and they divided their people, such that their part was more than half. And in the other part were Simon and Barnaes and Scillas (this last had converted from paganism). And Jacob's party implored Aphroditianus that they should have a decree not to be subject to any attack from the authorities—and "we [will] defend ourselves also with the justification speeches that are available to us." And the king did accordingly. [p. 39] Arríkês exaktoraklés—which means, "I order each [group] to plead their cause." 68. On the next day, both came in and did obeisance to Aphroditianus and the bishops; and they were commanded to sit down, the two groups separately, as they ought to do. And when they had sat down, Aphroditianus said to the bishops: "Now the controversy is not between us, but between these people. Therefore, I urge you not to interrupt this debate, so that they themselves may persuade themselves. For if you stand in opposition, they themselves too [will] become more vigorous in opposition, and the audience-chamber [will] be thrown into confusion—and for such a thing to happen is especially contrary to your dignity."

The bishops: "As you command us, O pure and distinguished man, so shall we do." 69. Aphroditianus: "It is permitted to you, Simon and Barnaes and Scillas, to speak, if you have any speech of justification to make regarding your own Law. For subsequently, after this it will remain to ask also about your accusation of your teachers." 70. Simon and his party: "Your august and celestial will knows, as does

that of the God-beloved priests here, that we all worship one single God and that God is the father of countless glories. Thus, each one worships him in accordance with his view of God's glory." 71. Aphroditianus said: "God neither had nor will have his glories divided. For since he is one, he also has a single, firm-standing glory, which everyone ought to know. For if he is the father of countless glories / opinions, which of them should one cling to, or how could one judge which of them one should grasp? If the glories are divided, then the one who is glorified is also divided."

72. Simon's party, again: "We implore your gentle and calm kindness not to inveigh against us [p. 40] in this way. For you have trained yourself with great diligence, and we have no great resources for speaking to you. But speak to us rather in a way that we can understand."

73. Jacob and Pharas: "Our dispute, surely, is not about the glory of God, but about Christ the Nazoraean, whom your ancestors—for [they are not] our [ancestors any more]—killed out of envy. For since you cannot bear the shame of this envy, you reject the whole thing, so that you are not condemned. This is the one about whom David said, 'The Lord said to me: You are my son; today I have begotten you,' and so on; and 'Your throne, O God, is forever and ever,' down to the words, 'For this reason, God, your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness beyond your companions'; and 'The stone which the builders rejected, this has become the head of the corner'; and 'Behold! a stone was cut without hands from a mountain, and the stone that struck the statue became a great mountain and filled the whole world'; and 'Behold! I place in Zion a corner-foundation-stone, choice and precious; and the one who believes in it shall be saved'; and 'Behold! the young woman shall conceive and bear a son and they shall call his name Emmanuel'; and 'He was led like a lamb to slaughter' and the rest; and 'Behold! there was coming with the clouds of heaven one like a son of man, and he proceeded as far as the Ancient of Days, and honor and kingship were presented to him, and all the peoples shall serve him. His kingdom is perpetual and his authority is for generations and further.' All these things, and the others, were said about Christ, whom your self-condemned ancestors crucified—and he rose again and is sitting with his holy Father in the unsullied heavens."

74. Simon and his party: "And why did you not say these things earlier, [p. 41] but instead you began to put forward such teachings by virtue of your antipathy." 75. Jacob and Pharas said: "Antipathy is able to procure good and profitable resources. And as our ancestral God knows, we kept all these things in mind and we condemned those who killed him—and we concealed the truth because of the dignity we possessed. And yet, we began to be Christians in our heart. Therefore, behold! we have come to the stage of completion with a good pretext. For indeed, even then, while because of our fear we preserved our outward appearance, we

were different in our minds." 76. Aphroditianus: "The human being is unsettled, by virtue of both its own cogitations and those that come in from outside, and it inclines to many different things; one will not attain the truth in its entirety through falsehood, nor will one find uprightness through its opposite. And even if someone comes across piety, how will he remain in it? Hence, both parties here should accomplish what is pleasing to them by their own examination."

77. Jacob's party said: "We know that Christ has come from heaven and we belong to his faith, no longer wishing to have a Jewish mindset." 78. Simon and the others: "The nation will not accept you even if you want them to. For how could they keep with them those who are against them?" Aphroditianus: "Do you then cast aside your teachers, if they choose to speak the truth?" Simon: "Neither shall they be at peace any longer with us, nor we with them; for we are at variance with each other and have become each other's enemies." 79. Aphroditianus: "Enough! (For this was his oath.) Your affairs are still at the stage of words, and you are bereft of all action. For I know that those people, who are agitated over action, are a chosen people, being in touch with heavenly things in a heavenly manner, and not boasting in a word only but strengthened by an eternal subject for boasting. [p. 42]

80. "I shall, however, present to you an example equal to the first. I once learned of a woman, a shepherdess, in the settlement of the Arigbanes. One Coatus, son of Coatus, fell in love with her and sent her gifts, so that she would come to an agreement with him. But she, seeing the gifts, laughed and said to the messenger, pointing to her sheep: 'Behold my gifts and my children, from which I am nourished by divine grace.' And he came away to her and with splendid promises he urged her to accept him. She said to him: 'Shall I defile the undefiled cloak which grace has given to me?' Coatus said: 'Miserable girl, this law has been established from above for the propagation of the race.' The shepherdess: 'A law has been established for me not to acquire more than I have.' After much pleading to no effect, he ordered that she be starved to death. And so, on the third day, when she was about to expire, she uttered cheerful words as follows: 'O heavenly Father of your genuine children, O unsullied bridegroom of those who are in the bloom of beauty, I come to you, thrice-desired Lord, giving back to you without complaint that which you gave to me—virginity, forgiveness of sins, an existence without property, a truthful tongue, a heart unacquainted with wickedness—ever intent on the hope that is to come, which I have honored and whose joys I am now by all means going to meet.' And thus she expired. [p. 43] His father, learning this, ordered that he be hung head-downwards on a tall post in the middle of the city, so as to be eaten by birds.

81. "And now, I speak to everyone regarding Christ. That which has happened already has happened. And as regards Philip the history-writer: I met him in Amida and in Ostra. And as regards all the pagans and Christians and Jews: We boast in

a name only. And so, brothers, whether you live as Christians or live as Jews, do not destroy the common bond of peace. Let us honor each other with love, and strive after the uninterrupted good things of heaven; and let us hate the division of opposites. Embrace each other, everyone, with a view to being brought to unity by divine grace." 82. And the man received grace to persuade both parties to be reconciled with each other, as the party of Simon and the others cast itself at the feet of the party of Jacob, asking them not to abandon their ancient friendship. But worship [of God should proceed] as any individual wished, with sincere love remaining [between all]. And after bidding each other farewell, as they ought, and kissing the bishops' feet, giving thanks to God, praising the king at length, and saying the Alleluia in Hebrew together, they departed from each other. And Jacob, Pharas, and 60 [other] souls were baptized. But the others remained in the section [p. 44] of Simon, and they were called "Christianomerites." Aphroditianus urged both to honor Providence, because "this [i.e., Providence] has greatly honored us."

83. Nakenátare. Rophóes. Meroréktaloi sisinnérôtoi. Medidókalla. Auxontêtora—which means, "The absolute authority orders this to be stored away on the tablets for their own witnesses and for those who wish to make exact copies." Arrhenatus, Baukogegédras; Pasargarus, Lexribonátus; Diocles, Bazeas; Aphroditianus, Meïmathlos; command, decision, success, judgment. The authoritative power of the four approved with knowledge the matters so judged. Naburicês, Mithrobadês, Tertulus, members of the gubernatorial class and the corresponding [military] command and satrapal [rank]—whose orders were published and made known to the farthest reaches of the Babylarchy. Let the agreements be published in both forms, as approved mutually. [p. 45] 84. This Philip was a presbyter and synkellos of John, the bishop of Constantinople; he divided the whole [of history] into stages—magnificently, such that not one of the wise writers of history of all time is comparable to him. And the same presbyter recounted that the day on which the star appeared in the temple—that same day, every year, until the Lord was taken up [into heaven], all the statues would produce their characteristic utterance, and so that entire city there was transfixed, beholding the great marvels and the yearly appearance of the star.

85. And it is amazing how Aphroditianus, who was nominally a pagan but in fact behaved as a Christian, surpassed the presbyter Philip in saying great things about Christ. And Dorus the Jew, the advocate of his own slanderous nation, said that the king conducted a competition in the temple, which had never taken place—and the statues have under their feet invisible "reed-nuts," and the craftsmen who operate these lie down secretly in them, and artfully contrive the particular voice of each form. And opposite these there stand women whom they call Th*****ae, singing, and by virtue of the technicians, the blocks of stone by their clever artifices defeat the living women. But this same thing [is true] in the case of [them] all. For he says that the reputation [of these marvels] advances in this way through these. And to

those who read this it should be clear to see, whether that [interpretation] seems true.

This translation was commissioned by Roger Pearse and made public domain 19 March 2011. E. Bratke, Das sogenannte Religionsgespräch am Hof der Sasaniden, TU 19 (n. F. 4) 3a. Leipzig, 1899. Pauline Bringel, Une polémique religieuse à la cour perse: le De gestis in Perside. Histoire du texte, édition critique et traduction (diss. Sorbonne, 2007). Bringel selects a different variant: Arrhenatus—she suggests that it is meant to be seen as derived from Gk. ἄρρην (”male”). This character, like the majority of the characters in this story, seems to be entirely fictional, although Bratke cites an apocryphal list of Persian kings in cod. Paris. 1775 as a parallel. Alternatively, ”armed forces” (cf. Bringel’s translation, ”l’armée”); Gk. στρατηγίαι. Cf. Nabuzaradan in 2 Kgs. [4 Kgdms] 25—in effect, as Bringel points out, the highest functionary in the state. At a number of points, the text offers a sequence of non-Greek words--allegedly, the original language of official utterances (i.e., Persian, or pseudo-Persian). Here, the presence of recognizable Greek words is suspicious (διαλαλιά; μου; τοι), as is the fact that the apparent ”translation” is not introduced explicitly as such. Bringel does not include this particular sequence in her text.

”Pagans” here and elsewhere in this text is used to translate Gk. Ἕλληνες (originally ”Greeks,” but by the time period of this text, very commonly used as generic term for ”pagans”). Bringel points out that this number is roughly correct for the church in 6th-cen. Persia. I.e., leaders of monasteries, or abbots. Gk. εὐγλωττίαι, following Bringel. Bringel selects the reading εὐγλωττίας over γλώσσας (Bratke), and translates, ”les propos éloquents.” Gk. τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀριβῶς μοι εἴπατε (Bratke); Bringel prints a different variant: τὴν ἀκρίβειάν μοι εἴπατε. Bringel’s text reads somewhat differently: ”...unfolding every Law-learned [νομομαθής] book” (Bringel translates, ”Feuilletez...tout livre traitant de la Loi,” but notes the fact that the adjective is otherwise only used of people). Bringel’s text, quite a bit more simply: ”...report them to me.” Gk. πάντων ὑμῶν τὴν ἀπώλειαν αὐθωρὶ ποιήσω; Bringel’s Greek text is quite different here, although the purport is about the same: πάντας ὑμᾶς ἀναιρῶ.

Bringel’s text does not include any of the material marked here with a dotted underline. Gk. τὰ ὠμολογημένα; see Lampe, s.v. ὁμολογέω 1(a). Bringel’s text does not include any of the material marked here with a dotted underline. Gk. ἄχραντοι. Bringel translates, ”intègre.” But anomalous acc. Δίαν rather than Δία. Bringel’s text does not include this speech. Bringel rejects the reading οἱ σοὶ, on the assumption that σοὶ is a dative of the personal pronoun, and emends to οὗτοι. I take it rather as the possessive adjective, in which case it seems to make sense. As Bringel points out here, ”priest” (Gk. ἱερεύς) is frequently used as a synonym of ”bishop.” Alternatively, ”[sexual] unions” (Bringel: ”unions charnels”); Gk. συνουσίαι. Here

again Bringel chooses a different reading from Bratke. I.e., no one could successfully argue against him. Gk. ...εἰς τὸ φυγεῖν ὄντων τὰς ἀλόγους αὐτοῦ μηχανὰς... So Lampe, s.v. οἰκτείρω. Bringel does not include this phrase in her text.

Bratke's text omits this name; it may be that the name did not appear in the original, but the allusion to the character of Daniel would be present regardless. Dan. 2.28, with some wording from the similar phrase in 2.22. I.e., "crossed themselves"; Gk. κατεσφραγίσαντο. Gk. προσρύεσθαι; Bringel translates, "se défendre." Bringel's text, slightly differently: "as though having been goaded..." Alternatively, "have confidence in the truth, then, and apply yourselves correctly to the matter..." Bringel's text does not include this designation of place. I.e., "like you, he is a pagan." Gk. ἐπὶ στόματος...φέρω. Bringel translates: "Je connais par coeur..." Gk. τὰ παρὰ Φιλίππου. Bringel prints a different variant, τὰ περὶ Φιλίππου, and translates accordingly: "ce qui concerne Philippe" ("the [facts?] concerning Philip"). The context, however, seems to require a reference to Philip's text here, not to information regarding Philip. Gk. τὰ καλούμενα βιβλία; as Bringel points out, the phrase implies that the word "book(s)" was understood as part of the title of the work in question; cf. "book" in the description of the work in §10.

The verbs here are plural. Gk. παραφθαρέντι. Lit., "I have in knowledge." The idea seems to be, "I know it well enough to detect any tampering"; as Bringel translates, "Je le connais assez pour savoir s'il y est fait quelque omission ou quelque ajout." Lampe, s.v. περιαγωγικός, citing only this passage, glosses the word as "prolix." Bringel interprets the word as another indication of the title—Περιαγωγή—which could have various implications. Lampe's interpretation chimes in with Photius' judgment on Philip of Side's wordy and digressive style, but a negative characterization of the book does seem odd at this point in the narrative. Bringel points out other works whose titles include the root ἄγω, and suggests possibilities such as "guide" or "cycle" for the meaning of this as a title. As Bringel points out, this may imply that "Greek Oracles" was the title of one section of Philip's work. Bringel's text does not include this "Persian" sentence and the translation thereof.

With the negative particle, as in Bratke's text, the sequence is obscure; perhaps, as Bringel suggests, the idea would be that Aphroditianus does not need any further examination of the book to be able to point out the portion he wishes to hear. Bringel's text, however, does not include the negative here; she translates, "Celui-ci tourna son attention vers le livre et commença aussitôt à le lire." Gk. ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ περὶ Κασάνδρου. Gk. τοῦ εἰς Ἑλλάδα ἀναιρεθέντος. Note the unclassical use of the preposition εἰς. Alternatively, following a variant reading (mss. FG): "of the Macedonians." Gk. φόβον ἐκτήσατο πολύν—not that she "had" fear in that she was afraid, but that she "acquired" the (respect and) fear of others. Gk. τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς κατέλαβε. Alternatively, "conquered the Achaeans." Gk. γνῶναι αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ᾧ παρῆσαν.

Bratke reconstructs plausible wording after the name ”Philip” on the basis of mangled indications in the manuscripts and also the cues apparent in the context: namely, their response to the oracle shows that the oracle has mentioned a woman, and a man from Macedonia; and Aphroditianus’ comment in §14 (p. 9) makes clear that a prediction is made that can be taken as referring to ”the Macedonian” and to Christ. Bringel, by contrast, marks the words following Philip as a crux, having little confidence in any reconstruction. In connection with this consultation of the oracle, there is a further major textual variant: In a couple of manuscripts, a fairly long sequence of text is either substituted for (ms. Q) or added to the end of (ms. N) the oracular response translated above; this additional text runs roughly as follows [minor discrepancies do exist in the witnesses]: ”Late, a certain one will make his way to this much-splintered earth, and without a misstep will become flesh, and by the untiring bounds of divinity he will dissolve the destructive force of incurable passions / sufferings; and ill-will shall arise for this one at the hands of an unbelieving people, and he will be hung up to a height as one condemned to death. And having willingly suffered to bear all these things as well, at death he will be lifted up into eternal life.” The supposed prophecy of Christ is much clearer in this additional text, which may well have been added specifically to alleviate the annoyace of a too-obscure prophecy.

Gk. ἀήττητοι καιροὶ; Bringel translates, ”un empire invincible,” but it is not clear why. Cf. Lampe s.v. ἀνακόλουθος. Bringel’s text, with an additional word: ”against the gods, who cannot be insulted.” Bringel’s text, using other variants: ”a leader having the unconquerable power of the unconquerable God.” Gk. ἀλῶν; the reading and its significance are debatable. This motif is odd; perhaps, as Bringel suggests, some magical / imprecatory power is envisaged. Gk. εὐάρεστοι; Bringel’s text has ἄρευστοι (”unchanging”). The participle is in the nominative case—grammatically, then, it ought to be describing the gods; but the context seems to require a reference to the envoys and the occasion for their consultations. Some emendation is likely required. Bringel cites the Diccionario griego-español s.v. δῆλος for the LXX use of the word as a masc. noun connected with divination; cf. also (e.g.) Muraoka, Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint, s.v. Gk. πυθμεύει; the sense is obscure. Lampe (s.v.) glosses the verb as to ”give the base of a series” and arguest that its appearance in this context implies that with this third oracle, the full understanding is revealed. Bringel translates, ”va jusqu’au fond” (”goes to the bottom”—i.e., of the tripod / cauldron, to fetch the oracles).

Gk. παρείς; Bringel, printing a different variant (σπαρείς), translates, ”une fois engendré” (”having once been engendered”—or ”sown”) The letters of Μαρία, when interpreted as numerals, add up to 152. Gk. πᾶν ἱερὸν ὑμῶν σέβας. Bringel translates, ”toute votre majesté sacrée” (”all your holy majesty”). Gk. φιλοσοφία. Here the phrase doubles as a kind of honorific address: ”Your Philosophy” (parallel to

phrases like ”Your Majesty” for a monarch) is a paraphrase for ”you”—hence, ”it was in doubt” is equivalent to ”you were in doubt.” I.e., ”your love of wisdom.” Here Bringel chooses a different reading: διὰ τὸ εἶναι (”because of the fact that…”) rather than τὸ εἶναι. This makes the overall architecture of this sprawling sentence marginally better: ”for this reason” a few lines later then reiterates / reinforces the logic of the preposition διά. Cf. Gen. 11.1. There is an unexpected switch to a masc. participle here (hence ”teachers” rather than ”teachings”).

Gk. ἐκ πρὶν (Bratke) / πρώην (Bringel) καὶ δεῦρο. Gk. ἀπειροθρήσκως; Lampe, s.v., renders this ”without experience of true religion”; cf. Bringel, ”sans expérience de la religion.” An alternative interpretation is possible: ”with boundless religiosity.” Something appears to be missing in this sentence. Bringel’s text is slightly expanded at the beginning of this sentence, with an explicit reference to disagreement, but still does not quite sit comfortably; and it omits any reference to Buddhists: ”Jews fight against Samaritans; Greeks likewise who live without experience of religion” [cf. previous footnote for this adverb]. Gk. δόξαι. Gk. χρήσεις; Bringel translates ”oracles.” Adapted from ANF translation (attributed to Julius Africanus). Gk. ἐκ Περσίδος ἐγνώσθη. Alternatively, this could be translated, ”became known [to others] from Persia.” ἐν ταῖς χρυσαῖς ἀρκλαρίαις—but this term which from the context must mean ”tablets” (cf. πτυχαί a little later) is not attested elsewhere. Bringel points out that an apparently related word, ἄρκλα (= Lat. arca [?]), is found in a number of late texts.

The order of the Greek words should mean, ”the holy palaces”—but perhaps emendation is in order. Bringel does not include the phrase, ”and the priests connected with them,” in her text. ”them” Bringel. The mss. give several different variants for this name. Lit., ”I rejoice with you.” Lit., ”rejoice with.” ANF translates a variant reading: ”How was she able…?” Urania means ”heavenly / celestial.” The re-naming seems to play on perceived etymological connections between Hera and ”earth” or ”aër” (i.e., the cloudy, thick lower atmosphere, as opposed to the higher, more rarefied ”ether”). Pege means ”spring,” ”source,” or ”stream.” Cf. the Tübingen Theosophy, pp. 26-27 Beatrice. Bringel, choosing a variant reading: ”You have well said, ‘She espoused a carpenter’; for she has a carpenter…” Perhaps the quotation of the ”females” continues on to the end of the sentence. In any case, this does not quite reflect what they were reported as saying earlier—”she espoused a carpenter”—unless the variant chosen by Bringel is correct. Bringel translates the last part of the sentence, ”mais il ne vient pas de son lit, le charpentier qu’elle met au monde.”

Bringel, choosing a slightly different variant: ”framed…the triple-constructed sky as a roof.” I.e., land, sea, and sky (ANF). Bringel translates, ”ce firmament à trois habitations.” Bringel excludes this last sentence from her text. Or, ”statue.” Gk. στήλη. Gk. Ἥλιος. Bringel points out the parallel shining gem-stone described by

Lucian, De dea Syria 32. Bringel, following a different variant: ”The king, having watched this, gave orders...” The name Karia is obscure; one textual variant at the next occurrence is ”Makaria” (blessed), which might make more sense. Variant reading: ”kings.” I.e. (as Bringel points out by citing the parallel of Pilate’s words at Jn. 19.22), he is saying that their time of producing apparitions and of ruling is over. Gk. μὴ θροβάδει. This is Bringel’s text and interpretation. Bratke’s text, Μιθροβάδῃ, would introduce quite inexplicably a Mithrobades—the preceding verb then could be interpreted either as ”they said” or ”I said” or ”Say” [to Mithrobades], with the following words possibly still part of Dionysus’ speech.

As Bringel points out here, the last few phrases allude to Gen. 1.26, and Christ’s work in restoring the ”image” of God in human beings, and leading them to the ”likeness” of God. I.e., the Son of God (”heaven’s boast”) is now to be born on earth. Bringel has a slightly different text, and further imagines a supplement so that the first part of this sentence refers to the birth of Christ, not (as I have read it) to the prior birth of Pege (i.e., Mary). She translates as follows: ”Karia a le bonheur de voir Source mettre un enfant au monde à Bethléem. Source a la grâce d’être désirée par le ciel et de concevoir le bienfait de la grâce”—I have underlined the supplement she adds. Bringel’s reading, quite possibly correct, omits τὰ ἡμέτερα (”our affairs”) and leaves the verb ”is / are withering” to be connected to Judaea.

Instead of δέσποινα (”mistress”), Bringel’s text gives οὐρανία (”Urania / heavenly”). Bringel’s text, slightly more logically, here reads ”sent [some] magi of those under his dominion.” Here Bringel’s text reads ”by madness” (ὑπὸ μανίας) rather than ”by an oracle” (ὑπὸ μαντείας). Or rather: ”lest a revolt rise [against them] toward us”—that is, fearing that the people of Judaea would revolt against the high priests and convert to the good news of the Messiah announced by the magi. Or, ”we spoke to him until he was thoroughly disturbed.” I.e., the voice heard in §22, or the divine manifestations and their interpretations more generally. Bringel interprets this sentence differently: ”Il fut consacré dans le temple, où il se trouve avec l’inscription que voici.” See Bringel ad loc. for a long exploration of the term διοπετής and its significance. Bringel’s text reads: ”gold, frankincense, and myrrh.” Gk. ἀντάρτας. The ”rebels” would be rebellious / sinful humans in general.

Bringel’s text: ”a certain terrifying angel.” Bringel’s text includes a sentence at this point to conclude the account of the magi, and a further phrase to introduce Aphroditianus’ final comments: ”And those are the marvellous narrations of the inspired magi. And [here are] mine.” I would argue, however, that the account of the magi should be understood to have concluded either after the words, ”Christ has become our Savior”—or perhaps even after the statement, ”we reported all that we had seen in Jerusalem.” The address to ”you,” who are slandering and opposing Christ, seems to revert to Aphroditianus’ situation. Bringel’s text: ”...Christ, to whom every mouth acknowledges / gives thanks.” Gk. Ἕλληνες. Note that the first

example is Cyrus the Great of Persia—demonstrating clearly that for the author, ”Hellenes” is not an ethnic term but refers to pagans. In the reading preferred by Bringel, the bodyguards are not female. This name (unknown otherwise) is the reading favored by Bringel; Bratke does not choose between ms. variants here, printing simply an ellipsis in the middle of the name: C...encrates. Wirth, p. 200, reports Noeldeke’s suggestion that the Cynic Crates may be the distant inspiration for this reference.

Gk. παροξυσμοί; the precise reference is obscure. At this point in the text, Bratke includes a few words which he seems to view as another example of ”Persian”: drô kai telo. Alternatively, with the Greek variant spelling chosen by Bringel, ”Horicatus.” Gk. ἀνδρεῖα. Gk. στηλῶν ἀξιοῦσαι. Bringel’s text, following an alternate reading (τιμῶν ἀξιοῦσαι): ”...worthy of honors.” I.e., ”greetings.” The normal Greek salutation is the imperative, ”rejoice!” Gk. καθεμάτιον...τρίγοργον. Bringel selects a different reading: ἱμάτιον...τρίγωνον (”a triangular cloak”). Gk. ἀνεπέτασεν; this ought to mean ”opened” but the context seems to require the sense indicated. Gk. λύσεις. Here, Bringel’s text has additionally: ”of demons.” Here, Bringel’s text includes a further sentence: ”They have not helped you at all.” Here, Bringel’s text has additionally: ”in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.” Here Bringel’s text has additionally: ”and white.” As Bringel suggests, it seems likely that accidental transposition of material has occurred here: probably, the interaction with the demon here originally appeared before the references to his failure in the third trial.

Here Bringel’s text has the additional words: ”For if you go in there, you shall by all means not come out.” As a parallel to this nasal gesture in the context of pagan cult, Bringel cites Sophronius of Jerusalem, Mir. Cyr. et Joh. 31, tr. J. Gascou (Paris, 2006); cf. also Lampe s.v. The Greek text does not specify ”our” followers, which however seems the most likely reference in context. Bringel’s text adds, ”of heart.” Bringel’s text, somewhat differently: ”By Hera and her great power, if the perfection of the fifth sign does not persuade me, I am not [i.e., will not be] persuaded.” Bringel’s text: ”the truth of the true god.” The mss. variants here cause Bratke to despair of finding the correct reading. Bringel’s text gives the name as Sechthrantianus. In Bringel’s text, the bishops are explicitly the subject here. Gk. κατὰ...πάσης τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ ἐχώρησεν. For the verb, Bringel reads ἐχώρισε, and translates, ”confisqua toute sa richesse” (”confiscated all his wealth”).

Cf. 29 above: the ”heaven-sent temple”—emend the previous? Here Bringel’s text has additionally: ”I take joy in this and...” Alternatively, ”the Messiah.” Bringel’s text reads: Masthe dre delakornakykoêarerêande roinason. Gk. ἀλύπως; i.e., without causing (or receiving) pain. Mal. 3.22-23 LXX [= 4.5-6 MT]. The text, however, skips a number of words and presents the variant reading ”coming” (ἐλθών) rather than ”I come and...” (ἔλθω καὶ)—which licenses the unusual interpretation of the

verse, as Bringel explains, following the Latin translation of Anastasius—which is cited by Bratke in his apparatus as β: non veniens percutiam terram totam. With the standard text, μή introduces a negative purpose clause ("so that I will not come and smite the earth"); with the variant, μή simply modifies the participle and Elijah is understood as the instrument of God's destruction of the world ("not coming, I will smite"). Bringel's text has an additional "then" here. Gk. λίθον αὐτόν—perhaps the second word has demonstrative force as frequently in later Greek: "that stone."

Bringel's text: "You are...refuting." Gk. πρόβλημα. For the first two quotations, see Dan. 2.44; for the third, see Dan. 2.34-35. Bringel's text does not include the phrase, "and his successors." Cf. Dan. 2.34, 44-45. Bringel interprets this to mean "between the Macedonian rule and the Roman rule"—i.e., Christ's birth was under Herod, before Judaea was directly administered by the Romans, but after the remnants of Alexander's empire had disappeared. Ps. 118.22. Here I follow Bringel's text; Bratke's has an infinitive instead of a finite verb. Bringel: "Pertelaeus." Gk. τὸ θέλειν τὸ πρακτικὸν ἑτοιμότερον. Lit., "in those at the end"—it is unclear whether "those at the end" refers to particular "laws" in his collection (so Bringel), or generically to the end of his text. Gk. ἐπικρατεῖ καὶ στερεὰ ταῦτα. The text and precise sense are unclear. Bringel, with different accentuation, interprets the first word as a dative noun that could be interpreted as the addressee: "to Epicrates"; as a verb [with Bratke], the basic idea is to "prevail over"—which I am rendering, "demonstrates his mastery" since there is no object specified.

Here, Bringel's text has the additional word "progeny." This phrase is a sentence fragment added to the rest; I suspect that some words have fallen out in transmission. Gk. παραγράφεσθε. Jn. 16.33. Ba. 3.36-38. Bringel's text: "of the Jews." Ps. 110.1. Bringel's text: "of the Christian tribe." Gk. ἐν ὑπομνήμασι. Gk. εἶπαν τὸ "ποῦ γεννᾶται." Bringel's text additionally includes Χριστός as the subject of the question; but Bringel interprets this as direct quotation of the leaders ("...said, 'Where is the Christ born?'"). I understand it as an indirect question; they provide the answer to the question actually posed by Herod, in keeping with the Biblical text (Mt. 2.4-5). Jn. 1.21, 29-30. For the apparent use of apocryphal traditions on the wedding at Cana here, cf. Bratke, pp. 219ff. The connection of this phrase with the context is unclear; also, note that the verb ("trouble himself") appears in Lk. 7.6, paired with a negative: "Lord, do not trouble yourself further"—this partial parallel perhaps indicates a deeper corruption in the present passage.

Gk. βασιλικός; alternatively, "the royal official." Jn. 4.46ff. Mk. 5.22-23, 35-43. Jn. 11.49-50. Here the grammatical sequence seems to come loose from its moorings: "your children" is an expression in the accusative case (and indeed, "Judas" and "the soldiers" in the subsequent sentences are introduced in the dative case), whereas the previous figures mentioned have all been nominative [i.e., the subjects

of the respective questions—were they not all Jews?]. Now, therefore, the implied supplement seems to be ”consider” or ”pay attention to” the next-listed characters. Mt. 28.12-13. Cf. Josephus, AJ 18.3; for this form of the testimonium Flavianum, cf. John Malalas, Chronographia (ed. Thurn), p. 187.26, cited by Bringel and Bratke. Ps. 21[22].19[18]. Deut. 28.66. Originally, this term refers to initiatory priests (who ”show holy things”) in the Eleusinian mysteries; here, it is a reference to the Hebrew prophets. I.e., to the Persian king. Bringel’s version of the ”Persian” words is somewhat different, although it includes the same Greek word αὐτίκα (”immediately, straightway”) in the midst of otherwise non-Greek material.

A centenarium would be a unit of ”a hundred” (usually understood as a Byzantine measure of 100 pounds of gold). The precise import of this sentence is obscure. Bringel translates, ”Jacob et les siens firent appel à Aphroditien pour avoir un sauf-conduit leur garantissant qu’ils n’auraient pas à subir quelque attaque de la part du pouvoir. ’Et nous nous protégerons par nous-mêmes et par les justifications qui sont à notre disposition.’” Bringel’s text does not include the last part of the sentence (from ”the two groups” to the end). Gk. ἡμῶν—lit., ”the controversy is not ours.” Bringel instead reads ὑμῶν (”yours,” but mistakenly translating ”de notre ressort”; this seems to be a misprint for ”de votre ressort”) on the grounds that Aphroditianus does not fully identify himself with the Christians; but the pronoun need not be understood in that way, even if ”ours” is the correct reading—rather, by ”our” controversy, Aphroditianus could easily refer to his discussion with the Christian bishops.

The Gk. word δόξα, translated here and in the next sentences for the most part as ”glory,” can also mean ”opinion” (as in compounds such as ”ortho-dox”). Hence, these sentences can equally be read as meaning that God is the ”father of countless opinions” and everyone worships in accordance with his view of the ”opinion one holds about God.” So Bringel translates throughout, but the wordplay depends on both meanings remaining available. Here Bringel’s text has the additional parenthetic phrase: ”Would that they had never been born!” I.e., since they have now embraced Christianity, they have also renounced their Jewish ancestors. Bringel’s text: ”murder” (reading φόνου rather than φθόνου). Ps. 2.7; cf. Heb. 1.5. Ps. 44[45].7-8; cf. Heb. 1.8-9. Ps. 117[118].22. Dan. 2.34-35. Isa. 28.16; cf. Rom. 9.33; 10.11. Isa. 7.14; note the use of the Gk. νεᾶνις (with Aquila etc.) rather than παρθένος (”virgin”—the LXX reading). Isa. 53.7. Dan. 7.13-14.

It is not clear which ”first” example is meant here. Bringel here cites E. Honigmann, ”Philippus of Side and His Christian History,” in Patristic Studies (Rome, 1953), pp. 90-91, for the idea that these details were meant to tie in with details of Philip of Side’s history—that is, that Philip of Side mentioned such a meeting, and presumably also said something about a controversy between himself and Dionysarus (cf. §1 above). Bringel’s text: ”...everyone, as the grace above asks of

you." I.e., "partakers in Christianity." Bringel's text: "Christianomerists" (reading Χριστιανομεριστάς rather than Χριστιανομερίτας, Bratke's reading). In favor of Bringel's reading would be the clear reflection of a verb stem, μεριζ-, denoting "division" (thus, "dividers of Christianity") and thus working well with the narration of the establishment of a sect. Neither term is attested elsewhere. Here, the text includes what seems to present itself as the official decree concluding these discussions. In the next sentence, each name appears with another word, perhaps meant to be taken as an official title.

As usual, Bringel's text of the "Persian" is slightly different. Cf. §19 above. Bringel's text: "as a testimony." Lit., "sons." I.e., the area whose capital was Babylon. (?) Gk. ἱστόρησε. Gk. ἀπετέλει. Gk. καλαμιοκάρυα. Bringel chooses the variant καλαμισκάρια, interpreting it to mean "little pipes"; in either case, some sort of tubes through which the technicians supposedly produced the voice of the statues is clearly envisioned. Bratke does not decide among the variant readings here (including Tharaglinae, Thyagrilae); Bringel chooses Thyariglae. This text was commissioned by Roger Pearse, 2010. This file and all material on this page is in the public domain - copy freely. Greek text is rendered using unicode.

English translation

Fr. 4.1 - 4.7 - Expansions of Eusebius' HE / Fragments of Papias, Hegesippus, Pierius. [Attribution questionable] Fr. 4.1 Fr. 4.2 Fr. 4.3 Fr. 4.4 Fr. 4.5 Fr. 4.6 Fr. 4.7 Fr. 5.1 - 5.7 - Constantine and the Council of Nicaea [Attribution questionable] Fr. 5.1 - The Beginning of Constantine's Reign: Relations with Barbarian Tribes Fr. 5.2 - Discussion of the Plausibility of the Sign that Appeared to Constantine Fr. 5.3 - Constantine and Crispus against Licinius Fr. 5.4 - Succession of Bishops in Alexandria—and Arius Fr. 5.5 - Constantine Speaks at the Council of Nicaea Fr. 5.6 - Supporters of Arius at the Council of Nicaea Fr. 5.7 - The Arian Philosopher and the Simple Old Man Fr. 6.1 - 6.7 - History from Diocletian to Constantine [Attribution to Philip questionable at best] Fr. 7.1-2 - Chemical processes for treating copper and iron [Attribution to Philip questionable at best]

Fr. 7.1 - 5.4 Berthelot Fr. 7.2 - 5.5 Berthelot

The fragments of Philip of Side

[Translated by Andrew Eastbourne] A catalogue of the fragments is given by Katharina Heyden, who lists all the fragments and discusses them: Die Christliche Geschichte des Philippos von Side: Mit einem kommentierten Katalog der Fragmente, in M. Wallraff (ed.), Julius Africanus und die christliche Weltchronistik (Berlin, 2006), pp. 209-243.

Fr. 1 [On Adam and Eve]

[From Cod. Bodl. gr. 120, fol. 300r and Paris. Suppl. gr. 685, fol. 10r. — Greek text printed by D. Serruys, "Autour d'un fragment de Philippe de Side," in Mélanges d'archéologique et d'histoire 26 (1906), pp. 335-359 (p. 336 for the text of these two mss.; on p. 346, Serruys prints the parallel material from Paris. gr. 1712, where Philip's name is not cited). Wirth, Aus orientalischen Chroniken, pp. 208-9, had earlier printed somewhat more text as the fragment from Paris Suppl. gr. 685.] Paris. gr. 1712 Bodl. gr. 120 Paris. Suppl. gr. 685 Some say, from tradition, that Adam spent one hundred years in Paradise. Others, that he was formed at the third hour, transgressed at the sixth, and was cast out at the ninth... ...and this took place through seven years, as some of the presbyters / elders declared. (1) Note that Philip of Sidde in the twentieth tome of the Christian History says that Adam

spent one hundred years in Paradise, and was cast out. And after another hundred years he knew Eve his wife and produced Cain, and after three years [produced] Abel, and after thirty years, Seth. This [information] is from the tradition.

(2) But others say that he worked seven years in Paradise and from the transgression, from the first hour of that day until the sixth hour, he was cast out. The Hebrews have 22 letters, and 22 books, and 22 generations from Adam to Jacob. And on the sixth day of the second week, it is said that Eve was created, and 40 days after Adam's creation he entered in order to work in Paradise. (1) But Philip of Side in the 22nd tome of <the> Christian History says that Adam spent 100 years in Paradise. And after being cast out, he spent another 100 years and he knew Eve and produced Cain the accursed, and after three years [produced] Abel, and after 100 years, Seth.

Fr. 2 [On Athenagoras and the heads of the Alexandrian catechetical school]

[From Cod. Barocc. 142, fol. 216r line 40 - 216v line 15 (i.e., following the material classified by Heyden as Fr. 4 and Fr. 6). — First edited by H. Dodwell, Dissertationes in Irenaeum (Oxford, 1689), p. 488; Greek text more recently edited by G. C. Hansen in Theodoros Anagnostes Kirchengeschichte, GCS 54 (Berlin, 1971), p. 160; cf. text and tr. by P. Nautin, "La continuation de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique d'Eusèbe par Gélase de Césarée," Revue des Études Byzantines 50 (1992), pp. 175-8. — For a thorough consideration of the manuscripts (with facsimiles), and the historical accuracy of the information provided, see B. Pouderon, "Le témoignage du Codex Baroccianus 142 sur Athénagore et les origines de l'école d'Alexandrie," Chapter 1 of D'Athènes à Alexandrie: Études sur Athénagore et les origines de la philosophie chrétienne (Québec, 1997), which appeared earlier (with different pagination) in G. Agroud, Science et vie intellectuelle à Alexandrie, Ier à IIIe siècle après J.-C. (Saint-Étienne, 1994), pp. 163-224 and in Archipel égéen (Tours, 1992), 1: 23-63.]

As Philip of Side says in the 24th logos: Athenagoras was the first to lead the school in Alexandria; he flourished in the times of Hadrian and Antoninus, to whom also he addressed his Embassy-speechon behalf of the Christians—a man who lived as a Christian in the very philosophers' cloak, and who was at the head of the Academic school. This man—before Celsus—was eager to write against the Christians, but when he read the divine Scriptures in order to make his arguments more precisely, he was seized by the Holy Spirit in such a way that, like the great Paul, he became a teacher instead of a persecutor of the faith which he was persecuting. Philip says that Clement, the author of the Stromateis, became a student of this man, and Pantaenus [a student] of Clement. And Pantaenus himself was also an Athenian, and a Pythagorean philosopher. But Eusebius says that Pantaenus became Clement's teacher—and he mentions him as a teacher in his Hypotyposeis. And this

Pantaenus, according to Philip, had Origen as student and successor in the headship of the school after him. But according to Eusebius, [it was] Clement and after Clement, Origen. Still, in one way or another, Origen was fourth head of the Christian school. After Origen, Heraclas; after him, Dionysius; after him, Pierius; after Pierius, Theognostus; after him, Serapion; after him, Peter the Great, the bishop, who became a martyr. After Peter, Macarius, whom his fellow-countrymen called "Politicus"; after him, Didymus; after Didymus, Rhodon, who moved the school, according to Philip, to the city of Side, the same [as Philip's home city], at the time of Theodosius the Great. Philip says that he was a student of this Rhodon, concerning whose knowledge of literature / argument, both our own and that of those outside [the Church], he provides copious attestation.

The teachers: Athenagoras (1); Pantaenus (2); Origen (3); Heraclas (4); Dionysius (5); Clement (6); Pierius (7); Theognostus (8); Serapion (9); Peter the martyr (10); Macarius Politicus (11); Didymus (12); Rhodon (13).

Fr. 3.1-5 [Fragments contained in De gestis in Perside / Religionsgespräch am Hof der Sasaniden]

[The exact delineation and attribution of the fragments are uncertain and depend on one's interpretation of the role Philip of Side's material played in the composition of the Religionsgespräch, which should be examined in full for a complete picture of the testimonia and fragments in context. Fr. 3.1 and 3.2 are more certainly to be connected with Philip of Side; Fr. 3.3-5 are classified by Heyden as "mit zweifelhafter Zuweisung." — Greek text edited by E. Bratke, "Das sogenannte Religionsgespräch am Hof der Sasaniden," TU 19.3 (1899)—the standard reference point; but now most recently, and with a more extensive survey and collation of mss., P. Bringel, Une polémique religieuse à la cour perse: le De gestis in Perside. Histoire du texte, édition critique et traduction (diss. Sorbonne, 2007). Page numbers in the text below refer to Bratke's edition; section numbers refer to Bringel's edition (unless otherwise stated, her edition of the "long recension"—pp. 288-494); references to "Bringel's text" normally introduce my own translation of her Greek text, not her (French) translation, and general references to Bringel's comments refer to footnotes ad locc. in her edition.]

Fr. 3.1 [From the Story of Cassander]

[p. 5] 11. Cassander died, leaving behind a sister, called Doris; she was the daughter of Pylades, who had been killed in Greece. Attalus the king of the Lacedaemonians lusted after her; and when they went to bed together, she, having a sword inside [the room], planted it in his heart and took control of the kingdom. And once this had happened, she acquired great fear. And his brother Philip went to live in Achaea and there taking as wife the sister of Calliopus their general, named Alisbis [p. 6], he was seeking to destroy Doris and her people. And they were afraid. For all the peoples around her, being enamored of her beauty, were help-

ing her. For she would not give herself in marriage to just anyone. But since they were all afraid of her—for she had attacked many and had destroyed them all—the Achaeans decided at that time to send an embassy to Delphi and to receive an oracle there about this matter. And they, after setting out, asked Euoptia the priestess at the water of the Castalian [spring], for themselves to know the object of their coming. She, having tasted the spring water, answered thus: ”Philip, <child of Olympias, of Pella, going to places above Asia>, will strike the higher ring that circles everything with his all-powerful arm.”

12. But they, deriding and cursing her, said: ”Thrice-accursed one, we asked about a woman; we did not ask about a man who came from Macedonia, did we?” But she said to them that unconquerable times had begun to arise; for indeed she herself [i.e., the woman] and that man, and those with him, would vanquish everyone. And they departed, with insults for the prophetess, and went off to the temple of Athens. And while a priestly cloth was being woven and fine purple was being applied to it, they came with a will and burst in. The priestess, Xanthippe, said to them with a burst of anger: ”You have entered here at an evil hour, you reckless and unruly ones!”—and they, becoming displeased in turn, mistreated her and said: ”You are unworthy of any honor; [p. 8] you are foreign to the priestly disposition—and you are disgracing the purple, which the gods granted to royalty, by which those who wear it possess honor and glory. Stop speaking strange things! Depart from your wineless drunkenness, you arrogant huckster!” But she said to them: ”You have brought these charges not against me, but against those who cannot be insulted. Nevertheless, receive a secure oracle and go your way: ’A certain youthful man, who is the effectual conception of a mingling bed, having the unconquerable weight of God’s unconquerable scale, will circle the boundless world like an egg, capturing all with his spear.’” But they, blowing on her, withdrew, speaking unlawful things against the gods. And they said, ”We do ourselves no good, if we do not go to Phoebus Apollo the Great!”

13. And they went to the temple of Apollo and said by way of entreaty: ”You victorious and pure well-pleasing gods, why do you treat your servants in this way—asking to win a womanly war? You throw us into a warlike war! Do not act this way, you immortals, true masters, who have granted to us the greatest material things as gifts; instead, give us clear signs. What, then, will happen to us?” And immediately a voice came in invisibly speaking as follows: ”The tripod turning a third turn, the prophet is the root; [p. 9] for [there are] three-fold of these [oracles]; a certain light-bringer, heaven-sent to earth’s plain, passing by, dwells within matter, forming for himself a body in the womb of a maiden. And her name is twice seventy-six. He, demolishing the lordships and every holy object of your reverence, will transfer the reward of all glory to the heights of his all-blessed wisdom.”

Fr. 3.2 [Aphroditianus' Story]

[p. 11] 19. Christ was known to Persia from the beginning. For nothing escapes the learned jurists of that country, who investigate all things with the utmost care. The facts, therefore, which are inscribed upon the golden tablets, and laid up in the royal temples, I shall announce—for it is from the temples there, and the priests connected with them, that the name of Christ has first been heard of. The temple of Hera, surpassing even the royal palace, which temple King Cyrus, who was knowledgeable in all piety, built, and erected golden and silver statues of the gods in it, and adorned it with precious stones—not to digress with a detailed description of that ornamentation... Now about that time (as the inscribed tablets testify), the king having entered the temple, with the view of getting a dream-interpretation, was addressed by the priest Prupippus thus: "I congratulate you, master: Hera has conceived."

And the king, smiling, said to him, "Has she who is dead conceived?" And he said, "Yes, she who was dead has come to life again, and begets life." [p. 12] 20. And the king said, "What is this? Explain it to me."

And he replied, "In truth, master, you have come here at just the right time. For over the whole night the images, both the males and the females, continuously danced, saying to each other, 'Come, let us congratulate Hera.' And they said to me, 'Prophet, come forward; congratulate Hera, for she has been loved.' And I said, 'Who was able to be loved—she who does not exist?' They reply, 'She has come to life again, and is no longer called Hera, but Urania. For the mighty Helios has loved her.' Then the females say to the males, disparaging the matter, 'Pege is she who was loved; for it was not Hera, was it? She espoused a carpenter.' And the males say, 'She has rightly been called Pege, we admit. But her name is Myria; for she bears in her womb, as in the sea, a vessel conveying a myriad. And if she is also [called] Pege, let it be understood thus: This stream of water sends forth a perennial stream of spirit; it contains but a single fish, taken with the hook of divinity, and with its own flesh sustaining the whole world, while it dwells [there] as though in the sea. You have well said, "She has a carpenter"—but not a carpenter whom she bears from a marriage-bed. For this carpenter who is born, the child of the chief carpenter, framed by his most sagacious skill the triple-constructed celestial roof, and established by his word this dwelling with its triple habitations.' Thus, then, the statues continued to dispute with each other concerning Hera and Pege, and [at length] with one voice they said: 'When the day is brought to completion, we all, male and female, [p. 13] shall know the matter clearly.' Now, therefore, master, tarry for the rest of the day. For the matter shall certainly receive full clarity. For that which has emerged is no common affair."

21. And when the king remained there and was watching the statues, the harpers of their own accord began to strike their harps, and the Muses began to sing;

and all the creatures that were within [the temple], whether quadrupeds or birds (made of silver and gold), were uttering their own characteristic voices. And as the king shuddered, and was filled with great fear—he was about to withdraw, for he could not endure the spontaneous tumult—the priest said to him, ”Remain, O King, for the full revelation is at hand which the God of gods has chosen to make plain to us.” 22. And when these things had been said, the roof was opened, and a bright star descended and stood above the pillar of Pege, and a voice was heard to this effect: ”Mistress Pege, the great Sun has sent me to make the announcement to you, and at the same time to serve you in your giving birth—as he produces blameless offspring with you, who are becoming mother of the first of all ranks [of being], bride of the single divinity with three names. And the child born without seed is called the Beginning and the End: the beginning of salvation, and the end of destruction.”

When this voice had spoken, all the statues fell upon their faces, with Pege alone still standing, on whom also a royal diadem was found to have been fastened, having on its upper side a star set with precious stones of carbuncle and emerald. And up above [i.e., in the sky], the star stood still. 23. And the king forthwith gave orders to bring in all the wise interpreters of signs, as many as were under his dominion. And when the heralds hurried them along with their trumpets, they all assembled in the temple. And when they saw the star [p. 14] above Pege, and the diadem with the starry stone, and the statues lying on the floor, they said: ”O king, a divinely inspired and royal root has risen, bearing the stamp of a heavenly and earthly king. For Pege is the daughter of Karia the Bethlehemite, and the diadem is a kingly mark, and the star is a celestial announcement of marvels on the earth. Out of Judah has arisen a kingdom which shall destroy all the memorials of the Jews. And the prostration of the gods upon the floor anticipated the end of their honor. For he who comes, being of more ancient dignity, shall shake those who are new in it [i.e., dignity]. Now therefore, O king, send to Jerusalem. For you will find the Son of the Omnipotent God being carried in bodily form in the bodily arms of a woman.”

And the star remained above Pege, who has been named Urania, until the magi went forth, and then it went with them. 24. And then, in the depth of evening, Dionysus appeared in the temple, unaccompanied by the satyrs, and said to the statues: ”Pege is no longer one of us, but stands far above us, since she gives birth to a human being who was conceived by divine Fortune. O priest Prupippus! What are you doing sitting here? An action, indicated in writing, has proceeded against us, and we are going to be convicted [p. 15] as false by a person in action. The apparitions we produced, we produced; and that which we ruled, we ruled. No longer do we give oracular responses. Removed from us is our honour. We have become without honor and glory. There is one, one alone, out of all, who has received again his proper honour.”

25. They said: ”Do not be disturbed. No longer do the Persians exact tribute of earth and air. For he who established these things is at hand, and he brings tribute of actions to him who sent him—he who renews the ancient image, and puts image together with image, and brings the unlike to likeness. Heaven rejoices with earth, and earth itself boasts at receiving heaven’s boast. Things which have not happened above, have happened below. He whom the order of the blessed has not seen, is viewed by the [order of] the miserable. Flame threatens those; dew is present for these. It [was] the good fortune of Karia to give birth to Pege in Bethlehem, and it [is] Pege’s grace to become heaven-desired and to conceive grace of grace. Judaea has bloomed, and our affairs are withering immediately. To Gentiles and foreigners, salvation has come; to the wretched, relief is provided in abundance. Rightly do the women dance, and say, ’Lady Pege, Stream-bearer, you who have become mother of the heavenly light-giver, you cloud that brings the world dew after heat, remember your servants, dear mistress.’”

26. The king then, without delay, sent the magi under his dominion with gifts, with the star showing them the way. And when they returned, they narrated everything to the men of that time—those very things which were also written on leaves of gold, to the following effect:

27. For when we came to Jerusalem, the sign, together with our arrival, [p. 16] disturbed everyone. They say, ”What is this? Wise men of the Persians are here, and along with them an appearance of a star?” And the foremost of the Jews asked us what was going to happen, and the reason for our coming. And we said: ”He whom you call ’Messiah’ has been born.” And they were confounded, and dared not oppose us. But they, for their part, said to us, ”Justice of Heaven! Tell us what you know.” And we said to them: ”You have the disease of unbelief; and neither without an oath nor with an oath do you believe, but you follow your own ill-advised intentions. For the Christ, the child of the Most High, has been born, putting an end to of your law and synagogues. And it is for this reason that, struck as it were by a most excellent oracle as with a dart, you do not hear with pleasure this name which has come up against you suddenly.” And they then, taking counsel together, urged us to accept their gifts, and tell no one such a thing [as the news] from this land [of theirs], lest a revolt rise against us. But we said: ”We have brought gifts in his honor, with the view of proclaiming those mighty things which have happened in our country on occasion of his birth—and you bid us take your gifts, and conceal the things which have been made known to us by celestial divinity, and neglect the commandments of our own king? Or do you not know what an experience of the Assyrians you once received?” And they became afraid, and after beseeching us repeatedly, they sent us away.

When the one who was ruling over Judaea sent for us [p. 17] and had some converse with us, and asked us questions, we said to him [things] at which he was

thoroughly disturbed. We departed from him, without giving any greater heed to him than to any worthless person. 28. And we came to that place to which we had been sent, and saw the one who had given birth and the one who had been born, the star indicating to us the lordly babe. And we said to the mother: ”What are you called, O renowned mother?” And she says: ”Mary, masters.” And we said to her: ”Where do you come from?” And she said: ”From this district—[the district] of the Bethlehemites.” ”Have you not taken a husband?” She says: ”I have only been betrothed, with only pre-nuptial arrangements having been concluded; but my thoughts are divided. For I had no wish at all to come to this [state of affairs]. But while I was giving very little concern to it, at the dawn of a certain Sabbath—at the rising of the sun—an angel straightway appeared to me bringing me the good news of offspring, all of a sudden. And I was disturbed, and cried out, ’Let it not be so to me, Lord, for I do not have a husband.’ And he persuaded me to believe, that it was by the will of God that I would have the son.” And we said to her: ”Mother of mothers, all the gods of the Persians have called you blessed: Your grounds for boasting are great, for you have transcended all women of renown, and you have become manifestly more queenly than all queens.”

29. The child, moreover, was seated on the ground, being, as she said, nearly two years old, and having in part the likeness of the one who bore him. For she was small in stature even when holding her head up, and had a delicate body; and she was the color of wheat; and she had her hair bound up with a simple, very beautiful hair-style. And as we had along with [p. 18] us a servant quite skilled in painting, we brought back with us to our country a likeness of them both; and it was placed in the temple in which the oracle was given, with the following inscription: ”In the heaven-sent temple, the power of Persia dedicated this to Zeus Helios, the great God, King Jesus.” And taking the child up, and bearing him in our arms, each of us in turn, we saluted him and worshipped him, and presented to him gold, addressing Him thus: ”[We give] to you what is your own; we lavish you [with gifts], O powerful one in heaven. Things unordered would be ordered in no way other than by your presence. In no other way could things above be brought into conjunction with things below, but by your descent. Service is not carried out to such a degree, if only a servant is sent, as when the [master] himself is present; neither [can so much be achieved] when the king sends only his satraps to war, as when he is there himself. It was quite fitting for your methods, for you to deal in this manner with the rebels.”

And the child smiled and leaped at our fawning and our words. And when we had bidden the mother farewell, and when she had shown us honor, and we had glorified her as was necessary, we went to the place in which we lodged. 30. And when evening came, there appeared to us someone terrifying and awesome, saying: ”Get away quickly, lest you fall prey to a plot.” And we, in fear, said: ”And who is it that is plotting against so august [p. 19] an embassy, O general of God?” And

he replied: ”Herod—but get up immediately and depart in safety and peace.” And we speedily mounted our strong steeds and departed from there in all earnestness; and we reported all that we had seen in Jerusalem. Behold, then, such great things have we told you regarding Christ; and we know that Christ has become our Savior. But you, by your ways, are opposed to him, slandering his pain and suffering all the time. For speaking unworthy things, and doing still more unworthy things, are a mark of hatred.

[p. 45] 84. ...And the same presbyter [i.e., Philip] recounted that the day on which the star appeared in the temple—that same day, every year, until the Lord was taken up [into heaven], all the statues would produce their characteristic utterance, and so that entire city there was transfixed, beholding the great marvels and the yearly appearance of the star.

Fr. 3.3 [Prophecies of ”Learned Greeks”—Ophianus, Elibatus, Trachelaphius]

[p. 31]

52. ”Why should I unfold the Hebrews’ prophecies and not our own? Ophianus [p. 32] Pertillaeus spoke in his ’Laws’ as follows: ’Oh my! How the Caspian Gate has been adorned—it has received a mountain stone, which hands did not hew out, but rather grace discovered, and narrowed the whole Gate all around by means of it. Not only did it strengthen it, but it also opened it when it had been closed—the stone having become way and door. The door leads to an august door, and the way draws one to a pure way, as all those who see it shout: ”Great is the dominion of the gods, whose will for action is more easily realized.”’ And Elibatus, who wrote down innumerable laws, when speaking On Eucles towards the end, says, ’A frightful cloud settled upon a mountain and cast a single stone upon the earth, and strengthened all its foundations. And how shall a single stone prevail over the entire [earth]? Did not one God alone create the universe?’ And Trachelaphius, speaking Against the Falsely-Named, demonstrates his mastery also in the following solid reasoning: ’Who deceived those who trust in Dionysus so as to say about him that he, being forever without a beginning, was born from an unravished virgin? They clothe him with another’s dignity. For the one without a beginning, being of the substance that is forever without beginning, takes hold of mortal substance without receiving it as a violation. For that which he formed, he shall not consider an violation, when he takes it up.

There, a virgin—[p. 33] unsullied in her body and having no falsehood in her tongue—supplies virginal flesh; [this process is the] activation of all grace dwelling within [her]. I marvel at the flux-bound taking hold of the flux-free—knowing this: that some have been deified on account of their promulgation of laws; others, because of their nobility of life and their conspicuous purity in other respects, because

of which it is fitting to honor them; but to go after heavenly honors is beyond all audacity and above all blasphemy.'"

Fr. 3.4 [Virtuous Pagans]
[p. 19]

32. ..."There have been Christians [p. 20] indeed, but there have also been pagans, who practiced the utmost virtue. King Cyrus had very attractive female bodyguards where he slept: he was sharpening his desire, but also correcting it by such trials. He used to say that all glory was worthy of the heavenly power alone. He loved his fellow man so much that there was no poor man or even the least captive in Persian territory, because of his constant bestowing of benefits upon everyone. And Concencrates, who was truly a philosopher, possessed one single rough cloak—he lived near the peak of Masgabala, being terribly worn out by the snow and cold; and the wise Neoctetius said to him: 'You will perish, wise man, and die because of the heat and cold.' And he said: 'If I die to those here [on earth], I shall live by my future hope.' He asked: 'What [hope] is that?' And the other said, 'Truly, I am directing my attention to a certain other life, and offering myself myself to it. For the Providence of God will not disregard those who have labored during the day: in the evening it will deem them worthy of reward and rest. Every day I see the heavens and the things of earth that seem good diminishing and decaying. And this takes place because of our "exasperations," which show beforehand that everything here below perishes.

But those who have acquired the virtues above do not die, as they are spoken about and answered with eternal remembrance by them.' This man only ate fruit, and drank a little water once a day, not wishing to know anything else [p. 21] of what belongs to the world, [but] practicing death every day. And this is sufficient. And Dichorianus, who published so many things about God, and who used to say that he was nourished by these things, and not by those which harm the body—after preserving impassibility of body and mind for 90 years, while he was dying said: 'Glory to you, righteous Justice, who changed my [mind] regarding what was honorable.' And there are many others of whom the book-lovers know—both Christians and true philosophers. But let us leave off for today, and tomorrow we [will] inquire into the rest. If it is desired by the will of heaven that we come this far, we [will] achieve resolution of further questions in turn."

Fr. 3.5 [The Shepherdess and Coatus]
[p. 42] 80. ..."...I once learned of a woman, a shepherdess, in the settlement of the Arigbanes. One Coatus, son of Coatus, fell in love with her and sent her gifts, so that she would come to an agreement with him. But she, seeing the gifts, laughed and said to the messenger, pointing to her sheep: 'Behold my gifts and my children, from which I am nourished by divine grace.' And he came away to her and with splendid promises he urged her to accept him. She said to him: 'Shall I defile

the undefiled cloak which grace has given to me?' Coatus said: 'Miserable girl, this law has been established from above for the propagation of the race.' The shepherdess: 'A law has been established for me not to acquire more than I have.' After much pleading to no effect, he ordered that she be starved to death. And so, on the third day, when she was about to expire, she uttered cheerful words as follows: 'O heavenly Father of your genuine children, O unsullied bridegroom of those who are in the bloom of beauty, I come to you, thrice-desired Lord, giving back to you without complaint that which you gave to me—virginity, forgiveness of sins, an existence without property, a truthful tongue, a heart unacquainted with wickedness—ever intent on the hope that is to come, which I have honored and whose joys I am now by all means going to meet.' And thus she expired. [p. 43] His father, learning this, ordered that he be hung head-downwards on a tall post in the middle of the city, so as to be eaten by birds."

Fr. 4.1 - 4.7 [Expansions of Eusebius' HE / Fragments of Papias, Hegesippus, Pierius] [Attribution questionable]

[Found interspersed with extracts from Eusebius in Cod. Barocc. 142, fol. 212r-216r, i.e., preceding in this ms. the material classified by Heyden as Fr. 6 and Fr. 2; Cod. Oxon. misc. 61 (Auct. E.4.18), fol. 136r-143r (unedited); nos. 3-6 also in Cod. Athous Vatopedi 286 fol. 91r-218r. — Greek text edited by C. de Boor, "Neue Fragmente des Papias, Hegesippus und Pierius in bisher unbekannten Excerpten aus der Kirchengeschichte des Philippus Sidetes," TU 5.2 (1888), pp. 169-71. — De Boor (pp. 173-4) argued that these are fragments of Philip of Side, and that the use and expansion of Eusebius observable in them is consistent with what we know of his method; but his argument for this is partly tied to his attribution of the material labeled by Heyden as Fr. 6, now more convincingly attributed to Gelasius of Caesarea. Pouderon, "Le témoignage," pp. 10-11, 62-63, and Hansen, Theodoros Anagnostes, pp. xxxvii-xxxviii, point out that at the very least De Boor's case for these fragments remains unproved. Heyden, p. 224, however, revives De Boor's appeal to the reference to John Chrysostom in no. 6 as one remaining point in favor of Philip of Side's authorship; and as another, notes the fact that Gelasius of Caesarea is not otherwise attested as providing information on the pre-Constantinian period, and thus any attempt to attribute this material to him would be problematic. — In the translations below, the italicized material is directly from Eusebius, whether verbatim or paraphrased; the normal text represents the additions made by our author to Eusebius' history.]

Fr. 4.1

Africanus, in a "Letter to Aristides," has written the best treatment concerning the apparent discrepancy in the genealogy, as regards the family lines, in the evangelists Matthew and Luke. And Africanus was from the village of Emmaus in Palestine, to which Cleopas and company travelled, and which later, through Africanus' embassy, received the status of a city and was renamed Nicopolis.

Fr. 4.2
Philip, the one who baptized Candace, the Ethiopian, was not an apostle, but one of the seven servers / deacons who had been appointed to serve alongside Stephen, the first martyr. And he says that Candace was the first of the Gentiles to be baptized. Philip [means] ”mouth of torches”; Herodias [means] ”deceived”; Herod [means] ”glory of skin”—according to Pierius.

Fr. 4.3
Domitian, the son of Vespasian, having demonstrated many wicked [qualities / acts] to the Romans who were governmental officials, was the second to conduct a persecution against the Christians, surpassing Nero’s savagery. During this, he also banished the Apostle and Evangelist John to Patmos. But after meeting the sons of Jude (the Lord’s brother), and coming to know the men’s virtue, he called a halt to the persecution against us. And Hegesippus also makes reference to their names, and says that the one was called Zôkêr, and the other James. And he also gives other indispensable information.

Fr. 4.4
The majority of the ancient [Christian writers] do not accept the Epistle of John, since they consider it to belong to some other John. But the ”Gospel according to the Hebrews” and the [Gospel] said to be ”of Peter” and [the one said to be] ”of Thomas” they completely rejected, saying that these are the writings of heretics. And there are other false Gospels as well, the [Gospel] ”according to the Egyptians,” and [the one] ”according to the Twelve,” and [the one] ”according to Basilides.”

Fr. 4.5
Clement, in the third book of the Stromata, by way of combating those who disallow marriage, asserts that Peter and Paul and Philip had wives. And in the seventh Stroma he says that Peter’s wife was even made perfect through martyrdom. And Pierius too, in his first discourse of those On the Pascha, asserts strongly that Paul had a wife and dedicated her to God for the sake of the Church, renouncing his association with her.

Fr. 4.6
Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, who was a hearer of John the Theologian, and a companion of Polycarp, wrote five books of the Lord’s logia. In these, he enumerated the Apostles after Peter and John, Philip and Thomas and Matthew, and recorded Aristion and a second John—whom he called a ”presbyter”—as disciples of the Lord; and thus, some think that the two Epistles, the short and general ones, which are in circulation under the name ”John,” belong to this John, because the ancient [Christian writers] only accepted the first [Epistle of John as genuine]. And some erroneously considered the Apocalypse to belong to this [John] as well; and Papias is also mistaken regarding the Millenium—as is Irenaeus, because of him. Papias in the second book says that John the Theologian and James his brother were killed by

the Jews. The aforementioned Papias related, as something he had heard from the daughters of Philip, that Barsabas, who was also called Justus, when he was being put to the test by the unbelievers, drank a viper's poison in the name of Christ and was preserved unhurt. He also relates other marvellous stories, in particular the one about Menahem's mother, who was raised from the dead. Concerning those who were raised from the dead by Christ, [he relates] that they lived until Hadrian. And Chrysostom, in the 1st Homily of the second section on the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, says that both those who were raised from the dead at the time of the cross [i.e., the crucifixion of Jesus] and those [who were raised from the dead] before them—all died.

Fr. 4.7

Pierius, a presbyter of Alexandria, flourished at this time, and in Pontus, Meletius the bishop—men who were amazing with respect to their learning. And Pierius, in his first discourse … renouncing his association with her. And I also read quite a number of his other indispensable works and especially the one Concerning the Mother of God and the one On the beginning of Hosea. And Theodorus, a certain court-pleader in Alexandria, writing in epic verse, says in his 13th book that Pierius and Isidorus his brother suffered martyrdom and have a very large shrine in Alexandria. And in his discourse On the Life of the Holy Pamphilus, Pierius himself provided very much help in the divine Scripture.

Fr. 5.1 - 5.7 [Constantine and the Council of Nicaea] [Attribution questionable] — Fr. 5.1 [The Beginning of Constantine's Reign: Relations with Barbarian Tribes]

Anonymous Ecclesiastical History 1.4.2-5 [p. 7, lines 7-28 Hansen] And first he determined to call back to himself those cities that were rebelling against Roman overlordship—some by words, others by force of arms, and others by good treatment and kindness. For he decreed a lighter tax-burden for them, and gave them equal rights of commerce; he put an end to their rebelliousness and madness wisely, more by calmness than by frightening them, since he knew that the peoples of the Sauri and the Frangi and the Germani were lovers of novelty and had a strong inclination toward rebellion against their rulers, and often treated their own thoughts as law. He also subdued the Spani and the Brettani and the islands in that area, and the remaining tribes and all those who are witnesses of the setting of the sun—who, they say, know whether it is really submerged in the Ocean or goes around the water and returns back to us by another route. And he took the barbarian tribes there by force of arms, making use of a side-task to further his [primary] task. For, subduing some, making others subject to tribute, and making others friends instead of opponents and intimates instead of ancient enemies, he brought them in as allies, not causing distress or laying siege to anyone, and being eager for the salvation of others. For where God acts as one's ally, everything is rightly guided and he raises up on high the human reason. With this sort of God-

loving thought, Constantine, most faithful in all things, crossed to the right-hand side of the Rhine, passed many mountains, many unnamed rivers, with a small army, conquered many barbarian peoples, brought over to his side ten tribes of Gauls and Frangi and Spani, and finally brought his army to the mountains of Italy.

Fr. 5.2 [Discussion of the Plausibility of the Sign that Appeared to Constantine]

Anonymous Ecclesiastical History 1.5.2-7 [p. 8, line 15 - p. 9, line 20 Hansen]

This story seems to the unbelievers to be a myth and a fiction composed to flatter our opinions, but to those who have become accustomed to believe the truth, the proof of the event is manifest. For God, the ”painter” of this omen, demonstrated afterwards through the outcome that the gracious gift of the writing [in the sky] was truthful. But if I am not yet persuading [you about] what I write (for I am transcribing histories of earlier [writers], because of my task [mentioned] a little earlier of collecting the useful events of that man’s life), still you should not fail to believe in the subsequent events—that which, in our own generation, those who stood in battle with Constantius the son of Constantine saw with their own eyes and [thus] cured ancient unbelief with more recent sights. If those who dispute these things are Hebrews, the stories that are contained in their books and are believed are much more unbelievable than these—marching in the sea, water forming a wall, walking in the water, and God speaking in a bush, a flame giving laws, the resounding of a trumpet in the desert without an actual instrument, angels ranged together for battle and the ”chief generals of the Lord’s forces” fighting on behalf of the army, and ”stones of hail” and missiles of fire being cast instead of the usual spears—and yet, all of us who are right-minded give assent [to these stories] without [skeptical] examination. For nothing is impossible when God wills it.

If, on the other hand, those who do not accept this marvel are Greeks, I can cite many things which I do not wish to speak about—how many prophecies the oracle-mongers proclaimed for Alexander, when he was preparing to cross over for the battle at the Granicus and the contest with Darius (and yet their fictions do not have manifest proofs); and how a ”daimonion”gave prior indication to Socrates the philosopher regarding the outcome of things that should not be done; and the things written about Pythagoras of Samos by that man’s disciples. I will leave unmentioned the fictions of the poets, and how they related that some of the famous [heroes] in them even fought side by side with some of those who were considered gods by them, so that no one will think that I am comparing mythical events with true events, things that were never done with things that were. For the grace of Christ, ever since it bloomed among men, has been, is, and will continue to be a medicinal remedy and a source of healing, <as it has appeared> in heaven and on earth and in the sea, in plants and trees, and in clothes—those who have

experienced it know this, and I will set forth [such occurrences] at the appropriate time as my history proceeds.

Fr. 5.3 [Constantine and Crispus against Licinius]

Anonymous Ecclesiastical History 1.11.19-21 [p. 18, line 18 - p. 19, line 2] and 1.12.1 [p. 21, lines 1-9 Hansen] (19) ...But the others, as many as agree with the true account of Eusebius Pamphili, say that both the Father, Emperor Constantine, and the son, Emperor Crispus, dividing the army, rushed out against the impious tyrant—the son, Crispus, to the region of Asia, marching with the army that was with him, while the father, Constantine, in Europe, accomplished his journey with the bodyguards [i.e., the Praetorians] around him. (20) But the God-hating one, full of all impiety and savagery, came from the East, arrogantly drawing up against them with as large an army as possible. And arriving at Nicomedia, and recognizing and knowing that the soul of God-loving Constantine revered the priests of God, and that he held them in honor at all times, he paid off the bishop of Nicomedia, Eusebius, who had long since defected to his side in opposition to the pious Emperor Constantine. [Licinius] thought that by using him and his associates he would destroy Constantine—who was hedged around by the invincible weapons of God. (21) The extraordinary Eusebius made a compact with him, being prevailed upon by promises from Licinius, his equal in impiety...

(32)...But from here I shall move on to the events of the Ecclesiastical History that lie before us. (1) So, when Licinius rushed out from Nicomedia to Byzantium with the army that was with him, against the Emperor Constantine who was there at that time, and the contingents of soldiers on the one side were surrounding the Christ-bearing Emperor, then Licinius—that sinner—seeing this, and contemplating the fact that he was bereft of his own armies, which had deserted to the protection of the stronger side, at first was anxious to hide in Chrysopolis in Bithynia (this is the sea-port of Chalcedon)—but since he could not do this, and saw that he was now lying face-down under the feet of the Emperor Constantine, he gave himself up...

Fr. 5.4 [Succession of Bishops in Alexandria—and Arius]

Anonymous Ecclesiastical History 2.1.13f. [p. 23, line 28 - p. 24, line 9 Hansen] (12) So, when the Church of Christ our Savior throughout the world was enjoying deep peace, this [peace] having been obtained for it by God, the universal King, through his servant Constantine and his children, (13) after the death of the divine Peter, bishop of the Alexandrian Church, who had been made perfect by the very act of martyrdom and had bound his brow with the incorruptible crown of the contest, the Church there was bereft [of a leader] for one year. And after this year, the throne of that same holy martyr Peter was allotted to Achillas, (14) a man who was strong, noble, holy-minded, and pre-eminent with very great piety and wisdom, as the ancient unerring writings describe; he, after frequent urging, received Arius and made him a deacon. (15) But after this man [i.e., Achillas] had lived on only five

months, the authority of high-priest over the Church of Alexandria was received by Alexander, a man who was honored in every respect by both the clergy and laity of the church; small in stature, generous, well-spoken, capable, loving God, loving his fellow man, loving the poor, good and gentle to all as much as anyone ever has been. He himself too installed Arius into a position—that of presbyter, nearest to himself...

Fr. 5.5 [Constantine Speaks at the Council of Nicaea]
Anonymous Ecclesiastical History 2.7 [p. 34, line 17 - p. 42, line 9 Hansen] (2) To them, the most praiseworthy Emperor directed a discourse of moral exhortation and teaching, for praise and glorification and thanksgiving to the God of all, who had granted him such favors; he spoke somewhat as follows:

(1) Many most manifest paths toward well-doing have been laid out for the human race by the nurturing righteousness of Almighty God, not least that one which is quite conspicuous, most spectacular—that one which he prepared for us all, more grandly than any marvel, in the main point of the most holy law of the universal Church: the Lord's prayer-house of Faith. (2) We see that the peak of this [building] has gone up all the way to the sparkling stars, while we recognize that its foundations—even as the work is still only beginning—are so deeply and faithfully rooted, by God's will, that the whole inhabited world perceives it. (3) Now then, from the aforementioned peak that completely overtops all others, through to the end of the exit, there is seen a smooth and level course, endowed with the brilliance of light. Its façade, adorned with a star-shaped seal, is supported by columns, twelve in number, brighter than snow, immoveable in their placement in Faith—eternally, by the power of our Savior's divinity. (4) When we also receive the righteous faith that comes from the soul, the Architect of this amazing work brings home to our minds the awesomeness of his everlasting law. Whoever wishes approaches the gates of this [structure], but in no way other than with the impulse of a holy and pious desire, with only the confidence of a pure mind. (5) And the Savior's plan has added to this [building] a certain marvellous brightness of ornament.

What I mean is that on the inside, people's faith, honored over the entire course of the wall of the Lord's house with blooming garlands, assembles immortality's fruit, brings the holy products of human life into the open and makes them manifest—and next, in turn, the heavenly glory on the outside, which is [also] garlanded, as the struggle is constantly arising, or rather constantly rising, sketches out the prizes; and the depictions [of these] adorn the full completion of this same work with the appropriate praise. (6) And this same house of the Lord is protected by only two guards; divine fear on the one hand comes into the thoughts of some, as an inducement to self-control, and on the other hand for those who are right-minded their praise directed toward God is ever-present, as a prize for understanding. For as

these two [guards] are placed at the front doors of the most holy place, righteousness is received by wide-open gates, and this [righteousness] having been given a home within, it remains there in purity; but unrighteousness is not allowed to approach the gates, but is shut out from this place and banished.

(7) O brothers most honored, and worthy of all praise, these facts so clear have led me into the brightness of the eternal and immortal light, so that I will not stand far away and be rendered out of harmony with the truth by any wavering faith. (8) But what shall I proclaim first? The pattern of blessedness, which has been compressed and hidden within my breast? Or the divine benefits in my regard <that have been bestowed> by Almighty God? Of these deeds, which are numerous, it would seem sufficient for now to say that this same God of ours, the Father of all, quite rightly made my mediocrity subject to himself. Believe me, most honored brothers, and apply an unprejudiced faith to what I say; even if my mind, having been satiated with God's favors, seems very much to be blessed, nevertheless, as the proof of the truth shows, neither voice nor tongue are fully able to carry out the mind's commands—and rightly so. (10) For since the greatness of his benefits is without measure, although the mind, which is an exalted thing, possesses the lower "places"—the body—the path of the tongue, being confined in a truly narrow place, being more or less reprehensible, remains altogether silent. For which of us is so ready for reasoning that he would utter such a self-confident speech, whereby he would presume to pronounce glorious praises easily, and worthy praises perfectly, to the all-powerful God and creator of all the most beautiful things?

(11) If someone were to think only about the magnificence of the one who ordained the law of his birth, he would consider with full knowledge that nothing can be found which would be able to be spoken as something worthy of God. (12) Then what should the devotion of my mediocrity speak about, except that which the divine Word of truth makes manifest? The greatest act of worship must consider wisely whether it will be able to reach his greatness in the very things that are spoken about him, whether some error will not cause him to stumble. (13) And would that a liberal abundance of speaking would suffice for me, your fellow servant, to render him those praises (which are worthy of proclamation) that our divine Savior, the guardian of all things, made known by the calm assent of his divinity, in the "prologue" of his presence here, when for the sake of our benefit he deigned to receive the dwelling-place of a holy body from a virgin, thus displaying the proof of his own compassion.

(14) Where, then, shall I begin? With his teaching and his dignity? Or rather, with the divine teachings of which he himself appeared as sole teacher on his own account, with no one teaching him? Or rather, with how so many people revived through his wise provision, as many as cannot be encompassed by a number, with a small amount of nourishment and the tiniest loaves of bread and only two fish? By

his divine provision he also caused resurrection, using a certain short staff, after the death of Lazarus, and brought him back again into the brightness of the light. (16) But how could I speak of his holy divinity, by virtue of which, when he saw that a certain woman was <suffering from> a hidden <illness>, deeming her worthy of simple contact with himself, he rendered her well again, and free from all disease? (17) And who could worthily speak about his immortal deed, by which a certain man who had been worn out by a major chronic wasting disease, lying there with all his limbs hanging loose and splayed out, was suddenly strengthened by divine healing and put upon his shoulders the very pallet on which he had lain; and, pouring forth praise and thanksgiving, he ran through the country and local territory?

(18) Or rather, his divine and steady walking, when he stepped upon and trod down the savage sea on foot, and stilled the fluidity of the deepest sea with his divine feet, and made his way in the midst of the waves, bounded by no measure of depth, as though he were on dry land? (19) Or rather, his gentle patience, by which he, being conqueror in all things, tamed the stubbornness of the foolish people and, once it was tamed, removed it far from them and subjected their savagery to [his] law? (20) Or rather, the clearest, the greatest [attributes] of his divinity, by which we live, in which we are well-pleased, we who not only look forward to the hope of the coming blessedness, but in some way as it were already possess it? (21) What more do I dare to say, even with my exiguous cultivation of discourse, except this—what the purity of my devoted soul ought to understand: What the omnipotent God, who dwells in heaven, is like in relation to the whole human race, and especially and preeminently in relation to righteousness, which is most beatiful and greater than any praise—considering that he deigned <to receive> a body—the holiest, as befitted his divine spirit—and to dwell in it, and thus to work salvation for [all] human bodies.

(22) Therefore, since concerning the all-powerful order of God, so entirely holy and salvific, the measureless madness of the enemies, thrown into confusion as though by some cloud, does not hesitate to offer an interpretation, perverse and destructive, I shall attempt to set forth [my views] briefly, as far as the faith and devotion of my soul have abundant resources for speaking. (23) For indeed, the malice of these men, <just like that> of the pagans, puts on display such a kind of shamelessness that they are not afraid to say, with an impious mouth, that the all-powerful God did not do, did not wish to do, all that is revealed in the divine Law. (24) O, such impious speech, that calls down on itself and deserves every extreme punishment: It desires, truly insanely and rashly, to make the glory of this divine benefaction—a glory that cannot be comprehended by any human being—disappear. (25) For what is more worthy of God than purity? This has come forth from most holy association with the source of righteousness, passed like a flood through the whole circumference of the world, and put the powers of the most holy virtues on display for the human race. But they, considering these virtues at

first to be hostile to themselves, suffered <the fate> of the Assyrians—and with these leading the way as a bad example, the other nations were persuaded to go along with them.

(26) In these things, just as we perceive it in our own experience, we see that the divine compassion of God our Savior has been at work, when the same [Savior] day by day and year by year commanded many of them, who were being plagued by the sting of fiery madness, to rise to the patient endurance of the Savior's healing. And yet not even so is the greatness of such generosity able to come with favor in the eyes of the others, <because of> human ignorance of the fact that the divine lordship is able to raise up every people, and to make it secure once it has been raised to a height, <and> likewise, to demolish and destroy. (27) But things would have turned out more adversely for human affairs, if God, who is all-powerful, had <not> given himself the task of doing everything, by the quiet nod of his own divinity. For human madness would have become even more long-lived, and human stubbornness, which knows no bounds, would have destroyed all souls, nor would the other most numerous things, which in the disorder of the world still perform their orderly duties, have been able to appear—(28) rather, all things would have quickly perished, together with [human] ignorance of God;

and the unrighteousness of malice and jealousy would have remained, not as in a few people, but rather, no one would have been found opposed to jealousy, with the [various] religions diffused largely and broadly into the souls of men to such an extent that through the baseness of these men, the light of this brightness of ours would have been obscured for them, and they would always have been deprived of it. (29) Therefore, no word that has been spoken will be able to drag my faith out of my soul; for, when nothing base stands in the way, it is accompanied by a perfect power, the living Word of truth, which is alone all-powerful, the guardian of all things and protector of our salvation. Thus he [i.e., God] seems, in a certain manner, lavishly to bestow intimacy with his most holy Word, to preserve <....> of the one who frees [us], and to provide for us the brightness of the light. (30) So then, for what reason do the people of all the nations even now fail to discern the heavenly light, despise the most glorious Holy One, and go after earthly things, which have no substantial truth, no brilliance of pure brightness, no authority of celestial divinity? (31) What unworthy behavior! Even to this day, not at all falling short in impiety, and not looking toward their duty, they fail to see that they are falling down because of their wretched error;

they do not cease to defile the brightness with these filthy works of the world—that is to say, by setting up wood and stone and bronze and silver and gold and these sorts of earthly <materials> for worship, and promising themselves a hope of life from these, building temples for them with striking ornaments, and in this way increasing and adding to their worship because of the fact that the greatness of

the buildings (constructed by them! produces a sense of wonder worthy of their own gaze. (32) So then, when they are seen to do this, it is clearly discerned—even if for the most part they themselves in their arrogance do not perceive or see it—that they are caught openly boasting over their own works. Thus, we do not see how great and how vast is God, the ruler of all, who is also master and judge of all, whom some [of us] unwittingly <outrage> with their very confidence in their own virtue (as they see it). (33) For it was by virtue of his arrangements that the form of our bodies received its due shape. The same [God] bound together the connections of all our limbs with the strongest sinews, so that in every action we pursue we might keep the vigor of our united parts without tiring.

Then, when this had been brought to completion by his saving arrangement, he also breathed spirit into us, so that all these [physical parts] would be able to move and flourish, and granted vision to our eyes, set them in our head for our understanding, and within this place [i.e., the head] he enclosed the reasoning process of all our thinking. (34) For this reason, if any right-minded person were to examine the logic of these arrangements, and leave off the rest—which cannot be comprehended either with words or numbers—he would be able, with a little reflection, to see and to understand the eternal and salvific authority of the immortal God. And a man will not be able to trap that one [i.e., God] with the snares of any kind of error, when it is possible for him to see that everything that has come to be is [as it is] by the power of God, as he himself has wished all these things to be. (35) But so that we may be able to see that a certain unlawful way of life in the world brought about people's ignorance of God, the reasoning process of sin having first been produced in the wretched souls of those stupid people because of the Enemy's deception, we can receive clear proof concerning this from the divine law.

(36) For ever since that time, when the divine and holy command was not kept with the appropriate diligence by those two people who had been formed in the beginning, after that, the flower of this name was born. And it became continual and increased still further, from the time when the aforementioned two were cast out by God's will. (37) And the physical world itself was brought along with human stupidity to such a point that he pronounced sentence against the Orient and the lands of the Occident. And the very excess of the Opposite Power took possession of human thoughts and made them dim. (38) Yet even in this situation, the untiring compassion of the all-powerful God is both holy and immortal. For in all the days and years that have passed, God has been setting free from this burden—through me, his servant—numberless multitudes of people who had been enslaved; and he will bring them out into the perfect brilliance of the eternal light. From these [facts], most beloved brethren, by virtue of a certain special providence and the glorious favors of our immortal God, I am confident that in future I shall be even more highly regarded for my very pure faith in him.

(39) Therefore, let this most holy gathering of your sanctity receive me, and do not suffer the most chaste Church and the the doors of the pure mother common to us all to be set in opposition to me. Even if the reasoning power of my soul, while it very much even now is seeking the complete purity of the universal faith, does not think it right for this to be granted too easily, nevertheless it urges and reminds me—and it has displayed its own reverential brow as a seal of the most beautiful virtues; and it has begun to lay hold of the gates of immortality and to knock on them—so that you too will consider it right to grant me straightway the goodwill of your brotherhood, with a view only to the harmony and peace of the universal Church. (40) For this is fitting with respect to God, harmonious with respect to the faith of the universal Church, and beneficial with respect to our common affairs, so that [in the end] we may all together offer a response, worthy of the most highly honored peace that has been granted to us by God, to the one who has favored us with it.

(41) For it would be truly terrible—most terrible!—if, when our enemies have been destroyed and no one is still daring to resist, we attack each other and provide pleasure and laughter to those who are ill-disposed, and taking different sides in discussion of divine matters while also having the teaching of the all-holy Spirit in written form. For the Gospels and Apostolic books, and the utterances of the ancient prophets, clearly teach us what it is necessary to think concerning the divine. Therefore, throwing off all belligerent strife, let us receive the resolution of our questions from the divinely inspired words [of Scripture]."

Fr. 5.6 [Supporters of Arius at the Council of Nicaea]

Anonymous Ecclesiastical History 2.12.8-10 [p. 47, lines 5-19 Hansen] (8) When these things were expressed by them—or rather, through them, by the Holy Spirit—those who endorsed Arius' impiety were wearing themselves out with murmuring (these were the circles of Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicaea, whom I have already pointed out earlier), and yet they were looking with favor on the "hirelings" of Arius, certain philosophers who were indeed very good with words; Arius had hired them as supporters of his own wickedness, and arrived with them at that holy and ecumenical council. (9) For there were present very many philosophers; and having put their hopes in them, as I have said just now, the enemies of the truth were reasonably caught, along with the one who actually taught them their blasphemy. The Holy Scripture was fulfilled in him and in them, which says, "Cursed is everyone who has his hope in a mortal man, and whose heart has departed from the Lord." (10) For truly, the blasphemous heart of the fighter against God, Arius, and of those who shared in his impiety, departed from the Lord—they dared to say that the Son of God, the creator of the universe and the craftsman of both visible and invisible created natures, is something created and something made.

Fr. 5.7 [The Arian Philosopher and the Simple Old Man]
Anonymous Ecclesiastical History 2.13 [p. 47, line 20 - p. 50, line 5 Hansen]

(1) A certain one of the hirelings of Arius, a philosopher, who was marveled at much more than all the others, contended much, indeed very much, on Arius' behalf with our bishops for very many days, with the result that there was a great lecture every day arising from their verbal encounters: the crowd of those who were gathering would rush together, and the philosopherwould put forward the impious blasphemies of Arius against what was said by the holy council, saying about the Son that "there was a time when he was not," and that "he is a created being, made from nothing, and from a different substance and existence [than the Father]. (2) On behalf of these abominable doctrines of Arius, he had a great struggle, and [sent forth] his "showers" of arguments, as he raved against the Son of God and attacked the chorus of those holy priests--the enemy of human salvation was speaking in him and through him. (3) But the defenders of the truth, our bishops, calmly brought to bear against him the necessary and appropriate counter-arguments, on behalf of the Apostolic doctrines, imitating the great prophet and king, David, who said, "I was made ready, and I was not disturbed. For they burned through the philosopher's convoluted propositions by means of the divine word, as though with fire through hempen fibers.

(4) But even so, the philosopher continued to be confident in his diabolical facility with arguments, and began to shoot his arrows against the truth proclaimed by the bishops, applying good and glib responses to all the considerations advanced against him—so he thought—and, slippery as an eel, he struggled to solve the issues raised. For in the midst of what he thought he was contriving for his own benefit, slipping out of the logical arguments that were being brought quite powerfully against him, he was caught, on the basis of is own words, and collapsed along with them. (5) But even so, in an arrogant frenzy, he moved against the most peaceful council, hoping to defeat the invincible power of the unconquerable Spirit of Christ that was in them. (6) But God, "who catches the wise in their cunning," in order to demonstrate that his kingdom does not stand "on talk but on power," not only powerfully silenced the wicked demon that was speaking in the philosopher, but even cast it out, through one of his servants who was there. (7) For a certain man, one of the holy confessors who was present at the council, with as simple a nature as any other of the saints [has had], and one who knew nothing "except Jesus Christ, and him crucified" in the flesh according to the Scriptures, was with the bishops and saw the philosopher swooping down to attack our holy bishops, and arrogantly engaged in his malicious disputation;

he asked the bishops, the priests of God, to give him an opportunity for discussion with the philosopher. (8) Then, the holy bishops on our side, perceiving the man's simplicity and his lack of experience with letters, tried to persuade him not to put

himself into the fray, for fear that it would provoke laughter among the malicious enemies of the truth. (9) But he, not content with this, approached the philosopher and said to him, ”In the name of Jesus Christ, the Word of God who is always with the Father, listen to the doctrines of truth, O philosopher. And the other said to him, ”Go ahead and speak. And the saint said to him, ”There is one God, who created the heavens and the earth and the sea, and all things that are in them, who also formed man from the earth and subjected everything to his Logos and to the Holy Spirit. (10) This Logos, O philosopher, we know and worship as the Son of God, believing that for the sake of our redemption he was made fleshand was born and became a man, and that through the suffering of his flesh on the cross and his death he freed us from eternal condemnation, and that through his resurrection he procured eternal life for us; and we have hope that as he went up into the heavens he will come back and will judge us concerning all that we have accomplished. Do you believe in these things, O philosopher?

(11) And the philosopher, as though he had never had experience of words spoken in opposition to him, was dumbfounded and fell silent just like that, as though he were mute and speechless, after saying to him, in a most pitiable voice, only the following: ”I too think this is so, and I think no differently that as you have just said. (12) And the old man said to him, ”If you believe that this is so, O philosopher, stand up and follow me, and let us hurry to the church, in which you will receive the sign of this faith. (13) And the philosopher, transforming his whole self toward the true reverence for the God of the universe, stood up and followed the old man and, turning around, said to his disciples and to all those who had gathered to hear [the discussion], ”Listen, men. As long as I was enthusiastic for arguments, I would place words in opposition to words and would overturn the matters presented to me by my skill in speaking; (14) but now that instead of words, some divine power has come forth from the mouth of my interlocutor, my words no longer had the strength to resist this power. For neither is a human being able to stand in opposition to God. Therefore, if any of you is able to understand, as I have now come to think, he shall believe in Christ—and let him follow this old man, in whom God spoke.

(15) In this way, the philosopher recovered and, being illuminated and becoming a Christian, rejoiced to have been beaten by the old man. And when this philosopher had been baptized and was joined to the Church of God and found relief and exulted, the council rejoiced over the mighty acts of God.

Fr. 6.1 - 6.7 [History from Diocletian to Constantine] [Attribution to Philip questionable at best]

[Originally known in part from Cod. Barocc. 142 (= B), fol. 216r, lines 11-39; thus, directly precedes in this ms. the passage classified by Heyden as Fr. 2, and follows Fr. 4. Other mss.: Cod. Paris. gr. 1555A (= P); Cod. Athous Vatopedi 286 (= V). — De Boor, ”Neue Fragmente,” pp 165-84, attributes this sequence of excerpts to

Philip of Side; at p. 173 he stresses the mention of Philip of Side by name, but this relates primarily to the fragment on the Alexandrian school; De Boor, "Zur Kenntnis," p. 487 n., interprets the phrase that begins fr. 2, "as Philip of Side says...," as a phrase of attribution for the material here classified as fr. 6, but that is unlikely. More convincingly, Hansen, Theodoros Anagnostes: Kirchengeschichte, GCS (Berlin, 1971), p. xxxviii, and Nautin, "La continuation," pp. 178-81, argue for attribution of all but no. 1 here to Gelasius of Caesarea, pointing to (a) the parallel between no. 2 and Photius's description (Bibl. cod. 89) of Gelasius of Caesarea's prologue, and (b) parallels with Theophanes' Chronography, especially because Theophanes cites material from no. 3 here explicitly as from Gelasius, and (c) parallels with the text of "Gelasius of Cyzicus." Cf. also Pouderon, "Le témoignage," pp. 11-12. — Greek text printed by De Boor, "Neue Fragmente," pp. 182-4; newly edited by Hansen, Theodoros Anagnostes, pp. 158-9, but omitting the material before no. 2, and with a different numeration; Nautin, pp. 174-8, prints Greek text with a French translation.]

Up to this point Eusebius writes. 1. Constantius the Great, the father of Constantine, produced these sons from his two wives: Constantine, son of Helena; Dalmatius; Constantius. [Diagram—remains of family tree in bottom margin of Barocc. 142 fol. 216r] [This first part is on the left-hand side of the page:] Helen wife Constantine Constantius Constans of Julian [This part is mid-way between left- and right-hand sides of the page; no connection is indicated with the previous chart:] Gallus Julian 2. Cyril, the bishop of Jerusalem, was the maternal uncle of Gelasius of Caesarea, and he himself when he was dying obligated Gelasius in writing to [compose] the history of the events after Eusebius and of those about which Eusebius did not write. 3. Diocletian and Maximian Herculius both reigned over the Romans together, and with shared counsel they laid aside their royal power and took up again the rank of private individuals; and in the sight of the army they installed as emperors Constantius the father of Constantine, and another Maximian, [also called] Galerius. But when they changed their minds and wished to rule again, they were killed by a common decree of the Senate.

4. Theotecnus, who was plotting against the Christians in Antioch, entered the cave in which Maximian used to sacrifice to the demons and indeed received oracles. On the basis of a demonic oracle he [i.e., Theotecnus] enjoined on him [i.e., Maximian] the persecution against the Christians. And Maximian, in obedience to this man, rekindled the persecution against us. And he also urged on his fellow-tyrants to do the same, bringing forward the demons' oracle as though it were indeed some great commandment. 5. When Diocletian went to war against the usurpers in Alexandria, he had Constantine, who was very young, as an ally and counsellor. When he [i.e., Diocletian] saw that he [i.e., Constantine] showed excellence, he was moved with devilish envy and was eager to destroy him by treachery. But God preserved him and returned him safe, after escaping the plot, to his father, who

was on the point of death. And in the sight of the army, his father proclaimed him as emperor, giving him many commands on behalf of the Christians, and thus he "fell asleep" in peace.

6. When Constantius died, the following were left behind as rulers: Constantine the Great administered the territory of his father—this was from the edge of Europe as far as the Ionian Sea; Maxentius held Rome and [the territory] as far as the Ocean; Severus having died of an illness, the Roman Senate voted Licinius emperor, by way of doing a favor for Constantine, who had made Licinius his brother-in-law through his sister Constantia. And Maximian held sway over the region of the East. 7. Licinius, for fear of the emperor Constantine, worked his treachery against us secretly. But later, he drew up his forces against us openly. At that point, Constantine grew angry against Licinius. And after war had occurred between them, Licinius was taken alive in Chrysopolis. He [i.e., Constantine] commanded him [i.e., Licinius] to live quietly in Thessalonica, but when he was plotting rebellion again, and was going to take up arms, he ordered him killed.

Fr. 7.1-2 [Chemical processes for treating copper and iron] [Attribution to Philip questionable at best]

[For the text, see Berthelot, Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs (Paris, 1888), Livraison [= vol.] 3, Greek text pp. 346-7; French tr. pp. 330-332. (Note that the Greek texts and French translations follow independent page numbering, in each case continuing the numeration of the previous volumes.). — P. Lambeck (Lambecius), Commentatorium de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi, 2nd ed. A. F. Collarius (Vienna, 1780), vol. 6, pp. 406-7, attributed them to Philip of Side on the basis of the mention of a "Philip" (cited by Heyden, p. 228 n. 95), but this seems quite unlikely. Heyden, p. 228, sees a reference to Philip II of Macedon; Berthelot, Fr. tr., p. 331 n. (continued from p. 330), interprets it instead as a reference to a successor of Alexander (e.g., Philip V).]

Fr. 7.1 [5.4 Berthelot]

"Dyeing" of the copper found among the Persians, recorded from the reign of Philip. (1) Take the upper thuthia, as much as you wish, and pound it finely and sift it with a very fine sieve. Put it into an earthenware vessel, and put on top of it oil of whatever sort you wish, whether common or sesame-oil. Take it up again in your hands; mix the oil with the thuthia and grind it in the earthenware receptacle until the thuthia is saturated with the oil and does not absorb any more of the oil. And when you see that it has absorbed enough, add again and mix in still more of the same oil, until it becomes like mud. And [then] take some of the crimson/palm-paste, the red [pigment] called natêph by the Arabs, one-fifth of the amount of thuthia, and place it on top of the previously softened thuthia in the earthenware vessel, after breaking it [i.e., the pigment] up into small pieces—not too many, nor too large. Heat an oven with the most intense fire; put the vessel in the oven; then, cover the

opening of the oven with mud until the following day, because the thuthia is going to be burnt and become black. And the next day, take it out, crush it and sift it with a fine sieve.

(2) And when you wish to dye the above copper—no better is dyed in Persia—take two parts of fine Cyprian copper, and one of the powder that has been prepared with the thuthia beforehand. Break up the copper into very small parts, as many as you can, and mix the powder in with it; put both into a crucible, and use the bellows vigorously, until the copper bubbles up along with the powder. When it bubbles, add further coals, together with much bellows-work, until the two are united together. And if you wish to make sure of the beauty of the color, take an iron implement with a bent end, and pull out [some of the material] with its end, and look at it. If the color is pleasing, stop using the bellows; but if if is not yet pleasing, keep up the bellows-work and add more coal. For the more you use the bellows and coal, the better your material is rendered.

Fr. 7.2 [5.5 Berthelot]

”Dyeing” of the Indian iron, recorded at the same time. (1) Take 4 pounds of soft iron and cut it up into small pieces. Take bark of the palm-nut—called elileg among the Arabs—15 mil. in weight; and also belileg, with the insides similarly cleaned out, that is, the bark alone—4 mil. in weight; and amblag, similarly cleaned out—4 mil.; and of the above-mentioned glass-makers’ magnesia (feminine magnesia), 2 mil. Pound all this together, not too finely, and mix it in with the 4 pounds of iron. Put it into a crucible—and level out the place of the crucible before applying the flames; for if you do not do this, so that it does not move this way and that, there will necessarily be problems in the melting process. Then, after this, add the coals, and heat up the crucible until the iron melts, and the [other] materials are united with it. And the 4 pounds of iron require 100 pounds of coals.

(2) Note that if the iron is quite soft, it does not need the magnesia, but only the other materials. For the magnesia dries it out to excess, and it becomes fragile. But if it is soft, there is need of it [i.e., the magnesia?] alone, so that it is higher. For this accomplishes everything. (3) This is the first, the royal work, with which they are concerned to this day, and on the basis of which they fashion the ”marvelous” swords. It was discovered by the Indians, and was passed on to the Persians, and from them it came to us. This translation was commissioned by Roger Pearse and made public domain 19th March 2011. This ms. represents an unpublished Byzantine world chronicle, the so-called ”Ps.-Symeon,” running from Adam to A.D. 963. It was a source of George Cedrenus, in whose text this same parallel phrasing appears, ed. Bekker, vol. 1 (Bonn, 1838), p. 12. For Ps.-Symeon and the relationship with Cedrenus, cf. M. Wallraff et al., Iulius Africanus: Chronographiae, GCS n. F. 15 (Berlin, 2007), p. xlvi.

Gk. χρόνοι. According to the LXX, Adam was 230 when he begot Seth, by contrast with the MT, which puts his age at 130. Since the details of Adam's chronology do not all agree with an extant canonical or non-canonical account of Adam, Serruys (pp 338-9) posits a lost apocryphal life of Adam as Philip's source. Gk. ἐργάσασθαι. Cf. Jubilees 3.15, 17. Gk. ἀπὸ ὥραν πρώτην [sic]. Cf. the time-frame put forward by the Cave of Treasures 5, which puts Adam's formation at the 1st hour of the 6th day, his entry into Paradise at the 3rd hour, Adam and Eve's dishonor at the 6th hour, and their expulsion at the 9th hour. The timing is not the same, at least in the current state of the text of Bodl. gr. 120, and also contradicts the seven years mentioned in the first part of the note here, but still seems to indicate some relationship. A. Su-Min Ri, Commentaire de la Caverne des trésors(Leuven, 2000), pp. 167-8, further compares the Cave of Treasures time-frame to that of Rabbinic Jewish sources.

Gk. ἐργάσασθαι. Wirth prints this first passage, while Serruys ignores it. The explicit turn to Philip of Side makes it less likely that this first passage also derives from Philip. Gk. ἔτη. Either Book 24 of his History, or the 24th volume of the (1st?) Book. Photius (Bibl. cod. 35) says that each of Philip's bibloi contained multiple logoi; Socrates, HE 7.27 calls the smaller divisions tomoi. Gk. διδασκαλεῖον. Athenagoras' work is in fact addressed to Marcus Aurelius (Antoninus) and Commodus. Gk. ὁ ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶνπρεσβευτικός (sc.λόγος); the mss. of Athenagoras' work give it the title πρεσβεία περὶ Χριστιανῶν—translated by Crehan (ACW), for example, as "Embassy." Gk. τῆς Ἀκαδημαϊκῆς σχολῆς προϊστάμενος. Gk. διατριβή. Gk λόγοι. This list does not entirely agree with the previous account—the position of Clement is strangely shifted. It is quite likely that this change is due to a copyist's confusion. Gk. τοῦ εἰς Ἑλλάδα ἀναιρεθέντος;.. Note the unclassical use of the preposition εἰς.

Alternatively, following a variant reading (mss. FG): "of the Macedonians." Gk. φόβον ἐκτήσατο πολύν—not that she "had" fear in that she was afraid, but that she "acquired" the (respect and) fear of others. Gk. τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς κατέλαβε. Alternatively, "conquered the Achaeans." Gk. γνῶναι αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ᾧ παρῆσαν. Bratke reconstructs plausible wording after the name "Philip" on the basis of mangled indications in the manuscripts and also the cues apparent in the context: namely, their response to the oracle shows that the oracle has mentioned a woman, and a man from Macedonia; and Aphroditianus' comment in §14 (p. 9) makes clear that a prediction is made that can be taken as referring to "the Macedonian" and to Christ. Bringel, by contrast, marks the words following Philip as a crux, having little confidence in any reconstruction. In connection with this consultation of the oracle, there is a further major textual variant: In a couple of manuscripts, a fairly long sequence of text is either substituted for (ms. Q) or added to the end of (ms. N) the oracular response translated above; this additional text runs roughly as follows [minor discrepancies do exist in the witnesses]: "Late, a certain one will

make his way to this much-splintered earth, and without a misstep will become flesh, and by the untiring bounds of divinity he will dissolve the destructive force of incurable passions / sufferings; and ill-will shall arise for this one at the hands of an unbelieving people, and he will be hung up to a height as one condemned to death. And having willingly suffered to bear all these things as well, at death he will be lifted up into eternal life." The supposed prophecy of Christ is much clearer in this additional text, which may well have been added specifically to alleviate the annoyace of a too-obscure prophecy.

Gk ἀήττητοι καιροὶ; Bringel translates, "un empire invincible," but it is not clear why. Cf. Lampe s.v. ἀνακόλουθος. Bringel's text, with an additional word: "against the gods, who cannot be insulted." Bringel's text, using other variants: "a leader having the unconquerable power of the unconquerable God." Gk. ἀλῶν; the reading and its significance are debatable. This motif is odd; perhaps, as Bringel suggests, some magical / imprecatory power is envisaged. Gk. εὐάρεστοι; Bringel's text has ἄρευστοι ("unchanging"). The participle is in the nominative case—grammatically, then, it ought to be describing the gods; but the context seems to require a reference to the envoys and the occasion for their consultations. Some emendation is likely required. Bringel cites the Diccionario griego-español s.v. δῆλος for the LXX use of the word as a masc. noun connected with divination; cf. also (e.g.) Muraoka, Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint, s.v. Gk. πυθμεύει; the sense is obscure. Lampe (s.v.) glosses the verb as to "give the base of a series" and arguest that its appearance in this context implies that with this third oracle, the full understanding is revealed. Bringel translates, "va jusqu'au fond" ("goes to the bottom"—i.e., of the tripod / cauldron, to fetch the oracles).

Gk. παρείς; Bringel, printing a different variant (σπαρείς), translates, "une fois engendré" ("having once been engendered"—or "sown") The letters of Μαρία, when interpreted as numerals, add up to 152. Gk. πᾶν ἱερὸν ὑμῶν σέβας. Bringel translates, "toute votre majesté sacrée" ("all your holy majesty"). Adapted from ANF translation (attributed to Julius Africanus). Gk. ἐκ Περσίδος ἐγνώσθη. Alternatively, this could be translated, "became known [to others] from Persia." ἐν ταῖς χρυσαῖς ἀρκλαρίαις—but this term which from the context must mean "tablets" (cf. πτυχαί a little later) is not attested elsewhere. Bringel points out that an apparently related word, ἄρκλα (= Lat. arca [?]), is found in a number of late texts. The order of the Greek words should mean, "the holy palaces"—but perhaps emendation is in order. Bringel does not include the phrase, "and the priests connected with them," in her text. "them" Bringel. The mss. give several different variants for this name.

Lit., "I rejoice with you." Lit., "rejoice with." ANF translates a variant reading: "How was she able…?" Urania means "heavenly / celestial." The re-naming seems

to play on perceived etymological connections between Hera and ”earth” or ”aër” (i.e., the cloudy, thick lower atmosphere, as opposed to the higher, more rarefied ”ether”). Pege means ”spring,” ”source,” or ”stream.” Cf. the Tübingen Theosophy, pp. 26-27 Beatrice. Bringel, choosing a variant reading: ”You have well said, ’She espoused a carpenter’; for she has a carpenter...” Perhaps the quotation of the ”females” continues on to the end of the sentence. In any case, this does not quite reflect what they were reported as saying earlier—”she espoused a carpenter”—unless the variant chosen by Bringel is correct. Bringel translates the last part of the sentence, ”mais il ne vient pas de son lit, le charpentier qu’elle met au monde.” Bringel, choosing a slightly different variant: ”framed...the triple-constructed sky as a roof.”

I.e., land, sea, and sky (ANF). Bringel translates, ”ce firmament à trois habitations.” Bringel excludes this last sentence from her text. Or, ”statue.” Gk. στήλη. Gk. Ἥλιος. Bringel points out the parallel shining gem-stone described by Lucian, De dea Syria 32. Bringel, following a different variant: ”The king, having watched this, gave orders...” The name Karia is obscure; one textual variant at the next occurrence is ”Makaria” (blessed), which might make more sense. Variant reading: ”kings.” I.e. (as Bringel points out by citing the parallel of Pilate’s words at Jn. 19.22), he is saying that their time of producing apparitions and of ruling is over. Gk. μὴ θροβάδει. This is Bringel’s text and interpretation . Bratke’s text, Μιθροβάδῃ, would introduce quite inexplicably a Mithrobades—the preceding verb then could be interpreted either as ”they said” or ”I said” or ”Say” [to Mithrobades], with the following words possibly still part of Dionysus’ speech.

As Bringel points out here, the last few phrases allude to Gen. 1.26, and Christ’s work in restoring the ”image” of God in human beings, and leading them to the ”likeness” of God. I.e., the Son of God (”heaven’s boast”) is now to be born on earth. Bringel has a slightly different text, and further imagines a supplement so that the first part of this sentence refers to the birth of Christ, not (as I have read it) to the prior birth of Pege (i.e., Mary). She translates as follows: ”Karia a le bonheur de voir Source mettre un enfant au monde à Bethléem. Source a la grâce d’être désirée par le ciel et de concevoir le bienfait de la grâce”—I have underlined the supplement she adds. Bringel’s reading, quite possibly correct, omits τὰ ἡμέτερα (”our affairs”) and leaves the verb ”is / are withering” to be connected to Judaea.

Instead of δέσποινα (”mistress”), Bringel’s text gives οὐρανία (”Urania / heavenly”). Bringel’s text, slightly more logically, here reads ”sent [some] magi of those under his dominion.” Here Bringel’s text reads ”by madness” (ὑπὸ μανίας) rather than ”by an oracle” (ὑπὸ μαντείας). Or rather: ”lest a revolt rise [against them] toward us”—that is, fearing that the people of Judaea would revolt against the high priests and convert to the good news of the Messiah announced by the magi. Or, ”we spoke to him until he was thoroughly disturbed.” I.e., the voice heard in §22, or

the divine manifestations and their interpretations more generally. Bringel interprets this sentence differently: ”Il fut consacré dans le temple, où il se trouve avec l’inscription que voici.” See Bringel ad loc. for a long exploration of the term διοπετής and its significance. Bringel’s text reads: ”gold, frankincense, and myrrh.” Gk. ἀντάρτας. The ”rebels” would be rebellious / sinful humans in general.

Bringel’s text: ”a certain terrifying angel.” It is not clear whether this sentence is part of the report of the magi or part of the enclosing speech. Bringel’s text includes a sentence at this point to conclude the account of the magi, and a further phrase to introduce Aphroditianus’ final comments: ”And those are the marvellous narrations of the inspired magi. And [here are] mine.” I would argue, however, that the account of the magi should be understood to have concluded either after the words, ”Christ has become our Savior”—or perhaps even after the statement, ”we reported all that we had seen in Jerusalem.” The address to ”you,” who are slandering and opposing Christ, seems to revert to Aphroditianus’ situation. Gk. ἱστόρησε. Gk. ἀπετέλει. Here I follow Bringel’s text; Bratke’s has an infinitive instead of a finite verb. Bringel: ”Pertelaeus.” Gk. τὸ θέλειν τὸ πρακτικὸν ἑτοιμότερον. Lit., ”in those at the end”—it is unclear whether ”those at the end” refers to particular ”laws” in his collection (so Bringel), or generically to the end of his text.

Gk. ἐπικρατεῖ καὶ στερεὰ ταῦτα. The text and precise sense are unclear. Bringel, with different accentuation, interprets the first word as a dative noun that could be interpreted as the addressee: ”to Epicrates”; as a verb [with Bratke], the basic idea is to ”prevail over”—which I am rendering, ”demonstrates his mastery” since there is no object specified. Here, Bringel’s text has the additional word ”progeny.” This phrase is a sentence fragment added to the rest; I suspect that some words have fallen out in transmission. Gk. Ἕλληνες. Note that the first example is Cyrus the Great of Persia—demonstrating clearly that for the author, ”Hellenes” is not an ethnic term but refers to pagans. In the reading preferred by Bringel, the bodyguards are not female. This name (unknown otherwise) is the reading favored by Bringel; Bratke does not choose between ms. variants here, printing simply an ellipsis in the middle of the name: C...encrates. Wirth, p. 200, reports Noeldeke’s suggestion that the Cynic Crates may be the distant inspiration for this reference.

Gk. παροξυσμοί; the precise reference is obscure. ἕνεκεν τῶν γενειῶν De Boor; γενειῶν must be emended either to γενῶν (”families / family lines”) or to γενεῶν (”generations”). The former is a term that appears repeatedly in the excerpts from the letter provided by Eusebius, and so is more likely correct. Cf. Eus., HE 1.7, where Eusebius gives an excerpt from this treatment; also, 6.31.3. For a modern reconstruction / edition of the letter, see W. Reichardt, Die Briefe des Sextus Julius Africanus an Aristides und Origenes, TU 34.3 (Leipzig, 1909). Cf. Lk. 24.13, 18. On the embassy and the change of status of Emmaus, including Africanus’ role in promoting it, see Eus., Chron. II (2: 178-9 Schoene); Jerome, De viris illustribus

63. Some garbling has taken place here: Candace was the name / title for the Ethiopian queen, but the articles used here in Greek with both ”Candace” and ”Ethiopian” are masculine rather than feminine; and of course, according to Acts 8.26-38, Philip baptized the Ethiopian eunuch who was a court official [δυνάστης] of Candace, not Candace herself.

Gk. πρῶτον—this could be masc. (conflicting with Candace) again, or neut. (adverbial). Cf. Eus., HE 2.1.1, 13—verbal parallel especially in this last sentence. Gk. στόμα λαμπάδων. Fancifully, from Hebrew: pî + lapîd(îm). Cf. Wutz, Onomastica Sacra, p. 444 / Lagarde, Onomastica Sacra, p. 203: στόμα χειρῶν ἢ στόμα λαμπάδος; Wutz, p. 444 / Lagarde, p. 223: στόμα λαμπάδων. For all the ”etymologies” in this fragment, cf. also Wutz, p. 35. Gk. ἀπατωμένη. Wutz, p. 35, notes that this is not paralleled in the onomastic material, and suggests a Syriac ”etymological” connection. Gk. δερματίνη δόξα. Fancifully, from Hebrew: ’ôr + hôd. Cf. Wutz, p. 475 / Lagarde, p. 205: δερμάτινος ἐπίδοξα; Wutz, p. 475 / Lagarde, p. 217: δέρματος δόξα. Cf. also Wutz, p. 477. De Boor, p. 181, notes the appearance of these three names together at Mt. 14.3 (and Mk. 6.17), which appears to imply that the etymologies formed part of a comment on that passage.

Cf. Eus., HE 3.17-20, including an excerpt from Hegesippus provided by Eusebius. The names do not appear in the Hegesippus extract supplied by Eusebius, and they might be expected to if Hegesippus gave them at all, since the beginning of the passage quoted seems to be introducing them to the reader for the first time. For the names, cf. the late Index Apostolorum attributed to Epiphanius, and edited by T. Schermann, Prophetarum vitae fabulosae (Leipzig, 1907), p. 113. (Note also that a version of this, although not including this specific information, appears in Cod. Barocc. 142, fol. 284—see sigla in Schermann, p. 107.) Cf. Eus., HE 3.25 (also 3.24.17-18), although this text does not closely preserve Eusebius’ classification. Eusebius records doubts about the 2 and 3 John, not (as here apparently) 1 John; for the ”Gospel of the Hebrews” he notes disagreement. These others are listed together by Origen, Hom. in Luc. 1.

Cf. Eus., HE 3.30; the reference to Clement’s 3rd book is just earlier, at HE 3.29.1, and the passages of Clement summarized here from Eusebius’ quotations are Strom. 3.6.52.5-53.1 and 7.11.63.3-64.1. For Paul, Clement cites 1 Cor. 9.5 and appears to be interpreting Phil. 4.3, where Paul addresses a σύζυγος, as an address to his wife. Or ”book” (Gk. λόγος); but from Jerome, De viris illustribus 76, this work appears to have been homilies on Hosea orally delivered at Easter; and Photius (Bibl. cod. 119) speaks of 12 λόγοι (of which he particularly mentions the one ”on the Pascha and Hosea”) contained in one βιβλίον. Gk. διά (Cf. Sophocles, Lexicon s.v. διά 3). Gk. λόγια, a derivative of λόγος that usually means ”oracles.” Eusebius here describes these as five books ”of explanation of the Lord’s logia.” The precise point of the word ”after” (Gk. μετά) is not entirely clear here,

although it does at least serve to put Aristion and John in a separate category from the first list.

Cf. Eus., HE 3.39 (with some information possibly also taken from 3.25). Cf. Eus., HE 3.39.9; but the fragment here provides some slightly different information. De Boor, pp. 171-2, suggests that this refers to the same incident that Eusebius mentions as an (anonymous) resurrection in HE 3.39.9. Menahem: The Greek spelling of the name is Μαναϊμ(ος)—cf. 2 Kgs [4 Kgdms] 15.14-16, on the reign of Menahem, spelled Μαναημ in LXX, but Μαναϊμ in Byzantine chroniclers. Harnack, in an editorial note to De Boor here, suggests a connection with the Μαναην who appears in Acts 13.1 as one of the ”prophets and teachers” of Antioch (NRSV transliterates this name as Manaen). This is apparently a reference to Hom. in 1 Cor. 40.2 [PG 61: 349, NPNF translation online: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf112.iv.xli.html]; Chrysostom cites Old Testament resurrections and Lazarus, as well as those ”at the time of the cross.” De Boor notes the necessary correction from the ms. reading ”Antioch.”

Cf. Eus., HE 7.32.26. De Boor notes, ”wie Nr. 5”—i.e., this sentence repeats the wording of no. 5 above (and so De Boor did not print the whole sentence again). Gk. ἐμαρτύρησαν. Cf. Eus., VC 1.25, which Hansen, ”Eine fingierte Ansprache,” p. 195, considers to be a source that Philip is expanding here. Hansen (in app.) suggests that this is possibly to be read as a reference to Sauromatae. I.e., the Franci. Dan. 10.13; Jos. 5.14. Jos. 10.11. I.e., in the poems--or perhaps ”among them,” meaning ”among the pagans.” This part of the sentence appears to be corrupt; I have translated in accordance with my sense of the point, which would require a correction of τινες το τινας, τινας το τισί, in addition to the deletion of αὐτοῖς endorsed by Hansen and the use of the variant ἐξιστόρησαν not adopted by Hansen. With this phrase, the anonymous compiler turns from ”Rufinus” (mentioned at 1.17) to another source.

Cf. Eus., HE 10.9.4, which is the source of some of the wording here. Hansen, ”Eine fingierte Ansprache,” p. 194 n. 45, notes the ironic use of this word. At this point the anonymous compiler adds a letter from Theodoret, HE 1.20, to confirm the account (cf. Hansen, ”Eine fingierte Ansprache,” p. 194). From this point, Hansen identifies a fragment of Gelasius of Caesarea in addition to the suggestion that the account is derived from Philip. Hansen, ”Eine fingierte Ansprache,” p. 195, identifies the following as one (or two) of a whole series of possible ”additions” to the basic framework of 2.1.12 - 2.6.1. In general here, the anonymous compiler is following Gelasius of Caesarea, but Hansen considers some passages likely to have come instead from Philip; in the passage translated here, he points out the style (asyndetic lists of qualities) and the attribution to unspecified ”writings.” Needless to say, the precise boundaries of what belongs to Philip here are difficult to draw;

I have put into italics material that Hansen definitely does not attribute to Philip's voice, but some of the rest may not be Philip's either.

I.e., bishop. This account, including its rhetorically composed oration, which is most unlikely to reflect Constantine's actual words on this occations, is quite different from Eusebius' contemporary account (Life of Constantine 3.11-12). I.e., the assembled bishops. While the narration leading up to this section comes from Gelasius of Caesarea, the introduction to the speech is modelled on the description given by Theodoret, HE 1.7.11; the words preserved verbatim are printed in italics. κεφάλαιον; the precise reference is obscure. The descriptions of the church building that begin here seem to be a metaphor for the Church as a whole, or rather for the gathering of bishops at the Council of Nicaea; if this latter suggestion is correct, Hansen's emendation, ἡτοίμασε ("he prepared") for the mss. ἤθροισε ("he gathered together") seems unnecessary. στέφανοι, sometimes translated "crowns." I have adapted the figure here; literally, "being born" and "growing." I.e., the "fear of the Lord."

εὐδαιμονία. A modest reference to himself—"mediocrity" as opposed to (e.g.) "majesty" or "highness." Lampe suggests "your humble servant" as a possible equivalent. εὐδαιμονεῖν. ἀδόκιμος. πρόνοια; alternatively, "providence" or "forethought." Variant reading: "speech." Jesus was frequently represented with what seems to be a "magic wand," especially in connection with the Lazarus story, although this does not correspond to the Biblical text (hence the apparent correction represented by the variant reading here); see R. M. Jensen, Understanding Early Christian Art (Routledge, 2000), pp. 120-24. I.e., the teaching of Arius, as Hansen, "Eine fingierte Ansprache," p. 188 n. 31, notes. This appears to be a reference to natural phenomena like the movements of the stars. Hansen, following Lietzmann, suggests "the knowledge" as the most likely supplement here. τὸ γήινον; perhaps, as Hansen, "Eine fingierte Ansprache," p. 139, suggests, supply "light" rather than the more generic "things." λανθάνουσιν; alternatively, "secretly." ἁρμονία. προσηγορία. The "name" in question seems to be a reference to sin, but "name" seems inappropriate; one suggested emendation is "wickedness" (πονηρία).

I.e., the general political and social life of the Empire. At this point, the text of Theodoret becomes the model; additions to that text are left in plain type, whereas the words taken from Theodoret are in italics. This passage is identified by Heyden, "Christliche Geschichte," p. 227, as a fragment of Philip, but not by Hansen, either in his article, "Eine fingierte Ansprache" or in his edition of the Anonyme Kirchengeschichte. Jer. 17.5. Here, Hansen, "Eine fingierte Ansprache," pp. 195-6, argues that Philip has reworked Gelasius of Caesarea's narrative, whose version can be reconstructed from Rufinus and Georgius Monachus. Especially significant is the conclusion, where there seem to be both a lightly revised version of Gelasius' concluding statement, and then in addition to that a sentence more freely com-

posed, but with elements from Gelasius' statement still visible as the framework of construction. In Hansens' edition of the Anonyme Kirchengeschichte, he indicates in detail which words and phrases he considers to be additions to Gelasius' narrative; in this translation, the additions (by Philip) are in plain type, whereas the originally Gelasian narrative is in italics.

οὐσία. ὑπόστασις. I.e., bishops. Ps. 118[119].60. 1 Cor. 3.19. 1 Cor. 4.20. 1 Cor. 2.2. Alternatively, "caused everything to subsist by means of his Logos and the Holy Spirit." This comment (concluding the series of excerpts from Eusebius that precedes it in the mss.) is extant in mss. BV. Extant in ms. B. Nautin, p. 182, suggests that this is originally a reader's marginal note that was later brought into the main text. See facsimile reproduction of this folio in Heyden, plate 2a. De Boor, "Neue Fragmente," p. 182, considers this to be connected to the account of Constantius' children that appears in the main text, although it is not in close physical proximity. Extant in mss. PB. This note seems to be directly summarized from the prologue of Gelasius of Caesarea's continuation of Eusebius' history (see Photius, Bibl. cod. 89). Cf. Nautin, p. 178. κατέκρινεν. Extant in ms. P.

ἀναιροῦνται. Extant in ms. B. Extant in mss. BV. Lit., "...against those who tyrannized over the Alexandrians." I.e., died. Extant in mss. BV. τὴν πατρῴαν διεῖπεν ἀρχήν; lit., "...managed his father's rule / empire." Extant in mss. BP. Alternatively, "from the beginning of Philip"—but the phrase seems to imply a dating formula, and thus a king's reign, as the heading of the following section shows; also, some mss. supply further information: "...Philip of Macedon—such (copper) as is on the gates of the Hagia Sophia"; with a subtitle: "the making of tawny copper." This thuthia is called "upper" in the sense that it has been produced by sublimation to the upper part of the furnace / oven, according to Berthelot, Fr. tr., p. 331 n. 3, identifying the substance as zinc oxide (see the introduction, Livr. 1, pp. 239-40, where this is referred to as [artificially manufactured] cadmia). As Berthelot's note argues, the word thuthia is attested late; along with the mention of the Arabs, it indicates that this portion of text at least was probably written between the 7th and 11th centuries. (Cf. also introduction, Livr. 1, p. 268.)

Gk. ἀπὸ τοῦφοινικοπαστίλλου; Berthelot: "la couleur de palmier." The first element of the word is used both for the palm tree and for red/purple dye. Berthelot suggests that this was a derivative of arsenic, perhaps equivalent to the cobathia red / arsenic sulfide (realgar) which was treated as equivalent to palm-cinders as early as Zosimus' time (see Fr. tr., p. 185; see also the introduction, Livr. 1, pp. 244-5, on cobathia). This abbreviation appears in the Greek text, but Berthelot translates it as "parts," and so it appears not to be a standard unit of measure. Berthelot, p. 332 n. 4, identifies this as "oxyde de fer ou de manganèse"—i.e., so-called "black magnesia" (see the introduction, Livr. 1, pp. 255-6). This text was commisioned and uploaded by Roger Pearse, 2010. This file and all material

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