

EUSEBIUS

THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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τῶν ἡπατημένων, περιπαγγών δ' αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐρημίας εἰς τὸ Ἐλαιῶν καλούμενον ὄρος, ἐκείθεν οἶός τε ἦν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παρελθεῖν βιάζεσθαι καὶ κρατήσας τῆς τε Ῥωμαϊκῆς φρουρᾶς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τυραννικῶς χρώμενος τοῖς συνεισπεσοῦσαν δορυφόροις. φθάσει δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ὄρμηγν² Φηλίξ, ὑπαντίαςας μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ὄπλητων, καὶ πᾶς ὁ δήμος συνεφήγητο τῆς ἀμύνης, ὥστε συμβολῆς γενομένης τὸν μὲν Αἰγύπτιον φυγεῖν μετ' ὀλίγων, διαφθαρήναι δὲ καὶ ζωνρηθῆναι πλείστους τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ.

Ταῦτα ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν ὁ Ἰώσηπος³ ἐπιστήσας δὲ ἀξίον τοῖς ἐνταῦθα κατὰ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον δεδηλωμένοις καὶ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἔθβα κατὰ Φηλῖκα πρὸς τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις χιλιάρχου εἰρηται τῷ Παύλῳ, ὅπηνίκα κατεστασίαξεν αὐτοῦ τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πλῆθος. "οὐκ ἄρα σὺ εἶ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ὁ πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀναστατάσας καὶ ἐξαγαγῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τοὺς τετρακαχιλίους ἀνδρας τῶν σικαρίων;" ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Φηλῖκα τοιαῦτα.

Acts 25, 8-12; 27. 1 XXII. Τούτου δὲ Φηῖτος ὑπὸ Νέρωνος διάδοχος¹ πέμπεται, καθ' ὃν δικαιολογησάμενος ὁ Παῦλος δέξιμος ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἀγεται. Ἀριστάρχος αὐτῷ συνῆν, ὃν καὶ εἰκότως συναχιμάλωτον που τῶν ἐπιτοκῶν ἀποκαλεῖ. καὶ Λουκάς, ὁ καὶ τὰς πρᾶξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων γραφῆ παραδοῦς, ἐν τούτοις κατέλυσε τὴν ἱστορίαν, διετίαν ὄλην ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης τὸν Παῦλον ἀνετον διατρήσαι καὶ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον ἀκωλύτως κηρύξαι ἐπισημηνάμενος τότε μὲν οὖν ἀπολογησάμενον, αὐθις² ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος διακονίαν λόγος ἔχει 164

led them round from the wilderness to the mount called Olivet, where he was in a position to force an entry into Jerusalem and overpower the Roman garrison and the people by a despotic use of the soldiers who had joined him. But Felix, anticipating his attack, met him with the Roman forces, and all the people agreed in the defence, so that when battle was joined the Egyptian fled with a few men and the greater part of those with him were destroyed or captured."

Josephus relates this in the second book of the *Wars*, but it is worth noting what is said about the Egyptian there and in the Acts of the Apostles, where, in the time of Felix, the centurion at Jerusalem said to Paul, when the mob of the Jews was rioting against him, "Art thou not that Egyptian who before these days made an uproar and led out in the wilderness four thousand men of the Sicarii? " Such was the course of events under Felix.

XXII. Festus was sent as his successor by Nero, and Paul was tried before him and taken as a prisoner to Rome; Aristarchus was with him, and he naturally called him his fellow-prisoner in a passage in the Epistles. Luke also, who committed the Acts of the Apostles to writing, finished his narrative at this point by the statement that Paul spent two whole years in Rome in freedom, and preached the word of God without hindrance. Tradition has it that after defending himself the Apostle was again sent

¹ The Sicarii were the special group of revolutionaries in Jerusalem who practised the assassination of their opponents by means of a short dagger or *sica* which could be conveniently concealed in the sleeve, see p. 163.

υπελάσθαι τὸν ἀπόστολον, δεύτερον δ' ἐπιβάντα τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν τελειωθῆναι μαρτυρίῳ· ἐν ᾧ δεσμοῖς ἐχόμενος, τὴν πρὸς Τιμόθεον δευτέραν ἐπιστολὴν συντάττει, ὁμοῦ σημαίνων τὴν τε προτέραν αὐτῷ γενομένην ἀπολογίαν καὶ τὴν παρὰ πόδας τελείωσιν. δέχου δὴ καὶ³ τούτων τὰς αὐτοῦ μαρτυρίας· “ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ μου, φησὶν, “ ἀπολογία οὐδεὶς μοι παρεγένετο, ἀλλὰ πάντες με ἐγκατέλιπον (μὴ αὐτοῖς λογισθῆι), ὁ δὲ κύριός μοι παρέστη καὶ ἐνεδυνάμωσέν με, ἵνα δι' ἔμοῦ τὸ κήρυγμα πληροφορηθῆ καὶ ἀκούσῃσι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ ἐρρῦσθην ἐκ στόματος λέοντος.” σαφῶς δὴ παρίστησιν διὰ τούτων⁴ ὅτι δὴ τὸ πρότερον, ὡς ἂν τὸ κήρυγμα τὸ δι' αὐτοῦ πληρωθῆι, ἐρρῦσθην ἐκ στόματος λέοντος, τὸν Νέρωνα ταύτη, ὡς ἔοικεν, διὰ τὸ ὠμόθυμον προσειπῶν. οὐκ οὐκ ἐξῆς προστέθεικε παραπλήσιόν τι τῷ “ ῥύσεταιί με ἐκ στόματος λέοντος.”; ἑώρα γὰρ τῷ πνεύματι τὴν ὅσον οὕτω μέλλουσαν αὐτοῦ τελευτήν, δι' ὃ φησιν ἐπι-⁵ λέγων τῷ “ καὶ ἐρρῦσθην ἐκ στόματος λέοντος.” τὸ “ ῥύσεταιί με ὁ κύριος ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ καὶ σώσει εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἑπουράνιον,” σημαίνων τὸ παραυτίκα μαρτύριον.⁶ ὁ καὶ σαφέστερον ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ προλέγει γραφῇ, φάσκων “ ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη σπένδομαι, καὶ ὁ καιρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀναλύσεως ἐφέστηκεν.”¹ ἵν μὲν οὖν⁶ ἐπὶ τῆς δευτέρας ἐπιστολῆς τῶν πρὸς Τιμόθεον τὸν Λουκᾶν μόνον γράφοντι αὐτῷ συνειναι δηλοῦ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν προτέραν ἀπολογίαν οὐδὲ τοῦτον· ὄθεν εἰκότως τὰς τῶν ἀποστόλων Πράξεις ἐπ’

¹ Cf. George Syncellus 634, 13-635, 21.

on the ministry of preaching, and coming a second time to the same city suffered martyrdom under Nero. During this imprisonment he wrote the second Epistle to Timothy, indicating at the same time that his first defence had taken place and that his martyrdom was at hand. Notice his testimony on this point: “At my first defence,” he says, “no man was with me, but all deserted me (may it not be laid to their charge), but the Lord stood by me and strengthened me that the preaching might be fulfilled by me and all the Gentiles might hear, and I was delivered from the lion’s mouth.” He clearly proves by this that on the first occasion, in order that the preaching which took place through him might be fulfilled, he was delivered from the lion’s mouth, apparently referring to Nero thus for his ferocity. He does not go on to add any such words as “he will deliver me from the lion’s mouth,” for he saw in the spirit that his death was all but at hand, wherefore after the words “And I was delivered from the lion’s mouth,” he goes on to say, “The Lord will deliver me from all evil and save me for his heavenly kingdom,” indicating his impending martyrdom. And this he foretells even more clearly in the same writing, saying, “For I am already offered up and the time of my release is at hand.” Now in the second Epistle of those to Timothy, he states that only Luke was with him as he wrote, and at his first defence not even he; wherefore Luke probably wrote the Acts of the Apostles at that time, carrying

ἐκείνου ὁ Λουκᾶς περιέγραψε τὸν χρόνον, τὴν μέχρως ὅτε τῷ Παύλῳ συνῆν ἱστορίαν ὑφηγησάμενος. ταῦτα δ' ἡμῖν εἴρηται παρισταμένους ὅτι ἤμῃ καθ' ἣν ὁ Λουκᾶς ἀνέγραψεν ἐπὶ τῆς 'Ρώμης ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ Παύλου τὸ μαρτύριον αὐτῷ συν-επερᾶνθη· εἰκὸς γέ τοι κατὰ μὲν ἀρχὰς ἠπιώτερον τοῦ Νέρωνος διακειμένου, ῥᾶου τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δόγματος τοῦ Παύλου καταδεχθῆναι ἀπολογίαν, προελθόντος δ' εἰς ἀβελήτους τόλμας, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὰ κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγχειρηθῆναι.

Acts 23, 11. XXIII. Ἰουδαῖοί γε μὴν τοῦ Παύλου Καίσαρα ἑπικαλεσαμένου ἐπὶ τε τὴν 'Ρωμαίων πόλιν ὑπὸ Φήστου παραπεμφθέντος, τῆς ἐλπίδος καθ' ἣν ἐξήρτων αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ἀποπεσόντες, ἐπὶ Ἰακωβον τὸν τοῦ κυρίου τρέπονται ἀδελφοί, ᾧ πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ἐν Ἱερουσολύμοις ἐγκεκείριστο θρόνος. τοιαῦτα δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ κατὰ τούτου τολμᾶται. εἰς μέσον αὐτῶν ἀγαγόντες ἄρνησαν τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πίστεως ἐπὶ παντὸς ἐξήτουν τοῦ λαοῦ· τοῦ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἀπάντων γνώμην ἐλευθέρᾳ φωνῇ καὶ μάλλον ἢ προσεδόκησαν ἐπὶ τῆς πλῆθυσ ἀπάσης παρηγοασαμένου καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος ὡς εἶναι θεοῦ τὸν σωτήρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν, μηκέθ' οἱότε τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μαρτυρίαν φέρειν τῷ καὶ διακρίνατον αὐτὸν παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν δι' ἀκρότητα ἥς μετῆι κατὰ τὸν βίον φιλοσοφίας τε καὶ θεοσεβείας πιστεύεσθαι, κτείνουσι, καιρὸν εἰς ἐξουσίαν λαβόντες τὴν ἀναρχίαν, ὅτι δι' αὐτοῦ Φήστου κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦ καιροῦ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας τελευτήσαντος, ἀναρχα καὶ ἀνεπιτρόπευτα τὰ τῆς αὐτοῦθι διοικήσεως καθειστήκει. τὸν δὲ τῆς τοῦ Ἰακώβου 3

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down his narrative until the time when he was with Paul. We have said this to show that Paul's martyrdom was not accomplished during the sojourn in Rome which Luke describes. Probably at the beginning Nero's disposition was gentler and it was easier for Paul's defence on behalf of his views to be received, but as he advanced towards reckless crime the Apostles were attacked along with the rest.

XXIII. When Paul appealed to Caesar and was sent over to Rome by Festus the Jews were disappointed of the hope in which they had laid their plot against him and turned against James, the brother of the Lord, to whom the throne of the bishopric in Jerusalem had been allotted by the Apostles. The crime which they committed was as follows. They brought him into the midst and demanded a denial of the faith in Christ before all the people, but when he, contrary to the expectation of all of them, with a loud voice and with more courage than they had expected, confessed before all the people that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is the son of God, they could no longer endure his testimony, since he was by all men believed to be most righteous because of the height which he had reached in a life of philosophy and religion, and killed him, using anarchy as an opportunity for power since at that moment Festus had died in Judaea, leaving the district without government or procurator. The manner of

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