

## **Anonymous Church History (CPG 6034)**

[often falsely attributed to Gelasius of Cyzicus]

Translated by Robert Read and Philip Balge from the text of G. C. Hansen<sup>1</sup>  
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### **An Account of the Holy Synod at Nicaea**

About the things which the heretics argued against the holy fathers,  
and the proclamation of the victorious orthodox teaching

### **Book 3**

#### **The efforts of pious Emperor Constantine after the great council in Nicaea**

- 3.1.1 We have presented the events in the first and second books of our church history sequentially. We began with the reign of victorious Emperor Constantine, who was inspired by Christ. We covered everything from then until the end of the negotiations at the holy council in Nicaea. We have thus given a sense of what has happened, from the siege laid against the churches of God by God-hating tyrants to the humiliating downfall of the same ungodly tyrants.
- 3.1.2 Christ, the bridegroom of the church, nobly armed his worthy servant Constantine with the weapon of his dear cross and arose against those ungodly men.
- 3.1.3 So he gave him the trophy of victory against those tyrants, put them all to death under the feet of God-loving Constantine, and through him granted profound peace from above to the churches throughout his empire.
- 3.1.4 Afterwards, that hostile demon who hates good again set a scheme in motion to oppose that peace through wicked Arius.
- 3.1.5 Because of him and because of the ungodly blasphemies he spoke against the Son of God, God arranged the holy great ecumenical council in Nicaea through his servant, the God-loving Emperor Constantine.
- 3.1.6 By the grace of Christ our God, we have to the best of our ability clearly presented the business the Holy Spirit carried out at the council through the holy, orthodox high priests there, three hundred in number.

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<sup>1</sup> Hansen, G.C. ed. *Anonyme Kirchengeschichte:(Gelasius Cyzicenus, CPG 6034)*. GCS, N.F. 9. Berlin: DeGruyter, 2002.

- 3.1.7 So I will proceed from here with an account of the emperor's piety and how he was constantly concerned for the churches of God.
- 3.2.1 His burning zeal for Christianity was so immensely strong as to lead all outsiders to true knowledge of the living God. For he wrote to all the peoples subject to Roman authority, and he encouraged them, first, with an exhortation to be released from the earlier deception, then with an appeal that they turn themselves over to the teaching of God our Savior and all return to the truth. He acted more like an apostle than an emperor.
- 3.2.2 He urged the bishops in each city to build churches not only by enjoining them with letters but also by eagerly giving money and defraying the expenses of building. His letter explains this as follows:<sup>2</sup>
- 3.3.1 "Victor Constantinus Maximus Augustus, to Eusebius. Up to the present day, impious plans and tyranny are pursuing the servants of our God and Savior. I believe and am thoroughly convinced, dear brother, that the holy buildings of all the churches have either completely crumbled from neglect or have received less than proper care due to fear of impending danger.
- 3.3.2 But now freedom has been restored, and that dragon has been driven out from government of the state by the wise God's providence through our service. I believe that God has made his power obvious to everyone and that those who previously had embraced fear, unbelief, or any other sin but have come to know him who truly is God will come to the true and right faith and way of living.
- 3.3.3 Therefore if any churches are under your authority, or if you know other bishops, priests, and deacons in authority in each place, remind them to zealously undertake the work of building the churches. Let them repair or enlarge existing buildings, and let them build new ones wherever necessary.
- 3.3.4 You should request from the governors and the prefect's office whatever supplies you and the others need. They have received orders to do whatever your holiness commands with utmost zeal. May God preserve you, dear brother."
- 3.3.5 The emperor sent these instructions for building churches to Eusebius Pamphili and to the bishops in authority in each province.
- 3.3.6 Moreover, one can easily ascertain his written instructions to Eusebius of Palestine for preparing copies of the holy books from the letter itself:<sup>3</sup>
- 3.4.1 "Victor Constantinus Maximus Augustus, to Bishop Eusebius. In the city which bears our name, many people, gathered through God's gracious care, have entrusted

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<sup>2</sup> The following letter is also preserved in Eusebius, *Vita Const.* 2.46; Socrates 1.9.46-49; Theodoret 1.15.1-2.

<sup>3</sup> The following letter is also preserved in Eusebius, *Vita Const.* 4.36; Socrates 1.9.50-55; Theodoret 1.16.1-4.

themselves to the holy church so that everything there grows rapidly. We thought it quite appropriate to build more churches there.

- 3.4.2 Therefore joyfully undertake the course of action we have chosen. It seemed proper to us to instruct your prudence to order fifty copies of the Holy Scriptures on fine parchment, easy to read and of portable size. They should be copied by skilled calligraphers well-versed in their craft. You know that they must be prepared and used for reading in the church.
- 3.4.3 Our clemency has sent a letter to the accountant of the diocese, instructing him to take care to supply everything necessary for the job.
- 3.4.4 Diligently see to it that the manuscripts are completed as quickly as possible. With this letter we authorize you to use two public carriages to transport them.
- 3.4.5 Thus the fair manuscripts may easily be brought for us to inspect them, once one of your church's deacons has completed this task. When he comes to us, we will make our kindness evident to him. May God preserve you, dear brother."
- 3.4.6 This is enough to indicate, rather, to clearly prove how the praiseworthy emperor directed all his zeal toward religious matters, as we have said above.
- 3.4.7 To what has been said I will nevertheless add his successful efforts in connection with the tomb of the Savior. When he learned that fanatics obsessed with the worship of idols had heaped up dirt over the Lord's tomb, eager to destroy any memory of his saving work for mankind, and had built above it a temple to the licentious goddess Aphrodite, the faithful emperor gave the command to tear down that foul structure as soon as possible, to carry away the soil which accursed sacrifices had defiled, to dispose of it somewhere far from the city, and then to build a large and beautiful temple for our God and Savior.
- 3.4.8 This is all made quite clear in the God-loving emperor's letter to the head of that church (I mean the one in Jerusalem), Macarius, whom we have already mentioned as a participant in the great council at Nicaea and who joined the others in extinguishing the flame of Arian blasphemy:<sup>4</sup>
- 3.5.1 "Victor Constantinus Maximus Augustus, to Bishop Macarius of Jerusalem. The grace of our Savior, it seems to me, is so great that no words are adequate for the present wonder. The fact that the monument of his holy tomb was able to remain hidden beneath the earth from long ago through so many years truly surpasses every other object of admiration. Now the grace of God our Savior has done away with the tyranny of the common enemy of us all and Christ, the absolute monarch, has granted freedom to the servants of that tyranny and brought knowledge of that holy place to light.

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<sup>4</sup> The following letter is preserved in Eusebius, *Vita Const.* 3.30; Socrates 1.9.56-63; Theodoret 1.17.1-8.

- 3.5.2 If all the wise men throughout the whole world gathered in one place and tried to adequately express it, they could not attain to even its least part. This miracle surpasses human reason's entire natural capacity for faith as much as heavenly things prove mightier than human things.
- 3.5.3 Therefore my one and only aim is that just as faith in the truth daily displays itself through fresh miracles, so the minds of us all may become more earnestly devoted to the holy law, with self-control and like-minded eagerness.
- 3.5.4 Because I believe that this goal of mine is generally known, I above all want to assure you that my chief concern is to adorn with beautiful edifices that sacred place, from which, at God's command, I gave the order to remove the disgraceful deceit of idolatry hanging over it like a burden. Though it was holy from of old by God's determination, God rendered it even more holy when he brought proof of the Savior's suffering to light.
- 3.5.5 It befits your prudence, therefore, to make arrangements and all necessary preparations not only so that the basilica of the holy place should transcend those everywhere else, but also that the rest of this bright building should win out over all the most beautiful buildings in every city.
- 3.5.6 Know that we have appointed our friend Dracilianus (who performs the duties of the illustrious prefects), the governor of the province, to oversee construction and decoration of the walls. He has received orders from my piety to immediately dispatch craftsmen, workers, and every necessity you anticipate for the building, of which your prudence should inform him.
- 3.5.7 When you have inspected the work, quickly write to inform us what sort of columns or marblework you would consider most excellent and suitable so that when we learn from your letter how much and what sorts of materials are necessary, we may have them conveyed from all quarters of the world to that brilliant house. For it is proper that the most wonderful place in the world be adorned according to its dignity.
- 3.5.8 I wish to learn from you whether you think that the vaulted roof of that building's basilica should be coffered or adorned through some other style of ornate workmanship. If it ought to be coffered, it could be embellished with gold. Furthermore, concerning these things your holiness should inform the aforementioned officials as soon as possible what workers, craftsmen, and expenses are needed. Be sure to promptly report to me not only concerning the marblework and columns but also whether you consider the coffered ceiling the more beautiful style. May God preserve you, dear brother."
- 3.6.1 The emperor's own mother was the one who delivered this letter—she who of all the pious is honored as mother of a noble son, who bore this great light to the world and nourished him in piety from childhood. She herself, no less than the father of the child, her husband Constantius, educated him in God's laws of piety towards Christ.

- 3.6.2 She undertook the journey without consideration for her old age (it was not long before her death that she set out, for she reached the end of this life at the age of eighty).
- 3.7.1 She had a burning desire in her heart to visit the holy sites and to search for the Savior's tomb and the precious wood of the cross of Christ, so she went to Jerusalem.
- 3.7.2 When she saw the place where he had suffered for universal salvation, she immediately had that foul temple razed to the ground and that cursed soil scattered somewhere far away. When the place which had been hidden had become visible, they saw three buried crosses next to the Lord's tomb.
- 3.7.3 They all indisputably believed that one of these was the cross of our Lord and Savior while the others were the crosses of the thieves crucified next to him, but they did not know which one had come close to the Lord's holy body and caught the stream of his precious blood.
- 3.7.4 But wise and truly godly Macarius, the head of that church, resolved the uncertainty like so: He recognized the power of the saving cross by observing as the trees were brought before a notable woman of the city who had long been afflicted with disease and was drawing near to death.
- 3.7.5 While God-loving Helen and a crowd of many people were with him, he knelt in front of the sick woman's bed and addressed the following prayer to God, crying out in a loud voice: "Lord God Almighty, you worked salvation for the human race through your only-begotten Son Jesus Christ on the tree of the cross. Now in the last times you inspired your servant, together with her son, also your servant, to seek the blessed tree on which Christ, the Savior of all people, especially believers, was crucified in the flesh. So show us, Lord, which of these three trees is the cross of Christ. Through its contact with this sick and half-dead woman, brought about by us, may it become the guide to health and resurrection for her."
- 3.7.6 When he had finished praying, he brought the first tree and made it touch the sick woman, but it did not help her at all. Then he brought the second also, but it too proved ineffective. But when he reached for the third, the tree's shadow immediately approached the sick woman, and a great miracle happened. The half-dead woman suddenly opened her eyes, then, after the Lord's precious cross had touched her, she jumped up, stood on her feet, and praised God. Having become so much healthier, she walked around the whole house rejoicing and loudly proclaimed the power of the divine cross with the whole household.
- 3.7.7 Thus the pious empress, the mother of the praiseworthy God-loving Emperor Constantine, simply paid attention and was persuaded concerning the Savior's tomb and the precious cross of Christ. So she immediately built a house of prayer in that

place, as her pious son Constantine had commanded, and called it Martyrium. She advanced further and further in the faith.

- 3.7.8 Therefore, having finally obtained the object of her desire, she also gave herself over to the search for the nails with which the Lord's body had been nailed to the tree of the cross. When she had found them, she added some to the emperor's helmet, showing respect for her son's head, to deflect the enemies' arrows. She brought the helmet to her son as a divine gift. She had the remaining nails forged into a bit for the emperor's horse, bringing about safety for the emperor and fulfilling the ancient prophecy in which the prophet Zechariah long ago shouted, "What is upon the bit will be holy to the Lord Almighty" [Zechariah 14:20].
- 3.7.9 She apportioned one part of the Savior's cross to the imperial palace and gave the rest to the bishop of that city, godly Macarius, whom we mentioned above, in a silver container which she had made. She exhorted him to guard the reminders of salvation for future generations.
- 3.7.10 After she along with Macarius, the head of that church, had gathered craftsmen of every kind from everywhere, as the emperor, her son Constantine, had commanded, she wonderfully built those spacious, magnificent temples. I consider it quite superfluous to describe their beauty and size in this book, seeing as practically all who love Christ, from everywhere under heaven, come together there to see the extravagance of the buildings.
- 3.7.11 That praiseworthy admirable empress, the mother of the faithful emperor, did another deed worth remembering. She gathered all those who had devoted their lives to virginity, seated them on many couches, and herself did the work of a maidservant: serving them, setting meals before them, giving them cups and pouring wine for them, and carrying the ewer to the basin and pouring water on their hands.
- 3.7.12 Having done these and similar things, she gladly returned to her son, and not long afterwards she departed to the immortal life, fully content, after enjoining her son at length about pious living and crowning him with parting blessings. Even after her death, therefore, she obtained the honor she deserved as one who had so carefully and vigorously served the God of all.
- 3.7.13 She was survived by her daughter Constantia, who was the wife of wicked Licinius.
- 3.7.14 I have included in this historical account these few things about blessed, pious, godly Helen of her many great virtuous deeds for God our Savior.
- 3.8.1 But I want to turn my attention again to the godly zeal of her son, the Christ-bearing Emperor Constantine. His zeal for the saving cross of Christ so much surpassed that of his father and mother that he concealed the token of the saving cross on which the Lord Christ suffered according to the flesh, which his mother had brought to him, in a statue of himself on the great porphyry column in the so-called market, that is, the

Forum of Constantine. He did this because he believed that the city which bore his name would always be kept safe if that token should be preserved in it.

- 3.9.1 So the God-loving emperor clung to God with great piety and faith, and he caused many other foreign tribes to come to peace with him. God had long ago subjected to him many of these tribes, which had formerly been in conflict with the Romans. To the degree that he reverently humbled himself before God, and in fact much more than this, God made him prosper in everything.
- 3.9.2 At that time, many advantageous circumstances arose for the proclamation of the apostolic message. Even though Matthew had preached to the Parthians, Bartholomew to the Ethiopians, and Thomas to the Indians of great India, the message about Christ was not yet well-known to the Indians far from Parthia and certain peoples neighboring them.
- 3.9.3 It so happens that after the fashion of Metrodorus, a philosopher who had traveled to nearly every people for research purposes, a certain Tyrian man named Meropius, a philosopher of some repute, undertook the same research as Metrodorus. Meropius brought along two boys who had been thoroughly instructed in every area of book-learning and who were zealously eager for every subject of research. They themselves had encouraged the philosopher Meropius to take them with him. Their names were Frumentius and Edesius.
- 3.9.4 It was the custom and law of the foreigners who lived there, when we Romans did not abide by the peace treaties enacted with them, to kill those of us found among them. It happened then that for a short time the treaties between the two parties were dissolved while Meropius was visiting inner India with Frumentius and Edesius.
- 3.9.5 Because they were constrained by a lack of provisions, especially water, they put out to sea and came back to shore at various places throughout those inner Indians' territory. They were unable to make progress because they were hindered by opposing winds. Indeed, on some days they escaped notice and procured the needs of their bodies from the land itself.
- 3.9.6 One day, while the boys were reading under a tree, the foreigners came and slaughtered Meropius along with all the others except the aforementioned boys Frumentius and Edesius, whom they knew. They took pity on them because they were children, spared them, and brought them to their king as a gift. The king immediately perceived that Frumentius was clever and appointed him administrator over his household finances, and he had Edesius pour wine for him.
- 3.9.7 They were in this situation and were advancing day by day when the king died, leaving his son, still an infant, as the successor of his kingdom, with the approval of the great king of the Indians.

- 3.9.8 Therefore Frumentius and his companion became stewards of the child and of his whole kingdom, for his mother appointed them to have authority over everything because of their sincere character and life experience. In addition to their natural disposition, they were knowledgeable especially due to their education and their life abroad, by which young people in particular attain the firmness typical of older people.
- 3.9.9 Since they were pious, distinguishing themselves by their faith in God and surpassing others in every kind of benevolence, they traversed land and sea in fulfillment of their obligations for the child's kingdom. They directed the neighboring people to bring to them any Romans living there, for they had in mind to spread the knowledge of God to the Indians through them.
- 3.9.10 The time was opportune. After they had found some Romans, they persuaded them to make places of prayer of the Roman style and to construct church buildings in which those who received the knowledge of God could gather, although they could not build altars because they did not have the authority of the priesthood.
- 3.9.11 Frumentius in particular brought about occasion for the Indians on the other side to receive the knowledge of God by generously approaching them with kindness, friendliness, and exhortations.
- 3.9.12 When the king's son, over whose kingdom they were acting as stewards, reached manhood and attained full maturity, they asked him for permission to return to their own country. But when the king and his mother, with much pleading, begged them and clung to them, refusing to let them leave, Frumentius said that the matter distressed them greatly. Thus they compelled the king and his mother to release them. They agreed with great sadness, for they did not want to contradict Frumentius, seeing as he was a gentleman.
- 3.9.13 They handed over to the boy and his mother all the affairs of the kingdom which had been entrusted to them and departed India with great dignity, beginning their journey to their homeland.
- 3.9.14 Edesius at that time went to Tyre, but Frumentius went to Alexandria. He thought it necessary not to neglect the divine work which was occurring among the foreigners. Frumentius appeared before the bishop of the church of Alexandria, Athanasius (who at that time was at the helm of the high priesthood there), described to him everything that had happened, and suggested that he send a bishop to them.
- 3.9.15 Thereupon the great Athanasius, wisely and intelligently attending to the report, said to Frumentius, "What other man shall we find in whom the Spirit of God dwells besides you, brother, who will be able to properly direct these actions and best guide the churches there?" He ordained him bishop and ordered him to travel again to India, dedicate the churches there, and take care of the people there.



- 3.9.16 God gave exceptional grace to the man after his ordination so that he gave forth apostolic splendor. When he came to the aforementioned inner India, affirming the gospel of Christ with signs and miracles, he drew great multitudes of Indians to the true faith of Christ. They genuinely accepted the divine Word proclaimed through him. So the churches and ordinations greatly increased in number among those peoples.
- 3.9.17 Edesius, who remained in Tyre, reported these things to us. He had become a priest of the church there and remained there until the end of his life.
- 3.10.1 At the same time, the Iberians and the Lazi in Pontus also received the word of God, but they had not yet believed in it. A woman who was held captive with them was responsible for this great blessing. She amazed them all by pursuing a preeminent lifestyle through self-control and other good deeds.
- 3.10.2 When they asked about the motivation for her strict asceticism, the holy woman simply said, "It is because of Christ, the Son of God." This response did not bring anyone to reverent faith, though. They only marveled at the woman and took note of many things as they observed her unusual lifestyle.
- 3.10.3 Now it was their custom to go around to all the locals and get help from all parts whenever an infant fell ill. So it happened that a certain woman came to the captive as she went around to everyone.
- 3.10.4 She said to the woman standing at the door with her child, "I myself will not be able to help the child, but I know that Christ, whom I have mentioned to you so often, is able both to raise the dead and to grant healing to the incurable." The boy's mother pleaded with the captive. Moved with compassion for the supplicant, she wrapped the child in her blanket, prayed to God, and gave him back to his mother in good health.
- 3.10.5 News of this event spread to many and reached even the queen, who was bedridden with a very serious illness. She had been ill for some time, and by then the severe sickness which had overtaken her was incurable. So she resolved to send servants to ask the captive to come to her, but with fear and caution she refused to go to the queen because she was aware of the instability which results from worldly fame.
- 3.10.6 Now when the queen learned that she refused to come, the queen ordered that she be carried on her bed to the prisoner. The blessed captive was abashed at the queen's humility and wrapped her in her blanket in the same way. Then she knelt, prayed to God with her customary vow to Christ, and sent the joyous queen home in good health. She was walking on her own feet, a new and strange sight to the locals, and professing the grace of Christ as she had learned from the captive woman. As she went, she clearly proclaimed, "Glory be to you, O Christ, Lord of this captive. Grace and all honor are yours as Savior of us who are found worthy to believe in you."

- 3.10.7 The queen also reported everything to her husband. This prompted him to reward the captive with money as fitting compensation for the good deed done to his wife.
- 3.10.8 But the queen said to him, “This captive, O king, does not want money, nor does she save up gold. It would be enough of a gift to her that we only believe that Christ is the Son of God Most High. Since her whole life consists of fasting and self-control, treasures of gold and silver are useless to her. I have put this pious woman to the test. I tell you the truth, my king. Now if you meditate on my healing, let us repay the woman in an unusual way by accepting her Christ for worship.” PB
- 3.10.9 The king, meanwhile, was more reluctant. Although his wife often urged him, he delayed and refused her request with promises. He would say that he hoped an opportune time would present itself for him in this matter. This happened according to the foreknowledge of God, “who wants all men to be saved and to come to a knowledge of the truth” [1 Timothy 2:4].
- 3.10.10 For it so happened that he was separated from his companions while hunting in a thick, dense forest. In broad daylight, night unexpectedly fell. At midday, deep darkness suddenly spread throughout the whole forest where the king was. Since his companions happened to be scattered here and there to hunt, the king was seized with great fear because he could hardly imagine how to escape this assault.
- 3.10.11 But since all his companions were enduring the same constraint (although eager to come to him, the darkness held each of them fast in whatever place it had overtaken him and did not allow them to move forward towards each other’s outcries), the king at that time remembered his wife and the captive who had healed her from an incurable state and cried out, “O Christ, Lord of the captive, help me in my present circumstances so that I may escape the constraint laid upon me, for I have sure proof of your divine power in my wife.” As soon as he finished his prayer, the darkness receded, and daylight shone brighter than before over the whole forest where they had been stuck.
- 3.10.12 They came home in perfect health and quickly found that the king was ordering the captive to come to him at once. He promised to no longer worship any other god except Jesus Christ, whom the woman worshipped.
- 3.10.13 Then the captive woman went and became the king’s teacher, presenting to him the whole rule of faith. The joyful king was not ashamed to learn the religion from a humble woman. On the contrary, he took pride in her and had her brought to the middle of the crowd, where the king spoke openly about her: “By the grace of Christ, the king of all, my wife escaped death through this woman’s prayer.” He tried to persuade his subjects, if they wished to be saved, to be of the same mind, commit themselves to the worship of Christ, and despise idols.
- 3.10.14 When he learned from the holy woman that they had to build churches for the worship of Christ, he eagerly began this task at once. Builders had already put up the

- walls of the building, but pillars had yet to be set up in the center of the building to separate the men and women who would gather. It was at this point that God wanted to implant in the king and all his subjects a firm conviction concerning the gospel of his Son Jesus Christ, which the captive woman preached. So he caused the third pillar, set up in the middle but still crooked, not to be completely upright like the other two. The craftsmen tried their best, but they only split and shredded their ropes with all their cranes and quickly fled lest they get caught on the ground under the pillar and perish. The pillar was hanging crooked in the air, and none of them could think of any solution, as the craftsmen usually did.
- 3.10.15 The captive heard about this and was terrified that the people would turn back to idols. She came to the place at sunset, knelt before God until morning, and raised up the pillar through her prayer—not standing on its pedestal, but floating upright about one cubit above it. God arranged that the captive would not go home until the people arrived so that they might know her faith in the true God she preached.
- 3.10.16 So they came early in the morning with the king and were utterly amazed when they saw the huge pillar floating upright. Then, with the captive clearly visible to everyone because of what had happened, as she got up from prayer, the pillar was suddenly lowered with the utmost precision, as if craftsmen were fitting it to its pedestal. Much more than any pillar before or after it, this one appeared stable.
- 3.10.17 Thereupon, the rest of the people gathered and together professed the faith of the king, worshipping Christ—such was the exhortation of the captive, as a holy woman. She feared that the simple people, seduced by inherited superstition, they might transfer to her their devotion to Christ, or rather, acquire an opinion of her which would hinder piety.
- 3.10.18 Therefore, she invited them to join in her prayer as she fitted the floating pillar into place, thereby eclipsing their opinion of her and emphasizing that the power of Christ the Savior transcends all who piously worship him in deeds beyond human power.
- 3.10.19 After the completion of the church building, the captive suggested that the king and queen send emissaries to the companion of piety, the God-loving Emperor Constantine, to ask him to send a member of the clergy to consecrate the church. When the ambassadors sent by the king and the Iberian people reached Constantinople, they told Emperor Constantine about the faith in Christ which had become stronger there and asked that he provide them with a bishop to consecrate and direct their churches.
- 3.10.20 The pious, Christ-loving Emperor Constantine received them kindly. Full of joy in the Lord, he granted their request. He charged Alexander, bishop of Constantinople, to appoint a bishop for the Iberians, for he understood that it was God's will to subject foreigners to him.

- 3.10.21 The trustworthy Baccurius, a reverent and distinguished man from the royal family of the Iberians, taught us of these things. He was a Roman provincial commander who led a campaign in the mountains of Palestine against the barbarous Saracens and skillfully won the victory over them.
- 3.10.22 But let us return to the history at hand. Emperor Constantine, so zealous for Christianity and burning with an apostolic love of Christ, was again building churches city by city, including one near the tree called Mamre, where Abraham entertained the angels, as the Holy Scriptures declare.
- 3.10.23 For when the all-excellent, God-loving Emperor Constantine learned that under that tree there was an altar on which pagan sacrifices were offered, he wrote a letter reproaching Eusebius, the bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, for countenancing such loathsome activity and gave orders to tear down the altar and build a church of the living God near the tree.
- 3.10.24 Moreover, when he learned that the people of Heliopolis in Phoenicia were leading ungodly lives and engaging in shameful conduct, he put an end to their shameful lifestyle with holy law, built a church in the same city, arranged for the ordination of a bishop, and gave orders that along with the bishop a holy clergy should be ordained in the church. Thus he moderated the abuses of the inhabitants of Heliopolis. In addition, he chose Christians who exemplified a holy lifestyle as political officials in the city and all the surrounding area. He threatened the inhabitants with death if they would not renounce their former shameful conduct and their worship of loathsome idols forthwith.
- 3.10.25 He also demolished the temple of Aphrodite in Aphaca, removed the unspeakable abominations, drove out the demoniac prophet in Cilicia, and gave the order to raze the temple in which he lurked to the ground.
- 3.10.26 The faithful Emperor Constantine performed such good deeds all over the world. In this church history I want to offer yet another proof of the God-loving Emperor Constantine's faith in the God of all. So great was his longing and zeal for Christ that, while preparing for an invasion of Persia on behalf of the Christians there, he had a tent of artful fine linen made to act as a church, as Moses had done in the wilderness. He had them carry it along on the way so that in desolate areas he might have a place of prayer where he could send up his prayers to God.
- 3.10.27 At that time, however, he did not execute the campaign against Persia as he had planned because he was concerned about the peace of God's churches. But their king (that of the Persians, I mean), who looked after the pupils of piety under him, learned that they were persecuted by ungodly people there and that their king (namely, Sabor), a slave to error, himself devised all kinds of schemes against them. So he

- wrote to Constantine, calling him to piety and demanding that pious Christians enjoy respect.<sup>5</sup> The letter itself will clearly show the zeal of the Christ-loving emperor.<sup>6</sup>
- 3.11.1 “Keeping the holy faith, I partake of the light of the truth. Guided by the light of the truth, I know the holy faith. Therefore, as the facts confirm, I recognize that the holy religion teaches knowledge of the holy God. I lay claim to this worship. With God’s power as my ally, from the remotest ends of the ocean I have gradually awakened the whole world, part by part, with sure hope of salvation. All the peoples who had been enslaved under such mighty tyrants, worn out by calamities day after day and almost extinct, now have legal recourse to the state. As if revived by an effective remedy, they loudly exult and celebrate pompous festivals to God.
- 3.11.2 I worship God; my army, devoted to him, bears his emblem on their shoulders and goes wherever the cause of justice calls. I will soon reap thanks for these actions in brilliant memorials. With an honest and pure mind, I see clearly that God dwells in the highest heavens.
- 3.11.3 I appeal to God on bended knee, avoiding all abominable bloodshed and all odious, ill-omened odors and shunning every splendor with which abominable and unlawful error has gladly defiled and overthrown many nations and whole tribes, handing them over to the deepest depths.
- 3.11.4 For although God in his loving providence for humans has manifestly brought forth things to supply our need, they are perverted toward the desire of the individual. He demands from humans only a pure mind and a spotless soul, weighing their deeds of virtue and piety.
- 3.11.5 He delights in works of kindness and gentleness, loves the meek, hates troublemakers, loves faith, punishes unbelief, and condemns and strikes down every boastful power. He exacts vengeance for the pride of the arrogant, and those who swell up with vanity he utterly destroys.
- 3.11.6 He also favors righteous rule and strengthens it with his help. He carefully guards the intelligence of kings with peaceful calm. Therefore, I greatly rejoice, brother. I confess that God is the originator and preserver of all things. Many of my predecessors tried to deny him, led by delusional errors. But they have all met such a dreadful end that, for every generation after them, their misfortunes serve as sufficient warning to those who aspire to do likewise.
- 3.11.7 One of these, I think, was the one whom divine vengeance, like lightning, drove away from here and delivered to your country, where his shame became a notorious

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<sup>5</sup> The anonymous compiler seems to have created a self-contradictory account by inventing a pro-Christian Persian king in addition to the hostile Shapur II (here called Sabor).

<sup>6</sup> The following letter is also preserved in Theodoret 1.25.1-11.

monument.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, it seems auspicious that the penalty due to such people has become clearly visible in our age.

- 3.11.8 I myself have witnessed the end of those who have lately been persecuting the people devoted to God with unlawful decrees. Therefore I fervently thank God that in his perfect providence he has restored peace to all humankind who keep his divine law so that they exult and rejoice.
- 3.11.9 We ourselves also trust that we certainly have perfect comfort and security since God sees fit to gather everything to himself in divine harmony through their (I mean the people of God's) pure and genuine worship.
- 3.11.10 You may well see how delighted I am to hear that this company of my fellow servants—I mean Christians (for my whole message is about them)—abundantly adorns even the finest parts of Persia, in accord with my wishes. Now if you do what is proper and allow them to live happily, then may you accrue happiness, for they are your subjects.
- 3.11.11 Then God, the Lord of all, will be gentle, gracious, and kind toward you. Since you are so mighty and distinguished by piety, I commend them to you. I entrust the task of guiding them (I mean the Christians) to the overseers of the pious worship of God among them. Love them as befits your philanthropy. You will do an indescribable favor for yourself and for us through faith.”
- 3.11.12 The all-excellent Emperor Constantine cared for those adorned with piety toward Christ so much that he not only looked after his own subjects but also took care for those living under other regimes, if possible. Therefore he enjoyed the care of God from above, and as he held the reins of all the inhabitants of the Roman world, even of the barbarians, his willing officials and subjects joyfully obeyed the bridle of his will.
- 3.11.13 The barbarians also served willingly from then on, restrained by fear of war and dreading God, who stood by Constantine. Victory memorials were set up everywhere, and the emperor came out victorious against all enemies. But many others have described these things in more detail, praising the glory of the God of all. Let us, then, return our account to the continuation of the present history.
- 3.12.1 The faithful Emperor Constantine, striving for the peace of the churches, was concerned for them in his soul like an apostle, as we have often said. But those who called themselves priests, who had accepted Arius's dishonor, could not bear to stay calm after commencing an uncompromising war against the truth, so they devised crafty schemes against the true faith.
- 3.12.2 It happened that Constantia, the sister of the God-loving Emperor Constantine, who had been wife of ungodly Licinius and whom we mentioned before, encountered a

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<sup>7</sup> According to Hansen, Emperor Valerian is the individual referred to here.

certain priest who agreed with the participants in Arius's blasphemy, a superb flatterer named Eutocius.

- 3.12.3 At first he met covertly with some of Constantia's servants, but then he met Constantia herself. Because he enjoyed her vast trust and concern throughout their frequent meetings, his lecturing about Arius also made progress with her.
- 3.12.4 Now taking courage, he carried her away through his deceptive arguments, claiming that envy alone had caused the disputes with Arius. He persuaded her with these and similar deceptive arguments of his, claiming that Arius thought and taught the same things as Alexander and the bishops throughout the world.
- 3.12.5 Constantia believed what he said to her especially because she heard from him that Arius was of the same mind as Alexander, the bishop of Alexandria, and that Father Alexander opposed him without good reason because of jealousy for Arius's success with the masses. It therefore happened that Constantia, having taken in the deceptions of the Arian priest, was pleased at his words, considered that priest worthy of greater honor, and included him among her closest friends.
- 3.12.6 Not long afterwards, she fell victim to a severe disease, from which she would die. When the pious emperor Constantine learned of this, he came quickly to see her. For after her ungodly husband's death and the departure of their mother, God-loving, famous Helen, to a life free of pain, the praiseworthy, faithful emperor saw fit to provide for her rather than allowing her to experience the pains of widowhood and orphanhood. For this reason he also provided for her the necessary care before her death while absent and while present.
- 3.12.7 After a lengthy conversation between the emperor and Constantia, Constantia boldly said to him as her dear brother, "Do me one favor, praiseworthy emperor, for I am going away to be with God." He replied, "What favor do you ask?" Constantia said to him, "I ask you, emperor, to have Arius released from exile and to alleviate the misfortune that has befallen him through intrigue, lest you quickly stain your pious reign with innocent blood."
- 3.12.8 Emperor Constantine patiently listened to his sister, thinking that she was saying this to him from sisterly concern, not as one persuaded by an Arian priest, and believing that his sister would give him sound advice.
- 3.12.9 Up to this time he had forbidden Arius to enter Alexandria and Egypt, but now he immediately gave the order to release him from exile at the urging of Constantia his sister. Constantia also commended that Arian priest to him, urging the emperor to listen to him and enjoy his words: "As one who has experienced his uprightness, I recommend him to you, pious emperor."
- 3.12.10 So Constantia withdrew from earthly life, and that priest gained entrance to the imperial court (the gentle, God-loving emperor had promised this at Constantia's

request, and now he fulfilled his promise). The emperor often commanded the priest to come see him and granted him great freedom of speech. He was certainly among the Christ-bearing Emperor Constantine's closest friends.

- 3.12.11 When Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicaea, still in exile, heard about this, they took courage and wrote a document claiming they had repented. They sent it to the foremost bishops, asking to be released from exile. As before, they affirmed with word but not with conduct that they accepted and held to the faith of Nicaea.
- 3.12.12 Since the bishops who received their document of feigned repentance favored them, they were released from exile, as they had urged, at the emperor's command. They received back the churches from which they had been expelled after they had driven out those bishops who had been ordained to replace them—Amphion in the case of Eusebius, Chrestus in the case of Theognis.
- 3.12.13 It would be good to include in this account a copy of their document of counterfeit repentance. It reads as follows:<sup>8</sup>
- 3.13.1 “Since we have already been condemned by your piety, we must bear the verdict of your holy authority in peace. But because by our silence we would provide a route of attack against ourselves, we want to inform your holiness that we have agreed with your holy council and, after examining the word ‘consubstantial,’ have completely embraced peace. In no way do we follow heresy.
- 3.13.2 And to reassure the churches, after recalling what undergirded our reasoning, we subscribed to the creed and were satisfied, thus giving full assurance to those who needed us persuade them. But we did not sign the condemnation—not as if we disagree with the creed (perish the thought), but because we do not believe the accused is of such a nature. We have been convinced to our satisfaction, based on what he has already communicated to us through both his letters and personal conversations, that he is not of such a nature.
- 3.13.3 If, however, your holy council has been persuaded of the opposite, we do not want to resist but rather are satisfied to conform to your verdict and give our confirmation through this letter. We do this not because we find our banishment burdensome but because we want to get rid of the suspicion of heresy.
- 3.13.4 For if you see fit now to receive us back personally, you will have like-minded people in all respects who follow your verdict. For if it seemed good to your holiness that he who was accused of heresy should be shown mercy by our most pious emperor and be found worthy of kindness, and if you made efforts to free him from exile, how much more is it right that we innocent men be found worthy both of freedom from exile and of returning to your piety.

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<sup>8</sup> The following letter ([CPG 2048](#)) is also preserved in Socrates 1.14.2-7; Sozomen 2.16.3-7.



- 3.13.5 It would indeed be unusual for us to remain silent when he who seems guilty has been released, providing clear evidence against ourselves through our silence, as we said before. Deign, therefore, we urge you (as befits your Christ-loving piety), to remind our God-loving emperor of this, to convey to him our requests, and to quickly resolve for yourselves what is fitting in our case, most holy ones.”
- 3.13.6 This is the document in which the aforementioned Eusebius and Theognis recanted. From their words it is clear that they subscribed to the faith prescribed in Nicaea by the holy council there by hand only, not by intent, as we demonstrated earlier, and they did not want to vote for the deposition of Arius and his anathematization.
- 3.13.7 Yet they were released from exile at the discretion of the bishops who had received their entreaty. They took back their former parishes, as I said above, and they had hardly seen them before they rushed with all speed to court. Reaching Constantinople, they boldly burst into the palace, trusting in the protection of that priest whom Constantia had commended to God-loving Constantine as his dear sister. The emperor honored that priest with utmost care and esteem.
- 3.13.8 However, as I already said, the priest did not venture to reveal the Arian heresy lurking within him because he saw that the emperor’s soul was zealous for what was godly and for the accuracy of the true faith.
- 3.13.9 He nevertheless introduced Eusebius and Theognis to the emperor, warning them for the present to conceal their disease, namely, the heresy of wicked Arius. He often asked the emperor on their behalf to let them (Eusebius especially) speak freely, testifying that their thoughts aligned with what had been said at the council. So the enemy of truth was in fact speaking the truth.
- 3.13.10 For that flatterer was saying they really thought the poor words they had grumbled there. But the emperor, with natural nobility, deep reverence towards those who were consecrated, and the forgiving heart of the great king and prophet David, could not even bear to consider the plots Eusebius had dared to devise against him in the time of wicked Licinius. So he received them kindly and respectfully as priests of God, considered them worthy of great honor and affection, and had them come to him quite often.
- 3.13.11 Day by day they grew increasingly confident with the all-noble Emperor Constantine. They asked the Arian priest to begin appealing on Arius’s behalf to the emperor that he might receive an audience with him, in which he could stand up for himself and show that he agreed with the holy fathers in Nicaea.
- 3.13.12 The priest complied with the requests of Eusebius and Theognis and began speaking to the emperor on Arius’s behalf, for the most part acting as their mouthpiece. They claimed that Arius agreed with all the resolutions of the council and was pleased with the faith proclaimed there. But what the priest said about Arius seemed strange to the emperor.

- 3.13.13 He carried this on for many days, sometimes alone but mostly with Eusebius of Nicomedia present. The emperor rather often summoned him, for the faithful emperor was not thinking of the crimes wicked Eusebius had committed against him before.
- 3.13.14 Eusebius therefore, by his skill in deceptive speech, both through the priest and on his own tried to persuade the benevolent and fair emperor to have Arius summoned to see him, with the assurance that if he should come before the pious Emperor Constantine, he would agree “with everything which we” (so he said) “and the council agreed with.”
- 3.13.15 This seemed untrustworthy to the emperor, but due to his godly goodness and his zeal for the unity of the churches he yielded, trusting them as priests, and said to them, “If Arius agrees with the council and has truly chosen to think its thoughts, I will receive him personally and send him to Alexandria with honor.” Having said this, he sent for him by letter and commanded him to come to court.
- 3.13.16 Having been honored by an imperial letter, Arius immediately hurried to Constantinople. Together with him was Euzoius, whom godly Alexander, bishop of the church of Alexandria, had deposed with him. The priest reported the presence of Arius to the pious emperor at the prompting of the followers of Eusebius of Nicomedia.
- 3.13.17 The emperor therefore received him personally along with Euzoius and inquired of them whether they agreed with the faith which the three hundred holy fathers set forth at Nicaea. Arius testified under oath that he had always believed and still believed “just as the holy fathers at Nicaea, and everyone with us believes the same.” (He was speaking of the followers of Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicaea.) He acted as if he was swearing the truth, to deceive and persuade the simple, Christ-loving emperor.
- 3.13.18 When Arius had said this under oath, the godly and fair emperor was moved to send Arius to Alexandria posthaste with honor.
- 3.13.19 But because Athanasius warned him, Bishop Alexander did not receive Arius when he arrived in Alexandria; he avoided him like the plague.
- 3.13.20 Then Eusebius and his followers themselves wrote letters on behalf of Arius and coerced the emperor to write harshly to Alexander and Athanasius.
- 3.13.21 Athanasius altogether refused to receive Arius and those with him, and with the bishop he informed the emperor in writing that it was impossible to welcome back those who had once denied the faith, had been condemned “by such a holy council and your godly piety,” and had been sentenced.

3.13.22 Taking this poorly and moved to wrath by the followers of Eusebius of Nicomedia, the emperor threatened Athanasius, writing the following letter:<sup>9</sup>

3.14.1 “Since you know my decision, allow all who wish to enter the church to do so without hinderance. If I find out that you have hindered any who lay claim to the ecclesiastical faith or have prevented such ones from entering, I will immediately send someone to depose you by my command and banish you from the region.”

In a similar way he wrote to Bishop Alexander on behalf of Arius:

3.15.1 “Victor Constantinus Maximus Augustus, to Father Bishop Alexander. Will all-abominable malice even now bark back with profane sophisms to cause delay? ‘What, then, is the issue at hand? Do we teach other doctrine, contrary to the verdict decided by the Holy Spirit through you, most honored brother?’

3.15.2 Arius, the famous Arius, I say, has come to me, Augustus, at the request of very many people. He promises that he has the same thoughts concerning our catholic faith as were determined and confirmed through you at the council in Nicaea, where I too was present and joined in the determination as your fellow servant.

3.15.3 So he immediately came to us along with Euzoius, for they had learned the purpose of the imperial order. I debated with them in the presence of many others about the word of life. I myself am the one who has dedicated my mind to God with sincere faith; I myself am your fellow servant, who has taken up all concern for our peace and unity.”

3.15.4 And further on: “Therefore I am writing not only to remind you, but also with the expectation that you receive those who come in supplication. If you find that they are seeking the true and ever-living apostolic faith formulated in Nicaea (for they have also assured us that this is their opinion), take care of them all, I urge you. For if you should make provision for them, you could conquer hatred with unity.

3.15.5 Therefore support unity, I urge you; transmit the values of friendship to those not parted from the faith; let me hear what I wish and desire—peace and unity between you all. May God preserve you, most honorable father.”

3.15.6 The emperor wrote this in the hope that it would be profitable, not wanting the church to break apart. He desired to lead everyone to harmony.

3.15.7 After godly Alexander had received the emperor’s letter, he lived a little longer, then reached a blessed end of this life. He had been bishop of the church of God in Alexandria for sixteen years altogether: nine years and one month before the council

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<sup>9</sup> The following letter excerpt is also preserved in Athanasius, *Apologia secunda contra Arianos* 59.4-6; Socrates 1.27.4; Sozomen 2.22.5.

in Nicaea, three years and six months at the council,<sup>10</sup> three years and five months after the council, a total of sixteen years.

- 3.15.8 Athanasius took over the function of the priesthood. Our next account will make clear his skill in discretion, piety, and regulation of the church.
- 3.15.9 When the heretics found out that godly Athanasius was in charge of the church, they first met up and then united against him with one goal: to eradicate (if one may speak this way) all memory of him from the earth, just as the Jews had plotted against Christ. They immediately tried to persuade the God-loving emperor to enact imperial decrees against him.
- 3.15.10 But we must first briefly describe the man's conduct from childhood on. When blessed Alexander was entrusted with the management of the priesthood after blessed Achillas, he invited the clergy to a feast after the commemoration of the holy martyr Bishop Peter's martyrdom. He waited until they had gathered, and from a vantage point he saw some boys playing in accord with church rules.
- 3.15.11 The house faced the sea, and the holy boys were playing along its banks. Bishop Athanasius was among them, as well as other priests and deacons of the same age. They brought him little catechumens to baptize, and Athanasius baptized them all according to church custom as bishop. He had in mind to offer them a word of teaching.
- 3.15.12 Godly Alexander therefore, amazed at these events, had the boys brought to him. After he found out exactly how everything had happened, with the approval of the clergy with him, he sealed the boys who had been baptized with the seal of Christ and applied the holy symbols of saving baptism, thus perfecting their baptism. He summoned Athanasius's parents and entrusted him to them with instructions to teach him to read, to instruct him in the Lord as much as possible, and to give Athanasius up to him, or rather to the church, should he make progress, as Hannah, it is said, gave up Samuel.<sup>11</sup>
- 3.15.13 Some time later Athanasius's parents brought him to Bishop Alexander. The bishop immediately outfitted him in a priestly ephod,<sup>12</sup> advancing him as a new Samuel for the church to defend against those who are truly foreigners.<sup>13</sup> He had to endure many struggles with the heretics, who organized a conspiracy—not a mere forty men as with the holy Apostle Paul,<sup>14</sup> but the entire multitude of heretics throughout the entire world, especially the Ariomaniacs. So Athanasius sang with David:

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<sup>10</sup> Cf. 2.37.28 and footnotes.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. 1 Samuel 1.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. 1 Samuel 2:18.

<sup>13</sup> The Greek word translated "foreigners" is often used in the LXX of Philistines.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Acts 23:13.

- 3.15.14 “Though an army stand against me, my heart will not fear; though war rise against me, even then I will hope” [Psalm 27:3; LXX 26:3], namely, to be adorned with a wreath of victory, which he hoped to receive from the Lord, who also said to him, “Take courage” [Acts 23:11], and, “Do not fear, for I am with you, and no one will draw near to harm you” [Acts 18:9-10].
- 3.15.15 We now want to omit a description of the majority of what happened to him lest we wear out future readers by lengthening the account in this work (for the things he endured when godless heretics persecuted him were countless). I will content myself with his more notable deeds, which all his acquaintances praise.
- 3.15.16 As we said, immediately after he assumed leadership over the church, the followers of Eusebius of Nicomedia were very hostile to Athanasius himself. At that time they seized the emperor’s displeasure with great Athanasius as a convenient opportunity (so they thought) for their own goal. They brashly stirred up everything against him in an effort to dislodge him from the episcopacy, condemning him as having snuck into the priesthood without qualification. Their only hope for the triumph of the Arian opinion was to get Athanasius out of the way.
- 3.15.17 So the adherents to the wicked Arian heresy conspired against him and hired certain adherents to the Melitian heresy—Hosion, Eudaemon, and Callinicus. Through them they set in motion various accusations against godly Athanasius. First, they said that Athanasius had snuck into the episcopacy and commanded the Egyptians to pay tax on linen garments for the benefit of the church of the Alexandrians. They sewed together a second slanderous accusation, worse than the first. They said that Athanasius, plotting against the emperor’s interests, sent to a certain Philoumenus a chest full of gold to oppose Emperor Constantine.
- 3.15.18 Third, a man named Ischyras committed an act deserving death several times over. Although he had never entered the priesthood, he dared to perform priestly duties in the villages of the so-called Mareotes district, assuming the title of priest for himself. At this time the holy Bishop Athanasius also came to the Mareotes district and visited the churches there. When he learned of the situation with Ischyras, he sent the priest Macarius to investigate whether the reports were true. Because Ischyras was convicted by this investigation, he hastily fled from there to Nicomedia and sought refuge with the followers of Eusebius.
- 3.15.19 On account of their hatred towards Athanasius they took him in as a priest and promised to reward him further with the honor of the episcopacy if he would agree to level an accusation against Athanasius. He sewed together the following story: “Athanasius’s priest Macarius, sent by Athanasius, attacked our church in the Mareotes district. He burst into the sanctuary, overturned the holy altar, broke the sacramental cup, and burned the holy books.”
- 3.15.20 The accusers reported this and similar things to the emperor through the followers of Eusebius of Nicomedia, moving him to wrath against Athanasius: “He received the

imperial letter but did not submit and did not admit Arius despite his confession of the faith before your piety.” When the emperor heard the reports against Athanasius, he was shocked, so he immediately ordered Bishop Athanasius to come to him in Constantinople posthaste.

- 3.15.21 When he arrived, he met with the emperor, refuted the lies of the accusers, and reassured the emperor.
- 3.15.22 The faithful emperor furnished him with an imperial letter and sent him to Alexandria with tremendous honor. He took over the church entrusted to him by God. The pious emperor’s letter to the church of Alexandria (the ending of which I will include in this work) also proves this.
- 3.15.23 But let the reader of this work not reproach me for failing to include the whole letter in this account of church history, for I could not find the entirety recorded by anyone even though I searched all the relevant authors. More than this, they recorded many other letters in abridged form, writing only certain prominent parts of them in the histories they composed. So I am even more upset than all of you about it.
- 3.15.24 Now let us return to the matter at hand and insert the end of the letter in this history, as promised. It says this:<sup>15</sup>
- 3.16.1 “The wicked could do nothing against your bishop, brothers—believe you me. They had no other aim than to waste our time, leaving themselves no opportunity for repentance in this life. I urge you, therefore, to help yourselves, to love each other in your holy affection with all your strength, and to receive your bishop, Athanasius, with infinite joy, beloved.
- 3.16.2 I know very well that his departure has not caused you as much grief as your surpassing joy at his return to you.
- 3.16.3 Drive out those who wish to destroy our gracious unity, and love each other as you look toward God, I urge you. For I gladly received your bishop, Athanasius, and addressed him, confident that he is a man of God. May God preserve you, dear brothers.”
- 3.16.4 The great Athanasius came to Alexandria with this letter from the emperor. All the clergy and laity gladly received him, seeing that their shepherd had returned to his sheep with great honor. They all glorified God and celebrated the all-excellent Emperor Constantine with shouts of praise.
- 3.16.5 This brought unspeakable joy to those on our side but grief and endless shame to the enemies and those who waged war against the Son of God.

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<sup>15</sup> The following letter excerpt is also preserved in Theodoret 1.27.

- 3.16.6 Nevertheless, the followers of Eusebius of Nicomedia, especially, cast off all modesty, “making a show of piety, but denying its power” [2 Timothy 3:5]. Though they ought to have plunged into the earth, they instead wrapped themselves in excessive shamelessness and turned their impractical skill in wicked business against another bulwark of piety.
- 3.16.7 Eusebius of Nicomedia was the father and most prominent leader of all these evil plans, for he was extremely skilled in the ways of evil, just like his father the devil. He held the reins not of the church of God but of the ungodly band of Arians. Delaying in Constantinople and consulting rather often with the emperor through the Arian priest, he grew increasingly forthright with him and found an inroad for his fraud in the emperor’s simplicity. Thus he easily wove his webs against the champions of truth.
- 3.16.8 Mistakenly hoping for success in his evil plan against great Athanasius, he concocted an apparently harmless way to attack godly Eustathius, the head of the church of Antioch. He approached the benevolent Emperor Constantine, ostensibly friendly and joyful at what he had accomplished, seeking permission to travel to Jerusalem to see the holy houses of God he had built there. He beguiled the David-like soul of the emperor with these deceptive words and departed from Constantinople with great honor, for the emperor had provided him with carriages and all other luxuries.
- 3.16.9 Theognis of Nicaea departed with him as his accomplice in his wicked and godless plans, as we said before.
- 3.16.10 When they arrived and entered Antioch, they put on a mask of friendship, as Theodoret says—though he omits much of what happened in his writing, composing his history with very few details. But we have consulted the writers prior to him who carefully recorded everything in order and sequence and have thus determined the succession of events. For, as I have said before, we are here organizing their works together by picking out excerpts from one or another.
- 3.16.11 But let us return to the present topic. When the guilty men reached Antioch, great Eustathius, the head of the church there, received them with great spiritual joy. He had heard of their feigned repentance as if it were genuine and rejoiced over them. Great Eustathius welcomed them kindly due to pious devotion to Christ and saw fit to treat them generously.
- 3.16.12 Afterwards, they set out from Antioch and visited the holy sites of Jerusalem. There they saw some like-minded people, from whom they received more than a little encouragement for the plot they had sewed up against the champion of truth.
- 3.16.13 They did not meet Eusebius of Caesarea Palestinae, as Theodoret apparently falsely accuses the man by writing lies about him. All our holy fathers remember him as an exemplar of the orthodox faith and celebrate the success of his efforts and struggles for the holy consubstantial Trinity in the council at Nicaea.

- 3.16.14 Just as they remember godly Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, the great Eustathius, Alexander of Alexandria, Leontius of Caesarea Cappadocia, Euppsychius of Tyana, Protogenes of Sardica, and, above all, Hosius of Cordova, Athanasius of Alexandria, and Alexander of Constantinople, and all the rest who contended for apostolic doctrine in that sacred holy council, they also remember the admirable Eusebius Pamphili, bishop of Caesarea Palestinae.
- 3.16.15 But the followers of Eusebius of Nicomedia did not meet with him. They rather met with like-minded men—Patrophilus of Scythopolis, Aetius of Lydda, Theodotus of Laodicea, and whichever other participants in the impiety of Arius they found. They mingled with them, informed them of the mischief they had concocted against holy Eustathius, left Jerusalem with them, and arrived at Antioch together.
- 3.16.16 The supposed purpose for their visit was a dignified funeral procession, but their actual aim was war against piety towards Christ. They had hired a prostitute for an aureus and persuaded her to testify for them for an hour. Having called a meeting with great Eustathius and the holy bishops with him, those who had contrived the plan against the high priest then ordered everyone else to get out and asked that the unfortunate woman be brought into the meeting as quickly as possible.
- 3.16.17 The accomplices to their lawless act brought the woman to the center. She held an infant at her breast. Pointing to it, she claimed that she had conceived and given birth through sexual intercourse with Eustathius. She firmly and loudly persisted in this testimony. Great Eustathius, having recognized the clear slander, ordered her to bring to the center whatever witness she had of this charge.
- 3.16.18 When she admitted that she had none, those who had planned the false accusation proposed that the prostitute take an oath, though the holy apostolic canon commands that an accusation against a priest is not to be allowed except with two or three witnesses.<sup>16</sup>
- 3.16.19 But these men, despising divine law and disregarding God's judgment against slanderers, like condemned judges, spun and accepted a baseless accusation against such a great man through a prostitute. When the unfortunate woman added an oath (which they themselves had compelled her to do), exclaiming that the infant was Eustathius's, they utterly disgracefully cast their vote as if against an adulterer.
- 3.16.20 Some of the other high priests (there were many with great Eustathius who fought for apostolic doctrine), unaware of all the intrigues, openly opposed those lawbreakers and kept Bishop Eustathius from accepting that unjust vote. The architects of the plot hurried with all speed to the emperor and persuaded him that they had found the allegations to be true in their investigation and that the vote for deposition was just. So they caused the champion of piety and prudence to be driven out from the holy

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. 1 Timothy 5:19.



walls as an adulterer and a tyrant and to be taken into exile in a city in Illyricum, beyond Thrace.

- 3.16.21 Eusebius of Nicomedia, the enemy of apostolic doctrine, however, who knew how to make a show of his slander against the preachers of the true faith, stayed with Theognis in Constantinople. They had left in Antioch participants in their depravity, who ordained Eulalius in place of godly Eustathius.
- 3.16.22 Because he lived for only a brief period after that, they next promoted a certain Euphronius. But he too died very quickly (he lived only a year and some months after his ordination), so they had the authority over that church given to Flacitus.
- 3.16.23 All these men uniformly held to the godlessness of Arius in secret, for which reason all who laid claim to the true pious faith, whether clergy or laity, left the church meetings and gathered with each other. Everyone called them Eustathians, for they united after his banishment.
- 3.16.24 Moreover, that unfortunate woman not long thereafter fell victim to severe and prolonged illness. She revealed the plot and laid bare the false accusation after she had summoned not two or three but many of the priests and explained to them the intrigues of the strange group of wicked men. She confessed that she had started that false accusation for money, but she held that her oath was not entirely false. She explained that the infant was fathered by a certain blacksmith named Eustathius.
- 3.16.25 This illustrates the audacity exhibited in Antioch at that time by wicked Eusebius and his followers. But even then, the wicked were not ashamed, nor had they had their fill of false accusations against champions of truth. Instead, aware that their charges against great Eustathius had met with success, they sewed up another plot against godly Athanasius of a sort which none of the vilest people had ever dared.
- 3.16.26 They again hired certain accusers from the same faction of Melitius, whom they brought to the emperor to complain against Athanasius, that champion of virtue, that he had undertaken many shameful impious acts. The masterminds of this plan were Eusebius, Theognis, and Theodore of Heraclea in Thrace. They said his actions were unacceptable and no one could bear to hear them.
- 3.16.27 They therefore persuaded the emperor to convene a council in Syrian Antioch, where the enemies had the majority, and to judge Athanasius there. Obliging them as priests (for he was entirely unaware of their intrigues), the emperor did as they asked.
- 3.16.28 But the champion of truth, great Athanasius, knew of the hostility of the aforementioned wicked men, so he did not come to the council. Now gaining from this a greater pretext for false accusation, they once for all commenced the war against truth. In writing they accused him before the emperor of tyranny and contempt.

- 3.16.29 This roused the gentle emperor to anger against Athanasius. So he wrote to him with a hint of anger, urging him to travel to Tyre. He had commanded that the council be moved there, for he suspected that Athanasius was apprehensive of Antioch because many in the East had accepted the stain of Arius. He wrote also to the council as one distinguished in piety must write:<sup>17</sup>
- 3.17.1 “Victor Constantinus Maximus Augustus, to the holy council gathered in Tyre. It would perhaps be appropriate and most fitting for the prosperity of these times if the catholic church were free from controversy and the servants of Christ would now be delivered from all abuse.
- 3.17.2 But since some are driven by a desire for unhealthy contentiousness (I would prefer not to say anything else) and live in a way that is beneath them, they try to throw everything into confusion. This seems to me to have exceeded every conceivable calamity. Therefore I urge you, as the saying goes, to be united in your course without delay, to fill the council with spiritual joy, to come to the aid of those in need, to correct the brothers who are in danger, to bring the members who have separated back to unity, and to set right what is being done in error, in order to restore proper harmony, as opportunity permits, to those great provinces. A few contemptuous men (alas, how absurd!) destroyed such harmony.
- 3.17.3 I believe that the agreement of all people is pleasing to the Lord God, is the noblest wish of us all, and will bring you no small amount of honor if you should be the ones to restore peace.
- 3.17.4 So do not hesitate any longer, but from now on increase your zeal and strive to find the appropriate solution to the present circumstances, assembling, of course, with all sincerity and faith. See to it that you obtain peace for yourselves and for everyone in all matters.
- 3.17.5 I have sent to the bishops whom you wish to come and participate in your reflections. I have sent Dionysius, who is of consular rank, both to remind those who are so obliged to go to the council with you and to oversee your business, with an eye toward good order especially.
- 3.17.6 For if anyone tries to escape our command and refuses to appear at the council (which I doubt will happen), we will forthwith dispatch one who will banish him by an imperial ordinance and instruct him that it is improper to ever resist the emperor’s decisions made in service of the truth.
- 3.17.7 Finally, your piety will be tasked with devising the appropriate remedy for the transgressions or erroneous occurrences by unanimous decision, not based on enmity nor on favor, but rather according to apostolic church law, in order to free the church from all blasphemy, ease my anxiety, and bring yourselves great happiness by

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<sup>17</sup> The following letter is also preserved in Eusebius, *Vita Const.* 4.42; Theodoret 1.29.1-6.

restoring gracious peace to those who now stand at odds. May God preserve you, dear brothers.”

- 3.17.8 He wrote this after he had ordered that a council be held in Tyre. He had listened to the false accusers because they were priests. Although he resolutely endured the tension on his piety, he put up with this irritation as a just judge, for he believed that the opponents had been wronged. Moreover, he commanded that after the council had completed its task by rightly judging each matter, the whole council would come to Jerusalem for the dedication of the church he had built there.
- 3.17.9 He also wrote another letter to the council with instructions that not only Athanasius but also Arius should appear at the council and that the actions of each should be investigated impartially. If, as Arius claimed, he had suffered separation because of malice despite being within the true faith, he should first condemn himself for his attacks against the truth and then keep silent.
- 3.17.10 This was under the proviso that Arius accept correction not in order to seek vengeance against his own bishop Athanasius and construct suspicion against him. And if it be found that malice was the cause, the bishops at the council should strive to peacefully reunite the two. But if Arius had feigned his repentance, he should return to Alexandria and there be judged in this matter.
- 3.17.11 The praiseworthy emperor wrote this out of concern for the unity of everyone so that, once every quarrel there had been removed, they might peacefully carry out the dedication of the church in Jerusalem, consecrating it to God.
- 3.17.12 Impious Arius, however, refused to appear at the council in Tyre. Great Athanasius arrived at that council in Tyre with much eagerness along with his priests Timothy and Macarius and with many other clerics and noblemen attending him.
- 3.17.13 When the bishops had thus assembled in Tyre and had all gathered in one place along with Dionysius, who was of consular rank, the most prominently distinguished men of his entourage, and the governor of the province, that Dionysius delivered the emperor’s letter to the council of bishops.
- 3.17.14 Some other bishops accused of doctrinal errors also appeared, among whom was Asclepas of Gaza. But I first want to insert in this writing the sinister accusation against Saint Athanasius then describe the events which transpired at the well-known trial.
- 3.17.15 A certain Arsenius, who had previously been a lector under Athanasius, was accused of certain crimes and was about to be killed by a mob. When great Athanasius (who had investigated the case) learned of this, he saved Arsenius like so: Because he found out that Arsenius had been falsely accused, he came at night and rescued the man, enabling him to flee and escape being murdered.

- 3.17.16 Afterwards, the followers of Melitius found him in Egypt and arranged for him to be granted the title of bishop. After a while, those of Melitius's faction, at the instigation of Eusebius of Nicomedia (he was the one devising crafty false accusations against the pious everywhere), hid this very Arsenius and asked him to remain hidden for a long time.
- 3.17.17 Then they cut off the right hand of a corpse, placed it, embalmed, in a wooden box, and carried it around everywhere, claiming that Athanasius had murdered and dismembered Arsenius. They denounced Athanasius as a murderer.
- 3.17.18 But the all-seeing eye of God did not permit Arsenius to remain hidden for long. First it became clear that he lived in Egypt in the territory of Thebes. Then God (as Arsenius later reported) made him consider the salvation Athanasius had obtained for him against all expectations. He would be doing wrong and committing a grave injustice if he should look the other way while his benefactor suffered death for his sake rather than himself dying for him. So the Lord of everything led him to Tyre, where the false accusers were exhibiting the infamous hand before the judges.
- 3.17.19 When Athanasius's companions saw him, they took him to their quarters, and when they had learned from him how God had intervened and what he had decided, they urged him to stay hidden for the time being.
- 3.17.20 As morning drew near, great Athanasius entered the council chamber together with his priests Timothy and Macarius as well as the people from Alexandria who had accompanied him there.
- 3.17.21 The conspirators had brought in a woman who was living licentiously. She kept on loudly claiming that she had taken a vow of virginity but that Athanasius, while visiting her quarters, had raped her and corrupted her against her will. As she was saying this, the accused entered, and with him the priest Timothy—an admirable man—and the others.
- 3.17.22 When the judges ordered Athanasius to defend himself against the accusation, Athanasius remained silent, as if he were not himself the accused, while Timothy said to the woman, "Woman, have I ever met you? Have I ever entered your house?" She cried out even more shamelessly in response to Timothy, reaching out, grabbing him, and saying to Timothy himself, "You took away my virginity; you stripped me of self-control; you corrupted the decency of my soul," and whatever else women who have no shame are wont to say due to excessive intemperance.
- 3.17.23 This caused more disruption to the proceedings than any wonder, for Athanasius had been accused, but Timothy had been blamed. So those who had manufactured the drama were put to shame, and even the conspirators among the judges blushed. They had the woman thrown out.

- 3.17.24 Then godly Athanasius said that they should not send the woman away but should question her and find out who had caused this matter. But the false accusers cried out that there were other, more serious charges which could not be resolved by any skill or cleverness. “Sight, not hearing, will judge the evidence.” Having said this, they presented that infamous box and uncovered the embalmed hand.
- 3.17.25 When those in the assembly saw, each one cried out: the conspirators of the false accusers said the atrocity was genuine; those who knew of the deception said Arsenius was still alive in hiding and laughed.
- 3.17.26 A great uproar filled the assembly. When with difficulty a brief silence was achieved, Athanasius, the accused, asked the judges whether any of them were acquainted with Arsenius. When many said that they knew the man well, Athanasius gave the command to bring him in.
- 3.17.27 So Arsenius came in and stood in the middle of the assembly. Athanasius again asked, “Is this Arsenius, the man whom I killed and whom these men mutilated after his slaughter by taking away his right hand?” Very many people in the council confirmed that he was Arsenius. Then godly Athanasius removed Arsenius’s cloak and pointed to both of his hands—the right and the left. “Let no one look for another,” he said, “for each of us humans receives two hands from the maker of all.”
- 3.17.28 Though this was shown to be true by the judgment of God, who sees all, and though the accusers and their accomplices among the judges ought to have sunk down and prayed that the earth itself would swallow them up whole, they did the opposite. They filled the assembly with uproar and discord, calling Athanasius a wizard and saying that he was deceiving people’s vision with magical trickery.
- 3.17.29 They rebelled against him and tried to rip apart and kill the champion of piety, moving even the earth itself, so to speak, and throwing dust into the air like those who once cried out against the divine apostle Paul, “Get rid of him at once, for he does not deserve to live.”<sup>18</sup>
- 3.17.30 But those tasked by the emperor with preserving order prevented his murder. They spirited him away, victorious, and ensured his salvation by guiding him on board a ship. After boarding the ship, godly Athanasius hastened to the imperial court and thus escaped the hands of his would-be murderers.
- 3.17.31 These ones immediately sent to the Mareotes some like-minded bishops: Theognis of Nicaea, Maris of Chalcedon, Theodore of Heraclea in Thrace, Narcissus of Cilicia, Ursacius, and some other like-minded people. Their task was to draw up one-sided charges against Athanasius there. (The Mareotes, which is in Alexandria, is named for Lake Maria, which is nearby.)

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<sup>18</sup> Cf. Acts 22:22.

- 3.17.32 They instructed them also to send the author of the evils, Arius, as quickly as possible to them at Aelia (that is, Jerusalem), to which they had set out from Tyre with the bishops at the council. For the emperor had ordered the entire council from Tyre to assemble afterwards in Jerusalem with all the bishops from everywhere, as I said before, to consecrate the temples he had built there.
- 3.17.33 He had also dispatched there some of the more loyal officials, distinguished in piety and faithfulness, with orders to lavishly furnish everyone with everything—not only bishops, priests, and their attendants, but also everyone in need who assembled from everywhere. An untold multitude from all parts of the East, so to speak, had flowed together there for the dedication of the new Jerusalem. The divine altar was adorned with imperial fabrics and golden treasures set with precious stones.
- 3.17.34 When impious Arius came to Aelia on the day of the dedication with much eagerness especially upon hearing that Athanasius was staying away from that festival, those of the same mind as him (I mean the followers of Eusebius of Nicomedia and Patrophilus of Scythopolis) joyfully received him.
- 3.17.35 Those belonging to the true faith, however, opposed Arius when they saw him and turned away from him as from something unclean. They drove him from the church and ordered that he be expelled from the council, with the understanding that he would stand trial at the council in Alexandria, in which, they had determined, he would also be convicted. This, it is said, was also in line with the order of our Christ-loving Emperor Constantine.
- 3.17.36 Once that corrupter had thus been removed and they had celebrated the festival in a most peaceful and splendid manner, the all-praiseworthy and most faithful emperor learned of the splendor and extravagance of the festal assembly and was filled with extreme joy. He greatly extolled the Lord of good things for having granted him this request also.
- 3.17.37 After the festival of dedication had so gloriously run its course, the majority of bishops returned to their own countries, especially those who had not attended the council in Tyre.
- 3.17.38 But those of the faction of Eusebius of Nicomedia, who along with him had accepted the disgrace of Arius, came up with Eusebius himself and the other bishops to Tyre. There they awaited the return of those like-minded to them from the Mareotes.
- 3.17.39 Meanwhile, Athanasius had arrived at the imperial court. He came before the pious, God-loving Emperor Constantine and explained to him all the intrigue undertaken against him. The kind, sympathetic Emperor Constantine was saddened in spirit at the plots against Athanasius and disturbed at the unjust judgment against him.
- 3.17.40 Especially because Athanasius begged him with tears to summon the accusers and the judges and to resume the trial before the pious emperor himself, the emperor sent

letters to those in Tyre who had returned from Aelia to inform them that Athanasius was with him and to request that they come to Constantinople as quickly as possible. The letter reads as follows:<sup>19</sup>

- 3.18.1 “Victor Constantinus Maximus Augustus, to the bishops again assembled in Tyre. I on my part am unaware of the decisions your council has made with so much uproar and storming, but it seems that disorderly confusion has somehow distorted the truth. Clearly, on account of your mutual quarreling, which you do not want to be put to rest, you cannot see what is pleasing to God.
- 3.18.2 But let God’s providence clearly reveal and scatter the awful mischief resulting from your rivalry, or rather your wicked struggling. Let him explicitly show to us whether you showed any concern for truth when you gathered there and whether you passed judgment with neither partiality nor hatred.
- 3.18.3 For this reason, I want you to quickly come to my piety so that you may yourselves present before me a precise account of your negotiations. You will learn from the following why I considered it right to write this to you and through this letter called you to myself.
- 3.18.4 Athanasius, the bishop of the church in Alexandria and disciple of divine law, is with me. When I was returning from a field camp to the city which bears our name, all-blessed Constantinople, he met me in the middle of the thoroughfare together with some others, mourning and lamenting. He approached so suddenly as to give us cause for alarm.
- 3.18.5 God, who sees all, is my witness that I could not have recognized who he was by his appearance had not some of our companions upon our inquiry reported who he was and what injustice he had suffered at your hands. The man appeared so humbled and downcast to us that we felt inexpressible pity for him when we learned that he was Athanasius, whose holy countenance suffices to draw even the pagans to worship the God of all. Long ago certain wicked men, hostile to peace and harmony, surrounded him with weighty false accusations.
- 3.18.6 As a result even I myself, taken in by their crafty deception, would have sinned against the man had I not, moved by God’s decree, ordered him at that time to come from Alexandria to the court of our clemency with haste.
- 3.18.7 So the man himself answered my reverence concerning the falsely constructed charges against him, defending himself before us. He refuted the lying accusations and was proved innocent in all of them, so we sent him off to his own country with the utmost honor, and he returned in peace to the orthodox people who were guided by him.

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<sup>19</sup> The following letter is also preserved in Athanasius, *Apologia secunda contra Arianos* 86; Socrates 1.34; Sozomen 2.28.2-12.

- 3.18.8 Now he again cries out that these second accusations, worse than the former ones, have been boldly levelled against him. He asks nothing else from us with greater boldness than that you come to us, which he requested so that he might in your presence lament what he has had to suffer.
- 3.18.9 Because we found this reasonable and proper to the circumstances, I had this letter written to you in order that all you who attended the council in Tyre would immediately hasten to our court and demonstrate by the facts themselves that your judgment was spotless and incontrovertible, defending your judgments before me (you yourselves would not deny that I am truly a genuine servant of God).
- 3.18.10 For through my service to God there is peace everywhere, and even the most barbarous peoples, which until now have been ignorant of the truth, genuinely worship the name of God. And clearly he who is ignorant of the truth does not even know God. However, as just said, even the barbarians themselves, on account of me, the genuine servant of God, have now come to know God and have learned to worship him, whom they could perceive defending me and providing everywhere through the bare facts. For this reason they certainly also know God, whom they worship on account of their fear of us.
- 3.18.11 As for us, we who seem to put forward the holy mysteries of his goodwill (for I would not say we guard them) do nothing other than that which strives toward discord and hatred, and, to speak simply, toward the destruction of the human race.
- 3.18.12 So hurry to us as quickly as possible, as I said before, with the confidence that I will attempt with my every power to ensure that the law of God especially be kept without fault so that neither blame nor any bad repute will be able to cling to it, namely, when the enemies of the law of God have been scattered, utterly crushed, and completely destroyed.
- 3.18.13 Under the pretext of the holy name they utter all kinds of blasphemies so as to deceive simpler minds, desiring, so far as it is possible, to defile the purity of the catholic church, which our Savior keeps spotless, holy, and blameless, having purchased it with his saving, precious blood, as his divine, unbreakable laws declare.”
- 3.18.14 This letter brought anguish to those in the council, especially the followers of Eusebius of Nicomedia. Their representatives in the Mareotes, who had signed off on lies as if they were true by compiling a one-sided investigative report against the great Athanasius before this imperial letter, met with the council of admirable bishops in Tyre.
- 3.18.15 But not all accepted that counterfeit report against Athanasius, full as it was of their abominable slanders. Therefore, most of them anxiously returned to their own places when they had learned the contents of the emperor’s letter from their reading.



- 3.18.16 But the followers of Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis and those with them, meanwhile, tarried in Tyre, stalling for time. But they wrote to the pious emperor that they were being kept there against their will though they were in a hurry to set out to him. They sent him their counterfeit investigative report, which the faithful emperor rejected as an abomination and refused to even accept it. He ordered the offenders to come to him once and for all.
- 3.18.17 Meanwhile, as they (I mean the followers of Eusebius) were still delaying, he again dispatched Athanasius to Alexandria with utmost honor, having written again to the church of Alexandria that their bishop, Athanasius, had been falsely attacked and that his purity shone forth conspicuously in all his dealings.
- 3.18.18 When Athanasius arrived at Alexandria and was being acclaimed in accord with the emperor's commands and the orders of the orthodox bishops gathered for the consecration in Jerusalem, the affairs concerning Arius happened.<sup>20</sup> There was a large gathering of the crowd and a confused expectation based on a wavering outcome, especially since all saw that the things unanimously decided and determined by so many prominent bishops were again called into question.
- 3.18.19 Therefore godly Athanasius, seeing that Alexandria was agitated along with all of Egypt, did not keep silent; he made it known by letter to the pious ears of the all-excellent, God-loving emperor.
- 3.18.20 When the emperor learned that Arius had again changed direction, he sent for him to have him brought to Constantinople to give an account of the disturbances he had again dared to set in motion. He wrote to him and those with him an indignant letter against them. The letter reads as follows.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Hansen says that this refers to Arius's return to Alexandria mentioned in 3.13.18.

<sup>21</sup> The letter which should follow is not preserved in the textual tradition of the *Anonymous Church History*. The chapter index at the start of Book 3 indicates that, in addition to the letter (Chapter 19), an account of Emperor Constantine's prayer upon the death of Arius (Chapter 20) and two letters from Emperor Constantine to Pistus, bishop of Marcianopolis (Chapters 21 and 22), are not preserved.