

Socrates	Sozomen	Theodoret
	<p>1.1.1 I have often spent time considering how it is that other men are very ready to believe in God the Word, while the Jews are so skeptical, although from the very beginning it was to them that the prophets instructed concerning the things of God and in particular informed them of the events surrounding the coming of Christ long before they happened.</p> <p>1.1.2 In addition, Abraham, the founder of their nation and of the circumcision, was considered worthy to be an eyewitness, and the host of the Son of God. And Isaac, his son, was honored by being a type of the sacrifice on the cross, for he was led bound to the altar by his father and, as accurate students of the sacred Scriptures confirm, the sufferings of Christ took place in the same way.</p> <p>1.1.3 Jacob predicted that the nations would expectantly hope for Christ, as they now do. In the same way, he foretold the time when he would come, saying that the tribe of Judah would no longer supply a tribal leader or Jewish rulers for the nation. This clearly referred to the reign of Herod, who was an Idumean on his father's side and an Arabian on his mother's, and the Jewish nation was put under his rule by the Roman senate and Caesar Augustus.</p> <p>1.1.4 Among the other prophets, some declared beforehand the birth of Christ, his indescribable conception, how his mother remained a virgin after his birth, and his people and country. Some predicted his divine and marvelous deeds, while others foretold his sufferings, his resurrection from the dead, his ascension into heaven, and the events which accompanied each. But if anyone remains ignorant of these facts, they can easily learn them by reading the sacred books.</p> <p>1.1.5 Josephus, the son of Matthias, who was a priest and most distinguished among both Jews and Romans, can also be regarded as a notable witness to the truth concerning Christ. For he hesitates to call him a man because of the miraculous deeds which he did and says that he was a teacher of truthful doctrines, openly calling him Christ and recording that he was condemned to death on the cross and appeared alive again on the third day. Josephus was also not ignorant of the countless other wonderful predictions that had been uttered beforehand by the holy prophets concerning the Christ. He further testifies that Christ converted many to himself, both Greeks and Jews, who continued to love Him, and that the people named after him had not become exterminated.</p> <p>1.1.6 It appears to me that by narrating these things he all but proclaims that, when one considers his deeds, Christ is God. Thus, as if struck by the miracle, he somehow took a middle path, in no way attacking those who believed in Jesus, but rather agreeing with them. When I consider this matter, it seems very remarkable to me that the Hebrews did not act first and immediately turn to Christianity before the rest of mankind.</p> <p>1.1.7 For since the Sibyl and some other oracles announced the future events concerning Christ beforehand, we cannot therefore be certain that all the Greeks were unbelievers. Yet there were only a small number who were highly educated and who could understand such prophecies. For they were, for the most part, in poetic form, and were proclaimed with more obscure words to the people.</p> <p>1.1.8 Therefore, in my judgment, it was the result of heavenly foreknowledge and for the sake of the agreement in future events that such future facts were allowed by God to be made known not only by his own prophets, but in part also by strangers. It is like a musician who, when playing a new and strange melody, picks out the extra notes of the melody lightly, and thus adds new ones to those already existing. Let this suffice to note that the Hebrews, although in the possession of more and clearer prophecies concerning the coming of Christ, were yet less willing than the Greeks to have faith in him.</p> <p>1.1.9 At the same time, we should not think that it was totally unreasonable that the church was mainly built up by the conversion of</p>	

	<p>other nations. For, first of all, it is clear that in divine and important matters, God delights to bring about changes in a miraculous way. And secondly, remember that it was by living lives of uncommon virtue that those, who at the very beginning were the leaders in religious matters, maintained their influence.</p> <p>1.1.10 Perhaps they did not indeed possess the gift to speak with rhetorically beautiful speeches nor have the ability to convince their hearers by their precise phrases or mathematical proofs. But they, none the less, accomplished the work they had undertaken. They gave up their property, ignored family ties, were stretched out on crosses, and, as if given bodies not their own, suffered many excruciating tortures. They were neither seduced by the praise of the populace or city rulers nor terrified by their threats. Rather, they clearly showed by their conduct that they were sustained in their struggles by the hope of a higher reward. That is why they did not need to resort to verbal argumentation. For with no effort on their part, their actions themselves forced the residents of every house and city to acknowledge the validity of their testimony, even before they knew what that testimony was!</p>	
<p>1.1.1 Eusebius Pamphilus, wrote the history of the church in ten books. He ended it at the point in time when Constantine was emperor and the persecution which Diocletian had begun against the Christians came to an end.</p> <p>1.1.2 He also wrote a life of Constantine, but gave only brief space to the matters regarding Arius. He focused instead on providing a more literary conclusion to his composition and in his praise of the emperor, rather than on an accurate statement of the facts.</p> <p>1.1.3 Now I am proposing to write the details of what has taken place in the churches since that time and extending up to our own time. I will begin by narrating the details which he left out. I will not attempt to produce a great literary display, but to lay before the reader what I have been able to collect from documents, and what I have heard from those who were familiar with the facts as they were narrated.</p> <p>1.1.4 And since it has an important bearing on the subject in hand, it is appropriate to start with a brief account of Constantine's conversion to Christianity.</p>	<p>1.1.11 Thus it must be recognized as a divine and miraculous change which has taken place among humanity, since ancient cults and the laws of nations are now scorned. Many of the most famous Greek writers used their powers of eloquence to describe the Calydonian boar, the bull of Marathon and other similar wonders which have actually occurred in city or country or which have a mystic origin. So why should I not also rise above my position, and write a history of the Church?</p> <p>1.1.12a For I am convinced that since the topic is not about the deeds of men, it might seem almost incredible that such a history should be written by me. But with God nothing is impossible.</p> <p>1.1.12b At first I was strongly inclined to trace the course of events from the very start of the church. But I realized that similar records of the past up to their own time had already been compiled by those extremely wise men, Clement and Hegesippus, successors of the apostles, by the historian Africanus, and by Eusebius Pamphilus, a man intimately acquainted with the sacred Scriptures and the writings of the Greek poets and historians. So, I decided to merely compile an overview in two books of what was recorded about the churches from the ascension of Christ to the fall of Licinius. Now, however, by the help of God, I will endeavor to recount the subsequent events as well.</p>	<p>1.1.1 When artists paint pictures and murals of ancient historical events, they both provide visual pleasure and make and keep the past alive for many years. Historians merely substitute books for panels, and lively description for colors. In this way, they make the memory of past events both stronger and more permanent. For the painter's work fades over time.</p> <p>1.1.2 For this reason I too shall try to record in writing the events in church history which have until now been passed over. For I don't think it right to stand by idly while the proper recognition for great deeds and profitable stories fades into oblivion.</p> <p>1.1.3 That is why I have often been urged by my friends to undertake this work. But when I compare my own abilities with the size of this undertaking, I shrink from attempting it. Trusting, however, in the assistance of the giver of all good, I enter upon a task which surpasses my own strength.</p>
	<p>1.1.13 I will record the dealings with which I have been connected, and also those about which I heard from persons who knew or saw the affairs in our own time or in previous generations. I have also sought out records of events of earlier date, among the religious laws which were enacted, in the proceedings of the councils of the period, about the innovations that arose in the church, and in the letters of emperors and church officials. Some of these documents are preserved in palaces and churches; others circulated elsewhere and are in the possession of scholars.</p> <p>1.1.14 I thought frequently of reproducing all of these, but on further reflection I thought it better, because of their immense bulk, merely to give a brief synopsis of their contents. When, however, controversial topics are discussed, I will not hesitate to transcribe freely from any work that can assist in explaining the truth.</p> <p>1.1.15 Someone who is unfamiliar with past events might conclude that my history is untrue because he reads conflicting statements in other writings. Such a person should realize that ever since the teachings of Arius and other more recent hypotheses have been propounded, the church officials have themselves at times differed in their opinions. As a result, some have transmitted their own individual views in writings, for the benefit of their respective followers. Also, remember that these rulers assembled councils and issued decrees as they pleased, often condemning unheard those whose belief was</p>	

different from their own. They endeavored to their utmost to convince the rulers and government officials of the time to side with them. Intent upon maintaining their own teaching as orthodox, the partisans of each position respectively formed a collection of such letters as favored their own heresy, omitting all the documents that supported the contrary views.

1.1.16 These are the kind of obstacles which impede our own attempts to arrive at a proper conclusion on this subject! Still, in order to maintain historical accuracy, one must pay very strict attention to all means of discovering the truth. Therefore, I felt myself bound to examine as many of these types of writings as I was able.

1.1.17 Do not think that I am filled with a disrespectful or malicious attitude because I have devoted so much space to the disputes of church leaders among themselves, especially concerning the importance and pre-eminence of their own heresy. In the first place, as I have already said, a historian must regard the truth as more important than anything else. Also, particularly the teaching of the catholic church can be shown to be the most genuine, since it has been tested frequently by the intrigues of those thinkers which have opposed it. Yet, since God is in control, the catholic church has remained preeminent, has regained its own supremacy, and has led all the churches and the people to accept its own truth.

1.18.14-16 For my task is not to enumerate of the emperor's actions, but simply such as are connected with Christianity, and especially those which relate to the churches. Wherefore I leave to others more competent to detail such matters, the emperor's glorious achievements, inasmuch as they belong to a different subject, and require a distinct treatise. But I myself should have been silent, if the Church had remained undisturbed by divisions: for where the subject does not supply matter for relation, there is no necessity for a narrator. Since however subtle and vain disputation has confused and at the same time scattered the apostolic faith of Christianity, I thought it desirable to record these things, in order that the transactions of the churches might not be lost in obscurity. For accurate information on these points procures celebrity among the many, and at the same time renders him who is acquainted with them more secure from error, and instructs him not to be carried away by any empty sound of sophistical argumentation which he may chance to hear.

1.1.18 I considered restricting myself to recording the events connected with the church within the Roman empire. But it seemed more advisable to include, as much as possible, the record of events relating to our religion among the Persians and barbarians as well. Nor is it unknown to include within a history of the church an account of those who were the fathers and originators of what is called monasticism, and of their immediate successors. For they are famous among us either because we saw them or heard about them.

1.1.19 I do not want to seem ungracious towards them, nor do I want their virtue to be forgotten, nor to have people think that I did not know their stories.

1.1.20 Instead, I want to leave behind a record of how they lived so that others, led by their example, might attain a blessed and happy end. As the work proceeds, I will discuss these subjects as much as possible. So, asking the help and favor of God, I now proceed to narrate these events. My history will begin at this point.

1.2.1 [1 May 305] When Diocletian and Maximian Herculus had by mutual consent stepped down from the office of Augustus and retired into private life, Galerius Maximianus, who had jointly governed with them, came into Italy and appointed two Caesars: Maximinus (Daia) for the eastern part of the empire and Severus for Italy. [25 July 306] In Britain, however, Constantine was proclaimed emperor in place of his father Constantius, who died in the first year of the two hundred and seventyfirst Olympiad, on the 25th of July. [28 Oct. 306] At Rome, Maxentius, the son of Maximian Herculus, was raised up by the prætorian soldiers to become a tyrant rather than an emperor. [April 308] This was the state of affairs when Herculus, driven by a desire to regain rule, attempted to destroy his son Maxentius; but he was prevented by the army from doing this and soon afterwards died at Tarsus in Cilicia. [July 310] At the same time the Caesar (Flavius Valerius) Severus was sent to Rome by Galerius Maximianus in order to seize Maxentius. Caesar Severus was slain [16 Sept. 307], his own soldiers having betrayed him. Later all of his followers died, and Galerius Maximianus also died, having previously appointed as his successor his old friend and companion in arms, Licinius, a Dacian by birth. [11 Nov. 308]

1.2.2 Meanwhile, Maxentius harshly oppressed the Roman people, treating them as a tyrant would rather than as a king, shamelessly violating the wives of the nobles, putting many innocent people to death, and perpetrating other similar atrocities.

1.2.3a When the emperor Constantine was informed of this, he worked to free the Romans from their enslavement by Maxentius, and began

<p>immediately to consider how he could overthrow that tyrant.</p>		
<p>1.2.3b Now while his mind was occupied with this important subject, he was also debating within himself which divinity he should pray to for help in conducting the war. He began to realize that Diocletian's party had not profited at all from the pagan deities, whom they had sought to propitiate; on the other hand, his own father Constantius, who had renounced the various religions of the Greeks, had prospered much more in his life.</p>		
<p>1.2.4 While still in doubt, as he was marching at the head of his troops, a supernatural vision, which surpasses any attempt to describe it, appeared to him. In fact, in the afternoon, when the sun began setting in the west, he saw a pillar of light in the sky in the form of a cross. On it were inscribed these words: By this, conquer. 1.2.5 The emperor was amazed when this sign appeared and, scarcely believing his own eyes, he asked the men around him if they were seeing the same vision. When they all declared that they did, the emperor's mind was strengthened by this divine and marvelous sight.</p>	<p>1.3.1 We have been told that Constantine was led to honor the Christian religion when several different events converged, and particularly the appearance of a sign from heaven. When he first resolved to wage war against Maxentius, he could not decide how best to carry on such military operations, or where to seek help. While still perplexed, he saw, in a vision, the sight of the cross shining in heaven. He was amazed at the sight, but some holy angels who were standing by, exclaimed, "Oh, Constantine! By this symbol, conquer!" 1.3.2 And it is said that Christ himself appeared to him, showed him the symbol of the cross, commanded him to build one like it, and to keep it as his help in battle, as it would insure victory. Eusebius Pamphilus affirms that he heard the emperor declare with an oath, just as the sun was starting to pass mid-day, that he and the soldiers who were with him had seen in heaven the trophy of the cross composed of light, and encircled by the following words: By this sign, conquer.</p>	
<p>1.2.6 While he was sleeping the following night, he saw Christ directing him to prepare a standard in the shape which he had seen and to use it against his enemies as a sure trophy of victory. 1.2.7a He obeyed this divine oracle and ordered that a standard in the form of a cross be prepared; it has been preserved in the palace to this very day.</p>	<p>1.3.3 This vision met him along the way when he was puzzled about where to lead his army. When night fell, he was still thinking about what the vision might mean. Christ appeared to him in his sleep together with the sign which he had seen in the sky, and commanded him to make a copy of the symbol and use it as an aid when in battle.</p>	
	<p>1.3.4 There was no need for further clarification. The emperor then clearly understood that he needed to serve God. The next morning, he called together the Christian priests, and questioned them about their teaching. They opened the sacred Scriptures and expounded the truths concerning Christ, showing him from the prophets how the signs which had been predicted had been fulfilled. They said that the sign which had appeared to him was the symbol of the victory over hell; for Christ came among men, was hung on the cross, died, and returned to life the third day. 1.3.5 For this reason, they said there was a hope for deliverance from this life; that after the present age all people would rise from the dead and enter immortality. Then those who had led a good life would receive accordingly, and those who had done evil would be punished. And, they continued, the means of salvation and purification from sin have been provided: those still uninitiated can receive it by entering the church according to its canons; and those already initiated will do so by not continuing to sin. 1.3.6 But since even few of the holy men are able to fulfill this latter condition, another method of purification has been established—repentance. For God, in his love towards man, grants forgiveness to those who have fallen into sin when they repent and confirm their repentance by good works.</p>	
	<p>1.4.1 Amazed by the prophecies about Christ which the priests had expounded to him, the emperor sent for some skilled craftsmen, and ordered them to remodel the standard called by the Romans Labarum, converting it into a representation of the cross, and to decorate it with gold and precious gems. This military trophy was considered more valuable than all others; for it became the custom to always have it carried in front of the emperor, and it was worshiped by the soldiers. 1.4.2 I think that Constantine changed the most honored symbol of Roman power into the sign of Christ primarily so that, since the soldiers could always see it and worship it, they would be induced to</p>	

	<p>abandon their ancient types of superstition and to recognize the true God whom the emperor worshiped, as their own leader and their help in battle.</p> <p>1.4.3a For this symbol was always carried in front of his own troops, and was, by the emperor's command, carried among the units in the thickest part of the battle by a famed band of spearmen. Each one of them took turns bearing the standard upon his shoulders, and parading it through the ranks.</p>	
	<p>1.4.3b It is said that once, when the enemy forces unexpectedly advanced, the man holding the standard became terrified, handed it to another soldier, and secretly fled the battlefield. When he had gone beyond the reach of the enemy's ranged weapons, he suddenly was mortally wounded and fell; meanwhile, the man who had stood with the divine symbol remained untouched, although many were shooting arrows at him.</p> <p>1.4.4 Whatever the enemy threw at him was miraculously directed by divine guidance, hit the standard instead, and the soldier carrying it, although surrounded by danger, was preserved unharmed. It has also been asserted that no soldier who carried the standard in battle ever fell by any of the sad misfortunes that often happen to soldiers in war, nor were any ever wounded or taken prisoner.</p>	
<p>1.2.7b ... and following his plans with more intensity, he attacked the enemy and defeated him outside the gates of Rome, near the Milvian bridge. Maxentius himself was drowned in the river. He achieved this victory in the seventh year of his reign.</p>		
	<p>1.5.1 I know that some pagans have said that Constantine, after having some close family members executed, and especially after having agreed to the murder of his own son Crispus, repented of his evil deeds, and inquired of Sopater, the philosopher, who was then master of the school of Plotinus, how he might cleanse himself from that guilt. The philosopher, as the story goes, replied that there was no way for a person to be purified from such a violation of morality. The emperor was saddened by that rebuke, but he happened to meet some bishops who told him that he could be cleansed from sin if he repented and was baptized. He was delighted by what they said, came to admire their teachings, and became a Christian, and led his subjects as well to that faith.</p> <p>1.5.2 I think this story was invented by persons who wished to vilify the Christian religion. Crispus, on whose account, it is said, Constantine required purification, did not die until the twentieth year of his father's reign. He was the second highest official in the empire at that time having the title of Caesar, and by that time many laws favoring the Christians had already been passed, drawn up with his endorsement, and they are still extant. And this can be proved by referring to the dates attached to these laws, and to the lists of the legislators. It does not appear likely that Sopater had any dealings with Constantine whose government was then centered in the areas near the ocean and along the Rhine.</p> <p>1.5.3 For his dispute with Maxentius, the governor of Italy had created so much conflict in the Roman territories that it was then no easy matter to live in Gaul, in Britain, or in the neighboring countries. In those areas everyone admitted that Constantine embraced the religion of the Christians even before his war with Maxentius and before his return to Rome and Italy. And this is supported by the dates on those laws which he enacted in favor of our religion.</p> <p>1.5.4 But even granting that Sopater had chanced to meet the emperor or that he had corresponded with him by letter, one cannot imagine that this philosopher was ignorant that Hercules, the son of Alcmena, was able to be purified after the murder of his children and of Iphitus, his guest and friend, by going to Athens and celebrating the mysteries of Demeter.</p> <p>1.5.5 That the Greeks held that a man could be purified from this kind of guilt is obvious from the example I have just given, and he is a malicious slanderer who implies that Sopater taught otherwise. I</p>	

	<p>cannot think it possible that the philosopher was ignorant of these facts, for he was thought to be the most learned man in Greece at that time.</p>	
<p>1.2.8 Licinius shared the rule with Constantine and was his brother-in-law, having married his sister Constantia. While he was living in the East, the emperor Constantine, because of the great blessing he had received, offered grateful thanksgivings to God as his benefactor.</p> <p>1.2.9 These included relieving the Christians by ending their persecution, recalling those who had been exiled, liberating those who had been imprisoned, and ordering that any property that had been confiscated be restored to them. In addition, he rebuilt the churches, and performed all these things with the greatest enthusiasm.</p>		
<p>1.2.10 About this time Diocletian, who had abdicated his position as Augustus, died at Salona in Dalmatia. [3 December 31?]</p>		
<p>1.3.1a Now Emperor Constantine, having thus adopted Christianity, conducted himself like a professing Christian. He rebuilt churches and enriched them with splendid offerings. He also either closed or destroyed the pagan temples, and exposed the images in them to be ridiculed by the populace.</p>	<p>1.6.1a Under Constantine's rule the churches flourished and grew in numbers daily, for they were honored by the good deeds of an emperor, who was benevolent and well-disposed toward them. Also in other respects God preserved them from the persecutions and harassments which they had previously encountered.</p> <p>1.6.1b When churches were suffering persecution in other parts of the world, it was only Constantius, the father of Constantine, who gave the Christians the right of worshiping God without fear. I know an extraordinary thing which he did that is worthy of being recorded.</p> <p>1.6.2 He wanted to test the faithfulness of certain Christians, excellent and good men, who were attached to his palaces. So he called them all together and told them that if they would sacrifice to idols as well as serve God, they could remain in his service and keep their appointed jobs; but that if they refused to comply with his wishes, they would be sent from the palaces and would be fortunate to escape his vengeance.</p> <p>1.6.3 When their decisions had divided them into two groups, those who agreed to abandon their religion and those who preferred the honor of God to prosperity in the present, the emperor decided he would keep as his friends and advisors those who had held to their faith; but he dismissed the others, regarding them as cowardly and impostors, and sent them from court. For, he judged, those who so readily betrayed their God could never be true to their king. Thus it is probable that while Constantius was still alive, it did not seem to be unlawful for those living in countries beyond Italy to publicly profess Christianity – that is to say, in Gaul, in Britain, or in the region of the Pyrennees as far away as the Western Ocean.</p>	
<p>1.3.2 But Licinius, the other Augustus who ruled with him, continued to hold to pagan beliefs and hated Christians. Although out of fear of Emperor Constantine he avoided encouraging open persecution, he still arranged secret plots against them, and eventually began to openly harass them. This persecution, however, was local, extending only to those regions where Licinius himself ruled.</p>	<p>1.2.2b In the East, the Christians as far away as Libya on the borders of Egypt, did not dare to meet openly as a church, for Licinius had withdrawn his favor from them. The Christians in the West, however – the Greeks, Macedonians, and Illyrians – could safely meet for worship due to the protection of Constantine, who was then at the head of the Roman Empire.</p>	
	<p>1.6.4 When Constantine was elevated to office, the situation for the churches became still more dazzling. For when Maxentius, the son of (Maximian) Herculius, was killed, his part of the empire was taken over by Constantine. From then on, the nations which lived by the river Tiber and the Eridanus, which the natives call the Po, and those who dwelt by the Aquilis (to which, it is said, the Argo was dragged), and those living along the coasts of the Tyrrhenian sea were allowed to exercise their religion without interference.</p> <p>1.6.5 (When the Argonauts fled from Aetes, they returned home by a different route, crossed the sea of Scythia, sailed through some of the rivers there, and so reached the shores of Italy, where they passed the winter and built a city, which they called Emona. The following summer, with the assistance of the people of the country, they used machinery to drag the Argo some four hundred stades, and so</p>	

	<p>reached the Aquilis, a river which falls into the Eridanus: the Eridanus itself falls into the Italian sea.)</p> <p>1.6.6 After the battle of Cibalae, [8 October 314] the Dardanians and the Macedonians, those living on the banks of the Ister, the Greeks, and the whole nation of Illyria were ruled by Constantine.</p>	
<p>1.3.3a But these and other public atrocities did not remain hidden from Constantine for long. When Licinius discovered that Constantine was outraged by his conduct, he was induced to apologize. Having in this way appeased him, he pretended to make a friendship pact with him, pledging with many oaths never again to act so repressively.</p>		
<p>1.3.3b But soon after he made this pledge, he committed perjury. For he neither changed his tyrannical mood nor stopped persecuting Christians.</p> <p>1.3.4 Indeed, bishops were even prohibited by law from visiting one another, lest this be used as a ploy spreading the Christian faith. So the persecution was at the same time both well-known and secret. It was concealed in name but public in fact. For both the body and the property of those who underwent this persecution suffered most severely.</p>	<p>1.7.1 After this setback, Licinius, who had previously respected the Christians, changed his opinion, and mistreated many of the priests who lived under his rule. He also persecuted many other people, but especially the soldiers. He was deeply incensed against the Christians on account of his disagreement with Constantine, and thought to hurt him by persecuting his co-religionists. He also suspected that the churches were hoping and praying that Constantine would become the sole emperor.</p> <p>1.7.2 In addition to all this, on the eve of another battle with Constantine, Licinius followed his usual practice and used sacrifices and oracles to predict the outcome of the upcoming battle. Thus, misled by promises of victory, he returned to the religion of the pagans.</p> <p>1.7.3 The pagans themselves also relate that about this time Licinius consulted the oracle of Apollo at Didyma in the territory of Miletus. The demon gave him an answer about the upcoming war by quoting the following verses of Homer: "Much, old man, do the youths distress thee, warring against thee! Feeble thy strength has become, but thy old age yet shall be hardy."</p>	
<p>1.4.1 Through his actions, Licinius brought upon himself Constantine's most severe displeasure. The two men became enemies, since the pretended treaty of friendship between them had been violated. Not long afterwards they took up arms against each other as declared enemies.</p>	<p>1.7.4 Many events have led me to think that the teaching of the Christians is supported, and that its advancement has been secured, by the providence of God. What occurred at this time was not the least of those events. For at the very moment that Licinius was about to persecute all the churches in his territory, a war broke out in Bithynia, and it ended in a war between him and Constantine.</p> <p>1.7.5a In it, Constantine was strengthened by Divine assistance to such an extent that he defeated his enemies by both land and sea.</p>	
<p>1.4.2 After numerous battles, both by sea and land, Licinius was at last totally defeated near Chrysopolis in Bithynia, a port of the Chalcedonians, and he surrendered himself to Constantine. [18 Sept.]</p> <p>1.4.3 Since he had been captured alive, Constantine treated him very humanely. He was not given any sort of death penalty, but rather was order to live quietly at Thessalonica.</p>	<p>1.7.5b Licinius, after his fleet and army had been destroyed, retreated into the walls of Nicomedia.</p> <p>1.7.5c Later, he lived for a time at Thessalonica as a private individual ...</p>	
<p>1.4.4 However, after remaining silent for a short time, he managed later to gather some barbarian mercenaries and to make an effort to undo his recent disaster by taking up arms again. When the emperor was informed of what he had done, he ordered him to be killed, and that is what happened.</p> <p>1.4.5 In this way Constantine came to be the sole ruler of the empire, and was accordingly proclaimed sovereign Autocrat, and again sought to promote the welfare of Christians. He did this in various ways, and Christianity enjoyed unbroken peace because of his efforts.</p> <p>1.4.6 But this time of quietness for Christians was soon followed by a conflict from within the church, and I will now try to describe its nature and origin.</p>	<p>1.7.5d ... and was eventually killed there. So, ended the man who had distinguished himself in war and peace at the beginning of his reign. He had even been honored by marrying the sister of Constantine.</p>	
	<p>1.8.1 As soon as Constantine had sole rule of the Roman empire, he issued a public decree ordering all his subjects in the East to honor the Christian religion, to carefully worship the divine being, and to recognize as divine only that which is divine in essence, and which has the power which endures forever and ever. For God delights to give all good things ungrudgingly to those who zealously embrace the truth. He meets their undertakings with the best hopes, while misfortunes, whether in peace or in war, whether in public or in</p>	

private life, befall transgressors.

1.8.2 Constantine then added, but not with empty boasting, that God had considered him to be a fitting servant, worthy to reign. And he had been led from the sea of Britain to the Eastern provinces in order to extend the Christian religion and so that those who had become confessors or martyrs because they remained steadfast in their worship of God might now be given public honor.

[Constantine prohibits many pagan practices]

1.8.5b The worship of false gods was universally prohibited; and the arts of divination, the dedication of statues, and the celebration of pagan festivals were outlawed. Many of the most ancient rituals observed in the cities were no longer carried out.

[Egyptian Nile-ritual is Christianized]

1.8.5c Among the Egyptians the measure used to indicate the rise of water in the Nile was no longer carried into pagan temples, but into churches.

[Gladiators abolished in Rome]

18.6a Gladiatorial spectacles were then prohibited among the Romans;

[Immoral Heliopolis customs ended]

1.8.6b among the Phoenicians of Lebanon and Heliopolis, the widespread custom of prostituting virgins before marriage was abolished (they were forced to cohabit in lawful marriage after they first had illicit intercourse).

[Constantine repairs and builds many churches]

1.8.7 As for the (Christian) houses of prayer, the emperor repaired some of the larger ones, and expanded the length and breadth of others magnificently, as well as erected new buildings where none has previously existed. He furnished the necessary materials from the imperial treasury, and wrote to the bishops of the cities and the governors of the provinces, asking them to contribute whatever was needed and ordering submission and zealous obedience to the priests.

[Constantine enjoys great military success]

1.8.8 The religion prospered along with the increased prosperity of the empire. After the war with Licinius, the emperor was successful in wars against foreign nations. He conquered the Sarmatians and the people called Goths, and concluded an advantageous treaty with them.

1.8.9a These people lived on the Ister and were very warlike and always ready to fight, and were both large in their numbers and in the size of their bodies. The other tribes of barbarians were afraid of them, and only the Romans were willing to stand against them.

[Constantine led by visions; encourages all to embrace Christianity]

1.8.9b It is said that during this war Constantine clearly perceived, through signs and dreams, that divine providence had extended special protection to him. So when he had defeated those who rose in battle against him he demonstrated his thankfulness to Christ by his wholehearted attention to the concerns of religion, and urged the governors to recognize the one true faith and way of salvation.

1.8.10a He decreed that city by city they should forward part of the funds levied from tributary countries to churches everywhere and assign it by lots; and he commanded that the law directing this gift should be a statute forever.

[The Roman army is Christianized and receives chaplaincy]

1.8.10b In order to get the soldiers to worship God as he did, he had their weapons imprinted with the symbol of the cross, and he built a house of prayer in his palaces. When he waged war, he had a tent made to look like a church carried in front of him, so that if he or his army were led into an uninhabited place, they would have a sacred building in which to praise and worship God and participate in the

mysteries.

1.8.11a Priests and deacons accompanied the tent and carried out these things in accord with church law. From then on each of the Roman legions (which now are referred to by their number) provided its own tent, with accompanying priests and deacons.

[Constantine honors Friday and Sunday]

1.8.11b He also ordered the observance of the day termed "the Lord's day," which the Jews call the first day of the week, and which the pagans dedicate to the sun, and likewise the day before the seventh. He commanded that no judicial or other business should be transacted on those days, but that God should be served with prayers and supplications.

1.8.12a He honored the Lord's day, because on it Christ arose from the dead, and the day above mentioned, because on it he was crucified.

[Constantine honors and uses the images of the cross] 1.8.12b He had a special reverence for the divine cross, both because of the power which it provided him in the battles against his enemies and also because of the divine manner in which the symbol had appeared to him.

1.8.13a He prohibited the Roman custom of crucifixion from being imposed by the courts. He commanded that this divine symbol should always be inscribed and stamped whenever coins and images were struck; and the images which he had made and which exist in this form yet today still testify to his decree.

[Constantine passed many other laws in service to God] 1.8.13b Indeed he tried in everything, particularly in the laws he enacted, to serve God.

1.8.14 It also seems that he prohibited many shameful and dissolute liaisons, which until that time had not been forbidden. Anyone who is interested may quickly see from the few examples below what these laws were and what he established on these points. I do not think it appropriate to treat them exhaustively here. I do think it necessary, however, to mention the laws he enacted in order to honor and consolidate religion, as they constitute a considerable portion of church history. I shall therefore now enumerate them.

[Constantine, reversing an ancient law, favors virginity]

1.9.1 There was an ancient Roman law which stated that those who were still unmarried when they turned twenty-five would not have the same privileges as those married. Among the provisions of this law, it was specified that those who were not the very nearest relations could gain nothing from a will, and also that those who were childless were to be deprived of half of any property that might be bequeathed to them.

1.9.2 The object of this ancient Roman law was to increase the population of Rome and the people they ruled; for shortly before the law had been enacted the population had been much reduced due to the civil wars.

1.9.3 Constantine noted that this law was contrary to the interests of those who remained celibate and childless for the sake of God, and judged that it was foolish to attempt to increase the human species through mankind's care and effort (since in nature species always increased or decreased by divine fiat). So he enacted a law stating that the unmarried and childless should have the same advantages as the married. He even bestowed special privileges on those who embraced a life of continence and virginity, and permitted them, both men and women, contrary to the norm which prevailed throughout the Roman empire, to make a will before they reached the age of puberty;

1.9.4 for he believed that those who devoted themselves to the service of God and the pursuit of philosophy would, in all cases, make proper judgments. For a similar reason the ancient Romans had permitted the vestal virgins to make a will as soon as they had reached the age of six years. That was the greatest proof of the superior reverence for religion.

	<p>[Constantine favors the Church] 1.9.5a Constantine exempted the clergy everywhere from taxation, 1.9.5b and permitted litigants to have their cases heard by bishops if they preferred them to the state officials. He enacted that the bishops' decrees should be valid, and so far, superior to that of other judges that it was equal to the pronouncements of the emperor himself. He further ordered the governors and subordinate military officers to enforce these decrees, and made the decisions of synods irreversible.</p> <p>[Constantine grants priests the right to free slaves] 1.9.6 Having come to this point in my history, it would not be right to omit all mention of the laws passed on behalf of those individuals in the churches who had been granted their freedom. Both because of the strict laws and unwilling masters, there were many obstacles put in the way of slaves acquiring this better freedom; that is to say, of the freedom of the city of Rome. Constantine therefore enacted three laws, decreeing that all those individuals in the churches whose freedom should be verified by the priests, should receive the freedom of Rome. 1.9.7a The records of these pious regulations are still extant; for it had been the custom to inscribe on tablets all laws relating to manumission.</p> <p>[Sozomen's estimation of Constantine's motivation] 1.9.7b Such was the legislation of Constantine. In everything he did, he sought to promote the honor of religion, and religion was valued not only for its own sake, but also on account of the virtue of those who then took part in it.</p>	
<p>1.2.1 During the consulship of Constantine Caesar and Crispus Caesar, Silvester governed the Church of Rome; Alexander, that of Alexandria; and Macarius, that of Jerusalem. No one, however, was ruling the Church of Antioch on the Orontes (Romanus had been appointed, but it seems that the persecution had prevented the ceremony of ordination from taking place.) 1.2.2a However, the bishops who assembled not long after at Nicaea were so impressed by Eustathius's purity of the life and doctrine, that they decided that he was worthy to fill that apostolic see. Although he was currently serving as bishop of the neighboring city of Boroëa, they transferred him to Antioch.</p>		
	<p>1.10 Since the persecution had recently ceased, many excellent Christians, and many of the confessors who had survived, adorned the churches: among these were Hosius, bishop of Cordova; Amphion, bishop of Epiphania in Cilicia; Maximus, who succeeded Macarius in the church of Jerusalem; and Paphnutius, an Egyptian. It is said by this latter God wrought many miracles, controlling demons, and giving him grace to heal divers kinds of sickness. this Paphnutius, and Maximus, whom we just mentioned, were among the number of confessors whom Maximinus condemned to work in the mines, after having deprived them of the right eye, and the use of the left leg.</p>	<p>1.2.1 After the overthrow of the wicked and impious tyrants, Maxentius, Maximinus, and Licinius, the surge which those destroyers, like hurricanes, had roused was hushed to sleep; the whirlwinds were checked, and the Church henceforward began to enjoy a settled calm. 1.2.2 This was established for her by Constantine, a prince deserving of all praise, whose calling, like that of the divine Apostle, was not of men, nor by man, but from heaven. 1.2.3 He enacted laws prohibiting sacrifices to idols and commanded churches to be erected. He appointed Christians to be governors of the provinces, ordered honor to be shown to the priests, and threatened with death those who dared to insult them. By some the churches which had been destroyed were rebuilt; others erected new ones still more spacious and magnificent. 1.2.4 Hence, for us, all was joy and gladness, while our enemies were overwhelmed with gloom and despair. The temples of the idols were closed; but frequent assemblies were held, and festivals celebrated, in the churches.</p>
	<p>1.15.1a Although, as we have seen, our religion flourished during this time,</p>	
	<p>1.15.1b ...yet some contentious issues troubled the churches.</p>	
	<p>1.15.1b For while pretending to pursue piety and a more precise understanding of God, certain questions were raised that had not</p>	

	<p>previously been studied. A presbyter of the church at Alexandria in Egypt named Arius was the one who started these ideas.</p> <p>1.15.2 At first, he was an enthusiastic thinker about doctrine, and also supported the innovations of Meletius. Eventually, however, he abandoned the position of Meletius and was ordained a deacon by Peter [300-311], bishop of Alexandria. Later, however, Peter threw him out of the church. For when Peter anathematized those who zealously supported Meletius and rejected the baptisms they had performed, Arius attacked him for these actions and would not remain quiet on the issue. After Peter was martyred, Arius asked forgiveness of Achillas [312-313], and was restored to his office as deacon, and later elevated to the priesthood. Afterwards Alexander [313-328] also thought highly of him.</p>	
<p>1.5.1a After bishop Peter of Alexandria was martyred in the time of Diocletian, Achillas was made bishop. When as we mentioned earlier peace was restored, he was in turn succeeded by Alexander.</p>		<p>1.2.8 Alexandria is an immense and populous city, charged with the leadership not only of Egypt, but also of the adjacent countries, the Thebaid and Libya. After Peter, the victorious champion of the faith, had, during the sway of the aforesaid impious tyrants, obtained the crown of martyrdom, the Church in Alexandria was ruled for a short time by Achillas. He was succeeded by Alexander, who proved himself a noble defender of the doctrines of the gospel.</p>
		<p>1.2.9 At that time, Arius, who had been enrolled on the list of priests and entrusted with expounding the Holy Scriptures, was overcome by jealousy when he saw that the highest office in the church had been given to Alexander. Stung by this passion, he looked for opportunities to quarrel and disagree with him.</p> <p>1.2.10 And even when he saw that Alexander was beyond reproach and that it was impossible for him to bring charges against his personal conduct, his envy would still give him no rest. So the enemy of the truth used him as an instrument to stir up and embroil the church in angry waters, convincing him to oppose the apostolic teaching of Alexander.</p>
<p>1.5.1b While he was fearlessly carrying out his role in instructing and governing the church, one day in the presence of his priests and the rest of his clergy, he attempted to give too ambitious a theological discussion of the holy Trinity, explaining that there was a unity in the Trinity.</p>		<p>1.2.11a While the Patriarch, in obedience to the Holy Scriptures, taught that the Son is of equal dignity with the Father, and of the same substance with God who begat Him.</p>
<p>1.5.2 Arius, one of the priests under his oversight, possessed considerable logical insight. He concluded that the bishop was subtly teaching the view on this subject that had been taught by the Libyan Sabellius. Since he loved argumentation, Arius took the opposite position to that of the Libyan, and, as he thought, responded forcefully to what the bishop had said by saying, "If the Father had begotten the Son, the one begotten had a beginning to his existence; from this clearly one must conclude that there was a time when the Son did not exist. It then follows necessarily that his substance arose out of nothing."</p>	<p>1.15.3 As he was an expert in logical argumentation (for it was said that he had no shortage of learning) he fell head first into absurd discourses. For he had the audacity to preach in the church what no one before him had ever proposed – that the Son of God came into being from nothing, that at one point he did not exist, that (since he possessed free will) he was capable of doing both good and evil, that he was made and was a created being, and many other such things which he added as his argumentation developed and became more detailed.</p>	<p>1.2.11b Arius, in direct opposition to the truth, affirmed that the Son of God is merely a creature or created being, adding the famous dictum, "There once was a time when He was not;" with other opinions which may be learned from his own writings. He taught these false doctrines perseveringly, not only in the church, but also in general meetings and assemblies; and he even went from house to house, endeavoring to make men the slaves of his error.</p>
	<p>1.15.4 Those who heard these things propounded blamed Alexander for not countering such new teachings which were at odds with the church's doctrine. But the bishop thought it best to allow each side to discuss such topics freely, so that the argument would be solved through persuasion rather than by force. So he, together with some of his clergy, sat in judgment as he led both sides in a discussion.</p> <p>1.15.5 But as is likely to happen when there is a dispute about wording, each party claimed victory. Arius defended what he had said, but the others stated that the Son is of the same substance and co-eternal with the Father. A second council was convened and the same points debated, but they came to no agreement among themselves. During the debate, Alexander seemed at first to favor one side and then the other.</p>	<p>1.2.12a Alexander was a firm advocate of the apostolic teachings and at first tried to convince him of his errors by appeals and warnings.</p>
<p>1.6.3 When Alexander both saw and heard what was happening, he was moved to anger and convened a council of many bishops and condemned Arius and those who had accepted his position.</p>	<p>1.15.6 Finally, however, he placed himself together with those who affirmed that the Son was of the same substance as and co-eternal with the Father. And he ordered Arius to accept this teaching, and to reject his former opinion. But since he could not be persuaded to do</p>	<p>1.2.12b But when he saw him acting insane and making public declarations of his ungodly ideas, he removed him from the list of priests. For he heard the divine law shouting, "If your right eye causes you to sin, gouge it out and throw it away from you."</p>

	<p>so, and since there were already many bishops and other clergy who considered his statements to be correct, Alexander expelled from the church both him and the clergy who furthered his views.</p> <p>1.15.7 Among his supporters in the parish of Alexandria were the priests Aithalas, Achillas, Carpones, Sarmates, and Arius, and the deacons Euzoius, Macarius, Julius, Menas, and Helladius. Many of the laity likewise sided with them – some because they considered their leaders to be from God, others, as it often happens in similar cases, because they believed them to have been treated unfairly, and unjustly excommunicated.</p>	
<p>1.6.1 Having been led to this conclusion by his new line of reasoning, Arius roused many people to debate this. And so from a little spark a large fire was kindled.</p> <p>1.6.2 For the evil begun in the church of Alexandria, ran throughout all Egypt, Libya, and even the Upper Thebaid, and soon spread over the rest of the provinces and cities.</p>	<p>1.15.8 With this being the state of affairs at Alexandria, Arius's circle of supporters concluded that they needed to seek the support of the bishops of other cities. So they sent delegations to them with written statements of what they believed. The emissaries then requested that, if the bishops truly considered such teachings to be of God, they should openly tell Alexander so that he should treat them harshly. But if they disagreed, they were to instruct them as to the proper opinions to be held. This respectful procedure was quite profitable for them.</p>	
<p>Many others also accepted the position of Arius, and Eusebius in particular was an ardent defender of it – not the bishop of Caesarea, but the one who had first been bishop of Beirut and later somehow crept in to the bishopric of Nicomedia in Bithynia.</p>	<p>For in this way their teaching became known to everyone, and this question became a matter of debate among bishops everywhere.</p> <p>1.15.9a Some wrote to Alexander that he should not readmit those who supported Arius unless they renounced their own opinions. Others urged him to do the opposite.</p>	
<p>He then wrote to the bishops of each city as follows:</p>	<p>1.15.9b Many men who were admired because outwardly they lived godly lives, and because of their persuasive speech came to support the group around Arius; and in particular Eusebius, the one who at that time was the leader of the church of Nicomedia, a man of great learning and respected at the imperial palace. Therefore, Alexander wrote to the bishops of the churches everywhere that they should not have fellowship with them.</p>	<p>1.3.3b It was at this time that Alexander, bishop of Alexandria saw that Arius was enslaved by a lust for power and was gathering those who had been captivated by his blasphemous doctrines, and was holding his own private meetings. So he clearly recounted the blasphemies of Arius in letters to the leaders of the churches.</p> <p>1.3.4 I will now insert an exact copy of the letter which he wrote to his namesake, for it is clear and instructive about all the charges against him, and so that the accuracy of my history may not be suspected. After that, I will include the letter of Arius, together with the other letters which are necessary for my narrative to be comprehensive. These will both bear witness to the truth of my work and will help clarify the course of events.</p>
<p>1.6.4 Alexander, to our beloved and most honored fellow-ministers of the catholic church everywhere. Greetings in the Lord!</p> <p>1.6.5 Since the catholic church is one body, and we are commanded in the divine Scriptures to maintain "the bond of unity and peace" [Eph 4:3], it follows that we should write, and mutually acquaint each another with the things that have happened among each of us, so that "if one member suffers or rejoices, we may either sympathize or rejoice with one other" [1 Cor 12:26]. In our diocese lawless and anti-Christian men have recently arisen, teaching an apostasy which one might reasonably consider and label the forerunner of the Antichrist.</p> <p>1.6.6 I wished indeed to treat this matter with silence, that if possible the evil might be confined to its supporters alone, and not spread into other regions and contaminate the ears of innocent people. But Eusebius, now bishop in Nicomedia, thinks that the affairs of the church lay under his control; after abandoning his office at Beirut and coveting the church at Nicomedia without being punished for it, he has now established himself at the head of these apostates, daring even to write letters in all directions in support of them, hoping to drag down some of the ignorant into this shameful and anti-Christian heresy. Thus, since I know what is written in the law, I could no longer keep silent, but I had to inform you of all of these things, so that you would be made aware of which people have fallen into apostasy and also of the terrible threats caused by their heresy, and pay no attention to anything that Eusebius writes to you.</p> <p>1.6.7 For now wishing to use these events to resurrect his old ill-will, which seemed to have been silenced over time, he pretends to write on their behalf, while the facts show that he does this to</p>		

promote his own cause.

1.6.8 These then are those who have become apostates: Arius, Achillas, Aithales, and Carpones, a second Arius, Sarmates, who were all once priests; Euzoïus, Lucius, Julius, Menas, Helladius, and Gaius, who were all once deacons; and with these also Secundus and Theonas, who were once called bishops.

1.6.9 The dogmas which, going beyond Scripture, they have invented and asserted, are the following: "God was not always the Father, but there was once when God was not the Father. The Word of God was not always in existence, but came into being from nothing, for 'the God who is' made 'him who did not previously exist' out of nothing. For this reason, there was once when he did not exist; for the Son is a creature (ktisma) and a created being (poiēma).

1.6.10 He is neither like the Father in essence (kat' ousian), nor is he by nature either the Father's true Word or his true Wisdom, but rather one of the things he made (poiēmatōn) and one of those he begot (genētōn). He is called Word and Wisdom only by analogy, since he himself came into being from the actual (idios) Word of God and the Wisdom which is in God, by which God made all things including him. His nature is mutable and susceptible of change, as are all rational beings. And thus the Word is alien to, other than, and excluded from the essence (ousia) of God;

1.6.11 and the Father is invisible to the Son. For the Word neither knows the Father perfectly and accurately, nor can he see him perfectly. For the Son does not even know his own essence as it exists, since he was made for our sake, in order that God could create us through him, as through an instrument, and he would never have existed if God had not wanted to create us."

1.6.12 Someone asked them whether the Word of God could turn to evil, like the devil has. And they were not afraid to answer, "Yes, he could. Since he is begotten, his nature is able to change."

1.6.13 We then, assembled with almost one hundred bishops of Egypt and Libya, have anathematized these things that were said by the group around Arius and those who have shamefully followed along with them.

1.6.14 Thus Eusebius's group has welcomed them and tried to blend falsehood with truth, and impiety with what is sacred. But they will not succeed. For the truth must triumph; and "light has no fellowship with darkness, nor can Christ be harmonized with Belial" [2 Cor 6:14].

1.6.15 For who ever heard such things? Or who that hears it now is not astonished and does not plug his ears to stop himself from hearing such filthy expressions? Who that hears John saying, "In the beginning was the Word" [John 1:1], does not condemn those who say, "There was a time when the Word did not exist"? Or who, hearing in the Gospel of "the only-begotten Son" [John 3:16, 18], and that "through him all things were made" [John 1:3, see Rom 11:36], will not hate those who proclaim that the Son is one of the things that were made (poiēmata)?

1.6.16 How can he be one of the things which were made through himself? Or how can he be the only-begotten, if he is reckoned among such created things? And how could he come into existence from nothing when the Father has said, "My heart has spewed out a good word (logos)" [Ps 44:2 (LXX), 45:2 in English]; and "I begot you from the womb before the morning star" [Ps 109:3 (LXX), 110:3 English]? Or how can he be unlike the Father in essence (ousia) when he is the perfect image and radiant glory of the Father [Heb 1:3] and says, 'He that has seen me, has seen the Father' [John 14:9]?

1.6.17 Again how if the Son is the Word and Wisdom of God, could there be a time when he did not exist? That is equivalent to their saying that God was once without the Word and without Wisdom. How can one be mutable and susceptible of change who says of himself, "I am in the Father, and the Father is in me" [John 10:38; 14:10, 11]; and "I and the Father are one" [John 10:30]; and again through the prophet, "Look at me because I am, and I have not changed" [paraphrase Mal 3:6 (LXX)]?

1.6.18 If someone can use this expression of the Father himself, it would be even more fittingly spoken concerning the Word, because he was not changed when he became man, but as the apostle says, "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, today, and forever" [Heb 13:8].

1.6.19 So who could persuade them to say that he was made on our account, when Paul wrote that "for him and through him all things exist" [Rom 11:38]?

1.6.20 One need not wonder at their blasphemous assertion that the Son does not perfectly know the Father. For once they decided to fight against Christ, they reject also his own voice when he says, "As the Father knows me, even so I know the Father" [John 10:15].

1.6.21 But if the Father only partially knows the Son, it is clear that the Son can only partially know the Father. But if it would be improper to say this, and if the Father does perfectly know the Son, it is also clear that just as the Father knows his own Word, so also the Word knows his own Father, whose Word he is.

1.6.22 By stating these things and explaining the divine Scriptures, we have often refuted these men, but like chameleons, they changed themselves again, obstinately dragging themselves down to that which was written, "When the ungodly man goes into the depths of evil, he becomes contemptuous" [Prov 18:3 (LXX)].

1.6.23 Although many heresies have arisen before these, which going far beyond what ought to be dared fell into complete foolishness, these persons, by attempting in all their discourses to do away with the divinity of the Word, have brought themselves closer to becoming the Antichrist, and have exonerated all former heretics by comparison to themselves. For this reason they have been publicly denounced and anathematized by the church.

1.6.24 We are indeed grieved by their destruction, and especially so because they have now turned away from the teachings which they had once learned in the church, although we are not surprised. For Hymenaeus and Philetus fell in the same way, and before them Judas, who had been a follower of the Savior, but later became a betrayer and apostate.

1.6.25 Nor should we have been ignorant about these men, for the Lord himself said: "Beware that no man deceive you; for many shall come in my name, saying, 'I am Christ,' and 'the time is at hand,' and they will deceive many people. Do not follow them" [Luke 21:8, Matt 24:5].

1.6.26 And Paul, having learned these things from the Savior, wrote, "That in the last days some will apostatize from the sound faith, following deceiving spirits, and the teachings of devils, turning away from the truth" [1 Tim 4:1, 2 Tim 4:4].

1.6.27 Seeing that our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ has directed through himself and foretold through the apostle concerning these men, it follows that we, having ourselves heard their impiety, have condemned them, as previously stated, and declared them to be outside the catholic church and faith.

1.6.28 We have also made it clear to your pious minds, beloved and most honored fellow-servants, that you should not welcome any of these men, if they hurriedly approach you, nor be persuaded to receive any letter in their defense from Eusebius or anyone else.

1.6.29 It is proper for us who are Christians, to turn away from all those who speak or reason against Christ, since they are resisting God, and destroyers of souls; nor are we "even to greet such men" so that we never "are made partakers in their sin," as the blessed John instructed [cf. 2 John 9-11].

1.6.30 Give greetings to the brothers with you. Those with me greet you.

Subscriptions of 17 priests and 24 deacons of Alexandria and 19 priests and 20 deacons of the Mareotis district.

1.15.10 This act increased still more the fervor of each party, and, as might have been expected, the conflict became increasingly agitated. Eusebius and his supporters had often petitioned Alexander, but could not persuade him. Considering themselves insulted, they

1.4.62b But Arius could not bear to remain quiet, but he also wrote to those men whom he believed to share his opinions.
1.4.63 And Arius himself testifies in his letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia that the godly Alexander was not lying in what he wrote

became indignant and came to an even stronger determination to support the doctrine of Arius. After convening a synod in Bithynia, they wrote to all the bishops, asking them to commune with the Arians as men making a true confession, and to pressure Alexander to commune with them as well.

about him. I will insert here a copy of his letter so that in this way those who are still ignorant can be clearly shown who those people were who shared in Arius's impiety.

[The Letter of Arius to Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia] 1.5.1 To that most beloved man of God, the faithful and orthodox Eusebius, from Arius, unjustly persecuted by father Alexander because of the all-conquering truth which you, Eusebius, also are defending! Since my father Ammonius is going to Nicomedia, it seemed reasonable and proper to greet you through him, remembering at the same time the innate love and affection which you have for the brothers on account of God and his Christ, because the bishop [Alexander] is severely ravaging and persecuting us and moving against us with every evil. Thus he drives us out of every city like godless men, since we will not agree with his public statements: that there was "always a God, always a Son;" "as soon as the Father, so soon the Son [existed];" "with the Father co-exists the Son unbegotten, ever-begotten, begotten without begetting;" "God neither precedes the Son in aspect or in a moment of time;" "always a God, always a Son, the Son being from God himself."

1.5.2 Since Eusebius, your brother in Caesarea, and Theodotus, and Paulinus, and Athanasius, and Gregory, and Aetius and all those in the East say that God pre-exists the Son without a beginning, they have been condemned, except for Philogonius and Hellenicus and Macarius, unlearned heretics some of whom say that the Son was "spewed out", others that he was an "emanation", still others that he was "jointly unbegotten."

1.5.3 We are not able to listen to these kinds of impieties, even if the heretics threaten us with ten thousand deaths. But what do we say and think and what have we previously taught and do we presently teach? - that the Son is not unbegotten, nor a part of an unbegotten entity in any way, nor from anything in existence, but that he is subsisting in will and intention before time and before the ages, full <of grace and truth,> God, the only-begotten, unchangeable.

1.5.4 Before he was begotten, or created, or defined, or established, he did not exist. For he was not unbegotten. But we are persecuted because we have said the Son has a beginning but God has no beginning. We are persecuted because of that and for saying he came from non-being.

But we said this since he is not a portion of God nor of anything in existence. That is why we are persecuted; you know the rest. I pray that you fare well in the Lord, remembering our tribulations, fellow-Lucianist, truly-called Eusebius [i.e. the pious one].

1.5.5 Of those whose names are mentioned in this letter, Eusebius was bishop of Caesarea, Theodotus of Laodicea, Paulinus of Tyre, Athanasius of Anazarbus, Gregorius of Beirut, and Aetius of Lydda. Lydda is now called Diospolis.

1.5.6a Arius prided himself on having these men of one mind with himself. He names as his adversaries, Philogonius, bishop of Antioch, Hellenicus, of Tripolis, and Macarius, of Jerusalem. He spread slanders against them because they said that the Son is eternal, existing before all ages, and of equal honor and same substance with the Father.

1.15.11 When Alexander could not be forced to comply, Arius sent messengers to Paulinas, bishop of Tyre, to Eusebius Pamphilus, who presided over the church of Caesarea in Palestine, and to Patrophilus, bishop of Scythopolis, seeking permission for himself and his adherents, since they had previously held the rank of priests, to gather the people who were with them into a church.

1.15.12 For it was the custom in Alexandria, as it still is in the present day, that all the churches should be under one bishop, but that each priest should have his own church building in which to assemble the people. These three bishops, in harmony with others who

1.5.6b When Eusebius received the letter, he too spewed out his own impiety, and wrote to Paulinus, who ruled the church of Tyre, as follows:

were assembled in Palestine, granted the petition of Arius, and permitted him to gather the people as before; but they also instructed him to submit to Alexander, and commanded Arius to strive incessantly to be restored to peace and fellowship with him.

[Letter of Eusebius Nic. to Paulinus, Bishop of Tyre] 1.6.1 To my lord Paulinus, Eusebius sends his greetings in the Lord. The zeal of my lord Eusebius [of Caesarea] in the cause of the truth, and likewise your silence concerning it, has not failed to reach our ears. Accordingly, if, on the one hand, we rejoiced on account of the zeal of my lord Eusebius; on the other we are grieved at you, because the mere silence of man like you appears like a defeat of our cause. 1.6.2 Hence, as it is not proper for a wise man to be of a different opinion from others, and to be silent concerning the truth, stir up, I exhort you, within yourself the spirit of wisdom to write, and at length begin what may be profitable to yourself and to others, especially if you consent to write in accordance with Scripture, and tread in the tracks of its words and will. 1.6.3 We have never heard that there are two unbegotten beings, nor that one has been divided into two, nor have we learned or believed that the unbegotten has ever undergone any change of a corporeal nature. On the contrary, we affirm that the unbegotten is one. One also is that which exists in truth by him, yet was not made out of his substance, and does not at all participate in the nature or substance of the unbegotten, entirely distinct in nature and in power, and made after perfect likeness both of character and power to the maker. We believe that the mode of His beginning not only cannot be expressed by words but even in thought, and is incomprehensible not only to man, but also to all beings superior to man. 1.6.4 These opinions we advance not as having derived them from our own imagination, but as having deduced them from Scripture, whence we learn that the Son was created, established, and begotten with respect to his essence and his unchanging, inexpressible nature, in the likeness of the one for whom he has been made. The Lord himself tells us this: 'God created me the beginning of his ways; Before the ages he established me; he begat me before all the hills' [Prov. 8.22-23,25, LXX] 1.6.5 If the Son had been from him or of him, as a portion of him, or by an emanation of his substance, it could not be said that the Son was created or established; and of this you, my lord, are certainly not ignorant. For that which is from the unbegotten could not be said to have been created or founded, either by him or by another, since it is unbegotten from the beginning. 1.6.6 But if the fact of his being called "the begotten" gives any ground for the belief that, having come into being of the Father's substance, he also has from the Father likeness of nature, we reply that it is not of the Son alone that the Scriptures have spoken as begotten, but that they also thus speak of those who are entirely dissimilar to God by nature. 1.6.7 For of men it is said, 'I have begotten and brought up sons, and they have rebelled against me;' [Is. 1:2]; and in another place, 'You have forsaken God who begat you' [Deut. 32:18]; and again it is said, 'Who begat the drops of dew' [Job 38:28]? This expression does not imply that the dew partakes of the nature of God, but simply that all things were formed according to his will. There is, indeed, nothing which shares his substance, yet every thing which exists has been called into being by his will. 1.6.8 For there is God on the one hand, and then there are the things towards [pros] his likeness which will be similar to the Word, and these things which have come into being by [his] free will. All things were made by God by means of the Word. All things are from God. When you have received my letter, and have revised it according to the knowledge and grace given you by God, I beg you will write as soon as possible to my lord Alexander. I feel confident that if you would write to him, you would succeed in bringing him over to your opinion. Salute all the brethren in the Lord. May you, my lord, be

		<p>preserved by the grace of God, and be led to pray for us.</p> <p>1.6.9a Thus they wrote to each other, in order to arm each other for battle against the truth.</p>
<p>1.6.31 After Alexander's had addressed the bishops in every city in this way, the evil only became worse; for those to whom he communicated these things were motivated into disputes about them.</p> <p>1.6.32 While some indeed fully concurred in and subscribed to the sentiments expressed in this letter, others did the reverse. Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, was especially moved to opposition, since Alexander had made an allusion to him as evil in his letter.</p> <p>1.6.33 Now at that very time Eusebius possessed great influence, because the emperor was residing at Nicomedia. For a short time before Diocletian's men had built a palace there.</p> <p>1.6.34 For this reason many of the bishops paid attention to what Eusebius said. And he repeatedly wrote to Alexander, that he might desist from his actions on these questions, and accept back again the party of Arius; and he wrote also to the bishops in each city, that they should not agree with Alexander's position.</p>		<p>1.6.9b And thus the blasphemies spread among the churches of Egypt and of the East, and disputes and contentions about the divine teaching arose in every city and village.</p>
<p>1.6.35 In this way confusion reigned everywhere; for one saw not only the church leaders engaged in disputations, but the laity also were divided, some siding with one party, and some with the other. To so disgraceful an extent was this affair carried, that Christianity was laughed at in public, and even in the theatres.</p> <p>1.6.36a Those who were in Alexandria itself sharply disputed about the highest points of doctrine. They sent delegations to the bishops of the other provinces while those who were of the opposite faction created a similar disturbance.</p>		<p>1.6.10 The common people looked on, and became judges of what was said on either side, and some applauded one party, and some the other. These were, indeed, worthy of the tears and lamentations shed over tragedies in the theater. For it was not, as in earlier times, when the church was attacked by strangers and by enemies. Now natives of the same country, who slept under the same roof and sat down at the same table, fought against each other not with spears, but with their tongues. And what was still sadder, it was those who were members of one another, and belonged to the "one body" who now took up arms against one another.</p>
<p>1.6.36b The Meletians, who a little while earlier had separated themselves from the church, now mingled themselves with the Arians. We must now describe who these Meletians were.</p> <p>1.6.37 Peter [300-311], the bishop of Alexandria who suffered martyrdom in the time of Diocletian, deposed a certain Meletius [307], bishop of one of the cities in Egypt, for he had been charged with many things, in particular having denied the faith and sacrificed during the persecution.</p> <p>1.6.38 Although stripped of his office, he still had many followers and became the leader of the heretics which throughout Egypt to this day are named after him 'Meletians'. And as he had no good excuse for separating from the Church, he pretended that he had simply been wronged and loaded Peter with slanderous abuses.</p> <p>1.6.39 Now Peter died the death of a martyr during the persecution, and so Meletius transferred the abuse first to Achillas [312-313], who succeeded Peter as bishop, and afterwards again to Alexander [313-328], the successor of Achillas.</p>		<p>1.9.1a Not long before the Arian controversy, Meletius had been ordained bishop; but he was then convicted of certain crimes by the most holy Peter, bishop of Alexandria, who also received the crown of martyrdom. Although deposed by Peter, Meletius did not accept his deposition but filled the Thebaid and the nearby parts of Egypt with tumult and disturbances, and rebelled against the preeminence of Alexandria.</p>
<p>1.6.40 Things were in this state of affairs when the issues surrounding Arius arose. So Meletius with his adherents took the side of Arius, conspiring with him against the bishop. All those who regarded the opinion of Arius as untenable considered Alexander's decision against him to be just, and they thought that those who favored Arius's views were rightly condemned. Meanwhile Eusebius of Nicomedia and his partisans, as well as those other who favored the positions of Arius, demanded by letter that the sentence of excommunication which had been pronounced against Arius should be rescinded, and that those who had been excluded should be readmitted into the Church; for they did not consider their teaching evil.</p> <p>1.6.41 Thus letters from both opposing parties were sent to the bishop of Alexandria; and Arius made a collection of those which were favorable to himself while Alexander did the same with those which were hostile. This therefore provided an timely opportunity for the sects which are now prevalent to defend themselves: the Arians, the Eunomians, and those who take their name from Macedonius; for each was using these letters in support of their own heresy.</p>		

[The Letter of Alexander to Alexander of Byzantium]

1.4.1 "Alexander sends greetings in the Lord to his most honorable and likeminded brother Alexander. Among untrustworthy men, the greedy and ambitious ones have always plotted to harm the most important dioceses. Such people have many different excuses for attacking the religion of the church. The devil works in them and stirs them up to set aside all godliness for the pleasure they fancy most, and to trample on the fear of God's judgment.

1.4.2 I thought it was urgent to explain to your piety what I have suffered in these matters. You need to be on your guard against such people in case one of them dares to enter your diocese as well. These cheats are skilled in deception, so beware lest they use deceitfully-designed letters and thus are able to snatch away people whose faith is simple-minded and pure.

1.4.3 Recently, Arius and Achillas have formed a conspiracy. They imitated the ambition of Colluthus, though they are much worse than he was. He brought charges against them, but at least he found a motive for his own malicious course of action. After they saw him use Christ as a business to profit himself, they refused to remain under the authority of the church. Instead, they built robbers' dens for themselves [cf. Matt. 21:13] and now hold meetings in them constantly, where day and night they slander Christ and his church.

1.4.4 They hate every sacred apostolic doctrine and like the Jews have organized a gang to fight against Christ. They deny the divinity of our Savior; they say that he is on the same level as everyone else. After they have picked out every passage about the plan of salvation and about how he humbled himself for our sake [cf. Phil 2:8], they use those very passages to piece together their own wicked message. At the same time they avoid the passages about his eternal divinity and the indescribable glory he shares with the Father.

1.4.5 They do whatever they can to maintain the ungodly doctrine about Christ believed by the Greeks and the Jews because they want their approval. They diligently do all of the things that outsiders ridicule about us while they daily incite persecutions and encourage rebellion against us. They accuse us before the courts with the testimony of immoral women whom they have deceived [cf. 1 Timothy 5:11-13] and at the same time they disgrace Christianity by allowing their own young women to wander shamefully on every street. In essence, they have had the audacity to tear apart the seamless garment of Christ, which even the soldiers did not dare to divide [cf. John 19:23-24].

1.4.6 Because of the way they operate, they were able to keep their ungodly attacks unnoticed for a long time. But when they finally came to our attention, we unanimously drove them out of the church that worships the divine Christ.

1.4.7 They ran everywhere, forming plots against us. They even addressed our fellow ministers, who believed the same things we did, under the pretense of wanting peace and unity—they were actually trying to sweep some of them into their own disease. They ask them to write wordy letters so that they can read aloud the contents to those whom they have already fooled. This is how they avoid losing their approval; they are rooted in their disrespect of God by acting as if the bishops agree and share their views.

1.4.8 They do not even acknowledge the evil things they have done and practiced. We expelled them for those things, but they just keep sharing them in secret or trying to cover them up with lies or fake writings.

1.4.9 Once they have covered up their destructive teaching with persuasive and down-to-earth explanations, they are able to rope in people who do not know the truth about them. At the same time they never miss an opportunity to misrepresent every single thing about our religion. Because of this, some agree with their letters and add their signatures to demonstrate that the church should receive them. That our fellow pastors dare to do this is appalling to me! They not only compromise the apostolic rule but also light the fire of this devilish work against Christ under themselves.

1.4.10 Because of this I could not help myself—I had to tell you about the unbelief of such people. They say, "There was [a period] when the Son of God did not exist," and "The one who did not exist in the beginning came into being, and when at some point that one came into being, he became like any other man."

1.4.11 "For God created everything out of nothing," they say, including the Son of God as a creation along with all the other rational and irrational creatures. Of necessity they continue by saying that his nature is changeable, able to do either good or evil. Their claim that 'he was created out of nothing' overthrows the sacred Scriptures that say that he is eternal and that the Word is by nature unchangeable. The Scriptures also declare that the Wisdom of the Word, which is Christ, is divine. But these cursed lowlifes say, "We, too, are able to become just like him, sons of God."

1.4.12 For it is written [they say], "I have created and raised children [Isaiah 1:2 (LXX)]." So we bring up the second half of that verse, "and they have rebelled against me," and point out that this is inconsistent with the unchangeable nature of the Savior. At this point they throw away any respectability they might have had and argue that God chose Christ above all others because he knew beforehand and foresaw that Christ would not rebel against him.

1.4.13 They also explain that just because he was chosen does not mean that he was created better than the other sons of God (they say that no man is a son of God by nature or has a special relationship with him). Instead they claim that he was chosen because even though his nature was changeable, he was careful enough and worked hard enough to keep himself from becoming inferior.

1.4.14 As if Paul and Peter would have been "sons" at the same level if they had worked as hard! To establish this teaching they butcher the Scriptures by quoting what is said in the Psalms about Christ, "You have loved righteousness and hated wickedness, therefore your God has anointed you with the oil of gladness above your companions." [Ps 45:7, (44:8 LXX), Heb. 1:9].

1.4.15 John the Evangelist specifically taught that the Son of God was not created out of nothing and that there never was a time when he did not exist. He wrote, "the only begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father." This divine teacher showed that the Father and the Son cannot be separated from each other when he said, "the Son is in the bosom of the Father" [John 1:18].

1.4.16 The same John makes sure not to include the Word of God among the things created from nothing. He says, "all things were made through him." He also shows that he is a unique person when he says, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God...All things were made by him, and not a single thing was made without him" [John 1:1-3].

1.4.17 If everything was made by him, how did everything come into being through him at a time when he did not exist? Could the Word, the creating power, really have the same nature as the things it created? No. He existed in the beginning, and everything was made by him, and he made everything out of nothing.

1.4.18 The things created from nothing are nothing like "the one who is". That section of Scripture shows that there is no separation between the Father and the Son; the thought of separation does not even cross the hearers' mind. The fact is the world was created out of nothing. That means that its nature has a later, fresh beginning, and the Father gave it its beginning through the Son.

1.4.19 The blessed John knew that created beings could not understand the "was" that describes the Word of God. So he did not try to explain the Word's generation or creation and he resisted putting a name to the Maker and to the created things. Not that the Son of God is unbegotten – only the Father is unbegotten – it is just that the indescribable character of the only-begotten God is beyond even the brightest of the Evangelists' understanding, maybe even the angels too!. For this reason, I maintain that the people who are trying to reason out this subject are ungodly. They go against the proverb, "Do not seek what is too difficult for you or look into things too high

for you" [Sir. 3:21].

1.4.20 The knowledge of many other much less complicated things is still beyond the capacity of the human mind. As Paul said, "Eye has not seen, nor ear heard, neither have they entered into the heart of man, the things which God has prepared for those who love him" [1 Cor. 2:9]. God also said to Abraham that he was not able to count the stars. Similarly it is said, "Who shall number the grains of sand by the sea-shore, or the drops of rain?" [Sir. 1:2]

1.4.21 So then, how could anyone but a lunatic try to figure out the nature of the Word of God? The prophetic Spirit addressed this when he said, "Who can speak of his generation?" [Isa. 53:8] And so it was out of kindness for all of those who were pillars in the world that our Savior was eager to free them from trying to grasp this knowledge. He told them that it was beyond their natural comprehension and to leave the knowledge of this divine mystery to the Father. He said, "No man knows the Son but the Father, and no man knows the Father except the Son" [Matt. 11:27]. I think the Father was talking about this when he said, "My mystery is for me" [Isa. 24:16 (a reading in some LXX mss.)].

1.4.22 But the words "out of nothing" make it clear that it is insane to imagine that the Son of God came into being out of nothing, and that he has a certain starting point in time. The foolish are of course unable to see the stupidity of their own sayings. Their phrase, "He was not" must either have reference to time or to some interval in eternity.

1.4.23 If it is true that everything was made by him, then every age, time, and interval of time—even that time "when he was not"—was made by him. So is it not incredible that they say that there was a time when the one who created time, ages, and seasons (and they are so confused that they include the time when he "was not" in that list) did not exist? It is not only ignorant, but it also goes against all reason, to claim that a person who creates something can come into being after the thing that he created!

1.4.24 They say that there is an interval when the Son was not yet begotten of the Father. According to them, this interval was before the wisdom of God existed, by whom all things were created. But this contradicts the passage that says he is the "firstborn over all creation" [Col. 1:15].

1.4.25 Paul agrees with this with his usual loud voice by saying about him, "whom he appointed heir of all things, and through whom also he made the universe" [Heb. 1:2], and, "For by him all things were created: things in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or powers or rulers or authorities; all things have been created through him and for him. He is before all things" [Col. 1:16-17].

1.4.26 So their hypothesis that the Son was created "out of nothing" is clearly ungodly. The Father has to always be a Father. He is always the Father of a Son who is there—he is the reason that he is called Father. The Son has to always be present with him so that the Father is always complete and not lacking anything good. That's why he could not have begotten his only Son in time, or from any interval of time, or out of nothing.

1.4.27 Why is it unholy to say, "There was a time when the wisdom of God did not exist"? That Wisdom itself says, "I was brought up at his side; I was daily his delight [Prov. 8:30]" Would it not be unholy to say that at one time the power of God did not exist, or his Word, or anything else that describes the Son and characterizes the Father at the same time? To say that the brightness of the Father's glory [cf. Heb 1:3] "once did not exist" destroys the original light too, because the brightness comes from it. If the image of God did not always exist, then it is clear that God, in whose image the Son is, also did not always exist.

1.4.28 No, if the full expression of God's character did not exist, then everything else about him [i.e., the Son] that also characterized God must not exist either. That fact shows that the sonship of our Savior has nothing in common with the sonship of

anyone else.

1.4.29 It has been shown that the nature of the Son's existence cannot be explained by any human language. The excellence of his nature is infinitely beyond the nature everything that he has created. In the same way his sonship, which by nature shares the Father's divinity, is unspeakably better than the sonship of the people God has chosen to adopt as sons. He is by nature unchangeable, perfect, and does not need anything. On the other hand, humans are able to change and need help from him.

1.4.30 What can be added to improve the wisdom of God [1 Cor. 1:24-25]? What can Truth personified add to itself? How can God the Word, the Life and the True Light [John 1:4, 9; 14:6], possibly be improved? Is it not unnatural to think that wisdom can be prone to foolishness? That the power of God can be united with weakness? That reason can be dimmed by unreasonableness or that darkness can be mixed with the saying, "What fellowship does light have with darkness? And what harmony does Christ have with Belial?" [2 Cor. 6:14-15] Does not Solomon say that "the way of a snake on a rock" [Prov. 30:19] is too wonderful for the human mind to understand—the rock here, according to St. Paul, is Christ [1 Cor. 10:4]. He gave his creations, angels and humans, the blessing to be able to keep working on being virtuous and being obedient to his commands so that they will not sin.

1.4.31 Because of this our Lord, who is by nature the Son of the Father, is worshiped by all. Some have put off the spirit of slavery [Phil. 2:11] and have received the spirit of adoption [Rom. 8:15] by bravely working and making progress in virtue. They have become sons by adoption through the kindness of the one who is the Son of God by nature.

1.4.32 Paul explained his true, unique, natural, and special sonship, when he said by inspiration "he did not spare his own Son, but delivered him up for us", who are by nature not his sons [Rom 8:32].

1.4.33 To distinguish him from those who are not "his own", God called him "his own son." It is also written in the Gospel, "This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased" [Matt. 3:17], and in the Psalms the Savior says, "The Lord said to me, 'You are my Son'" [Ps 2:7]. He points out that he is a natural son to show that there are no other natural sons except him.

1.4.34 The words, "I have begotten you from the womb before dawn" [Ps. 109:3 (LXX), 110:3 English] plainly show that his natural sonship and paternal birth is his because of his unique nature. He did not receive it by being particularly diligent or working hard to progress morally. Because of this, the only-begotten Son is not able to lose his sonship. Rational people who are adopted by God are not his natural sons, but have been adopted because of their good character and by the grace of God. These types of sons can fall away. This is written in the passage, "The sons of God saw the daughters of men, and took them as wives" [Gen. 6:2-3] etc...

1.4.35 In addition, God said through Isaiah, "I have nourished and brought up children and they have rebelled against me" [Isa. 1:2]. Since I have much more to say, my friend, I will stop at this; for I do not want to wear you out by my excessive teaching. You are "taught by God" [1 Thess. 4:9] and are aware that this recent teaching, which is against the religion of the church, is the same as that of Ebion and Artemas. It rivals the heresy of Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, who was excommunicated by a council of all the bishops.

1.4.36 Lucian, his successor, removed himself from fellowship with these three bishops for years. And now, out of nowhere, there are men among us who have sucked up the dregs of this ungodliness. All of them secretly come from the same root: Arius and Achillas and their gang of evildoers.

1.4.37 Three bishops of Syria (I do not know how they got appointed) are fanning the flames by agreeing with them. I leave their judgment in your hands. They fill their heads with everything that has anything to do with Christ's suffering, humiliation, emptying of himself, and so-called poverty [Phil. 2:7-8]. They present such

passages to disprove his eternal existence and divinity while at the same time forgetting all those passages that prove his glory and nobility and presence with the Father, for example, "I and the Father are one" [John 10:30].

1.4.38 Note what the Lord says. He does not proclaim himself to be the Father or say that the two natures are one. He states that the Son of the Father accurately presents the likeness of the Father. He says that his nature took the exact likeness of his Father in every way, and that his image is indistinguishable from the father's; he is like an exact imprint of the original.

1.4.39 That is why the Lord answered so plainly when Philip asked to see the Father. Phillip said to him, "Show us the Father;" and the Lord replied, "He who has seen me has seen the Father," [John 14:8-9] as if the Father is seen through him like through a mirror. He is a spotless and living reflection of his Father.

1.4.40 The saints say the same thing in the Psalms, "In your light we shall see light" [Ps. 36:9]. Because of this "he who honors the Son, honors the Father" [John 5:23]. Similarly, every ungodly word that people dare to say against the Son is also spoken against the Father [John 15:23].

1.4.41 Friends, who could be surprised at each of the deceitful reports I'm about to list—reports against me and against our most pious people. They not only set themselves against the divinity of the Son, but they also ungratefully try to insult us. They think that it is beneath them to be compared with anyone who is older; they refuse to appear to be on the same level as teachers that we have associated with since childhood. They will not admit that any of our fellow ministers could have even a little intelligence. They say that they are the only ones who are wise and understanding and the discoverers of doctrines. They say that these truths have been revealed only to them, and that these truths have never even crossed the mind of any other person under the sun.

1.4.42 What wicked arrogance! What immeasurable madness! Such false pride combined with satanic thoughts! These things have hardened their evil hearts.

1.4.43 They are not ashamed that they are ignoring the God-inspired clarity of the ancient scriptures. The united piety of each of our fellow ministers does not even make them lose their nerve. Not even a demon puts up with wickedness like this—even they keep from blaspheming against the Son of God.

1.4.44 So I at least have done the best that I can to ask pointed questions to those who throw uneducated mud on Christ and try to misrepresent what we teach about him. They just make up fairy tales! When we reject their evil and unscriptural blasphemy that Christ came from nothing, they say that we teach that there are two unbegotten beings. These uneducated people can only think of two options: Either you believe that he came out of nothing, or you believe that there are two unbegotten beings. They are ignorant newcomers when it comes to theology; they do not realize how big the difference is between the unbegotten Father and everything that he created out of nothing, either rational or irrational.

1.4.45 They do not understand the only begotten nature of him who is the Word of God. The Father created the universe out of nothing through him, and the Father is the one who begets him. The Lord himself proved this when he said, "Everyone that loves the Father also loves the Son who is begotten of him" [1 John 5:1].

1.4.46 We believe the same thing that the apostolic church believes: There is one unbegotten Father. Nothing caused him to exist, he is unchanging and unchangeable, his being always stays just the way it is, and he does not get better or worse. He gave the Law, the Prophets, and the Gospel. He is the Lord of the patriarchs and apostles and of all the saints. We also believe in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, not begotten out of nothing, but out of the Father. He is not begotten like things in the world are, like cutting a piece off something or emitting something, as Sabellius and Valentinus taught. He is begotten in an inexpressible

and unexplainable way, as we quoted above, "Who can speak of his generation?" [Isa. 53:8] No human mind is able to understand the nature of his substance or the Father's. Rational people simply do not have the ability to understand in what way he was begotten of the Father.

1.4.47 But people led by the Spirit of truth do not need to take these things from me. What the Savior said long ago still echoes in our ears, "No one knows who the Father is but the Son, and no one knows who the Son is but the Father" [Matt. 11:27]. We have learned that the Son is unchanging and unchangeable; he lacks nothing and is complete, like the Father except that he is unbegotten. He is the exact image and figure of his Father.

1.4.48 It is clear that the image is filled with everything that makes up the greater likeness, as the Lord himself taught when he said, "My Father is greater than I" [John 14:28]. In agreement with this we believe that the Son was always "of the Father". He is the radiance of his glory and the exact stamp of the Father's substance. But no one should take the word "always" to mean that the Son is unbegotten, as some ignorant people have been led to believe. To say "he was always...", and "before all ages", is not the same thing as saying he is unbegotten.

1.4.49 As it is, human understanding could never coin a term that explains what it means to be unbegotten; none of these terms represent the unbegotten well (I think you share this opinion, and I am positive that your view is orthodox).

1.4.50 All of these terms make it sound like a period of time. They are not able to express the full sense of the divinity and the antiquity of the only begotten Son. They were used by holy men who did what they could to make the mystery clearer. And even they asked for patience from those who listened to them by attaching a reasonable qualification: what they said was limited by their understanding.

1.4.51 If men expect anything better than that to come from human lips, then they must think that what is "known in part" has already been "done away with" for them [cf. 1 Cor. 13:8-12]. It is clear that the "was" and "always" and "before all ages" fall short of that hope. Whatever these words mean, it is not the same as "unbegotten."

1.4.52 At any rate, we have to guard the Father's unique status as the Unbegotten One because it is never said that anything caused him to exist. It is also necessary to guard the Son's particular honor, since his generation from the Father has no starting point. We will continue worshiping him as we have been, piously and respectfully referring to him with the terms "was", and "ever," and "before all ages." We do not reject his divinity but instead credit to him his perfect likeness to his Father in every way. At the same time, we credit to the Father his unique glory: that only he is "the Unbegotten One." The Savior himself says, "My Father is greater than I am" [John 14:28].

1.4.53 The Sacred Scriptures teach us this pious teaching about the Father and Son. In addition, they teach us and we confess that there is one Holy Ghost who inspired the saints of the Old Testament and the holy teachers of the New Testament. We confess the one and only apostolic Catholic Church which does not decay but lasts forever. Even if the whole world went to war against it, it would still be victorious over all of the wicked attacks of the heterodox. Have courage! Our Master prepared us for this with his words, "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world" [John 16:33].

1.4.54 Besides this we acknowledge the resurrection from the dead, of which our Lord Jesus was the first-fruits [1 Cor. 15:20]. He truly had a real body, not just the appearance of a body; he was born of Mary the mother of God; when the time had fully come he lived among humans for the forgiveness of their sins; he was crucified and buried—none of this decreased his divinity in any way; he rose from the dead, was taken up to heaven, and he sat down at the "right hand of the Majesty" [Heb. 9:26].

1.4.55 In this letter I have only partially mentioned these things.

		<p>As I said before, it would be tiresome to talk about each point even briefly since you are pious and diligent enough that you know them. These things we teach, these things we preach. These are the doctrines of the apostolic Church—we are ready to die for them and we pay no mind to those who would force us to give them up. We will never turn away from the hope that we have in them, even if they try to force us by torture.</p> <p>1.4.56 Both the people who oppose Arius and Achillas and also those who fight against the truth with them have been driven from the church. They have all become hostile to our godly doctrine, just like the blessed Paul said, "If anyone preaches to you a gospel contrary to what you have received, let him be cursed (anathema)," even if he pretends to be an angel from heaven [Gal 1:8-9].</p> <p>1.4.57 So, since they have been condemned by the brothers, no one should receive them or anything that they say or write. They are all lying babblers who are unable to speak the truth.</p> <p>1.4.58 They travel around to different cities, pretending to come in friendship and in the name of peace. They are running around for no other reason than to give and receive fake letters that defend and flatter themselves. By doing this they deceive a few "weak women who are loaded down with sins" [2 Tim. 3:6].</p> <p>1.4.59 My beloved and likeminded brothers, reject these people! They dared to do these things against Christ, they publicly mocked Christianity, and they keep trying to give false information before the courts. During this time of peace, they have tried to stir up persecution against us. They have broken down the inexpressible mystery of how Christ is begotten. Work together and be courageous against their insanity just like our fellow ministers, who are filled with anger and wrote a letter to me against them and also signed our letter condemning them. I have sent these letters to you through my son Apion, the deacon. They have the signatures of everyone in Egypt and Thebaid, Libya, the Pentapolis, Syria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Asia, Cappadocia, and the surrounding areas. I hope you will follow their example when you receive it.</p> <p>1.4.60 I have tried many times to win back those who have been led astray, and I have found the best solution is for us to show that we fellow-ministers are united. If we do this we will quickly bring the lay people who have been deceived back to repentance. So greet each other in the brotherhood that you have. I pray that you will be strengthened in the Lord, my friends, and that I can enjoy the support of your hearts being filled with the love of Christ.</p> <p>1.4.61 Here are the names of those who have been condemned as heretics: Among the presbyters, Arius; among the deacons, Achillas, Euzoius, Aethales, Lucius, Sarmatas, Julius, Menas, another Arius, and Helladius."</p> <p>1.4.62a Alexander wrote similar letters to Philogonius, leader of the church of Antioch, to Eustathius who was faithfully at the helm of the church of the Bereans, and to all those who stood up for the doctrines of the Apostles.</p>
	<p>1.16.1a After there had been many councils held in Egypt, and the dispute had still continued to escalate in violence,</p>	
<p>1.7.1a When the emperor was informed of these disorders, he was very deeply grieved.</p>	<p>1.16.1b word of the conflict reached the palace, and Constantine was greatly troubled; for just at this period, when the religion was beginning to be more generally spread, many were deterred from embracing Christianity by the difference in doctrines.</p>	<p>1.7.1 When the all-wise emperor had heard about these things...</p>
<p>1.17b He regarded them as a personal misfortune and immediately exerted himself in extinguishing the inferno which had been kindled. So he sent a letter to Alexander and Arius by a trustworthy person named Hosius, the bishop of Cordova, in Spain. The emperor was greatly endeared to this man and held him in the highest esteem.</p>	<p>1.16.5 The emperor eagerly tried to remove both these causes of dissension from the church; and thinking he might be able to remove the evil before it grew to greater proportions, he sent one who was honored for his faith, his virtuous life, and most approved in those former times for his confessions about this doctrine, to reconcile those who were divided on account of doctrine in Egypt, and those who in the East differed about the Passover. This man was Hosius, bishop of Cordova.</p>	<p>1.7.1b ...he tried, as a first step, to stop them at their source. He therefore dispatched to Alexandria a messenger famous for his sharp mind, giving him letters in the attempt to extinguish the dispute, and expecting to reconcile the disputants.</p>

<p>1.8.2 Moreover another earlier source of local unrest continued to exist there and to trouble the churches, – the dispute in regard to Easter, which only was carried on in the regions of the East. This arose because some wished to celebrate the festival more according to the Jewish tradition; while others preferred to commemorate it in the way Christians did it throughout the world.</p> <p>1.8.3 This difference about the festival, however, did not cause any separation in their fellowship, although this disagreement produced a gloomier celebration.</p>	<p>1.16.4b Constantine was also deeply troubled at the diversity of opinion which prevailed concerning the celebration of Easter. For some of the cities in the East differed on this subject, even though it did not prevent them from communing with each another. They celebrated the festival more in line with the manner of the Jews, and, as was natural by this difference, this detracted from the splendor of the festival celebration.</p>	
<p>1.7.2a It will not be out of place to introduce here a portion of this letter, the whole of which is given in Eusebius+'s Life of Constantine.</p>	<p>1.16.2 The emperor openly charged Arius and Alexander with having originated this disturbance. He wrote to rebuke them for having made a controversy public which it was in their power to have buried, and for having contentiously stirred up an issue which ought never to have been brought up, or upon which, at least, their opinions ought to have been presented quietly. He told them that they ought not to have separated from others on account of their differences of opinion on certain points of doctrine.</p> <p>1.16.3 For when it comes to God's divine plans men ought of necessity to hold to one and the same belief; but precision on such questions, especially if they could not come to a common understanding, must be kept private as reason dictates. He exhorted them to put away all loose talk about such points, and to be of one mind; for he had been not a little grieved, and on this account he had given up his intention of visiting the cities of the East. 1.16.4a He wrote in this way to Alexander and to Arius, reproving and exhorting them both.</p>	
<p>1.7.2b The Victorious and Great Emperor Constantine to Alexander and to Arius.</p> <p>1.7.3 I am informed that the present controversy between you originated as follows. You, Alexander, inquired of your priests what each thought about a certain passage written in the Law of God, but rather it was on a passage about some vain question; and you, Arius, rashly expressed a view of the matter which should never have come to mind, or when it did enter your mind, you should immediately have given it a quiet burial. Because this dispute thus flared up among you, it has resulted in the refusal of communion, the separation of God's most holy people into two factions, and a division in the harmony of the common body.</p> <p>1.7.4 Therefore, let each of you show consideration for the other by listening to the impartial exhortation of your fellow-servant. And what counsel does he give? That from the beginning it was neither appropriate to ask such a question, nor to answer it when it had been asked.</p> <p>1.7.5 For there is no law that demands the investigation of such subjects, but they result for the idle and useless talk of leisure. And even if they should take place in order to exercise our natural faculties, we ought yet confine them to our own contemplation and not incautiously expound them in public assemblies, nor thoughtlessly to trust them to everyone's ears. Indeed how few people are capable either of adequately explaining, or even accurately understanding the significance of matters so vast and profound! And even if anyone should be thought able to properly accomplish this, how large a portion of the people would he convince? Or who can grapple with the subtleties of such investigations without danger of lapsing into error?</p> <p>1.7.6 On such topics, therefore it is fitting that we bridle our talkativeness, lest either because our weak natures make us incompetent to explain the subject proposed, or because the slow minds of our hearers make them unable to understand clearly what we are trying to teach; either one or the other of these failures will necessarily result in blasphemy or schism.</p> <p>1.7.7 Therefore, let both the unguarded question of the one and the careless answer of the other, procure equal pardon from each one of you. You have kindled no reason for dispute which bears upon any of the most important precepts contained in the Law; nor have you</p>		

introduced any new heresy relating to the worship of God; but you both hold one and the same judgment on those points which have been agreed on for fellowship.

1.7.8 Moreover, while you are thus contending with each other over some small and even extremely minute points, it is unsuitable for you to have charge over so many people of God, when you are divided in your opinions: and not only is it unbecoming, but it is also believed to be altogether impermissible. I will now use a humbler example to remind you of your duty.

1.7.9 You are well aware that even the philosophers themselves are united under one teaching, even though they often still differ from each other on some parts of their theories. For even if they part company on the highest manifestations of knowledge, they still come to agreement again in order to maintain the unity of their body. Now, if this happens among them, how much more just is it for you, who have been appointed as servants of the Most High God, to be of one mind with one another in a religious affair of this kind.

1.7.10 But let us examine with closer consideration, and deeper attention, what we have already stated. Is it proper that, because of your insignificant and vain dispute about words, brothers should be set against brothers; and that our honored gatherings should be rent by unholy quarrels, all because of our rows with one another over things so unimportant and in no way essential? These quarrels are worthy of the common masses and more consistent with infantile thoughtlessness than suitable to the intelligence of priests and wise men. Let us willingly turn aside from the temptations of the devil.

1.7.11 The great God and Savior of us all has stretched out a common light to everyone. Under his providence, allow me, his servant, to bring this effort of mine to a successful end, so that by my exhortation, service, and earnest admonition, I might lead you, his people, back to the unity of fellowship.

1.7.12 For since, as I have said, there is but one faith among you, and one understanding of the true religion among you, and since the precept of the law, in all its parts, combines all in one purpose of soul, do not let this diversity of opinion, which has raised up dissension among you, by any means cause discord and schism; for it does not affect the power of the law as a whole.

1.7.13 Now, I say these things, not so as to compel you all to see exactly alike on this very insignificant subject of controversy, whatever its real nature may be. For the dignity of your gatherings can be preserved unaffected, and the same fellowship with all be retained, even though there should exist among you some dissimilarity of sentiment on unimportant matters. For, of course, we do not all desire the same thing in every respect; nor does one unvarying nature, or standard of judgment live inside each of us.

1.7.14 Therefore, in regard to the divine plan, let there be one faith, one sentiment, and one judgment concerning the Godhead: but as for those minute investigations which you enter into among yourselves, even if you should not share the same conclusions about them, they should remain a matter of your own mental reflections, kept in the secret recesses of your mind.

1.7.15 Let then an inexpressible and special bond of common friendship, with faith in the truth, reverence for God, and a devout observance of his law, remain unshaken among you. Resume your mutual friendship and grace; restore to the entire populace their customary embraces;

1.7.16 and You yourselves, prify as it were your own souls, and again grant recognition to one another. For often friendship becomes even sweeter when the reconciliation takes place after the removal of the causes of animosity.

1.7.17 In this way restore tranquil days and peaceful nights to me, so that some pleasure in the pure light may be preserved for me also, and a cheerful serenity for the rest of my life. Otherwise, I will be forced to groan with constant tears, and I will not be able to pass the rest of my earthly existence in peace.

1.7.18 For while the people of God (I speak of my fellow-servants)

<p>are cut off from one another by such an unreasonable and wicked spirit of contention, how is it possible for me to maintain my usual equanimity? But in order that you might have some idea of how great my grief is about this unfortunate conflict, listen to what I am about to say.</p> <p>1.7.19 On my recent arrival at the city of Nicomedia, it was my intention immediately after to proceed into the East: but while I was hastening toward you, and had advanced a considerable distance on my way, I got news about this affair and this totally changed my plans. For I could not bear to see with my own eyes a condition of things such as I could scarcely bear to hear about. 1.7.20 Therefore, by your reconciliation, open again to me the road to the East which you have blocked by your conflicts with one another. Allow me soon to gaze upon both you and all the rest of the people rejoicing together. And, expressing my thanks to the Divine Being for the widespread harmony and freedom of all parties, through the cordial agreement of your views.</p> <p>1.8.1 Such admirable and wise counsel did the emperor's letter contain. But the evil had become too strong both for the encouragements of the emperor, and for the authority of the one who carried his letter: for neither Alexander nor Arius were softened by this appeal; but there was disorder, strife and tumult among all the people.</p>		
<p>1.8.4 Because the emperor saw how both of these problems troubled the church, he organized a General Council, summoning all the bishops by letter to meet him at Nicaea in Bithynia. In response, the bishops assembled out of the various provinces and cities; This is what Eusebius Pamphilus writes about them, word for word, in his third book of the life of Constantine:</p>	<p>1.17.1 However it became apparent that, contrary to the emperor's hopes, the affair continued to expand and the contention was too great for reconciliation, so that his emissary sent to make peace returned without having accomplished his mission. Then Constantine convened a synod at Nicaea, in Bithynia, and wrote to the most eminent men of the churches in every country, directing them to be there on an appointed day.</p>	<p>1.7.2 But when his hopes had been frustrated, the emperor proceeded to summon the celebrated council of Nicaea, pledging his word that the bishops and their officials should be furnished with asses, mules, and horses for their journey at the public expense. When all those who were capable of enduring the fatigue of the journey had arrived at Nicaea, he went there himself, with both the wish of seeing the multitude of bishops, and the burning desire to maintain unity among them. He immediately arranged that they should be generously supplied with all they needed.</p>
<p>1.8.4 Because the emperor saw how both of these problems troubled the church, he organized a General Council, summoning all the bishops by letter to meet him at Nicaea in Bithynia.</p>	<p>1.17.1 Matters turned out differently than the emperor had hoped. The disagreement was too great for reconciliation, and the one who had been sent to make peace returned without accomplishing his mission. Because of this, Constantine convened a synod at Nicaea, in Bithynia, and wrote to the most eminent men of the churches in every country, directing them to be there on an appointed day.</p>	<p>1.7.2 But when his hopes were frustrated, he went on to summon the celebrated council of Nicaea. He pledged his word that the bishops and their officials would be furnished with donkeys, mules, and horses for their journey at public expense. When all those who were able to endure the fatigue of the journey had arrived at Nicaea, he went there himself, both to see the multitude of bishops and to fulfill his desire of leading them into unity. At once, he arranged that all their wants should be liberally supplied.</p>
	<p>1.17.3a About three hundred and twenty bishops were present, accompanied by a multitude of presbyters and deacons. There were also men present who were skilled in dialectics and ready to assist in the discussions.</p>	<p>1.7.3a Three hundred and eighteen bishops were assembled. The bishop of Rome, because of his very advanced age, was absent, but he sent two presbyters to the council, with authority to agree to what was done. 1.7.3b During this time many individuals were richly endowed with apostolic gifts, and many, like the holy apostle, bore in their bodies the marks of the Lord Jesus Christ.</p>
<p>1.8.12b The emperor, when he had completed the festal celebration of this triumph over Licinius, also came in person to Nicaea. Among the bishops, two were especially prominent: Paphnutius, bishop of Upper Thebes, and Spyridon, bishop of Cyprus. After the following, I will explain why I have referred to those two in particular. [Synopsis 09] 1.13.11b As I imagine it will be appreciated by lovers of learning, I shall here add on the names of those who were present, as far as I have been able to ascertain them, with the province and city over which they presided, and likewise the date at which this assembly took place. 1.13.12 Hosius, who was I believe bishop of Cordova in Spain, as I have before stated. Vito and Vicentius, presbyters of Rome, Alexander, bishop of Egypt, Eustathius of Antiochia Magna, Macarius of Jerusalem, and Harpocraton of Cynopolis: the names of the rest are fully reported in The Synodicon of Athanasius, bishop of</p>	<p>1.17.2a Of those who occupied the apostolic sees, the following participated in this conference: Macarius of Jerusalem, Eustathius, who already presided over the church of Antioch on the Orontes; and Alexander of Alexandria near Lake Mareotis. Julius, bishop of Rome, was unable to attend on account of extreme old age; but his place was filled by Vito and Vicentius, presbyters in his church.</p>	<p>1.7.4 James, bishop of Antioch, a city of Mygdonia (which is called Nisibis by the Syrians and Assyrians), raised the dead and restored them to life. He also performed many other wonders, but it would be superfluous to mention them again in detail in this history, as I have already given an account of them in my work, entitled "Philotheus." 1.7.5 Paul, bishop of Neo-Caesarea, a fortress situated on the banks of the Euphrates, had suffered from the frantic rage of Licinius. He had been deprived of the use of both hands by the application of a red-hot iron, by which the nerves which give motion to the muscles had been stretched out and made dead. 1.7.6 Some had had the right eye dug out; others had lost the right arm. Among these was Paphnutius of Egypt. In short, the Council looked like an assembled army of martyrs. 1.7.7a Yet this holy and celebrated gathering was not entirely free of opposition; there were some, though so few they were easy to</p>

<p>Alexandria.</p>		<p>count, who appeared safe, like dangerous shallows. In reality, though not openly, they supported the blasphemy of Arius.</p>
<p>1.8.13 Many of the laity who were skilled in the art of reasoning were also present. Each one was eager to advocate the cause of his own party. Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, as was said before, supported the opinion of Arius, together with Theognis and Maris; of these the former was bishop of Nicaea, and Maris of Chalcedon in Bithynia. These were powerfully opposed by Athanasius, a deacon of the Alexandrian church, who was highly esteemed by Alexander, his bishop. This resulted in jealousy against him, as will be seen later.</p>	<p>1.17.2b Many other excellent and good men from different nations were gathered together. Some were celebrated for their learning, their eloquence, their knowledge of the sacred books and other learning; some for the virtuous quality of their life, and others for a combination of all these qualifications.</p>	
<p>1.8.4b In response, the bishops assembled out of the various provinces and cities; This is what Eusebius Pamphilus writes about them, word for word, in his third book of the life of Constantine: 1.8.5 'So the most eminent of the ministers of God in all the churches which have filled Europe, Africa, and Asia, were brought together. And one house of worship, as it was opened wide by God, contained on the same occasion both Syrians and Cilicians, Phoenicians, Arabs and Palestinians, and in addition to these, Egyptians, Thebans, Libyans, and those who came from Mesopotamia. A Persian bishop was also present at this synod and Scythians were at the assembly as well. Pontus as well, and Galatia, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, Asia and Phrygia, supplied those people who were most distinguished among them. Besides those, Thracians and Macedonians met there. 1.8.6 Achaians and Epirots, and even those who lived even further away than those, and the most celebrated of the Spaniards himself, took their seats among the rest. The prelate of the imperial city was absent because of his age; but some of his presbyters were present and stood in for him. 1.8.7 Emperor Constantine alone continued to dedicate such a crown, composed as a bond of peace, to Christ his Savior. He dedicated it to him as a thank-offering worthy of God for victory over his enemies by appointing this gathering among us as an imitation of the Apostolic Assembly. 1.8.8 For among them, it is said, were gathered "devout men of every nation under heaven; Parthians, Medes and Elamites, and those who dwelled in Mesopotamia, Judaea and Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, Egypt and the part of Libya which is toward Cyrene, strangers from Rome also, both Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabs." 1.8.9 That congregation, however, was inferior in this way: that everyone present was not a minister of God. In this assembly the number of bishops exceeded three hundred; while the number of the presbyters, deacons, and others who attended them was almost impossible to count. 1.8.10 Some of these ministers of God were notable for their wisdom, some for the strictness of their life and patient endurance [of persecution], and others adorned themselves with all of these distinguished characteristics. 1.8.11 Some were venerable because of their advanced age, others were conspicuous for their youth and vigorous minds, and others had only recently entered their ministerial career. For all these the emperor arranged for an abundant supply of daily food to be provided.' 1.8.12b That is Eusebius' account of those who met on this occasion.</p>		
<p>1.8.14 Now a short time before the general assembling of the bishops, the disputants competed in in preparatory debates before the multitudes.</p>	<p>1.17.6 But before the appointed time arrived, the bishops assembled together and summoned Arius to attend. They began to examine the disputed topics, and each one of them advanced his own opinion. As might have been expected, however, many different questions grew out of the discussion. Some of the bishops spoke against the introduction of novelties contrary to the faith which had been delivered to them from the beginning. Those who had especially adhered to simplicity of doctrine argued that the faith of God ought simply to be accepted; others, however, contended that ancient opinions ought not to be followed without examination. 1.17.7 Many of the assembled bishops and the clergy who accompanied</p>	

	<p>them were remarkably skilled in dialectics and trained in the art of rhetoric. They appeared prominent, and so attracted the notice of the emperor and the court. Of that number Athanasius, who was then a deacon of Alexandria, and had accompanied his bishop Alexander, seemed to have the largest share of advice about these subjects.</p> <p>[A simple confessor rebukes the rationalists]</p> <p>1.18.1 A number of the pagan philosophers desired to take part in the debates. Some wanted to learn more about the doctrine that was being taught. Others, who hated the Christians because of the recent suppression of pagan religions, wanted to turn the discussion about doctrine into an argument over words. They sought to introduce dissension among the Christians and make them appear to hold contradictory opinions.</p>	
<p>1.8.15a When many people were drawn in by their interesting discourse, one of the laity, a confessor, a man with an unsophisticated mind, rebuked these rationalists.</p>	<p>1.18.2 It is said, then, that one of these philosophers who prided himself on his well-known superiority in speaking eloquently, began to ridicule the priests. This roused the indignation of a simple old man, who was highly esteemed as a confessor. Although he was unskilled in logical debate and spoke simply, he dared to oppose him. The less serious of those who knew the confessor, laughed at his expense for what he wanted to do; but the more thoughtful were anxious that, in opposing such an eloquent man, he would only make a fool of himself;</p>	
<p>1.8.15b He told them that Christ and his apostles did not teach us dialectics, craftiness, or vain subtleties, but simple-mindedness, which is preserved by faith and good works.</p>	<p>1.18.3 yet his influence was so great, and his reputation so high that they could not stop him from engaging in the debate. He said, "In the name of Jesus Christ, O philosopher, listen to me. There is one God, the maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible. He made all things by the power of the Word, and established them by the holiness of His Spirit. The Word, whom we call the Son of God, seeing that man was sunk in error and living like beasts, pitied him, and chose to be born of woman, to interact with men, and to die for them. And He will come again to judge each of us for the deeds of this present life. We simply believe these things to be true. Do not, therefore, work in vain, striving to disprove facts which can only be understood by faith or scrutinizing how these things did or did not actually happen. Answer me, do you believe?"</p>	
<p>1.8.16 When he had said this, all who were present admired the speaker and agreed with what he said; and the disputants themselves, after hearing his plain statement of the truth, exercised a greater degree of moderation. That is how the disturbance caused by these logical debates was suppressed at that time.</p>	<p>1.18.4 The philosopher, astonished at what had happened, replied, "I believe." He thanked the old man for overcoming him with his argument and began to teach the same doctrines to others. He encouraged those who still held his former sentiments to adopt the view he had now embraced, assuring them on oath that some inexplicable power had compelled him to become a Christian.</p> <p>[Pagan philosophers silenced by Alexander of Byzantium]</p> <p>1.18.5 It is said that a similar miracle was performed by Alexander, who governed the church of Constantinople. When Constantine returned to Byzantium, certain philosophers came to him complaining about innovations in religion. Particularly, they complained that he had introduced a new form of worship into the state, contrary to what was followed by his forefathers, and by everyone who had formerly been in power, whether among the Greeks or the Romans. They also were trying to debate the doctrine with Alexander the bishop;</p> <p>1.18.6 and he, although he was unskilled in this type of argumentative contest, accepted the struggle at the command of the emperor, who was perhaps persuaded by his life (he was a good and excellent man). The philosophers assembled, but since all of them wished to engage in the discussion, they set apart one whom they considered worthy as a spokesman while the others were to remain silent.</p> <p>1.18.7 When one of the philosophers began to open the debate, Alexander said to him, "I command you in the name of Jesus Christ not to speak." The man was instantly silenced. It is then right to consider whether it is a greater miracle that a man, and he a</p>	

	philosopher, was so easily silenced by a word, or that a stone-wall was cleft by the power of a word, a miracle I have heard some attribute to Julian, surnamed the Chaldean. From what I have heard, those events happened in the way I have written above.	
1.8.17a On the following day all the bishops were assembled together in one place; the emperor arrived soon after.	1.19.1a The bishops held long consultations; and after summoning Arius before them, they made an accurate test of his propositions. They were intently on their guard not to come to a vote on either side. When the appointed day that had been chosen to settle the points in question finally arrived, they assembled together in the palace, because the emperor had signified that he would like to take part in the deliberations.	1.7.7b When they were all assembled, the emperor ordered a great hall in the palace to be prepared to accommodate them, in which a sufficient number of benches and seats were placed; 1.7.8 When he had prepared everything in a way that would honor them properly, he allowed the bishops to enter and discuss the subjects which had been proposed.
1.8.17b When he had entered, he stood in among them and would not take his place until the bishops, by nodding their assent, indicated that they wanted him to sit. Such was the respect and reverence which the emperor entertained for these men.	1.19.1b When the emperor was in the same place with the priests, he passed through to the head of the conference, and seated himself on the throne which had been prepared for him, and the synod was then commanded to be seated. 1.19.2a Seats had been arranged on either side along the walls of the palace room, for it was the largest and better than the other rooms.	1.7.9 The emperor, with a few attendants, was the last to enter the room. He was noticeable because of his impressive stature, worthy of admiration for personal beauty and for the still more marvelous modesty set on his brow. A low stool was placed for him in the middle of the assembly, but he did not seat himself on it until he had asked the permission of the bishops. Then all the sacred assembly sat down around him.
	[Constantine chastises the clergy for their disputes] 1.17.3b And as was usually the case on such occasions, many priests used the council as an excuse to bring up their own private affairs. They considered this an opportune time to rectify their grievances. Concerning those grievances, each person blamed another and presented a document to the emperor in which he reported the offenses committed against him.	[Constantine chastises the clergy for their disputes] 1.11.4 I do not account it right to pass over the following circumstance in silence. Some quarrelsome individuals wrote accusations against certain bishops, and presented their indictments to the emperor.
	1.17.4 As this kept happening day after day, the emperor set apart one certain day on which all complaints were to be brought before him. When the appointed time arrived, he took the memorials which had been presented to him, and said, "All these accusations will be brought forward in their own time at the great day of judgment, and there will be judged by the Great Judge of all men; it is not right to drag out a hearing like this against each other before me, a man, when the accuser and the accused are priests. Priests ought to present themselves in a way that never falls under the judgment of others. Imitate, therefore, the divine love and mercy of God, and be reconciled to one another; withdraw your accusations against each other. Let us make peace and devote our attention to those subjects connected with the faith, the reason we are assembled here." 1.17.5 After this address, in order to nullify each document, the emperor commanded the memorials to be burned, and then appointed a day for solving the disagreements.	1.11.5 This occurred before the establishment of concord. He received the lists, formed them into a packet which he sealed with his ring, and ordered them to be kept safely. After the reconciliation had been effected, he brought out these writings, and burned them in their presence, at the same time declaring upon oath that he had not read a word of them. He said that the crimes of priests ought not to be made known to the multitude, lest they should become an occasion of offense, and lead them to sin without fear.
		1.11.6 It is reported also that he added that if he were to detect a bishop in the very act of committing adultery, he would throw his imperial robe over the unlawful deed, lest any should witness the scene, and be thereby injured. Thus did he admonish all the priests, as well as confer honors upon them, and then exhorted them to return each to his own flock.
[Constantine encourages forgiveness] 1.8.18 When they had achieved a silence suitable to the occasion, the emperor, still sitting, began to address them. He spoke with words of exhortation to harmony and unity, and advised each person to lay aside every private grievance. For several of them had brought accusations against one another and many had even presented petitions to the emperor the day before. 1.8.19 But he, directing their attention to the matter before them, which was the reason they were assembled, ordered these petitions to be burned. He merely observed that 'Christ urges the one who is anxious to obtain forgiveness, to forgive his brother.'		
[Constantine addresses the bishops] 1.8.20a When, then, he had strongly insisted on the maintenance of harmony and peace, he turned their attention back to more closely investigating the questions at hand.	[Constantine addresses the bishops] 1.19.3 When he had finished, and silence was restored, the emperor said, "I give thanks to God for all things, but particularly, O friends, for being permitted to see your assembly. And the event has	

	<p>exceeded my prayer, in that so many priests of Christ have been led into the same place; now, it is my desire that you should be of one mind and agree with the judgment of your companions. I consider dissension in the Church of God as more dangerous than any other evil. When, then, something that is not good to hear was reported, my soul was deeply pained. I gathered that you had differing opinions – you, who profit least of all from disagreement as leaders of divine worship and judges of peace. For this reason I have called the priesthood together to a synod. As both your emperor and fellow-physician, I ask for a favor which would be acceptable to our common Lord, which is as honorable for me to receive as it is for you to grant. The favor which I seek is that you examine the causes of the strife and put a harmonious and peaceful end to it so that I can stand triumphant with you over the envious demon. He was provoked to incite this internal revolt when he saw our external enemies and tyrants under our feet, and he was jealous of our good state of affairs.</p> <p>1.19.4 The emperor said this discourse in Latin, and the interpretation was supplied by someone beside him.</p>	
<p>1.8.20b-23 But it may be useful to hear what Eusebius says on this subject in his third book of the Life of Constantine. His words are these:</p> <p>1.8.21 'A variety of topics were introduced by each party and lengthy debate arose from the very beginning. The emperor listened to everything with patient attention, quietly and attentively considering whatever was advanced. 1.8.22 He partially supported the statements which were made on either side, and gradually softened the severity of those who belligerently opposed each other, placating each side with his mildness and persuasiveness. He addressed them in the Greek language – he was not unacquainted with it. He was at once courteous and endearing, persuading some, winning over others with a plea, and applauding those who spoke well.</p>	<p>1.20.1a The next debate by the priests turned upon doctrine. The emperor gave patient attention to the speeches of both parties; he applauded those who spoke well, and rebuked those who displayed a tendency to bicker. According to his understanding of what he had heard, for he was not completely unfamiliar with the Greek language, he addressed himself with kindness to each one.</p>	<p>1.7.11 Next, the excellent emperor urged the Bishops to have unanimity and concord; he called them to remember the cruelty of the recent tyrants, and reminded them of the honorable peace which God had given them in his reign and through his position. He pointed out how terrible it might be, yes, extremely terrible, that at the very time when their enemies were destroyed, and when no one dared to oppose them, that they would attack one another. They would make their amused adversaries laugh, especially as they were debating holy things, concerning which they had the written teaching of the Holy Spirit.</p> <p>1.7.12a "For the gospels," he continued, "the apostolic writings, and the oracles of the ancient prophets, clearly teach us what we ought to believe concerning the divine nature. Let, then, all contentious disputation be banished; and let us seek in the divinely-inspired word the solution of the questions at hand."</p>
<p>1.8.23 By spurring everyone on into unity, he succeeded in bringing them into similar judgments and conformity of opinion on all the disputed points. There was not only unity in the confession of faith, but also a general agreement as to the time for the celebration of the feast of Salvation. At this time the doctrines which had common agreement were confirmed by the signature of each individual.'</p>	<p>1.20.1b Finally all the priests agreed with one another and conceded that the Son is consubstantial with the Father. At the conclusion of the conference there were only seventeen who praised the opinion of Arius, but eventually the majority of these yielded and agreed with the general view.</p> <p>1.20.2 The emperor deferred to this ruling. He regarded the unanimity of the conference to be a divine approval and he declared that anyone who rebelled against it would be immediately sent into banishment as guilty of trying to overthrow the Divine definitions.</p>	<p>1.7.12b These and similar exhortations he, like an affectionate son, addressed the bishop like fathers, working to bring about their unanimity in the apostolic doctrines. Most of the members of the synod, won over by his arguments, established concord among themselves and embraced sound doctrine.</p>
<p>[Reliability of Eusebius]</p> <p>1.8.2 In his own words, that is the testimony of these things which Eusebius has left us in writing; and we have not randomly put it in here. Treating what he has said as an authority, we have introduced it here for the legitimacy of this history. We also have this aim in mind: if anyone condemns the faith confessed at this council of Nicaea as false, we will be unaffected by it and not believe Sabinus the Macedonian, who calls all those who came together there ignoramuses and simpletons.</p> <p>1.8.25 For this Sabinus, who was bishop of the Macedonians at Heraclea in Thrace and made a collection of the decrees published by various Synods of bishops, has treated those who assembled in Nicaea with contempt and derision. He does not understand that when he does so he is charging Eusebius himself with ignorance, who, when under examination, made an identical confession. And in fact some things he has willfully passed over, others he has corrupted, and he has put a construction favorable to his own views on everything.</p> <p>1.8.26 On the one hand, he commends Eusebius Pamphilus as a trustworthy witness and praises the emperor as capable at stating Christian doctrines. On the other hand, he still brands the faith which was declared at Nicaea as something given out by people who had</p>		

<p>no knowledge of the matter. In this way he willingly condemns the words of a man whom he himself pronounces to be a wise and true witness.</p> <p>1.8.27 For Eusebius says that of the ministers of God who were present at the Nicene Synod, some were eminent for the word of wisdom and others for the strictness of their lives, and that the emperor himself, who was present and leading everyone into a consensus, established unity of judgment and agreement of opinion among them.</p> <p>1.8.28a Of Sabinus, however, we will make further mention as occasion may require.</p>		
<p>[The Creed of Nicaea]</p> <p>1.8.28b But the agreement of faith, produced by the great synod in Nicaea and praised with a loud voice by Eusebius, is this:</p> <p>1.8.29 "We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible:—and in one. Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only-begotten of the Father, that is of the substance of the Father; God of God and Light of light; true God of true God; begotten, not made, consubstantial with the Father: by whom all things were made, both which are in heaven and on earth: who for the sake of us men, and on account of our salvation, descended, became incarnate, and was made man; suffered, arose again the third day, and ascended into the heavens and will come again to judge the living and the dead. [We] also [believe] in the Holy Spirit.</p> <p>1.8.30 The holy Catholic and Apostolic church anathematizes those who say 'There was a time when he was not,' and 'He was not before he was begotten' and 'He was made from that which did not exist,' and those who assert that he is of different substance or essence than the Father, or that the Son of God was created, or is susceptible to change."</p>	<p>[The Creed of Nicaea]</p> <p>1.20.3 I had thought it necessary to reproduce the actual document concerning the matter, as an example of the truth, in order that those who follow might possess in a fixed and clear form the symbol of the faith which provided some peace at the time. But since some pious friends, who understood such matters, recommended that these truths ought to be spoken of and heard by the initiated and their initiators only, I agreed with their advice. It is not unlikely that some of the uninitiated may read this book. While I have concealed the portion of material that I ought to keep silent about, I have not altogether left the reader ignorant of the opinions held by the synod.</p>	
<p>1.9.16a It should also be observed that Arius had written a treatise on his own opinion which he entitled Thalia; but the character of the book is loose and degenerate, similar in its style and metres to the songs of Sotades. This production also the Synod condemned at the same time.</p>	<p>1.21.3 The words in which his opinions were couched were likewise condemned, and also a work entitled "Thalia," which he had written on the subject. I have not read this book, but I understand that it is of a loose character, resembling Sotadus in licentiousness.</p>	
<p>1.10.1 The emperor's diligence induces me to mention another circumstance that expresses his mind and serves to show how much he desired peace. For aiming at ecclesiastical harmony, he summoned to the council Acesius also, a bishop of the sect of Novatians.</p> <p>1.10.2 Now, when the declaration of faith had been written out and subscribed by the Synod, the emperor asked Acesius whether he would also agree to this creed and to the settlement of the day on which Easter should be observed. He replied, 'The Synod has determined nothing new, my prince: for now, and even from the beginning, from the times of the apostles, I traditionally received the definition of the faith, and the time of the celebration of Easter.'</p>	<p>1.22.1 It is related, that the emperor, under the impulse of an ardent desire to see harmony re-established among Christians, summoned Acesius, bishop of the church of the Novatians, to the council, placed before him the definition of the faith and of the feast, which had already been confirmed by the signatures of the bishops, and asked whether he could agree to it. Acesius answered that their exposition defined no new doctrine, and that he agreed in opinion with the Synod, and that he had from the beginning held these sentiments with respect both to the faith and to the feast.</p>	
<p>1.10.3 When, therefore, the emperor further asked him, 'For what reason then do you separate yourself from communion with the rest of the Church?' he related what had taken place during the persecution under Decius; and referred to the rigidness of that austere canon which declares, that it is not right for people, who after baptism have committed a sin which the sacred Scriptures call 'a sin unto death,' to be considered worthy of participation in the sacraments; that they should indeed be exhorted to repentance, but were not to expect remission from the priest, but from God, who is able and has authority to forgive sins.</p> <p>1.10.4 When Acesius had thus spoken, the emperor said to him, 'Take a ladder, Acesius, and climb alone into heaven.'</p>	<p>1.22.2 "Why, then," said the emperor, "do you keep aloof from communion with others, if you are of one mind with them?" He replied that the dissension first broke out under Decius, between Novatius and Cornelius, and that he considered such people unworthy of communion who, after baptism, had fallen into those sins which the Scriptures declare to be unto death; for the remission of those sins, he thought, depended on the authority of God only, and not on the priests. The emperor replied, by saying, "O Acesius, take a ladder and ascend alone to heaven."</p> <p>1.22.3 By this speech I do not imagine the emperor intended to praise Acesius, but rather to convict him, because, being but a man, he fancied himself exempt from sin.</p>	
<p>1.10.5 Neither Eusebius Pamphilus nor any other has ever mentioned these things, but I heard them from a man by no means prone to falsehood, who was very old, and simply stated what had taken place in the council in the course of a narrative. From this I conjecture that those who have passed by this occurrence in silence, were driven by motives which have influenced many other historians, for they</p>		

<p>frequently suppress important facts, either from prejudice against some, or partiality towards others. So far concerning Acesius.</p>		
	<p>1.24.1 After an investigation had been made into the conduct of Meletius when in Egypt, the Synod sentenced him to reside in Lycus, and to retain only the name of bishop, and prohibited him from ordaining any one either in a city or a village. Those who had previously been ordained by him were permitted by this law to remain in communion and in the ministry, but were to be accounted secondary with regards to dignity of the clergy in church and parish.</p>	<p>1.9.1a After Meletius had been ordaine bishop, which was not long before the Arian controversy, he was convicted of certain crimes by the most holy Peter, bishop of Alexandria, who also received the crown of martyrdom. After being deposed by Peter he did not acquiesce in his deposition, but filled the Thebaid and the adjacent part of Egypt with tumult and disturbance, and rebelled against the primacy of Alexandria.</p>
	<p>1.24.2 When by death an appointment became vacant, they were allowed to succeed to it, if deemed worthy, by the vote of the multitude, but in this case, were to be ordained by the bishop of the Church of Alexandria, for they were prohibited from exercising any power or influence in elections. 1.24.3 This regulation appeared just to the Synod, for Meletius and his followers had manifested great rashness and boldness in administering ordination. So the regulation also nullified the ordinations of every type which differed from those of Peter. He, when he conducted the Alexandrian Church, fled on account of the persecution then raging, but afterward suffered martyrdom.</p>	
<p>1.8.55b At the same time the Synod itself also, as one, wrote the following epistle to the church of the Alexandrians, and to believers in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis.</p>		<p>1.9.1b A letter was written by the council to the Church of Alexandria, stating what had been decreed against his revolutionary practices. It was as follows: 1.9.2 To the great church of the Alexandrians, which is holy by the grace of God, and to our beloved brothers throughout Egypt, Libya, and the Pentapolis. We bishops assembled at Nicaea, constituting the great and holy council, send greetings in the Lord. 1.9.3 Since, by the grace of God, a great and holy council has been convened at Nicaea, after our most pious sovereign Constantine summoned us out of various cities and provinces for that purpose, we at the sacred council thought it most necessary to write you a letter, in order that you may know what subjects were considered and examined, and what was eventually decided on and decreed. 1.9.4 In the first place, the impiety and guilt of Arius and his adherents was examined in the presence of our most pious emperor Constantine. We unanimously decided that his impious opinion should be anathematized, with all the blasphemous expressions he has uttered, namely that "the Son of God came to be out of nothing," that "there was a time when he was not," and even that "the Son of God, because he possessed free will, was capable of either both evil and good." They also call him a creature (ktisma) and a work (poiēma). 1.9.5 The holy Council has anathematized all these ideas, barely able to endure it as we listened to such impious opinions (or rather madnesses) and such blasphemous words. You must either have been informed of the verdict of our proceedings against him already, or you will soon learn. We will omit relating our actions here, for we would not trample on a man who has already received the punishment which his crime deserved. 1.9.6 Yet his deadly error has proved so contagious that it has dragged Theonas of Marmarica, and Secundus of Ptolemais, into destruction; for they have suffered the same condemnation as Arius. But after the grace of God delivered us from those detestable heresies, with all their impiety and blasphemy, and from those persons, who had dared to cause such conflict and division among a people previously at peace, the rash actions of Meletius and those who had been ordained by him still remained to be dealt with. We now state to you, beloved brothers, what resolution the Council came to on this point. 1.9.7 The Council was moved with compassion towards Meletius, although strictly speaking he was wholly undeserving of favor, and decreed that he remain in office in his own city but exercise no authority either to ordain or nominate for ordination; and that he appear in no other district or city on this pretense, retaining no more than the normal level of authority. The Council also decided</p>

		<p>that those who had been appointed by him, after having been confirmed by a more legitimate ordination, should be admitted to communion on these conditions: that they should continue to hold their rank and ministry, but regard themselves as inferior in every respect to all those who have been ordained and established in each place and church by our most-honored fellow-minister, Alexander. Thus they will have no authority to propose or nominate whom they please, or to do anything at all without the agreement of some bishop of the catholic church who is one of Alexander's subordinates.</p> <p>1.9.8 On the other hand, those who by the grace of God and your prayers have not been found in schism, but have continued blameless in the catholic church, shall have authority to nominate and ordain those who are worthy of the sacred office, and to act in all things according to ecclesiastical law and custom.</p> <p>1.9.9 When it happens that those holding offices in the church die, then these who have been recently admitted will be advanced to the office of the deceased, provided that they are found worthy, that they are duly elected, and that the bishop of Alexandria ratifies the decision.</p> <p>1.9.10 This right is allowed for all the others indeed, but to Meletius personally we by no means grant the same permission, on account of his former disorderly conduct, and because of the rashness and fickleness of his character. We want no authority or jurisdiction to be given to him, for he is a man liable again to create similar disturbances.</p> <p>1.9.11 These are the things which specifically affect Egypt, and the most holy church of the Alexandrians. If any other canon or ordinance has been established, our Lord and most-honored fellow-minister and brother Alexander, who is present with us, will explain the more specific details when he returns to you, since he has participated in all we have done, and has in fact been the leader.</p> <p>1.9.12 We also have good news for you that we have harmonized our opinions on the subject of the most holy feast of Easter, which has been happily settled through your prayers. All the brothers in the east who have previously kept this festival when the Jews did have agreed with the Romans, with us, and with all of you who have kept Easter with us from the beginning, to follow the same custom as we.</p> <p>1.9.13 So rejoice in these results and in the general agreement and peace, as well as in the cleansing of all heresy. Receive our fellow-minister and your bishop Alexander with great honor and abundant love, because he has greatly delighted us by his presence. Even at his advanced age, he has undergone extraordinary efforts in order that peace might be re-established among you. Pray on behalf of us all, that the things we decided were appropriate may be maintained without violation through Almighty God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, together with the Holy Spirit, to whom be glory forever. Amen.</p>
<p>1.9.15 This epistle of the Synod makes it plain that they not only anathematized Arius and his adherents, but also the very expressions of his beliefs; and that after they agreed among themselves respecting the celebration of Easter, they readmitted the arch-heretic Meletius into communion, allowing him to retain his episcopal rank, but depriving him of all authority to act as a bishop. It is for this reason I suppose that even at the present time the Meletians in Egypt are separated from the church, because the Synod removed all power from Meletius.</p>		
	<p>1.23.1 Zealous of reforming the life of those who were involved with the work of the church, the Synod enacted laws which were called canons.</p>	
<p>1.11.3c The bishops thought it proper to introduce a new law into the church, namely, that those who were ordained to serve as bishops, priests, deacons and subdeacons who had married while still laymen, should no longer have sexual relations with their wives.</p>	<p>1.23.2 While they were deliberating about this, some thought that a law ought to be passed enacting that bishops and presbyters, deacons and subdeacons, should hold no intercourse with the wife they had married before they entered the priesthood;</p>	
<p>1.11.4 While they were discussing this matter, Paphnutius rose in the middle of the assembled bishops and pleaded earnestly with them not</p>	<p>1.23.3 but Paphnutius, the confessor, stood up and testified against this proposition; he said that marriage was honorable and chaste, and</p>	

<p>to impose such a heavy burden on these men of the church. "Marriage is in and of itself honorable," he asserted, "and sex is not unholy." And so he urged them before God not to harm the church by imposing restrictions that were too stringent. "For not every man," he said, "can endure a life of total abstinence, nor might the wives always preserve their chastity either." He defined intercourse between a man and his lawful wife as chastity.</p>	<p>that cohabitation with their own wives was chastity, and advised the Synod not to frame such a law, for it would be difficult to bear, and might serve as an occasion of straying for them and their wives.</p>	
<p>1.11.5 It would be enough, he thought, if those men who were celibate when they entered the ministry remained unmarried, as was the ancient tradition of the church. Yet men should not be separated from wives whom they had married while still unordained. 1.11.6 And he expressed these sentiments although he himself had no experience with marriage, and, to speak frankly, had no knowledge of women. For from boyhood he had been brought up in a monastery, and was especially famous for his chastity. 1.11.7 All the assembled clergy agreed with Paphnutius's reasoning, and silenced all further debate on this issue, allowing married clergy to remain abstinent at their own discretion. So much concerning Paphnutius.</p>	<p>1.23.4 He reminded them, that according to the ancient tradition of the church, those who were unmarried when they took part in the communion of sacred orders, were required to remain so, but that those who were married, were not to send away their wives. Such was the advice of Paphnutius, although he was himself unmarried. In accordance with it, the Synod agreed with his counsel, enacted no law about it, but left the matter to the decision of individual judgment, and not to compulsion. The Synod, however, enacted other laws regulating the government of the Church; and these laws may easily be found, as they are in the possession of many individuals.</p>	
	<p>1.21.1 It ought to be known, that they affirmed the Son to be consubstantial with the Father and that those are to be excommunicated and voted aliens to the Catholic Church, who assert that there was a time in which the Son existed not, and before He was begotten He was not, and that He was made from what had no existence, and that He is of another hypostasis or substance from the Father, and that He is subject to change or mutation.</p>	
<p>1.8.31 This creed was recognized and affirmed by three hundred and eighteen [bishops]; and because they were, as Eusebius says, unanimous in expression and sentiment, they signed it. Only five would not receive it, objecting to the term homoousios ["of the same essence," or consubstantial]: these were Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nice, Maris of Chalcedon, Theonas of Marmarica, and Secundus of Ptolemais.</p>	<p>1.21.2 This decision was sanctioned by Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia; by Theognis, bishop of Nicaea; by Maris, bishop of Chalcedon; by Patrophilus, bishop of Scythopolis; and by Secundus, bishop of Ptolemais in Libya. Eusebius Pamphilus, however, withheld his assent for a little while, but on further examination assented.</p>	<p>1.7.13 There were, however, a few, whom I mentioned before, who opposed these doctrines and sided with Arius; among them were Menophantus, bishop of Ephesus, Patrophilus, bishop of Scythopolis, Theognis, bishop of Nicaea, and Narcissus, bishop of Neronias, which is a town of the second Cilicia, and is now called Irenopolis; also Theonas, bishop of Marmarica, and Secundus, bishop of Ptolemais in Egypt.</p>
<p>1.8.32 "For," they said, "something that is consubstantial comes from something else either by partition, derivation or germination (by germination, as a shoot from roots; by derivation as children from their parents; by division, as two or three pieces of gold from a mass), and the Son is from the Father by none of these modes." Therefore, they declared themselves unable to assent to this creed. Those, then, who scoffed at the term consubstantial would not subscribe to the deposition of Arius.</p>		<p>1.7.14 They drew up a formulation of their faith and presented it to the council. As soon as it was read, it was torn to pieces and was declared to be spurious and false. Such a great uproar was raised against them and they were rebukes so many times for betraying their religion that all of them, with the exception of Secundus and Theonas, became afraid and stood up and took the lead in publicly renouncing Arius.</p>
<p>1.8.33 When they had heard this, the Synod anathematized Arius and all who adhered to his opinions and prohibited Arius from entering. At the same time an edict of the emperor sent Arius himself into exile, together with Eusebius and Theognis and their followers;</p>	<p>1.21.3 The council excommunicated Arius and his adherents, and prohibited his entering Alexandria. The words in which his opinions were couched were likewise condemned, and also a work entitled "Thalia," which he had written on the subject. I have not read this book, but I understand that it is of a loose character, resembling Sotadus in licentiousness. It ought to be known that although Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, and Theognis, bishop of Nicaea, assented to the document of this faith set forth by the council, they neither agreed nor subscribed to the deposition of Arius.</p>	<p>1.7.15 In this way the ungodly man was expelled, and, with unanimous agreement, an official confession of faith was drawn up. To this day, it is still received by the churches. As soon as it was signed, the council was dissolved. The bishops named above, however, did not sincerely consent to it; only in appearance.</p>
<p>1.8.34a Eusebius and Theognis, however, a short time after their banishment, delivered a written declaration of their change of opinion and agreement with the faith of the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, as we will show in what follows here.</p>	<p>1.21.4 The emperor punished Arius with exile, and dispatched edicts to the bishops and people of every country, denouncing him and his adherents as ungodly, and commanding that their books should be destroyed, in order that no remembrance of him or of the doctrine which he had taught might remain. Whoever was found hiding his writings and who did not burn them immediately on the accusation, would undergo the penalty of death and suffer capital punishment. The emperor wrote letters to every city against Arius and those who had received his doctrines. 1.21.5 He commanded Eusebius and Theognis to leave the cities in which they were bishops; he addressed himself in particular to the church of Nicomedia, urging it to adhere to the faith which had been set forth by the council, to elect orthodox bishops, to obey them, and to let the past fall into oblivion. He</p>	<p>1.7.16 This was shown later by their plotting against those who were champions of zeal for the religion, as well as by what the following have written about them. 1.7.17 For instance, Eustathius, the famous bishop of Antioch, who has been already mentioned, when explaining the text in the Proverbs, 'The Lord created me in the beginning of His way, before His works of old,' wrote against them, and refuted their blasphemy. Athanasius' treatise also agrees with this refutation from the great Eustathius.</p>

threatened with punishment those who should venture to speak well of the exiled bishops or to adopt their sentiments. In these and in other letters, he made clear his resentment against Eusebius, because he had previously adopted the opinions of the tyrant, and had engaged in his plots. In accordance with the imperial edicts, Eusebius and Theognis were expelled from the churches which they held, and Amphion received that of Nicomedia, and Chrestus that of Nicaea.

1.8.34b At this time during the session of the Synod, Eusebius, surnamed Pamphilus, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, after listening attentively for a short time and carefully considering whether he ought to receive this definition of the faith, finally consented to it and subscribed to it with all the rest. He also sent to the people under his charge a copy of the Creed, with an explanation of the word homoousios, so that no one would suspect his motives on account of his previous hesitation. Now this is what was written by Eusebius in his own words:

1.11.7 I will insert here the letter concerning the faith, written by Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea. It describes the indecency of the Arians, who not only despise our fathers, but reject their own. It contains a convincing proof of their madness.
 1.11.8 For even though they honor Eusebius as having the same opinion as them, they openly contradict his writings. He wrote this epistle to some of the Arians, who were accusing him, it seems, of treachery. The letter itself explains the writer's purpose. Epistle of Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, which he wrote from Nicaea when the great Council was assembled.

1.12.1 Beloved, since rumors usually travel faster than accurate information, you have probably learned from other sources what happened concerning the church's faith at the Great Council assembled at Nicaea. As we do not want the facts to be misrepresented by such reports, we have been obliged to transmit to you, first, the formula of faith which we ourselves [i.e. Eusebius] presented, and next, the second, which the assembled fathers put forth with some additions to our words.
 1.12.2 Our own letter, which was read in the presence of our most pious Emperor and declared to be good and free from objectionable statements, reads as follows:
 1.12.3 "We report now to you our faith, which we have received from the bishops who preceded us when we were first instructed and received the washing [of baptism], which we have also come to know from the divine Scriptures; as we believed and taught in the priesthood, and in the episcopate itself, and as we also believe at the present time:
 1.12.4 "We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Maker of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God from God, Light from Light, Life from Life, Only-begotten Son, first-born of every creature, begotten from the Father before all the ages, by whom also all things were made; who for our salvation was made flesh, and lived among men, and suffered, and rose again the third day, and ascended to the Father, and will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead. And we believe also in one Holy Spirit.
 1.12.5 We believe each of these to be and to exist, the Father truly Father, and the Son truly Son, and the Holy Spirit truly Holy Spirit, as also our Lord said when he sent forth his disciples to preach, "Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." Concerning which things we confidently affirm that this is what we maintain, how we think, and what we have held up until now, and that we will maintain this faith unto death, anathematizing every ungodly heresy.
 1.12.6 We testify that we have ever thought these things from our hearts and souls, from earliest memory, and now think and confess the truth before God Almighty and our Lord Jesus Christ. We are able to provide evidence that will assure you that even in times past we have believed and preached the same."
 1.12.7 There was nothing to contradict in this statement of faith we put forward. In fact our most pious Emperor, before any one else, testified that it was comprised of most orthodox statements. He even confessed that such were his own sentiments, and he advised all present to agree to it, and to subscribe and agree with its articles, with the insertion of the single word, "of the same being as" (homoousios). He gave his interpretation of this word, saying that "<the Son> was not "of the same being as" according to what we experience in our bodies, as if the Son had come to be by dividing or

breaking off from the Father. For his nature could not be subjected to any bodily experiences, as it does not consist of matter, exists in a spiritual realm, has no body. Therefore such things must be thought of in divine, unspeakable concepts." Such were the theological remarks of our most wise and most pious Emperor; but they were intent on adding the word "of the same being as" and drew up the following statement:

[The Faith pronounced in the Council]

1.12.8 "We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible: and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, Onlybegotten, that is, from the essence of the Father; God from God, Light from Light, true God from true God, begotten not made, of the same being as the Father, by whom all things were made, both things in heaven and things on earth; who for us men and for our salvation came down and was made flesh, was made man, suffered, and rose again the third day, ascended into heaven, and will come to judge the living and the dead; and we believe in the Holy Spirit. But those who say, 'Once he did not exist,' and 'He did not exist before he was begotten,' and 'He came to be from nothing,' or those who pretend that the Son of God is 'of another subsistence (hypostasis) or being (ousia),' or 'created' (ktistos), or 'alterable' (treptos), or 'changeable' (alloiōtos), the catholic church anathematizes."

1.12.9 As this formula was being debated, we made sure to inquire in what sense they introduced "from the essence of the Father," and "of the same being as the Father." Through intense questioning and explaining, the meaning of the words was examined closely. They explained that the phrase "of the same being as" indicated that the Son is truly from the Father, but he is not a part of him.

1.12.10 We felt we could agree to this word when used in this sense, to teach, as it did, that the Son was from the Father, not however a part of his essence. On this account we agreed to the sense ourselves, without denying even the term "of the same being as," since maintaining peace was our goal, provided we did not depart from the orthodox understanding.

1.12.11 In the same way we also accepted the phrase "begotten, not made," since the council asserted that "made" (poiētos) was a term used to designate other creatures which came to be through the Son, to whom the Son had no similarity. So according to their reasoning, he was not something made that resembled the things which came to exist through him, but was of an essence which is too high to be put on the same level as anything which was made. The divine sayings teach us that his essence was begotten from the Father, and that the mode of his being begotten is inexpressible and unable to be conceived by any nature which has had a beginning of its existence.

1.12.12 So when we considered it, we found that there are grounds for saying that the Son is "of the same being as" the Father; not like human bodies, nor like mortal beings, for he is not "of the same being as" by dividing his essence, or by cutting something off, or by having something done to him, or being altered, or by changing the Father's essence and power (since the Father's nature has no beginning to its existence, and therefore none of those descriptions apply to it).

1.12.13 "Of the same being as the Father" suggests that the Son of God bears no resemblance to the creatures who came into being, but that he is in every way similar to his Father alone who begat him, and that he is not of any other subsistence (hypostasis) and essence (ousia), but from the Father. It also seemed good for us to agree to this term, since we were aware that even among the ancients, some learned and eminent bishops and writers have used the term "of the same being as," in their theological teaching concerning the Father and Son.

1.12.14 So much then for the creed which was composed at the council, to which all of us agreed, not without some questioning, but according to a specific sense, brought up before the most pious

		<p>Emperor himself, and qualified by the considerations mentioned above.</p> <p>1.12.15 As far as the condemnation they attached to the end of the creed, it did not cause us pain, because it forbade the use of words not found in Scripture, from which almost all the confusion and disorder in the Church have come. Since then no divinely inspired Scripture has used the phrases, "out of nothing," and "once he was not," and the rest which follow, there appeared no ground for using or teaching them. We think that this was a good decision, since it has never been our custom to use these terms.</p>
		<p>1.12.16 Additionally, it did not seem out of place to condemn the statement "Before he was begotten he did not exist," because everyone confesses that the Son of God existed before he was begotten according to the flesh.</p> <p>1.12.17 At this point in the discussion, our most pious Emperor maintained that the Son existed before all ages even according to his divinely inspired begetting, since even before the act of begetting was performed, in potentiality he was with the Father, even before he was begotten by him, since the Father is always Father, just as he is always King and always Savior; he has the potentiality to be all things, and remains exactly the same forever.</p>
		<p>1.12.18 We had to pass this on to you, beloved, to make sure our deliberation, our questions, and our ultimate agreement, was clear to you. You see how reasonably we resisted even to the last minute as long as we were offended at statements which differed from our own. But when a candid examination of the sense of the words was conducted, we accepted without contention what no longer pained us, since they appeared to us to be in harmony with what we ourselves have professed in the faith which we have already declared.</p>
		<p>1.13 Eusebius clearly testifies that the aforesaid term "consubstantial" is not a new one, nor the invention of the fathers assembled at the council; but that, from the very first it has been handed down from father to son. He states that all those then assembled unanimously received the creed then published; and he again bears testimony to the same fact in another work, in which he highly extols the conduct of the great Constantine. He writes as follows:</p>
		<p>"The emperor having delivered this discourse in Latin, it was translated into Greek by an interpreter, and then he gave liberty of speech to the leaders of the council. Some at once began to bring forward complaints against their neighbours, while others had recourse to recriminations and reproaches. Each party had much to urge, and at the beginning the debate waxed very violent. The emperor patiently and attentively listened to all that was advanced, and gave full attention to what was urged by each party in turn. He calmly endeavoured to reconcile the conflicting parties; addressing them mildly in Greek, of which language he was not ignorant, in a sweet and gentle manner. Some he convinced by argument, others he put to the blush; he commended those who had spoken well, and excited all to unanimity; until, at length, he reduced them all to oneness of mind and opinion on all the disputed points, so that they all agreed to hold the same faith, and to celebrate the festival of Salvation upon the same day. What had been decided was committed to writing, and was signed by all the bishops." Soon after the author thus continues the narrative: - "When matters had been thus arranged, the emperor gave them permission to return to their own dioceses. They returned with great joy, and have ever since continued to be of the one opinion, agreed upon in the presence of the emperor, and, though once widely separated, now united together, as it were, in one body. Constantine, rejoicing in the success of his efforts, made known these happy results by letter to those who were at a distance. He ordered large sums of money to be liberally distributed both among the inhabitants of the country and of the cities, in order that the twentieth anniversary of his reign might be celebrated with public festivities." Although the Arians impiously gainsay the statements of the other fathers, yet they ought to believe what has been written by</p>

		<p>this father, whom they have been accustomed to admire. They ought, therefore, to receive his testimony to the unanimity with which the confession of faith was signed by all. But, since they impugn the opinions of their own leaders, they ought to become acquainted with the most foul and terrible manner of the death of Arius and with all their powers to flee from the impious doctrine of which he was the parent. As it is likely that the mode of his death is not known by all, I shall here relate it.</p>
		<p>1.8.6b Athanasius, his fellow combatant, the champion of the truth, who succeeded the celebrated Alexander in the episcopate, added the following in a letter addressed to the Africans.</p>
		<p>1.8.7 "The bishops convened in council to refute the impious assertions invented by the Arians, that the Son was created out of what was non-existent, that He is a creature and created being, that there was a period in which He was not, and that He is changeable by nature. In accordance with the holy Scriptures, they agreed to write that the Son is by nature only-begotten of God, Word, Power, and sole Wisdom of the Father; that He is, as John said, 'the true God,' and, as Paul has written, 'the brightness of the glory, and the express image of the person of the Father.' [Heb. 1:3] The followers of Eusebius, drawn aside by their own vile doctrine, then began to say one to another, "Let us agree, because we are also of God;</p> <p>1.8.8 'There is but one God, by whom are all things;' and, 'Old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new, and all things are of God'.' They also gave particular attention to what is contained in 'The Shepherd:' 'Believe above all that there is one God, who created and fashioned all things, and made them to be out of that which is not.'</p> <p>1.8.9 "But the bishops saw through their evil design and impious fraud and gave a clearer explanation of the words 'of God' and wrote, that the Son is of the substance of God; so that while the creatures, which do not in any way derive their existence of or from themselves, are said to be of God, only the Son is said to be of the substance of the Father;</p> <p>1.8.10 this being unique to the only-begotten Son, the true Word of the Father. This is the reason why the bishops wrote, that He is of the substance of the Father. "But when the Arians, who seemed few in number, were again interrogated by the Bishops to see if they admitted 'that the Son is not a creature, but Power, and sole Wisdom, and eternal unchangeable Image of the Father; and that He is very God,' the Eusebians were noticed nodding to each other, saying, "These things apply to us as well. For it is said, that we are 'the image and glory of God;' and 'for always we who live:"</p> <p>1.8.11 There are, also, they said, many powers; "for it is written - 'All the power of God went out of the land of Egypt.' The worm and the locust are said to be 'a great power.' And elsewhere it is written, The God of powers is with us, our helper is the God of Jacob.' To which may be added that we are God's own not naturally, but because the Son called us 'brothers.'</p> <p>1.8.12 The declaration that Christ is 'the true God' does not distress us, for the one who came into being is true." "This was the corrupt opinion of the Arians; but at that time, the bishops, when they discovered their deceitfulness, collected from Scripture those passages which say of Christ that He is the glory, the fountain, the stream, and the express image of the person; and they quoted the following words: 'In your light we shall see light;' and likewise, 'I and the Father are one.'</p> <p>1.8.13 Then, with still greater clearness, they briefly declared that the Son is of one substance with the Father; for this, indeed, is the meaning of the passages which have been quoted.</p> <p>1.8.14 The complaint of the Arians, that these precise words are not to be found in Scripture, is proved groundless by their own practice, for their own impious assertions are not taken from Scripture (for it is not written that the Son comes from what was not, and that there was a time when He was not) and yet they complain about being</p>

		<p>condemned by expressions which, though not actually in Scripture, are in accordance with true religion. They themselves, on the other hand, as though they had found their words on a dunghill, uttered things that truly came from worldly thinking. The bishops, on the other hand, did not find their expressions for themselves, but, received their testimony from the fathers and wrote accordingly.</p> <p>1.8.15 Indeed, there were bishops of old, nearly one hundred and thirty years ago, both of the great city of Rome and of our own city, who condemned those who asserted that the Son is a creature, and that He is not of one substance with the Father. Eusebius, the bishop of Caesarea, was acquainted with these facts; he, at one time, favored the Arian heresy, but later signed the confession of faith of the Council of Nicaea.</p> <p>1.8.16 He wrote to the people of his diocese, maintaining that the word 'consubstantial' was 'used by illustrious bishops and learned writers as a term for expressing the divinity of the Father and of the Son.' "</p> <p>1.8.17 So these men concealed their madness because they feared the majority, and gave their assent to the decisions of the council, thus drawing upon themselves the condemnation of the prophet, for the God of all cries out against them, "This people honor Me with their lips, but in their hearts they are far from Me."</p> <p>1.8.18 Theonas and Secundus, however, did not want to take this course, and were excommunicated by unanimous agreement as men who lifted the Arian blasphemy above evangelical doctrine. The bishops then returned to the council, and drew up twenty laws to regulate the discipline of the Church.</p>
		<p>1.8.1 "I will now walk through in further detail how these different events occurred. What happened then? When a general council was summoned at Nicaea, about two hundred and seventy bishops were convened. There were, however, so many assembled that I cannot state their exact number, nor have I taken any great trouble to find out. When they began to investigate the nature of the faith, the formulation of Eusebius was brought forward, which contained undisguised evidence of his blasphemy.</p> <p>1.8.2 Its public reading gave great grief to the audience because of its departure from the faith, while it inflicted incurable shame on the writer.</p> <p>1.8.3 After the Eusebian gang had been clearly convicted, and the impious writing had been torn up in the sight of all, some among them worked together, under the pretense of preserving peace, to silence all the ablest speakers. The Ariomaniacs, afraid that they would be ejected from the Church by a council of so many bishops, sprang forward to anathematize and condemn the doctrines which had been condemned, and unanimously signed the confession of faith.</p> <p>1.8.4 Thus, they retained possession of their episcopal seats through the most shameful deception, even though they should have been dismissed. They continue, sometimes secretly, and sometimes openly, to patronize the condemned doctrines, plotting against the truth with various arguments. Wholly committed to sowing these wicked weeds, they shrink from the scrutiny of the intelligent, avoid the observant, and attack the preachers of godliness.</p> <p>1.8.5 But we do not believe that these atheists can in this way ever overcome the Deity. For though they 'gird themselves' they 'shall be broken in pieces,' according to the solemn prophecy of Isaiah."</p> <p>1.8.6a These are the words of the great Eustathius.</p>
<p>9.16b Nor was it the Synod alone that took the trouble to write letters to the churches announcing the restoration of peace, but the emperor Constantine himself also wrote personally and sent the following address to the church of the Alexandrians.</p>	<p>1.25.4 He [Constantine] wrote to the churches in every city, in order that he might make plain to those who had not been present, what had been rectified by the Synod; and especially to the Church of Alexandria he wrote more than this; urging them to lay aside all dissent, and to be harmonious in the faith issued by the Synod; for this could be nothing else than the judgment of God, since it was established by the Holy Spirit from the concurrence of so many and such illustrious high priests, and approved after accurate inquiry and test of all the doubtful points.</p>	

<p>[Socrates' summary of the letter] 1.9.26 Thus wrote the emperor to the Christians of Alexandria, assuring them that the exposition of the faith was neither made rashly nor at random, but that it was dictated after much research, and after strict investigation. He assured them that they did not only speak of some things, while suppressing other things in silence. Whatever could be fittingly advanced in support of any opinion was fully stated. Nothing indeed was determined beforehand; everything was previously discussed with minute accuracy so that every point which seemed to furnish a pretext for ambiguity of meaning, or difference of opinion, was thoroughly sifted, and its difficulties removed. 1.9.27 In short he describes the thought of all those who were assembled there as the thought of God, and does not doubt that the unanimity of so many eminent bishops was effected by the Holy Spirit.</p> <p>[Sabinus differs in opinion] 1.9.28 Sabinus, however, the chief of the heresy of the Macedonians, willfully rejects these authorities, and calls those who were convened there ignorant and illiterate people; no, he almost accuses Eusebius of Caesarea himself of ignorance. He does not consider that even if those who constituted that synod had been laymen, yet as being illuminated by God and the grace of the Holy Spirit, they were utterly unable to err from the truth. 1.9.29 Nevertheless, hear what the emperor further decreed in another circular letter both against Arius and those who held his opinions, sending it in all directions to the bishops and people.</p>		
<p>[Constantine's letter ordering Arius' banishment and the burning of his books] 1.9.30 Victor Constantine Maximus Augustus, to the bishops and people. Since Arius has imitated wicked and impious people, it is just that he should suffer disgrace. Just as Porphyry, that enemy of piety, for composing licentious treatises against religion found a suitable punishment: He was branded with infamy, overwhelmed with deserved reproach and had his impious writings destroyed; so also it seems fit that both Arius and those who hold his sentiments should be declared to be Porphyrians, that they may take their name from those whose conduct they have imitated. And in addition to this, if any treatise composed by Arius is discovered, let it be handed over to the flames. Then not only will his depraved doctrine be suppressed, but also no memorial of him will be preserved in any way. 1.9.31a Therefore, I decree this: If anyone is found to be concealing a book composed by Arius and does not instantly bring it forward and burn it, the penalty for this offense shall be death; for immediately after conviction the criminal shall suffer capital punishment. May God preserve you!</p>		
		<p>[Constantine's letter about when to celebrate Easter] 1.9.14b The great emperor also wrote an account of the proceedings of the council to those bishops who were unable to attend. And I consider it worthwhile to insert this epistle in my work, as it clearly evidences the piety of the writer.</p>
	<p>1.21.6 When this doctrinal controversy had been resolved, the council decided that the Paschal feast should be celebrated at the same time in every place.</p>	<p>1.10.1 Constantine Augustus, to the churches. The great grace of God's power has constantly been increasing, as is evident in the general prosperity of the empire. I therefore decided to make it my aim above all else that one faith, sincere love, and unvarying devotion to Almighty God be maintained among the most blessed assemblies of the catholic church. 1.10.2 But I perceived that this could only be established firmly and permanently when all of the bishops, or at least the greatest part, were convened in the same place for a council where they could discuss every point of our most holy religion. So we assembled as many as possible, and I myself was also present as one of you; for I will not deny what I especially rejoice in, that I am your fellow-servant. All points were then minutely investigated, until a decision</p>

was brought to light which was found acceptable to him who is the inspector of all things, and brought a unified agreement, leaving nothing which could cause dissension or controversy in matters of faith.

1.10.3 At the council we also considered the issue of our holiest day, Easter, and it was determined by common consent that everyone, everywhere should celebrate it on one and the same day. For what can be more appropriate, or what more solemn, than that this feast from which we have received the hope of immortality, should be kept by all without variation, using the same order and a clear arrangement? And in the first place, it seemed very unworthy for us to keep this most sacred feast following the custom of the Jews, a people who have soiled their hands in a most terrible outrage, and have thus polluted their souls, and are now deservedly blind. Since we have cast aside their way of calculating the date of the festival, we can ensure that future generations can celebrate this observance at the more accurate time which we have kept from the first day of the passion until the present time.

1.10.4 Therefore have nothing in common with that most hostile people, the Jews. We have received another way from the Savior. In our holy religion we have set before us a course which is both valid and accurate. Let us unanimously pursue this. Let us, most honored brothers, withdraw ourselves from that detestable association.

1.10.5 It is truly most absurd for them to boast that we are incapable of rightly observing these things without their instruction. On what subject are they competent to form a correct judgment, who, after that murder of their Lord lost their senses, and are led not by any rational motive, but by an uncontrollable impulsiveness to wherever their innate fury may drive them? This is why even in this matter they do not perceive the truth, so that they constantly err in the utmost degree, and will celebrate the Feast of Passover a second time in the same year instead of making a suitable correction.

1.10.6 Why then should we follow the example of those who are acknowledged to be infected with serious error? Surely we should never allow Easter to be kept twice in one and the same year! But even if these considerations were not laid before you, you should still be careful, both by diligence and prayer, that your pure souls should have nothing in common, or even seem to do so, with the customs of men so utterly depraved.

1.10.7 This should also be considered: In a matter so important and of such religious significance, the slightest disagreement is most irreverent.

1.10.8 For our Savior left us only one day to be observed in remembrance of our deliverance, that is the day of his most holy passion. He also wished his catholic church to be one; the members of which are still cared for by one Spirit, that is by the will of God, however much they may be scattered in various places.

1.10.9 Let the good sense consistent with your sacred character consider how grievous and inappropriate it is, that on the same days some should be observing fasts, while others are celebrating feasts; and after the days of Easter some should celebrate festivities and enjoyments, while others submit to appointed fastings. For this reason Divine Providence directed that we put into effect an appropriate correction and establish uniformity of practice, as I suppose you are all aware.

1.10.10 So first, it was desirable to change the situation so that we have nothing in common with that nation of father-killers who slew their Lord. Second, the order which is observed by all the churches of the western, southern, and northern parts, and by some also in the eastern is quite suitable. Therefore, at the current time, we all thought it was proper that you, intelligent as you are, would also cheerfully accept what is observed with such general unanimity of sentiment in the city of Rome, throughout Italy, Africa, all Egypt, Spain, France, Britain, Libya, the whole of Greece, and the dioceses of Asia, Pontus, and Cilicia. I pledged myself that this solution

		<p>would satisfy you after you carefully examined it, especially as I considered that not only are the majority of congregations located in the places just mentioned, but also that we all have a most sacred obligation, to unite in desiring whatever common sense seems to demand, and what has no association with the perjury of the Jews.</p> <p>1.10.11 But to sum up matters briefly, it was determined by common consent that the most holy festival of Easter should be solemnized on one and the same day; for it is not at all decent that there should be in such a sacred serious matter any difference. It is quite commendable to adopt this option which has nothing to do with any strange errors, nor deviates from what is right.</p> <p>1.10.12 Since these things are consistent, gladly receive this heavenly and truly divine command. For whatever is done in the sacred assemblies of the bishops can be traced to Divine will. Therefore, once you have demonstrated the things which have been prescribed to all our beloved brothers, it would be good for you to make public the above written statements and to accept the reasoning which has proved itself to be sound, and to establish this observance of the most holy day. In this way, when I arrive to check on your condition, which I have desired earnestly for some time, I will be able to celebrate the sacred festival with you on one and the same day, and will rejoice with you for all things, as I see that through our efforts divine power is frustrating Satan's cruelty, and that your faith, peace, and unity are flourishing everywhere. May God preserve you, beloved brothers.</p> <p>1.11.1a Thus did the emperor write to the absent.</p>
<p>[Constantine writes other letters against Arians]</p> <p>1.9.64 When the emperor had also written other letters of a more oratorical character against Arius and his adherents, he caused them to be published everywhere throughout the cities, exposing him to ridicule and taunting him with irony.</p> <p>1.9.65 Moreover, writing to the Nicomedians against Eusebius and Theognis, he censures the misconduct of Eusebius, not only on account of his Arianism, but because when he was formerly well-affected to the ruler, he had traitorously conspired against his affairs. He then exhorts them to elect another bishop instead of him.</p> <p>1.9.66 But I thought it would be superfluous to insert here the letters respecting these things, because of their length. Those who wish to do so may find them elsewhere and give them a perusal. This is a sufficient amount of attention given to these transactions.</p>		
		<p>1.11.2 He then wrote to the governors of the provinces, directing that provision-money should be given in every city to virgins and widows, and to those who were consecrated to the divine service; and he measured the amount of their annual allowance more by the impulse of his own generosity than by their need.</p> <p>1.11.3 The third part of the sum is distributed to this day. Julian impiously withheld the whole. His successor conferred the sum which is now dispensed because the famine which then prevailed had lessened the resources of the state. If the pensions were formerly triple in amount to what they are at present, the generosity of the emperor can by this fact be easily seen.</p>
	<p>1.25.1 At the very time that these decrees were passed by the council, the twentieth anniversary of the reign of Constantine was celebrated; for it was a Roman custom to have a feast on the tenth year of every reign. The emperor, therefore, thought it to be opportune, and invited the Synod to the festival, and presented suitable gifts to them.</p> <p>1.25.2 When they prepared to return home, he called them all together, and exhorted them to be of one mind about the faith and at peace among themselves, so that no dissensions might creep in among them from then on.</p>	<p>1.11.1b To those who attended the council, three hundred and eighteen in number he manifested great kindness, addressing them with much gentleness, and presenting them with gifts. He ordered numerous couches to be prepared for their accommodation and entertained them all at one banquet. Those who were most worthy he received at his own table, distributing the rest at the others. Observing that some among them had had the right eye torn out, and learning that this mutilation had been undergone for the sake of religion, he placed his lips upon the wounds, believing that he would extract a blessing from the kiss. After the conclusion of the feast, he again presented other gifts to them.</p>
<p>1.13.11a The bishops who were convened at the council of Nicaea,</p>	<p>1.25.3 After many other similar exhortations, he concluded by</p>	

<p>after having drawn up and enrolled certain other ecclesiastical regulations, which they usually call canons, again departed to their respective cities.</p>	<p>commanding them to be diligent in prayer, and always to supplicate God for himself, his children, and the empire, and after he had thus addressed those who had come to Nicaea, he bade them farewell.</p>	
<p>1.13.12b This Synod was convened (as we have discovered from the notation of the date prefixed to the record of the Synod) during the consulate of Paulinus and Julian, on the 20th day of May, in the 636th year from the reign of Alexander the Macedonian. Accordingly, the work of the council was accomplished. It should be noted that after the council the emperor went into the western parts of the empire.</p>		
<p>1.6.36b The Meletians mingled with the Arians, who a little while before had been separated from the Church—but who these [Meletians] are must now be stated.</p>		
<p>1.6.37 Peter, bishop of Alexandria, who suffered martyrdom in the reign of Diocletian, deposed a certain Meletius, bishop of one of the cities in Egypt. He was deposed on account of many charges, but especially because during the persecution he had denied the faith and sacrificed to foreign gods.</p>	<p>1.15.1 Although, as we have seen, our religion flourished during this time, some contentious issues troubled the churches. While pretending to pursue piety and a more precise understanding of God, certain questions were raised that had not previously been explored. A priest of the church at Alexandria in Egypt, Arius, was the one who initiated these ideas. 1.15.2 At first he was an enthusiastic thinker about doctrine and supported the innovations of Meletius. Eventually he abandoned the position of Meletius and was ordained a deacon by Peter, bishop of Alexandria. Later, however, Peter threw him out of the church. For when Peter anathematized those who zealously supported Meletius and rejected the baptisms they had performed, Arius attacked him for these actions and would not remain quiet on the issue. After Peter was martyred, Arius asked forgiveness of Achillas, was restored to his office as deacon, and later elevated to the priesthood. Afterwards Alexander also thought highly of him.</p>	<p>1.9.1a After Meletius had been ordained bishop, which was not long before the Arian controversy, he was convicted of certain crimes by the most holy Peter, bishop of Alexandria, who also received the crown of martyrdom. After Peter deposed him, he did not accept his deposition. Instead, he filled the Thebaid and the adjacent part of Egypt with tumult and disturbance and rebelled against the episcopal authority Alexandria.</p>
<p>1.6.38 Even though he had been removed from his office, this man continued to have many followers. He became the leader of the heresy of those who, throughout Egypt, are to this day called Meletians, name after Meletius. Since he had no rational excuse for his separation from the Church, he pretended that he had simply been wronged and loaded Peter with slanderous rebukes. Now Peter died the death of a martyr during the persecution, and so Meletius transferred his abuse first to Achillas, who succeeded Peter as bishop, and after that again to Alexander, the successor of Achillas.</p>		
<p>1.6.39 While this was the state of affairs among them, the controversy over Arius arose, and Meletius, together with his followers, worked with Arius, conspiring with him against the bishop. 1.6.40 But just as many people regarded the opinion of Arius as untenable. They defended Alexander's decision against him and thought that condemnation was appropriate for those who favored his views. Meanwhile Eusebius of Nicomedia and his party, men who favored the sentiments of Arius, demanded by letter that the sentence of excommunication which had been pronounced against him should be repealed, and that those who had been excluded should be readmitted to the Church, since they held no false doctrine. 1.6.41 Thus letters from the opposite parties were sent to the bishop of Alexandria. Arius gathered those which were favorable to himself while Alexander did the same with those which were opposed to Arius. This became a plausible opportunity for the sects to defend themselves. At present the prevalent sects are the Arians, Eunomians, and those named after Macedonius. Each of them makes use of these letters to defend their heresies.</p>		
<p>1.8.55b At the same time the Council itself was in complete agreement and wrote the following letter to the church of Alexandria and to believers in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis.</p>	<p>1.24.1 After an investigation had been made into the conduct of Meletius while he was in Egypt, the Council sentenced him to reside in Lycus and to retain only the name of bishop. They prohibited him from ordaining any one either in a city or a village. This law permitted those who had previously been ordained by him to remain in fellowship and in ministry. However, they were to rank in honor below the other clergy in church and parish.</p>	<p>1.9.1b A letter was written by the council to the Church of Alexandria, stating what had been decreed against Meletius' revolutionary practices. It was as follows</p>

1.24.2 When by death a position became vacant, they were allowed to succeed to it, if deemed worthy by the vote of the multitude. Yet in such a case they were to be ordained by the bishop of the Church of Alexandria, for they were prohibited from exercising any power or influence themselves in elections.

1.24.3 This regulation appeared just to the Council because Meletius and his followers had manifested great rashness and boldness in administering ordination. The regulation also nullified the ordinations of every type which differed from those of Peter. Peter, when he conducted the Alexandrian Church, fled on account of the persecution then raging, but afterward suffered martyrdom.

1.9.2 To the great church of the Alexandrians, which is holy by the grace of God, and to our beloved brothers throughout Egypt, Libya, and the Pentapolis. We bishops assembled at Nicaea, constituting the great and holy council, send greetings in the Lord.

1.9.3 Since, by the grace of God, a great and holy council has been convened at Nicaea, after our most pious sovereign Constantine summoned us out of various cities and provinces for that purpose, we at the sacred council thought it most necessary to write you a letter, in order that you may know what subjects were considered and examined, and what was eventually decided on and decreed.

1.9.4 In the first place, the impiety and guilt of Arius and his adherents was examined in the presence of our most pious emperor Constantine. We unanimously decided that his impious opinion should be anathematized, with all the blasphemous expressions he has uttered, namely that "the Son of God came to be out of nothing," that "there was a time when he was not," and even that "the Son of God, because he possessed free will, was capable of either both evil and good." They also call him a creature (ktisma) and a work (poiēma).

1.9.5 The holy Council has anathematized all these ideas, barely able to endure it as we listened to such impious opinions (or rather madnesses) and such blasphemous words. You must either have been informed of the verdict of our proceedings against him already, or you will soon learn. We will omit relating our actions here, for we would not trample on a man who has already received the punishment which his crime deserved.

1.9.6 Yet his deadly error has proved so contagious that it has dragged Theonas of Marmarica, and Secundus of Ptolemais, into destruction; for they have suffered the same condemnation as Arius. But after the grace of God delivered us from those detestable heresies, with all their impiety and blasphemy, and from those persons, who had dared to cause such conflict and division among a people previously at peace, the rash actions of Meletius and those who had been ordained by him still remained to be dealt with. We now state to you, beloved brothers, what resolution the Council came to on this point.

1.9.7 The Council was moved with compassion towards Meletius, although strictly speaking he was wholly undeserving of favor, and decreed that he remain in office in his own city but exercise no authority either to ordain or nominate for ordination; and that he appear in no other district or city on this pretense, retaining no more than the normal level of authority. The Council also decided that those who had been appointed by him, after having been confirmed by a more legitimate ordination, should be admitted to communion on these conditions: that they should continue to hold their rank and ministry, but regard themselves as inferior in every respect to all those who have been ordained and established in each place and church by our most-honored fellow-minister, Alexander. Thus they will have no authority to propose or nominate whom they please, or to do anything at all without the agreement of some bishop of the catholic church who is one of Alexander's subordinates.

1.9.8 On the other hand, those who by the grace of God and your prayers have not been found in schism, but have continued blameless in the catholic church, shall have authority to nominate and ordain those who are worthy of the sacred office, and to act in all things

		<p>according to ecclesiastical law and custom.</p> <p>1.9.9 When it happens that those holding offices in the church die, then these who have been recently admitted will be advanced to the office of the deceased, provided that they are found worthy, that they are duly elected, and that the bishop of Alexandria ratifies the decision.</p> <p>1.9.10 This right is allowed for all the others indeed, but to Meletius personally we by no means grant the same permission, on account of his former disorderly conduct, and because of the rashness and fickleness of his character. We want no authority or jurisdiction to be given to him, for he is a man liable again to create similar disturbances.</p> <p>1.9.11 These are the things which specifically affect Egypt, and the most holy church of the Alexandrians. If any other canon or ordinance has been established, our Lord and most-honored fellow-minister and brother Alexander, who is present with us, will explain the more specific details when he returns to you, since he has participated in all we have done, and has in fact been the leader.</p> <p>1.9.12 We also have good news for you that we have harmonized our opinions on the subject of the most holy feast of Easter, which has been happily settled through your prayers. All the brothers in the east who have previously kept this festival when the Jews did have agreed with the Romans, with us, and with all of you who have kept Easter with us from the beginning, to follow the same custom as we.</p> <p>1.9.13 So rejoice in these results and in the general agreement and peace, as well as in the cleansing of all heresy. Receive our fellow-minister and your bishop Alexander with great honor and abundant love, because he has greatly delighted us by his presence. Even at his advanced age, he has undergone extraordinary efforts in order that peace might be re-established among you. Pray on behalf of us all, that the things we decided were appropriate may be maintained without violation through Almighty God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, together with the Holy Spirit, to whom be glory forever. Amen.</p>
<p>1.9.15 This letter of the Council makes it clear that they not only condemned Arius and his adherents, but also the very expressions of his beliefs. It also shows that after they agreed among themselves respecting the celebration of Easter, they readmitted the arch-heretic Meletius into communion, allowing him to retain his episcopal rank but depriving him of all authority to act as a bishop. It is for this reason, I suppose, that even at the present time the Meletians in Egypt are separated from the church, because the Synod removed all power from Meletius.</p>		
	<p>2.17.4 This is the account given by Apolinarius concerning Athanasius [’s election]. The Arians assert that after the death of Alexander the respective followers of that bishop and of Meletius held communion together. Fifty-four bishops from Thebes and other parts of Egypt assembled together. They supposedly agreed by oath to choose, by a common vote, the man who could advantageously administer the Church of Alexandria, but seven of the bishops, in violation of their oath and against everyone’s wishes, secretly ordained Athanasius. They say that this is why many of the people and many of the Egyptian clergy seceded from communion with him.</p>	
<p>1.15.1a After this Alexander bishop of Alexandria died and Athanasius was set over that church.</p>	<p>2.17.5 For my part I am convinced that it was by Divine appointment that Athanasius succeeded to the highpriesthood; for he was eloquent, intelligent, and capable of opposing plots—of such a man the times had the greatest need. He displayed great aptitude in the exercise of the ecclesiastical functions and fitness for the priesthood and was, so to speak, from his earliest years, self-taught.</p>	<p>1.26.1 Alexander, that admirable bishop, who had successfully withstood the blasphemies of Arius, died five months after the council of Nicaea. He was succeeded in the episcopate of the church of Alexandria by Athanasius. Trained from his youth in sacred studies, Athanasius had attracted general admiration in each ecclesiastical office that he filled.</p> <p>1.26.2 He had at the general council so defended the doctrines of the apostles that, while he won the admiration of all the champions of the truth, its opponents learned to look on their antagonist as a personal foe and public enemy.</p> <p>1.26.3a He had attended the council as one of the retinue of Alexander. Although he as a very young man, he was the principal</p>

		deacon.
	<p>2.21.1 In the meantime the controversy which had been stirred in the beginning among the Egyptians could not be quelled. The Arian heresy had been soundly condemned by the council of Nicaea, while the followers of Meletius had been admitted into communion under the stipulations above stated. When Alexander returned to Egypt, Meletius delivered up to him the churches whose government he had unlawfully usurped and returned to Lycus.</p> <p>2.21.2 Not long after, when he realized his end was approaching, he nominated John, one of his most intimate friends, as his successor, contrary to the decree of the Nicaean Council. And so he produced a fresh cause of discord in the churches.</p>	
	<p>2.21.3 When the Arians perceived that the Meletians were introducing additional teachings, they also harassed the churches. For, as frequently occurs in similar disturbances, some applauded the opinion of Arius, while others contended that those who had been ordained by Meletius ought to govern the churches. These two bodies of sectarians had until this time been opposed to each other. But when they saw that the priests of the Catholic Church were popular with the masses, they became jealous.</p> <p>2.21.4 So they formed an alliance together and manifested a common enmity toward the clergy of Alexandria. Their measures of attack and defense were carried on in concert for so long that eventually in Egypt the Meletians were generally called Arians, even though they only cause dissent on questions of the leadership of the churches, while the Arians hold the same opinions concerning God as Arius.</p> <p>2.21.5 Although they individually denied one another's tenets, they concealed the contradictions between their own views in order to attain an underhanded agreement in the fellowship of their enmity. At the same time each group expected to prevail easily in what it desired. From this period on, however, the Meletians, after discussion on those topics, received the Arian doctrines and held the same opinion as Arius concerning God. This revived the original controversy concerning Arius, and some of the laity and clergy seceded from communion with the others.</p>	
	<p>2.22.6a Athanasius, however, wrote to the emperor and convinced him that the Arians ought not to be received into communion by the Catholic Church;</p>	
<p>1.27.6 Then the followers of Eusebius, hostile towards Athanasius, thought they had found a seasonable opportunity and welcomed the emperor's displeasure as a tool for their own purpose. Because of this they raised a great disturbance, attempting to remove him from his bishopric. They assumed that the Arian teaching would only prevail with the removal of Athanasius.</p> <p>1.27.7a The chief conspirators against him were Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nicaea, Maris of Chalcedon, Ursacius of Singidnum in Upper Moesia, and Valens of Mursa in Upper Pannonia. These people bribed certain followers of the Meletian heresy to fabricate various charges against Athanasius.</p>	<p>2.22.6b ... and Eusebius perceived that his schemes could never be carried out while Athanasius worked in opposition. Thus, he determined to resort to any means in order to get rid of him. But because he could not find a good excuse to remove Athanasius, he promised the Meletians to influence the emperor and those in power in their favor if they would bring an accusation against Athanasius.</p>	
		<p>1.26.3 Those who had denied the only-begotten Son of God heard that the helm of the Church of Alexandria had been entrusted to his [Athanasius'] hands. They knew by experience his zeal for the truth well enough that they thought that his rule would prove the destruction of their authority. They, therefore, resorted to the following conspiracy against him.</p>
<p>1.27.7b First they accused him through the Meletians Ision, Eudaemon and Callinicus, of ordering the Egyptians to pay a linen garment as tribute to the church at Alexandria. 1.27.8a But this slander was immediately disproved by Alypius and Macarius, presbyters of the Alexandrian church, who then happened to be at Nicomedia. They convinced the emperor that these statements against Athanasius were false.</p>		<p>1.26.4 In order to avoid suspicion they bribed some of the supporters of Meletius who, although deposed by the council of Nicaea, had continued causing disturbances in the Thebaid and in the adjacent part of Egypt. They persuaded them to go to the emperor and to accuse Athanasius of levying a tax on Egypt and giving the gold collected to a certain man who was preparing to usurp the imperial power.</p>

<p>1.27.18 They had by some means, I know not how, obtained a dead man's hand. Whether they themselves had murdered someone and cut off his hand or had severed it from some dead body, only God and the perpetrators of the deed know. Be that as it may, they publicly announced it as the hand of Arsenius, a Meletian bishop, while they kept the alleged owner of it concealed. This hand, they claimed, had been used by Athanasius to perform certain magic arts.</p>	<p>2.23.1 When their first attempt failed, the Meletians secretly concocted other accusations against Athanasius. On the one hand they charged him with breaking a sacred chalice, and on the other with the murder of Arsenius, cutting his arm off, and afterwards using it for magical purposes. It is said that this Arsenius was one of the clergy, but when he had committed some crime, he fled to a hiding place because he was afraid of being convicted and punished by his bishop.</p>	<p>1.28.1 The slanderers of Athanasius, however, did not cease their attempts. On the contrary, they devised such a bold fiction against him that it surpassed every invention of the ancient writers of the tragic or comic stage. They again bribed individuals of the same party [Meletians] and brought them before the emperor, raucously accusing that champion of virtue of many abominable crimes. The leaders of the party were Eusebius, Theognis, and Theodorus, bishop of Perinthus, a city now called Heraclea. 1.30.1 Arsenius was a bishop of the Meletian faction. The men of his party put him in a place of concealment and ordered him to remain there as long as possible. They then cut off the right hand of a corpse, embalmed it, placed it in a wooden case, and carried it around everywhere, declaring that it was the hand of Arsenius, who had been murdered by Athanasius. But the all-seeing eye did not permit Arsenius to remain hidden for long.</p>
	<p>2.23.2 The enemies of Athanasius devised the most serious attack for this occasion. They diligently searched for Arsenius. When they had found him, they showed him great kindness and promised to secure for him every goodwill and security. They conducted him secretly to Patrines, a presbyter of a monastery, who was one of their allies and was working for the same interests. After they had carefully concealed him in this way, they meticulously spread the report in the market-places and public assemblies that he had been slain by Athanasius. They also bribed John, a monk, to corroborate the accusation.</p>	
<p>1.27.19 Therefore it was established as the gravest grounds for an accusation which these slanderers had come up with against him. And as it generally happens, anyone who had a grievance against Athanasius came forward at that time with a variety of other charges.</p>	<p>2.23.3 This evil report was universally circulated and had even reached the ears of the emperor. Athanasius, afraid that it would be difficult to defend his cause before judges whose minds were influenced by such false rumors, resorted to strategies like those of his adversaries. He did everything in his power to prevent truth from being obscured by their attacks;</p>	
<p>1.27.20 When the emperor was informed of these proceedings, he wrote to his nephew Dalmatius the censor, who at that time lived at Antioch in Syria. The emperor directed him to order the accused parties to be brought before him and after due investigation to inflict punishment on whomever was convicted. 1.27.21 He also sent Eusebius and Theognis there so that the case might be tried in their presence. When Athanasius knew that he was going to be summoned before the inspector, he sent men into Egypt to make an arduous search for Arsenius. Although Athanasius found out that he was indeed hiding there, Athanasius was unable to apprehend him because he often changed his hiding place. Meanwhile, the emperor stopped the trial, which was to have been held before the inspector, for that reason.</p>		
	<p>2.23.4 ... but the multitude could not be convinced, because Arsenius did not turn up. Athanasius realized, therefore, that the suspicion resting on him could not be removed except by proving that Arsenius, who was said to be dead, was still alive. He sent a most trustworthy deacon on a quest to find him. The deacon went to Thebes and learned from the statements of some monks where he was living. When he came to Patrines, who had hidden him, he found that Arsenius was not there. The moment the arrival of the deacon had been reported, he had been moved to Lower Egypt. 2.23.5 The deacon arrested Patrines and conducted him to Alexandria. He arrested Elias as well, one of his associates, who was said to have been the person who moved Arsenius elsewhere. He delivered them both to the commander of the Egyptian forces, and they confessed that Arsenius was still alive, that he had been secretly hidden in their house, and that he was now living in Egypt. 2.23.6 Athanasius took care that all these facts should be reported to Constantine. The emperor wrote back to him, encouraging him to continue to perform his priestly functions and to maintain order and piety among the people. He told him not to worry about the conspiracy of the Meletians because it was clear that envy was the only reason</p>	

	<p>for the disturbance in the churches and for the false indictments which were circulated against him.</p> <p>2.23.7 The emperor added that, in the future, he should pay no attention to such reports and that, unless the slanderers preserved the peace, he should certainly subject them to the rigor of the state laws and let justice have its course. For they had not only unjustly plotted against the innocent, but had also shamefully abused the good order and piety of the Church. Such was the sense of the emperor's letter to Athanasius. He also commanded that it should be read aloud in public, in order that everyone would know his intentions.</p> <p>2.23.8 The Meletians were alarmed at these warnings and became quieter for a while, because they were anxious about the ruler's threats. The churches throughout Egypt enjoyed profound peace and, directed by the leadership of this great priest, daily increased in numbers by the conversion of multitudes of pagans and other heretics.</p>	
	<p>2.25.1 The new plots of the enemies of Athanasius placed him in fresh troubles, aroused the hatred of the emperor against him, and stirred up a multitude of accusers. Wearied by their demands, the emperor convened a council at Caesarea in Palestine. Athanasius was summoned to it. But because he was afraid of the dishonesty of Eusebius, bishop of the city, of Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, and of their party, he refused to attend, and for thirty months, although pressed to attend, he persisted in his refusal.</p> <p>2.25.2 At the end of that period, however, he was pressured more urgently and traveled to Tyre, where a great number of the bishops of the East were assembled. They commanded him to defend against the charges of those who accused him.</p>	
	<p>2.31.4 When Constantine heard that the church [in Alexandria] was split into two factions, one which supported Athanasius and the other John, he was beside himself with indignation and personally exiled John. This John had succeeded Meletius and had, with those who held the same sentiments as he did, been restored to communion and reappointed into the clergy by the Synod of Tyre.</p> <p>2.31.5 They enemies of Athanasius did not want John banished, yet it was done. The decrees of the Synod of Tyre also did not benefit John, for the emperor was beyond supplication or petition of any kind when someone was suspected of stirring up Christian people to sedition or dissension.</p>	
		<p>1.9.14a Despite the efforts of that divine assembly of bishops to apply this medicine to the Meletian disease, traces of this heresy remain even to this day. For there are in some districts bodies of monks who refuse to follow sound doctrine and observe certain vain points of discipline, agreeing with the heretical views of the Jews and the Samaritans.</p>
	<p>[Summary of Constantine's letter to Alexander and Arius] 1.16.1 After there had been many synods held in Egypt and the conflict still had continued to increase in violence, the report of the dissension reached the palace, and it troubled Constantine greatly. Just at that time when religion was beginning to be more generally accepted, many were deterred by the difference in doctrines from embracing Christianity.</p> <p>1.16.2 The emperor openly charged Arius and Alexander with initiating this disturbance. He wrote to rebuke them for making a controversy public when it was in their power to have it concealed and for having contentiously agitated a question which ought never to have been opened for discussion or upon which, at least, their opinion ought to have been given quietly. He told them that they ought not to have separated from the other because of difference of opinion concerning certain points of doctrine.</p> <p>1.16.3 For concerning God men ought to hold one and the same belief. The trivial differences in this province, especially if they do not bring people to the one opinion, must be logically kept in secret. He exhorted them to put away all loose talk about such points and to be of one mind. For he had been very grieved and on this account he had</p>	<p>[Arianism divides the East]</p> <p>1.6.9 And so when the blasphemous doctrine had been circulated in the churches of Egypt and of the East, disputes and contentions arose in every city and in every village concerning theological teachings.</p> <p>1.6.10 The common people looked on and became judges of what was said on either side. Some applauded one party, and some the other. These were, indeed, scenes fit for a tragic stage over which tears might have been shed. For it was not, as in days gone by, that the church was being attacked by strangers and enemies, but now natives of the same country, who dwelled under one roof and sat down at one table, fought against each other not with spears but with their tongues. And what was sadder still, those who in this way took up arms against one another were members of one another and belonged to one body.</p>

	<p>renounced his intention of visiting the cities of the East.</p> <p>1.16.4a It was in this strain that he wrote to Alexander and to Arius, reproving and exhorting them both.</p> <p>[Division over Easter customs]</p> <p>1.16.4b Constantine was also deeply grieved at the diversity of opinions concerning the celebration of the Passover. Some of the cities in the East differed on this point, although they did not withhold from communion with one another. They kept the festival more according to the manner of the Jews and, as a natural result of this divergence, detracted from the splendor of the festal sacrifice.</p>	
<p>[Constantine sends Hosius to promote unity]</p> <p>1.7.1 When the emperor [Constantine] learned about these disturbances, he was very deeply grieved. He regarded the matter as a personal misfortune and immediately began trying to extinguish the conflagration which had been kindled. He also sent a letter to Alexander and Arius by a trustworthy person named Hosius, who was bishop of Cordova in Spain. The emperor greatly loved this man and held him in the highest regard.</p>	<p>[Constantine sends Hosius to promote unity]</p> <p>1.16.5 The emperor zealously strove to remove both these causes of dissension from the church. Thinking that he would be able to remove the evil before it grew to greater proportions, he sent one who was honored for his faith, his virtuous life, and most approved in those former times for his confessions about this doctrine. Constantine sent him to reconcile those who were divided on account of doctrine in Egypt and those who in the East differed about the Passover. This man was Hosius, bishop of Cordova.</p>	<p>[Constantine sends Hosius to promote unity]</p> <p>1.7.1 The emperor, who possessed the most profound wisdom, heard of these things and endeavored, as a first step, to stop up their fountain-head. Therefore, expecting to reconcile the two sides, he dispatched a messenger renowned for his ready wit to Alexandria with letters in an attempt to extinguish the dispute.</p>
<p>1.8.1 Such admirable and wise counsel did the emperor's letter contain [This letter can be found in 1.3]. But the evil had become too strong both for the exhortations of the emperor and the authority of him who was the bearer of his letter. Neither Alexander nor Arius were softened by this appeal</p> <p>1.8.2 Moreover, another local source of trouble was working there, which served to trouble the churches: the dispute, namely, in regard to the Passover, which was carried on in the regions of the East only. This arose from some who desired to keep the Feast more in accordance with the custom of the Jews, while others preferred how it was celebrated by Christians in general throughout the world.</p> <p>1.8.3 This difference, however, did not interfere with their communion, although their mutual joy was, of course hindered.</p>	<p>1.17.1a It was found that the event did not fulfill the expectations of the emperor but that, on the contrary, the contention was too great for reconciliation, so that the one who had been sent to make peace returned without having accomplished his mission.</p>	
<p>1.8.4 Therefore, when the emperor saw that the Church was agitated on account of both of these causes, he convoked a General Council, summoning all the bishops by letter to meet him at Nicaea in Bithynia. So the bishops assembled out of the various provinces and cities.</p>	<p>1.17.1b So Constantine convened a synod at Nicaea, in Bithynia, and wrote to the most important men of the churches in every country, directing them to be there on an appointed day.</p>	<p>1.7.2 But when his hopes were smashed, he summoned the celebrated council of Nicaea and pledged his word that the bishops and their officials would be furnished with donkeys, mules, and horses for their journey, at the public expense. When all those who were able to endure the exhaustion of the journey had arrived at Nicaea, he went there himself, both to see the multitude of bishops and to fulfill his desire of leading them into unity. At once, he arranged that all their wants should be liberally supplied.</p>
<p>1.8.55b At the same time the Council itself, with one accord, wrote the following epistle to the Alexandrian church and to believers in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis.</p>		<p>1.9.1b A letter was written by the council to the Church of Alexandria which stated what had been decreed against his [Meletius] revolutionary practices. It was as follows:</p>
	<p>1.21.6 With the termination of this doctrinal controversy, the council decided that the Paschal feast should be celebrated at the same time in every place</p>	<p>1.9.2 To the great church of the Alexandrians, which is holy by the grace of God, and to our beloved brothers throughout Egypt, Libya, and the Pentapolis. We bishops assembled at Nicaea, constituting the great and holy council, send greetings in the Lord.</p> <p>1.9.3 Since, by the grace of God, a great and holy council has been convened at Nicaea, after our most pious sovereign Constantine summoned us out of various cities and provinces for that purpose, we at the sacred council thought it most necessary to write you a letter, in order that you may know what subjects were considered and examined, and what was eventually decided on and decreed.</p> <p>1.9.4 In the first place, the impiety and guilt of Arius and his adherents was examined in the presence of our most pious emperor Constantine. We unanimously decided that his impious opinion should be anathematized, with all the blasphemous expressions he has uttered, namely that "the Son of God came to be out of nothing," that "there was a time when he was not," and even that "the Son of God, because he possessed free will, was capable of either both evil and good." They also call him a creature (ktisma) and a work (poiēma).</p> <p>1.9.5 The holy Council has anathematized all these ideas, barely able to endure it as we listened to such impious opinions (or rather</p>

madnesses) and such blasphemous words. You must either have been informed of the verdict of our proceedings against him already, or you will soon learn. We will omit relating our actions here, for we would not trample on a man who has already received the punishment which his crime deserved.

1.9.6 Yet his deadly error has proved so contagious that it has dragged Theonas of Marmarica, and Secundus of Ptolemais, into destruction; for they have suffered the same condemnation as Arius. But after the grace of God delivered us from those detestable heresies, with all their impiety and blasphemy, and from those persons, who had dared to cause such conflict and division among a people previously at peace, the rash actions of Meletius and those who had been ordained by him still remained to be dealt with. We now state to you, beloved brothers, what resolution the Council came to on this point.

1.9.7 The Council was moved with compassion towards Meletius, although strictly speaking he was wholly undeserving of favor, and decreed that he remain in office in his own city but exercise no authority either to ordain or nominate for ordination; and that he appear in no other district or city on this pretense, retaining no more than the normal level of authority. The Council also decided that those who had been appointed by him, after having been confirmed by a more legitimate ordination, should be admitted to communion on these conditions: that they should continue to hold their rank and ministry, but regard themselves as inferior in every respect to all those who have been ordained and established in each place and church by our most-honored fellow-minister, Alexander. Thus they will have no authority to propose or nominate whom they please, or to do anything at all without the agreement of some bishop of the catholic church who is one of Alexander's subordinates.

1.9.8 On the other hand, those who by the grace of God and your prayers have not been found in schism, but have continued blameless in the catholic church, shall have authority to nominate and ordain those who are worthy of the sacred office, and to act in all things according to ecclesiastical law and custom.

1.9.9 When it happens that those holding offices in the church die, then these who have been recently admitted will be advanced to the office of the deceased, provided that they are found worthy, that they are duly elected, and that the bishop of Alexandria ratifies the decision.

1.9.10 This right is allowed for all the others indeed, but to Meletius personally we by no means grant the same permission, on account of his former disorderly conduct, and because of the rashness and fickleness of his character. We want no authority or jurisdiction to be given to him, for he is a man liable again to create similar disturbances.

1.9.11 These are the things which specifically affect Egypt, and the most holy church of the Alexandrians. If any other canon or ordinance has been established, our Lord and most-honored fellow-minister and brother Alexander, who is present with us, will explain the more specific details when he returns to you, since he has participated in all we have done, and has in fact been the leader.

1.9.12 We also have good news for you that we have harmonized our opinions on the subject of the most holy feast of Easter, which has been happily settled through your prayers. All the brothers in the east who have previously kept this festival when the Jews did have agreed with the Romans, with us, and with all of you who have kept Easter with us from the beginning, to follow the same custom as we.

1.9.13 So rejoice in these results and in the general agreement and peace, as well as in the cleansing of all heresy. Receive our fellow-minister and your bishop Alexander with great honor and abundant love, because he has greatly delighted us by his presence. Even at his advanced age, he has undergone extraordinary efforts in order that peace might be re-established among you. Pray on behalf of us all, that the things we decided were appropriate may be maintained without violation through Almighty God, and our Lord Jesus Christ,

<p>1.9.15 This letter of the Council makes it plain that they not only anathematized Arius and his adherents, but also the very expressions of his beliefs. After they agreed among themselves respecting the celebration of Easter, they readmitted the arch-heretic Meletius into communion, allowing him to retain his episcopal rank, but depriving him of all authority to act as a bishop. It is for this reason I suppose that even at the present time the Meletians in Egypt are separated from the church, because the Council removed all power from Meletius.</p>		<p>together with the Holy Spirit, to whom be glory forever. Amen.</p>
		<p>1.9.14 The great emperor also wrote an account of the transactions of the council to those bishops who were unable to attend. And I consider it worthwhile to insert this epistle in my work because it clearly demonstrates the piety of the writer.</p>
		<p>1.10.1 Constantine Augustus, to the churches. The great grace of God's power has constantly been increasing, as is evident in the general prosperity of the empire. I therefore decided to make it my aim above all else that one faith, sincere love, and unvarying devotion to Almighty God be maintained among the most blessed assemblies of the catholic church.</p> <p>1.10.2 But I perceived that this could only be established firmly and permanently when all of the bishops, or at least the greatest part, were convened in the same place for a council where they could discuss every point of our most holy religion. So we assembled as many as possible, and I myself was also present as one of you; for I will not deny what I especially rejoice in, that I am your fellow-servant. All points were then minutely investigated, until a decision was brought to light which was found acceptable to him who is the inspector of all things, and brought a unified agreement, leaving nothing which could cause dissension or controversy in matters of faith.</p> <p>1.10.3 At the council we also considered the issue of our holiest day, Easter, and it was determined by common consent that everyone, everywhere should celebrate it on one and the same day. For what can be more appropriate, or what more solemn, than that this feast from which we have received the hope of immortality, should be kept by all without variation, using the same order and a clear arrangement? And in the first place, it seemed very unworthy for us to keep this most sacred feast following the custom of the Jews, a people who have soiled their hands in a most terrible outrage, and have thus polluted their souls, and are now deservedly blind. Since we have cast aside their way of calculating the date of the festival, we can ensure that future generations can celebrate this observance at the more accurate time which we have kept from the first day of the passion until the present time.</p> <p>1.10.4 Therefore have nothing in common with that most hostile people, the Jews. We have received another way from the Savior. In our holy religion we have set before us a course which is both valid and accurate. Let us unanimously pursue this. Let us, most honored brothers, withdraw ourselves from that detestable association.</p> <p>1.10.5 It is truly most absurd for them to boast that we are incapable of rightly observing these things without their instruction. On what subject are they competent to form a correct judgment, who, after that murder of their Lord lost their senses, and are led not by any rational motive, but by an uncontrollable impulsiveness to wherever their innate fury may drive them? This is why even in this matter they do not perceive the truth, so that they constantly err in the utmost degree, and will celebrate the Feast of Passover a second time in the same year instead of making a suitable correction.</p> <p>1.10.6 Why then should we follow the example of those who are acknowledged to be infected with serious error? Surely we should never allow Easter to be kept twice in one and the same year! But even if these considerations were not laid before you, you should</p>

		<p>still be careful, both by diligence and prayer, that your pure souls should have nothing in common, or even seem to do so, with the customs of men so utterly depraved.</p> <p>1.10.7 This should also be considered: In a matter so important and of such religious significance, the slightest disagreement is most irreverent.</p> <p>1.10.8 For our Savior left us only one day to be observed in remembrance of our deliverance, that is the day of his most holy passion. He also wished his catholic church to be one; the members of which are still cared for by one Spirit, that is by the will of God, however much they may be scattered in various places.</p> <p>1.10.9 Let the good sense consistent with your sacred character consider how grievous and inappropriate it is, that on the same days some should be observing fasts, while others are celebrating feasts; and after the days of Easter some should celebrate festivities and enjoyments, while others submit to appointed fastings. For this reason Divine Providence directed that we put into effect an appropriate correction and establish uniformity of practice, as I suppose you are all aware.</p> <p>1.10.10 So first, it was desirable to change the situation so that we have nothing in common with that nation of father-killers who slew their Lord. Second, the order which is observed by all the churches of the western, southern, and northern parts, and by some also in the eastern is quite suitable. Therefore, at the current time, we all thought it was proper that you, intelligent as you are, would also cheerfully accept what is observed with such general unanimity of sentiment in the city of Rome, throughout Italy, Africa, all Egypt, Spain, France, Britain, Libya, the whole of Greece, and the dioceses of Asia, Pontus, and Cilicia. I pledged myself that this solution would satisfy you after you carefully examined it, especially as I considered that not only are the majority of congregations located in the places just mentioned, but also that we all have a most sacred obligation, to unite in desiring whatever common sense seems to demand, and what has no association with the perjury of the Jews.</p> <p>1.10.11 But to sum up matters briefly, it was determined by common consent that the most holy festival of Easter should be solemnized on one and the same day; for it is not at all decent that there should be in such a sacred serious matter any difference. It is quite commendable to adopt this option which has nothing to do with any strange errors, nor deviates from what is right.</p> <p>1.10.12 Since these things are consistent, gladly receive this heavenly and truly divine command. For whatever is done in the sacred assemblies of the bishops can be traced to Divine will. Therefore, once you have demonstrated the things which have been prescribed to all our beloved brothers, it would be good for you to make public the above written statements and to accept the reasoning which has proved itself to be sound, and to establish this observance of the most holy day. In this way, when I arrive to check on your condition, which I have desired earnestly for some time, I will be able to celebrate the sacred festival with you on one and the same day, and will rejoice with you for all things, as I see that through our efforts divine power is frustrating Satan's cruelty, and that your faith, peace, and unity are flourishing everywhere. May God preserve you, beloved brothers.</p> <p>1.11.1a Thus did the emperor write to the absent.</p>
<p>1.10.1 The emperor's diligence prompts me to mention another circumstance that expresses his mind and serves to show how much he desired peace. For aiming at ecclesiastical harmony, he summoned to the council Acesius also, a bishop of the sect of Novatians.</p> <p>1.10.2 Now, when the declaration of faith had been written out and subscribed to by the Synod, the emperor asked Acesius whether he would also agree to this creed and to the settlement of the day on which Easter should be observed. He replied, 'The Synod has determined nothing new, my prince: for now, and even from the beginning, from the times of the apostles, I traditionally received</p>	<p>1.22.1 It is said that the emperor, under the impulse of a zealous desire to see harmony re-established among Christians, summoned Acesius, bishop of the church of the Novatians, to the council. He placed before Acesius the definition of the faith and of the feast which had already been confirmed by the signatures of the bishops and asked whether he could agree to it. Acesius answered that their exposition defined no new doctrine, that he agreed in opinion with the Synod, and that he had from the beginning held these beliefs with respect both to the faith and to the feast.</p>	

<p>the definition of the faith and the time of the celebration of Easter.'</p>		
<p>1.10.3 Then the emperor questioned him further, 'For what reason then do you separate yourself from communion with the rest of the Church?' He related what had taken place during the persecution under Decius and referred to the rigidness of that sacred canon which declares that it is not right for people, who after baptism have committed a sin which the sacred Scriptures call 'a sin unto death,' to be considered worthy of participation in the sacraments. The canon also declares that they should indeed be exhorted to repentance, but were not to expect remission from the priest, but from God, who is able and has authority to forgive sins. 1.10.4 When Acesius had thus spoken, the emperor said to him, 'Take a ladder, Acesius, and climb alone into heaven.'</p>	<p>1.22.2 'Why, then,' said the emperor, 'do you stay removed from communion with others if you are of one mind with them?' He replied that the dissension first broke out under Decius, between Novatius and Cornelius, and that he considered such persons unworthy of communion who, after baptism, had fallen into those sins which the Scriptures declare to be unto death. For the remission of those sins, he thought, depended on the authority of God only and not on the priests. The emperor replied, saying, 'O Acesius, take a ladder and ascend alone to heaven.'</p>	
<p>1.10.5 Neither Eusebius Pamphilus nor any other has ever mentioned these things, but I heard them from a man not prone to falsehood, who was very old. He simply stated what had taken place in the council in the course of a narrative. From this I conjecture that those who have passed by this occurrence in silence were driven by motives which have influenced many other historians, for they frequently suppress important facts, either from prejudice against some or partiality towards others. So far concerning Acesius.</p>	<p>1.22.3 By this speech I do not imagine the emperor intended to praise Acesius, but rather to convict him because, although he was a man, he fancied himself exempt from sin.</p>	
	<p>1.25.4 He [Constantine] wrote to the churches in every city s that he might make it clear to those who had not been present what had been corrected by the Synod. Especially to the Church of Alexandria he wrote more than this, urging them to lay aside all dissent and to be harmonious in the faith issued by the Synod. For this could be nothing else than the judgment of God, since it was established by the Holy Spirit from the agreement of so many and such illustrious high priests and approved after accurate study and testing of all the doubtful points.</p>	
	<p>2.17.6 It is said that the following incident occurred to Athanasius in his youth. It was the custom of the Alexandrians to celebrate with great pomp an annual festival in honor of one of their bishops named Peter, who had suffered martyrdom. Alexander, who then conducted the church, engaged in the celebration of this festival. After completing the worship, he remained on the spot, awaiting the arrival of some guests whom he expected to breakfast.</p>	
<p>1.15.1b Rufinus writes that when Athanasius was a boy, he played with others of his own age at a sacred game. This was an imitation of the priesthood and the order of consecrated persons. 1.15.2 In this game Athanasius was given the episcopal chair, and each of the other lads played either a presbyter or a deacon. The children engaged in this sport on the day in which the memory of the martyr and bishop Peter was celebrated.</p>		
<p>1.15.3a Now at that time Alexander bishop of Alexandria happened to pass by, observed the play in which they were engaged, and sent for the children. He asked them the part each had been assigned in the game, thinking that something might be predicted by this game. He then gave directions that the children should be taken to the church and instructed in learning, especially Athanasius.</p>	<p>2.17.7 In the meantime he chanced to cast his eyes towards the sea and perceived some children playing on the shore, amusing themselves by imitating the bishop and the ceremonies of the Church. At first he considered the mimicry as innocent and took pleasure in witnessing it; but when they touched upon the unutterable, he was troubled and communicated the matter to the chief of the clergy. The children were called together and questioned as to the game at which they were playing and as to what they did and said when engaged in this amusement. 2.17.8 At first they through fear denied; but when Alexander threatened them with torture, they confessed that Athanasius was their bishop and leader, and that many children who had not been initiated had been baptized by him. 2.17.9 Alexander carefully inquired what the priest of their play was in the habit of saying or doing and what they answered or were taught. When he found that the exact routine of the Church had been accurately observed by them, he consulted the priests around him on the subject and decided that it would he unnecessary to rebaptize</p>	

	<p>those who, in their simplicity, had been judged worthy of the Divine grace. He therefore merely performed for them such offices as it is lawful only for those who are consecrated to initiating the mysteries.</p>	
<p>1.15.3b After Alexander ordained Athanasius as deacon when he was of adult age, Alexander brought him to Nicaea to assist him in the disputations there when the Council was convened. 1.15.4 Rufinus has given this account of Athanasius in his own writings; It is not improbable that it took place, for many transactions of this kind have often occurred. The above matter has sufficiently been covered.</p>	<p>2.17.10 He then took Athanasius and the other children, who had playfully acted as presbyters and deacons, to their own relations under God as a witness that they might be brought up for the Church and for leadership in what they had imitated. Not long after he took Athanasius as his table companion and secretary. He had been well educated and was versed in grammar and rhetoric. Already when was of adult age and before he attained the bishopric, he gave proof to those talking with him that he was a man of wisdom and intellectuality</p>	<p>1.26.1b Trained from his youth in sacred studies, Athanasius had attracted general admiration in each ecclesiastical office that he filled.</p>
<p>1.8.13 Many of the laity who were present at Nicaea were also practiced in the art of reasoning, and each was eager to advocate the cause of his own party. Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, as was before said, supported the opinion of Arius, together with Theognis and Maris. Of these the former was bishop of Nicaea, and Maris was bishop of Chalcedon in Bithynia. These two were powerfully opposed by Athanasius, a deacon of the Alexandrian church, who was highly esteemed by Alexander his bishop. Because of that he was much envied, as will be seen hereafter.</p>	<p>1.17.7 Many of the bishops who were then assembled, and the clergy who accompanied them, were noticeable for their remarkable dialectic skill and rhetorical methods, attracting the notice of the emperor and the court. Of that number Athanasius, who was then a deacon of Alexandria and had accompanied his bishop Alexander, seemed to have the largest share in the counsel concerning these subjects</p>	<p>1.26.2 He had at the general council so defended the doctrines of the apostles that, while he won the approbation of all the champions of the truth, its opponents learned to look on their antagonist as a personal foe and public enemy. 1.26.3a He had attended the council as one of the retinue of Alexander. Although he was the principal deacon, he was then a very young man.</p>
		<p>1.8.6b Athanasius, his fellow combatant, the champion of the truth, who succeeded the celebrated Alexander in the episcopate, added the following in a letter addressed to the Africans: 1.8.7 The bishops convened in council to refute the impious assertions invented by the Arians: that the Son was created out of what was non-existent, that He is a creature and created being, that there was a period in which He was not, and that He is changeable by nature. In accordance with the Holy Scriptures the bishops agreed to write that the Son is by nature only-begotten of God, Word, Power, and sole Wisdom of the Father; that He is, as John said, 'the true God,' and, as Paul has written, 'the brightness of the glory, and the express image of the person of the Father.' [Heb. 1:3] The followers of Eusebius, drawn aside by their own vile doctrine, then began to say one to another, 'Let us agree, because we are also of God, ...' 1.8.8 There is but one God, by whom are all things,' and, 'Old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new, and all things are of God.' They also gave particular attention to what is contained in 'The Shepherd:' 'Believe above all that there is one God, who created and fashioned all things, and made them to be out of that which is not.' 1.8.9 But the bishops saw through their evil design and impious fraud and gave a clearer explanation of the words 'of God.' They wrote that the Son is of the substance of God, so that while the creatures, which do not in any way derive their existence of or from themselves, are said to be of God, only the Son is said to be of the substance of the Father, 1.8.10 This was unique to the only-begotten Son, the true Word of the Father. This is the reason why the bishops wrote that He is of the substance of the Father. But when the Arians, who seemed few in number, were again interrogated by the Bishops to see if they admitted 'that the Son is not a creature, but Power, and sole Wisdom, and eternal unchangeable Image of the Father, and that He is very God,' the Eusebians were noticed nodding to each other, saying, 'These things apply to us as well. For it is said, that we are 'the image and glory of God;' and 'for always we who live:'" 1.8.11 There are, also, they said, many powers. 'For it is written - 'All the power of God went out of the land of Egypt.' The worm and the locust are said to be 'a great power.' And elsewhere it is written, 'The God of powers is with us, our helper is the God of Jacob.' To which may be added that we are God's own not naturally, but because the Son called us 'brothers.' 1.8.12 The declaration that Christ is 'the true God' does not</p>

		<p>distress us, for the one who came into being is true." This was the corrupt opinion of the Arians. But at that time the bishops, when they discovered their deceitfulness, collected from Scripture those passages which say of Christ that He is the glory, the fountain, the stream, and the express image of the person. They quoted the following words: 'In your light we shall see light;' and likewise, 'I and the Father are one.'</p> <p>1.8.13 Then, with still greater clearness, they briefly declared that the Son is of one substance with the Father. For this, indeed, is the meaning of the passages which have been quoted.</p> <p>1.8.14 The complaint of the Arians, that these precise words are not to be found in Scripture, is proved groundless by their own practice. For their own impious assertions are not taken from Scripture (for it is not written that the Son comes from what was not, and that there was a time when He was not), and yet they complain about being condemned by expressions which, though not actually in Scripture, are in accordance with true religion. They themselves, on the other hand, as though they had found their words on a dunghill, uttered things that truly came from worldly thinking. The bishops, on the other hand, did not find their expressions for themselves, but received their testimony from the fathers and wrote accordingly.</p> <p>1.8.15 Indeed, there were bishops of old, nearly one hundred and thirty years ago, both of the great city of Rome and of our own city, who condemned those who asserted that the Son is a creature and that He is not of one substance with the Father. Eusebius, the bishop of Caesarea, was acquainted with these facts; he, at one time, favored the Arian heresy, but later signed the confession of faith of the Council of Nicaea.</p> <p>1.8.16 He wrote to the people of his diocese, maintaining that the word 'consubstantial' was 'used by illustrious bishops and learned writers as a term for expressing the divinity of the Father and of the Son.'</p> <p>1.8.17 So these men concealed their madness because they feared the majority and gave their assent to the decisions of the council, thus drawing upon themselves the condemnation of the prophet, for the God of all cries out against them, "This people honor Me with their lips, but in their hearts they are far from Me."</p> <p>1.8.18 Theonas and Secundus, however, did not want to take this course and were excommunicated by unanimous agreement as men who lifted the Arian blasphemy above evangelical doctrine. The bishops then returned to the council and drew up twenty laws to regulate the discipline of the Church.</p>
<p>1.23.5 Meanwhile, another commotion was raised in the church. In fact, her own children again disturbed her peace.</p>	<p>2.18.3a At this period the bishops had another fierce dispute among themselves concerning the precise meaning of the term "consubstantial."</p>	
<p>1.23.7 Those who objected to the word homoousios thought that those who approved it favored the opinion of Sabellius and Montanus. They therefore called them blasphemers, as subverting the existence of the Son of God. And again the advocates of this term, charging their opponents with polytheism, inveighed against them as introducers of heathen superstitions.</p>	<p>2.18.3b Some thought that this term could not be admitted without blasphemy, that it implied the nonexistence of the Son of God, and that it involved the error of Montanus and Sabellius. Those, on the other hand, who defended the term, regarded their opponents as Greeks (or pagans), and considered that their sentiments led to polytheism.</p>	
<p>1.23.6 Eusebius Pamphilus says that immediately after the Council Egypt was engulfed by internal divisions. However, he did not provide the reason for this. As a result he gained a reputation of hypocrisy. He avoided specifying the causes of these divisions because he was determined not to give his approval to the proceedings at Nicaea. Yet as we ourselves have discovered from various letters which the bishops wrote to one another after the Synod, the term homoousios troubled some of them. While they occupied themselves in a small investigation of its implication, they roused discord against each other. It seemed not unlike a contest in the dark; neither party appeared to understand distinctly the grounds on which they accused one another</p>		
<p>1.23.8 Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, accused Eusebius Pamphilus of</p>	<p>2.18.4 Eusebius, surnamed Pamphilus, and Eustathius, bishop of</p>	

<p>perverting the Nicene Creed. Eusebius denied that he violated that exposition of the faith. In response Eusebius charged Eustathius of defending the opinion of Sabellius. In consequence of these misunderstandings, each of them wrote as if contending against adversaries, although both sides confessed that the Son of God has a distinct person and existence and all acknowledged that there is one God in three Persons. Yet from what cause I am unable to discern, they could not agree among themselves and therefore could not be at peace.</p>	<p>Antioch, took the lead in this dispute. They both confessed the Son of God to exist hypostatically and yet contended together as if they had misunderstood each other. Eustathius accused Eusebius of altering the doctrines ratified by the council of Nicaea, while the latter declared that he approved of all the Nicæan doctrines and reproached Eustathius for cleaving to the heresy of Sabellius.</p>	
		<p>1.21.1 Eusebius, as I have already stated, seized the diocese of Constantinople by force. And thus having acquired great power in that city, by frequently visiting and holding familiar intercourse with the emperor he gained confidence and formed plots against those who were foremost in the support of the truth.</p>
		<p>1.21.2 He at first feigned a desire of going to Jerusalem, to see the celebrated edifices there erected. And the emperor, who was deceived by his flattery, allowed him to set out with the utmost honor, providing him with carriages and the rest of his equipage and retinue.</p>
	<p>2.19.1 A Synod was convened at Antioch.</p>	<p>1.21.3 Theognis, bishop of Nicaea, who, as we have before said, was his accomplice in his evil designs, travelled with him. When they arrived at Antioch, they put on the mask of friendship and were received with the utmost deference. Eustathius, the great champion of the faith, treated them with fraternal kindness.</p>
		<p>1.21.4 When they arrived at the holy places, they had an interview with those who were of the same opinions as themselves, namely, Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, Patrophilus, bishop of Scythopolis, Aetius, bishop of Lydda, Theodotus, bishop of Laodicea, and others who had imbibed the Arian sentiments. They made known to them the plot they had hatched and went with them to Antioch. 1.21.5 The pretext for their journey was that due honor might be rendered to Eusebius, but their real motive was their war against religion. They bribed a low woman, who made a traffic of her beauty, to sell them her tongue and then repaired to the council. When all the spectators had been ordered to depart, they introduced the wretched woman. 1.21.6 She held a babe in her arms, of which she loudly and impudently affirmed that Eustathius was the father. Eustathius, conscious of his innocence, asked her whether she could bring forward any witness to prove what she had stated. 1.21.7 She replied that she could not. Yet these equitable judges admitted her to oath, although it is said in the law that 'at the mouth of two or three witnesses shall the matter be established,' and the apostle says, "against an elder receive not any accusation but before two or three witnesses." 1.21.8 But they despised these divine laws and admitted the accusation against this great man without any witnesses. When the woman had again declared upon oath that Eustathius was the father of the babe, these truth-loving judges condemned him as an adulterer.</p>
	<p>2.19.1 And Eustathius was deprived of the church of that city. It was most generally believed that he was deposed merely on account of his adherence to the faith of the council of Nicaea and on account of his having accused Eusebius, Paulinus, bishop of Tyre, and Patrophilus, bishop of Scythopolis (whose sentiments were adopted by the Eastern priests) of favoring the heresy of Arius. The pretext resorted to for his deposition, however, was that he had defiled the priesthood by unholy deeds.</p>	<p>1.21.9 When the other bishops, who upheld the apostolic doctrines, ignorant of all these intrigues, openly opposed the sentence and advised Eustathius not to submit to it, the originators of the plot promptly repaired to the emperor and endeavored to persuade him that the accusation was true and the sentence of deposition just. They succeeded in obtaining the banishment of this champion of piety and chastity as an adulterer and a tyrant. 1.22.1a He was conducted across Thrace to a city of Illyricum.</p>
<p>1.24.5 At that time, however, there arose a dangerous revolt at Antioch on account of his deposition. When they proceeded to elect a successor, so fierce a dissension was kindled that the whole city was threatened with destruction. The populace was divided into two factions: one which vehemently fought for the appointment of Eusebius Pamphilus from Caesarea in Palestine to Antioch; the other which</p>	<p>2.19.2 His deposition caused so great a disturbance at Antioch that the people were on the point of taking up arms, and the whole city was in a state of commotion. This greatly injured him in the opinion of the emperor. For when he understood what had happened and that the people of that church were divided into two parties, he was much enraged and regarded him with suspicion as the author of the tumult.</p>	<p>1.22.1b Eulalius was first consecrated in place. But Eulalius surviving his elevation only a short period, for it was intended that Eusebius of Palestine should be translated to this bishopric. Eusebius, however, refused the appointment, and the emperor forbade its being conferred on him. Next Euphronius was put forward. When he also died, after a lapse of only one year and a few months, the see</p>

<p>equally insisted on the reinstatement of Eustathius. 1.24.6 The people of the city were so infected with the spirit of division in this quarrel among the Christians that a military force was mustered on both sides with hostile intent. A bloody incident would have taken place, had not God and the dread of the emperor repressed the violence of the masses.</p>	<p>The emperor, however, sent an illustrious officer of his palace, invested with full authority, to calm the populace and put an end to the disturbance without having recourse to violence or injury. 2.19.3 Those who had deposed Eustathius and who on this account were assembled in Antioch hoped that their sentiments would be universally received if they could succeed in placing over the Church of Antioch one of their own opinion who was known to the emperor and held in repute for learning and eloquence. Hoping that they could obtain the obedience of the rest, they fixed their thoughts upon Eusebius Pamphilus for that see. They wrote to the emperor upon this subject and stated that this course would be highly acceptable to the people. He had, in fact, been sought by all the clergy and laity who were prejudiced to Eustathius.</p>	<p>was conferred on Flaccillus. 1.22.2 All these bishops secretly clung to the Arian heresy. Therefore it was that most of those individuals, whether of the clergy or of the laity, who valued the true religion left the churches and formed assemblies among themselves. They were called Eustathians, since it was after the banishment of Eustathius that they began to hold their meetings.</p>
<p>1.24.7 For the emperor, through letters, and Eusebius, by refusing to accept the bishopric, served to ease the tension. Because of this the emperor highly admired Eusebius. The emperor wrote to him, commending his prudent determination and congratulating him as one who was considered worthy of being bishop not of merely one city, but of almost the whole world.</p>	<p>2.19.4 Eusebius, however, wrote to the emperor refusing the dignity. The emperor approved of his refusal with praise; for there was an ecclesiastical law prohibiting the removal of a bishop from one bishopric to another. He wrote to the people and to Eusebius, adopting his judgment and calling him happy because he was worthy to hold the bishopric not only of one single city, but of the world. 2.19.5 The emperor also wrote to the people of the Church of Antioch concerning like-mindedness and told them that they ought not to desire the bishoprics of other regions, even as they ought not to covet the possessions of others. 2.19.6 In addition to these he dispatched another epistle to the Synod in private session and similarly commended Eusebius, as in the letter to him, for having refused the bishopric. Because he was convinced that Euphronius, a presbyter of Cappadocia, and George of Arethusa were men approved in creed, he commanded the bishops to decide for one or other of them, or for whomsoever might appear worthy of the honor, and to ordain a president for the Church of Antioch. On the receipt of these letters from the emperor, Euphronius was ordained. 2.19.7 And I have heard that Eustathius bore this unjust accusation calmly, judging it to be better, as he was a man who, besides his virtues and excellent qualities, was justly admired on account of his fine eloquence. This is evidenced by his transmitted works, which are highly approved for their choice of words, flavor of expression, temperateness of sentiments, elegance and grace of narration.</p>	
<p>1.24.8 Consequently, it is said that the episcopal chair of the church at Antioch was vacant for eight consecutive years after this period. At length, by the efforts of those who strove for the sabotage of the Nicene creed, Euphronius was installed. This is the amount of my information respecting the Synod held at Antioch on account of Eustathius.</p>		
		<p>[The woman who framed Eustathius later confesses] 1.22.3 The wretched woman above-mentioned was soon after attacked by a severe and protracted illness. She then confessed the trickery in which she had been engaged and made known the whole plot, not only to two or three, but to a very large number of priests. She confessed that she had been bribed to bring this false and impudent charge, but that her oath was not altogether false, as a certain Eustathius, a coppersmith, was the father of the babe. Such were some of the crimes perpetrated in Antioch by this most excellent faction.</p>
<p>1.23.4 He sought to persuade the emperor to give Arius an audience and permit him to return to Alexandria. How he attained his goal, I shall mention in its proper place. [Eusebius Nic. continues his efforts to have Arius reinstalled] 1.24.9 Immediately after these events Eusebius, who had long before left Berytus and was at that time presiding over the church at Nicomedia, strenuously exerted himself, together with those of his party, to bring back Arius to Alexandria. But how they managed to do this and how the emperor was persuaded to admit both Arius and with him Euzoïus into his presence must now be related.</p>		

<p>1.25.1 The Emperor Constantine had a sister named Constantia, the widow of Licinius. He had for some time shared the imperial dignity with Constantine. However, he had begun acting tyrannically and had been put to death as a result.</p>		
<p>1.25.2 This princess maintained in her household a certain confidential presbyter who was saturated with the dogmas of Arianism. Because Eusebius and others prompted him, he insinuated in his daily conversations with Constantia that the Synod had done Arius injustice and that the common report concerning him was not true.</p>	<p>2.27.2 A certain presbyter who was a great admirer of the Arian doctrines was on terms of intimacy with the emperor's sister. At first he concealed his sentiments; but as he frequently visited and became increasingly more familiar with Constantia, for this was the name of the sister of Constantine, he gained enough confidence to tell her that Arius was unjustly exiled from his country and cast out from the Church through the jealousy and personal enmity of Alexander, bishop of the Alexandrian Church. He said that his jealousy had come from the honor which the people felt towards Arius.</p>	
<p>1.25.3 Constantia gave full credence to the presbyter's claims but did not dare report them to the emperor. Now it happened that she became dangerously ill, and her brother visited her daily. 1.25.4 As the disease grew worse and she expected to die, she commended this presbyter to the emperor, testifying to his diligence and piety as well as his devoted loyalty to his sovereign.</p>	<p>2.27.3 Constantia believed these claims to be true, yet took no steps in her lifetime to change the decrees of Nicaea. When she was attacked with a disease which threatened to end in death, she besought her brother. He went to visit her, to grant what she was about to ask as a last favor. This request was to receive the above mentioned presbyter on terms of intimacy and to rely upon him as a man who had correct opinions about the Divinity. 'For my part,' she added, 'I am drawing near to death and am no longer interested in the concerns of this life; the only apprehension I now feel arises from dread lest you should incur the wrath of God and suffer any calamity, or the loss of your empire, since you have been persuaded to condemn just and good men wrongfully to perpetual banishment.'</p>	
<p>1.25.5 She died soon after. Consequently, the presbyter became one of the most confidential persons around the emperor. As he grew more and more comfortable, he repeated to the emperor what he had before stated to his sister: that Arius had no other views than the beliefs asserted by the Synod, that if he were admitted to the imperial court, he would give his full assent to what the Synod had decreed, and that he had been unreasonably slandered. 1.25.6 The presbyter's words were curious to the emperor, and he said, 'If Arius subscribes with the Synod and holds its views, I will both give him an audience and send him back to Alexandria with honor.' After saying this, he immediately wrote to Arius these words:</p>		
<p>1.25.7 Victor Constantine Maximus Augustus, to Arius. It was announced to your reverence some time since that you might come to our court in order to obtain an interview with us. We are not a little surprised that you did not do this immediately. 1.25.8 Therefore, find transportation and hasten to our court. When you have experienced our mercy and regard for you, you may return to your own country. May God protect you, beloved. Dated the twenty-fifth of November. 1.25.9 This was the letter of the emperor to Arius. And I cannot but admire the ardent zeal which the prince expressed for religion. For it appears from this document that he had often before exhorted Arius to change his views, considering that he criticized Arius' delay in returning to the truth, although he had himself written frequently to Arius.</p>		
<p>1.25.10 After receiving this letter, Arius came to Constantinople accompanied by Euzoïus, whom Alexander had deprived of his deaconship when he excommunicated Arius and his followers. 1.25.11 The emperor accordingly admitted them to his presence and asked them whether they would agree to the creed. And when they readily gave their assent, he ordered them to deliver to him a written statement of their faith.</p>	<p>2.27.4 From that period the emperor received the presbyter into favor. After permitting him to speak freely with him and to converse on the same topics concerning which his sister had given her command, he thought it necessary to subject the case of Arius to a fresh examination. It is probable that, in forming this decision, the emperor was either influenced by a belief in the credibility of the attacks or by the desire of gratifying his sister. It was not long until he recalled Arius from exile and demanded of him a written exposition of his faith concerning the Godhead. 2.27.5 Arius avoided making use of the new terms which he had previously devised and constructed another exposition by using simpler terms, ones that were used by the sacred Scriptures. He declared upon oath that he held the doctrines set forth in this</p>	

	<p>exposition, that he both felt these statements ex animo and had no other thought than these.</p>	
<p>1.26.1 They drew up a declaration in following effect manner and presented it to the emperor.</p>	<p>It was as follows:</p>	
<p>[The letter of Arius and Euzoius with their confession] 1.26.2 Arius and Euzoius, to our most reverent and pious lord, Emperor Constantine. In accord with the command of your devout piety, sovereign lord, we declare our faith, and in writing profess before God that we and our adherents believe as follows: 1.26.3 We believe in one God the Father Almighty, and in the Lord Jesus Christ his Son, who was begotten of him before all ages, God the Word through whom all things were made, both things in heaven and on earth; who descended, and became human, and suffered, and rose again, ascended into heaven, and will again come to judge the living and the dead. We believe also in the Holy Spirit, and in the resurrection of the flesh, and in the life of the coming age, and in the kingdom of the heavens, and in one catholic church of God, extending from one end of the earth to the other. 1.26.4 This faith we have received from the holy gospels, in which the Lord says to his disciples: "Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." 1.26.5 If we do not so believe and do not truly receive the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, as the whole catholic church and the holy Scriptures teach (in which we believe in every respect), may God judge us both now, and in the coming judgment. 1.26.6 Wherefore we (who have been consecrated to the ministry, and hold the faith and opinions of the church and of the holy Scriptures) encourage your piety, most devout emperor, that we may be reunited to our mother, the church, by your peace-loving and devoted piety, avoiding all superfluous questions and disputes. 1.26.7 Then both we and the whole church will be at peace and will offer in common our accustomed prayers for your tranquil reign, and also for your whole family.</p>		
	<p>2.27.11 Many considered this declaration of faith an artful compilation, appearing to be different only in expression. In reality, however, it supported the doctrine of Arius. The terms in which it was expressed were so vague that it was open to diverse interpretations.</p>	
	<p>2.17.1 About this period Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, was about to depart this life, and he left Athanasius as his successor, in accordance, I am convinced, with the Divine will directing the vote upon him. It is said that Athanasius at first sought to avoid the honor by flight, but that he, although unwilling, was afterwards compelled by Alexander to accept the bishopric. 2.17.2 This is testified by Apolinarius, the Syrian, in the following terms: 'In all these matters much disturbance was excited by impiety, but its first effects were felt by the blessed teacher of this man, who was at hand as an assistant and behaved as a son would to his father. Afterwards this holy man himself underwent the same experience, for when appointed to the episcopal succession he fled to escape the honor. But he was discovered in his place of concealment by the help of God, who had told his whereabouts by Divine revelations to his blessed predecessor and that the succession was to be conferred upon him. 2.17.3 For when Alexander was on the point of death, he called upon Athanasius, who was then absent. One who bore the same name and who happened to be present, on hearing him call this way, answered him. But to him Alexander was silent, since he was not summoning this man. Again he called and, as it often happens, the one present kept still. Thus the absent one was disclosed. Moreover, the blessed Alexander prophetically exclaimed, 'O Athanasius, you think to escape, but you will not escape'; meaning that Athanasius would be called to the conflict.</p>	

	<p>2.17.4 Such is the account given by Apolinarius respecting Athanasius. The Arians claim that after the death of Alexander the respective followers of that bishop and of Meletius held communion together. Fifty-four bishops from Thebes and other parts of Egypt assembled together and agreed by oath to choose by a common vote the man who could advantageously administer the Church of Alexandria. But seven of the bishops, in violation of their oath and contrary to the opinion of all, secretly ordained Athanasius. And on this account many of the people and many of the Egyptian clergy seceded from communion with him.</p>	
	<p>2.17.5 For my part I am convinced that it was by Divine appointment that Athanasius succeeded to the highpriesthood. For he was eloquent and intelligent and capable of opposing plots, and of such a man the times had the greatest need. He displayed great aptitude in the exercise of the ecclesiastical functions and fitness for the priesthood and was, so to speak, from his earliest years, self-taught.</p>	<p>1.26.1b Trained from his youth in sacred studies, Athanasius had attracted general admiration in each ecclesiastical office that he filled. 1.26.2 He had at the general council so defended the doctrines of the apostles that, while he won the approbation of all the champions of the truth, its opponents learned to look on their antagonist as a personal foe and public enemy. 1.26.3a He had attended the council as one of the retinue of Alexander. Although he was the principal deacon, he was then a very young man.</p>
<p>[The Alexandrian church refuses to admit Arius] 1.27.1 Arius thus satisfied the emperor and returned to Alexandria. But his craftiness for suppressing the truth did not succeed. When he arrived at Alexandria, Athanasius would not receive him, turning away from him as a pest. Arius then attempted to instigate a fresh commotion in that city by spreading his heresy.</p>	<p>[The Alexandrian church refuses to admit Arius] 2.29a After the Synod of Jerusalem Arius went to Egypt, but because he could not obtain permission to hold communion with the Church of Alexandria, he returned to Constantinople.</p>	
<p>[Eusebians slander Athanasius to the emperor] 1.27.2 Then the followers of Eusebius wrote to the emperor and persuaded him also to write to Athanasius, that Arius and his supporters might be readmitted into the church. 1.27.3 Nevertheless, Athanasius wholly refused to receive them and replied to the emperor that it was impossible for those who had once rejected the faith and had been anathematized to be again received into communion on their return.</p>	<p>[Eusebians slander Athanasius to the emperor] 2.22.1 The various calamities which befell Athanasius were primarily occasioned by Eusebius and Theognis. Because they possessed great freedom of speech and influence with the emperor, they strove for the recall of Arius, with whom they were on terms of concord and friendship, to Alexandria, and at the same time the expulsion from the Church of him who was opposed to them. They accused him before Constantine of being the author of all the seditions and troubles that agitated the Church and of excluding those who were desirous of joining the Church. They also alleged that unity would be restored were he alone to be removed. 2.22.2 The accusations against him were supported by many bishops and clergy who were with John and who persistently obtained access to the emperor. They pretended to be very orthodoxy and charged to Athanasius and the bishops of his party all the bloodshed, bonds, unjust blows, wounds, and struggles of churches.</p>	
	<p>[Constantine threatens to remove Athanasius] 2.22.3 But when Athanasius demonstrated to the emperor the illegality of the ordination of John's followers, their changes to the decrees of the Nicæan Council, the unsoundness of their faith, and the insults offered to those who held right opinions about God, Constantine was at a loss to know whom to believe. 2.22.4 Since there were such mutual assertions and many accusations were frequently stirred up by each party, and since he was earnestly anxious to restore the like-mindedness of the people, he wrote to Athanasius that no one should be shut out. If this should be betrayed to the last, he would send regardless of consequences one who should expel him from the city of Alexandria. If anyone should desire to see this letter of the emperor's, he will here find the portion of it relating to this affair:</p>	
<p>1.27.4 But the emperor, angered at this answer, menaced Athanasius in these terms: Since you have been informed of my will, give unhindered access into the church to all those who are desirous of entering it. For if it shall be spoken to me that you have prohibited any of those claiming to be reunited to the church, or have hindered their admission, I will immediately send someone who at my command shall depose you and drive you into exile.</p>	<p>2.22.5 'As you are now acquainted with my will, which is, that to all who desire to enter the Church you should offer an unhindered entrance. For should I hear that any who are willing to join the Church, have been debarred or hindered therefrom by you, I shall send at once an officer who shall remove you, according to my command, and shall transfer you to some other place.'</p>	

<p>1.27.5 The emperor wrote thus from a desire of promoting the public good and because he did not wish to see the church ruptured. He labored earnestly to bring them all into harmony.</p>		
<p>1.27.6 Then indeed the partisans of Eusebius, ill-disposed towards Athanasius, imagined they had found a seasonable opportunity and welcomed the emperor's displeasure as an aid to their own purpose. On this account they raised a great disturbance, endeavoring to eject him from his bishopric. For they hoped that the Arian doctrine would prevail upon the removal of Athanasius.</p>		
		<p>1.26.3 When those who had denied the only-begotten Son of God heard that the helm of the Church of Alexandria had been entrusted to his hands. knowing as they did by experience his zeal for the truth, they thought that his rule would prove the destruction of their authority. They, therefore, resorted to the following machinations against him.</p>
<p>1.27.7a The chief conspirators against him were Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nicaea, Maris of Chalcedon, Ursacius of Singidnum in Upper Moesia, and Valens of Mursa in Upper Pannonia. These people bribed certain members of the Meletian heresy to fabricate various charges against Athanasius.</p>	<p>2.21.3 When the Arians perceived that the Meletians were introducing changes to the faith, they also harassed the churches. For, as frequently occurs in similar disturbances, some applauded the opinion of Arius, while others contended that those who had been ordained by Meletius ought to govern the churches. These two bodies of separtists had until then been opposed to each other, but when they perceived that the priests of the Catholic Church were followed by the multitude, 2.21.4 they became jealous and formed an alliance together, displaying a common enmity to the clergy of Alexandria. Their measures of attack and defense were so long carried on in concert that after awhile the Meletians were generally called Arians in Egypt, although they only differed on questions of the presidency of the churches, while the Arians hold the same opinions concerning God as Arius. 2.21.5 Although they individually denied one another's tenets, they disguised this, in contradiction of their own view, in order to attain an underhanded agreement in the fellowship of their enmity. At the same time each one expected to prevail easily in what he desired. From this period, however, the Meletians, after the discussion on those topics, received the Arian doctrines and held the same opinion as Arius concerning God. This revived the original controversy concerning Arius, and some of the laity and clergy seceded from communion with the others.</p>	
	<p>[Athanasius satisfies Constantine by letter] 2.22.6 Athanasius, however, wrote to the emperor and convinced him that the Arians ought not to be received into communion by the Catholic Church. Eusebius, perceiving that his schemes could never be carried into execution while Athanasius strove in opposition, determined to resort to any means in order to get rid of him. But because he could not find a sufficient pretext for carrying out his plan, he promised the Meletians to persuade the emperor and those in power in their favor, if they would bring an accusation against Athanasius.</p>	
<p>[Athanasius accused of imposing unauthorized taxes] 1.27.7b First they accused him through the Meletians Ision, Eudaemon and Callinicus, of ordering the Egyptians to pay a linen garment as tribute to the church at Alexandria.</p>	<p>[Athanasius accused of imposing unauthorized taxes] 2.22.7a Accordingly, the first charge came: that he had imposed upon the Egyptians a tax on linen tunics, and that such a tribute had been exacted from the accusers.</p>	<p>[Athanasius accused of imposing unauthorized taxes] 1.26.4 In order to avert suspicion they bribed some of the adherents of Meletius, who, although deposed by the council of Nicaea, had continued to cause disturbances in the Thebaid and in the adjacent part of Egypt, and persuaded them to go to the emperor and to accuse Athanasius of levying a tax upon Egypt and giving the gold collected to a certain man who was preparing to usurp the imperial power.</p>
<p>1.27.8a But this accusation was immediately disproved by Alypius and Macarius, presbyters of the Alexandrian church, who happened then to be at Nicomedia. They convinced the emperor that these prejudiced statements against Athanasius were false.</p>	<p>2.22.7b Alypius and Macarius, presbyters of the Church of Athanasius, who then happened to be at court, clearly proved the persistent accusation to be false.</p>	
<p>1.27.8b Therefore the emperor by letter severely reprimanded his accusers but urged Athanasius to come to him. 1.27.9 But before he came the Eusebian faction, anticipating his</p>	<p>2.22.8 When he was summoned to answer for the offense, Athanasius was further accused of conspiring against the emperor and of sending, for this purpose, a casket of gold to one Philumen. The emperor detected</p>	<p>1.26.5 Because the emperor was deceived by this story, Athanasius was brought to Constantinople. Upon his arrival he proved that the accusation was false and had the charge given him by God restored to</p>

<p>arrival, added to their former accusation the charge of another crime of a still more serious nature than the former: that Athanasius plotted against his sovereign sent for treasonable purposes a chest full of gold to one named Philumenus.</p> <p>1.27.10 When, however, the emperor had himself investigated this matter at Psamathia, which is in the suburbs of Nicomedia, and had found Athanasius innocent, he dismissed him with honor. The emperor wrote with his own hand to the church at Alexandria to assure them that their bishop had been falsely accused.</p>	<p>the lie of his accusers, sent Athanasius home, and wrote to the people of Alexandria to testify that their bishop possessed great moderation and a correct faith, that he had gladly met him, and that he recognized him to be a man of God, and that, as envy had been the sole cause of his indictment, he had appeared to better advantage than his accusers;</p> <p>2.22.9 And because he heard that the Arian and Meletian separatists had stirred dissensions in Egypt, the emperor, in the same epistle, encouraged the multitude to look to God, to take heed unto his judgments, to be well disposed toward one another, and to prosecute with all their might those who plotted against their likemindedness. Thus the emperor wrote to the people, exhorting them all to likemindedness, and striving to prevent divisions in the Church.</p>	<p>him. This is shown by a letter from the emperor to the Church of Alexandria, which I shall transcribe only the concluding paragraph:</p> <p>1.27 Believe me, my brethren, the wicked men were unable to effect anything against your bishop. They surely could have had no other design than to waste our time and to leave themselves no place for repentance in this life. Do you, therefore, help yourselves, and love that which wins your love. Exert all your power in the expulsion of those who wish to destroy your concord. Look unto God and love one another. I joyfully welcomed Athanasius your bishop and I have conversed with him as with one whom I know to be a man of God.</p>
<p>1.27.11 It would indeed have been both proper and desirable to have passed over in silence the subsequent attacks which the Eusebians made upon Athanasius, lest from these circumstances the Church of Christ should be judged unfavorably by those who are opposed to its interests.</p> <p>1.27.12 But since they are already in writing, they have become known to everybody, Because of this I deemed it necessary to make as brief a mention of these things as possible, the particulars of which would require a special treatise. From where the slanderous accusation originated, and the character of those who devised it, I shall now state in brief.</p>		<p>1.28.1 The accusers of Athanasius, however, did not desist from their attempts. On the contrary, they devised so bold a fiction against him that it surpassed every invention of the ancient writers of the tragic or comic stage. They again bribed individuals of the same party and brought them before the emperor, noisily accusing that champion of virtue of many abominable crimes. The leaders of the party were Eusebius, Theognis, and Theodorus, bishop of Perinthus, a city now called Heraclea.</p>
<p>[Athanasius accused of breaking a chalice and burning books]</p> <p>1.27.13 Marcotes is a district of Alexandria. There are contained in it very many villages and an abundant population, with numerous splendid churches. These churches are all under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Alexandria and are subject to his city as parishes.</p> <p>1.27.14 There was in this region a person named Ischyras who had been guilty of an act deserving of many deaths. Although he had never been admitted to holy orders, he had the audacity to assume the title of presbyter and to exercise sacred functions belonging to the priesthood.</p> <p>1.27.15 But when his sacrilegious career got out, he made his escape from there and sought refuge in Nicomedia, where he begged for the protection of the party of Eusebius, telling them made up stories about Athanasius. Because of their hatred for Athanasius they not only received him as a presbyter but even promised to confer upon him the dignity of the episcopacy, if he would frame an accusation against Athanasius. He spread a report that he had suffered dreadfully in consequence of an assault and that Macarius had rushed furiously toward the altar, had overturned the table, and broken a mystical cup. He added also that he had burnt the sacred books.</p> <p>1.27.16 As a reward for this accusation the Eusebian faction, as I have said, promised him a bishopric. The Eusebians foresaw that the charges against Macarius would involve, along with the accused party, Athanasius, under whose orders he would seem to have acted.</p> <p>1.27.17 But this charge they formulated later. Before it they devised another accusation full of the most bitter hatred, to which I shall now advert, on the following account.</p>	<p>[Athanasius accused of breaking a chalice and burning books]</p> <p>2.23.1a The Meletians, on the failure of their first attempt, secretly paned another accusation against Athanasius. On the one hand, they charged him with breaking a sacred chalice.</p>	
<p>[Athanasius is accused of murder and magical deeds with a severed hand]</p> <p>1.27.18 Having somehow, I know not how, obtained a man's hand, whether they themselves had murdered any one and cut off his hand or had severed it from some dead body, God and the authors of the deed know, but be that as it may, they publicly exposed it as the hand of Arsenius, a Meletian bishop, while they kept the alleged owner of it concealed. This hand, they asserted, had been used by Athanasius to perform certain magic arts.</p>	<p>[Athanasius is accused of murder and magical deeds with a severed hand]</p> <p>2.23.1b On the other they charged that he had slain one Arsenius, cut off his arm, and retained it for magical purposes. It is said that this Arsenius was one of the clergy but that, having committed some crime, he fled to a place of concealment for fear of being convicted and punished by his bishop.</p>	<p>[Athanasius is accused of murder and magical deeds with a severed hand]</p> <p>1.30.1a Arsenius was a bishop of the Meletian faction. The men of his party put him in a place of concealment and charged him to remain there as long as possible. They then cut off the right hand of a corpse, embalmed it, placed it in a wooden case, and carried it about everywhere, declaring that it was the hand of Arsenius, who had been murdered by Athanasius.</p>
<p>1.27.19 Therefore it was made the gravest ground of accusation which these accusers had arranged against him. And, as it generally happens, all those who held any grudge against Athanasius came</p>	<p>2.23.2 The enemies of Athanasius devised the most serious attack for this occurrence. They sought Arsenius with great diligence and found him. They showed him great kindness, promised to secure for him every</p>	

<p>forward at the same time with a variety of other charges.</p>	<p>goodwill and safety, and conducted him secretly to Patrines, a presbyter of a monastery, who was one of their confederates and of the same interest as themselves. After having thus carefully concealed him, they diligently spread the report in the market-places and public assemblies that he had been slain by Athanasius. They also bribed John, a monk, to corroborate the accusation.</p>	
<p>1.27.20 When the emperor was informed of these proceedings, he wrote to his nephew Dalmatius the censor, who then had his residence at Antioch in Syria, directing him to order the accused parties to be brought before him and, after due investigation, to inflict punishment on whomever might be convicted.</p>	<p>2.23.3 As this evil report was universally circulated and had even reached the ears of the emperor, Athanasius, being apprehensive that it would be difficult to defend his cause before judges whose minds were prejudiced by such false rumors, resorted to tactics similar to those of his adversaries. He did everything in his power to prevent truth from being obscured by their attacks.</p>	
<p>1.27.21 He also sent there Eusebius and Theognis, that the case might be tried in their presence. When Athanasius knew that he was to be summoned before the censor, he sent into Egypt to make a strict search after Arsenius. Athanasius discovered indeed that he was hiding there, but Athanasius was unable to apprehend him, because he often changed his place of concealment.</p>	<p>2.23.4 But the multitude could not be convinced, on account of the absence of Arsenius. Reflecting, therefore, that the suspicion which rested upon him could not be removed except by proving that Arsenius, who was said to be dead, was still alive, he sent a most trustworthy deacon in quest of him. The deacon went to Thebes and discovered from the testimony of some monks where he was living. And when he came to Patrines, with whom he had been concealed, he found that Arsenius was not there. For on the first notice of the arrival of the deacon he had been conveyed to Lower Egypt.</p>	
	<p>2.23.5 The deacon arrested Patrines and conducted him to Alexandria, as also Elias, one of his associates, who was said to have been the person who conveyed Arsenius elsewhere. He delivered them both to the commander of the Egyptian forces, and they confessed that Arsenius was still alive, that he had been secretly concealed in their house, and that he was now living in Egypt.</p>	<p>1.30.1b But the all-seeing eye did not permit Arsenius to remain long in concealment.</p>
	<p>[Athanasius reports to Constantine] 2.23.6 Athanasius took care that all these facts should be reported to Constantine. The emperor wrote back to him, desiring him to attend to the due performance of the priestly functions and the maintenance of order and piety among the people. The emperor also said to not be unsettled by the conspiracy of the Meletians. For it was evident that envy alone was the cause of the disturbance in the churches of the false indictments which were circulated against him and 2.23.7 The emperor added that, for the future, he should not give place to such reports; and that, unless the accusers preserved the peace, he should certainly subject them to the rigor of the state laws, add let justice have its course, as they had not only unjustly plotted against the innocent, but had also shamefully abused the good order and piety of the Church. Such was the strain of the emperor's letter to Athanasius; and he further commanded that it should be read aloud before the public, in order that they might all be made acquainted with his intentions. 2.23.8 The Meletians were alarmed at these menaces and became more quiet for a while, because they viewed with anxiety the threat of the ruler. The churches throughout Egypt enjoyed profound peace and, directed by the presidency of this great priest, daily increased in numbers by the conversion of multitudes of pagans and other heretics.</p>	
	<p>2.25.1 The plots of the enemies of Athanasius involved him in fresh troubles, excited the hatred of the emperor against him, and stirred up a multitude of accusers. Wearied by their petitions, the emperor convened a council at Caesarea in Palestine. Athanasius was summoned there; but fearing the plots of Eusebius, bishop of the city, of Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, and of their party, he refused to attend and for thirty months, although pressed to attend, persisted in his refusal.</p>	<p>1.28.2 After having accused Athanasius of crimes which they described as too shocking to be tolerated or even listened to, they persuaded the emperor to convene a council at Caesarea in Palestine, where Athanasius had many enemies, and to command that his cause should be there tried. The emperor, utterly ignorant of the plot that had been devised, was persuaded by them to give the required order. 1.28.3 But the holy Athanasius, well aware of the malevolence of those who were to try him, refused to appear at the council. This served as a pretext to those who opposed the truth to accuse him still further, and they accused him before the emperor of disobedience and arrogance. Nor were their hopes altogether frustrated.</p>
<p>1.28.1 The emperor had ordered a Synod of bishops to be present at the consecration of the church which he had erected at Jerusalem. He</p>	<p>2.25.2 At the end of that period, however, he was forced more urgently and repaired to Tyre, where a great number of the bishops of</p>	<p>1.28.4 For the emperor, although exceedingly patient, became exasperated by their appeals and wrote to him in an angry manner,</p>

<p>therefore directed that, as a secondary matter, they should on their way first assemble at Tyre. He wanted them to examine the charges against Athanasius in order that all cause of contention might be removed there and that they might more peacefully perform the inaugural ceremonies in the dedication of the church of God.</p> <p>1.28.2 This was the thirtieth year of Constantine's reign. Sixty bishops thus gathered at Tyre from various places on the summons of Dionysius the consul.</p> <p>1.28.3 As to Macarius the presbyter, he was conducted from Alexandria in chains under a military escort.</p> <p>1.28.4 Athanasius was unwilling to go there, not so much from dread, but because he was innocent of the charges made and because he feared that new changes might be made to the decisions of the council at Nicaea. He was, however, forced to be present by the menacing letters of the emperor. For it had been written him that if he did not come voluntarily, he would be brought by force.</p>	<p>the East were assembled, who commanded him to undergo the charges of those who accused him.</p>	<p>commanding him to repair to Tyre. Here the council was ordered to assemble, from the suspicion, as I think, that Athanasius had an apprehension of Caesarea on account of its bishop. The emperor wrote also to the council in a style consistent with his devoted piety. His letter is as follows:</p>
		<p>[Constantine's letter of instruction to the council of Tyre] 1.29.1 Constantius Augustus, to the holy council assembled in Tyre. In the general prosperity, which distinguishes the present time, it seems right that the Catholic Church should likewise be exempt from trouble and that the servants of Christ should be freed from every reproach. But certain individuals, incited by the mad desire of contention, not to say leading a life unworthy of their profession, are endeavoring to throw all into disorder. This appears to me to be the greatest of all possible calamities. I beseech you, therefore, in post haste, as the phrase goes, to assemble together, without any delay, in formal synod; so that you may support those who require your assistance, heal the brethren who are in danger, restore unanimity to the divided members, and rectify the disorders of the Church while time permits; and thus restore to those great provinces the harmony which, alas! the arrogance of a few men has destroyed.</p> <p>1.29.2 I believe everyone would admit that you could not perform anything so pleasing in the sight of God, so surpassing all my prayers as well as your own, or so conducive to your own reputation, as to restore peace.</p> <p>1.29.3 Do not therefore delay, but when you have come together with all that sincerity and fidelity which our Savior demands of all His servants, almost in words that we can hear, endeavor with redoubled eagerness to put a fitting end to these dissensions. Nothing shall be omitted on my part to further the interests of our religion. I have done all that you recommended in your letters.</p> <p>1.29.4 I have sent to those bishops whom you specified, directing them to repair to the council for the purpose of deliberating with you upon ecclesiastical matters. I have also sent Dionysius, a man of consular rank, to counsel those who are to sit in synod with you and to be himself an eye witness of your proceedings, and particularly of the order and regularity that is maintained.</p> <p>1.29.5 If anyone should dare on the present occasion also to disobey our command and refuse to come to the council, which, however, I do not anticipate, an officer will be dispatched immediately to send him into banishment by imperial order, that he may learn not to oppose the decrees enacted by the emperor for the support of truth.</p> <p>1.29.6 All that now devolves upon your holinesses is to decide with unanimous judgment, without partiality or prejudice, in accordance with the ecclesiastical and apostolical rule, and to devise suitable remedies for the offences which may have resulted from error, in order that the Church may be freed from all reproach, that my anxiety may be diminished, that peace may be restored to those now at variance, and that your renown may be increased. May God preserve you, beloved brethren.</p>
		<p>[Bishops convene at Tyre]</p> <p>1.29.7 The bishops accordingly repaired to the council of Tyre. Amongst them were those who were accused of holding heterodox doctrines, of whom Asclepas, bishop of Gaza, was one. The admirable Athanasius also attended. I shall first dwell on the tragedy of the</p>

		accusation and shall then relate the proceedings of this celebrated tribunal.
	<p>[The charge against Athanasius at Tyre]</p> <p>2.25.3 Callinicus, a bishop, and a certain Ischurias, both of John's party, accused him of breaking a mystical chalice, of throwing down an episcopal chair, and of often binding Ischurias, although he was a presbyter, in chains. They also falsely informing Hyginus, governor of Egypt that he had cast stones at the statues of the emperor, that Athanasius caused Ischurias to be through into prison,</p> <p>2.25.4 that he deposed Callinicus, bishop of the Catholic Church at Pelusium, and that he said he would deny Callinicus from fellowship unless Callinicus could remove certain suspicions about Athanasius having broken a mystical chalice, that he committed the Church of Pelusium to Mark, a deposed presbyter, and that he placed Callinicus under a military guard,</p> <p>2.25.5 They also said that Athanasius had put Callinicus under judicial tortures. Euplus, Pachomius, Isaac, Achillas, and Hermaeon, bishops of John's party, accused him of inflicting blows.</p> <p>2.25.6 They all agreed that he obtained the episcopal dignity by means of the perjury of certain individuals, for it had been decreed that no one should receive ordination who could not clear himself of any crime laid to his charge. They further alleged that because they had been deceived by him, they had separated themselves from communion with him and that, so far from satisfying their grievances, he had treated them with violence and thrown them into prison.</p> <p>2.25.7 Further, the affair of Arsenius was again brought up. And as generally happens in such a cleverly devised plot, many even of those considered his friends loomed up unexpectedly as accusers. A document was then read containing popular complaints, that the people of Alexandria could not continue their attendance at church on his account.</p> <p>2.25.8 Athanasius, having been urged to justify himself, presented himself repeatedly before the tribunal, successfully repelled some of the allegations, and requested delay for investigation as to the others. He was exceedingly perplexed when he reflected on the favor in which his accusers were held by his judges, on the number of witnesses belonging to the sects of Arius and Meletius who appeared against him, and on the courtesy that was manifested towards the informers whose allegations had been overcome. He was especially perplexed in the accusation concerning Arsenius, whose arm he was charged with having cut off for purposes of magic, and in the charge concerning a certain woman to whom he was charged with having given gifts for uncleanness and with having slept with her by night, although she was unwilling.</p>	
<p>1.29.1 The special providence of God drove Arsenius also to Tyre. Disregarding the instructions he had received from the accusers who had bribed him, he went there disguised to see what would be done.</p>		<p>1.30.2a He was first seen alive in Egypt; then in the Thebaid; afterwards he was led by Divine Providence to Tyre, where the hand of tragic fame was brought before the council.</p>
<p>1.29.2 Somehow it happened that the servants of Archelaus, the governor of the province, heard some people at an inn affirm that Arsenius, who was reported to have been murdered, was concealed in the house of one of the citizens.</p> <p>1.29.3 Having heard this and marked the individuals by whom this statement was made, they communicated the information to their master. Their master caused a strict search to be made for the man immediately. Thus they discovered and properly secured him. After this he gave notice to Athanasius that he need not be under any alarm, because Arsenius was alive and there present.</p> <p>1.29.4 When Arsenius was apprehended, he at first denied that he was the person. But Paul, bishop of Tyre, who had formerly known him, established his identity.</p>		<p>1.30.2b The friends of Athanasius hunted him up and brought him to an inn, where they compelled him to lie hid for a time. Early in the morning the great Athanasius came to the council.</p>
	<p>2.25.9 Both these indictments were proved to be ridiculous and full of false espionage. When this female made the deposition before the bishops, Timothy, a presbyter of Alexandria, who stood by Athanasius, approached her according to a plan he had secretly concerted, and</p>	<p>1.30.3 First of all a woman of lewd life was brought in, who proclaimed in a loud and impudent manner that she had vowed perpetual virginity, but that Athanasius, who had lodged in her house, had violated her chastity. After she had made her charge, the accused</p>

	<p>said to her, "Did I then, O woman, violate your chastity?" She replied, "But did you not?" and mentioned the place and the attendant circumstances in which she had been forced.</p>	<p>came forward, and with him a presbyter worthy of all praise, by name Timothy. 1.30.4 The court ordered Athanasius to reply to the charge, but he was silent, as if he had not been Athanasius. Timothy, however, addressed her thus: "Have I, O woman, ever conversed with you, or have I entered your house?" She replied with still greater brazenness, screaming aloud in her dispute with Timothy and, pointing at him with her finger, she exclaimed, "It was you who robbed me of my virginity; it was you who stripped me of my chastity." She also added other indelicate expressions which are used by shameless women. 1.30.5 The devisers of this accusation were put to shame, and all the bishops who were privy to it blushed. The woman was now being led out of the Court, but the great Athanasius protested that instead of sending her away they ought to examine her and learn the name of the hatcher of the plot.</p>
<p>1.29.5 When Divine Providence thus took care of matters, Athanasius was shortly after summoned by the Synod. And as soon as he presented himself, his accusers exhibited the hand and pressed their charge. 1.29.6 He managed the affair with great prudence, for he enquired of those present, as well as of his accusers, who were the people who knew Arsenius? After several answered that they knew him, he caused Arsenius to be introduced with his hands covered by his cloak. 1.29.7 Then he again asked them, 'Is this the person who has lost a hand?' All were astonished at the unexpectedness of this procedure, except those who knew from where the hand had been cut off. The rest thought that Arsenius was really deficient of a hand and expected that the accused would make his defense in some other way. 1.29.8 But Athanasius turned back the cloak of Arsenius on one side and showed one of the man's hands. Again, while some were supposing that the other hand was missing, Athanasius permitted them to remain a short time in doubt. After this he turned back the cloak on the other side and exposed the other hand. 1.29.9 Then addressing himself to those present, he said, 'Arsenius, as you see, is found to have two hands: let my accusers show the place from where the third was cut off.'</p>	<p>2.25.10 He likewise led Arsenius into the midst of them, showed both his hands to the judges, and requested them to make the accusers account for the arm which they had exhibited. For it happened that Arsenius, either driven by a Divine influence or, as it is said, having been concealed by the plans of Athanasius when the danger to that bishop on his account was announced, escaped by night and arrived at Tyre the day before the trial. 2.25.11 But when these allegations had been thus summarily dismissed, so that no defense was necessary, no mention of the first was made in the transactions. Most probably, I think, because the whole affair was considered too improper and absurd for insertion. 2.25.12 As to the second, the accusers strove to justify themselves by saying that a bishop under the jurisdiction of Athanasius, named Plusian, had at the command of his chief burnt the house of Arsenius, fastened him to a column, maltreated him with thongs, and then chained him in a cell. They further stated that Arsenius escaped from the cell through a window and, while he was sought for, remained for a time in concealment. Because he did not appear, they naturally supposed him to be dead. The reputation he had acquired as a man and confessor had endeared him to the bishops of John's party. They sought for him and applied on his behalf to the magistrates.</p>	<p>1.30.6 After this his accusers yelled and shouted that he had perpetrated other viler crimes, of which it was utterly impossible that he could by any art or ingenuity be cleared, that eyes, not ears, would decide on the evidence. After saying this said this, they exhibited the famous box and exposed the embalmed hand to view. 1.30.7 At this sight all the spectators uttered a loud cry. Some believed the accusation to be true; the others had no doubt of the falsehood, and thought that Arsenius was lurking somewhere or other in concealment. When at length, after some difficulty, a little silence was obtained, the accused asked his judges whether any of them knew Arsenius. 1.30.8 When several of them replied that they knew him well, Athanasius gave orders that he should be brought before them. Then he again asked them, "Is this the right Arsenius? Is this the man I murdered? Is this the man those people mutilated after his murder by cutting off his right hand?" When they had confessed that it was the same individual, Athanasius pulled off his cloak, and exhibited two hands, both the right and the left, and said, "Let no one seek for a third hand, for man has received two hands from the Creator and no more."</p>
<p>1.30 When the matter was brought to this state with regard to Arsenius, the authors of this plot were reduced to perplexity. Achab, who was also called John, one of the principal accusers, slipped out of court in the tumult and escaped. Thus Athanasius cleared himself from this charge without having recourse to any pleading. He was confident that the sight only of Arsenius alive would confound his accusers.</p>		
<p>1.31.1 However, when he was refuting the false charges against Macarius, he made use of legal forms. First of all he took issue with Eusebius and his party as his enemies, protesting against the injustice of any man's being tried by his adversaries. He next insisted that his accuser Ischyra prove that he had really obtained the dignity of presbyter, for so he had been labeled in the indictment. 1.31.2 But because the judges would not allow any of these objections, the case of Macarius was taken up. When the informers had little of proof, the hearing of the matter was postponed until some people could go into Mareotis, in order that all doubtful points might be examined on the spot. 1.31.3 When Athanasius saw that those very people were to be those whom he had discredited (for the persons sent were Theognis, Maris, Theodorus, Macedonius, Valens, and Ursacius), he exclaimed that their procedure was both treacherous and fraudulent. He said it was unjust that the presbyter Macarius should be detained in bonds while the accuser together with the judges who were his adversaries were permitted to go, in order that an <i>ex parte</i> collection of the facts in evidence might be made.'</p>		
<p>1.31.4a When Athanasius made this protest before the whole Synod and</p>	<p>2.25.13 Athanasius was filled with apprehension when he reflected on</p>	<p>1.30.9 Even after this plain proof the accusers and the judges who</p>

<p>Dionysius the governor of the province and saw that no one paid any attention to his appeal, ...</p>	<p>these subjects and began to suspect that his enemies were secretly scheming to bring about his ruin. After several sessions, when the Synod was filled with tumult and confusion and the accusers and a multitude of persons around the tribunal were crying aloud that Athanasius ought to be deposed as a sorcerer and a ruffian, as being utterly unworthy of the priesthood, the officers, who had been appointed by the emperor to be present at the Synod for the maintenance of order, compelled the accused to quit the judgment hall secretly. For they were afraid that they might become his murderers, as is apt to be the case in the rush of a tumult.</p>	<p>were privy to the crime, instead of hiding themselves or praying that the earth might open and swallow them up, raised an uproar and commotion in the assembly and declared that Athanasius was a sorcerer, that he had by his magical incantations bewitched the eyes of men.</p>
<p>1.31.4b ... he privately withdrew. 1.31.5 Those, therefore, who were sent to Mareotis made an <i>ex parte</i> investigation, They held that what the accuser said was true.</p>	<p>2.25.15 The Synod condemned him during his absence, deposed him from the bishopric, and prohibited his residing at Alexandria, so that, they said, he didn't excite disturbances and seditions. John and all his adherents were restored to communion, as if they had been unjustly suffering wrongs, and each was reinstated in his own clerical rank.</p>	
<p>1.32.2 And when the re-suit of the enquiry which had been instituted at Mareotis was presented, they voted to depose him. They loaded him with disgraceful names in their sentence of deposition, but were wholly silent respecting the disgraceful defeat of the charge of murder brought by his accusers. 1.32.3 Moreover, they received into communion Arsenius, who was reported to have been murdered. And he who had formerly been a bishop of the Meletian heresy subscribed to the deposition of Athanasius as bishop of the city of Hypselopolis. Thus, by an extraordinary course of circumstances, the alleged victim of assassination by Athanasius was found alive to assist in deposing him.</p>		
	<p>2.25.16 The bishops then gave an account of their proceedings to the emperor and wrote to the bishops of all regions, urging them not to receive Athanasius into fellowship and not to write to him or receive letters from him. For he had been convicted of the crimes which they had investigated and, on account of his flight, was also guilty of those charges which had not been tried. 2.25.17 They likewise declared in this epistle that they had been obliged to pass such condemnation upon him because, when commanded by the emperor the preceding year to travel to the bishops of the East, who were assembled at Caesarea, he disobeyed the injunction, kept the bishops waiting for him, and did not listen to the commands of the ruler. 2.25.18 They also declared that when the bishops had assembled at Tyre, he went to that city, attended by a large retinue, for the purpose of exciting disturbances and tumults in the Synod. And when there he sometimes refused to reply to the charges leveled against him. He sometimes insulted the bishops individually when summoned by them, sometimes not obeying, at others not deigning to be judged. 2.25.19 They specified in the same letter that he was manifestly guilty of breaking a mystical chalice. his fact was attested by Theognis, bishop of Nicaea; by Maris, bishop of Chalcedonia; by Theodore, bishop of Heraclea; by Valentinus and Ursacius; and by Macedonius, who had been sent to the village in Egypt, where the chalice was said to have been broken, in order to ascertain the truth. Thus did the bishops report successively each of the allegations against Athanasius with the same art to which sophists resort when they desire to heighten the effect of their accusations.</p>	
	<p>2.25.20 Many of the priests, however, who were present at the trial perceived the injustice of the accusation. It is related that Paphnutius, the confessor, who was present at the Synod, arose and took the hand of Maximus, the bishop of Jerusalem, to lead him away, as if those who were confessors and had their eyes dug out for the sake of piety ought not to participate in an assembly of wicked men.</p>	
<p>1.33.1a In the meantime letters were brought from the emperor directing those who made up the Synod to hasten to the New Jerusalem. Therefore they immediately left Tyre and set forward with all haste</p>	<p>2.26.1 The temple, called the "Great Martyrium," which was built in the place of the skull at Jerusalem, was completed about the thirtieth year of the reign of Constantine. Marianus, an official who</p>	<p>1.31.1 All the bishops who were present at the council of Tyre, with all others from every quarter, were commanded by the emperor to proceed to Aelia to consecrate the churches which he had there</p>

<p>to Jerusalem where, after celebrating a festival in connection with the consecration of the place,...</p>	<p>was a short-hand writer of the emperor, came to Tyre and delivered a letter from the emperor to the council, commanding them to hasten quickly to Jerusalem, in order to consecrate the temple.</p>	<p>erected.</p>
	<p>2.26.2 Although this had been previously determined, the emperor deemed it necessary that the disputes which prevailed among the bishops who had been convened at Tyre should be first addressed and that the bishops should be purged of all discord and grief before going to the consecration of the temple. For it is fitting to such a festival for the priests to be like-minded. 2.26.3 When the bishops arrived at Jerusalem, the temple was consecrated. Numerous ornaments and gifts, which were sent by the emperor, are still preserved in the sacred edifice. Their costliness and magnificence is such that they cannot be looked upon without exciting wonder.</p>	<p>1.31.3 The holy altar was decorated with imperial hangings and with golden vessels set with gems. When the splendid festival was concluded, each bishop returned to his own diocese. The emperor was highly gratified when informed of the splendor and magnificence of the function and blessed the Author of all good for having thus granted his petition.</p>
	<p>2.26.4 Since that period the anniversary of the consecration has been celebrated with great pomp by the church of Jerusalem; the festival continues eight days. Initiation by baptism was administered, and people from every region under the sun traveled to Jerusalem during this festival and visited the sacred places.</p>	<p>1.31.2 The emperor sent also a number of officials of the kindest disposition, remarkable for piety and fidelity, whom he ordered to furnish abundant supplies of provisions, not only to the bishops and their followers, but to the vast multitudes who flocked from all parts to Jerusalem.</p>
	<p>2.27.1 The bishops who had embraced the sentiments of Arius found a favorable opportunity of restoring him and Euzoius to communion by zealously striving to have a council in the city of Jerusalem. They effected their design in the following manner...</p>	
<p>1.33.1b ... they readmitted Arius and his adherents into communion. This was done in obedience, as they said, to the wishes of the emperor, who had signified in his communication to them that he was fully satisfied respecting the faith of Arius and Euzoius</p>	<p>2.27.12 The emperor imagined that Arius and Euzoius were of the same belief as the bishops of the council of Nicaea and was delighted over the affair [their letter of recantation from several years prior]. He did not, however, attempt to restore them to communion without the judgment and approval of those who are, by the law of the Church, masters in these matters. 2.27.13 He, therefore, sent them to the bishops who were then assembled at Jerusalem and wrote, desiring them to examine the declaration of faith submitted by Arius and Euzoius. He did this so the Synod would find out whether they found that their doctrine was orthodox and that the jealousy of their enemies had been the sole cause of their condemnation, or that without having reason to blame those who had condemned them they had changed their minds, A humane decision might, in either case, be accorded them.</p>	
<p>1.33.2 They moreover wrote to the church at Alexandria and stated that because all envy was now banished, the affairs of the church were established in peace. They also stated that since Arius had acknowledged the truth by his recantation and was therefore a member of the church, he should also be therefore received by them, alluding to the banishment of Athanasius [in their statement that 'all envy was now banished']. At the same time they sent information of what had been done to the emperor, in terms nearly to the same effect.</p>	<p>2.27.14 Those who had long been zealous for this seized the opportunity under cover of the emperor's letter and received him into fellowship. They wrote immediately to the emperor himself, to the Church of Alexandria, and to the bishops and clergy of Egypt, of Thebes, and of Libya, earnestly exhorting them to receive Arius and Euzoius into communion, since the emperor bore witness to the correctness of their faith in one of his own epistles, and since the judgment of the emperor had been confirmed by the vote of the Synod. These were the subjects which were zealously discussed by the Synod of Jerusalem.</p>	
		<p>1.30.11b When he [Athanasius] appeared before the emperor, he described all the dramatic plots which were intended to ruin him. The accusers sent bishops connected to their faction into Mareotis, viz., Theognis, bishop of Nicaea, Theodorus, bishop of Perinthus, Maris, bishop of Chalcedon, Narcissus of Cilicia, with others of the same sentiments. 1.30.12 Mareotis is a district near Alexandria and derives its name from the lake Maria. Here they invented other falsehoods and, forging the reports of the trial, mixed up the charges which had been shown to be false with fresh accusations, as if they had been true, and sent them to the emperor.</p>
<p>1.33.3 But while the bishops were engaged in this affair, other letters came unexpectedly from the emperor, stating that Athanasius had fled to him for protection and that it was necessary for them on his account to come to Constantinople. This unanticipated</p>	<p>2.28.1 Athanasius, after he fled from Tyre, traveled to Constantinople. When he came to the emperor Constantine, he complained of what he had suffered, in presence of the bishops who had condemned him, and implored him to permit the decrees of the</p>	<p>1.31.4 Because Athanasius complained of his unjust condemnation, the emperor commanded the bishops against whom this complaint was directed to present themselves at court.</p>

communication from the emperor was as follows.

council of Tyre to be submitted for examination before the emperor. Constantine regarded this request as reasonable and wrote in the following terms to the bishops assembled at Tyre:

1.34.1 Victor Constantine Maximus Augustus, to the bishops convened at Tyre. I am indeed ignorant of the decisions which have been made by your Council with so much turbulence and storm: but the truth seems to have been perverted by some tumultuous and disorderly proceedings: because, that is to say, in your mutual love of contention, which you seem desirous of perpetuating, you disregard the consideration of those things which are acceptable to God.

1.34.2 It will, however, I trust, be the work of Divine Providence to dissipate the mischiefs resulting from this jealous rivalry, as soon as they shall have been detected; and to make it apparent to us, whether ye who have been convened have had regard to truth, and whether your decisions on the subjects which have been submitted to your judgment have been made apart from partiality or prejudice.

1.34.3 Wherefore it is indispensable that you should all without delay attend upon my piety, that you may yourselves give a strict account of your transactions.

1.34.4 For what reason I have deemed it proper to write thus, and to summon you before me, you will learn from what follows.

1.34.5 As I was making my entry into the city which bears our name, in this our most flourishing home, Constantinople, — and it happened that I was riding on horseback at the time, — suddenly the Bishop Athanasius, with certain ecclesiastics whom he had around him, presented himself so unexpectedly in our path, as to produce an occasion of consternation.

1.34.6 For the Omniscient God is my witness that at first sight I did not recognize him until some of my attendants, in answer to my enquiry, informed me, as was very natural, both who he was, and what injustice he had suffered.

1.34.7 At that time indeed I neither conversed, nor held any communication with him. But as he repeatedly entreated an audience, and I had not only refused it, but almost ordered that he should be removed from my presence, he said with greater boldness, that he petitioned for nothing more than that you might be summoned hither, in order that in our presence, he, driven by necessity to such a course, might have a fair opportunity afforded him of complaining of his wrongs.

1.34.8 Wherefore as this seems reasonable, and consistent with the equity of my government, I willingly gave instructions that these things should be written to you. My command therefore is, that all, as many as composed the Synod convened at Tyre, should forthwith hasten to the court of our clemency, in order that from the facts themselves you may make clear the purity and integrity of your decision in my presence, whom you cannot but own to be a true servant of God.

1.34.9 It is in consequence of the acts of my religious service towards God that peace is everywhere reigning; and that the name of God is sincerely had in reverence even among the barbarians themselves, who until now were ignorant of the truth. Now it is evident that he who knows not the truth, does not have a true knowledge of God also:

1.34.10 yet, as I before said even the barbarians on my account, who am a genuine servant of God, have acknowledged and learned to worship him, whom they have perceived in very deed protecting and caring for me everywhere. So that from dread of us chiefly, they have been thus brought to the knowledge of the true God whom they now worship.

1.34.11 Nevertheless we who pretend to have a religious veneration for (I will not say who guard) the holy mysteries of his church, we, I say, do nothing but what tends to discord and animosity, and to speak plainly, to the destruction of the human race.

1.34.12 But hasten, as I have already said, all of you to us as speedily as possible: and be assured that I shall endeavor with all my power to cause that what is contained in the Divine Law may be

<p>preserved inviolate, on which neither stigma nor reproach shall be able to fasten itself; and this will come to pass when its enemies, who under cover of the sacred profession introduce numerous and diversified blasphemies, are dispersed, broken to pieces, and altogether annihilated.</p>		
<p>1.35.1 This letter rendered those who attended the Synod very fearful. Therefore most of them returned to their respective cities.</p>	<p>2.28.13a This letter of the emperor so excited the fears of some of the bishops that they set off on their journey homewards.</p>	
<p>1.35.2a But Eusebius, Theognis, Maris, Patrophilus, Ursacius, and Valens, having gone to Constantinople, would not permit any further enquiry to be instituted concerning the broken cup, the overturned communion table, and the murder of Arsenius.</p>	<p>2.28.13b But Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, and his partisans went to the emperor and claimed that the Synod of Tyre had enacted no decrees against Athanasius but what were founded on justice. They brought forward as witnesses Theognis, Maris, Theodore, Valens, and Ursacius, and deposed that he had broken the mystical cup and, after uttering many other charges, they prevailed with their accusations.</p>	<p>1.31.5a Upon their arrival they stopped pushing any of their former accusations, because they knew how clearly they could be refuted.</p>
<p>1.35.2b But they tried another accusation, informing the emperor that Athanasius had threatened to prohibit the sending of corn which was usually conveyed from Alexandria to Constantinople. They affirmed also that these menaces were heard from the lips of Athanasius by the bishops Adamantius, Anubion, Arbathion and Peter, for slander is most prevalent when of the assessor of it appears to be a person worthy of credit.</p>		<p>1.31.5b But they made it appear that Athanasius had threatened to prevent the exportation of corn. The emperor believed what they said and banished him to a city of Gaul called Treves. This occurred in the thirtieth year of the emperor's reign.</p>
<p>1.35.3 The emperor was deceived and moved to indignation against Athanasius by this charge. He at once condemned him to exile, ordering him to reside in the Gauls.</p>	<p>2.28.14 The emperor, either believing their statements to be true, or imagining that unity would be restored among the bishops if Athanasius were removed, exiled him to Treves, in Western Gaul; and to there, therefore, he was conducted.</p>	
<p>1.35.4 Now some declare that the emperor came to this decision with a view to the establishment of unity in the church, since Athanasius was immovable in his refusal to hold any communion with Arius and his adherents. He accordingly took up his abode at Treves, a city of Gaul.</p>		
<p>1.37.1 While these things were taking place, the thirtieth year of Constantine's reign was completed. Arius with his adherents returned to Alexandria and again disturbed the whole city. The people of Alexandria were exceedingly indignant both at the restoration of this irredeemable heretic with his supporters and also because their bishop Athanasius had been sent to exile. 1.37.2 When the emperor was informed of the perverse disposition of Arius, he once more ordered him to come to Constantinople to give an account of the commotions he had afresh endeavored to excite.</p>	<p>2.29.1a After the Synod of Jerusalem, Arius went to Egypt. But because he could not obtain permission to hold communion with the Church of Alexandria, he returned to Constantinople.</p>	
<p>1.37.3 It happened at that time that Alexander, who had some time before succeeded Metrophanes, presided over the church at Constantinople.</p>	<p>2.29.1b Because all those who had embraced his sentiments and those who were attached to Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, had assembled cunningly in that city for the purpose of holding a council, Alexander, who was then ordering the see of Constantinople, used every effort to dissolve the council</p>	
<p>1.37.4 This bishop was a man of devoted piety as was distinctly made evident by the conflict he entered into with Arius. When Arius arrived, the people were divided into two factions and the whole city was thrown into confusion, some insisting that the Nicene Creed should be by no means infringed on, while others contended that the opinion of Arius was in agreement with reason. In this state of affairs, Alexander was driven to straits; more especially since Eusebius of Nicomedia had violently threatened that he would cause him to be immediately deposed unless he admitted Arius and his followers to communion.</p>	<p>2.29.2 But when his endeavors were frustrated, he openly refused all communion with Arius, affirming that it was neither just nor according to ecclesiastical canons to make powerless their own voice and that of those bishops who had been assembled at Nicaea, from nearly every region under the sun. When the partisans of Eusebius perceived that their arguments produced no effect on Alexander, they resorted to abuse and threatened that unless he would receive Arius into communion on a stated day, he should be expelled from the church, and that another should be elected in his place who would be willing to hold communion with Arius.</p>	
<p>1.37.5 Alexander, however, was far less troubled at the thought of his own deposition as he was fearful of the subversion of the principles of the faith, which they were so anxious to effect. Regarding himself as the established guardian of the doctrines recognized and the decisions made by the council at Nicaea, he exerted himself to the utmost to prevent their being violated or defiled.</p>		
<p>1.37.6 Reduced to this extremity, he bade farewell to all logical</p>	<p>2.29.3 The partisan of Eusebius then separated to await the time they</p>	

<p>resources and made God his refuge, devoting himself to continued fasting and never ceased from praying.</p> <p>1.37.7 Communicating his purpose to no one, he shut himself up alone in the church called Irene. Going up to the altar and prostrating himself on the ground beneath the holy communion table, he poured forth his fervent prayers weeping; and this he ceased not to do for many successive nights and days.</p>	<p>had fixed for carrying their menaces into execution. Alexander went to pray that the words of Eusebius might be prevented from being carried into deed. His chief source of fear arose from the fact that the emperor had been persuaded to give way. On the day before the appointed day he prostrated himself before the altar, and continued all the night in prayer to God, that his enemies might be prevented from carrying their schemes into execution against him.</p>	
<p>1.37.8 What he thus earnestly asked from God, he received, for his petition was such a one:</p> <p>1.37.9 'If the opinion of Arius were correct, he might not be permitted to see the day appointed for its discussion; but that if he himself held the true faith, Arius, as the author of all these evils, might suffer the punishment due to his impiety.'</p>		
<p>1.36.1 The bishops assembled at Constantinople deposed also Marcellus bishop of Ancyra, a city of Galatia Minor, on this account:</p>	<p>2.33.1 At the same time Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, was deposed and cast out of the Church by the bishops who were assembled at Constantinople. He had introduced some new doctrines, teaching that the Son of God began to exist when He was born of Mary and that His kingdom would have an end. He drew up a written document explaining these things. So Basil, a very learned and eloquent man, was entrusted with the bishopric of the parish of Galatia. The bishops also wrote to the churches in the nearby regions, asking them to search for copies of the book written by Marcellus, to destroy them, and to guide back those who had embraced his views, if any could be found.</p>	
	<p>2.33.2 They explained that the writing was so lengthy that they could not put all of it in their letter, but they did quote certain passages from it to show that the doctrines they had condemned were actually presented there. Some people, however, claimed that Marcellus had merely presented a few questions which had been misconstrued by the followers of Eusebius and presented to the emperor as actual confessions. Eusebius and his party were very irritated with Marcellus, because he had not agreed with the definitions presented by the Synod in Phoenicia or with the regulations which had been made in favor of Arius at Jerusalem. He had also refused to attend the consecration of the Great Martyrium, to avoid being in communion with them.</p>	
	<p>2.33.3 In their letter to the emperor they focused on this incident and brought it forward as an accusation. They claimed it was a personal insult to him to refuse to attend the consecration of the temple which he had constructed at Jerusalem.</p>	
<p>1.36.2 A certain rhetorician of Cappadocia named Asterius, abandoning his art and professing himself a convert to Christianity, undertook the composition of some treatises, which are still extant, in which he commended the dogmas of Arius. He asserted that Christ is the power of God in the same sense as the locust and the palmer-worm are said by Moses to be the power of God, and with other similar utterances.</p>	<p>2.33.4 The reason Marcellus wrote this document was a certain Asterius, a sophist from Cappadocia. Asterius had written a treatise defending Arian doctrines and had it read in various cities, to bishops, and at several synods which Marcellus had attended. But when speaking against his arguments Marcellus, either deliberately or unintentionally, fell into the opinions of Paul of Samosata. Later, however, he proved that he did not hold those beliefs, and the Synod of Sardis reinstated him as bishop.</p>	
<p>[Marcellus recants his statement at Jerusalem]</p> <p>1.36.5 When the bishops then convened at Jerusalem had knowledge of these things, they took no notice of Asterius, because he was not enrolled even in the catalogue of ordained priests. But they insisted that Marcellus, as a priest, should give an account of the book which he had written.</p> <p>1.36.6 Finding that he entertained Paul of Samosata's sentiments, they required him to retract his opinion. He was thoroughly ashamed of himself and promised to burn his book.</p> <p>[Eusebians condemn Marcellus and install Basil into Ancyra]</p> <p>1.36.7 But because the convention of bishops was hastily dissolved by the emperor's summon to Constantinople, the Eusebians on their arrival at that city again took the case of Marcellus into consideration,</p>		

<p>1.36.8 When Marcellus refused to fulfil his promise of burning his untimely book, those present deposed him and sent Basil into Ancyra in his stead.</p> <p>1.36.9 Moreover Eusebius wrote a refutation of this work in three books, in which he exposed its erroneous doctrine. Marcellus however was afterwards reinstated in his bishopric by the Synod at Sardica, on his assurance that his book had been misunderstood and on that account he was thought to favor the Samosatene's views. But of this we shall speak more fully in its proper place.</p>		
<p>1.38.1 Such was the supplication of Alexander. Meanwhile the emperor desired to personally examine Arius and sent for him to the palace. He asked him whether he would consent to the decisions of the Synod at Nicaea.</p> <p>1.38.2 He, without hesitation, replied in the affirmative and subscribed the declaration of the faith in the emperor's presence, acting with dishonesty.</p> <p>1.38.3 The emperor, surprised at his ready compliance, obliged him to confirm his signature by an oath. This also he did with equal concealment. The way he evaded, as I have heard, was this:</p> <p>1.38.4 He wrote his own opinion on paper and carried it under his arm, so that he then swore truly that he really held the sentiments he had written. That this is so, however, I have written from hearsay. But the fact that he added an oath to his subscription I have myself ascertained from an examination of the emperor's own letters.</p> <p>1.38.5 The emperor was thus convinced and ordered that he should be received into communion by Alexander, bishop of Constantinople.</p>		
<p>1.38.6 It was then Saturday, and Arius was expecting to assemble with the church on the following day following. However, divine retribution overtook his daring atrocities.</p>		
<p>1.38.7 For going out of the imperial palace, attended by a crowd of Eusebian supporters like guards, he paraded proudly through the midst of the city, attracting the notice of all the people. As he approached the place called Constantine's Forum, where the column of Porphyry is erected, a terror arose from the remorse of conscience and seized Arius. With the terror of a violent relaxation of the bowels, he enquired whether there was a convenient place near, was directed to the back of Constantine's Forum, and hastened there.</p> <p>1.38.8 Soon after a faintness came over him, and together with the evacuations his bowels protruded, followed by a copious hemorrhage and the descent of the smaller intestines, moreover portions of his spleen and liver were brought off in the effusion of blood, he almost immediately died.</p>	<p>2.29.4 Late in the afternoon Arius, being seized suddenly with pain in the stomach, was compelled to repair to the public place set apart for emergencies of this nature. As some time passed away without his coming out, some persons, who were waiting for him outside, entered and found him dead and still sitting upon the seat.</p>	
<p>1.38.9 The scene of this catastrophe still is shown at Constantinople, as I have said, behind the shambles in the colonnade. Because people continually go by and point the finger at the place, there is a perpetual remembrance preserved of this extraordinary kind of death.</p> <p>1.38.10 So disastrous an occurrence filled the party of Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, with dread and alarm. The report of it quickly spread itself over the city and throughout the whole world.</p> <p>1.38.11 As the king grew more earnest in Christianity and confessed that the confession at Nicaea was attested by God, he rejoiced at the occurrences.</p>	<p>2.29.5 When his death became known, all people did not view the occurrence under the same aspect. Some believed that he died at that very hour, seized by a sudden disease of the heart, or suffering weakness from his joy over the fact that his matters were falling out according to his mind. Others imagined that this mode of death was inflicted on him in judgment, on account of his impiety. Those who held his sentiments were of opinion that his death was brought about by magical arts.</p>	
	<p>2.29.5b It will not be out of place to quote what Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, stated on the subject. The following is his narrative</p>	<p>1.14.2b The intrigues upon which he then entered and their punishment by the righteous Judge are all best narrated by the excellent Athanasius in his letter to Apion. I shall therefore now insert this passage in my work. He writes:</p>
	<p>2.30.3 With all men the common end of life is death. We must not blame a man, even if he be an enemy, merely because he died, for it is uncertain whether we shall live to the evening. But the end of Arius was so singular that it seems worthy of some remark.</p>	

		<p>1.14.3a I was not at Constantinople when he died. But Macarius, the presbyter, was there, and from him I learned all the circumstances. The emperor Constantine was persuaded by Eusebius and his party to send for Arius.</p>
	<p>2.30.1 Arius, the author of the heresy and the associate of Eusebius, when he had been summoned before the most blessed Constantine Augustus at the pleading of the partisans of Eusebius, was asked to give in writing an exposition of his faith. He drew up this document with great artfulness and, like the devil, concealed his impious assertions beneath the simple words of Scripture.</p>	<p>1.14.3b Upon his arrival the emperor asked him whether he held the faith of the Catholic church. Arius then swore that his faith was orthodox and presented a written summary of his belief. He was concealing, however, the reasons of his ejection from the Church by the bishop Alexander and making a dishonest use of the language of Holy Scripture.</p>
	<p>2.30.2a The most blessed Constantine said to him, 'If you have no other points in mind than these, render testimony to the truth; for if you perjure yourself, the Lord will punish you.' And the wretched man swore that he neither held nor conceived any sentiments except those now specified in the document, even if he had ever affirmed otherwise.</p>	<p>1.14.4 When, therefore, he had declared upon oath that he did not hold the errors for which he had been expelled from the Church by Alexander, Constantine dismissed him, saying, 'If your faith is orthodox, you have well sworn; but if your faith is impious and yet you have sworn, let God from heaven judge you.' When he left the presence of the emperor, the partisans of Eusebius, with their usual violence, desired to conduct him into the church.</p>
		<p>1.14.5 But Alexander, of blessed memory, bishop of Constantinople, refused his permission, alleging that the inventor of the heresy ought not to be admitted into communion. Then at last the partisans of Eusebius pronounced the threat: 'As, against your will, we succeeded in persuading the emperor to send for Arius, so now, even if you forbid it, shall Arius join in communion with us in this church to-morrow.' It was on Saturday that they said this.</p> <p>1.14.6 The bishop Alexander, deeply grieved at what he had heard, went into the church and poured forth his lamentations, raising his hands in supplication to God, and throwing himself on his face on the pavement in the sanctuary, prayed. Macarius went in with him, prayed with him, and heard his prayers.</p> <p>1.14.7 He asked one of two things. 'If Arius,' said he, 'is to be joined to the Church to-morrow, let me your servant depart and do not destroy the pious with the impious. If you will spare Church, and I know that you do spare her, look upon the words of the followers of Eusebius, and do not give your heritage over to destruction and to shame. Remove Arius, lest if he come into the Church, heresy seem to come in with him, and impiety be hereafter deemed piety.' Having thus prayed, the bishop left the church deeply anxious, and then a horrible and extraordinary catastrophe ensued.</p>
	<p>2.30.4 The partisans of Eusebius threatened to reinstate him in the church, and Alexander, bishop of Constantinople, opposed their intention. Arius placed his confidence in the power and menaces of Eusebius; for it was the Sabbath, and he expected the next day to be readmitted. The dispute ran high; the partisans of Eusebius were loud in their menaces, while Alexander took refuge in prayer. The Lord was the judge and declared himself against the unjust</p>	<p>1.14.8a The followers of Eusebius had launched out into threats, while the bishop took refuge in prayer. Arius, emboldened by the protection of his party, delivered many trifling and foolish speeches.</p>
	<p>2.30.4b A little before sunset Arius was compelled by a want of nature to enter the place appointed for such emergencies, and here he lost at once both restoration to communion and his life.</p> <p>2.30.2b Aoon after he went out, and judgment was visited upon him; for he bent forwards and burst in the middle.</p>	<p>1.14.8b But he was suddenly compelled by a call of nature to retire and immediately, as it is written, 'falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst,' and gave up the ghost, being deprived at once both of communion and of life.</p>
	<p>2.30.5 The most blessed Constantine was amazed when he heard of this occurrence and regarded it as the proof of falsehood. It then became evident to everyone that the menaces of Eusebius were absolutely futile and that the hopes of Arius were vain. It also became manifest that the Arian madness could not be fellowshipped by the Savior both here and in the church of the Firstborn. Is it not then astonishing that some are still found who seek to absolve him whom the Lord condemned and to defend that heresy which the Lord proved to be unworthy of fellowship, by not permitting its author to enter the church? We have been duly informed that this was the mode of the death of Arius.'</p>	<p>1.14.9 This, then, was the end of Arius. The followers of Eusebius were covered with shame, and buried him whose belief they shared. The blessed Alexander completed the celebration, rejoicing with the Church in piety and orthodoxy, praying with all the brethren and greatly glorifying God. This was not because he rejoiced at the death of Arius - God forbid, for 'it is appointed unto all men once to die,' but because the event plainly transcended any human condemnation.</p>
		<p>1.14.10 For the Lord Himself passed judgment upon the menaces of the</p>

		<p>followers of Eusebius and the prayer of Alexander, condemned the Arian heresy, and showed that it was unworthy of being received into the communion of the Church. Thus the Lord made known to all that, even if it received the approval and support of the emperor and of all men, yet by truth itself it stood condemned.</p> <p>1.14.11 These were the first fruits, reaped by Arius, of those devastating seeds which he had himself sown. They formed the prelude to the punishments that awaited him hereafter. His impiety was condemned by his punishment.</p>
	<p>2.30.6 It is said that for a long period subsequently no one would make use of the seat on which he died. Those who were compelled by necessities of nature, as is usually the case in a crowd, to visit the public place, spoke to one another when they entered to avoid the seat. And the place was shunned afterwards, because Arius had there received the punishment of his impiety.</p> <p>2.30.7 At a later time a certain rich and powerful man, who had embraced the Arian tenets, bought the place of the public and built a house on the spot, in order that the occurrence might fall into oblivion and that there might be no perpetual memorial of the death of Arius.</p>	
	<p>2.31.1 The death of Arius did not terminate the doctrinal dispute which he had originated. Those who adhered to his sentiments did not cease from plotting against those who maintained opposite opinions.</p> <p>2.31.2a The people of Alexandria loudly complained of the exile of Athanasius and offered up supplications for his return. Antony, the celebrated monk, wrote frequently to the emperor to entreat him to attach no credit to the accusations of the Meletians, but to reject their accusations as falsehood.</p>	
	<p>2.31.2b Yet the emperor was not convinced by these arguments and wrote to the Alexandrians, accusing them of folly and of disorderly conduct. He commanded the clergy and the holy virgins to remain quiet and declared that he would not change his mind nor recall Athanasius whom, he said, he regarded as an exciter of rebellion, justly condemned by the judgment of the Church.</p> <p>2.31.3 He replied to Antony by stating that he ought not to overlook the decree of the Synod; for even if some few of the bishops, he said, were influenced by ill-will or the desire to oblige others, it scarcely seems credible that so many prudent and excellent bishops could have been impelled by such motives. And, he added, Athanasius was brazen and arrogant, the cause of dissension and rebellion. The enemies of Athanasius accused him all the more especially of these crimes, because they knew that the emperor regarded them with peculiar aversion.</p>	
	<p>2.31.4 When he found out that the church had split into two groups, between those who admired Athanasius and those who admired John, he was furious and exiled John. John was the one who succeeded Miletius. He had been restored to communion in the church and given back his clerical duties - both he and those with the same views - by the synod of Tyre.</p> <p>2.31.5 His banishment went against the wishes of Athanasius' enemies, but it happened anyway. The decisions of those who had gathered in Tyre did nothing to help him. For the emperor was past the point of listening to supplications or excuses of any kind on behalf of someone who was suspected of inciting the Christian people to rise up or protest.</p>	
		<p>1.32.2 He ordered that the great Athanasius should return to Alexandria and expressed this decision in the presence of Eusebius, who did all he could to dissuade him.</p>
		<p>1.33.1 It should not be surprising that Constantine was so far deceived as to send so many great men into exile, for he believed the assertions of bishops of high fame and reputation, who skillfully concealed their malice. Those who are acquainted with the Sacred Scriptures know that the holy David, although he was a prophet, was</p>

		<p>deceived. 1.33.2 And that too not by a priest, but by one who was a menial, a slave, and a rascal. I mean Ziba, who deluded the king by lies against Mephibosheth and thus obtained his land. 1.33.3 It is not to condemn the prophet that I thus speak, but that I may defend the emperor by showing the weakness of human nature, to teach that credit should not be given only to those who advance accusations, even though they may appear worthy of credit. but that the other party ought also to be heard, and that one ear should be left open to the accused.</p>
	<p>2.32.7 About this time those on the side of Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, and of Theognis, bishop of Nicaea, began to change how they would write the confession presented by the Nicaean Council. They did not dare to openly reject that the Son is consubstantial with the Father, because they knew the emperor held to that belief. 2.32.8 However, they presented another document, claiming that they had received the terms of the Nicaean doctrine with certain explanations. Their written interpretation caused the old debate to come under discussion again, and what seemed to have been put to rest was set in motion again.</p>	
<p>1.18.1 After the Nicaean Council the emperor became increasingly attentive to the interests of the Christians and abandoned heathen superstitions. He abolished gladiatorial combats and set up his own statues in the temples.</p>		
<p>1.18.13 It would not, I conceive, be out of place here to describe the emperor's diligence in rebuilding cities and converting many villages into cities; as for example Drepanum, to which he gave his mother's name, and Constantia in Palestine, so called from his sister. [January 328]</p>		
<p>1.16.1 After the Synod the emperor spent some time in recreation, and after the public celebration of his twentieth anniversary of his accession, he immediately devoted himself to the restoration of the churches. This he carried into effect in other cities as well, as in the city named after him, which was previously called Byzantium. He enlarged Byzantium, surrounded it with massive walls, and adorned it with various edifices. After rendering it equal to imperial Rome, he named it 'Constantinople,' establishing by law that it should be designated 'New Rome'. This law was engraved on a pillar of stone erected in public view in the Strategium, near the emperor's equestrian statue. 1.16.2 He built also in the same city two churches, one he named 'Irene' and the other 'The Apostles.' 1.16.3 He not only improved the affairs of the Christians, as I have said, but he also destroyed the superstition of the heathens. For he brought forth their images into public view to ornament the city of Constantinople and set up the Delphic tripods publicly in the Hippodrome. It may indeed seem now superfluous to mention these things, since they are seen before they are heard of. 1.16.4 At that time the Christian cause received its greatest enhancement. For Divine Providence preserved very many other things during the times of the emperor Constantine. Eusebius Pamphilus has in magnificent terms recorded the praises of the emperor, and I considered it would not be ill-timed to advert thus to them as concisely as possible.</p>		<p>Wall of Constantine Like Severus before him, Constantine began to punish Byzantium for siding with his defeated rival, but soon he too realized the advantages of Byzantium's location. During 324-336 the city was thoroughly rebuilt and inaugurated on 11 May 330 under the name of "Second Rome". The name that eventually prevailed in common usage however was Constantinople, the "City of Constantine" (Greek: Κωνσταντινούπολις, Konstantinoupolis). The city of Constantine was protected by a new wall about 2.8 km (15 stadia) west of the Severan wall. Constantine's fortification consisted of a single wall, reinforced with towers at regular distances, which began to be constructed in 324 and was completed under his son Constantius II (r. 337-361). Only the approximate course of the wall is known: it began at the Church of St. Anthony at the Golden Horn, near the modern Atatürk Bridge, ran southwest and then southwards, passed east of the great open cisterns of Mocius and of Aspar, and ended near the Church of the Theotokos of the Rhabdos on the Propontis coast, somewhere between the later sea gates of St. Aemilianus and Psamathos.</p>
	<p>2.32.1 Although many people zealously supported the doctrine of Arius in the debates, they still had not formed a separate group under his name. Everyone assembled together and was in communion with each other at the same time, with the exception of the Novatians, those called the Phrygians, the Valentinians, the Marcionites, the Paulianians, and a few others who followed heresies which had already been established.</p>	
	<p>2.32.2 Concerning those people, however, the emperor passed a law commanding them to abandon their own houses of prayer and to meet in</p>	

	<p>the churches and not to assemble for church either in private homes or public places. He thought it was important to maintain fellowship in the catholic (καθόλου) church and instructed them to gather together within her walls. Because of this law, I believe, almost all heresies disappeared.</p> <p>2.32.3 During the reign of the previous emperors all people who worshipped Christ, regardless of any discrepancy in teachings, were considered the same by the pagans and were equally persecuted. Because of their common suffering, Christians were not able to closely investigate their differences. For this reason it was easy for each side to gather together and have church by themselves and associate with each other in groups. so that even though they were few in number, they were not dispersed.</p> <p>2.32.4 But after this law was passed, they could neither gather in public, because it was forbidden, nor assemble in secret, because bishops and clergy in each city were watching. As a result, many of the separatists joined the catholic church out of fear. Those who held on to their original position died and had no successors left to carry on their heresy, because they were not able to come together in the same place or safely teach those who held the same position. From the start – either because of the ridiculous teachings or the ignorance of those who came up with and taught them – there were never very many followers of each heresy.</p>	
	<p>2.32.5 But the Novatians, because they had good leaders and held the same beliefs about the divinity as the catholic church, were numerous from the beginning and remained so; this law did not hinder them. The emperor, I believe, intentionally relaxed the law; he only wanted to terrify them, not actually subject them to mistreatment. Acesius, who was the bishop of their heresy in Constantinople, was held in high regard by the emperor because of his good life. Most likely the church he governed was afforded protection for his sake.</p>	
	<p>2.32.6 The Phrygians suffered the same treatment as the other heretics in all the Roman provinces, except Phrygia and the regions around it. Since the time of Montanus, a large number of them had existed there and still do to the present day.</p>	
	<p>2.20.2 Maximus succeeded Macarius in the bishopric of Jerusalem. It is said that Macarius had ordained him bishop over the church of Diospolis, but that the members of the church of Jerusalem insisted upon his remaining among them. For since he was a confessor, and otherwise excellent, he was secretly chosen beforehand in the admiration of the people for their bishopric, if Macarius should die. The dread of offending the people and exciting an insurrection led to the election of another bishop over Diospolis. Maximus remained in Jerusalem and exercised the priestly functions conjointly with Macarius. And after the death of this latter, he governed that church. It is, however, well known to those who are accurately acquainted with these circumstances that Macarius agreed with the people in their desire to retain Maximus, For it is said that he regretted the ordination of Maximus and thought that he ought necessarily to have been reserved for his own succession on account of his holding right views concerning God and his confession, which had so endeared him to the people.</p> <p>2.20.3 He likewise feared that, at his death, the adherents of Eusebius and Patrophilus, who had embraced Arianism, would take that opportunity to place one of their own views in his see. For even while Macarius was living, they had attempted to introduce some innovations. But since they were to be separated from him, they on this account kept quiet.</p>	
	<p>2.20.1 About this time Mark, who had succeeded Silvester and who had held the episcopal sway during a short period, died, and Julius was raised to the see of Rome.</p>	
<p>1.38.12 Constantine was also glad because of his three sons. He had proclaimed them Caesars, one after each successive decade of his</p>	<p>2.34.1a The emperor had already divided the empire between his sons, who were named Caesars. He gave the western regions to Constantine</p>	<p>1.32.1b As heirs to the imperial throne, he left his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans, the youngest.</p>

<p>rule. After the first decade, he assigned the administration of the western parts of the empire to his eldest, Constantine, whom he named after himself.</p> <p>1.38.13 After the second decade, he appointed his second son, Constantius – named after his grandfather – as Caesar in the eastern division. And in the thirtieth year of his reign he gave Constans, the youngest, similar authority.</p>	<p>and the eastern region to Constantius.</p>	
<p>1.39.1 When a year had passed and Emperor Constantine had just entered the sixty-fifth year of his life, he fell ill. So he left Constantinople and made a voyage to Helenopolis to make use of the medicinal hot springs nearby.</p>	<p>2.34.1b Because he had an illness and had to bathe regularly, he travelled to Helenopolis, a city of Bithynia.</p>	
<p>1.39.2 But when he realized that his condition was deteriorating, he stopped using the baths and moved from Helenopolis to Nicomedia. He took up residence in the suburbs there and received Christian baptism.</p>	<p>2.34.1c When his illness took a turn for the worse, however, he travelled to Nicomedia and was initiated into holy baptism in one of the suburbs of that city. After the ceremony he was filled with joy and gave thanks to God.</p>	<p>1.32.1a A year and a few months after the emperor banished Athanasius, he became sick at Nicomedia, a city of Bithynia. Knowing the uncertainty of human life, he received the blessing of holy baptism. He had put it off up to this point because he wished to be baptized in the Jordan river.</p>
<p>1.39.3 After this he was in good spirits. He wrote his will, appointing his three sons as heirs to the empire. He gave each one of them their share, according to the arrangements he had made while still alive.</p> <p>1.39.4 He also granted many privileges to the cities of Rome and Constantinople. He entrusted his will to a presbyter, the one who had been instrumental in the removal of Arius, which we already mentioned above. Constantine charged him not to give it to anyone besides his son Constantius, whom he had set up as ruler in the East.</p>	<p>2.34.2 He then confirmed the division of the empire among his sons, according to his former allotment, and bestowed certain privileges on old Rome and on the city named after himself. He placed his testament in the hands of the presbyter who constantly extolled Arius and who had been recommended to him as a man of virtuous life by his sister Constantia in her last moments. Constantine commanded him with an added oath to deliver it to Constantius on his return, for neither Constantius nor the other Caesars were with their dying father.</p>	
		<p>1.32.2 He ordered that the great Athanasius should return to Alexandria and expressed this decision in the presence of Eusebius, who did all he could to dissuade him.</p>
<p>1.39.5 After Constantine made his will, he survived a few days until he died. None of his sons were present at his death, so a courier was immediately sent to the East to inform Constantius of his father's death.</p>	<p>2.34.3a After making these arrangements, Constantine only survived a few more days.</p>	<p>1.34.1a The emperor now was carried from his earthly dominion to a better kingdom.</p>
<p>1.40.3 The Emperor Constantine lived sixty-five years and reigned thirty-one. He died during the consulate of Felician and Tartan, on the twenty-second of May, in the second year of the 278th Olympiad. So this book, encompasses a period of thirty-one years.</p>	<p>2.34.3b He died at the age of sixty-five, in the thirty-first year of his reign.</p>	
<p>1.40.1 The body of the emperor was placed in a coffin of gold by close friends and then transported to Constantinople. There, it was laid out on an elevated platform in the palace, surrounded by a guard and treated with the same respect as when he was alive. This was done until one of his sons arrived.</p>	<p>2.34.5a After the death of Constantine, his body was placed in a golden coffin, brought to Constantinople, and displayed on a platform in the palace. Those in the palace showed him the same level of honor and respect he had received while still alive.</p>	<p>1.34.1b The governors of the provinces, the military officers, and the other officers of the state put him in a golden coffin and carried him to Constantinople. The whole army followed, bitterly mourning their loss. Constantine had been like an affectionate father to them all.</p>
<p>1.40.2 When Constantius arrived from the eastern parts of the empire, he honored the body with an imperial burial and deposited it in the church called 'The Apostles.' Constantine had it constructed so that the emperors and priests might receive a level of respect that would be just a little lower than what was paid to the relics of the apostles.</p>	<p>2.34.5b After hearing of his father's death, Constantius, who was in the East at that time, hurried to Constantinople. There, he took care of the body with royal magnificence and laid him in the tomb in the Church of the Apostles, which Constantine himself had prepared for his burial.</p>	<p>1.34.2 The body of the emperor remained in the palace until the arrival of his sons, and it was shown great honor. But I do not need to give a description here since others have written full accounts. Their works, which are easy to access, show how greatly the ruler of all honors his faithful servants.</p>
	<p>2.34.6 From this time, it became the custom to lay the bodies of subsequent Christian emperors in the same place in Constantinople. Bishops were also buried here, I suppose, because the office of the priesthood is equally important as the imperial office, and even takes a higher position in sacred places.</p>	<p>1.34.3 If anyone does not believe these things, let him now look at the tomb and statue of Constantine and let him believe what has been written, in what the Ruler said, 'I will honor those who honor me, and those who disgrace me will be disgraced.'</p>
	<p>2.34.3c He was a powerful protector of the Christian religion and was the first of the emperors who began to be zealous for the Church and to make great contributions to her.</p> <p>2.34 In everything he put his hand to, he was more successful than any other ruler, because he did not work at anything – I am convinced – without God. He was victorious in his wars against the Goths and Sarmatians and, truthfully, in all of his military campaigns. With similar ease he changed the form of government after his own design, creating another senate and another imperial city, which he named</p>	<p>1.33.1 No one should be surprised that Constantine would be deceived into banishing so many great men; he believed bishops who all had good reputations, but had hidden their evil and lied to him. Those who are familiar with the Sacred Scriptures know that holy David, even though he was a prophet, was deceived.</p> <p>1.33.2 I will add that the one who deceived David was not a priest, but a commoner, a slave, and a scoundrel. I am talking about Ziba, who deceived the king by lying about Mephibosheth and seized his land.</p>

	<p>after himself. He set his hand against the pagan religion and suppressed it quickly, even though it had been the prevailing religion among the princes and the people for a long time.</p>	<p>1.33.3 I do not say this to accuse the prophet, but to defend the emperor by showing the weakness of human nature. I also say it to teach that it is not necessary to believe only those who bring an accusation, however worthy of trust they may seem. One ear should be left open to protect the accused.</p>
	<p>1.12.9 Some say that Elijah the prophet and John the Baptist were the founders of this inspiring philosophy. Philo the Pythagorean wrote that in his day the most virtuous of the Hebrews gathered from everywhere on earth and settled on a plot of land situated on a hill near Lake Mareotis, in order to live as philosophers. He describes their dwellings, their routine, and their customs, as similar to those which we now find among the monks of Egypt.</p> <p>1.12.10 He says that from the moment they began to practice this study of philosophy, they gave their property to their relatives, quit business and society, and lived outside city walls, in fields and in gardens. He further tells us that they had sacred buildings called monasteries in which they lived separate and alone, spending their time in celebrating the holy sacraments, and in worshiping God continually with psalms and hymns. They never ate food before sunset, and some only ate every third day or at even longer intervals. Finally, he says, that on certain days they lay on the ground, drank no wine and ate no meat, but ate only bread, salt, and hyssop, and drake water. And that there were women among them who had lived as virgins to old age who, for the love of philosophy, voluntarily practiced celibacy.</p> <p>1.12.11 In this narrative, Philo seems to be describing some Jews who had accepted Christianity while retaining the customs of their nation, for no traces of this kind of life can be found elsewhere. So I conclude that this philosophy flourished in Egypt from this period. Others, however, assert that this way of life grew out of the religious persecutions which arose from time to time and which compelled many to flee to the mountains and deserts and forests, and in this way they became used to this way of life.</p>	
	<p>1.12.1 The people who became monks at this time were not the least in showing how extremely illustrious the church was or in demonstrating the truth of their teaching by their virtuous way of life. Indeed, the most useful thing that God has given to man is their philosophy. They are not interested in many branches of mathematics and in the technical aspects of argumentation, because they regard such studies as superfluous and as a useless waste of time, understanding that they contribute nothing towards proper living.</p> <p>1.12.2 They rather apply themselves exclusively to growing in the one natural and useful science so that they can mitigate, if not eradicate, evil. They invariably refrain from considering any action or principle to be good which occupies a middle position between virtue and vice, for they delight only in what is good. They consider every man to be wicked, even if he does no evil, if he does not do good. They do not seek to demonstrate virtue through argumentation, but by putting it into practice and count as nothing the glory valued today among men.</p> <p>1.12.3 They valiantly conquer the passions of the soul, yielding neither to the necessities of nature nor succumbing to the weakness of the body. Possessing the power of the Divine mind, they always look towards the Creator of everything, night and day worshiping him and appeasing him by prayers and supplications.</p> <p>1.12.4 Through their purity of soul and lives of good works they have entered without guilt into their religious observances and despised purification, basins for expiations, and all such ceremonial things; for they consider only sins to be blemishes.</p> <p>1.12.5 They are greater than those external casualties to which we are predisposed. They hold, as it were, everything under their control and so are not diverted from the path they have selected by the disasters or necessities which sway the lives of others. They do not take offense when insulted, nor do they defend themselves when treated maliciously, nor do they lose heart when laid low by sickness</p>	

or lacking the necessities of life, but rather they rejoice in such trials and endure them with patience and meekness. They accustom themselves in every aspect of life to be content with little and imitate God as nearly as they can while in human nature.

1.12.6 They think that this present life is merely a journey and therefore have no care for acquiring wealth, nor do they take thought for the present beyond their basic needs. They admire the beauty and simplicity of nature, but place their hope in heaven and the blessedness of the future.

1.12.7 Wholly absorbed in the worship of God, they are revolted by obscene language. They not only banished evil practices, they did not even allow such things to be mentioned. They limited, as far as possible, the demands of nature and forced their bodies to be satisfied with moderate supplies. They overcame intemperance with temperance, injustice with justice, falsehood with truth, and attained a happy medium in all matters.

1.12.8 They lived in harmony and fellowship with their neighbors. They provided for their friends and strangers, gave to those in want according to their need, and comforted the suffering. Since they were diligent in all they did, and zealous in seeking the supreme good, their teaching, although dressed in modesty and prudence and devoid of empty and pompous eloquence, was powerful, like a divine medicine, in healing the moral diseases of those who heard them. They also spoke with fear and reverence and avoided all conflict, jesting, and anger. Indeed, it is only reasonable to fight all irrational emotions and subdue sensual and natural passions.

1.10 Since the persecution had recently come to an end, the church was blessed with many excellent Christians and many surviving confessors: among these were Hosius, bishop of Cordoba; Amphion, bishop of Epiphania in Cilicia; Maximus, who had succeeded Macarius in the church of Jerusalem; and Paphnutius, an Egyptian. It is said that God worked many miracles through Paphnutius, controlling demons, and giving him the grace to heal various kinds of sicknesses. Paphnutius and Maximus of Jerusalem were among the confessors whom Maximinus had condemned to work in the mines after having blinded them in their right eye and crippling their left legs.

1.11.1 We promised earlier to devote some space to Paphnutius and Spyridon, and so I will do that here. Paphnutius was bishop of one of the cities in Upper Thebes. He enjoyed such divine favor that extraordinary miracles were done by him.

1.11.2 In the time of the persecution he had one of his eyes put out. The emperor gave great honor to this man, and often sent for him to come to the palace and kissed him where his eye had been torn out. This was the great devotion which characterized the emperor Constantine.

1.11.3a I will let that single fact about Paphnutius suffice.

1.11.3b I will now explain another thing which happened as a result of his advice, which served both the good of the Church and to honor its clergy. The bishops thought it proper to introduce a new law into the church, namely that those who were ordained to serve as bishops, priests, deacons and subdeacons who had married while still laymen should no longer have sexual relations with their wives.

1.11.4 While they were discussing this matter, Paphnutius rose in the middle of the assembled bishops and pleaded earnestly with them not to impose such a heavy burden on these men of the church. "Marriage is in and of itself honorable," he asserted, "and sex is not unholy." And so he urged them before God not to harm the church by imposing restrictions that were too stringent. "For not every man," he said, "can endure a life of total abstinence, nor might the wives always preserve their chastity either." He defined intercourse between a man and his lawful wife as chastity.

1.11.5 It would be enough, he thought, if those men who were celibate when they entered the ministry to remain unmarried, as was the

<p>ancient tradition of the church. Yet men should not be separated from wives whom they had married while still unordained.</p> <p>1.11.6 And he expressed these sentiments, although he himself had no experience with marriage and, to speak frankly, without any knowledge of women. For from boyhood he had been brought up in a monastery and was especially famous for his chastity.</p> <p>1.11.7 All the assembled clergy agreed with Paphnutius' reasoning and silenced all further debate on this issue, allowing married clergy to remain abstinent at their own discretion. So much concerning Paphnutius.</p>		
<p>1.12.1 As for Spyridon, he showed such great holiness while being a shepherd that he was deemed worthy of being made a pastor of men. So he was appointed as bishop of Trimythousa, one of the cities in Cyprus. He was so extremely humble, however, that he continued to feed his sheep during his tenure as bishop.</p> <p>1.12.2a I will record only a couple of the many extraordinary things which are told of him. so that it does not appear that I am wandering from my main subject.</p>	<p>1.11.1 Spyridon, the bishop of Trimythousa in Cyprus, flourished at this period. His fame still abounds, and I think that is a sufficient indication of his virtue. The wonderful deeds which he accomplished by Divine assistance are, it appears, widely known to all who live in that region, yet I shall not fail to mention facts which have come to my attention. He was a peasant, was married, and had children, yet he was not for that reason deficient in spiritual accomplishments.</p>	
<p>1.12.2b Once about midnight thieves secretly entered his sheepfold and tried to carry off some of his sheep.</p> <p>1.12.3 But the same God who protected the shepherd also preserved his sheep, for an invisible power tied up the thieves.</p> <p>1.12.4 At daybreak, Spyridon came to his sheep and found the men with their hands tied behind them. Understanding what had happened, he said a prayer and then released the thieves, earnestly warning and encouraging them to support themselves with honest labor and never to steal anything again. He then gave them a ram and sent them away, humorously adding, 'This is so that it won't seem that you stayed up all night uselessly.'</p> <p>1.12.5a This is one of the miracles involving Spyridon.</p>	<p>1.11.2 It is told that one night some wicked men entered his sheepfold, and were in the act of stealing his sheep when they were suddenly bound, and yet no one bound them. The next day, when he went to the fold, he found them tied up and released them from their invisible bonds. Yet he reprimanded them for having preferred to steal what they could have lawfully won and taken, as well as for doing such great toil by night.</p> <p>1.11.3 At the same time he felt compassion towards them and desired to give them instruction and so as to persuade them to lead better lives. He said to them, "Go, and take this ram with you; for you are exhausted by staying up, and it is not proper that your labor should be so blamed that you return empty-handed from my sheepfold."</p> <p>1.11.4a This action is certainly worthy of admiration, but no less so than the one I will now relate.</p>	
<p>1.12.5b Another had to do with his virgin daughter Irene, who shared her father's piety. An acquaintance asked her to keep for him an object of considerable value. In order to keep it secure, she hid what had been entrusted to her in the ground. Not long after she died.</p> <p>1.12.6 Later the owner of the object came to retrieve it. But when he found the girl was no longer alive, he became very agitated and even accused her father of trying to defraud him, and begging him to give it back.</p> <p>1.12.7a The old man considered this person's loss as his own trouble; so he went to the tomb of his daughter and there called upon God asking him to display the resurrection he had promised before its show him before its appointed time. And he was not disappointed in his hope. For the virgin revived, appeared to her father, showed him the spot where she had hidden the object, and then once more departed.</p>	<p>1.11.4b A certain man entrusted a deposit to the care of Spyridon's virgin daughter, Irene. For greater security, she buried it. But it so happened that she died soon after without mentioning what she had done to anyone. The person to whom the deposit belonged came to Spyridon to get it back. Spyridon had no idea what to answer him; he searched the whole house but was unable to find it. The man wept, tore his hair, and seemed ready to die.</p> <p>1.11.5a Spyridon was moved with pity and went to the girl's grave, and called her by name. When she answered, he asked about the deposit. Having obtained the desired information, he returned, found the treasure in the place where she had said it was, and returned it to the owner.</p>	
	<p>1.11.5b Since I have started on this subject, I might as well add another incident as well.</p> <p>1.11.6 Spyridon was accustomed to give a certain portion of his harvest to the poor and to lend another portion to those who asked to borrow some; but neither when he gave or took back did he ever involve himself in the distribution or return. He merely pointed to the storehouse and told those who came to him to take as much as they needed, or to restore what they had borrowed. A certain man who had borrowed in this way came as though he were about to return it. When as usual he was directed to replace his loan in the storehouse, he saw an opportunity to act unjustly. Thinking the matter would never be brought to light, instead of repaying his debt, he deceitfully pretended to make the repayment and went away as if he had. This, however, could not be hidden for long.</p> <p>1.11.7 Sometime later, the man came back yet again to borrow, and was sent to the storehouse with permission to measure out for himself as</p>	

	<p>much as he required. When he found the storehouse empty, he went to tell Spyridon. The latter said to him, "I wonder, O man, why it is that you are the only one who found the storehouse empty and without the things you needed. Ask yourself whether you repayed the first loan or not, since you need a second. If things were any different, you would not be missing what needed. Go, trust, and you will find." The man felt the rebuke and acknowledged his error.</p> <p>1.11.8 The firmness and the accuracy with which this divine man administered church affairs are worthy of admiration. It is said that once afterwards, the bishops of Cyprus met to consult on some particular emergency. Spyridon was present, as likewise Triphyllius, bishop of the Ledri, a man who was otherwise eloquent and who, since he had practiced law, had lived alone while at Beirut.</p> <p>1.11.9 When an assembly had convened, Triphyllius had been asked to preach to the people and, in the middle of his sermon, he quoted the text, "Take up your bed and walk." However, he substituted the word "couch" (σκεπτους), for the word "bed" (κραββατος). Spyridon was indignant, and exclaimed, "Are you greater than the one who spoke the word 'bed,' since you are ashamed to use his words?" When he had said this, he turned away from the chair of the priest, and looked towards the people. In this way, he taught them to rein in the man proud of his elegant speech, and Spyridon was fit to utter such a rebuke since he was so was revered and famous for his deeds. He was also older and of higher rank in the clergy than the other man.</p> <p>1.11.10 The way Spyridon received strangers can be illustrated from the following incident. During the time of the Lenten fast, it happened that a traveler journeyed to visit him on one of those days in which he customarily fasted continuously, together with his household. On that day appointed for eating food again, he would remain fasting until mid-day. Seeing that the stranger was extremely exhausted, Spyridon said to his daughter, "Come, wash his feet and bring him a mean." The virgin replied that they had neither bread nor grain in the house, for it would have been wasteful to buy such things during the period of the fast. So Spyridon first prayed and asked forgiveness, and then ordered her to cook some salt pork which happened to be in the house.</p> <p>1.11.11 When it had been prepared, he sat down at the table with the stranger, ate some of the meat, and told him to do so as well. But the stranger declined, saying he was a Christian. Spyridon said to him, "It is for that very reason that you ought not to refuse to eat the meat. For the Holy Scripture word reveals that for the man who is pure all things are pure." Such are the incidents which I wish to relate about Spyridon.</p>	
<p>1.12.7b These were the type of men who were the gems of the church during the time of the emperor Constantine.</p> <p>1.12.8 I obtained these details from many of the inhabitants of Cyprus. I also found a book written by the priest Rufinus in, and have excerpted from it these as well as other things which I will add later.</p>		
		<p>4.27.1 Also it was at this time that the celebrated Julianus, whom I have already mentioned, was forced to leave the desert and come to Antioch. For when the foster children of lies, the simple framers of accusations, I mean of course the Arians, were maintaining that this great man was of their faction, those lights of the truth Flavianus, Diodorus, and Aphraates sent Acacius, an athlete of virtue who afterwards very wisely ruled the church at Beroea, to the famous Julianus with the entreaty that he would take pity on so many thousands of men, and at the same time convict the enemy of lies and confirm the proclamation of the truth.</p>
<p>1.21 At this same time the monk Anthony was living in the Egyptian desert. He performed many miracles, openly fighting against devils, seeing clearly their plots and cunning strategies of warfare. But it would be superfluous for me to say more about his character since Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, has already done so, devoting an</p>	<p>1.13.1 Although some debate whether it was Egyptians or others who founded this philosophy, it is admitted by everyone that it was the great monk Antony who developed this way of life and reached the summit of its precision and perfection through morals and appropriate exercises. His fame was so widely spread throughout the deserts of</p>	<p>4.27.4b Before this time, in the reign of Constantius, the great Antonius had acted in the same way in Alexandria, for he abandoned the desert and went up and down that city, telling all men that Athanasius was the preacher of the true doctrine and that the Arian faction were enemies of the truth.</p>

entire book to his biography.

Egypt that, because of his reputation for virtue, the emperor Constantine sought his friendship, honored him by writing to him, and urged him to request whatever he might need.

1.13.2 He was an Egyptian by birth and belonged to a wellknown family of Coma, which was situated near the Heraclea, which is on the Egyptian borders. When still a youth, he lost his parents. He gave his father's inheritance to his fellow-villagers, sold the rest of his possessions and distributed the proceeds among the needy. For he knew that philosophy does not consist merely in giving up property, but also in distributing it properly.

1.13.3 He became acquainted with the devout men of his age, and imitated their virtues. He believed that the habitual practice of goodness would produce delight, although it would be grueling at the beginning. He thought up more intense methods of asceticism, and day by day he increased his own through self-control, as if he were constantly starting on his journey again. He subdued the sensuality of his body through labor, and restrained the desires of his soul by the assistance of divine wisdom.

1.13.4 His only food was bread and salt, his drink water, and he never broke his fast until after sunset. He often went two or more days without eating. He watched, as it were, through-out the night, and continued in prayer until daybreak. If at any time he indulged in sleep, it was but for a brief time on a short mat. Usually, however, the bare earth was his bed.

1.13.5 He rejected the practice of anointing himself with oil, and did not bathe or use similar luxuries likely to relax the tension of the body by moisture. It is said that he never saw himself naked. He neither possessed nor admired learning, but he valued a good understanding as having precedence over reading and being its inventor.

1.13.6 He was exceedingly meek and philanthropic, prudent and manly, a cheerful conversationalist and a friendly disputant, even when others took up controverted topics as an opportunity to create discord. By his own habits and a type of intelligence he quieted arguments when they were growing and restored moderation. He also tempered the passion of those who talked with him and made them more measured in their manners.

1.13.7 Although on account of his extraordinary virtues he had been filled with a divine foreknowledge, he did not regard premonitions of the future as a virtue, nor did he counsel others to carelessly seek this gift. For he believed that no one would be punished or rewarded because of his ignorance or knowledge of future events. True blessedness consists in serving God and in keeping his laws. "But," he said, "if anyone wants to know the future, let him constantly be purifying his soul, for only then will he have the power to walk in the light and to understand things that are to happen; for God will then reveal the future to him."

1.13.8 He never allowed himself to be idle, but encouraged everyone who wished to lead a good life to work diligently, to examine himself and confess his sin before He who created the day and the night. And when they sinned, he urged them to make a written record of the sin, so they would be ashamed of their sins, and fearful lest anyone should find the many things they had recorded. For one would be afraid that the document would be traced back to him and others would view him as a depraved person.

1.13.9 More than anyone else he stepped forward resolutely and with zeal to defend the injured, and often it was in their cause that he returned to the cities. For many went out to him and compelled him to intercede for them with the rulers and men in power. Everyone felt honored to see him, avidly listened to his sermons, and agreed with his arguments. But he preferred to remain unknown and hidden in the deserts.

1.13.10 When forced to visit a city, he always returned to the deserts as soon as he had finished the work which had taken him there. For, he said, like fish are nourished in water, so the desert is the world prepared for monks; and as fish die when thrown on to

dry land, so monks lose their solemnity when they entered cities. He acted obediently and graciously towards all who saw him, and he was careful not to have, nor seem to have, a patronizing nature.
 1.13.11a I have provide this concise account of Antony's way of life, so that some idea of his philosophy can be formed by analogy from this description of his conduct in the desert.

[Anthony attracts many disciples]
 1.13.11b He had many famous disciples, some of whom flourished in Egypt and Libya, others in Palestine, Syria, and Arabia. Just as with their master, each disciple spent his life with like-minded men, living a regulated life, teaching many others and so wedding them to similar virtues and philosophy. But it would have been challenging for anyone to find these companions of Antony or their successors by a careful search through the cities and villages.
 1.13.12 For they tried more seriously to hide themselves than ambitious men try to become famous and popular by making spectacles of themselves.

[Paul, the first disciple of Anthony]
 1.13.13 We will not tell the story of Antony's most celebrated disciples in chronological order. In particular, we mention Paul, called the Simple. It is said that he lived in the country and was married to a beautiful woman. Having caught her in the act of adultery, he calmly laughed and then swore that he would no longer live with her. Leaving her with the adulterer, he immediately went to join Antony in the desert.
 1.13.14 It is said that he was extremely humble and patient. Although he was quite old and unaccustomed to the rigors of monastic life, Antony tested the strength of the newcomer in various ways, but found nothing dishonorable. Showing instead that he had a perfect understanding of this way of life, he sent him to live alone, since he no longer required a teacher. And God himself confirmed the judgment of Antony. For his deeds demonstrated that Paul was extremely virtuous, and even greater than his teacher in frustrating and casting out demons.

1.14.1 It was about this time the Egyptian Ammon, embraced our religion. It is said that he was forced to marry by his family, but that he and his wife never consummated the marriage. For on their wedding day, when they were left alone and he as the bridegroom was leading her as his bride to his bed, he said to her, "Oh, woman! Our marriage has indeed taken place, but it has not been consummated." Then he showed her from the Holy Scriptures that it would be her highest virtue if she remain a virgin, and pleaded that they live apart.
 1.14.2 She was convinced by his arguments about virginity, but was very upset at the thought of being separated from him. Therefore, though occupying separate beds, he lived with her for eighteen years. During that entire time, he practiced his monastic way of life. By the end of that time his wife had been strongly influenced to follow the example of her husband and decided that it was not proper for such a man to live a domestic life on her account. She thus decided that both of them, for the sake of their religion, should live separated from each other, and she begged her husband to do this.
 1.14.3 So, after thanking God for the advice of his wife, he left, saying to her, "Stay in this house, and I will find another for myself." He then retired to a deserted place south of Lake Mareotis, between the Scitis and mountain of Nitria. There for twenty-two years he devoted himself to a religious life, visiting his wife twice every year.
 1.14.4 This godly man founded the monasteries there and gathered around himself many famous disciples, as the lists of his successors show. Many extraordinary events happened to him, which have been accurately determined by the Egyptian monks, who did very much to carefully remember the virtues of the more ancient ascetics, preserving them in a succession of unwritten traditions. will now

	<p>recount the ones about which I have heard.</p> <p>1.14.5 Ammon and his disciple Theodore once happened to be on a journey somewhere when along the way they had to cross a canal called Lycus. Ammon ordered Theodore to cross backwards so that they would not see each other's nudity. He was similarly ashamed to see himself naked, but suddenly he was snatched up, carried across, and put down on the opposite bank by divine intervention. When Theodore arrived at the opposite side, he saw that the clothes and feet of the elder were not wet, and asked how that could be. Although he got no answer, he continued to badger Ammon about it. Finally, after insisting that he should never repeat the story during his lifetime, Ammon told him what had happened.</p> <p>1.14.6 I add another miracle of a similar nature. Some wicked men brought to him one of their sons who had been bitten by a rabid dog and was near death. They pleaded with him to heal the boy. He replied, "Your son does not need me to heal him; but if you are prepared to restore to your masters the ox you have stolen from them, the boy will be healed immediately." And what he predicted is exactly what happened. The ox was returned and the child's health restored.</p> <p>1.14.7 It is said that when Ammon died, Antony saw his spirit ascending into heaven and the heavenly powers leading him with the singing of psalms. When questioned by his companions as to the cause of his wonder, he did not conceal the matter from them. For they saw him searching the sky intently, amazed at the sight of the marvelous spectacle.</p> <p>1.14.8 A short time later, some people came from the Scitis and testified to the time of Ammon's death. Thus the truth of Antony's prediction was revealed. Thus, as all good men declare, each of these holy men was blessed in a special way: the one by being released from this life, the other by being counted worthy to see the miraculous vision which God showed him. For Antony and Ammon lived many days journey from each other, and this incident was corroborated by people who knew both of them personally.</p>	
<p>1.13.1 I have also heard about Eutychian, a devout man who lived about the same time and who, although belonging to the Novatian church, was revered for doing similar miracles.</p> <p>1.13.2 I will not try to conceal the fact (although some might take offense at it), but clearly state that my source for this part of my narrative was Auxanon, a very old priest of the Novatian church. As a young man he accompanied Acesius to the council at Nicaea, and told me what I have recorded about that man.</p> <p>1.13.3 His life extended from that period to the reign of Theodosius the Younger; and when I was just a youth he told me of the deeds of Eutychian, providing many details about the divine grace which was shown in him. But there was one story in particular which he told me which is especially worth retelling, and it happened during the reign of Constantine.</p>	<p>1.14.9 I am also certain that it was during Constantine's reign that Eutychian was converted to a religious life. He made his home in Bithynia, near Mount Olympus. He belonged to the sect of the Novatians, and was given divine grace to heal diseases and do miracles. He was so famous for his virtuous life that Constantine was led to seek his company and friendship.</p>	
<p>1.13.4 When one of the military attendants whom the emperor calls his bodyguards was suspected of treason, he tried to save himself by running away. The angry ruler ordered him to be put to death when he would be found. 1.13.5 He was later arrested by Mount Olympus in Bithynia and put in heavy and painful chains. He was then imprisoned near the place by Mount Olympus where Eutychian lived his solitary life, spending his time in healing both the bodies and souls of many. Auxanon, though now very old, was a very young man at that time and was with him, being trained in the disciplines of monastic life.</p> <p>1.13.6 Many persons now came to Eutychian, pleading with him to procure the release of the prisoner by interceding for him with the emperor. For the emperor had heard of the famous miracles done by Eutychian.</p> <p>1.13.7 He willingly promised to go to the ruler, but those who wished to help the prisoner were afraid that the chains inflicted such intolerable suffering that he would die from its effects before the emperor would either take vengeance on him or consider a reprieve. As a result, Eutychian sent to the jailers and asked them to reduce his</p>	<p>1.14.10 It happened about this time that one of the royal body-guards was suspected of plotting against the emperor. He fled and, after a search, was apprehended near Mount Olympus. Some relatives of the man pleaded with Eutychian to intercede on his behalf with the emperor. In the meantime, they asked Eutychian to loosen the prisoner's chains so that he would not die under their weight. It is said that Eutychian did send to the officers who held the man in custody and asked them to loosen the chains. When they refused, he went to the prison himself. The locked doors then flew open by themselves and the prisoner's chains fell off.</p>	

<p>suffering. 1.13.8 But they replied that they themselves might be punished for assisting a criminal. So Eutychian himself went to the prison, accompanied by Auxanon. When the guards refused to open the jail, the grace which rested on Eutychian became very clear; for the gates of the prison opened by themselves, while the jailers still kept the key in their possession. 1.13.9 As soon as Eutychian and Auxanon had entered the prison, to the great astonishment of all those present, the bonds spontaneously fell off the prisoner's limbs. Eutychian then went with Auxanon to the city which was in ancient times called Byzantium, but later Constantinople.</p>		
<p>1.13.10 After being admitted to the imperial palace, he won a pardon for the man. For the emperor had great admiration for Eutychian and eagerly granted his request. This took place at some time after [the period which this part of our history has described].</p>	<p>1.14.11a Eutychian then proceeded to the emperor who was then residing at Byzantium. He easily obtained the pardon, for Constantine was not accustomed to refuse his requests, for he held the man in very great honor.</p>	
<p>1.21.b A large number of such good men (referring to men like Anthony the monk) were all living at the same time during the years of the Emperor Constantine.</p>	<p>1.14.11b I have now given this short history of the most famous men who professed the monastic lifestyle. If anyone wish more detailed information about these men, he can find it in the biographies which have been written about many of them.</p>	<p>4.27.5 So those godly men knew how to adapt themselves to each particular opportunity, when to remain inactive, and at rest, and when to leave the deserts for towns.</p>
	<p>1.8.1 As soon as Constantine was sole ruler of the Roman empire, he issued a public decree commanding all his subjects in the East to honor the Christian religion, carefully to worship the Divine Being, and to recognize as Divine only that which is divine in essence, and which has power that endures forever and ever: for he delights to give all good things ungrudgingly to those who zealously embrace the truth; he meets their undertakings with the best hopes, while misfortunes, whether in peace or in war, whether in public or in private life, befall transgressors. 1.8.2 Constantine then added, but without vain boasting, that, God having considered him to be a fitting servant, worthy to rule, he had been led from the British sea to the Eastern provinces in order that the Christian religion might be extended, and so that those who, because of the worship of God had remained steadfast and so became confessors or martyrs, might now be given public honors.</p>	
	<p>1.8.3 After making these statements, he entered upon a myriad of other details by which he thought his subjects might be drawn to the true religion. He decreed that all enactments and sentences passed against the Christian religion by those persecuting the church should be revoked; and he commanded that all those who, on account of their confession of Christ, had been sent against their own will into exile to islands or elsewhere, and all those who had been condemned to labor in the mines, the public works, the harems, the linen factories, or had been enrolled as public functionaries, should be again set at liberty. He removed the stigma of dishonor from those upon whom it had been cast, and permitted those who had been deprived of high appointments in the army, either to reassume their former place, or with an honorable discharge, to enjoy their retirement as freemen according to their own choice. 1.8.4 And when he had returned everyone to the enjoyment of their previous freedoms and former honors, he likewise restored their possessions. In the case of those who had been slain, and whose property had been confiscated, he decreed that their inheritance should be transferred to the next of kin, or, if there were no heirs, to the church which was in the locale where their estate had been situated. If an inheritance had passed into other hands, and had become either private or national property, he ordered it to be restored. He likewise promised to arrive at the most appropriate and best possible arrangements for property that had been purchased by the imperial treasury, or had been given to it as a gift. 1.8.5 After these measures which we have described had been enacted by the emperor, and ratified by law, they were immediately carried out. Christians were thus placed in almost all the principal posts of the Roman government;</p>	

	<p>1.8.7 Of the houses of prayer, the emperor repaired some which were of sufficient magnitude; others were brilliantly restored by additional length and breadth, and he erected new edifices in places where no building of the kind had existed previously. He furnished the requisite supplies from the imperial treasury, and wrote to the bishops of the cities and the governors of the provinces, desiring them to contribute whatever might be wished, and enjoining submission and zealous obedience to the priests.</p>	<p>1.14.11b I shall now turn my narrative to the piety of the emperor. 1.14.12 He addressed a letter to all the subjects of the Roman empire, exhorting them to renounce their former errors, and to embrace the doctrines of our Savior, and trying to guide them to this truth. He stirred up the bishops in every city to build churches, and encouraged them not only by his letter, but also by presenting them with large sums of money, and defraying all the expenses of building. This his own letter sets forth, which was after this manner: -</p>
<p>1.9.46b Victor Constantinus Maximus Augustus, to Eusebius: 1.9.47 I am well aware and thoroughly convinced, my beloved brother, that the servants of our Savior Christ have been suffering up to the present time through impious policies and tyranny, and, as a result, that all the church buildings have either fallen into utter ruin from neglect, or, from fear of impending danger, have no received their proper dignity. 1.9.48 But now freedom has been restored, and, by God's providence and using us as his instrument, that dragon [the persecutor Licinius] has been removed from governing the Empire. And thus, I think that the divine power has become known to all, and that those who previously had lived in error out of fear, unbelief, or simply from depravity, will now, after acknowledging the Living God, be led to live in the true and correct manner of life. 1.9.49 Therefore, work diligently to repair the churches under your own jurisdiction, and encourage the principal bishops, priests, and deacons of other places to conscientiously engage in the same work. Let all the churches still standing be repaired or enlarged, and let new ones be built wherever they are needed. Apply to the governors and to the prefect's office for all that you need for this purpose-- both for yourself and on behalf of others. For they have received written orders to zealously carry out whatever your holiness commands of them. May God preserve you, beloved brother."</p>		<p>1.15.1a Victor Constantinus Maximus Augustus, to Eusebius: 1.15.1b I am well aware and thoroughly convinced, my beloved brother, that the servants of our Savior Christ have been suffering up to the present time through impious policies and tyranny, and, as a result, that all the church buildings have either fallen into utter ruin from neglect, or, from fear of impending danger, have no received their proper dignity. 1.15.1c But now freedom has been restored, and, by God's providence and using us as his instrument, that dragon has been removed from governing the Empire. And thus, I think that the divine power has become known to all, and that those who previously had lived in error out of fear, unbelief, or simply from depravity, will now, after becoming acquainted with Him who truly is, be led to live in the true and correct manner of life. 1.15.2 Therefore, work diligently to repair the churches under your own jurisdiction, and encourage the principal bishops, priests, and deacons of other places to conscientiously engage in the same work. Let all the churches still standing be repaired or enlarged, and let new ones be built wherever they are needed. Apply to the governors and to the prefect's office for all that you need for this purpose-- both for yourself and on behalf of others. For they have received written orders to zealously carry out whatever your holiness commands of them. May God preserve you, beloved brother."</p>
<p>1.16.1a After the Synod the emperor spent some time in recreation, and after the public celebration of the twentieth anniversary of his accession, he immediately devoted himself to the restoration of the churches.</p>	<p>2.3.1a The emperor, always intent to advance religion, erected the most beautiful temples to God in every place, particularly in metropolises, such as Nicomedia in Bithynia, Antioch on the river Orontes,...</p>	
	<p>2.3.1b ... and Byzantium, for he greatly improved this latter city, and established it as the equal of Rome in power and participation in the government; for, when he had settled the affairs of the empire according to his own mind, and had mended foreign affairs through wars and treaties, he determined to found a city to be named after himself, and which should equal Rome in fame. With this intention, he traveled to a plain at the foot of Troy, near the Hellespont, above the tomb of Ajax, where, it is said, the Achaeans had their naval stations and tents while besieging Troy; and here he laid plans for a large and beautiful city, and built the gates on an elevated spot of ground, where they are still visible from the sea to those sailing by. 2.3.3a But when he had progressed that far, God appeared to him at night, and commanded him to seek out another spot. Led by the hand of God, he arrived at Byzantium in Thrace, beyond Chalcedon in Bithynia, and there he decided to build his city and make it worthy of the name of Constantine.</p>	
<p>1.16.1b This he carried into effect in other cities as well as in the city named after him, which being previously called Byzantium, he enlarged, surrounded with massive walls, and adorned with various edifices; and having rendered it equal to imperial Rome, he named it Constantinople, establishing by law that it should be designated New Rome. This law was engraved on a pillar of stone erected in public view in the Strategium, near the emperor's equestrian statue.</p>	<p>2.3.3b In obedience to the words of God, he therefore enlarged the city formerly called Byzantium, and surrounded it with high walls. 2.3.4 He also erected magnificent dwelling houses southward through the regions. Since he was aware that the former population was insufficient for so great a city, he peopled it with men of rank and their households, whom he summoned hither from the eider Rome and from other countries. 2.3.5 He imposed taxes to cover the expenses of building and adorning the city, and of supplying its inhabitants with food, and providing the city with all the other requisites. He adorned it sumptuously with a hippodrome, fountains, porticoes, and other structures. He named it New Rome and Constantinople, and constituted it the imperial</p>	

	<p>capital for all the inhabitants of the North, the South, the East, and the shores of the Mediterranean, from the cities on the Ister and from Epidamnus and the Ionian gulf, to Cyrene and that part of Libya called Borium.</p> <p>2.3.6 He constructed another council house which they call senate; he ordered the same honors and festal days as those customary to the other Romans, and he did not fail studiously to make the city which bore his name equal in every respect to that of Rome in Italy; nor were his wishes thwarted; for by the assistance of God, it had to be confessed as great in population and wealth.</p> <p>2.3.7a I know of no cause to account for this extraordinary aggrandizement, unless it be the piety of the builder and of the inhabitants, and their compassion and liberality towards the poor. The zeal they manifested for the Christian faith was so great that many of the Jewish inhabitants and most of the Greeks were converted. As this city became the capital of the empire during the period of religious prosperity, it was not polluted by altars, Grecian temples, nor sacrifices; and although Julian authorized the introduction of idolatry for a short space of time, it soon afterwards became extinct.</p>	
<p>1.16.2 He built also in the same city two churches, one of which he named Irene, and the other The Apostles.</p> <p>1.16.3 Nor did he only improve the affairs of the Christians, as I have said, but he also destroyed the superstition of the heathens; for he brought forth their images into public view to ornament the city of Constantinople, and set up the Delphic tripods publicly in the Hippodrome. It may indeed seem now superfluous to mention these things, since they are seen before they are heard of.</p> <p>1.16.4 But at that time the Christian cause received its greatest augmentation; for Divine Providence preserved very many other things during the times of the emperor Constantine. Eusebius Pamphilus has in magnificent terms recorded the praises of the emperor; and I considered it would not be ill-timed to advert thus to them as concisely as possible.</p>	<p>2.3.7b Constantine further honored this newly compacted city of Christ, named after himself, by adorning it with numerous and magnificent houses of prayer. And the Deity also co-operated with the spirit of the emperor, and by Divine manifestations persuaded men that these prayer houses in the city were holy and salvific.</p>	
	<p>2.3.8b According to the general opinion of foreigners and citizens, the most noteworthy church was that built in a place formerly called Hestiae. This place, now called Michaelium, lies to the right as one sails from Pontus to Constantinople, and is about thirty-five stadia away from the latter city by water, but if you follow the shore of the bay, the journey is seventy stadia or more.</p> <p>2.3.9 The place received its current name because it is believed that Michael, the Divine archangel, once appeared there. And I also affirm that this is true, because I myself received the greatest benefits. And the experience of many others who obtained helpful acts proves this to be so. For some who had fallen into fearful reverses or unavoidable dangers, others with disease and unknown sufferings, prayed there to God, and their misfortunes changed.</p> <p>2.3.10a I would become too long-winded if I were to detail all the circumstances and persons.</p>	
<p>1.9.50 These instructions, concerning the building of churches were sent by the emperor to the bishops in every province: but what he wrote to Eusebius of Palestine respecting the preparation of some copies of the Scriptures, we may ascertain from the letters themselves: Victor Constantinus Maximus Augustus, to Eusebius of Caesarea.</p> <p>1.9.51 In the city which bears our name, a great number of people have, through the providential care of God the Savior, united themselves to the holy Church, so that it has grown quickly.</p> <p>1.9.52 We thought it most important, therefore, that an additional number of churches should be built. Therefore joyfully accept the way we have decided to proceed. For it seemed proper for us to make clear to your Prudence, that you should order fifty copies of the Holy Scriptures to be written on fine parchment, easy to read and of portable size. They should be copied by skilled calligraphers well</p>		<p>1.15.3 Thus the emperor wrote to the bishops in each province respecting the building of churches. From his letter to Eusebius of Palestine, it is easily learnt what measures he adopted to obtain copies of the Holy Bible: 1.16.1a Victor Constantine Augustus, to Eusebius.</p> <p>1.16.1b In the city which bears our name, a great number of people have, through the providential care of God the Savior, united themselves to the holy Church. Since everything there is growing rapidly, we thought it most important that an additional number of churches should be built.</p> <p>1.16.2 Therefore joyfully accept the way we have decided to proceed. For it seemed proper for us to make clear to your Prudence, that you should order fifty copies of the Holy Scriptures to be written on fine parchment, easy to read and of portable size. They should be copied</p>

<p>trained in their art. 1.9.53 For, as you know, these must be had and used for reading in the Church. A letter has been sent from our clemency to the director of finances of the diocese, instructing him to carefully supply everything necessary for the undertaking. 1.9.54 The task for your Diligence is to ensure that these manuscripts are completed as quickly as possible. When they are finished, this letter authorizes you to order two public carriages for the purpose of transporting them to us; 1.9.55 And so that the fair manuscripts will be easily submitted for our inspection, appoint one of the deacons of your church to take charge of this part of the business. When he comes to us, he will receive the proof of our generosity. May God preserve you, beloved brother."</p>		<p>by skilled calligraphers well trained in their art. For, as you know, these must be had and used for reading in the Church. 1.16.3 A letter has been sent from our clemency to the director of finances of the diocese, instructing him to carefully supply everything necessary for the undertaking. The task for your Diligence is to ensure that these manuscripts are completed as quickly as possible. When they are finished, this letter authorizes you to order two public carriages for the purpose of transporting them to us; 1.16.4 And so that the fair manuscripts will be easily submitted for our inspection, appoint one of the deacons of your church to take charge of this part of the business. When he comes to us, he will receive the proof of our generosity. May God preserve you, beloved brother."</p>
	<p>2.1.1 When the business at Nicaea had been transacted as above related, the priests returned home. The emperor rejoiced exceedingly at the restoration of unity of opinion in the Catholic Church, and desirous of expressing in behalf of himself, his children, and the empire, the gratitude towards God which the unanimity of the bishops inspired, he directed that a house of prayer should be erected to God at Jerusalem near the place called Calvary.</p>	<p>1.16.5 What has been already said is enough to shew, nay to clearly prove, how great zeal the emperor manifested on the matters of religion. I will, however, add his noble acts with regard to the Sepulcher of our Savior. For having learned that the idolaters, in their frantic rage, had heaped earth over the Lord's tomb, eager thus to destroy all remembrance of His Salvation, and had built over it a temple to the goddess of unbridled lust, in mockery of the Virgin's birth, the emperor ordered the foul shrine to be demolished, and the soil polluted with abominable sacrifices to be carried away and thrown out far from the city, and a new temple of great size and beauty to be erected on the site. 1.16.6 All this is clearly set forth in the letter which he wrote to the president of the church of Jerusalem, Macarius, whom we have already mentioned as a member of the great Nicene Council, and united with his brethren in withstanding the blasphemies of Arius. The following is the letter:</p>
		<p>1.17.1 Victor Constantine Maximus Augustus, to Macarius. The grace of our Savior is so wonderful, that no words are adequate to express the present marvel. The fact that the monument of His most holy sufferings should have remained concealed beneath the earth, during so long a course of years, until the time when, on the death of the common enemy of all, it was destined to shine forth on His liberated servants, surpasses every other subject of admiration. 1.17.2 If all the wise men throughout the world were collected into one place, and were to endeavor to express themselves worthily of it, they could not approach within an infinite distance of it; for this miracle is as much beyond all human power of belief, as heavenly things by their nature are mightier than human. 1.17.3 Hence it is my first and only object that, as by new miracles the faith in the truth is daily confirmed, so the minds of us all may be more earnestly devoted to the holy law, wisely, zealously, and with one accord. 1.17.4 As my design is, I think, now generally known, I desire that you, above all, should be assured that my most intense anxiety is to decorate with beautiful edifices that consecrated spot, which by God's command I have relieved from the burden of the foul idol which encumbered it. For from the beginning He declared it holy, and has rendered it still more holy from the time that He brought to light the proof and memorial of the sufferings of our Lord. 1.17.5 I trust, then, to your sagacity to take every necessary care, not only that the basilica itself surpass all others; but that all its arrangements be such that this braiding may be incomparably superior to the most beautiful structures in every city throughout the world. 1.17.6 We have entrusted our friend Dracilianus, who discharges the functions of the most illustrious praefect of the province, with the superintendence of the work of the erection and decoration of the walls. 1.17.7 He has received our orders to engage workmen and artisans, and to provide all that you may deem requisite for the building. Let us know, by letter, when you have inspected the work, what columns or</p>

		<p>marbles you consider would be most ornamental, in order that whatever you may inform us is necessary for the work may be conveyed thither from all quarters of the world. For that which is of all places the most wonderful, ought to be decorated in accordance with its dignity. 1.17.8 I wish to learn from you whether you think that the vaulted roof of the basilica ought to be paneled, or to be adorned in some other way; for if it is to be paneled it may also be gilt. Your holiness must signify to the aforesaid officers, as soon as possible, what workmen and artificers, and what sums of money, are requisite; and let me know promptly not only about the marbles and columns, but also about the paneled ceiling, if you decide that this will be the most beautiful mode of construction. May God preserve you, beloved brother."</p>
<p>1.17.1 Helena, the emperor's mother (from whose name having made Drepanum, once a village, a city, the emperor called it Helenopolis), being divinely directed by dreams went to Jerusalem. Finding that which was once Jerusalem, desolate 'as a Preserve for autumnal fruits,' according to the prophet, she sought carefully the tomb of Christ, from which he arose after his burial; and after much difficulty, by God's help she discovered it.</p>	<p>2.1.2 At the same time his mother Helena repaired to the city for the purpose of offering up prayer, and of visiting the sacred places. Her zeal for Christianity made her anxious to find the wood which had formed the cross worthy of honor.</p>	<p>1.18.1 The bearer of these letters was no less illustrious a personage than the mother of the emperor, even she who was glorious in her offspring, whose piety was celebrated by all; she who brought forth that great luminary and nurtured him in piety. She did not shrink from the fatigue of the journey on account of her extreme old age, but undertook it a little before her death, which occurred in her eightieth year.</p>
<p>1.17.2 What the cause of the difficulty was I will explain in a few words. Those who embraced the Christian faith, after the period of his passion, greatly venerated this tomb; but those who hated Christianity, having covered the spot with a mound of earth, erected on it a temple to Venus, and set up her image there, not caring for the memory of the place.</p>	<p>2.1.3 But it was no easy matter to discover either this relic or the Lord's tomb; for the Pagans, who in former times had persecuted the Church, and who, at the first promulgation of Christianity, had had recourse to every artifice to exterminate it, had concealed that spot under much heaped up earth, and elevated what before was quite depressed, as it looks now, and the more effectually to conceal them, had enclosed the entire place of the resurrection and Mount Calvary within a wall, and had, moreover, ornamented the whole locality, and paved it with stone. They also erected a temple to Aphrodite, and set up a little image, so that those who repaired thither to worship Christ would appear to bow the knee to Aphrodite, and that thus the true cause of offering worship in that place would, in course of time, be forgotten; and that as Christians would not dare fearlessly to frequent the place or to point it out to others, the temple and statue would come to be regarded as exclusively appertaining to the Pagans. 2.1.4 At length, however, the place was discovered, and the fraud about it so zealously maintained was detected; some say that the facts were first disclosed by a Hebrew who dwelt in the East, and who derived his information from some documents which had come to him by paternal inheritance; but it seems more accordant with truth to suppose that God revealed the fact by means of signs and dreams; for I do not think that human information is requisite when God thinks it best to make manifest the same.</p>	
<p>1.17.3 This succeeded for a long time; and it became known to the emperor's mother. Accordingly, she having caused the statue to be thrown down, the earth to be removed, and the ground entirely cleared, found three crosses in the tomb: one of these was that blessed cross on which Christ had hung, the other two were those on which the two thieves that were crucified with him had died. 1.17.4 With these was also found the tablet of Pilate, on which he had inscribed in various characters, that the Christ who was crucified was king of the Jews.</p>	<p>2.1.5 When by command of the emperor the place was excavated deeply, the cave whence our Lord arose from the dead was discovered; and at no great distance, three crosses were found and another separate piece of wood, on which were inscribed in white letters in Hebrew, in Greek, and in Latin, the following words: "Jesus of Nazareth, the king of the Jews." These words, as the sacred book of the gospels relates, were placed by command of Pilate, governor of Judaea, over the head of Christ. 2.1.6 There yet, however, remained a difficulty in distinguishing the Divine cross from the others; for the inscription, had been wrenched from it and thrown aside, and the cross itself had been cast aside with the others, without any distinction, when the bodies of the crucified were taken down. For according to history, the soldiers found Jesus dead upon the cross, and they took him down, and gave him up to be buried; while, in order to accelerate the death of the two thieves, who were crucified on either hand, they broke their legs, and then took down the crosses, and flung them out of the way. It was no concern of theirs to deposit the crosses in their first order; for it was growing late, and as the men were dead, they did not think it worthwhile to remain to attend to the crosses.</p>	<p>1.18.2 When the empress beheld the place where the Savior suffered, she immediately ordered the idolatrous temple, which had been there erected, to be destroyed, and the very earth on which it stood to be removed. When the tomb, which had been so long concealed, was discovered, three crosses were seen buried near the Lord's tomb. 1.18.3a All held it as certain that one of these crosses was that of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that the other two were those of the thieves who were crucified with Him.</p>

<p>1.17.5 Since, however, it was doubtful which was the cross they were in search of, the emperor's mother was not a little distressed; but from this trouble the bishop of Jerusalem, Macarius, shortly relieved her. And he solved the doubt by faith, for he sought a sign from God and obtained it. The sign was this: a certain woman of the neighborhood, who had been long afflicted with disease, was now just at the point of death.</p> <p>1.17.6 The bishop therefore arranged it so that each of the crosses should be brought to the dying woman, believing that she would be healed on touching the precious cross. Nor was he disappointed in his expectation: for the two crosses having been applied which were not the Lord's, the woman still continued in a dying state; but when the third, which was the true cross, touched her, she was immediately healed, and recovered her former strength.</p> <p>1.17.7 In this manner then was the genuine cross discovered.</p>	<p>2.1.7 A more Divine information than could be furnished by man was therefore necessary in order to distinguish the Divine cross from the others, and this revelation was given in the following manner: There was a certain lady of rank in Jerusalem who was afflicted with a most grievous and incurable disease; Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, accompanied by the mother of the emperor and her attendants, repaired to her bedside. After engaging in prayer, Macarius signified by signs to the spectators that the Divine cross would be the one which, on being brought in contact with the invalid, should remove the disease. He approached her in turn with each of the crosses; but when two of the crosses were laid on her, it seemed but folly and mockery to her for she was at the gates of death. When, however, the third cross was in like manner brought to her, she suddenly opened her eyes, regained her strength, and immediately sprang from her bed, well.</p> <p>2.1.8a It is said that a dead person was, in the same way, restored to life.</p>	<p>1.18.3b Yet they could not discern to which of the three the Body of the Lord had been brought nigh, and which had received the outpouring of His precious blood.</p> <p>1.18.4 But the wise and holy Macarius, the president of the city, resolved this question in the following manner. He caused a lady of rank, who had been long suffering from disease, to be touched by each of the crosses, with earnest prayer, and thus discerned the virtue residing in that of the Savior. For the instant this cross was brought near the lady, it expelled the sore disease, and made her whole.</p>
	<p>2.1.8b The venerated wood having been thus identified, the greater portion of it was deposited in a silver case, in which it is still preserved in Jerusalem: but the empress sent part of it to her son Constantine, together with the nails by which the body of Christ had been fastened.</p> <p>2.1.9 Of these, it is related, the emperor had a headpiece and bit made for his horse, according to the prophecy of Zechariah, who referred to this period when he said, "that which shall be upon the bit of the horse shall be holy to the Lord Almighty."</p> <p>2.1.10 These things, indeed, were formerly known to the sacred prophets, and predicted by them, and at length, when it seemed to God that they should be manifested, were confirmed by wonderful works. Nor does this appear so marvelous when it is remembered that, even among the Pagans, it was confessed that the Sibyl had predicted that thus it should be, - "Oh most blessed tree, on which our Lord was hung." Our most zealous adversaries cannot deny the truth of this fact, and it is hence evident that a pre-manifestation was made of the wood of the cross, and of the adoration it received.</p> <p>2.1.11 The above incidents we have related precisely as they were delivered to us by men of great accuracy, by whom the information was derived by succession from father to son; and others have recorded the same events in writing for the benefit of posterity.</p>	<p>1.18.5 The mother of the emperor, on learning the accomplishment of her desire, gave orders that a portion of the nails should be inserted in the royal helmet, in order that the head of her son might be preserved from the darts of his enemies. The other portion of the nails she ordered to be formed into the bridle of his horse, not only to ensure the safety of the emperor, but also to fulfil an ancient prophecy; for long before Zechariah, the prophet, had predicted that "There shall be upon the bridles of the horses Holiness unto the Lord Almighty."</p>
<p>1.17.7b The emperor's mother erected over the place of the tomb a magnificent church, and named it New Jerusalem, having built it facing that old and deserted city.</p> <p>1.17.8 There she left a portion of the cross, enclosed in a silver case, as a memorial to those who might wish to see it: the other part she sent to the emperor, who being persuaded that the city would be perfectly secure where that relic should be preserved, privately enclosed it in his own statue, which stands on a large column of porphyry in the forum called Constantine's at Constantinople.</p> <p>1.17.9 I have written this from report indeed; but almost all the inhabitants of Constantinople affirm that it is true. [9b.] Moreover, the nails with which Christ's hands were fastened to the cross (for his mother having found these also in the tomb had sent them) Constantine took and had made into bridle-bits and a helmet, which he used in his military expeditions.</p> <p>1.17.10 The emperor supplied all materials for the construction of the churches, and wrote to Macarius the bishop to expedite these edifices.</p>		<p>1.18.6 She had part of the cross of our Savior conveyed to the palace. The rest was enclosed in a covering of silver, and committed to the care of the bishop of the city, whom she exhorted to preserve it carefully, in order that it might be transmitted uninjured to posterity.</p>
<p>1.17.11 When the emperor's mother had completed the New Jerusalem, she reared another church not at all inferior, over the cave at Bethlehem where Christ was born according to the flesh: nor did she stop here, but built a third on the mount of his Ascension.</p>	<p>2.2.1 About this same period, the emperor, having determined upon erecting a temple in honor of God, charged the governors to see that the work was executed in the most magnificent and costly manner possible. His mother Helena also erected two temples, the one at Bethlehem near the cave where Christ was born, the other on ridges of the Mount of Olives, whence He was taken up to heaven.</p>	<p>1.18.7 She then sent everywhere for workmen and for materials, and caused the most spacious and most magnificent churches to be erected. It is unnecessary to describe their beauty and grandeur; for all the pious, if I may so speak, hasten thither and behold the magnificence of the buildings.</p>
<p>1.17.12 So devoutly was she affected in these matters, that she would pray in the company of women; and inviting the virgins enrolled in</p>	<p>2.2.2 Many other acts show her piety and religiousness, among which the following is not the least remarkable: During her residence at</p>	<p>1.18.8 This celebrated and admirable empress performed another action worthy of being remembered. She assembled all the women who had vowed</p>

<p>the register of the churches to a repast, serving them herself, she brought the dishes to table.</p>	<p>Jerusalem, it is related that she assembled the sacred virgins at a feast, ministered to them at supper, presented them with food, poured water on their hands, and performed other similar services customary to those who wait upon guests.</p> <p>2.2.3 When she visited the cities of the East, she bestowed befitting gifts on the churches in every town, enriched those individuals who had been deprived of their possessions, supplied ungrudgingly the necessities of the poor, and restored to liberty those who had been long imprisoned, or condemned to exile or the mines. It seems to me that so many holy actions demanded a recompense;</p> <p>2.2.4a And indeed, even in this life, she was raised to the summit of magnificence and splendor; she was proclaimed Augusta; her image was stamped on golden coins, and she was invested by her son with authority over the imperial treasury to give it according to her judgment.</p>	<p>perpetual virginity, and placing them on couches, she herself fulfilled the duties of a handmaid, serving them with food and handing them cups and pouring out wine, and bringing a basin and pitcher, and pouring out water to wash their hands.</p>
<p>1.17.13 She was also very munificent to the churches and to the poor; and having lived a life of piety, she died when about eighty years old. Her remains were conveyed to New Rome, the capital, and deposited among the imperial tombs.</p>	<p>2.2.4b Her death, too, was glorious; for when, at the age of eighty, she quited this life, she left her son and her descendants (like her of the race of Caesar), masters of the Roman world.</p> <p>2.2.5 And if there be any advantage in such fame – forgetfulness did not conceal her though she was dead – the coming age has the pledge of her perpetual memory; for two cities are named after her, the one in Bithynia, and the other in Palestine. Such is the history of Helena.</p>	<p>1.18.9 After performing these and other laudable actions, the empress returned to her son, and not long after, she joyfully entered upon the other and a better life, after having given her son much pious advice and her fervent parting blessing. After her death, those honors were rendered to her memory which her steadfast and zealous service to God deserved.</p>
	<p>2.4.1 I consider it necessary to detail the proceedings of Constantine in relation to what is called the oak of Mature. This place is now called Terebinthus, and is about fifteen stadia distant from Hebron, which lies to the south, but is two hundred and fifty stadia distant from Jerusalem.</p>	
<p>1.18.5 Again he built other churches, one of which was erected near the Oak of Mamre, under which the Sacred Scriptures declare that Abraham entertained angels.</p>	<p>2.4.2 It is recorded that here the Son of God appeared to Abraham, with two angels, who had been sent against Sodom, and foretold the birth of his son. Here the inhabitants of the country and of the regions round Palestine, the Phoenicians, and the Arabians, assemble annually during the summer season to keep a dazzling festival; and many others, both buyers and sellers, come here on account of the fair.</p> <p>2.4.3 Indeed, this festival is regularly attended by all nations: by the Jews because they boast of their descent from the patriarch Abraham; by the Pagans because angels appeared to men there; and by Christians because He who was born of a virgin for the salvation of mankind later showed Himself there to a godly man. Moreover, this place was honored fittingly with religious ceremonies. Here some prayed to the God of all; some called upon the angels, poured out wine, burnt incense, or offered an ox, or he-goat, a sheep, or a rooster.</p> <p>2.4.4 Each one made some beautiful product of his labor, and after carefully husbanding it through the entire year, he offered it according to a vow as provision for that feast, both for himself and his dependents. And either in honor of the place, or in fear of divine wrath, they all refrained from sex with their wives, although during the feast the women were more than ordinarily thoughtful of their beauty and adornment. Nor, if they chanced to appear and to take part in the public processions, did they act at all decadently. Nor did they behave imprudently in any other respect, although the tents adjoined each other, and all slept together.</p> <p>2.4.5 The place is open country, and arable, and without houses, with the exception of the buildings around Abraham's old oak and the well he prepared. No one during the time of the feast drew water from that well; for according to pagan custom, some placed burning lamps near it; some poured out wine; or some threw in cakes, while others threw coins, myrrh, or incense. In this way, as I suppose, the water became useless by mixing with all the things thrown into it.</p> <p>2.4.6 Once while these customs were being celebrated by the pagans in this way and with the usual gaiety, the mother-in-law of Constantine was present for prayer, and informed the emperor of what was being</p>	

	<p>done. On receiving this information, he reprimanded the bishops of Palestine in no measured terms, because they had neglected their duty, and had permitted a holy place to be defiled by impure libations and sacrifices.</p>	
<p>1.17.6 For when the emperor was informed that altars had been erected under that oak, and that pagan sacrifices were offered on them, he reprimanded Eusebius bishop of Caesarea by letter, and ordered that the altars should be demolished, and a house of prayer erected beside the oak.</p>	<p>2.4.7 He expressed his pious disapproval in a letter which he wrote on the subject to Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, to Eusebius Pamphilus, and to the bishops of Palestine. He commanded these bishops to confer on this subject with the Phoenician bishops, and issue directions for the demolition, down to its foundations, of the altar formerly erected there, the destruction by fire of the carved images, and the erection of a church worthy of so ancient and so holy a place. The emperor finally enjoined, that no libations or sacrifices should be offered on the spot, but that it should be exclusively devoted to the worship of God according to the law of the Church.</p> <p>2.4.8 If any attempt were made to restore the former rites, the bishops were to inform against the offending party, so that he might receive the greatest punishment. The governors and priests of Christ strictly enforced the orders in the emperor's letter.</p>	
<p>1.18.7 He also directed that another church should be constructed in Heliopolis in Phoenicia, for the following reasons. I am unable to state who originally made the laws for the inhabitants of Heliopolis, but his character and morals can be judged from the practices of that city. For the laws of the country ordered that all the women were to be shared, and therefore the children born there were of doubtful descent. No one knew who their fathers were or who their children were. Their virgins were also offered for prostitution to the visitors who came there.</p> <p>1.18.8 The emperor rushed to correct this evil which had long prevailed among them. Passing a solemn law on chastity, he removed the shameful evil and provided for the mutual recognition of families.</p> <p>1.18.9 And having built churches there, he took care that a bishop and sacred clergy should be ordained. Thus he reformed the corrupt manners of the people of Heliopolis.</p>		
<p>1.18.10 He likewise demolished the temple of Venus at Aphaca on Mount Libanus, and abolished the infamous rites which had been celebrated there.</p>		
<p>1.18.12 So great indeed was the emperor's devotion to Christianity, that when he was about to enter a war against Persia, he prepared a tabernacle, formed of embroidered linen on the model of a church, just as Moses had done in the wilderness. He had it constructed so that it could be carried from place to place, so that he might have a house of prayer even in the most deserted regions. But the war was not begun at that time, because the enemy dreaded the emperor.</p>		
	<p>[Constantine is led by visions to encourage all to embrace Christianity]</p> <p>1.8.9b It is said that, during this war, Constantine perceived clearly, by means of signs and dreams, that the special protection of Divine Providence had been extended to him. Therefore, when he had vanquished all those who rose up in battle against him, he demonstrated his thankfulness to Christ by zealous attention to the concerns of religion and exhorted the governors to recognize the one true faith and way of salvation.</p> <p>1.8.10a He ruled that part of the funds levied from tributary countries should be forwarded by the various cities to the bishops and clergy, wherever they might live, and commanded that the law enforcing this gift should be a statute forever.</p>	
<p>[Constantine increases his Christian legislation]</p> <p>1.18.1 After this the emperor became increasingly attentive to the interests of the Christians and abandoned the heathen superstitions</p>	<p>[Constantine announces his divine mission to extend the Christian religion]</p> <p>1.8.1 As soon as the sole government of the Roman empire was vested in Constantine, he issued a public decree commanding all his subjects in the East to honor the Christian religion, carefully to worship the</p>	

Divine Being, and to recognize that being only as Divine which is also essentially so, and which has the power that endures forever and ever. For he delights to give all good things ungrudgingly to those who zealously embrace the truth; he meets their undertakings with the best hopes, while misfortunes, whether in peace or in war, whether in public or in private life, befall transgressors.

1.8.2 Constantine then added, without vain boasting, that God accounted him as a fitting servant, worthy to reign, and had been led from the British sea to the Eastern provinces in order that the Christian religion might be extended, and that those who, on account of the worship of God had remained steadfast in confessions or martyrdoms, might be advanced to public honors.

[Constantine passed many other laws in service to God]

1.8.13b And indeed he strove in everything, particularly in the enactment of laws, to serve God.

1.8.14 It appears, too, that he prohibited many criminal and corrupt connections, which till that period had not been forbidden. As one, who cares about it, may see at a glance from these few instances what the laws were, which he established about these points; it appears to me unreasonable now to treat them exhaustively. I consider it necessary, however, to mention the laws enacted for the honor and consolidation of religion, as they constitute a considerable portion of ecclesiastical history. I shall therefore proceed to the recital.

[Constantine desecrates and closes many pagan temples]

2.5.1 As many nations and cities throughout the whole realm of his subjects retained a feeling of fear and veneration towards their vain idols, which led them to disregard the doctrines of the Christians, and to have a care for their ancient customs and the manners and feasts of their fathers, it appeared necessary to the emperor to teach the governors to suppress their superstitious rites of worship. He thought that this would be easily accomplished if he could get them to despise their temples and the images contained therein.

2.5.2 To carry this project into execution he did not require military aid; for Christian men belonging to the palace went from city to city bearing imperial letters. The people were prompted to remain passive from the fear that, if they resisted these edicts, they, their children, and their wives, would be exposed to evil. The vergers and the priests, being unsupported by the multitude, brought out their most precious treasures and the idols called *δῖονεῖνη*. Through these servitors, the gifts were drawn forth from the shrines and the hidden recesses in the temples.

2.5.3 The spots previously inaccessible and known only to the priests were made accessible to all who desired to enter. The images which constructed of precious material, and whatever else was valuable, were purified by fire and became public property. The brazen images which were skillfully wrought were carried to the city, named after the emperor, and placed there as objects of embellishment.

2.5.4 ... They were placed where they may still be seen in public places, as in the streets, the hippodrome, and the palaces. Amongst them was the statue of Apollo which was in the seat of the oracle of the Pythoness, and likewise the statues of the Muses from Helicon, the tripods from Delphos, and the much extolled Pan, which Pausanias the Lacedaemonian and the Grecian cities had devoted, – after the war against the Medes. As to the temples, some were stripped of their doors, others of their roofs, and others were neglected, allowed to fall into ruin, or destroyed.

2.5.5 The temple of Aesculapius in Aegis, a city of Cilicia, and that of Venus at Aphaca, near Mount Lebanon and the River Adonis, were then undermined and entirely destroyed. Both of these temples were most highly honored and revered by the ancients; as the Aegeatae were wont to say, that those among them who were weakened in body were delivered from diseases because the demon manifested himself by night, and healed them. At Aphaca it was believed that on a certain prayer being uttered on a given day, a fire like a star descended from the top of Lebanon and sunk into the neighboring river; they

	<p>affirmed that this was Urania, for they call Aphrodite by this name. 2.5.6 The efforts of the emperor succeeded to the utmost of his anticipations. For on beholding the objects of their former reverence and fear boldly cast down and stuffed with straw and hay, the people were led to despise what they had previously venerated and to blame the erroneous opinion of their ancestors. Others, envious at the honor in which Christians were held by the emperor, deemed it necessary to imitate the acts of the ruler. Others devoted themselves to an examination of Christianity, and by means of signs, of dreams, or of conferences with bishops and monks, were convinced that it was better to become Christians.</p>	
	<p>[Gaza and many other cities freely renounce paganism and embrace Christianity] 2.5.7 From this period nations and citizens spontaneously renounced their former opinion. At that time a port of Gaza, called Majuma, in which superstition and ancient ceremonies had been until then admired, turned unitedly with all its inhabitants to Christianity. 2.5.8 The emperor, in order to reward their piety, deemed them worthy of the greatest honor and distinguished the place as a city, a status it had not previously enjoyed, and named it Constantia. He thus honored the spot on account of its piety, by bestowing on it the name of the dearest of his children. On the same account, also, Constantine in Phoenicia is known to have received its name from the emperor. 2.5.9 But it would not be convenient to record every instance of this kind, for many other cities about this time went over to religion, and spontaneously, without any command of the emperor, destroyed the adjacent temples and statues, and erected houses of prayer.</p>	
<p>[Constantine disproves Serapis in Egypt] 1.18.2 And because the heathens claimed that it was Serapis who brought up the Nile for the purpose of irrigating Egypt, because a cubit was usually carried into his temple, Constantine directed Alexander to transfer the cubit to the church. 1.18.3 And although they predicted that the Nile would not overflow because of the displeasure of Serapis, nevertheless there was an flood in the following year and afterwards, taking place regularly. Thus it was proved by fact that the rising of the Nile was not in consequence of their superstition, but by reason of the decrees of Providence.</p>	<p>[Egyptian Nile-ritual is Christianized] 1.8.5c ... and among the Egyptians the measure used to indicate the increase of the waters of the Nile was no longer borne into pagan temples, but into churches.</p>	
<p>[Constantine reforms Heliopolis] 1.18.7 He also directed that another church should be constructed in Heliopolis in Phoenicia for this reason. Who originally legislated for the inhabitants of Heliopolis I am unable to state, but his character and morals may be judged from the practice of that city. The laws of the country ordered the women among them be common, and therefore the children born there were of doubtful descent, so that there was no distinction of fathers and their offspring. Their virgins also were presented for prostitution to the strangers who resorted there. 1.18.8 The emperor hastened to correct this evil which had long prevailed among them. And passing a solemn law of chastity, he removed the shameful evil and provided for the mutual recognition of families. 1.18.9 And having built churches there, he took care that a bishop and sacred clergy should be ordained. Thus he reformed the corrupt manners of the people of Heliopolis.</p>	<p>[Constantine reforms Heliopolis] 1.8.6b The custom which prevailed among the Phoenicians of Lebanon and Heliopolis of prostituting virgins before marriage, who were accustomed to cohabit in lawful marriage after the first trial of an illicit intercourse, was abolished.</p>	
<p>[Constantine destroys infamous temple on Mt. Libanus] 1.18.10 He likewise demolished the temple of Venus at Aphaca on Mount Libanus and abolished the infamous deeds which were there celebrated.</p>	<p>[Constantine destroys Phythonic demon] 1.18.11 Why need I describe his expulsion of the Phythonic demon from Cilicia by commanding the mansion in which he was lurking to be razed from its foundations?</p>	
	<p>[Sozomen's estimation of Constantine's motivation] 1.9.7b Such were the enactments of Constantine; in everything he sought to promote the honor of religion. And religion was valued, not</p>	

	<p>only for its own sake, but also on account of the virtue of those who then participated in it.</p>	
<p>[Constantine defeats barbarians who in turn embrace Christianity] 1.18.4 About the same time those barbarians, the Sarmatians and Goths, made incursions on the Roman territory. Yet the emperor's earnestness respecting the churches was by no means abated, but he made suitable provision for both these matters. Placing his confidence in the Christian banner, he completely vanquished his enemies, so as even to cast off the tribute of gold which preceding emperors were accustomed to pay the barbarians. The barbarians themselves, being terror-struck at the unexpectedness of their defeat, then for the first time embraced the Christian religion, by means of which Constantine had been protected.</p>	<p>[Many surrounding barbarian nations receive Christianity, often through captured priests] 2.6.1 After the church had been in this manner spread throughout the whole Roman world, religion was introduced even among the barbarians themselves. The tribes on both sides of the Rhine were Christianized, as likewise the Celts and the Gauls who dwelt upon the most distant shores of the ocean. The Goths, too, and such tribes as were neighbors to them, who formerly dwelt on either of the high shores of the Danube, had long shared in the Christian faith and had changed into a gentler and more rational observance. 2.6.2 Almost all the barbarians had professed to hold the Christian doctrine in honor, from the time of the wars between the Romans and foreign tribes, under the government of Gallienus and the emperors who succeeded him. For when an unspeakable multitude of mixed nations passed over from Thrace into Asia and overran it, and when other barbarians from the various regions did the same things to the adjacent Romans, many priests of Christ who had been taken captive, dwelt among these tribes. 2.6.3 During their residence among them these priests healed the sick and cleansed those who were possessed of demons by the name of Christ only, and by calling on the Son of God. Moreover, they led a blameless life and excited envy by their virtues. The barbarians, amazed at the conduct and wonderful works of these men, thought that it would be prudent on their part, and pleasing to the Deity, if they should imitate those whom they saw were better and, like them, would render homage to God. When teachers, who told them what should be done, had been proposed to them, the people were taught, baptized, and subsequently were gathered into churches.</p>	
<p>1.19.1 We must now mention in what manner Christianity was spread in this emperor's reign. For it was in his time that the nations both of the Indians in the interior and of the Iberians first embraced the Christian faith.</p>	<p>2.24.1 We have heard that about this period some of the most distant of the nations that we call Indians, to whom the preaching of Bartholomew was unknown, shared in our doctrine through Frumentius, who became a priest and teacher of the sacred learning among them. But in order that we may know, even by the marvel of what happened in India, that the doctrine of the Christians ought to be received as a system not from man, as it seems at issue of miracles to some, it is necessary to relate the reason for the ordination of Frumentius. It was as follows:</p>	<p>1.23.1 At this period the light of the knowledge of God was for the first time shed upon India. The courage and the piety of the emperor had become celebrated throughout the world. And because the barbarians learned by experience to choose peace rather than war, they were able to enjoy intercourse with one another without fear.</p>
<p>1.19.2 But I shall briefly explain why I have used the appended expression in the interior. When the apostles went forth by lot among the nations, Thomas received the apostleship of the Parthians; Matthew was allotted Ethiopia; and Bartholomew the part of India contiguous to that country but the interior India, in which many barbarous nations using different languages lived, was not enlightened by Christian doctrine before the times of Constantine.</p>		
	<p>2.24.2 The most celebrated philosophers among the Greeks explored unknown cities and regions. Plato, the friend of Socrates, dwelt for a time among the Egyptians in order to acquaint himself with their manners and customs. He likewise sailed to Sicily for the sight of its craters, which, as from a fountain, spontaneously issued streams of fire. These were frequently overflowing and rushed like a river and consumed the neighboring regions, so that even yet many fields appear burnt and cannot be sown or planted with trees, just as they narrate about the land of Sodom.</p>	
	<p>2.24.3 These craters were likewise explored by Empedocles, a man highly celebrated for philosophy among the Greeks, who has expounded his knowledge in heroic verse. He set out to investigate this fiery eruption. However, either because he thought such a mode of death preferable to any other or because, to speak more truthfully, he perhaps knew not why he should seek to terminate his life in this manner, he leaped into the fire and perished. 2.24.4 Democritus of Coös explored many cities and climates and</p>	

	nations, and he said concerning himself that eighty years of his life were spent in traveling through foreign lands. Besides these philosophers, thousands of wise men among the Greeks, ancient and modern, devoted themselves to this travel.	
1.19.3 I now come to speak of the cause which led them to become converts to Christianity. A certain philosopher, Meropius, a Tyrian by race, determined to acquaint himself with the country of the Indians, being led to this by the example of the philosopher Metrodorus, who had previously traveled through the region of India. 1.19.4 Having taken with him therefore two youths to whom he was related, who were by no means ignorant of the Greek language, Meropius reached the country by ship. When he had inspected whatever he wished, he landed at a certain place which had a safe harbor, to find some necessary provisions.	2.24.5a In imitation Meropius, a philosopher of Tyre in Phoenicia, journeyed as far as India. They say he was accompanied by two youths, named Frumentius and Edesius. they were his relatives. he conducted their rhetorical training and educated them liberally. After exploring India as much as possible, he set out for home, and embarked in a vessel which was on the point of sailing for Egypt.	1.23.2 Many persons, therefore, set out on long journeys. Some for the desire of making discoveries, others from a spirit of commercial enterprise. About this period a native of Tyre, acquainted with Greek philosophy, desiring to penetrate into the interior of India, set off for this purpose with his two young nephews. When he had accomplished the object of his wishes, he embarked for his own country.
1.19.5 It so happened that a little before that time the treaty between the Romans and Indians had been violated. The Indians, therefore, having seized the philosopher and those who sailed with him, killed them all, except his two youthful kinsmen. They spared them from compassion for their tender age and sent them as a gift to the king of the Indians.	2.24.5b It happened that, from want of water or some other necessary, the vessel was obliged to stop at some port. Then the Indians rushed upon it and murdered all, Meropius included. These Indians had just thrown off their alliance with the Romans.	1.23.3 When the ship was compelled to put in to land in order to obtain a fresh supply of water, the barbarians fell upon her, drowned some of the crew, and took the others prisoners. The uncle was among the number of those who were killed, and the lads were conducted to the king. The name of the one was Aedesius, and of the other Frumentius.
1.19.6 He being pleased with the personal appearance of the youths and set up one of them, whose name was Edesius, as cup-bearer at his table. The other, named Frumentius, he entrusted with the care of the royal records.	2.24.6a They took the boys as living captives, because they pitied their youth, and conducted them to their king. He appointed the younger one his cupbearer; the older, Frumentius, he put over his house and made him administrator of his treasures. For he perceived that he was intelligent and very capable in business.	1.23.4 The king of the country, in course of time, perceived their intelligence and promoted them to the superintendence of his household. If any one should doubt the truth of this account, let him recall to mind the history of Joseph in the kingdom of Egypt, and also the history of Daniel, and of the three champions of the truth, who, from being captives, became princes of Babylon.
1.19.7 The king soon died after, leaving them free. The government fell on his wife and infant son. Now the queen, seeing her son thus left in his youth, begged the young men to undertake the charge of him, until he should become of adult age. 1.19.8 Accordingly, the youths accepted the task, and entered on the administration of the kingdom.	2.24.6b These youths served the king usefully and faithfully during a long course of years. When he felt his end approaching, he rewarded the good-will of the servants with liberty and permitted them to go where they pleased, although his son and wife were still alive. 2.24.7 They were anxious to return to Tyre, where their relatives resided; but because the king's son was a youth, his mother implored them to remain for a little while and take charge of public affairs, until her son reached the years of manhood. They yielded to her entreaties and directed the affairs of the kingdom and of the government of the Indies.	1.23.5 The king died; but these young men remained with his son and were advanced to still greater power. As they had been brought up in the true religion, they exhorted the merchants who visited the country to assemble, according to the custom of Romans, to take part in the divine liturgy.
1.19.9 Thus Frumentius controlled all things and made it a task to enquire whether among the Roman merchants trafficking with that country, there were any Christians to be found. After he had discovered some, he informed them who he was and encouraged them to select and occupy some appropriate places for the celebration of Christian worship. 1.19.10 In the course of a little while he built a house of prayer; and having instructed some of the Indians in the principles of Christianity, they fitted them for participation in the worship.	2.24.8 Frumentius, by some Divine impulse, perhaps because God moved him spontaneously, inquired whether there were any Christians in India, or Romans among the merchants, who had sailed there. Having succeeded in finding the objects of his inquiry, he summoned them into his presence, treated them with love and friendliness, and convened them for prayer. The assembly was conducted according to the Roman usage; and when he had built houses of prayer, he encouraged them to honor God continually.	
1.19.11 Once the young king reached maturity, Frumentius and his associate resigned to him the administration of public affairs, the management of which they had honorably absolved themselves, and asked permission to return to their own country. Both the king and his mother implored them to remain. But because they were desirous of revisiting their native place, they could not be prevailed on and consequently departed.	2.24.9a When the king's son attained the age of manhood, Frumentius and Edesius appealed him and the queen and, not without difficulty, persuaded the rulers to be separated from themselves. After having parted as friends, they went back as Roman subjects.	1.23.6 After a considerable time they asked the king to reward their services by permitting them to return to their own country. They obtained his permission and safely reached Roman territory.
1.19.12 Edesius for his part hastened to Tyre to see his parents and kindred; but Frumentius arrived at Alexandria and reported the affair to Athanasius the bishop, who had but recently been invested with that office.	2.24.9b Edesius went to Tyre to see his relatives and was soon after advanced to the dignity of presbyter. Frumentius, however, instead of returning to Phoenicia, repaired to Alexandria. For with him patriotism and filial piety were subordinate to religious zeal.	1.23.7a Aedesius directed his course towards Tyre, but Frumentius, whose religious zeal was greater than the natural feeling of affection for his relatives, proceeded to Alexandria.
1.19.12b Frumentius acquainted him both with the particulars of his wanderings and the hopes Indians had of receiving Christianity. He also begged him to send a bishop and clergy there, and by no means to neglect those who might thus be brought to salvation.	2.24.10a He conferred with Athanasius, the head of the Alexandrian Church, describing to him the state of affairs in India and the necessity of appointing a bishop over the Christians located in that country. Athanasius assembled the local priests, and consulted with them on the subject.	1.23.7b He informed the bishop of that city that the Indians were deeply anxious to obtain spiritual light.

<p>1.19.13 After Athanasius considered how this could be most profitably effected, he requested Frumentius himself to accept the bishopric, declaring that he could appoint no one more suitable than he was.</p>	<p>2.24.10b He ordained Frumentius bishop of India, since he was peculiarly qualified and apt to do much service among those among whom he was the first to manifest the name of Christian and the seed of the participation in the doctrine was sown.</p>	<p>1.23.8 Athanasius then held the rudder of that church; he heard the story, and then "Who," said he, "better than you yourself can scatter the mists of ignorance, and introduce among this people the light of Divine preaching?" After having said this, he conferred upon him the episcopal office and sent him to the spiritual culture of that nation.</p>
<p>1.19.14 Accordingly this was done; Frumentius, invested with episcopal authority, returned to India and became there a preacher of the Gospel. He built several churches. Being aided also by divine grace, he performed various miracles, healing with the souls also the bodily diseases of many. Rufinus assures us that he heard these facts from Edesius, who was afterwards ordained to the priesthood at Tyre.</p>	<p>2.24.11 Frumentius, therefore, returned to India, and it is said, discharged the priestly functions so admirably that he became an object of universal admiration and was revered as no less than an apostle. God highly honored him, enabling him to perform many wonderful cures and to work signs and wonders. Such was the origin of the Indian priesthood.</p>	<p>1.23.9 The newly-ordained bishop left this country, caring nothing for the mighty ocean, and returned to the untilled ground of his work. There, having the grace of God to labour with him, he cheerfully and successfully played the husbandman, catching those who sought to gainsay his words by works of apostolic office.</p>
<p>1.20.1 It is now proper to relate how the Iberians about the same time became proselytes to the faith. A certain woman leading a devout and chaste life was, in the providential ordering of God, taken captive by the Iberians. Now these Iberians dwell near the Euxine Sea and are a colony of the Iberians of Spain.</p>	<p>2.7.11 It is said that during this reign the Iberians, a large and warlike barbarian nation, confessed Christ. They dwelt to the north beyond Armenia.</p>	
<p>1.20.2 Accordingly the woman in her captivity exercised herself among the barbarians in the practice of virtue: for she not only maintained the most rigid continence, but spent much time in fasting and prayers. The barbarians observing this were astonished at the strangeness of her conduct.</p>	<p>2.7.1b A Christian woman, who had been taken captive, persuaded them to renounce the religion of their fathers. She was very faithful and godly and did not, amongst foreigners, remit her accustomed routine of religious duty. To fast, to pray night and day, and to praise God constituted her delight. The barbarians inquired as to the motives of her endurance: she simply answered that it was necessary in this way to worship the Son of God. But the name of Him who was to be worshiped, and the manner of worshiping, appeared strange to them.</p>	<p>1.24.1 Frumentius thus led the Indians to the knowledge of God. Iberia, about the same time, was guided into the way of truth by a captive woman. She continued instant in prayer, allowing herself no softer bed than a sack spread upon the ground, and accounted fasting her highest luxury. This austerity was rewarded by gifts similar to those of the Apostles.</p>
<p>1.20.3 It happened then that the king's son, then a mere babe, was attacked with disease. The queen, according to the custom of the country, sent the child to other women to be cured, in the hope that their experience would supply a remedy</p>	<p>2.7.2 It happened that a boy of the country was taken ill, and his mother, according to the custom of the Iberians, took him around from house to house, in hope that someone might be found capable of curing the disease, and the change from the suffering might be easy for the afflicted.</p>	<p>1.24.2a The barbarians, who were ignorant of medicine, were accustomed, when attacked by disease, to go to one another's houses, in order to ask those who had suffered in a similar way and had got well and by what means they had been cured.</p>
<p>1.20.4 After the infant had been carried around by its nurse without obtaining relief from any of the women, he was at length brought to this captive. 1.20.5 She had no knowledge of the medical art and applied no material remedy. But after taking the child and laying it on her bed which was made of horsecloth, in the presence of other females, she simply said, 'Christ, who healed many, will heal this child also'; 1.20.6 then having prayed in addition to this expression of faith, and called upon God, the boy was immediately restored, and continued well from that period. The report of this miracle spread itself far and wide among the barbarian women, and soon reached the queen, so that the captive became very celebrated.</p>	<p>2.7.3 As no one capable of healing him could be found, the boy was brought to the captive, and she said, "as to medicines, I have neither experience nor knowledge, nor am I acquainted with the mode of applying ointments or plasters. But, O woman, I believe that Christ whom I worship, the true and great God, will become the Saviour of thy child." Then she prayed for him and immediately freed him from the disease, although just before it was believed that he was about to die.</p>	<p>1.24.2b In accordance with this custom, a mother who had a sick child repaired to this admirable woman, to enquire if she knew of any cure for the disease. 1.24.3 The latter took the child, placed it upon her bed, and prayed to the Creator of the world to be favorable to it and cure the disease. He heard her prayer and made it whole. This extraordinary woman hence obtained great celebrity.</p>
<p>1.20.7 Not long afterwards the queen herself having fallen sick sent for the captive woman. Because she was a person of modest and retiring manners, she excused herself from going, and the queen was conveyed to her. The captive did the same to her as she had done to her son before. And immediately the disease was removed. 1.20.8 And the queen thanked the stranger. But she replied, 'This work is not mine, but Christ's, who is the Son of God that made the world.' She therefore exhorted her to call upon him and acknowledge the true God.</p>	<p>2.7.4 A little while after the wife of the governor of the nation was, by an incurable disease, brought nigh unto death. Yet she too was saved in the same manner. And thus did this captive teach the knowledge of Christ, by introducing Him as the dispenser of health, and as the Lord of life, of empire, and of all things. The governor's wife, convinced by her own personal experience, believed the words of the captive, embraced the Christian religion, and held the woman in much honor.</p>	<p>1.24.4 And the queen, who was suffering from a severe disease, heard of her by report and sent for her. The captive held herself in very low estimation and would not accept the invitation of the queen. But the queen, forced by her sore need, and careless of her royal dignity, herself ran to the captive. 1.24.5 The latter made the queen lie down upon her mean bed and once again applied to her disease the efficacious remedy of prayer. The queen was healed and offered as rewards for her cure, gold, silver, tunics, and mantles, and such gifts as she thought worthy of possession, and such as royal charity should bestow. 1.24.6 The holy woman told her that she did not want any of these, but that she would deem her greatest reward to be the queen's knowledge of true religion. She then, as far as in her lay, explained the Divine doctrines and exhorted her to erect a church in honor of Christ who had made her whole. 1.24.7a The queen then returned to the palace and excited the admiration of her consort by the suddenness of her cure. She then made known to him the power of that God whom the captive adored and urged him to acknowledge the one only God, to erect a church to Him, and to lead all the nation to worship Him.</p>

<p>1.20.9 Amazed at his wife's sudden restoration to health, the king of the Iberians wished to pay with gifts her whom he had understood to be the means of effecting these cures. She however said that she needed not riches, because she possessed as riches the consolations of religion, but that she would regard as the greatest present he could offer her his recognition of the God whom she worshiped and declared. With this she sent back the gifts.</p>	<p>2.7.5 The king, astonished at the suddenness of the cure and the miraculousness and healing of faith, learned the cause from his wife and commanded that the captive should be rewarded with gifts. "Of gifts," said the queen, "her estimate is very low, whatever may be their value; she makes much of the service she renders to her God only. Therefore if we wish to gratify her, or desire to do what is safe and right, let us also worship God, who is mighty and a Saviour and who, at His will, gives continuance unto kings, casts down the high, renders the illustrious abject, and saves those in terrible straits."</p>	<p>1.24.7b The king was greatly delighted with the miracle which had been performed upon the queen, but he would not consent to erect a church.</p>
<p>1.20.10 This answer the king treasured up in his mind. After going forth to the chase the next day, the following circumstance occurred. A mist and thick darkness covered the mountain tops and forests where he was hunting, so that their sport was embarrassed and their path became inextricable. 1.20.11 In this perplexity the prince earnestly invoked the gods whom he worshiped. When it availed to nothing, he at last determined to implore the assistance of the captive's God. When he had scarcely begun to pray, the darkness arising from the mist was completely dissipated.</p>	<p>2.7.6 The queen continued to argue in this excellent manner, but the sovereign of Iberia remained in doubt and unconvinced, for he reflected on the strangeness of the matters and also respected the religion of his fathers. A little while after he went into the woods with his attendants on a hunting excursion. All of a sudden thick clouds arose and a heavy air was everywhere dispersed by them, so as to conceal the heavens and the sun. Profound night and great darkness pervaded the wood. Since each of the hunters was alarmed for his own safety, they scattered in different directions. 2.7.7 The king, while thus wandering alone, thought of Christ, as men are wont to do in times of danger. He determined that if he should be delivered from his present emergency, he would walk before God and worship Him. At the very instant that these thoughts were upon his mind, the darkness was dissipated, the air became serene, the rays of the sun penetrated into the wood, and the king went out in safety.</p>	<p>1.24.7c A short time after he went out hunting, the loving Lord made a prey of him as He did of Paul. 1.24.8 For a sudden darkness enveloped him and forbade him to move from the spot. While those who were hunting with him enjoyed the customary sunlight, he alone was bound with the fetters of blindness. In his perplexity he found a way of escape. For calling to mind his former unbelief, he implored the help of the God of the captive woman, and immediately the darkness was dispelled.</p>
<p>1.20.12 Wondering at that which was done, he returned to his palace rejoicing and related to his wife what had happened. He also immediately sent for the captive stranger and begged her to inform him who that God was whom she adored. The woman on her arrival caused the king of the Iberians to become a preacher of Christ. 1.20.13 For having believed in Christ through this devoted woman, he gathered all the Iberians who were under his authority. When he had declared to them not only what had taken place in reference to the cure of his wife and child, but also the circumstances connected with the chase, he exhorted them to worship the God of the captive. 1.20.14 Thus, both the king and the queen were made preachers of Christ, the one addressing their male subjects and the other their female subjects. Moreover, after the king ascertained from his prisoner the plan on which churches were constructed among the Romans, he ordered a church to be immediately built and provided all things necessary for its erection. The edifice was accordingly commenced. 1.20.15 But when they came to set up the pillars, Divine Providence interposed for the confirmation of the inhabitants in the faith. 1.20.16 For one of the columns remained immovable, and no means were found capable of moving it, but their ropes broke and their machinery fell to pieces. At length the workmen gave up all further effort and departed. 1.20.17 Then the reality of the captive's faith was proved in the following manner: going to the place at night without the knowledge of any one, she spent the whole time in prayer. And by the power of God the pillar was raised and stood erect in the air above its base, yet so as not to touch it. 1.20.18 At daybreak the king, who was an intelligent person, came himself to inspect the work. Seeing the pillar suspended in this position without support, both he and his attendants were amazed. Shortly after, in fact before their very eyes, the pillar descended on its own pedestal and there remained fixed. Upon this the people shouted, attesting the truth of the king's faith and hymning the praise of the God of the captive. From then on they believed and with eagerness raised the rest of the columns, and the whole building was soon completed. 1.20.19 An embassy was afterwards sent to the Emperor Constantine,</p>	<p>2.7.8 He informed his wife of the event that had befallen him, sent for the captive, and commanded her to teach him in what way he ought to worship Christ. When she had given as much instruction as it was right for a woman to say and do, he called together his subjects and declared to them plainly the Divine mercies which had been shown to himself and to his wife. Although uninitiated, he declared to his people the doctrines of Christ. The whole nation was persuaded to embrace Christianity, the men being convinced by the representations of the king, and the women by those of the queen and the captive. 2.7.9 And speedily with the general consent of the entire nation, they prepared most zealously to build a church. When the external walls were completed, machines were brought to raise up the columns and fix them upon their pedestals. It is related that when the first and second columns had been righted by these means, great difficulty was found in fixing the third column, neither art nor physical strength being of any avail, although many were present to assist in the pulling. 2.7.10 When evening came on, the female captive remained alone on the spot and continued there throughout the night, interceding with God that the erection of the columns might be easily accomplished, especially as all the rest had taken their departure, distressed at the failure. For the column was only half raised and remained standing, and one end of it was so embedded in its foundations that it was impossible to move it downward. It was God's will that by this, as well as by the preceding miracle, the Iberians should be still further confirmed about the Deity. 2.7.11 Early in the morning, when they were present at the church, they beheld a wonderful spectacle, which seemed to them as a dream. The column, which on the day before had been immovable, now appeared erect, and elevated a small space above its proper base. All present were struck with admiration and confessed, with one consent, that Christ alone is the true God. Whilst they were all looking on, the column slipped quietly and spontaneously, and was adjusted as by machinery on its base. The other columns were then erected with ease, and the Iberians completed the structure with greater alacrity. 2.7.12 The church having been thus speedily built, the Iberians, at</p>	<p>1.24.9 He then went to the marvellous captive, and asked her to show him how a church ought to be built. 1.24.10a He who once filled Bezaleel with architectural skill, graciously enabled this woman to devise the plan of a church. The woman set about the plan, and men began to dig and build. When the edifice was completed, the roof put on, and everything supplied except the priests, this admirable woman found means to obtain these also. 1.24.10b For she persuaded the king to send an embassy to the Roman</p>

<p>requesting that henceforth they might be in alliance with the Romans and receive from them a bishop and consecrated clergy, since they sincerely believed in Christ.</p>	<p>the recommendation of the captive, sent ambassadors to the Emperor Constantine, bearing proposals for alliance and treaties and requesting that priests might be sent to their nation. On their arrival, the ambassadors related the events that had occurred, how the whole nation with much care worshiped Christ. The emperor of the Romans was delighted with the embassy and, after accepting to every request that was presented, dismissed the ambassadors. Thus did the Iberians receive the knowledge of Christ, and until this day they worship him carefully.</p>	<p>emperor, asking for teachers of religion. 1.24.11-13 The king accordingly dispatched an embassy for this purpose. The emperor Constantine, who was warmly attached to the cause of religion, when informed of the purport of the embassy, gladly welcomed the ambassadors and selected a bishop endowed with great faith, wisdom, and virtue. He presented him with many gifts and sent him to the Iberians, that he might make known to them the true God.</p>
<p>1.20.20 Rufinus says that he learned these facts from Bacurius, who was formerly one of the petty princes of the Iberians, but subsequently went over to the Romans and was made a captain of the military force in Palestine. Being at length entrusted with the supreme command in the war against the tyrant Maximus, he assisted the Emperor Theodosius. In this way then, during the days of Constantine, were the Iberians also converted to Christianity.</p>		
	<p>2.8.1 Subsequently the Christian religion became known to the neighboring tribes and was very greatly dispersed. The Armenians, I have understood, were the first to embrace Christianity. It is said that Tiridates, then the sovereign of that nation, became a Christian by means of a marvelous Divine sign which was wrought in his own house. 2.8.2a It is also said that he issued commands to all the subjects, by a herald, to adopt the same religion.</p>	
	<p>2.8.2b I think that the beginning of the conversion of the Persians is due to their exchange with the Osroenians and Armenians. For it is likely that they would converse with such Divine men and make experience of their virtue. 2.9.1a When, in course of time, the Christians increased in number, began to form churches, and appointed priests and deacons,</p>	
		<p>[Constantine's letter to Shapur II, asking him to end persecution of Christians] 1.25.1 Not content with having granted the requests of the Iberians, he of his own accord undertook the protection of the Christians in Persia. For, learning that they were persecuted by the heathens and that their king himself, a slave to error, was contriving various cunning plots for their destruction, he wrote to him, entreating him to embrace the Christian religion himself, as well as to honor its professors. His own letter will render his earnestness in the cause the plainer: In protecting the holy faith I enjoy the light of truth, and by following the light of truth I attain to fuller knowledge of the faith. Therefore, as facts prove, I recognize that most holy worship as teaching the knowledge of the most holy God. This service I profess. With the Power of this God for my ally, beginning at the furthest boundaries of the ocean, I have, one after another, quickened every part of the world with hope. Now all the peoples once enslaved by many tyrants, worn by their daily miseries, and almost extinct, have been kindled to fresh life by receiving the protection of the State. 1.25.2 The God I reverence is He whose emblem my dedicated troops bear on their shoulders, marching whithersoever the cause of justice leads them, and rewarding me by their splendid victories. I confess that I reverence this God with eternal remembrance. Him, who dwells in the highest heavens, I contemplate with pure and unpolluted mind. 1.25.3 On Him I call on bended knees, shunning all abominable blood, all unseemly and ill-omened odors, all fire of incantation, and all pollution by which unlawful and shameful error has destroyed whole nations and hurled them down to hell. 1.25.4 God does not permit those gifts which, in His beneficent Providence, He has bestowed upon men for the supply of their wants to be perverted according to every man's desire. He only requires of men a pure mind and a spotless soul, and by these He weighs their deeds</p>

		<p>of virtue and piety.</p> <p>1.25.5 He is pleased with gentleness and modesty. He loves the meek, and hates those who excite contentions; He loves faith, chastises unbelief; He breaks all power of boasting, and punishes the insolence of the proud. Men exalted with pride He utterly overthrows, and rewards the humble and the patient according to their deserts.</p> <p>1.25.6 Of a just sovereignty He makes much, strengthens it by His aid, and guards the counsels of Princes with the blessing of peace. I know that I am not in error, my brother, when I confess that this God is the Ruler and the Father of all men, a truth which many who preceded me upon the imperial throne were so deluded by error as to attempt to deny. But their end was so dreadful that they have become a fearful warning to all mankind, to deter others from similar iniquity.</p> <p>1.25.7 Of these I count that man one whom the wrath of God, like a thunderbolt, drove hence into your country, and who made notorious the memorial of his shame which exists in your own land. Indeed, it appears to have been well ordered that the age in which we live should be distinguished by the open and manifest punishments inflicted on such persons.</p> <p>1.25.8 I myself have witnessed the end of those who have persecuted the people of God by unlawful edicts. Hence it is that I more especially thank God for having now, by His special Providence, restored peace to those who observe His law, in which they exalt and rejoice.</p> <p>1.25.9 I am led to expect future happiness and security whenever God in His goodness unites all men in the exercise of the one pure and true religion.</p> <p>1.25.10 You may therefore well understand how exceedingly I rejoice to hear that the finest provinces of Persia are adorned abundantly with men of this class. I mean Christians; for it is of them I am speaking. All then is well with you and with them, for you will have the Lord of all merciful and beneficent to you.</p> <p>1.25.11 Since then you are so mighty and so pious, I commend the Christians to your care, and leave them in your protection. Treat them, I beseech you, with the affection that befits your goodness. Your fidelity in this respect will confer on yourself and on us inexpressible benefits.</p> <p>1.25.12 This excellent emperor felt so much solicitude for all who had embraced the true religion that he not only watched over those who were his own subjects, but also over the subjects of other sovereigns. For this reason he was blessed with the special protection of God, so that although he held the reins of the whole of Europe and of Africa, and the greater part of Asia, his subjects were all well-disposed to his rule and obedient to his government.</p> <p>1.25.13 Foreign nations submitted to his sway, some by voluntary submission, others overcome in war. Trophies were everywhere erected, and the emperor was styled Victorious. The praises of Constantine have, however, been proclaimed by many other writers. We must resume the thread of our history. This emperor, who deserves the highest fame, devoted his whole mind to matters worthy of the apostles.</p> <p>1.25.14 While men who had been admitted to the sacerdotal dignity not only neglected to edify the church, but endeavored to uproot it from the very foundations. They invented all manner of false accusations against those who governed the church in accordance with the doctrines taught by the apostles, and did their best to depose and banish them.</p> <p>1.25.15 Their envy was not satisfied by the infamous falsehood which they had invented against Eustathius, but they made use of every plan to effect the overthrow of another great bulwark of religion. These tragic occurrences I shall now relate as concisely as possible.</p>
<p>1.22.1 But amidst the good wheat, tares are accustomed to spring up; for envy loves to plot insidiously against the good. Hence it was that a little while before the time of Constantine, a species of</p>		

heathenish Christianity made its appearance together with that which was real; just as false prophets sprang up among the true, and false apostles among the true apostles.

1.22.2 For at that time a dogma of Empedocles, the heathen philosopher, by means of Manichaeus, assumed the form of Christian doctrine. Eusebius Pamphilus has indeed mentioned this person in the seventh book of his Ecclesiastical History, but has not entered into minute details concerning him.

1.22.3 Therefore, I deem it necessary on me to supply some particulars which he has left unnoticed: it will be known who this Manichaeus was, from where he came, and what was the nature of his presumptuous daring.

1.22.4 A Saracen named Scythian married a captive from the Upper Thebes. On her account he dwelt in Egypt. Having versed himself in the learning of the Egyptians, he subtly introduced the theory of Empedocles and Pythagoras among the doctrines of the Christian faith. Asserting that there were two natures, a good and an evil one. He termed, as Empedocles had done, the latter Discord, and the former Friendship. Of this Scythian, Buddas, who had been previously called Terebinthus, became a disciple. After proceeding to Babylon, which the Persians inhabit, he made many extravagant statements respecting himself, declaring that he was born of a virgin and brought up in the mountains.

1.22.5 The same man afterwards composed four books, one he entitled The Mysteries, another The Gospel, a third The Treasure, and the fourth Heads [Summaries]. But, pretending to perform some mystic rites, he was hurled down a precipice by a spirit and perished.

1.22.6 A certain woman at whose house he had lodged buried him. Taking possession of his property, she bought a boy about seven years old whose name was Cubricus. This lad she freed. After giving him a liberal education, she soon after died and left to him all that belonged to Terebinthus, including the books he had written on the principles taught by Scythian.

1.22.7 Cubricus, the freedman, took these things with him and withdrew into the regions of Persia, where he spread the books of Buddas or Terebinthus among his deluded followers as his own. He changed his name, calling himself Manes.

1.22.8 Now the contents of these treatises apparently agree with Christianity in expression, but are pagan in sentiment. For Manichaeus was an atheist and incited his disciples to acknowledge a plurality of gods, teaching them to worship the sun. He also introduced the doctrine of Fate, denying human free-will, and affirmed a transmutation of bodies, clearly following the opinions of Empedocles, Pythagoras, and the Egyptians. He denied that Christ existed in the flesh, asserting that he was an apparition. He rejected moreover the law and the prophets, calling himself the 'Comforter,' – all of which dogmas are totally at variance with the orthodox faith of the church. In his epistles he even dared to call himself an apostle.

1.22.9 But for a pretension so unfounded he brought upon himself merited retribution in the following manner.

1.22.10 The son of the Persian monarch having been attacked with disease, his father became anxious for his recovery and left no means untried in order to effect it. And as he had heard of the wonder-working of Manichaeus, and thinking that these miracles were real, he sent for him as an apostle, trusting that through him his son might be restored.

1.22.11 He accordingly presented himself at court. With his assumed manner he undertook the treatment of the young prince. But the king, seeing that the child died in his hands, shut up the deceiver in prison with the intention of putting him to death. However, he devised a way to escape and fled into Mesopotamia.

1.22.12 But the king of Persia, discovering that he was dwelling there, caused him to be brought to him by force. After flaying him alive, he stuffed his skin with chaff and suspended it in front of the gate of the city.

1.22.13 These things we state not having manufactured them ourselves, but collected from a book entitled The disputation of Archelaus bishop of Caschara (one of the cities of Mesopotamia). For Archelaus himself states that he disputed with Manichaeus face to face, and mentions the circumstances connected with his life to which we have now alluded.

1.22.14 Envy thus delights, as we before remarked, to be insidiously at work in the midst of a prosperous condition of affairs. But for what reason the goodness of God permits this to be done, whether he wishes by it to bring into activity the excellence of the principles of the church and to utterly break down the selfimportance which is wont to unite itself with faith or for what other cause, is, at the same time, a difficult question, and not relevant to the present discussion. For our object is neither to examine the soundness of doctrinal views nor to analyze the mysterious reasons for the providences and judgments of God, but to detail as faithfully as possible the history of transactions which have taken place in the churches.

1.22.15 The way in which the superstition of the Manichaeans sprang up a little before the time of Constantine has been thus described. Now let us return to the times and events which are the proper subjects of this history.

2.3.10 But I cannot omit mentioning the case of Aquilinus, who is even at the present time residing with us and who is an advocate in the same court of justice as that to which we belong. I shall relate what I heard from him concerning this occurrence and what I saw. Being attacked with a severe fever, arising from a yellowish bile, the physicians gave him some foreign drug to drink. This he vomited and, by the effort of vomiting, diffused the bile, which tinged his countenance with a yellow color. Thus he had to vomit all his food and drink. For a long time he remained in this state. Since his nourishment would not be quiet in him, the skill of the physicians was at a loss for the suffering.

2.3.11 Finding that he was already half dead, he commanded his servant to carry him to the house of prayer, for he affirmed earnestly that there he would either die or be freed from his disease. While he was lying there, a Divine Power appeared to him by night and commanded him to dip his foot in a confection made of honey, wine, and pepper. The man did so and was freed from his complaint, although the prescription was contrary to the professional rules of the physicians, a confection of so very hot a nature being considered adverse to a bilious disorder.

2.3.12 I have also heard that Probianus, one of the physicians of the palace, who was suffering greatly from a disease in the feet, likewise met with deliverance from sickness at this place and was accounted worthy of being visited with a wonderful and Divine vision. He had formerly been attached to the Pagan superstitions, but afterwards became a Christian. Yet, while he admitted in one way or another the probability of the rest of our doctrines, he could not understand how, by the Divine cross, the salvation of all is effected.

2.3.13 While his mind was in doubt on this subject, the symbol of the cross, which lay on the altar of this church, was pointed out to him in the Divine vision. He heard a voice openly declaring that, as Christ had been crucified on the cross, the necessities of the human race or of individuals, whatsoever they might be, could not be met by the ministration of Divine angels or of pious and good men. For that there was no power to rectify apart from the venerated cross. I have only recorded a few of the incidents which I know to have taken place in this temple, because there is not time to recount them all.

[Conversion begins among the Persians]

2.8.2b I think that the beginning of the conversion of the Persians was due to their exchange with the Osroenians and Armenians. For it is likely that they would converse with such Divine men and make experience of their virtue.

	<p>2.9.1a When, in course of time, the Christians increased in number, began to form churches, and appointed priests and deacons.</p>	
	<p>[Magi and Jews accuse Symeon of Seleucia and Ctesiphon] 2.9.1b The Magi, who as a priestly tribe had from the beginning in successive generations acted as the guardians of the Persian religion, became deeply incensed against them. The Jews, who through envy are in some way naturally opposed to the Christian religion, were likewise offended. They therefore brought accusations before Sapor, the reigning sovereign, against Symeon, who was then archbishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, royal cities of Persia. They charged him with being a friend of the Caesar of the Romans and with communicating the affairs of the Persians to him.</p>	
	<p>[Sapor levies taxes against Christians] 2.9.2a Sapor believed these accusations and at first, ground the Christians with excessive taxes, although he knew that the generality of them had voluntarily embraced poverty. He entrusted the exaction to cruel men, hoping that, by the want of necessaries and the atrocity of the exactors, they might be compelled to abjure their religion. This was his aim.</p>	
	<p>[Sapor orders clergy killed and churches demolished] 2.9.2b Afterwards, however, he commanded that the priests and conductors of the worship of God should be slain with the sword. The churches were demolished, their vessels were deposited in the treasury, and Symeon was arrested as a traitor to the kingdom and the religion of the Persians. 2.9.3a Thus the Magi, with the co-operation of the Jews, quickly destroyed the houses of prayer.</p>	
	<p>[Symeon's speech before Sapor] 2.9.3b Symeon, on his apprehension, was bound with chains, and brought before the king. There the man declared his excellence and courage. For when Sapor commanded that he should be led away to the torture, he did not fear and would not prostrate himself. 2.9.4 The king, greatly exasperated, demanded why he did not prostrate himself as he had done formerly. Symeon replied, "Formerly I was not led away bound in order that I might abjure the truth of God, and therefore I did not then object to pay the customary respect to royalty. But now it would not be proper for me to do so, for I stand here in defense of godliness and of our opinion." 2.9.5 When he ceased speaking, the king commanded him to worship the sun, promising, as an inducement, to bestow gifts upon him and to hold him in honor, but on the other hand, threatening, in case of non-compliance, to visit him and the whole body of Christians with destruction. When the king found that he neither frightened him by menaces nor caused him to relax by promises, and that Symeon remained firm and refused to worship the sun or to betray his religion, he commanded him to be put in bonds for a while, probably imagining that he would change his mind.</p>	
	<p>[The lapsed Usthazanes is reconverted and martyred] 2.9.6 When Symeon was being conducted to prison, Usthazanes, an aged eunuch, the foster-father of Sapor and superintendent of the palace, who happened to be sitting at the gates of the palace, arose to do him reverence. Symeon reproachfully forbade him in a loud and haughty voice, averted his countenance, and passed by. For the eunuch had been formerly a Christian, but had recently yielded to authority and had worshiped the sun. 2.9.7 This conduct so affected the eunuch that he wept aloud, laid aside the white garment with which he was robed, and clothed himself, as a mourner, in black. He then seated himself in front of the palace, crying and groaning, and saying, 'Woe is me! What must not await me since I have denied God; and on this account Symeon, formerly my familiar friend, does not think me worthy of being spoken to, but turns away and hastens from me.' When Sapor heard of what had occurred, he called the eunuch to him and inquired into the cause of his grief. He asked him whether any calamity had befallen his family.</p>	

2.9.8 Usthazanes replied and said, 'O king, nothing has occurred to my family. But I would rather have suffered any other affliction whatsoever than that which has befallen me, and it would have been easy to bear. Now I mourn because I am alive and ought to have been dead long ago; yet I still see the sun which, not voluntarily, but to please thee, I professed to worship. Therefore, on both accounts, it is just that I should die, for I have been a betrayer of Christ and a deceiver of thee.' He then swore by the Maker of heaven and earth that he would never swerve from his convictions.

2.9.9 Sapor, astonished at the wonderful conversion of the eunuch, was still more enraged against the Christians, as if they had effected it by enchantments. Still, he spared the old man and strove with all his strength, by alternate gentleness and harshness, to bring him over to his own sentiments.

2.9.10 But finding that his efforts were useless, and that Usthazanes persisted in declaring that he would never be so foolish as to worship the creature instead of the creator, he became inflamed with passion and commanded that the eunuch's head should be struck off with a sword. When the executioners came forward to perform their office, Usthazanes requested them to wait a little, that he might communicate something to the king.

2.9.11 He then called one of the most faithful eunuchs, and bade him say to Sapor, 'From my youth until now I have been well disposed, O king, to your house, and have ministered with fitting diligence to your father and yourself. I need no witnesses to corroborate my statements; these facts are well established. For all the matters in which at diverse times I have gladly served you, grant me this reward: let it not be imagined by those who are ignorant of the circumstances that I have incurred this punishment by acts of unfaithfulness against the kingdom, or by the commission of any other crime.'

2.9.12 But let it be published and proclaimed abroad by a herald, that Usthazanes loses his head for no knavery that he has ever committed in the palaces, but for being a Christian and for refusing to obey the king in denying his own God.'

2.9.13 The eunuch delivered this message, and Sapor, according to the request of Usthazanes, commanded a herald to make the desired proclamation. For the king imagined that others would be easily deterred from embracing Christianity, by reflecting that he who sacrificed his aged foster-father and esteemed household servant would assuredly spare no other Christian. Usthazanes, however, believed that as by his timidity in consenting to worship the sun, he had caused many Christians to fear. So now, by the diligent proclamation of the cause of his sufferings, many might be edified by learning that he died for the sake of religion and so might become imitators of his fortitude.

[Symeon and many other Christians are executed by Sapor in Persia]

2.10.1 In this manner the honorable life of Usthazanes was terminated. When the intelligence was brought to Symeon in the prison, he offered thanksgiving to God on his account. The following day, which happened to be the sixth day of the week, and likewise the day on which, as immediately preceding the festival of the resurrection, the annual memorial of the passion of the Savior is celebrated, the king issued orders for the decapitation of Symeon. For he had again been conducted to the palace from the prison, had reasoned most nobly with Sapor on points of doctrine, and had expressed a determination never to worship either the king or the sun.

2.10.2 On the same day a hundred other prisoners were ordered to be slain. Symeon beheld their execution, and last of all he was put to death. Amongst these victims were bishops, presbyters, and other clergy of different grades.

2.10.3 As they were being led out to execution, the chief of the Magi approached them, and asked them whether they would preserve their

lives by conforming to the religion of the king and by worshiping the sun. As none of them would comply with this condition, they were conducted to the place of execution, and the executioners applied themselves to the task of slaying these martyrs.

2.10.4 Symeon, standing by those who were to be slain, encouraged them to be steadfast and reasoned with them concerning death, the resurrection, and piety. He showed them from the sacred Scriptures that a death like theirs is true life; whereas to live, and through fear to deny God, is as truly death. He told them, too, that even if no one were to slay them, death would inevitably overtake them; for our death is a natural consequence of our birth. The things after those of this life are perpetual and do not happen alike to all men. But, as if measured by some rule, they must give an accurate account of the course of life here. Each one who did well will receive immortal rewards and will escape the punishments of those who did the opposite. He likewise told them that the greatest and happiest of all good actions is to die for the cause of God.

2.10.5 While Symeon was pursuing such themes, and like a household attendant, was exhorting them about the manner in which they were to go into the conflicts, each one listened and spiritedly went to the slaughter. After the executioner had despatched a hundred, Symeon himself was slain; and Abedechalaas and Anannias, two aged presbyters of his own church, who had been his fellow-prisoners, suffered with him.

[Sapor murders many Christians, including high-ranking officials]

2.11.1 Pusices, the superintendent of the king's artisans, was present at the execution. Perceiving that Anannias trembled as the necessary preparations for his death were being made, he said to him, 'O old man, close your eyes for a little while and be of good courage, for you will soon behold the light of Christ.' No sooner had he uttered these words than he was arrested and conducted before the king.

2.11.2 And as he frankly avowed himself a Christian and spoke with great freedom to the king concerning his opinion and the martyrs, he was condemned to an extraordinary and most cruel death, because it was not lawful to address the king with such boldness. The executioners pierced the muscles of his neck in such a manner as to extract his tongue. On the charge of some people, his daughter, who had devoted herself to a life of holy virginity, was arraigned and executed at the same time.

2.11.3 The following year, on the day on which the passion of Christ was commemorated and when preparations were being made for the celebration of the festival commemorative of his resurrection from the dead, Sapor issued a most cruel edict throughout Persia, condemning to death all those who should confess themselves to be Christians. It is hid that a greater number of Christians suffered by the sword.

2.11.4 For the Magi sought diligently in the cities and villages for those who had concealed themselves. Many voluntarily surrendered themselves, lest they should appear, by their silence, to deny Christ. Of the Christians who were thus unsparingly sacrificed, many who were attached to the palace were slain, and amongst these was Azades, a eunuch, who was especially beloved by the king.

2.11.5 On hearing of his death, Sapor was overwhelmed with grief, and put a stop to the general slaughter of the Christians; and he directed that the teachers of religion should alone be slain.

[Tarbula executed on false charges]

2.12.1 About the same period the queen was attacked with a disease. Tarbula, the sister of Symeon the bishop, a holy virgin, was arrested with her servant, who shared in the same mode of life. In the same way a sister of Tarbula who, after the death of her husband, abjured marriage and led a similar career. The cause of their arrest was the charge of the Jews, who reported that they had injured the queen by their enchantments, on account of their rage at the death of Symeon.

2.12.2 As invalids easily give credit to the most repulsive

representations, the queen believed the charge, and especially because it came from the Jews. Since she had embraced their sentiments and lived in the observance of the Jewish rites, she had great confidence in their veracity and in their attachment to herself. The Magi seized Tarbula and her companions and condemned them to death. After having sawn them asunder, they fastened them up to poles and made the queen pass through the midst of the poles as a medium for turning away the disease.

2.12.3 It is said that this Tarbula was beautiful and very stately in form, and that one of the Magi, having become deeply enamored with her, secretly sent a proposal for intercourse. He promised as a reward to save her and her companions if she would consent. But she would give no ear to his debauchery, treated the Magi with scorn, and rebuked his lust. She would rather prefer courageously to die than to betray her virginity.

[Persian persecution restricted to clergy]

2.12.4 As it was ordained by the edict of Sapor, which we mentioned above, that the Christians should not be slaughtered indiscriminately, but that the priests and teachers of the opinions should be slain, the Magi and Arch-Magi traversed the whole country of Persia, studiously maltreating the bishops and presbyters. They sought them especially in the country of Adiabene, a part of the Persian dominions, because it was wholly Christianized.

[Martyrdom of St. Aceptsimas and hundreds of others in Persia]

2.13.1 About this period they arrested Aceptsimas the bishop and many of his clergy. After having taken counsel together, they satisfied themselves with the hunt after the leader only; they dismissed the rest after they had taken away their property.

2.13.2 James, however, who was one of the presbyters, voluntarily followed Aceptsimas, obtained permission from the Magi to share his prison, and spiritedly ministered to the old man. He lightened his misfortunes as far as he was able and dressed his wounds. For not long after his apprehension the Magi had injuriously tortured him with raw thongs in forcing him to worship the sun. On his refusal to do so had retained him again in bonds.

2.13.3 Two presbyters named Aithalas and James, and two deacons, by name Azadanes and Abdiesus, after being scourged most injuriously by the Magi, were compelled to live in prison, on account of their opinions. After a long time had elapsed the great ArchMagi communicated to the king the facts about them to be punished. After receiving permission to deal with them as he pleased, unless they would consent to worship the sun, he made known this decision of Sapor's to the prisoners.

2.13.4 They replied openly that they would never betray the cause of Christ nor worship the sun. So he tortured them unsparingly. Aceptsimas persevered in the manly confession of his faith, till death put an end to his torments. Certain Armenians, whom the Persians retained as hostages, secretly carried away his body and buried it.

2.13.5 The other prisoners, although not less scourged, lived as by a miracle. And because they would not change their judgment, were again put in bonds. Among these was Aithalas, who was stretched out while thus beaten, and his arms were torn out of his shoulders by the very great wrench. He carried his hands about as dead and swinging loosely, so that others had to convey food to his mouth.

2.13.6 Under this rule, an innumerable multitude of presbyters, deacons, monks, holy virgins, and others who served the churches and were set apart for its dogma, terminated their lives by martyrdom.

2.13.7 The following are the names of the bishops, so far as I have been able to ascertain: Barbasymes, Paulus, Gaddiabes, Sabinus, Mareas, Mocius, John, Hormisdas, Papas, James, Romas, Maares, Agas, Bochres, Abdas, Abdiesus, John, Abramins, Agdelas, Sapoires, Isaac, and Dausas. The latter had been made prisoner by the Persians, and brought from a place named Zabdaeus. He died about this time in defense of the dogma. And Mareabdes, a chorepiscopus, and about two hundred and fifty of his clergy, who had also been captured by the

	<p>Persians, suffered with him.</p> <p>[Milles and 16,000 more martyrs in Persia under Sapor] 2.14.1 About this period Milles suffered martyrdom. He originally served the Persians in a military capacity, but afterwards abandoned that vocation, in order to embrace the apostolical mode of life. It is related that he was ordained bishop over a Persian city, underwent a variety of sufferings, and endured wounds and drawings. It is also said that, failing in his efforts to convert the inhabitants to Christianity, he uttered imprecations against the city and departed. 2.14.2 Not long after some of the principal citizens offended the king, and an army with three hundred elephants was sent against them. The city was utterly demolished and its land was ploughed and sown. 2.14.3 Milles, taking with him only his wallet, in which was the holy Book of the Gospels, repaired to Jerusalem in prayer. From there he proceeded to Egypt in order to see the monks. The extraordinary and admirable works which we have heard that he accomplished are attested by the Syrians, who have written an account of his actions and life. 2.14.4 For my own part, I think that I have said enough of him and of the other martyrs who suffered in Persia during the reign of Sapor. For it would be difficult to relate in detail every circumstance respecting them, such as their names, their country, the mode of completing their martyrdom, and the species of torture to which they were subjected. They are innumerable, since such methods are jealously affected by the Persians, even to the extreme of cruelty. 2.14.5 I shall briefly state that the number of men and women whose names have been confirmed, and who were martyred at this period, have been computed to be sixteen thousand. Because the multitude outside of these is beyond enumeration, to reckon off their names appeared difficult to the Persians and Syrians and to the inhabitants of Edessa, who have devoted much care to this matter.</p>	
	<p>[Constantine writes to Sapor to stop the Persecution of the Christians]</p> <p>2.15.1 Constantine the Roman emperor was angry and bore it ill when he heard of the sufferings to which the Christians were exposed in Persia. He desired most anxiously to render them assistance, yet knew not in what way to effect this object. About this time some ambassadors from the Persian king arrived at his court. 2.15.2a After granting their requests and dismissing them, he thought it would be a favorable opportunity to address Sapor in behalf of the Christians in Persia and wrote to him, confessing that it would be a very great and forever indescribable favor if he would be humane to those who admired the teaching of the Christians under him:</p>	
	<p>2.15.2b 'There is nothing in their religion,' said he, 'of a reprehensible nature; by bloodless prayers alone do they offer supplication to God, for he delights not in the outpouring of blood, but taketh pleasure only in a pure soul devoted to virtue and to religion; so that they who believe these things are worthy of commendation.'</p> <p>2.15.3 The emperor then assured Sapor that God would be favorable to him if he treated the Christians with compassion, and cited the example of Valerian and of himself in proof of this. He had himself, by faith in Christ and by the aid of Divine inclination, come forth from the shores of the Western ocean, reduced to obedience the whole of the Roman world, and had terminated many wars against foreigners and usurpers. Yet he never had recourse to sacrifices or divinations, but had for victory used only the symbol of the Cross at the head of his own armies, and prayer pure from blood and defilement. 2.15.4 The reign of Valerian was prosperous so long as he refrained from persecuting the Church. But afterwards he began a persecution against the Christians and was delivered by Divine vengeance into the hands of the Persians, w chorepiscopus ho took him prisoner and put him to a cruel death.</p>	<p>[Constantine's letter to Shapur II, asking him to end persecution of Christians]</p> <p>1.25.1 Not content with having granted the requests of the Iberians, he of his own accord undertook the protection of the Christians in Persia; for, learning that they were persecuted by the heathens, and that their king himself, a slave to error, was contriving various cunning plots for their destruction, he wrote to him, entreating him to embrace the Christian religion himself, as well as to honour its professors. His own letter will render his earnestness in the cause the plainer: In protecting the holy faith I enjoy the light of truth, and by following the light of truth I attain to fuller knowledge of the faith. Therefore, as facts prove, I recognize that most holy worship as teaching the knowledge of the most holy God. This service I profess. With the Power of this God for my ally, beginning at the furthest boundaries of the ocean, I have, one after another, quickened every part of the world with hope. Now all the peoples once enslaved by many tyrants, worn by their daily miseries, and almost extinct, have been kindled to fresh life by receiving the protection of the State. 1.25.2 The God I reverence is He whose emblem my dedicated troops bear on their shoulders, marching whithersoever the cause of justice</p>

leads them, and rewarding me by their splendid victories. I confess that I reverence this God with eternal remembrance. Him, who dwells in the highest heavens, I contemplate with pure and unpolluted mind.

1.25.3 On Him I call on bended knees, shunning all abominable blood, all unseemly and ill-omened odors, all fire of incantation, and all pollution by which unlawful and shameful error has destroyed whole nations and hurled them down to hell.

1.25.4 God does not permit those gifts which, in His beneficent Providence, He has bestowed upon men for the supply of their wants to be perverted according to every man's desire. He only requires of men a pure mind and a spotless soul, and by these He weighs their deeds of virtue and piety.

1.25.5 He is pleased with gentleness and modesty. He loves the meek, and hates those who excite contentions; He loves faith, chastises unbelief; He breaks all power of boasting, and punishes the insolence of the proud. Men exalted with pride He utterly overthrows, and rewards the humble and the patient according to their deserts.

1.25.6 Of a just sovereignty He makes much, strengthens it by His aid, and guards the counsels of Princes with the blessing of peace. I know that I am not in error, my brother, when I confess that this God is the Ruler and the Father of all men, a truth which many who preceded me upon the imperial throne were so deluded by error as to attempt to deny. But their end was so dreadful that they have become a fearful warning to all mankind, to deter others from similar iniquity.

1.25.7 Of these I count that man one whom the wrath of God, like a thunderbolt, drove hence into your country, and who made notorious the memorial of his shame which exists in your own land. Indeed, it appears to have been well ordered that the age in which we live should be distinguished by the open and manifest punishments inflicted on such persons.

1.25.8 I myself have witnessed the end of those who have persecuted the people of God by unlawful edicts. Hence it is that I more especially thank God for having now, by His special Providence, restored peace to those who observe His law, in which they exalt and rejoice.

1.25.9 I am led to expect future happiness and security whenever God in His goodness unites all men in the exercise of the one pure and true religion.

1.25.10 You may therefore well understand how exceedingly I rejoice to hear that the finest provinces of Persia are adorned abundantly with men of this class. I mean Christians; for it is of them I am speaking. All then is well with you and with them, for you will have the Lord of all merciful and beneficent to you.

1.25.11 Since then you are so mighty and so pious, I commend the Christians to your care, and leave them in your protection. Treat them, I beseech you, with the affection that befits your goodness. Your fidelity in this respect will confer on yourself and on us inexpressible benefits.

1.25.12 This excellent emperor felt so much solicitude for all who had embraced the true religion that he not only watched over those who were his own subjects, but also over the subjects of other sovereigns. For this reason he was blessed with the special protection of God, so that although he held the reins of the whole of Europe and of Africa, and the greater part of Asia, his subjects were all well-disposed to his rule and obedient to his government.

1.25.13 Foreign nations submitted to his sway, some by voluntary submission, others overcome in war. Trophies were everywhere erected, and the emperor was styled Victorious. The praises of Constantine have, however, been proclaimed by many other writers. We must resume the thread of our history. This emperor, who deserves the highest fame, devoted his whole mind to matters worthy of the apostles.

1.25.14 While men who had been admitted to the sacerdotal dignity not only neglected to edify the church, but endeavored to uproot it from the very foundations. They invented all manner of false accusations against those who governed the church in accordance with the

		<p>doctrines taught by the apostles, and did their best to depose and banish them.</p> <p>1.25.15 Their envy was not satisfied by the infamous falsehood which they had invented against Eustathius, but they made use of every plan to effect the overthrow of another great bulwark of religion. These tragic occurrences I shall now relate as concisely as possible.</p>
	<p>2.15.5 It was in this strain that Constantine wrote to Sapor, urging him to be well-disposed to this religion. For the emperor extended his watchful care over all the Christians of every region, whether Roman or foreign.</p>	