

The Early Church Fathers Writings

Volume 103

THE EARLY CHURCH FATHERS WRITINGS

Volume 103

Coptic Discourses, the Macarius Fragments and
Armenian Texts

c. AD 400 – 900

S E R M O N I N D E X

The Early Church Fathers Writings

Volume 103: Coptic Discourses, the Macarius Fragments and Armenian Texts

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INTRODUCTION TO THIS VOLUME

How this book is arranged

This is the hundred and third volume of a series that gathers the writings of the early Church. The first volumes of the series follow the writers in order of date; this volume belongs to the later part of the series, which gathers the Coptic and Armenian writings of the Christian East, which were read in monasteries and churches and do not belong to any one of the great Fathers. This volume holds the rest of Budge's Miscellaneous Coptic Texts, which are encomia, discourses, martyrdoms and an apocalypse; Hugh Evelyn White's translations of the fragments found at the Monastery of Saint Macarius in the Egyptian desert; the Coptic Life of Isaac of Alexandria; three writings of the Armenian scholar Ananias of Shirak; and the Key of Truth, the service book of the Paulician Church of Armenia.

Within each work the text is divided into chapters and numbered sections, so that any passage can be found again and cited. The small bold figures in the text are the section numbers.

The translations

The text is in English only. Wherever a modern English version has been prepared for SermonIndex it is used here; otherwise the book prints an older public-domain translation. In both cases the wording is the translator's own: older translations have not been altered beyond dividing them into sections. The sources for every work are listed at the back of the book, together with the licence under which each text is released. All the works in this volume are printed in older public-domain translations. The translations by Budge, Evelyn White and Conybeare were read by machine from scans of the printed books and have not been proofread against the pages, so a misreading may remain. Page numbers, footnotes and the Coptic text itself are left out, and Coptic words that the machine printed in Greek letters are omitted. The writings of Ananias of Shirak were transcribed by Roger Pearse. The Life of Isaac of Alexandria is used under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 licence, and the other works are in the public domain.

In this volume

The first half of this volume holds the rest of Budge's Miscellaneous Coptic Texts: encomia and discourses for the feasts of the Virgin Mary, of the Cross and of the archangels, the martyrdoms of Theodore and Mercurius, the histories of the monks of the desert by Paphnutius, the prayer of Athanasius when dying, and a Coptic Apocalypse of Paul. These were preached or read in the churches of Upper Egypt, and their authors are named as the manuscripts name them.

The Monastery of Saint Macarius stands in the Wâdi 'n Natrûn, the ancient Scetis, in the Egyptian desert. Hugh Evelyn White's fragments come from its library and are translated as they stand, so that each begins and ends where the manuscript does. After them come the Coptic Life of Isaac of Alexandria, which is the patriarch's life in the years of the Arab conquest, and three writings of Ananias of Shirak, a seventh-century Armenian teacher who wrote on the sciences and on the calendar of the church. The volume ends with the Key of Truth, the service book of the Paulician Church of Armenia, which is read here as a document of a small church that the Orthodox opposed.

Dates and authorship

The Coptic texts are the work of many hands and of many centuries, and the dates given in them are uncertain. Many were written long after the saints they praise, and many carry the name of a famous bishop although he did not write them. Each work begins with a short introduction that says what is known and what is not. The Key of Truth was copied in 1782 but contains much older material.

P A R T O N E

Miscellaneous Coptic Texts

Budge's eighteen encomia, discourses, martyrdoms and apocalypses: the Virgin, the Cross, Mercurius, the archangels, the monks of the desert and the Apocalypse of Paul.

Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt, Part 1

TRANSLATED BY E. A. WALLIS BUDGE

Manuscripts of the 5th–10th century

The first twelve of eighteen Coptic texts that Budge first published: an encomium on Theodore the Anatolian, discourses on the Virgin Mary attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem, Demetrius of Antioch, Epiphanius and Cyril of Alexandria, the teaching of Apa Psote, a discourse of Severus of Antioch on the compassion of God, a discourse of Cyril of Jerusalem on the discovery of the Cross, three texts on Mercurius the martyr, and a discourse on the archangel Gabriel. Many are legendary, and the names of the authors are those that the manuscripts give.

I. THE ENCOMIUM OF THEODORE, ARCHBISHOP OF ANTIOCH, ON THEODORE THE ANATOLIAN

¹(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7030) The encomium which saint apa theodore, archbishop of antioch, pronounced on the valiant saint, the victorious warrior of antioch, the destroyer of the persians, saint theodore the anatolian. HE SPAKE ALSO CONCERNING HIS ORIGIN, AND HIS RACE (OR, FAMILY), AND HIS CAREER AS A SOLDIER, AND HIS GLORIOUS CAREER AS A GENERAL, AND THE AMOUNT OF HIS ANNUAL INCOME. AND HE ALSO SPAKE CONCERNING THE DAY WHEREON HE ENDED HIS CAREER ...THAT IS TO SAY, THE WELFTH DAY OF THE MONTH TÔBE. HE SPAKE ALSO CONCERNING APA GAIUS, THE ARCHBISHOP OF ANTIOCH, UNDER WHOM THE FIRST OF ALL THE MARTYRS SUFFERED. HE ALSO SPAKE BRIEFLY CONCERNING SAINT APA GAUDIUS. IN THE PEACE OF GOD. AMEN. The orchard is a pleasant place, and the trees thereof ester round about it, they flourish [and] are laden with fit, O my beloved. The blossom is pleasant and glorious, and emitteth a sweet and choice odour. All the great ones are round about it, and

the mighty men and the Generals voice and are glad therein. These words do not [apply] to

²He is commemorated in the Ethiopian Church on the twelfth day of the month Ter, i.e. December 7; a short life of him is given in the Syriarium (Ter xii = the Coptic Tobe xii), and a longer one in Brit. Mus. MS. Orient., No. 689, ff. P P Antioch only, but also to the heavenly Jerusalem, the habitation of all the saints. And even though Diocletian, the lawless one, overthrew the houses of the Generals of my city of Antioch because of his wrath against them, Christ Himself, the Beloved of the Father, hath built them up into a palace in His City of Truth, the Jerusalem of heaven. And even though Diocletian, the lawless one, separated them (i. e. these Generals) from their parents, and from their brethren, and from their kinsfolk who were living upon the earth, Christ, the King of kings, called them 'brethren' and 'companions', even as He called the Apostles, at the time when they were on the earth. An earthly king called the valiant men of my city to him as 'recruits', but the Deathless King, Christ, hath called them 'My victorious warriors in the strife'. And I, Theodore, who am the least among men, when I look upon [the remains of] their habitations upon this earth which

³Diocletian made into a desert, straightway I say, 'Where are the kings who have died, and the Generals whom Diocletian made?' The mighty ones of my city hath this evil beast cast down to the ground because of his hatred towards them. But God, Who loveth the race of man, hath received them unto Himself in His kingdom, and hath given unto them an inheritance in His kingdom, [which is] a city that cannot be laid waste, whereof the trees never wither, and the fruits of the trees never perish. This is the place of joy and of gladness and of exultation for ever! Take shame to thyself this day, O Diocletian, who art in the deepest Amente, whilst all the saints are in the kingdom that is in the heavens! The lawless kings have been cast into Amente because of the evil which they have done to the holy martyrs; and these holy men are in the kingdom that is in the heavens. Thou wouldst have carried them, O transgressor of the law, into a city over which a mortal kin reigned, but they removed themselves into a city over which death hath no power. Thou didst not make them die,

⁴O transgressor of the law, as every one else [dieth], but thou didst kill them by means of the death of violence. And in very truth, O Diocletian, when I remember thy rule, and the evil which thou hast done unto the no-

blemen of Antioch, I curse thee, [and] I revile thee, [and] I call thee by evil names, O thou evil, blood-shedding lion, thou bear that didst drink blood at all times, thou dragon that dost well in the abyss! Furthermore, when I remember also the honours which they have received in the heavens, and that their memorial shall abide [for ever] in the world, then the nations perceive that the power of healing is bound in their holy bodies, and that healing is graciously granted into those who are sick in the name[s] of the saints, and that martyrums are built in their names, one after the other, upon the earth, I say straightway, that thou wast born with evil destiny and for thine own destruction alone. But it has a glorious destiny for these saints and martyrs to bring their lives to an end through thee, for they have received destructible crowns in the kingdom which is in the heavens.

5 For in very truth when I remember what thou didst do into Saint Theodore the Anatolian, I am amazed, and I make with wonder, for indeed great were the evils which thou didst inflict upon that brave warrior of Antioch, O Dioletian. When I consider the tree whereon they crucified Theodore the Anatolian, the tree that was anointed with his her blood, and I remember the one hundred and fifty-three was which they drove into his holy body on the tree, I weep bitterly with many tears, and I curse thee, O Diocletian. But when I gaze up into the heavens, and I see his (i. e. Theodore's) throne on the right hand of Michael, outside the Veil of the Father, straightway I utter cries of joy, and I say, 'Will it is that thou wast born, O Diocletian, so that thou minest put to death this valiant warrior Theodore the

6 Anatolian, and so enable him to acquire this great honour in the heavens before Christ Jesus! Behold, the tree whereon they crucified thee did the Emperor Constantine command to be made into the doors of his martyrimum, and into the apse of his chamber of sacrifice, and into the bier whereon his holy body [lay]. When I think, [O Diocletian,] what thou didst do unto Victor, the son of Romanus, I am smitten with wonder that thou wast not ashamed before his father who put him to death. When I look upon the stone slabs over which they dragged him, and which were smeared with his holy blood, and when I think upon the fetters which they bound on his feet and legs, and which now hang on the doors of his holy martyrimum wherein he driveth out devils and also upon the stone slabs that were smeared with his blood, and that are now laid down in his martyrimum and illumine (? the...

7 of my city, I give thanks unto God and I say, 'Well it is that thou wast born, O Diocletian so that thou mightest put these saints to death whereby they became the equals of the angels in the heavens and on the earth!' When I look at the sword of Horion, the companion of the saint Apa Victor, and the flat shield of gold which hangeth in his martyrrium, again do I lift up my eyes to the heights of heaven, and I see his crown of gold, and his royal sceptre, and four and twenty angels bearing them in the heavens. And I also see the King Christ comforting him saying, 'I liken Mine own sufferings unto thine, O M chosen one, Victor!' When I see his courtyard planted with trees, and a fountain of water placed in the midst thereof, and the pillars wherefrom honey is flowing at all times, and I see the joy in his monastery which is stablished in the heavens, and how they bear him from this side to that, I exclaim, 'Well it is that thou wast born, O Diocletian, so that thou mightest put to death upon earth this mighty warrior, and so enable him to receive an inheritance in the heavens!' And straightway I bless the true Creator, the Christ, Who hath remembered my city of Antioch, and hath raised up unto us these great and brilliant luminaries, these true pearls in the house of righteous kings, these warriors who were mighty men of war.

8 For at the moment when I am walking in their maryriums on the earth, and I see the pictures of them drawn side by side as if they had just come forth from the battle in which they had been fighting, straightway I rejoice, and utter cries of gladness. I am unable to keep fast hold upon the seal of my lips a second time, neither am I able to set bridle in my lips and mouth concerning the state of joy which I see them; and I cannot restrain my tongue and revert it from performing its function, and I must declare their honourable estate. 9 For when I look upon the palace of Diocletian, this murderer of the mighty men of Antioch, which is now under the settled governance of the God-loving imperor, and when I see his places of idols, which are now id waste, and which have been made into churches, wherein he ready the Books of the Gospels, and when I see his throne lawlessness, which hath been removed from under him, and his bedchamber of lawlessness, which hath been destroyed, exclaim, 'Well it is that the pride of that arrogant man Diocletian hath been abased, and that there hath been raised for us the humble and God-loving Emperor Constantine, who hath remembered his fellowship with them and his rank of General, and that the throne of Antioch hath been bestowed upon him!' For when I see Martha,

the mother of Apa Victor, weeping for her son with burning of heart, and when I hear Thebasia, the sister of Apa Claudius, weeping for her brother with sorrow of heart, and when I see Tekharis, the sister of Theodore the Anatolian, at the foot of the tree

¹⁰ Probably Claudius the martyr mentioned in the Synaxarium (See 11 = June 5); for a fuller life of him see Brit. Mus. MS. Orient., N. 686, weeping for her brother, and when I see Asenneth, the sister of Apa Stephen, the son of Basilides, weeping for her brother, when, I say, I see all these [women] weeping I exclaim, 'It is a dire calamity that thou wast born, O Diocletian!' Yet again, afterwards, when I lift up min eyes to heaven, and see these saints sitting upon thrones of glory, and the angels crowning them with crowns, I exclaim 'Well it is that thou wast born [O Diocletian], for it is through thee that these saints have received crowns!' And when I see their martyrisms that have been built around my city of Antioch like a wall, and when I hear the bells of gold that hang in the innermost parts of their martyrisms, and when I see the multitudes of people exulting in their holy festivals, straightway I rejoice, and I bless my King Christ saying, 'Well it is that God hath raised up for us these great and brilliant light-givers, which illumine all our city these physicians who are healers of our souls and of our bodies at the same time, these Generals who are to be feared these fighters who contend at all times for the Name of Christ, these master-warriors who at all times do battle with Satan! Well also is it that God hath raised up for us the God-loving Emperor Constantine, who was a General like unto them when they were in the body with him, who hath built their martyrisms with every possible honour, who hath sought out their bodies, and who hath brought them into the light, and they comfort their followers with us all, and the strengthen our whole city.'

¹¹ Our God-loving Emperor hath known their might from the time when they were in the body with him, for they were warriors who did battle with the wicked Barbarians. What Constantine saw that he had become Emperor [he knew] that he had especial need of them in the war, for he knew the they were of more value than many mighty men of war. He ascribed glory unto them, and especially because they had magnified him in the exalted dignity of his kingdom, in his wish to stablish the fellowship of the Anatolian. He knew his valour, and the honourable renown which he possessed through his parents, and he ascribed glory to him in order that he

might exalt him the more. And I, Theodore, the least of all men, will not hold my peace concerning the commemoration of this holy man Theodore the Anatolian. For, if we eat at his table, his valour will give [me] courage; if I fall down, he will lift me up; if mine adversary pursue me, he will deliver me out of his hand; if my ship be about to be engulfed in the waters, he will act as pilot for me, and will bring me to dry land; if I blunder stupidly in my encomium upon him, he will bear patiently with me, until I cease to err, and until my mad fit turneth away from me. Therefore I will allow my tongue to perform its function in its own proper manner, and I will speak about the commemoration of this holy man, Theodore the Anatolian. I will open my mouth with gladness, and I will declare the things which the Holy Spirit shall cause to enter into my mouth.

¹² Now, the holy man Theodore, whose festival we are celebrating this day, was the son of Soterichus, the brother of Ptolemy, the governor, the father of Apa Claudius. They were men of Tarsus of Cilicia, and they were in the same garden together. And the fathers of the two men Apa Theodore and Apa Claudius were the sons of a man whose name was Samar. He was not indeed a man who possessed very large sums of money, but he grew wheat on large tracts of land, and he had gardens, and vineyards, and orchards. He was not, however, a merchant who trafficked in all the things which he had in that region, because of the greatness of his possessions. And after a long time he died, like every other man, and left whatsoever property he had to his ix ib sons, Ptolemy, the father of Apa Claudius, and Soterichus, the father of Apa Theodore. And when the mourning ceremonies for their father had come to an end, a great strife broke out between the two brethren Ptolemy and Soterichus, concerning the property of their father. And the two [brothers] rose up and came to Antioch, to the feet of the king, so that he might settle the dispute between them. And Ptolemy, the father of Apa Claudius, was older than

¹³ Soterichus, the father of Apa Theodore. And Ptolemy gave a centenarius of gold behind the back of (i.e. unknown to) Soterichus, the father of Apa Theodore, to Euius the king, and when the king saw their wealth, and their military rank, he gave his daughter to Ptolemy to wife. And [concerning] Soterichus, the father of Theodore, Ptolemy informed Euius the king, saying, 'He is my brother, and the same father begat both [of us]'; and he made him a fellow ruler and councillor. And the king sent to Tarsus, and removed

them to Antioch. And the king gave his brother's daughter, whose name was Sophia, to Soterichus to wife. And the two [brothers] became exceedingly powerful, and they flourished in Antioch, for the king loved them. And whensoever [the troops] went out to exercise both brothers mounted the king's chariots. And, moreover, the matter became well known that each of the two brothers had married a daughter of the king.

¹⁴ And after these things the two brilliant luminaries, Theodore and Claudius, were born, and straightway the Archbishop, ¹⁵ Apa Gaius, was sent for, and he prayed over the two children. And [their fathers] made a great feast for the Archbishop, and for the nobles of the palace, and for all [the people of] Antioch on that day. And the fathers of the children would not give them names without the opinion of the Archbishop, and Apa Gaius blessed them in the impulse of his spirit. And when the days of their purification were accomplished, the Archbishop took the two children, and set them before the altar of sacrifice; and when he had prayed over them he uncovered their faces, and he saw the names of both of them written upon their foreheads. The letter THETA was written upon [the forehead of] the son of Soterichus, and the letter GAMMA was written upon [the forehead of] the son of the daughter of the king; and these two written signs were visible to every one. And the people marvelled, and Apa Gaius the Archbishop was exceedingly astonished at what had happened to the little children. And a voice was heard from the support whereon the little children were lying, [saying], 'Theodore the Anatolian, Claudius the Persian.' And the Archbishop offered up sacrifice that day, and [the fathers] lighted a great bonfire in Antioch, and made a great feast whereto every one came. And the dwellers in the palace loved Claudius because of his noble rank; now this was before his father Ptolemy became king, though he was [already] the equal of the king.

¹⁶ And they appointed free women to be nurses to the two children, and to bring them up. And Father Apa Gaius the Archbishop baptized the two children, who were full cousins (literally, brethren) each of the other, and of the same stock (or, family), and he gave unto each a name according to the lot that had been ordained for him. And whilst he was considering the name of Saint Theodore, his mother called him 'the Anatolian', according to the name of her city Anatolia. And they gave to Saint Apa Claudius the name of 'the Persian', because his mother was by race a Persian. ¹⁷ And it came to pass that some years after these holy men were born Euius the king died, and

[Ptolemy], the father of Pa Claudius, became the king, and Soterichus, the father of Pa Theodore, became the equal of the king, and they administered the affairs of the kingdom. And there was a certain great merchant in Antioch, who was a neighbour of Soterichus, and whose name was Romanus, and he was exceedingly rich, and he gave a centenarius of gold to Soterichus, the father of Apa Theodore, that he might make him a General in the Imperial Army. And Soterichus took the money, and gave unto him the power and authority that belonged to the rank of General, for he was his sister's husband. And in those days, that is to say, in that very same year wherein these two saints Theodore and Claudius were born, [birthday] sacrifices were offered up on behalf of the two children, and all the people of Antioch marvelled at their magnificence. And their fathers made a feast for all the people of the city, and for twenty-seven days they celebrated the birthdays of the two little children, both in the

¹⁸ palace and in the houses of the widows and orphans. And they inscribed the names of the two [children] upon the four-gated castle of the city, thus, 'Theodore and Claudius, the sons of the king.' And the two children were taught in the same school. And all the people of the city desired to see them because of their beauty, and because of their noble rank, and their intelligence, and their handsome faces, and the splendour of their apparel. And a great number of cymbals and instruments of music played before them whensoever they wished to go into the church to partake of the Sacrament, and a proclamation was made by the herald everywhere throughout the city, saying, 'Claudius and Theodore, the sons of the king, wish to go into the church to partake of the Sacrament.' Thereupon a multitude of people would gather together upon the dung-heaps of the city of Antioch, and upon the mounds in the city, and upon the roofs of their houses, so that they might see them sitting upon the king's chariot. And the people used to decorate the road by which they came to the church with [banners of] purple cloth and byssus, and with linen streamers, and with yellow banners (?),

¹⁹ and they used to sweep the road clean, and strew it with the choicest aromatic herbs, and with [branches of] laurel and syringa. And whilst the two children sat side by side in the place of honour which was set apart for them in the church, all the people sat behind them and admired their beauty. And their mothers made pomegranates in gold and silver wherefrom they sprinkled water over them. Their tables and their drinking cups were of gold

and silver, and their stands were inlaid with precious stones, that is to say, emeralds, and topazes, and diamonds, and chrysolite. And the name of each of the children was written upon their tables in equal size, and in an equally splendid manner. And my Father, Apa Gaius, administered the Sacrament to them. And I, Theodore, the least of all men, acted as attendant at the feet of my Father, Apa Gaius, on that day. And when these children came into the church to partake of the Sacrament the Archangels Michael and Gabriel stood by their side. And Michael took hold of the hand of Saint Theodore, and placed his sword in his hand, saying, 'Take this for thyself, O Theodore. Thou shalt conquer, and thou shalt prevail, and thou shalt put to flight thine enemy therewith, like Benaiah, the mighty man of Israel. Thy hand shall fight, and thy right hand shall conquer. I am Michael the Archangel.

²⁰ Christ hath already given thee unto me as a favour in His kingdom, and thou shalt take my strength [with thee] into battle, for there hath already been given unto thee in the heavens the name of "Theodore, the mighty General". And Gabriel, who was on the right hand of Claudius, reached out to him the sword of fire which was in his hand, saying, 'Take this for thyself, for the destruction of the Barbarians, and put to flight the Persians therewith. Take unto thee also, O Claudius, my great humility and glory. They call me God and man, and they shall call thee "General and son of the King". Theodore hath been given into the hand of my fellow archangel in the heavens, and thou hast been given unto me in the heavens.' And when Apa Gaius had seen the vision, he marvelled and was exceedingly perturbed, and he rose up and said unto me, 'My son Theodore, whether I die or whether I live, Claudius and Theodore shall be renowned throughout the whole world for their valour. For I say unto thee, O my son Theodore, that the names of these children shall be as famous as the names of the Apostles of Christ, and that their names shall reach even unto the Persians.' And I entreated pardon

²¹ from him, and I said, 'Forgive me, O my holy father. Peradventure thou hast only imagined that thou hast seen these things concerning these sons of the king.' And he said unto me, 'My son Theodore, I saw the two children given into the hands of the two Archons of the Court of the King Christ, namely, Michael and Gabriel, who will make them to be victorious in battle. It hath been shewn unto me that the lot of Theodore appertaineth to Michael, and that Claudius hath been given into the hand of Gabriel.

And I believe, O my son Theodore, that [these archangels] shall bless them in their life and in their death.' And after these things they came out of the church that day in great honour and glory, both of them, and the holy men [directed] the ship of the government, and their names were written upon their banners (?) as captains of war and as sons of the king. And their fathers made a bracelet of gold for each of them, and unto each a thousand slaves were given, and the distinguishing apparel of a prince was [placed] upon each of them. They resembled each other in their features, and in their graciousness, and in their understanding, and in their noble bearing. And it was arranged that the sister of

²² Theodore should be married to Apa Claudius, and Theodore the Anatolian to the sister of Apa Claudius, for thus one royal family would be united to another royal family, and honourable rank would be added to honourable rank, and majesty would be added to majesty, and renown to renown. But from the moment wherein the angel of the Lord touched them he removed from them external pollution, and every blemish of this world, and they were made to forget marriage and the taking of wives, and they became like unto the angels, that is to say, like unto those who had been made eunuchs by the hands of men. From that day the holy men never entered into a bath to wash themselves therein, and they never stripped their bodies naked. And the poor, and the widows, and the orphans thronged to the road along which the holy men passed, and they waited there to receive alms from the hands of their servants, to whom their lords gave money to give unto those who were in need in the streets; and the yearly allowance of each of the holy men from the king's palace was one thousand pieces of money. And the holy men never wished to be present at a feast accompanied by the music of cymbals and pipes. They had no liking whatsoever for the places where theatrical spectacles were exhibited, and they greatly disliked the places where instrumental music was performed. They felt no desire for

²³ any woman of pleasure, and they never allowed their gaze to rest upon any beautiful woman as the sons of a king are wont to do. They took no delight whatsoever in the pomp and ceremony of this world, but they passed their time in reciting the passages of Scriptures which they had learned by heart, and psalms and prayers, and they spent their nights in watching [and prayer]. When they wished to learn about military operations they used to take the BOOK OF ALEXANDER, and read it, and they were made happy

thereby. And these holy men passed fifteen years in the splendour of the kingdom. In their youth all the soldiers in the army loved them as they loved the angels of God, because of their generosity and because of their holy lives, and at length the Persians heard of their names, and marvelled thereat. Now in those days there was war between the Persians and the Romans, because of certain ships which had been seized (or, plundered) on the road (i.e. on the high seas); and finally an exceedingly fierce struggle took place between them, and very large numbers of men were killed on several occasions during that war. And the Emperor of Rome dispatched

²⁴ his army of soldiers and his own son with his own warlike host; and Soterichus was in the palace with his son Theodore, for they were in charge of the throne of the Kings (or, Emperors). Then after these things [there was] a second war, [and the two armies] came face to face on the river Tanobis. And the King of the Romans spake to his host, saying, 'Whatsoever ye are able to carry off as spoil from the Persians, ye are permitted to possess as your own property'; and the King of the Persians spake to his host in similar terms. For the rest, [the two armies] actually faced each other, and they spread out over very much ground, and they passed forty days, each army being spied upon by the other on the river Tanobis, and they allowed their beasts to graze before they fought. And they formed cunning schemes concerning the conduct of the war.

²⁵ When the Devil, who is the hater of every good thing, saw that the Romans and the Persians did not join battle, he went to the Persians in the form of an envoy of the Romans, and he accused the King of the Persians and his host, saying, 'Wherefore are ye sitting down and not fighting each other? The Romans despise you and your host. They call you "godless heathen". They hold in contempt your gods, the sun and the moon, and they say that they are not gods at all. They have determined to plunder your cities, and to burn them with fire, and to lay them waste, and to throw your temples down to the ground, and to seize your king, and to make him a slave at their feet. I know the Romans well, and they are men who are altogether merciless. Behold, the things which I have heard I declare unto you. And if ye permit them to slip through your hands, and do not slay them, there will rise up from among

²⁶ them certain men of might and valour who shall reduce you to slavery utterly, for, behold, a spirit hath come into them which shall conquer irres-

istibly in the war. And I will tell you the names [of these men]. The greatest among them is Theodore the Anatolian, whose voice is like unto the roaring of a lion. His sword, wherewith he will fight against you, is a blazing fire. If he proveth himself to be greater than ye he will reduce you to absolute slavery. And here is another man, one Claudius, an exceedingly mighty man of valour; and if he proveth himself to be greater than ye he will reduce you to absolute slavery. And another s Justus, and there are Stephen, and Dioscurus, and an Egyptian, that is to say, Theodore the General, and another is Apa Patēr, who is an exceedingly mighty man of valour, and another is Euius, and those who follow. Now therefore shew ye yourselves bold in dealing with these mighty men of war concerning whom I have told you, and concerning whom I have spoken to you with all these words, and with all the words of accusation.' And having said [these things] to the Persians, he disappeared from them.

²⁷ And he changed his form (i. e. disguised himself), and come to the others (i. e. the Romans), and he took the form of an envoy of the Persians, and corrupted the heart of the others (i. e. the Romans), saying, 'These are the things which the Persians are saying: We will not turn back until we have spoiled all the territory of the Romans. We will take its king to our country, with a yoke on his neck, like the collar on a dog, and we will make his sons slaves, xc xc and they shall labour for us even as do the men of Babylon.' And when the envoy had said these things to the Romans, he disappeared from them. And he took his seat between the camps of the two armies, that is, between the Persians and the Romans, and he cast dissension and enmity between them. The first time they joined in battle ten thousand men were killed. On the second day on which they fought twenty thousand men were killed. In the first defeat that took place the Romans captured the son of the King of the Persians in his chariot. And on the third day after the capture of the son of the King of the Persians the Persians took to flight, and their whole army

²⁸ scattered itself in all directions because of the defeat that had taken place, and because of the great quantity of blood that had been shed, and the putrefying dead bodies that were strewn about. And the Romans cried out, 'We have carried off the son of the King of the Persians,' and there was great joy [among them]; and [when] they came to the river Tanobis, the Romans bathed therein because of their fatigue and because of the blood of those

whom they had killed. And when the Persians had searched for their prince, and had not found him in his chariot, they were greatly disturbed. And they said, 'How is it possible for us to explain to his father that he hath been captured? Since it is absolutely necessary for us to fill his father's hands, let us pursue the Romans and take the son of our king out of their hands before we depart to our own country.' Then straightway they pursued the Romans, who were halting by the river Tanobis, and were wishing to cross it, and to depart to their own country. And the Persians separated the chariot wherein Claudius was from the rest of the host,

²⁹ for they thought that he was the son of their king. And the Persians and the Romans fought together once again, and the Persians killed five thousand men of the enemy, and they vanquished the Romans, and captured Claudius, and fled to their country. And the Romans grieved because the son of their king had been captured, and the Persians also grieved because the son of their king had been captured. And when at length the Persians took Claudius to the country of Persia, they set him before their king, and they said unto him, 'O our lord, thine enemy hath captured Kratôr thy son; but behold, we have brought the son of their king unto thee.' And when the king had looked at Claudius, he said unto him, 'Art thou the son of the King of the Romans?' And the king marvelled at him, because of his beauty and intelligent looks, and at the grace and dignity with which he wore his royal apparel, and his youthful head-dress and his whole bearing and appearance proclaimed him to be the son of a king. And the King of the Persians said unto him, 'Art thou the son of a king?' And Claudius answered and said, 'Once I was the son of the King of the Romans, but this day I am a slave at the feet of the king before whom I stand.'

³⁰ And after these things, [when] the priests looked at Claudius, and saw that he was exceedingly fair in form, they said unto the king, 'Verily, this [man] is suitable for offering us as a sacrifice to the gods, for the salvation of thy son whom the Romans have captured in battle.' And straightenly the queen looked out of the window in her chamber, and when she saw that Claudius was very handsome she led him exceedingly. And she came down in haste, and said unto the king, 'O king, live for ever! I entreat thee to do no evil to this young son of a king, for he is fair in his beauty, and in his bearing, and in his intelligence. Wilt thou no bear in thy mind, O king, that it was the womb of a woman which carried this [prince], like every other per-

son, and that it was the breasts of a woman that suckled him, even as my beloved son was suckled at my breasts? And as I am

³¹ reduced to misery because of [the loss of] my beloved son, even so will the mother of this [prince] be reduced to misery because of [the loss of] him. And if thou dost destroy this prince, his father will hear the news thereof, and he will kill my beloved son, and through his death we shall be childless. For in very truth, O king, it is a righteous judgement, ordained by heaven, that each man shall have authority over his own son. I will never permit thee, O king, to kill this young man whose beauty is fair, and who is noble and is the son of a king. And thou knowest well that we had arranged this year to take a bride for our son, and a bridegroom for his sister, if we saw a bride and a bridegroom of sufficiently noble birth. And if it happen that our son be sent back to us, I will give Kesen my daughter to him (i.e. the prince here) to wife, and I will send him to his father in great honour.

³² And the queen moved the heart of the king by [her] laudatory words concerning Claudius, and she caused him to reverse his intentions, and not to put him to death. And Claudius was shedding floods of tears in the house of the queen, saying, 'Who will make known to my father and to my mother concerning my tribulation, and who will tell them about the wretched state wherein I am, saying, Thy son Claudius is in the hand of Death, and in the power of the King [of Persia]? Who will be my envoy this day, and make known to my father and to my mother that I am alive by the mercy of God? Who will console my father and my mother for my anguish? Who will instruct my father and my mother, saying, Treat with the greatest kindness and consideration the son of the King of the Persians who tarried with you as a guest, so that God may set mercy in respect of me in the heart of his father, and that he may shew mercy towards me? Who will bear a report of me, and inform my brother Theodore, saying, Claudius enquireth after the lovingly? Who will bear a report of me, and inform my

³³ beloved sister concerning my tribulation of heart? Who will speak unto my beloved mother and say, Make mourning for your son Claudius, who is in the hand of a king [who is] a wicked tyrant? O would that I could find one kind friend unto whom I could send a letter, and who would take it and deliver it to Ptolemy my father! I know of no man in this country whom I could hire and dispatch to my father and to my mother, to give them information about me, and to tell them what I am doing.' These and other

things of like character did Saint Claudius letter in his bedchamber, and he wept. And the daughter of the king stood up, and heard the sounds of his [weeping], and she herself wept because of the tender (or, affecting) words which he uttered. And straightway, behold, a vision of light rose up before him, and the whole place became as it were filled with burning fire, and even the palace of the king not forth flames. And forthwith the Archangel Gabriel appeared unto the holy man Claudius, and he spake unto him, saying, 'Hail, Claudius, unto whom I gave thy name at the time of [thy] first reception of the Sacrament! Hail, then whom I have watched over from thy childhood! Why did thou weep and heave sighs? Although thou art in the hands of a mortal king, the King of heaven and of earth is wishing over thee, and He is on every side. I am Gabriel, in whose hands the King of Truth, Christ, gave thee when thou wast a child, and Christ gave also Theodore the Anatoan into the hand of Michael the Archangel, so that he might watch over him. Why art thou afraid of mortal sokers on earth whilst an Angel of God is watching over the, and is on every side of thee?'

³⁴and Claudius said unto him, 'My lord, I am afraid of twrthings by turns since I have fallen into the hands of evil Bararians: If they kill me, [or] if they make me a sacrifice to their god, my disgrace lieth with the God of heaven; but if they yoke me in polluted marriage against my will, I shall produce [for their benefit] a son of the race of my fathers.' q The Archangel Gabriel said unto him, 'I say unto thee that neither of the evils which thou art thinking of shall come upon thee. Since thou hast come to this country, O Claudius, needs must that Theodore the Anatolian shall come to thee, and thou shalt see him face to face, and the name of each one of you shall become famous, because a great commotion shall take place in all this country in connection with your names. The peace of my Lord Christ shall be with thee, and thou shalt have salvation in His holy Name.' And as the Archangel Gabriel was saying these words he disappeared from the saint.

³⁵And when the queen saw this vision of light which had risen upon Claudius, [who was] in the midst of fire, she was very greatly disturbed in her mind, and she came down to the king. And she said unto him straightway, 'O my lord the king, make haste and send away this son of a king to his father, for we are bound so to do. I have seen the fire which he hath been producing all the evening, in the chamber wherein he is, and it is certain that the God of his fathers will destroy our city for his sake.' And when the king

heard these words he was willing to send away Claudius to his country, but the nobles of the palace would not permit him to do this. And the queen said unto him, 'If thou loves thy son, treat thou this son of a king with honour and consideration, for perhaps God will incline the heart of his father to treat our own son well. And if my counsel be pleasing unto thee, and my words also enter into thine ears give him parchment and ink, and let him write to his father with his own hand, saying, I am alive, and no evil thing whatsoever hath been done unto me. Peradventure [his father] will send our beloved son back to us, and we will

³⁶dispatch his son to him with great honour. And if it his wish, I will give unto him Gesen my daughter to wife.' And the king was persuaded by the words of Aliphorus to queen, and straightway he made them set Claudius before him. And the king said unto him, 'Tell me: Which of the gods of thy father was it who came to thee this evening, when the light of [his] fire was so great that it flamed throughout the palace? Was he not the Anatolian god whose name hath become famous everywhere? Behold, for three nights I have been seeing a vision, and [have heard voices] calling to me and saying, Behold, Theodore the Anatolian shall come unto you to blot you out. It must be he, and peradventure it was he who came unto thee this evening wishing to consume us.' And the holy man Apa Claudius said unto King Agaborne, for this was his name, 'Nay, my lord the king, [he was not my God,] but only an angel of my Lord Jesus Christ, who came unto me this evening. It was he who saved me from death in the midst of thy host, and it is he also who hath put mercy in thy Feol. heart towards me, and caused thee to treat me in such generous wise. As concerning Theodore the Anatolian, of whose name thou hast heard, he is my brother.' And the king said unto Saint Apa Claudius, 'I wish thee to write letter to thy father with thine own hand, [and ask him] to send my son to me with Theodore the Anatolian, whom should like to see; then I will release thee, and thou shalt depart to thy father with honour.'

³⁷And Saint Apa Claudius wrote to his father the folwing words: 'In the Name of the Father, and of the son, and of the Holy Ghost, the Trinity, holy, consubstantial, immutable, unchangeable, and unknowable, the Power Who supporteth the heavens and the earth and the elements, Who cannot be dissolved, Who, by His operation which is without fatigue, [maketh] the Sun to know [his course], Who maketh the Moon to change

from his crescent shape to his complete circle, Who painteth the heavens with forms made of light-giving stars, and Who guardeth the kingdom of Ptolemy my father: Take joy to thyself, for I am alive. I am Claudius thy son, whom the Persians captured in the war; but God hath spared me, and hath given unto me favour before the king and the queen. But first of all, O my father, shew kindness and consideration to the son of the king who is in thy power. I write unto thee, O my beloved mother, and unto thee, O my sister Thebasia, and unto thee, my beloved brother Theodore the Anatolian, to enquire concerning (i.e. salute) you all in the Lord. And

³⁸ next I enquire concerning the nobles in the palace, and my father Apa Gaius the Archbishop. Behold, I declare unto you that I am living in the apartments of the queen in great honour. Moreover, send the son of the king hither in charge of my friend Theodore the Anatolian. Then will the king release me, even as he hath promised. I am Claudius thy son, and I write unto thee, O Ptolemy my father, with mine own hand.' And he wrote in the letter other matters of a privy nature concerning himself, and his father, and his mother, A and he gave the letter to the king. And now, O my beloved, I must make known unto you what things were happening among the Romans after they had stopped fighting and had returned to their city. It came to pass that when they searched among their host, they could not find Claudius in his chariot. And what happened in the palace at the time when it was reported there that Claudius had been captured? As soon as his

³⁹ mother heard [this] she rent her garments, and put ashes on her head, and plucked out her hair; and Thebasia, the sister of Claudius, did likewise, and Ptolemy his father [mourned] most of all; and the nobles of the palace [mourned] with him. And his slaves rent their garments, and all the widows and orphans wept for him, because of the alms which he had been in the habit of giving to them and to the poor and needy. And his mother made lamentation for him, saying, 'Woe is me, O my beloved son Claudius! What can I, even I, do in the war, my son? Neither can a royal chariot [do aught], now that thou hast been taken from me. Who is the man, and where can I find him, by whom I can send to thee my questions concerning thee? Thy sister Thebasia mourneth, and she weepeth bitterly because of thy sorrow of heart, O my beloved son! What shall I do with thy royal crown, since thy sweet face hath been snatched away from me? What shall I do with thine armlet (or, bracelet) of gold, O my son, now that thou hast been carried off

into a foreign country? O would that I could make acquaintance with the barbarian who hath carried thee off, for I would give unto him thy price four times over, and then he would send thee to me. What barbarian is there wicked enough to do harm to Claudius, my son, if he hath once seen him?

⁴⁰ I adjure ou, O ye generals of the king, and ye nobles of the palace, of my beloved son Claudius hath been slain, shew me the truth, and I will give everything which I possess if only may bring his body into my house. And I will make ready for burial in a manner that befitteth it, and I will try it in the tomb of the king, and I will weep over it. Deradventure I shall be comforted somewhat thereby, though think it to be impossible. There is no consolation for the Queen when her lord is removed. There is no consolation in the palace wherein there is weeping. There is no consolation for the mother bird when they have stolen her young birds from her. There is no consolation for the orphan when they have carried away his parents. There is no rejoicing for the widow when her helper hath been removed, and it is impossible for me to find either consolation or rejoicing now that my beloved son Claudius hath been carried off from me. Thou blest no brother, O my son, from whom I might derive my consolation. Verily I have looked upon thee daily as an angel of God. I shall never be comforted again, because thy sweet face hath been snatched away from me.' In brief, there was very great lamentation spread abroad throughout the whole city of Antioch.

⁴¹ Some said, 'How goodly was his form!' And others said, 'How suitable he was to hold royal rank!' And others said, 'What a soldierly [prince] he was!' And the king was wholly crushed by grief for [the loss of] his son Claudius.

⁴² Then after these things Soterichus, the father of Apa Theodore, went to [Ptolemy] and said unto him, 'O king, live for ever! Though thy son Claudius hath been taken captive, behold, the son of the King of Persia hath been brought unto thee, and he is alive. Come, examine him, and make him write to his father. If thy son Claudius is alive, the King of Persia will then release him, and thou wilt set at liberty his son.' And the king said unto Soterichus, 'Send a message to the archbishop, and let him bring the son of the King of the Persians to thee, and let him write to his father about my beloved son Claudius.' After these things each side waited for a month. When the letter of Claudius arrived in Antioch, O what great rejoicing there was in it on that day! And when the letter had been read, and the name of Saint Theodore the Anatolian was found [mentioned] therein, the king asked

about him, and wished to see him; and straightway the king sent for him and his company of soldiers. Now Theodore was stationed in a watch-tower on the frontier to keep the Barbarians in check, and he did not know what had happened to Claudius.

⁴³ And when after these things Saint Theodore came to the palace, he found the servants of Claudius, with their garments that were upon them rent. And he asked them, saying, ⁴⁴ 'What hath happened that ye grieve so deeply and so sorrowfully?' And they informed him of what had happened to Claudius, and he wept greatly for him. And he went into the presence of the king, and he began to praise Claudius his son to him, and he spake, saying unto him, 'Be not sad of heart, O king, for I will go and will bring back thy son Claudius to thee in this place. Even if I have to die with him, I will never relax my efforts until I bring him back to thee.' And the king made every preparation possible for their expedition, so as to make them set out [quickly] on the road; but the queen could not be persuaded to send Theodore for her son lest the King [of Persia] should seize and keep him, because she loved him exceedingly. And she said, 'I am afraid lest the [Persian] king make himself master of them both, and I have to suffer grief because of them.' Then the king sent to the archbishop, and said unto him, 'My holy father, guard carefully the son of the king who is thy guest, until I require him at thy hands, because I would make peace with his father;

⁴⁵ he shall send my son back to me, and I will send his son back to him.' And the archbishop said unto him, 'My lord the king, he is in the bishop's house with me, and I eat at the same table with him, but in his side there are the remains of a wound caused by an arrow during the war, and he is ill through it.' And the king said unto the archbishop, 'Take the state physician to him, and he shall cal him, and meanwhile I will write to his father. And to thou make thyself ready, O my father, [for] thou shalt to the King of the Persians, and thou shalt bring back to me my son Claudius on account of whom I am grieving.' And the archbishop said unto him, 'According to thy command thy servant shall depart in haste.' And the king sent soldiers, and noblemen of his kingdom, and an exceedingly great number of rich presents, and Saint Theodore, but the son of the King of the Persians was kept under restraint. I Theodore, the least of all men, was then a presbyter, and was under the direction of my father, Apa Gaius the archbishop, and I was his deputy.

⁴⁶ Then after these things they (i.e. the archbishop and Theodie) took the road to the country of the Persians, and they sent croys before them to announce to the King of the Persians that they were coming on a mission of peace. And the king sent out heralds to proclaim to all the inhabitants of the city, saying, 'Come ye to me, for my son hath arrived, and Theodore the Anatolian with him, and let us find out what kind of a man he is.' And they decorated the palace with lamps and garlands in their honour, and all the multitudes thronged out to meet them, for the name of the Anatolian had spread abroad everywhere. And when the Romans had come into the city, all the people were greatly excited, and even the women went up on the roofs [to look at them]. And the archbishop disclosed his business unto the king. And the king said unto him, 'Art thou the god of the Romans that thou wearest the kind of garb which is upon thee?' And the archbishop said unto him, 'Nay, I am not God—let it not be [that any one should suppose that I am!]⁴⁷—but I am His high priest, and I pray for the sins of the people. The King of the Romans hath sent me

⁴⁷ unto thee that I may give unto thee these gifts and good news of thy son who is alive.' And the king said unto him, 'Why didst thou not bring him here?' The archbishop said unto him, 'He is in Antioch; but I swear, O king, by thy salvation, that thy son is alive, and that it is I who will bring him to thee if thou wilt release Claudius and give him to me.' The king said unto him, 'Where is Theodore the Anatolian? I would see him.' And the archbishop said unto him, 'He is outside in the palace, with the king's scribes, and the nobles of the palace'; and straightway the king commanded that Theodore should be brought to him. And the king said unto him, 'Art thou Theodore the Anatolian? Tell me now why the strength (i. e. renown) of thy name hath spread abroad to such an extraordinary degree.' And the holy man said unto him, 'Strength, and might, and battle belong to the Lord. As for the name by which men call me, it was the Archangel Michael who gave it unto me.' And the king said unto him, 'I will not let thee depart. Wilt thou not perform acts of valour in this city, that I may see thee?' And the holy man said unto the king, 'I have already told thee that strength

⁴⁸ and might belong unto the Lord. But I tell thee that if I had been present at the fight thy soldiers would not have been able to carry away Claudius out of our hands. However, permit me to see Claudius, and let me hold converse with him before I do the mighty thing which thou shalt see.'

And the king made them to bring forth Saint Claudius from the apartments of the king, and he set him before Saint Theodore. And when Theodore saw him, he and Claudius began to shed tears together, and they kissed each other's neck, and the king permitted them to see each other and to hold converse together for a week of days. And when the queen saw their faces she lusted for the young men, and she sent for a painter of portraits, who kept his gaze upon the two young men for a long time, and then drew likenesses of them upon the wall of her bedchamber. Then after these things Apa Claudius inquired concerning the welfare of his kinsfolk and household, and [Saint Theodore] said unto him, 'Hath the king done thee my harm?' And Claudius said unto him, 'Nay, my beloved brother, he hath not, but he is seeking to yoke me in filthy

⁴⁹ carriage with his daughter.' And Saint Theodore said unto him, 'Fear thou not, O my beloved brother Claudius, behold, Michael and Gabriel also are a defence for both of us, for declare unto thee that no evil thing shall happen unto us.' And it came to pass after a month of days that the archbishop went to the king, saying, 'O our lord the king, we live tarried in this country sufficiently long for our business; I miss us now, and let us depart to our country, and we will send thy son to thee.' And the king said unto him, 'I will not let Theodore go until thou hast sent hither to me my safe and sound'; and thereupon the archbishop made known unto Saint Theodore the words of the king. And it came to pass on the morrow that the queen went to the king, and she asked him, saying, 'Wilt thou give our daughter to Claudius to wife? for she loveth him exceedingly.' And Apa

⁵⁰ Claudius said unto the queen, 'My parents and the archbishop have already yoked me in marriage before I came to this place. It is impossible for me to put aside that marriage and to break the law of my parents.' And when the queen saw that she was unable to change their purpose, she became exceedingly wroth, saying, 'Unless my son is restored to me first of all I will not permit you to depart.' And it came to pass after these things that, when Theodore and Claudius were in prison, behold, Michael and Gabriel came down from heaven [into the city], and they were in the form of soldiers. And they cried out, saying, 'O ye Persians, what do ye sitting down in this wise? Behold, Theodore the Anatolian and Claudius have come against you to wipe you off the earth. They shall fight with their swords, and their hands shall obtain the mastery.' And the voices of the angels filled the whole city

with great terror and quaking, and the angels opened the doors of the prison, and they seized Theodore and Claudius, and they brought them outside. And Michael handed his sword to Saint Theodore, and Gabriel handed his sword of fire to Claudius, in order that they might fight against the Persians with them. And Saint Theodore

⁵¹ cried out to the Persians, saying, 'I am Theodore the Anatolian, and have come to wipe you off the earth'; and the angels cried out with their voices from one end of the city to the other. Then the mighty men were terrified, and the strong men cast away their swords and fled, and the free and high-born folk were terrified, and those who were sucking at the breast were afraid and fled. And straightway they (i. e. Theodore and Claudius) fought against the Persians in the middle of the market-place of the city, and they slew twenty thousand of them. And the Persians cried out, 'Be content ⁵² O Theodore the Anatolian, for thou hast captured the whole country.' And they went back into the city, and they seized the king on his throne, and they brought him outside the city, together with the archbishop. And the king marvelled at what had taken place, for all his host had gathered together to him, and no man was able to withstand (or, contradict) him (i. e. Theodore), and his mighty men were not able to fight against him because of his valour. And the king said unto the archbishop, 'Did I not say unto thee, Thou art the god of the Romans? Thou hast given such great power unto these two young men that they have laid waste all this city, being afraid of no one, and they have put to confusion all these multitudes, and they have turned the city into a wilderness, and although there are six hundred thousand men in it, they are powerless to fight against Theodore, nay, they have betaken themselves to flight quickly.' And the archbishop said unto him, 'I told thee on a former occasion that I was not God— let it not be [that any one should think that I am!]⁵³—but that I was His high priest.' And Saint Theodore said unto the king, Didst thou not say unto me, I wish to see some mighty deed of valour performed by thee before I let you go? Now, behold, thou hast seen a little of my might, which my King hath given unto me.

⁵³ May His power never cease to be in the Romans.' And the king said unto the holy man Theodore, Yesterday I was king, but to-day I am thy slave. Come thou and sit upon my throne, and I will wait upon thee as a slave.' And the holy man said unto him, 'The thrones which ly Lord hath promised unto me and unto my brother Claudius be in the kingdom that shall endure,

and they shall be for er in the heavens; they do not belong to the earth, but to the heavens, and we both shall attain them in the same city. But fear thou not, O king, these same holy ones who permitted the archbishop to be brought into this country shall in like manner take thee to thy palace.' And they took him away on the throne, and he fell into a state of great fear.

⁵⁴ Then the [arch]angels went to the temple wherein were te priests, and they cried out, saying, 'Theodore the Anatolian hath come against you to wipe you off the earth'; and the temple fell down upon their heads, and a fire broke out within it. And, moreover, another great miracle took place in the country of the Persians, which my father Apa Gaius related unto me. The [arch]angels made the tablets in the queen's bedroom, where she had had the portraits of these holy men painted, to go forth therefrom throughout all the city in the form of soldiers of war, and the [arch]angels cried out before them, saying, 'Behold, Theodore the Anatolian cometh against you to wipe you off the earth.' And to this very day the portraits of Theodore and Claudius march out to attack [the foe in] all the land of the Persians. And whensoever there is a war between the Persians and the Romans, and they begin to fight each other, straightway Saint Theodore sendeth forth his voice into the [territory of the Persians, saying, 'Theodore the Anatolian and Claudius are coming against you to wipe you off the earth.' And immediately the horses, whereon are mounted the portraits of these saints which were painted in the queen's bedchamber, neigh, and they gallop forthwith through the country of all the Persians, under the influence of the names of Saint Theodore the Anatolian and Saint Claudius, before the [troops] have begun to fight at all.

⁵⁵ And it came to pass after these things they returned to their country of [Antioch, and the archbishop and those who had gone there with them did not carry away with them any gifts (or, spoil) whatsoever from the Persians. And when the Romans had entered into the royal city, certain envoys came and informed the king, saying, 'Theodore hath come, and thy son Claudius [with him]. Thereupon great rejoicings were made, and all the people, from the least even unto the greatest, were gathered together and waited in order to see these holy men; and they decorated the whole city. And the mother of Apa Claudins [and his sister mounted the royal chariots, and came out to meet them on the road, even as in days of old Joseph went forth to meet his father Jacob. Who can describe the joy and gladness which [they felt] at that

time? And the archbishop told the king and the members of the court concerning the greatness of God, and the mighty deeds of these holy men.

⁵⁶ Now I, Theodore, the least of all men, acted as servant to the son of the King of the Persians in the episcopal house of my father Apa Gaius. And when the prince died, I went to my father and I informed him, saying, 'The son of the King of the Persians is dead.' And straightway the king sent and carried away his body to the palace, into the assembly of the nobles, and they examined it, and found in it no mark of any violence whatsoever, with the exception of the scar of the wound caused by an arrow, which he had received in the war. And the king and the archbishop grieved for him exceedingly. And the king commanded the archbishop to prepare the body for burial with great honour, [and he swathed it] in rich clothes, and [anointed it] with sweet unguents, and laid it in a chest; and it was committed to the care of the archbishop until the letters that had been dispatched had reached the prince's father. And before much time had passed the father of Apa Claudius (i.e. 'tolemy') died, and [the people of the palace] asked for Claudius in order that they might make him king; but his mother carried him away and hid him. And there was certain noble in the palace whose name was Umerianus, and they took him, and made him king, and they did not by any further heed to the matter.

⁵⁷ And it came to pass after these things that a report reached the King of the Persians that [Kratōr] the son of the King of the Persians, who had been committed to the care of the archbishop, was dead, and war was declared against Umerianus, as at the beginning; and the Persians forgot the overthrow that had happened to them through the favour of Theodore the Anatolian. And when Umerianus had been informed of the report about the war he was greatly disturbed, and he said, 'Woe is me! I gave all the wealth which I had gotten by trafficking, and all that which had been laid up by my fathers, in order to obtain it (i. e. this throne), and behold, the Barbarians have risen up against me, and they wish to kill me.' And fear and trembling laid hold upon him, and he wept abundantly. And he summoned the nobles of the palace, Soterichus the father of Apa Theodore, and Romanus the father of Apa Victor, and Basilides the father of Apa Stephanus, and he said unto them, 'Let Claudius come and sit upon the throne in the place of his father, for I am not strong enough to fight against the Barbarians.' Saint Claudius said unto him, 'I will never

58 sit upon the royal throne. Let the heart of the king be strong, and let him sit upon the throne, and we will be thy servants all the days of thy life, and thou must live in the faith of our fathers.' And the nobles of the palace swore unto the king, and Claudius and Theodore with them, 'There shall no evil befall thy kingdom.' And the king said unto them, 'Having seized the kingdom from his father (i. e. Ptolemy), I am afraid that he (i. e. Claudius) will commit some deed of treachery against me in the war, and will kill me. But, even if he hath some quarrel against me in his heart, let them take an oath to me by the Gospel, and I will believe them.' And in this way was the heart of the king assured, and he dismissed them. And the Devil appeared unto Umerianus, saying, 'O King Umerianus, what dost thou sitting down? Dost thou believe the oath of Theodore and Claudius? In war no promise and no word [are sacred], and in war there is neither brother nor

59 friend. If thou wishest to rule as king rise up, and to-morrow send them to Egypt to join the recruits; for these are the men who will fight against thee. I tell thee, O king, that I know a certain young man in the country of the south who is called Akrippita, and he is a goat-herd on an estate which is situated in my own district of Psoi (i. e. Syis, or, Ptolemaïs); send a messenger and bring him to this city, for he is the man who shall fight [successfully] against the Persians.' Now he spake these words concerning Diocletian, who was in the nome of Psoi, herding the goats of my father, namely Apa Psote. And Apa Psote himself tended the sheep of his father, and they were neighbours (or, friends) each of the other. And Apa Psote used to do deeds of charity, and he sang, and he danced. The Psalter was in the hand of Apa Psote, who recited from memory the Psalms both by day and by night; and the musical instrument (or, organ) was in the hand of Akrippita, and when he sang his goats used to butt at and scatter the sheep of Apa Psote. And he (i. e. Apa Psote) sought them out, saying, 'O flock of the nome of Psoi, he who hath reared you shall cease to say beasts, and shall slay men.'

60 And it came to pass that an imperial officer was dispatched to the south] by the command of Umerianus the king, and then he had arrived at the nome of Psoi, he found Akrippita and Apa Psote pasturing their sheep in the fields. And Apa Psote said unto Akrippita, 'Behold, thy father hath summoned thee to make thee king.' Thereupon Akrippita helped upon the horse of the imperial officer, and he galloped about hither and thither, and he took his sword, and drew it out of its sheath, and rushed into the midst to

the sheep of Apa Psote, and slew a great number of them. One of them he stabbed through the neck, and of others he hiked off their fore legs and hind legs. And when Apa Psote saw his savage fury, he said unto him, 'Hold, enough, for thou art shedding innocent blood. The heart of thy father should be well pleased that he hath begotten thee. Burn thy sword to its sheath, for thy time to shed blood has not yet come for thee. Where was Death that he came to my father before coming to thee? Where were the nurses we kill the newly born infants that they did not kill thee when thou wast drinking thy mother's milk?' And when

⁶¹ Apa Psote had said these things the son of perdition drew his sword, and leaping upon his horse rode him at Apa Psote, wishing to kill him. And Apa Psote said unto him, 'Be content, and kill me not before my time hath come'; and Anastasius the imperial officer marvelled at his bold and warlike disposition, saying, 'Verily, he is well suited for fighting.' And Apa Psote said unto him, 'He is well fitted for the war of perdition.' And after these things the impious Akrippita was taken to the imperial city of Antioch; now at that time he was in the twentieth year of his age, and the king issued an order announcing his appointment in the army. And the eldest daughter of Umerianus lusted for him, and he relinquished the duties of war, and performed the duties of a stableman and fed the beasts, and she occupied herself daily with him in works of self-indulgence and luxury.

⁶² And it came to pass after these things that Umerianus died in battle, and his daughter seized the kingdom [and held it] for three years, and Akrippita was kept hidden in her power. And afterwards she gave a centenarius of gold to the magnates of the palace, before they had inscribed her name with his, and they bestowed great honours upon Akrippita. Then she seated him upon the throne of Umerianus her father, because he had abated her virginity. And after these things Theodore the Anatolian came into the war chamber, and they told him that Diocletian had become king. And he said, 'Who is Diocletian? And what manner of man is he?' And he went into the presence of Diocletian with Claudius, and they said unto him, 'Who hath made thee king of this city?' And Diocletian said [unto them], 'It belongeth to you, and to your father, I am not a king, and it is not my desire to possess the kingdom.' And straightway Saint Theodore laid hold of his hand, and lifted him off the throne, because he had not as yet won a splendid victory, but was afraid. And Saint Theodore said unto him, 'Get up. Thou wast a

swine-herd in thy native country. Why should an Egyptian sit upon the imperial throne whilst there are Romans alive to sit upon it?' And they seated Claudius upon the throne.

⁶³ Then a great cry broke out in the palace, and the people said, 'Theodore the Anatolian hath performed mighty deeds of valour this day in the palace, and there is no man in all Antioch who can gainsay him.' And the holy man Apa Claudius was not willing to sit upon the throne of kings, for he had no desire for the kingship (or, the kingdom); on the contrary, he rose up [and departed] speedily, whilst the whole multitude was crying out, 'Worthy, worthy, worthy. Claudius hath been made king.' And the impious Diocletian was afraid, and he had gone and hidden himself for seven days with the queen, and he could not be found, and the throne was vacant. And that royal whore looked out of a window in her bedroom, and she said, 'Who is the Anatolian that he should set the king upon his throne? Who is [this] soldier of my father that he should gainsay my father's daughter?

⁶⁴ Who is this marcher on his feet that he should gainsay the daughter of a king? The Anatolian belongeth to the army, and the kingdom belongeth to Diocletian. But I am a second Herodias, and I have not yet performed my judgement upon him.' When Saint Theodore heard these things, he drew his sword, and he rushed from the royal throne to the door of the palace, and he slew eleven hundred officers and men of high rank, and thirteen hundred soldiers and men-at-arms. And the herald made a proclamation, saying, 'Many ask of me a king; the kingdom belongeth by right to Claudius, but Theodore hath fought and hath gained the victory.' And when the queen heard these things she was greatly afraid, and she took her father's crown, and his sceptre, and his royal apparel, and she hid them deep down in a chamber below the foundations of the palace. And she cried out, saying, 'O Theodore the Anatolian, take these things and

⁶⁵ do thou become king, for thou hast captured the whole country. From this day onwards I will be thy servant I adjure thee by the salvation of Claudius, thy friend, and by the life of Justus, my brother, not to destroy the kingdom because of me.' And after these things [Theodore] set fire to the gates of the palace in order that he might burn up every one in it, and this he did because Diocletian had been made king; and there was no man who was able to gainsay him. And Soterichus his father, and Basilides, and Romanus cast themselves down before him, saying, 'O our Lord Theodore the king-

dom hath belonged unto thee every day, and especially is it thine this day wherein thy strength hath manifested itself. We all are thy slaves. Set thou a curb on thy power, and do not burn down the place or fight [against us], for [the evil] which hath been already done sufficiently And straightway he burst into tears, saying, O how awful is the act of violence which hath been perpetrated this day in this city! That a woman should make a goat-herd kind over us whilst these hosts of fighting men are in Antioch. If there be any justice at all in the world Claudius and Justus merit the sovereignty.'

⁶⁶ And there was great wonderment in the city of Antioch concerning the large number of people who had been slain in the palace, and for whom their parents wept. Some said 'The Anatolian hath slain the King and the Queen'; and others said, 'Righteous judgement hath been performed this day'; and others said, 'The kingdom belongeth to his parents and brethren.' And it came to pass that a great riot broke out that day. And when the district had quieted down ⁶⁷ little the queen came forth, and she went very early in the morning to the house of Apa Claudius, to visit his mother, and his sister, and the sister of Apa Theodore; and she went before them, for they were her cousins. And the sister of Apa Claudius and the sister of Apa Theodore came to the palace to their brothers, and they made supplication unto them until they relented somewhat, and then they extinguished the fire which was burning down the gates of the palace. And straightway Michael came down from heaven, and he laid his right hand upon the breasts of these holy men, and he said unto Saint Theodore, 'Put thy sword into its sheath, for great is the slaughter that hath taken place. Knowest thou not, O Saint Theodore, that when thou fightest no man is able to stand before thy anger? For strength and valour were given unto thee by the Lord.' And Saint Theodore said unto Michael, 'O my Lord, is it not a marvellous thing for an Egyptian goat-herd to be made king over us by the whim of a woman whilst a royal prince is in the palace?' And Michael said unto him, 'The mighty man who is long-suffering is the mighty man whom the Lord loveth.' And straightway Saint Theodore cast himself down and worshipped God, saying, 'Forgive me, O my Lord Michael.' And Michael said unto him, 'It is not a wonderful thing that Diocletian hath become king, seeing that a time hath been granted unto him by God.'

⁶⁸ But what is a wonderful thing is that Pilate and Herod remained seated whilst the Son of God stood before them. And this also is like unto it—Dio-

cletian shall become king over the Romans.' And Saint Theodore said unto Michael, 'If it be the command of God that Diocletian is made king, what right have I to resist this commandment?' And Michael declared unto him other mysteries that concerned Diocletian, and he then disappeared from him in peace. Amen. ⁶⁹ And as soon as it was daylight on the morrow Saint Theodore came to the palace, and he cried out, saying, 'Whosoever visheth to become king, behold, the throne is vacant.' And the fear of the Anatolian filled all Antioch, and there was no man who was able to sit upon the throne for a month of days, that is to say, until he gave the people the promise that he would not attack them a second time. And the impious queen gave very large sums of money to the soldiers, and at length they found Diocletian, who had passed another fort days serving as a groom in a stable, fear, up to that time having prevented him from becoming king. And then, when Diocletian had become king, he gained a little courage. And Saint Theodore went to visit him, and Diocletian rose up before him, and said unto him, 'Hail, Theodore! Come, and I seat thyself upon the throne, and do thou become king.' And the holy man said unto him, 'Keep the faith, and do what is just, and so shall thy kingdom be strong.' And the impious Diocletian gained power and authority by degrees, and he attended services in the church, and he received the Sacrament. And my father Apa Gaius used to go to see him daily, and to converse with him, and he encouraged him to do the things that were good. And Diocletian placed the whole of the country of Egypt under the authority of the archbishop, and made him rule over it.

⁷⁰ And he remembered Apa Psote as the region of the south (Marès), who was his friend and companion before he became king, and he had him made a bishop. And the king lived in the faith, and he performed good works of all kinds up to the time when the Wicked Enemy, I mean to say the Devil, sowed his tares in him. And he passed a decree and sent an order to the people of Jerusalem to discover the Cross of our Lord Jesus the Chrystals, according to the advice of my father Apa Gaius. But the Wicked Enemy would not permit this to be brought about, for he knew that if the Cross were to be made manifest it would tear up all his paths. ⁷¹ Then the impious king felt fear because of Theodore and Anatolian, and the queen spake unto him, saying, 'Be patient for a little time, until war shall break out, and I will give a large sum of money to the young soldiers so that they may put him to death.' And the king said unto her, 'I am afraid to send him out to the war, lest the

men-at-arms or, the army) rise up against me, and put me to death.' And Diocletian sent a message to Theodore very often, saying, 'Dost thou wish me to sit on the throne, or dost thou wish me to depart to my own country?' And Theodore would say unto Diocletian, 'Sit thou upon the throne, for the kingdom belongeth to thee. Be not afraid, O king, for I will never do anything that is evil unto thee'; and the archbishop used to go [to visit] Diocletian and those who restrained him from evil.

⁷² And in those days a great war broke out between the Romans and the Persians, and a report reached the king, saying, 'The Persians have arrived at a watch-tower on the frontier, and have laid waste the whole country.' And the king was greatly disturbed, and he said, 'What business is this of mine, and what have I to do with the kingdom? The kingdom belongeth to Theodore and Claudius.' And these holy men said unto the king, 'The kingdom belongeth unto thee, because it was given unto thee by heaven.' And when the king went into the presence of the queen, and she saw that he was disheartened, and was troubled in his mind, she said unto him, 'Why art thou cast down and in such a terrible state of distress? I wish that thou wouldst promise Theodore and Claudius great honours, and that thou wouldst send them to the war, during which they would be killed, and then thou wouldst cease to be troubled by them.' And when the king heard these words he sent for the archbishop, and gave him a very large sum of money in order that he might offer up a sacrifice unto God, and that by these means he might obtain success in the war.

⁷³ And Diocletian sent a message to these holy men, saying, 'What is the meaning of this war that hath come upon us?' And they said unto him, 'The war is of God: it is He Who hath lifted Himself up against thee.' And the king said unto them, 'Let the baggage-waggons and the chariots be made ready, and get ye up on them together with those who belong to them, and take your regiments of soldiers, and depart to the war. And ye shall continue to inspire them with courage, being behind them, until ye conquer in the fight.' And these holy men said unto the king, 'We will get upon neither chariot nor baggage-waggon; nevertheless we will go to the war.' And the king said unto them, 'Go into the store where the equipments for war are kept, and take therefrom whatsoever things will suffice for you and your soldiers during the war, and until ye return in triumph.' And after these things they departed to the war, and fought against the Persians and they were vic-

torious, and they captured the son of the King of the Persians, and they set him before the king (i.e. Diocletian). And Theodore said unto him, 'Behold the son of the King of the Persians, whom I have been able to bring

⁷⁴ before thee through the might of my King, the Christ, but we cannot allow him to pass under the care of any other man except the archbishop.' And the king said unto them, 'Whatsoever ye wish to do in my kingdom that do, and no man shall hinder your commands from being accomplished. And the king said unto the archbishop, Take the son of the King of the Persians, and keep him under thy charge'; and thus saying he gave the prince to him, and all the nobles were gathered together there and were witnesses of this act. And after these things, when the son of the King of the Persians had been under the care of the archbishop for a considerable time, his father heard that he was under the care of the archbishop. And the King of Persia sent many valuable gifts to him, and the archbishop set free his son, and no man knew anything about the matter. And the archbishop took the money of the bribes, and spent it among the poor in the city, and on the widows and the orphans, and on the sacrifice and offerings of all kinds for the churches. And the Devil appeared to the impious Diocletian and said unto him, 'The art sitting down; what art thou doing? The archbishop

⁷⁵ hath set free the son of the King of the Persians without thy order! He hath received the price of the young man and he hath given it unto the poor of the city, and he hath not considered thee at all in the matter. Behold, for years past the archbishop hath spent the money which he hath received in giving alms.' And the king called the nobles of the palace, and he informed them of the secret act of the archbishop concerning which the Devil had told him. And straightway Diocletian sent unto the archbishop, saying, 'My father, what is [this] rumour about the son of the King of the Persians who hath been living under thy charge?' And the Archbishop said unto him, 'As the Lord Jesus Christ liveth, and I swear by thy salvation, O King, that two months ago when he was committed to my charge there was a wound in his side which he received in battle, and that he died during thy absence at the war, O my Lord King. And I prepared him for burial in an honourable manner, and I laid him in the bishop's house.' And the king made them bring him (i. e. the body) into his presence, and the Persian prince was arrayed in purple. And the king said unto the archbishop, 'Thou shalt swear to me that this is indeed the son of the King of the Persians.' And straightway the arch-

bishop took an oath to the king, saying, 'This is indeed he'; and no man knew wherefore he had taken the oath.

76 And the archbishop came out from the presence of the king. And the Devil in his mad rage was not satisfied about the archbishop until the third war which took place. And they (i. e. the Romans) captured Nikometes, the son of the King of the Persians, and they brought him before the company of soldiers. And when Saint Theodore and Saint Claudius saw him they recognized him, and knew that he was the son of the King of the Persians, and that the archbishop had released him. And straightway they wept, because of what had taken place, and they sent him away in order that they might not new him that their wish was to set him free for the sake of the archbishop. And news of the affair spread abroad through the camp that Nikometes, the son of the King of the Persians, had been captured, and the rumour of the capture entered the

77 & 1 oh & 2 & 1 ou ears of the king. And the king sent unto Saint Theodore and said unto him, 'My lord general, they have informed me that thou hast conquered in the war, and that thou hast captured the son of the King of the Persians; if this be so, take his gold chain and collar for thyself. Tell me, however, so that I myself may know whether this thing be true or not for the archbishop swore to me that he was dead.' And the holy man Theodore said unto the king, 'It is his brother whom we have captured.' And straightway the holy man (i.e. Theodore) stripped Nikometes of his royal apparel in order that he should not be recognized, and he gave him other rearmament instead, and entreated him, saying, 'Tell not the king that thou art Nikometes, the son of the King of the Persians

78 And the king called the holy man Theodore, and said unto him, 'Describe unto me the son of the king whom thou hast captured in battle.' And the holy man said unto him, 'Nikometes is dead, and this prince whom we have captured is his brother; let us ask him concerning his brother. The archbishop wrote to his father saying that he was dead. When the son of the king heard these words he did according to what the holy man [Theodore] had commanded him. And when the king had come into the city of Antioch with his hosts, and with the son of the King of the Persian Saint Theodore and Saint Claudius received the prince at trust from the king's hand, for Diocletian was unable to prevent them since they were imperial noblemen, and they took him to the archbishop, and they wished to set him

free. And the Persian noblemen Panikéros and Leontius came to Antioch, to the feet of Theodore and Claudius, and they brought very many gifts from the father of Nikometes, in order that they might let him go. And the Devil appealed

⁷⁹ unto Diocletian the king, and said unto him, 'My son Diocletian, have I begotten thee in vain? Have I given unto thee all these gifts, and this royal sceptre in vain? O thou ungrateful one, I have given unto thee the wife of a king, I have arrayed thee in the purple, I have put a royal sword in thy hand instead of the cudgel of the goat-herd. O thou ungrateful one, I have seated thee in authority over thousands of thousands of people, and I have made the daughter of a king to put the signet ring of her father upon thy finger. All these things have I done for thee, and thou dost not understand my glory!' And Diocletian answered, saying, 'Who art thou that darest to say such things as these unto me? Thou art either the Anatolian, the object of boasting of the kingdom, or thou art Claudius, one of the kings who reign jointly.' And the Devil said unto him, 'By Jupiter, this day shall these two names be blotted out in the whole world, and among men they shall nevermore be heard. What hast thou to do with these men, who provoke me to anger, that thou utterest their names to me?' And the king said unto him, 'The Anatolian and Claudius are the objects of boasting of [my] kingdom. I take refuge in them, for unto them belongeth the kingdom through their parents.' And the Devil said unto him, 'Until this very day thou art in fear of those tyrants.' And the king said unto the Devil, 'I know

⁸⁰ that the queen did once gainsay Theodore, and that she raised me up on the royal throne, and [that she was] in no wise afraid of him.' And the Devil said unto him, 'Those days have passed, but the fear of them will remain with thee always. Understand what I will say unto thee. I am thy father, and am possessed of demoniacal power. Why art thou afraid of Theodore and Claudius? The son of the King of the Persians hath been committed to the care of the archbishop [by them], and they wish to let him escape and to say unto thee "He is dead". Have they not already accepted his ⁸¹price (or, ransom)? They know that thou art afraid of them. Will not the archbishop let him escape, and deceive thee once again, saying, "He is dead," and "It is his brother whom we have taken"? I want to make thee give me the promise that thou wilt kill all three of them, the Anatolian, and the archbishop, and Claudius, so that the kingdom may be thine and thine only, and then I will

stablish thy kingdom for thee And the king said unto the Devil, 'If I kill these men, wh is there to fight for me, and prevent the Barbarians from wresting the kingdom from me?' And the Devil said unt Oꝛ the king, 'Dost thou not yet know that it was I who, unt this present, have fought for thee? It was not the Anatolia who captured the son of the King of the Persians, but I, an the soldiers who are under me, and it was my gods who gav me the strength that enabled me, at length, to capture him And the king said unto the Devil, Which of the gods sha we worship besides Jesus?' And the Devil said, 'Thou mu never again utter the name of that other one [in my presence] and thou must cast forth from thy mind [the memory of

82 God whom the Hebrews put to death. But open thie eyes, and behold my gods, and see how very many they ae in number, and look also at the multitudes of my soldiers!' And straightway the Devil made a large number of demos to take the forms of soldiers, and they were gathered togethr to him, and were ready to join the war. And besides thee seventy demons took the forms of false gods, and mae themselves manifest to Dioeletian. And the Devil said urch him, 'Thou wilt now know that the fear of the Anatolian ad of Claudius need not terrify thee. And the archbishop hath sent away the son of the King of the Persians, and hath Oꝛ taken his price, and hath divided it among the three of thm without thy knowledge, and without considering that thu art the king. He swore a false oath to thee at the first tire, and on this occasion also lies have been told to thee. Thu must know that the things which I tell thee are true. I swir by thy salvation, O Dioeletian, that I will make thee to re the Anatolian and Claudius in great disgrace. I will brig upon them a death as evil as that which his (i. e. their) Lad suffered. I caused five nails to be driven through the hails

83 of their Lord on the Cross, and I have prepared one hunch and fifty and three nails to be made ready to be driven into the body of the Anatolian, on the great persea tree which is by the gate of the palace, and his sister shall see his death. And as for Claudius, I will cause a spear to be thrust into his side, even as I caused a spear to be driven through the side of his Lord on the Cross. And as I caused to be slain Peter and Paul His Apostles with the sword, even so will I put to death these others, in order that the kingdom may become thine, O Diocletian.' And when the Devil had said these things to the king he disappeared. 84 And the impious king went to the queen in her house early the following morning, and told her of everything which the

Devil had said unto him. And that whore-queen rejoiced exceedingly over [the idea] of the death of these holy men, and she said unto him, 'Thou must know the truth. They brought the son of the King of the Persians hither, and then let him escape; and everything which hath been said to thee concerning them is true.' And after these things they brought the son of the King of the Persians, and set him before the king, and he made this confession to him, saying, 'I am he who was captured both on the first and on the second occasion, and concerning whom the archbishop swore an oath that the son of the King of the Persians, who had been committed to the care of the archbishop, was dead.' And when he had said these words the king rejoiced greatly. And he sent and brought the archbishop, who swore an oath to him similar to that which he had sworn the first time. And straightway the king became furiously angry, and he went into all the churches of the city, and he carried away from them the vessels of gold and silver and [inlaid with] precious stones, and he fell upon all the possessions in the house of the archbishop, and he killed him.

⁸⁵ Now Saint Theodore was in the war with his soldiers. And his sister wrote to him and told him everything that had happened in the palace, and Saint Theodore grieved because of what (sic) (sic) had taken place in the city. And after these things the whore-queen spake unto the king, saying, 'Thou art sitting down; what art thou doing? Quick, quick, kill Theodore and Claudius at the beginning of the persecution.' And the king said unto the queen, 'By what means can we kill them whilst they have all their soldiers with them? [If we do, I fear] that the soldiers will revolt against me, and take away my kingdom from me.' And she said unto him, 'Fear not, O King. Write a letter unto him and say, "Come hither quickly by thyself, for there is a private matter concerning the King of the Persians, which I would discuss with thee."' "

⁸⁶ When he shall come unto thee take him inside the bedroom, III (sic) and whilst thou art holding converse with him and paying him compliments have the executioners ready, and cast fetters upon him, and kill him secretly.' And the impious king was persuaded by the pestilential words of the queen, and he prepared sixteen guards (?) for him and nails. And he wrote to Saint Theodore flattering words which were full of craftiness, and the holy man Theodore came to the palace. And when the king saw him he smiled a crafty smile upon him, saying, 'Every one will die of joy because the mighty

warrior hath come into the palace! Thy arrival is auspicious (or, welcome), O lord Theodore, thou victorious war-captain! Death hath visited the Persians (?) and the son of the King of the Persians. Take these presents from his father into the house of the archbishop, for no other man is worthy of them.' And the holy man laid down his sword, and he went into the presence of the king, and the king rose up and saluted him, and he made a sign to the sixteen guards (?), and they cast fetters upon him. And the holy man said unto

⁸⁷ him, 'This day the treachery with which Judas treated the III (sic) Christ hath made itself manifest in thee, O king, but thou art more treacherous than Judas.' And the executioners made tighter their fetters upon Theodore as if they intended to kill him thereby. And they dragged him to the persea tree which was in front of the palace gate that they might hang him upon it. And the holy man said unto them, 'My brethren, loosen the bonds on me for a little time, for I would utter a short prayer to my King, the Christ, before ye put me to death'; but they would not let them release him, for they were afraid that he would kill them. And Saint Theodore answered and said, 'My brethren, release me, for I will & 2 never do evil unto any man. Have not I done for you many good things? By the might of my King, the Christ, I will not do evil unto you, for I have already bound myself in my own fetters for the sake of the Name of Christ.'

⁸⁸ And when he saw that they would not be persuaded to release him, he threw out both his arms at the same moment, and broke the bonds wherewith he was fettered, and hurled the sixteen guards (?) back on the ground, and they fell upon their faces. And he knelt down, and worshipped God, and he spread out his hands, and prayed thus: 'I give praise unto Thee, my Lord Jesus Christ, Who didst fashion me when I was in my mother's womb, Whose angel bestowed upon me [my] name from my childhood, Whose grace sustained me, Who didst give me strength in the war, even as Thou gavest strength to Joshua, the son of Nun, [when] Thine angel fought for him, and as Thou didst to Shimei, who destroyed the foreign tribes. And I myself have destroyed the Persians in Thy holy Name, and mine enemies have been put to shame,

⁸⁹ and have fallen at my feet. I give thanks unto Thee, O my Lord, that Thou hast removed the fetters wherewith I was bound so that I might pray unto Thee. Give Thou me strength, O my Lord, so that I may be able to bear up under the tortures that are awaiting me, for I am flesh and blood, like

every other man. Let Thy mighty angel stand by me in this hour and until I have completed my strife. Deprive Thou me not, O my Lord, of Thy goodness, and count not against me the great quantity of blood which I have shed in the war, for it was Thou Who didst strengthen me by Thy [?] power and Who didst make me slay them (i. e. the enemy). Let not my sword pass into the hand of any other man. Glory be unto Thee for ever and ever! Amen.'

⁹⁰ And when he had said these words he called to the executioners that were round about him, saying, 'Call to the soldiers, and let them cease to be disturbed. My time hath passed, I have done nothing; my period of life hath come to an end.' And straightway he brought his hands to his side and stretched them down straight by the side of his body. And he said unto the executioners, 'Tie me up in fetters outside, for I have already fettered my spirit.' And straightway he ascended the persea tree of his own accord, and he worshipped God, and he spake unto the executioners, saying, 'Come ye with your nails and your hammer, and finish that which ye have been commanded to do.' And these mereiless men drove ten nails through his right hand, and ten nails through his left, and they drove the remainder into all the other parts of his body, and blood mingled with water ran down the [trunk of the] persea tree to the ground. And Saint

⁹¹ Theodore was well satisfied, and he lifted up his eyes to He (sic) heaven to invoke the Lord, and he saw Christ and His angel, and Michael comforted him, and Christ promised to him many mansions in the heavens. And when Christ saw the sufferings of the holy man Theodore He said unto him, 'Dost thou wish Me to give thee rest from thy sufferings? Dost thou wish Me to draw out the nails that are in thy body like water?' And the holy man said unto him, 'I wish Thee to give me rest from my sufferings, for I am suffering sorely.' And straightway he yielded up his spirit into the hands of ⁹² God on the twelfth day of the month Tōbe, in peace. Amen. And there was a great commotion throughout all the city because of the Anatolian who was hanging on the persea tree, and some said, 'It would have been better for the king and queen to die rather than for these things to happen.' And Saint Apa Claudius made a great weeping for him as he hung upon the persea tree. And after this Saint Victor entreated his father to speak to the king for the body of Apa Theodore, and Romanus immediately asked the king for it, and he gave it unto him. And Apa Victor, and the sister of Apa Theodore, and Apa Claudius came, and they brought the body down from the persea tree, and

laid it in the tomb of his fathers, and it worked great cures on those who were sick. And the grace of Jesus was with him, and he received a crown of life in the heavens. And after the end of the saint he ascended on high, and was held to be worthy to be with all the saints. I entreat thee, O Theodore, to pray to the Lord for me, Theodore, the least of all men, that He may forgive me, for I have been so very bold as to speak about thee, because thou art a general at the right hand of the general and war-captain Michael, the intercessor who maketh supplication to Christ for us, that He may forgive us our sins, through the favour and love to man of our Lord Jesus the Christ, to Whom, with the Father, and the vivifying and consubstantial Holy Spirit, be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

93 (sic) S S

II. THE DISCOURSE ON MARY THEOTOKOS BY CYRIL, ARCHBISHOP OF
JERUSALEM

¹ (Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 6784) [a] the twentieth explanation which the holy patriarch, apa cyril, archbishop of jerusalem, composed on the life of the holy theotokos mary. AND HE DECLARED ALSO THAT HER PARENTS WERE A MAN AND A WOMAN, LIKE THE PARENTS OF EVERY OTHER PERSON. AND HE SPAKE ALSO CONCERNING THE DAY WHEREIN SHE WENT TO REST, THAT IS TO SAY, THE TWENTIETH DAY OF THE MONTH TÔBE. IN THE PEACE OF GOD! AMEN. ² When a rich man of high position wisheth to invite his friends to a breakfast or to a dinner, doth he not first of all sit down before those who are to be bidden are invited, and set out in array the various kinds of food wherewith he may stir up the appetite of those who see them, and make them to taste (i.e. partake) of them? And doth he not then cause his slaves to be summoned, and send them forth to his friends [inviting them] to the feast? And when they have come in, and have laid themselves down [on the cushions], doth not he who hath invited them give unto them first of all fine wine which hath a rich perfume, and which gratifieth the palate? [And after this doth he not make his slaves] bring in all the meats, one after the other, and each one different and less dainty than the last? Now he who inviteth his friends doeth this so that those who are sitting at meat may not say, 'We have already tasted this [dish].' Even thus is [my] invitation unto you this day, although ye may say concerning the things which I shall declare unto you, 'We have heard this already,' even as Paul saith concerning the Athenians, 'The

Athenians wish to hear nothing except some new thing.' And although David saith, 'Sing unto the Lord a new song, His blessing is in the church of the saints,' yet the Gospel also saith, 'The kingdom of heaven is like unto a rich man.' And ye have also heard of the honourableness of the Cross, and of its discovery, and of how the Gentiles and the Jews are coming into the know-

³ ledge of Jesus the Christ, and of how Gastôr, the Jewish nobleman, hath believed with his whole house. And I, Cyril, the least of all men, instructed him in the elements of the Faith, and I baptized him into the great Resurrection of the Christ, and he became a great and righteous and chosen vessel, loving the Faith of the Son of God. And I also baptized a large number of Samaritans, one of whom was Isaac, the handicraftsman (?), and he became a chosen Christian of Christ. I mention all these, O my beloved, because I have already in times past directed your love to them. But the words of God can never become rusty, and they are sweeter than honey, and [more savoury] than salt, according to what our father David said, 'Thy words are sweeter in my throat than honey.' Now, therefore, let us remember the pressing liability which is upon us, and let us see that we pay back some small part thereof. And if we are not able to pay back the whole of it, let us give two mites at least, even as did that poor woman who was blessed, or a denarius, that is to say, a stater, the like of that which Peter found in the

⁴ mouth of the fish, and which he paid as tribute on behalf of himself and his Lord. For if we give only a very little of that which we have we shall be upbraided like him that giveth nothing at all. Let us understand accurately in whose Name we have been invited into this place to-day, and Who it is Who hath invited us: it is Jesus, the God of truth, Who hath invited us, in remembrance of His mother, who became to Him a throne and a place of abode. Since He hath invited us it would be most unseemly for us to shew ourselves to be sluggish, and not fulfil that which we have promised you in the argument of this commentary. This is the day of the Holy Offering, which is wholly pure in soul and spirit. This is the day wherein the Queen, the mother of the King of Life, tasted death like every other human being, because she was flesh and blood. And, moreover, she was begotten by a human father, and brought forth by a human mother, like every other man. Let Ebiôn now be ashamed, and Harpocratius, these godless heretics who say in their madness that 'she was a force (or, abstract power) of God which took the form of a woman, and came upon the earth, and was called "Mary", and

this force gave birth to Emmanuel for us'. Doth it not follow from thy imaginative words, which are wholly incongruous, that Christ did not take flesh upon Himself? Without flesh and without body 'forces' would be beings without bodies, and they could not die like mortal men. Notwithstanding [this], come hither ye deaf and blind and foolish, O Biôn (sic) and Harpocratian, and I will question you. If ye say that Mary is a 'force',

5 a 'force' will die. Who is it then whose falling asleep the whole of the inhabited world commemorateth by keeping a festival this day? Is it not Saint Mary, the mother of our Lord Jesus the Christ? But pay attention to me with a tranquil mind and listening ears, and I will entreat the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, to illumine my heart with the knowledge of all the Scriptures of God, so that I may explain clearly to you, in gladness, the life of the holy Virgin Mary, and what her race was, and what were the names of her parents according to the first genealogy which is written in the Scriptures. For we are wholly unable to follow the fictitious statements which are found in the fabulous lives of her, and which resemble the writings of the Greek poets, who in their works on theology relate mere myths about their gods; neither will we invent lives of her in order to gratify her. Now every gift of grace is of God. Of what kind is

6 the gift of grace which came to man or to woman from Adam until this day? Understand what happened unto her, Ò wise virgin, since thou art in heaven, and art [near] the throne of Him Who fashioned us. This gift of grace was not given unto the Patriarchs, who enjoyed friendly intercourse with God, and who ate with Him, and they never expected in the smallest degree that He would come in their time. This gift of grace was not given unto the Prophets, but they perceived Him afar off, and they saluted Him, and they continued to prophesy the advent of the Word of God until He came and dwelt in the womb of Mary the Virgin, who became the mother of the King Christ. Shew me, [O Paraclete], who their kinsfolk were, and the house of their father, so that I may inform every one concerning the exalted position of their family.

7 And behold, the Virgin stretcheth out her hand to me, saying, 'O Cyril, if thou wishest to know concerning my family, and concerning the house of my fathers, hearken. I was a child promised to God, and my parents dedicated me [to Him] before I came into the world. My parents who produced me were of the tribe of Judah and of the House of H David. My father was

Joakim, which is, being interpreted, "Kleôpa". My mother was Anna, who brought me forth, and who was usually called "Mariham". I am Mary Magdalene (sic), because the name of the village wherein I was born was "Magdalia". My name is "Mary, who belongeth to Kleôpa". I am Mary who belongeth to Iakkôbos (James), the son of Joseph the carpenter, into whose charge they committed me. Enquire in the Scriptures, and thou shalt find abundant information concerning the things about which thou art asking questions. In ancient days when Joshua, the son of Nun, divided up the land [which he had taken] among the children of Israel, the tribe of Judah obtained for its inheritance Jebûselia, that is to say, Jerusalem and the region round about it. From that time each of the Twelve Tribes hath remained in the region of its inheritance. No tribe hath been in the habit of entering into the country of another tribe and of acquiring an inheritance therein, or property therein, and no man hath married a wife, and no woman hath taken a husband, from any tribe except their own, until the time when the Word of the Father was graciously pleased to come and to rescue us from the slavery of sin. And besides this He put on our flesh in a woman according to what He wished, [for] there was none to deliver us.'

8 Now I have made an examination of the ancient histories of Iosêppos (Josephus) and Eierennaios (Irenaeus), [and] those of the Hebrews which I have searched out for myself, and I am convinced of the correctness of that which I am now going to say. Mary was descended from the Jews, through the tribe of David, according to the blessing which the Lord spake, I mean to Abraham, saying, 'In thy seed all the peoples of the earth shall receive a blessing.' Abraham begat Isaac, Isaac begat Jacob, and Jacob begat Judah and his brethren. Our Lord was descended from the tribe of Judah, according to the blessing of Abraham, [which was] then and there fulfilled. Inasmuch as each one of you is anxious to know what I am now going to say, [I will tell you] what our fathers have taught us, according to what the Psalmist David saith, 'The things which our fathers have declared shall not be hidden from their children of the generation which is to come.'

9 At the time when the Virgin was born there was a certain district of Jerusalem which was commonly called 'Magdalia', and there was situated upon it a small village which people called by this name, and in this village were a few people who were Jews. And among these people was a man who was commonly called 'David', and he was rich in possessions of every kind. He ob-

served with great diligence the Law of Moses and the Prophets, which was sweeter to him than honey, and he performed manifold acts of charity to those who were in want; and he was awaiting the Redeemer of Israel, Who was to come shortly. And this man was lying on his bed one evening, and he was caught in an ecstasy, and it seemed to him as if some one said unto him, 'O Aaron, the Redeemer of Israel shall spring from thy family, for the time hath come when the root shall put forth fruit.' And he said within himself, 'What now is the meaning of this vision which I have seen? But, whatever it may be, whatsoever God wisheth let that happen.' And he had living there with him a woman who was a believer, and her name was Sara; and she bore unto him a man child, and his father called him Joakim, and his mother called him Kleôpa. And his father David gave unto him to wife Anna, the daughter of his brother Aminadab, and the two of them were pleasing before God. And it came to pass that after a time they gave all their possessions unto Joakim their son, and to Anna his wife, together with all the village of Magdalia. Now Anna was barren, and she had never borne a son, and the matter was one of anxiety to them, and they said, 'Who then is there to inherit our possessions?'

¹⁰ And it came to pass that after certain days (or, many days) Joakim said unto Anna, 'Let us go to the Temple of the Lord, and let us make supplication unto the Lord, that He may shew mercy unto us, and may grant us our petition which we shall ask of Him.' And they rose up and went into the Temple of the Lord, and they made supplication unto Him, and they paid their vows to the priest, and they prayed unto the Lord with their faces flat upon the earth. And Joakim prayed, saying, 'Lord God Almighty, Who didst hear our father Abraham in his old age, and didst graciously give to him Isaac, his child of promise, hearken Thou unto me also this day, and do Thou give me the seed of men. If this come to pass, and Thou dost give unto us either a man child or a woman child, we will dedicate him to Thy Temple all his days, and he shall minister unto Thee.' And straightway a voice came to them out of the place of the altar, saying, 'Joakim Kleôpa, the prayer which thou hast made to God hath been heard, and thy petition hath been fulfilled. Now therefore arise, and get thee into thy house, for the grace that hath come to thee hath never been [bestowed upon] any of the people of old.' And Joakim thought that it was the priest who was talking to him in the place of the altar, and he answered and said unto him, 'May it be according

to thy word, O my lord!' And Joakim and Anna rose up and departed to their house.

¹¹ And after certain days Joakim visited Anna, and she conceived, and all those who were acquainted with her rejoiced with her. And when the days were fulfilled for her to bring forth she gave birth to a woman child, according to the Providence of God; and the grace of God was upon her face. ¹² And her parents called her '... Mary', and she increased in beauty (? every day, and all those who saw her marvelled at her because of the glory of God that surrounded her at all times. And when three years were fulfilled the child was weaned from her mother's milk. And Joakim said unto Anna his wife, 'Let us give unto the Lord what we have vowed to Him, lest He be angry with us.' And they made themselves ready, together with their offerings of first-fruits, and they took them into the Temple with Mary their daughter, and they gave their offerings of first-fruits to the priests who were ruling at that time, that is to say, to Simeon and Zacharias. And they took their daughter Mary and gave her into the hands of the priests, saying unto them, 'Behold the child whom God hath graciously given unto us. We give her as a votive offering in the Temple of the Lord, so that she may minister unto Him all her days.' And the priests blessed Joakim and Anna, saying, 'According as ye have vowed so have ye paid unto the Lord, Who will bestow His good gifts upon you in such wise that ye shall have a son in the place of this daughter Mary, whom ye have given to the Lord, and whose name shall be known throughout the world.' And they said, 'Amen. So be it!' And they returned to their house.

¹³ And they were in the habit of visiting their daughter once each month, when they carried to her whatsoever things of which she had need. And their little virgin daughter ministered in the Temple with the other women, who were aged virgins, and they taught her to work with her hands. And when she had become somewhat master of herself she used to go alone into the court of the Temple, but no man whatsoever saw her with the exception of the priest and her father. Her food consisted of bread and water and a few green herbs, and she did not fast for long periods at a time; in short, it is [impossible to describe] her beauty of body, and soul, and spirit. [IC] ¹⁴ And when she had completed the fifteenth year of her age the Shepherd was pleased to come and visit His sheep, and to snatch them away from the claws of the wolf, and the King was pleased to redeem those who belonged to Him

and were in captivity in the hands of the Tyrant. And Gabriel the Archangel was sent from God to the holy Virgin Mary, and he announced to her the glad tidings that the Saviour was coming to her. But peradventure thou wilt say unto me, 'At what time, or in what manner (?), did these things take place? [Tell us] so that we may be certain about the words which thou sayest.' I will answer thy questions according to the Scriptures. God sent Gabriel on the seventh day of the month Xanthikos (April), which is the new moon Parmoute, in the year five thousand five hundred; on this [day] was conceived the Life of all of us, and He was born on the twenty-ninth day of the month Khasileue (November), which is Khoiak, in the fourth year of Augustus, the Emperor of the Romans, in the fifteenth year of the life of Mary. The place wherein He was born was Khabratha, which is Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, in the second year of Herod, the Governor of Judea. When Christ was brought to Egypt he was two years and four months old.

15 But thou wilt in any case say unto me, 'Why did Joseph and Mary depart from Palestine and go so far away as Egypt by themselves, for it is said that there were twenty halting places before they came into Egypt? And how was it that they were able to perform such a wearisome journey which necessitated so many days of difficult travelling? And where could they find food to eat?' I will tell thee, O thou unbelieving and feeble person, the things which thou shalt set in thy remembrance, and I will speak unto thee from out of the Scriptures. 16 Peradventure thou wilt say unto me, 'The angel took Habakkuk to Babylon from Jerusalem, a road on which there were seventy halting places, and which required a very long time to travel over.' Habakkuk, the Scripture saith, placed the loaves of bread in a basket, and he took them with the wine and the [other] food, and went to the field to carry them to his reapers. And the angel of the Lord lifted him up by the hair of his head under the impulse of his spirit, that is to say, by the strength of his flight, and he carried him straightway to the place that was above the den of lions in Babylon, and he gave food to Daniel, and he and the reapers ate of this food on the same day. If now the power of the angel was great enough to do this, then the Lord of the angels could come to Egypt riding upon a light cloud, and, indeed, it was by means of the light cloud that God came to Egypt. And when the young Child came into Egypt

17 He recalled to mind the works of Egypt, [for] He rode upon the light cloud which transporteth those who are without sin. 10 The spotless Lamb

and the old man Joseph came into Egypt under the guidance (or, direction) of that whereupon they rode. And the mountains and the rocks levelled themselves before them, and smooth roads whereon they could walk easily made themselves ready for their feet, and they crossed rivers and streams without the help of ship or sailor. In short, our Saviour came into Egypt by the power of His Father, and He passed three years there, and He proclaimed to the Egyptians what they ought to do whilst He was at the breast of His mother Mary. And when Herod had received the punishment which he deserved for the slaughter of the innocent children whom he had put to death, the words which are written in the prophet, saying, 'I called My Son out of Egypt were fulfilled. And God sent a message

18 unto His beloved Son, and His mother Mary and Joseph by a ...guard, and He brought them out of Egypt, and settled them in Nazareth. All these things have I related Hos. xi. 1. to you, beloved ones, because of the godless heretics, who say that Mary is a 'force' (or, abstract power). Behold, I have already pointed out to you in the words which I have addressed to you, saying that Mary was flesh like all other folk, and that the Lamb of God, Who took away the sins of the world, took flesh in her. And now I wish to relate to you an incident that happened to me. There was a certain monk who lived in the neighbourhood of Maiôma of Gaza, who had received instruction in the heresy of Biôn and of Harpocratius his master, of whose books he obtained possession, and he expounded them publicly, and he became filled with blasphemies and with falsehoods, and he masqueraded with great pride and arrogance, and he deceived all the people who were in that neighbourhood by his pretensions, through those who used to come to the holy places where to pray. And the things which he proclaimed in his corrupt heterodoxy were repeated to me, and I sent two ministers to the Bishop of Gaza, and I said unto him, 'I beseech thee to seek out on my behalf a certain monk who is in the neighbourhood of Maiôma, and do thou send him to me, together with his books.'

19 And when the bishop had received the letter and read it, he caused search to be made for that monk everywhere. And when they had brought him to the bishop he said unto him, 'My son, rise up and go to Jerusalem to the archbishop. If thou dost not go he will send for thee and thy books. He knoweth about thy doctrine, and about thy preaching, and whose it is.' And the monk replied, 'I will take my books and I will go to him in Jerusalem.'

And the two ministers took him to Jerusalem to the archbishop, who said unto him, 'We have heard, O brother, that thou art teaching a strange doctrine, and that thou art changing the voices of the Holy Gospels.' The monk, [who was called] Annarikhus, said unto him, 'My teaching (or, doctrine) is not a strange doctrine, but is that of our Fathers the Apostles, and our own Fathers taught it everywhere as sound doctrine.' And Apa Cyril said unto him, 'Who were thy Fathers?' And the monk said, 'Satôr, and Ebiôn, who succeeded him.' And the archbishop said unto him, 'Thou hast become a disciple and hast made thyself a mule-like beast under the stupid yoke of the chariot of the Devil.' And the monk said unto him, 'Harpocratius used to cast out devils.' And the archbishop said unto him, 'Shew me by what means thou dost cast out devils, and in what way thou dost preach the Gospel, and what thou dost say concerning Christ and His Birth according to the flesh, and concerning His mother who brought Him forth, and concerning His death, which was full of salvation, and His resurrection from the dead after the third day.'

²⁰ And that monk replied, 'It is written in the [Gospel] to the Hebrews that when Christ wished to come upon the earth to men the Good Father called a mighty "power" in the heavens which was called "Michael", and committed Christ to the care thereof. And the "power" came down into the world, and it was called Mary, and [Christ] was in her womb for seven months. Afterwards she gave birth to Him, and He increased in stature, and He chose the Apostles, who preached Him in every place. He fulfilled the appointed time that was decreed for Him. And the Jews became envious of Him, they hated Him, they changed the custom of their Law, and they rose up against Him and laid a trap and caught Him, and they delivered Him to the governor, and he gave Him to them to crucify Him. ²¹ And after they had raised Him up on the Cross the Father took Him up into heaven unto Himself.' And the Patriarch Cyril said unto the monk, 'Who sent thee about to teach these things?' And that monk said unto him, 'The Christ said, Go ye forth into all the world, and teach ye all the nations in My Name, in every place.' And Apa Cyril said unto him, 'Dost thou take the Gospels literally?' And the monk said, 'Yea, absolutely, my lord Father.' And the archbishop answered and said, 'Where in the Four Gospels is it said that the holy Virgin Mary, the mother of God, is a "force"?' And the monk answered and said, 'In the [Gospel] to the Hebrews.' And Apa Cyril answered and said, 'Then, ac-

cording to thy words, there are Five Gospels?' And that monk replied, 'Yea, there are.' And Apa Cyril answered and said, 'What is the name of the fifth Gospel? for I should like to know whence this doctrine concerning Christ is derived, and to understand it. The Four Gospels have written above them: "[The Gospel] according to Matthew"; "[The Gospel] according to Mark"; "[The Gospel] according to Luke"; "[The Gospel] according to John. Whose is the fifth Gospel?' And that monk said unto him, 'It is [the Gospel] that was written to the Hebrews.' And Saint Cyril answered and said, 'If thou speakest the truth, O brother, must we not then reject the teaching of the Christ, and follow the misleading doctrine of the Hebrews? God forbid!

22 The Hebrews wish for doctrine of this kind greatly, so that they may cast a blemish upon our purity and honour, even as it was said by the Christ in times of old, "Thou castest out devils by Berzebooul. And is it not written, "He who doth not confess that Jesus the Christ hath come in the flesh is a deceiver and an Antichrist, like thyself"? And again, "Whosoever shall come unto thee, and bring a doctrine that is different from thine, receive him not into thy house, neither say unto him, Hail! And again, "If they were of us they would have been like unto us; they came forth from us, but they are not of us. Which meaneth that they utter the Name of Christ with their mouths only, and that they make a pretence in their hearts. They heap up wrath for themselves in the day of the Judgement of Truth and the wrath that is from Jesus the Christ. The doctrine of the Jews cannot be joined unto the doctrine of Christ. What connection can there be between the agreement of the [Gospel to the] Hebrews and the agreement of the Holy Gospels? But those heresies must spring up which Epiphanius describes in his work *Ankyrotos*, saying, "The error in each one of them is different, but evil is implanted in them all. And Annarikhus the monk said unto Apa Cyril, 'The night cannot contend against the day, neither can darkness stand before the light.

23 I am vanquished by thy great wisdom, and I know that I have made a mistake. Let thy fatherhood grant repentance unto me! And all these things which I have overthrown I will build up again. But take my books, and burn them in the fire, and my possessions do thou give to the poor. My heart followeth thy words and [those of] the Holy Gospel.' 24 And when I (i. e. Cyril) had burned his books, I said unto him, 'Who... [One leaf wanting] 25 'He to Whom no form can be assigned was born [in the form of] a son. He was the Beginning, and He Who had no beginning was brought forth. Now there

was a beginning to that humanity, but the Godhead had no beginning, and was without form. And no addition took place to the Trinity in such wise that the Trinity, which consisteth of Three [Persons], became Four [Persons]. One synodos entered one who was of two natures, and one son was brought forth, a unity of the flesh without any diminution. For He was neither changed in His nature, nor reduced in His strength, nor was He separated from His Ancient Begetter, that is to say, the Beginning. But the oneness of the flesh of God received one Nature. As for the coming to us of the blessed Offspring God the Word, it is the miracle that was hidden in God from eternity, I mean the miracle of God Who made Himself man. An impenetrable mystery is the Nature that abolished the curse and destroyed the sentence of death, and taught us concerning the foundation, which had no beginning, of the Only-begotten One, Jesus the Christ, our Lord, the production, according to the flesh, of the womb of Saint Mary, the perpetual Virgin, in whose holy house we are gathered together this day to commemorate the day of her death.

26 If thou wilt confess these things with a true and sincere belief then we will prepare to receive thee into the fold of all the sheep of the loving Shepherd Christ. Have no doubt about the matter; thou must either follow the words which I have taught thee or thou must get outside this place.' And Ananarikhus opened his mouth and anathematized the heresy of Ebiōn and Harpoeratus, saying, 'Anathema be every heresy; the things which thou [Ebiōn] hast said unto me are not to be believed. And now, O my father, receive thou me into good fellowship with thyself.' And when I knew that his mind had received the light I baptized him in the name of the Lady of us all, Saint Mary, whose day is this day. Finally he went to a monastery in the Mount of Olives, and he builded upon the foundation of the Apostles until the day of his death.

27 I have now described unto you the whole of the story concerning the heresy of Ebiōn, who said, 'Mary, the mother of the Lord, is a "force".' Let us now return to that which we promised to you in the introduction to our explanation, that is to say, the [narrative of] the end of the life of the holy Virgin Mary. And I wish also to go back to what I promised from the beginning, and to declare it. Tell me, O Gabriel, thou mediator between God and men, what is the history of the kinswoman of Mary, this Elisabeth? I am listening to thee, and I hear thee preaching about her, saying, 'Behold, Elisa-

beth the kinswoman [of Mary] conceived a son in her old age, according to the prophecy in the Gospel. The parents of the Virgin were descended from the tribe of Judah, and Elisabeth was descended from the daughters of Aaron, and Aaron was descended from the tribe of Levi. Thus this matter is twofold, and it reduceth itself to two persons. Judah and Levi were brethren, each of the other, and one father, that is to say, Jacob, and one mother produced them both. Since Elisabeth was a daughter of Levi, and Mary was descended from Judah, they are then daughters of two brethren; are they not then kinswomen, each of the other? I have also stated that the little Virgin Mary

²⁸ was in the Temple, and that she remained by herself before the Archangel Gabriel came to her with a sweet odour, and Zacharias, the husband of Elisabeth, spake unto her words of praise concerning the Virgin. I have said that she was in the Temple before the gift of the Lord was given unto her, and that there was no limit to her beauty, and the Temple was wont to be filled with angels because of her sweet odour, and they used to come to visit her for the sake of her conversation. And when Elisabeth heard these things she set out from Dôrinê and departed to Jerusalem, and she went into the Temple of the Lord. And when she saw Mary she marvelled at the grace of God which was on her face, and they saluted each other and sat down. And Elisabeth said unto Mary, 'Thy soul and body have been joined unto the Lord from thy childhood, and thou hast followed Him with thy whole heart so truly that the Redeemer of Israel shall proceed from thee.' And Mary said, 'Blessed be the God of Israel, Who hath appointed me for Himself from my childhood to minister unto Him with perfect service.' And the

²⁹ two women comforted each other from the Law and the Prophets for many days. And afterwards Elisabeth returned to Dôrinê to her ordinary life, and she made it a habit to visit the Virgin several times that year, and she ministered unto her every need until the day wherein Gabriel came unto Mary and said unto her, 'Behold, Elisabeth thy kinswoman hath conceived.' Behold, moreover, the matter is plain that Mary and Elisabeth were kinswomen, each of the other, from what is written in the Gospel, the which I have already declared to you. Behold now, let us return to the previous subject which we left [for a short time], because there is no trouble whatsoever in discussing the queen, who became the mother of the King, and he who

listeneth is not wearied by her history. It is like unto one who goeth to draw water from a spring; as soon as he stretcheth forth his hand to draw therefrom the spring sendeth forth water in great abundance. And this is my own case when I begin [to describe] the life of the Virgin, for the fountain of my speech bubbleth up abundantly, and I cry out with the Prophet David, and I lift up my voice,

³⁰saying, 'Thou hast made me wiser than all my teachers,' and again, 'The manifestation of Thy words is what illumineth us.' For I looked round about me, saying, 'Where shall I begin my discourse?' Then I remembered the words which the Saviour spake unto His mother when He was hanging upon the Cross, 'Thou woman, behold thy son!' referring to John. Then He turned to John, and said unto him, 'Behold thy mother!' and from that day the disciple took her into his house and ministered unto her with service of every kind, even as doth a slave who serveth his lord. And she loved him even as a mother loveth her son. And she used to do many mighty works, and perform healings among the people, which were like unto those that were wrought by Jesus our God, but she never permitted the Apostles to know [about them], for she fled from the praise of men. And the Apostles were closely associated with her at all times when they were preaching. She gathered round about her a multitude of virgins, she assisted them, and she made them to rejoice in the benefits of virginity—she who had drawn nigh unto her God, Who at length came and

³¹took up His abode in her womb for nine months—and she shewed the way, and that the entrance into heaven, to her beloved Son, was good and without obstacle. And it came to pass that for ten years after our Lord rose from the dead, according to what the Ancient History of Josephus and Irenaeus and the Hebrew authorities say, John and Mary lived in the same house in Jerusalem. And it came to pass on a certain day, for so he saith, that the holy Virgin Mary called John and said unto him, 'Go and summon to me Peter and James, and let them come to me here in this place.' And John went in haste and summoned them, and they came, and the three [Apostles] sat down before her. And she said unto them, 'Hearken unto me, O ye whom God hath chosen to preach the Gospel throughout all the world. Ye have seen with your own eyes the mighty deeds and wonders which God performed in the time when He was in the world with you, and ye have no need of any to bear testimony to you. Ye three did He take up to the

32 Mount of Olives; and your ears did hear the Voice of the Father bearing witness concerning Him, saying, "This is My beloved Son, in Whom is My desire." Ye saw the sufferings which the Jews inflicted upon Him when He was raised up on the Cross, and that they put Him to death, and that His Father raised Him up from the dead on the third day. And I went to the tomb, and He appeared unto me, and He spake unto me, saying, "Go and inform My brethren what things ye have seen. Let those whom My Father hath loved come to Galilee." And He came in to you, the door being closed, and He spake unto you concerning the kingdom which is in the heavens. And at the end of forty days ye were all gathered together in one place on the Mount of Olives, and He was there with you. And the Lord came again to you,

33 and He said unto you, "I have fulfilled the dispensation which was laid down for Me in the world, and I am now going up to My Father." And ye replied, "Wilt Thou depart and leave us orphans?" And He said, "When I go I will send unto you the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, in My place, after many days, even until Pentecost. But behold, to her who was unto Me a dwelling-place I was a Son in the flesh, and she is under your care now. But I will be with you until the end of the world." And when He had said these things unto us He separated Himself from us a little, and ascended the mountain on the east, and mounted upon the Cherubim, and departed into the heights in the flesh, the which He had received from me. And thousands of thousands, and tens of thousands of tens of thousands [of angels] sang hymns to Him, and they followed Him with their eyes until He entered heaven. And we saw two men who were standing close to Him, and they said, "Ye men, why are ye looking up into heaven? This is Jesus Whom they crucified, and Who is being carried up into heaven, and He it is Who shall come to judge the quick and the dead."

34 And after the end of ten days He sent upon you the Holy Spirit, Who gave you power to do mighty works, according to your ability. Put not behind you the commandments of the Son of God; fear ye not the destruction of the kings and governors of the earth in such wise that ye shall put behind you the instructions of your Lord and Master. Now, therefore, be not grieved in your hearts at what I shall say unto you. 'The time of my visitation hath drawn nigh, and I must lay down my body so that my soul and my spirit may depart to the Lord, in order that He may give unto me the things which He hath promised to me. For my Lord came unto me on the evening of the Sab-

bath (?), as I was standing in prayer, and He said unto me, "Dost thou know Me?" And I said unto Him, "Thou art my Lord and my beloved Son;

³⁵ what is it that Thou commandest me to do?" And He said unto me, "Inform Peter and John concerning these things, for it is they who shall lay their hands upon thine eyes. Now three more days have yet to pass before I shall come for thee and take thy soul and thy body into My city of the Jerusalem of heaven. And all My saints shall marvel at the glory which I shall give unto thee in that place, for it is thou who shalt make God and His angels to be reconciled with man. And thou shalt be more exalted than all the saints, and I will make My angels to hymn thee at all times, for thou resemblest them in thy purity and thy virginity. All the angels and all the hosts of heaven shall rejoice when thou comest to meet them. The Patriarchs and the Prophets shall come forth to meet thee, and they shall exult because the mother of the Lord hath come to them, for they were not able to see her in the flesh. Behold, when they see her they shall praise her through God the Father. All the virgins who are in the heavens shall rejoice with thee when thou shalt meet them, and those who have preserved their virginity shall come forth to thee, and shall bow in homage before thee, saying, Well hast thou come (i. e. Welcome)! O mother of all virgins! It was time for thee to come unto us, O thou

³⁶ mother! Grieve thou not, O mother, about thy holy body, neither about what shall happen unto it, nor about where they shall lay it. What man is there who hath been begotten by the flesh who shall not taste death, and whose body shall not return to the earth wherefrom I took him? I tasted death, but I rose from the dead on the third day, I destroyed him that held the power of death. I will hide thy body in the earth, and I will make My angels to keep it in the earth always, and no man whatsoever shall find thy body in the earth in the place wherein I shall place it, until the day wherein I shall raise it up incorruptible. And a sweet odour shall arise from out of thy body until the day wherein it shall rise up. They shall build a great and glorious church over

³⁷ No thy body, and it shall be more splendid than a palace of kings. Haste thee [to do] the commandment of the Apostles, and give an ordinance to the virgins. I will come with My angels, and I will hide thy body and thy soul; so then thou shalt not be afraid of Death when he shall come to thee." Now therefore call unto us all the virgins, and I will give them an ordinance.'

³⁸ And the Apostles did according to what she told them; and when the virgins had come unto her they saluted her, and she said unto them, 'I declare unto you that I am about to depart to the Jerusalem of heaven'; and they paid no attention to the words. And Mary took hold of the hand of one of them who had waxed exceedingly old, that is to say, Mary Magdalene, out of whom the Christ had cast seven devils, and she said unto the virgins, 'Behold your mother from this time onwards. Give rest to her spirit, even as she hath given rest to me in my days. Observe the customs which ye arranged to keep with the Christ when ye were with Him.' These things did she say unto the virgins, but she did not inform them about her death. And she turned to the Apostles, and she said unto Simon Peter, 'Simon Peter, whom the Lord loved, and preserved for the kingdom that is in the heavens, be merciful, even as your Father Who is in the heavens is merciful. James and John, watch over your holy Catholicus, and be kind and gracious to every man. And thou, O Peter, go thou into the house of thy disciple Bibros, and take the pieces of fine linen which thou didst commit to his care, and bring them hither to me.' And Peter did according as she told him, and he brought the pieces of fine linen which had been committed to the care of Bifros (sic). And she said unto James, 'Rise up, take a stater, and go to the sellers of sweet perfumes, and bring its value in spices to me hither'; and he did according as she told him.

³⁹ And when the day wherein she was to be taken arrived, the Virgin Mary said unto John, 'Rise up, light a great number of lamps, both large and small, for the evening hath come.' And she took the pieces of fine linen, and spread them out upon the ground, and she poured out upon them her sweet spices, and she stood up on them, and said unto ⁴⁰ the Apostles, 'Let us pray to the Lord, so that He may have mercy upon us.' And she spread out her hands towards the east, and she made supplication to the Lord, saying, 'I give thanks unto Thee, O Lord God Almighty, and to Thine Only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, the Word of the Father, because He came to us, and built for Himself a fleshly tabernacle in my womb, according as He wished. I brought Him forth without pollution, without blemish. I nursed Him (or, reared Him) with anxious care, and it was He Who nourished me. I give thanks unto Him because Thy Holy Spirit came into me. And now, my Lord, the time hath come when Thou shalt draw nigh unto me, and shalt be gracious unto me. Scatter all the stones of stumbling that are before me, and [all]

obstacles, and let all those that are in my path, both on the left hand and on the right hand, flee before me. Stand Thou near me with gladness. Let the powers of darkness be ashamed, for nothing of theirs hath been found in me. Open unto me the gates of righteousness, and let me go in through them, and I will make manifest Thy holy Name, O my God. Let the Dragon flee before me, for I have freedom of speech before Thee. May the river of fire be tranquil when I come unto Thee, and may it allow me to cross over it, for unto Thee belong the power and the glory for ever and ever. Amen.'

⁴¹ And when she had said these things she lay down upon the pieces of fine linen and the sweet spices, and her face was turned towards the east. And behold, the Lord Jesus Christ came unto her upon the Cherubim, with the angels before Him, and He came and stood at His mother's head, and He said unto her, 'Be not afraid of Death, for the Life of the whole world is with thee, but it is necessary that at least thou shouldst glance at him with thine eyes, and he will not come except he be commanded to do so.' And Jesus said unto Death, 'Come, O thou who art in the chambers of the south.' And when Mary saw him she cast her soul into the bosom of her Son, and He wrapped it up in a napkin (?) of light. And the Apostles laid their hands upon her eyes, and she fell asleep with a good falling asleep on the night of the twentieth day of Tôbe, in the peace of God! Amen.

⁴² And the Lord said unto the Apostles, 'Take up her body carefully, and take it to the Valley of Jehosaphat, which is opposite the Mount of Olives, the place where I broke bread in days of old. Set down there the bier whereon is the body, and withdraw yourselves because of the threatening of the Jews, for they will pursue you wishing to slay you. And I will hide the body according as it pleaseth Me.' Thereupon the Apostles took up the body and placed it upon a bier. ⁴³ And when the morning had come a great multitude was gathered together in the city, and the virgins cried out. And straightway Peter and John lifted up the body to carry it out to the place of which the Saviour had told them, and a great multitude of people sang psalms and hymns before it, saying, 'The Lord ...,' and a multitude of angels sang hymns before her. And when they arrived at the Temple of the Jews all the members of the Sanhedrin were gathered together in the Temple on that day, and they heard the singing of the hymns over her holy body. And they said, 'Who is this who hath died in the city this day?' And [the people] said unto them, 'It is the mother of the Nazarene, that is, Jesus, who hath died, and they are taking

her out to bury her.' And they passed a decree unanimously, saying, 'We must not let her be buried in the city, lest mighty deeds be worked [at her tomb] similar to those which her Son performed, and lest the people believe in her, and they change our Law.' And the high priests and the scribes said, 'Let us go and burn her body with fire, so that no man will ever be able to find it.' And the Jews lighted a fire, and they pursued [the Apostles] with the bier whereon was the body of the Virgin.

⁴⁴ And when the Apostles had arrived at the Valley of Jehosaphat they looked behind them, and they saw the Jews pursuing them, and they dropped the bier upon the ground, for they were afraid that the godless Jews would kill them. And whilst the Jews were rushing on to overtake them the Apostles betook themselves to flight and escaped. Now the body of the holy Virgin they could not find, and all that they found was the wooden bier, and they lighted a fire and threw the bier into it. And they went into every place, saying, 'Perhaps her body hath been carried away secretly,' but they could not find it. And a very strong sweet smell emanated from the place whereon the body of the Virgin had been laid, and a mighty voice came from heaven, saying unto them, 'Let no man give himself the trouble of seeking after the body of the Virgin until the great day of the appearing of the Saviour.' And the Jews fled greatly ashamed; and they came to the city and told their neighbours what had happened, and they commanded them, saying, 'Tell no man whomsoever what hath happened.'

⁴⁵ Now, therefore, O my beloved, these are the things which we were able to discover for our discourse on the life of the holy Virgin Mary. The whole time of her life was sixty years. She gave birth to our Lord when she was fifteen years old, she followed the Saviour when He was preaching for three and a half years after she gave Him birth, and after the Saviour rose from the dead she lived eleven years and a half more. She ended her life on the twentieth day of the month Tôbe. Our Lord Jesus, the Christ, reigneth over us. And after the righteous Emperors, Constantine and his son, rose up we built a holy church in the name of the holy Virgin Mary, the mother of the Lord, on the day of her holy commemoration. And let us send up to her thanksgiving, saying, 'Remember us, O true Queen, and do thou plead on our behalf before God, so that He may shew mercy unto us, and so that we may celebrate a festival to Him at all times.' Let us give alms to the poor in the name

of the Virgin, [so that] she may not forsake us in the place to which we are going.

⁴⁶ Let us ascribe glory unto her by the utterances of our lips, and let us say, 'Through thee honours have been bestowed upon the city by our God.' And again, 'The death of the saints is precious in the sight of the Lord.' And again, 'The sound of rejoicing and salvation is in the habitation of the righteous.' And now the time hath arrived for us to offer up the Holy Offering, the Body and Blood of Jesus the Christ, our Lord, and moderation in everything is good. By the Will of God we will give the remainder of the exegesis in the holy shrine. Let us then bring to an end our discourse at this place, and let us ascribe glory to the Holy Trinity, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, life-giving and consubstantial, now and always, and for ever and ever. Amen.

Colophon

⁴⁷ May the Lord Jesus, the Christ, the True God, bless with life those who have undertaken the preparation of this gift, which is the choicest of heavenly gifts, and have placed it in the church of Ptjolfef, in the nome of Pemdjê, so that the Virgin Mary may make supplication to her Son on their behalf, that He may tear up the bill of indictment of their sins, and may write their names in the Book of Life. Amen. So be it! the capital of Butchamui, the XIXth Nome of Upper Egypt (Oxyrhynchites). The site of the town of Pemdjô is usually believed to be marked by the modern town of Bahnasâ, which is situated about miles to the south of Cairo.

III. THE DISCOURSE OF DEMETRIUS, ARCHBISHOP OF ANTIOCH, ON
THE BIRTH OF CHRIST AND ON THE VIRGIN MARY

¹ (Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7027) The Discourse Which APA DEMETRIUS, ARCHBISHOP OF THE CITY OF ANTIOCH, WHO ORDAINED THE GREAT JOHN CHRYSOSTOM TO BE AN ELDER, PRONOUNCED ON THE BIRTH, ACCORDING TO THE FLESH, OF GOD THE WORD, ON THE TWENTY-NINTH DAY OF THE MONTH KHOIAKH, AND ON MARY HIS MOTHER, THE VIRGIN WHO BROUGHT HIM FORTH. IN THE PEACE OF GOD! AMEN. Now the beginning of the month of Khoiak is a joy unto us, and the end thereof is a subject of gladness for all mankind. For if we go [back] to the beginning of this month our whole body is wont to rejoice, because it indicateth to us the happiness of keeping a feast, for it was in this month that the Devil lost his power and strength, and was put to

shame. The beginning of the month is the blossom of the fruits of the field, and the end thereof is the stablishing of our souls, and all mankind is occupied in keeping the feast. For the beginning of this month indicateth to us the birth, according to the flesh, of God the Word, and the end thereof indicateth to us manifestly that the Word of the Father was [then] brought forth. And who is it that sheweth us that the beginning of this month is a time for keeping a festival?

² It is David, the father, according to the flesh, of the Christ, who saith, 'Blow ye blasts on your trumpets in your new moons, the day which is appointed, which is our festival; for it was a statute unto Israel, and a decree from the God of Jacob.' And the matter is manifest, that He Whom the Virgin brought forth is He Who shall be the Only-begotten of all mankind. Now the Psalm of David also saith 'new moons and sabbaths'. And, moreover, the Psalm of David maketh [us] to remember the Sabbath, and the day whereon this great mystery took place, for the day whereon the holy Virgin brought forth for us the Only-begotten of the Father was the day of the new moon of Khoiak, which in that year was Sunday, and according to what we have found written in a book which treateth of Chronology, He was born on that day. [The writer] saith, 'The Psalm of David calleth to remembrance the Sabbath as if he would proclaim to all creation, saying, "Keep in remembrance this great festival, and do not forget this great festival this day."' He said, On

³ the fifth, on the Sabbath.' For I desire, O brethren, to reveal unto you a great and marvellous mystery. If the commemoration of the one righteous man shall produce a good report, how much greater good, and how many more kinds of benefits shall there arise through the commemoration of all the righteous? However, let us lay aside mystery, and let us begin [our discourse] wherein we will glorify the Only-begotten of the Father. And we must bring into the midst the birth of the Virgin, who was the Ark of the Governor, out of whom arose the Word of the Father, that is to say, the holy Virgin Mary. ⁴ There was a man in Jerusalem, whose name was Joakim, and he had a wife, whose name was Susanna (sic), and both of them were old, and they had become aged in their days. And they drew nigh to God, now they were both together, and they made supplication to God, saying, 'O Thou Good and man-loving God, let not my wife be called "barren", but give unto us the seed of men, for it was Thou Who didst say through the speech of

Moses Thy servant, There shall no barren or childless person be in Israel.' And whilst he was saying these things, behold, a man of light appeared unto him from out of the darkness, saying, 'Joakim, Joakim, what aileth thee, and why is thy heart so grievously afflicted?' And Joakim said unto him, 'My Lord, I have become old in days, both I and my wife, and we have no child.' And the man of light said unto him, 'Behold, thy wife shall conceive, and she shall bring forth a female child, the like of which no woman hath ever produced, neither shall any woman bring forth a daughter like unto her. Now take good heed, for on the day wherein she shall be born there shall be great joy unto thee, and thou shalt dedicate her to the Temple of the Lord, and thou shalt call her name "Mary".' And when the man of light had finished talking with him, Joakim rose up, and awoke Anna his wife, and told her all the words which had been said concerning her. And his wife became white of face, and she said unto him, 'May the Will of God be done.'

5 And after these things Anna his wife conceived, and she gave birth to this Great Gift. And the day wherein she gave birth to her was the Sabbath, that is to say, the fifteenth day of the month Athôr, a day whereon the people of the Jews were celebrating a festival. And on the eighth day, which fell on the [following] Sabbath, they registered her name and the gift of her [to the Temple], and they dedicated her to the Temple, for she was the first-born child. For this is the Law of the Hebrews: they give the name to the newly born child on the eighth day after his birth, and it was for this reason that they treated the woman child thus. And when Mary had grown, and had completed her third year, and they were about to give her to the Temple of the Lord, a great miracle happened, the like of which had never taken place from the foundation of the world. At the moment when her mother Anna set her upon her feet, inside the door of the Temple, before the priests, she walked by herself into the Temple, and went on until she arrived in the place behind the veil of the altar, whereon were offered up the sacrifices of the Lord. And when she had gone into [this place] she did not turn back to come out again, neither did one thought of her parents rise up in her heart, nor any thought of any earthly thing. She progressed daily, and she was praised by the other virgins who were in the Temple. And when she had grown, and was eight or ten years old, she became a type to the priests, and they were afraid to meet her, for her whole body was pure, and her heart was firm in the Lord.

6 She was pure in her body and in her soul, she never put her face outside the door of the Temple, she never looked at a strange man, and she never moved herself to gaze upon the face of a young man. And she lived in chastity, and in the service of God, and in the ordered service of the Temple. Her apparel was dainty. Her tunic came down over her seal, and her head-cloth came down over her eyes; she wore a girdle round her tunic, and her tunic was never soiled or torn. She never put antimony (eye-paint) on her eyes, and she did not lay the unguent made from the crocus flower on her cheeks. She did not put slippers on her feet as ornaments, and she wore neither armlets nor bracelets, nor trinkets nor jewellery on her arms and hands. She never craved for a large quantity of food, neither did she ever walk about in the market-place of her city. She never lusted for the works of this world. She never stripped herself naked, and she never washed in the [public] bath, and she never examined with careful attention the members of her body. But she was experienced in the fear of God, and the Christ walked with her, and watched over her in every place, for He knew that He had fashioned her to be for Him an ark and a dwelling-place.

7 And she lived in the Temple in this holy manner until she had completed her twelfth year. And when the priests who were in the Temple looked at her, and saw that she had become large of stature (i. e. grown up), they were afraid lest the way of women would come to her in the Temple, for they did not know of the dispensation which God had arranged should come to her. Then the priests took counsel and decided to commit her to the care of a man who would guard her until they saw what was to become of her. And they sat down, and they cast lots, and the lot fell upon the house of David; and they cast lots again for all those who belonged to that house, and the lot fell upon Joseph. Now Joseph was an old man, and he was a carpenter by trade, and he feared God, and he never at any time ate the bread of idleness. And he had no wife, for his wife was dead, and she had left him some wise sons and two daughters.

8 And the priests called him, and said unto him, 'The lot hath fallen upon thee that Mary the virgin, the daughter of Joakim, shall be thy wife. Behold, we deliver her into thy hands; take care of her until the time when we can make a marriage feast.' And the holy old man, whose grey hair was like unto the shoots of the tree of Paradise, that is to say, the Tree of Life which is in the middle of Paradise, made himself the protector of the garden wherein

the Pearl stone was hidden. And he carried her to Nazareth, and took her into his own house, and she made his house into a place for prayer and a monastery. He took a virgin into his house to make her his wife, and she made his house into a church, and psalms, and prayers, and spiritual songs were said and sung therein. He took to himself a wife, and she became unto him salvation.

9 And it came to pass that after he had taken her into his house she went into her own room and took up her abode therein, and she never came down the stairs except on the day wherein she departed to Torinê, and also on the day wherein Joseph took her to Bethlehem to register his own name, and the names of herself and her Child. And the registration read thus: 'Joseph, the son of David, and Mary his wife, and Jesus their Son.' Behold, O my beloved, and consider this great miracle. A woman, who is a virgin, with child, and it is not known what is in her. I marvel at thee, O thou aged Joseph, thou blessed carpenter. What was it that came into thy heart when thou didst write down [the name of] this young Child after thine, even though thou didst not know whence He came? Thou wast bound to write down [the name of thy] wife after thine own, because she was committed to thy care, but didst thou know whence was the Son she was carrying in her womb? [And Joseph replieth,] 'Faithful is He Who spake to me, saying, Take

10 Mary, thy wife, into thy house, for that which shall be born of her is of the Holy Ghost.' Then must we not turn to the matter from another aspect? The old man, the carpenter, took a door that was sealed into his house. He who had tasted marriage kept watch over the maiden who had never known man. The father of sons received to himself the Word of the Father. He who had had experience of the marriage in this world became the servant of the Spotless Lamb who carried the Only-begotten Son of God. When Joseph took Mary into his house the man unconsciously took to himself God.

11 And she sat in his house, and she worked at weaving purple into the veil of the Temple, according to the rule concerning virgins. She never saw any man whatsoever, but the angels came and ministered unto her, and they passed the whole day standing before her in the form of young doves, and they gave her courage, and they comforted her. And she sat in Joseph's house for three years, and his sons ministered unto her, and the angels were round about her at all times, for they earnestly desired to remain with her because of her purity, and they were in the form of doves or some other kind of holy bird.

They flew about her in the place where she used to sit working at her handicraft, and they would alight upon the window of her room, and they longed to hear her holy voice, which was sweet, and pretty, and holy. She blessed God, and she never ceased to do so by day and by night. She blessed the Almighty, and great tranquillity and the fear of God were round about the place wherein she lived her life of quiet contemplation. And all the Powers who were in the heavens were in a state of wonderment at her purity and her chastity, and they said, 'We never before saw a woman like unto this.' Sarra (Sarah), the wife of Abraham, cannot compare with her, and she did not occupy herself with works of this kind.

¹² Rebecca, the wife of Isaac, resembled her somewhat, but she cannot compare with this virgin. Leah and Rachel were married women, and they bore sons, and they never attained the honourable estate of this virgin. And Anna, the mother of Samuel, only laboured for one day; she poured out her tears before God, and He granted to her her petition. As for the Virgin, from the day wherein they placed her in the Temple, she never ceased from her regular rule in respect of her prayers, and her fastings, and her acts and works, and her numerous habits of asceticism. ¹³ And it came to pass after these things that the time arrived for God to remember His words to our holy fathers, the Prophets. And the Father took counsel with His Holy Word, Who had proceeded from Him, and Who was of like substance with Himself, and Who had lived with Him in the same honourable estate from the beginning, and in the same glory, and in the same strength, and in the same power, and with the same nature, I mean His Only-begotten Son, Who was like unto Him in the substance of His Godhead, saying, 'The time hath arrived, My beloved Son, for Thee to go down and to seek after Thy sheep who have gone astray in the world through sin. I wish Thee to take good heed to Adam, and to open to him the gate of Paradise. Remember, My Son, that the time hath arrived for Thee to complete the sacrifice of Isaac, which was insufficient to save the world. The daughter of Jephthah was offered up, but her blood [only] saved herself. For the blood of Abel crieth out, and it awaiteth Thee to go down into the world, and to shed Thy Blood, in order that Thy Blood may cry out and Abel's blood hold its peace. All the Prophets have awaited Thee, saying, How long, O Lord, before Thou wilt turn Thyself, and come down, and fulfil our prophecies and our visions? Now, therefore, O My Son, be not unmindful of Thy creation, and let it not perish.

14 Behold, Thy throne is prepared for Thee, O My beloved Son, until Thou hast vanquished the Devil. Behold, Thine abode is prepared for Thee on the earth, that is to say, the Virgin Mary, whom Thou hast fashioned with Thine own hands. Behold, I have prepared for Thee a father on the earth, that is to say, the old man Joseph, the blessed carpenter, who shall be unto Thee a servant and an attendant. When Thou goest down upon the earth it shall rejoice to its foundations, and the Devil shall take to flight. Depart, My Son, in peace, and Thou shalt return in peace. None compelleth Thee to depart. It is I Who command Thee to fulfil My command. Be not unmindful of the work of Thy hands, which is about to perish. I declared with My own mouth that a flood of water should not [again] come upon the earth, but a deluge of sins hath increased on the earth, and hath swallowed up all people in the water-floods of iniquity. The ark of Noah preserved a seed upon the earth, and behold, I have prepared for Thee the womb of the Virgin Mary, and I will make Thee to be therein for nine months, so that Thou mayest deliver the whole world through her. We destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, and all the cities that were round about them, and up to this present they have not ceased to commit sin. Now therefore, O My beloved Son, make haste, get Thee down, and save the rest of mankind.

15 We sent Jonah the prophet to Nineveh, the great city, and he preached unto her repentance, but his preaching was not sufficient to save them after they had repented, and they made themselves corrupt again. One part of the world having been destroyed, [we might think] that the other parts would be afraid, and would abandon their sins; but they were not afraid; on the contrary, they continue in their sins. Now therefore, O My beloved Son, come, get Thee down into the world, and save the rest of mankind. I gave the Law by Moses, but until Thou goest down into the world and fulfillest the Law, it will never be fulfilled (or, completed). All the Prophets prophesied concerning Thee, but all their prophecies will be things of naught until Thou goest down and dost confirm them. The whole world is expecting Thee, and all the earth is polluted with the error of idols; if Thou dost not go down, and pour out Thy Blood upon it, it will never be purified. Those who are in the nethermost Amente await Thee, so that Thou mayest go and give them redemption. The time hath arrived for Thee to open the gate of Paradise, and to make Adam to enter it again. Eve, the mother of all the living, awaiteth Thy departure into the body of Mary, and Thy taking upon Thyself a human

body in her womb, and Thy giving of freedom unto the whole race of women.

¹⁶ When Thou goest, My Son, Thou shalt give rest (or, satisfaction) unto all nations. Get Thee gone, My Son, and pay diligent attention to the vine that hath become barren.' After these things the Only-begotten hearkened unto the command of His Father, and of His own free-will made Himself ready to come down upon the earth, to fulfil the work which had been announced by the Law and the Prophets. ¹⁷ For Paul, the chosen vessel, said, 'When the time was fulfilled, God sent His Son, He proceeded from a woman, [and] He made Himself to be under the Law, that He might purchase those who were under the Law.' What man is there who, on hearing these words of wonder, doth not marvel greatly thereat? Now when I consider what happened to this virgin, my mind is disturbed, and I am seized with trembling, and I drop my hands helplessly, for I am unable to do anything. Many, many have wished to investigate this controversy, in the same way [as myself], but they have fallen into despair, and have known not [what to do]. For the matter is beyond the comprehension of human nature if one enquireth how did the Word become flesh or how did the Word become man? It belongeth to us to believe that He is Perfect God and in no way inferior to His Father. He is the Only-begotten of

¹⁸ God the Father. He is the First-born of the womb of Mary His Mother, a Virgin. He is God, He became man, and He fulfilled every [function] appertaining to human nature, with the exception of sin. He was of like substance with His Father, and He was not different from His Father according to the substance of divinity. He was a man, He was God, He advanced in every matter of childhood. He obeyed His parents. And when He wished to come to us, He spake unto the Archangel Gabriel, and said unto him, 'Come, fulfil the command of thy Lord. Come, perform the ministration of My service, and get thee gone to the holy Virgin Mary. Thou shalt indicate to her My presence. Thou shalt inform her that I will dwell in her. Take good heed how thou shalt talk to her. Do not frighten her by thy appearance. Disturb her not by thy words. Trouble not her mind, for she is a young maiden, and cannot bear any fright from thee. She will be a great marvel by producing a man-child, for hearken, a virgin shall give birth to a child without [the help of] male seed. Do not put before her any [threat of] punishment, as thou didst to Za[cha]rias. Appear unto her with joy and gladness, speak to her with

words of tenderness, tell her about My glory, which shall be to her. It is good to hide the private affairs of the king, but it is a good thing to make manifest with glory the works of God.'

¹⁹ And when Gabriel came unto her, he did not appear unto her in his glory, neither did he go into her presence in the form of a man, for he knew that it was not her custom to see strange men. But he stood outside the door of her chamber, and he cried out to her, saying, 'Hail, thou maiden who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee.' And when she heard the strange voice she was disturbed, and she said, 'Of what kind is this salutation?' And she was agitated about these things, and she marvelled concerning the voice which she had heard. And Gabriel cried out yet a second time, saying, 'Hail, thou maiden who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee.' And when the angel saw that she was disturbed at [his] words, he began to enter into her presence with a joyful bearing, saying, 'Fear not, O Mary, for thou hast found favour with God. For behold, thou shalt conceive, and shalt bear a son, and shalt call Him Jesus.'

²⁰ And the Virgin marvelled, saying, 'In what way can this possibly happen to me? I have never known a man, for I am a virgin.' And the archangel answered and said unto her, 'Fear not, O Mary, for thou hast found favour with God. Be strong, and of good cheer, for that which thou shalt bring forth is holy, and He shall be called the Son of God. 'Hail, Mary, thou woman whose fruit shall give salvation to the world and to all mankind! Hail, thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee. 'Hail, Mary, thou spotless dove! in whom there is no blemish, to whom is sent the choice, sweet odour by me, Gabriel. Hail, thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee! 'Hail, Mary, who shalt clothe the whole world in the apparel of salvation! Hail, thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee.

²¹ 'Hail, Mary, through whom salvation shall come to the whole world, because of thy walking in it! Hail, thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee. 'Hail, Mary, who art the choicest thing in heaven and upon earth! Hail, thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee. 'Hail, Mary, thou tower in which is the King's treasure! Hail, thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee. 'Hail, Mary, who hast given unto us a way of entrance into heaven! Hail, thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee. 'Hail, Mary, who hast opened to us the door of Paradise, after it had been closed through the transgression of Adam and Eve! Hail, thou who hast found fa-

vour! The Lord is with thee. 'Hail, thou second ark, which hath saved the world from the destruction of impiety! Hail, thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee.

²² 'Hail, thou beautiful Lamb, who hast made to spring up for us the pure wool and the apparel of incorruption! Hail, thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee. 'Hail, thou vase of gold, wherein was the manna! Hail, thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee. 'Hail, thou who didst remove the enmity which existed between God and us! Hail, thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee. 'Hail, Mary, thou sweet odour that hath mounted up before God Almighty until God hath become reconciled to His creation which He hath created! Hail, thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee. 'Hail, thou who art the tent of the Godhead, wherein the Only-begotten of the Father hath reposed! Hail, thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee. 'Hail, Mary, thou ark, whereof every part is covered with gold, and wherein God the Father sojourned in the form of His Holy Word! [Hail, thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee.]

²³ 'Hail, Mary, thou bread that hath come forth from heaven, to satisfy the hungry and to fill souls with good things! Hail, thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee. 'Hail, Mary, who dost deliver every one from the storm of the Devil, and dost bring them into the haven of salvation. Hail, thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee. 'Hail, Mary, thou unpoluted bride without blemish, who hast prepared for us the path of salvation! Hail, thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee. 'Hail, Mary, through whom and by whom all the women in the world have acquired freedom of speech with her Lord! Hail, thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee. 'Hail, Mary, thou holy table, whereon the rational sacrifice is slain! Hail, thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee. Hail, Mary, the light of whose Son hath filled the whole world! Hail, thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee.

²⁴ 'Hail, Mary, whose holy birth-pangs were awaited by heaven and by earth! Hail, thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee. 'Hail, Mary, thou good root, who hast made to blossom for us the fruit of righteousness! Hail, thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee. 'Hail, Mary, who hast made to blossom the blessed seed of the fruit of righteousness of the Tree of Life! Hail, thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee. Hail, Mary, thou golden candlestick! Hail, thou who hast found favour! The Lord

is with thee. Hail, Mary, thou new cistern wherein is salt, which will make sweet that which is bitter! Hail, thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee.' ²⁵ Verily, if all [the peoples of] the world were to come to one place, and verily, if I were to go round about in every direction, I should never come to the end of the [recital of the] blessings which are thy due, O thou holy turtle-dove, who hast come forth from the dovecot of the Great King, and who hast produced the Bridegroom of the whole world. And even if all the wise men in all the world, and all the men learned in books, and all the orators in every part of all the world were to gather themselves together, they would not be able to declare sufficiently the honour that belongeth unto thee. Or, what could they say concerning the great glory which thou hast acquired through thy Son that would be adequate? They might say, 'Heaven is high,' but it is not thy equal, for thy womb was loaded with Him Who filleth the heavens and the earth. And if people say unto me, 'The earth is great,' I reply, 'The earth is His footstool.' And if people would set the hosts of the heavens in comparison with thee, thou art greater than they in thy purity. They call thee the 'ark', but the ark of old preserved only Noah and his sons, whilst thou hast saved the whole world, which was being destroyed by wickedness. They call thee the 'ark of the Covenant', but in that ark there were [only] the Two Tables which had been written by the fingers of God,

²⁶ or (sic) or whilst thou didst carry [the Lord of] the Universe, in the Word of His power. They call thee 'the vessel of gold', but that vessel only held a very little manna, which served as a memorial for the children of Israel, whilst thou didst contain Him that fed the whole world with the manna of the mind, which is His Body of God and His Blood of truth, which He gave for us until He redeemed us from our sins. ²⁷ And it came to pass after these things that Mary said unto the archangel, 'Behold, thou art speaking to me in words that are beyond the measure of all men's understanding, and thou art proclaiming to me a marvellous mystery. For I am a virgin, and can this thing possibly come to me who have never known man?' And the angel answered and said unto her, 'If thou wishest to verify the words which I have spoken unto thee, rise up and go to Elisabeth, the wife of Zacharias the priest, who dwelleth in Torinè, for she is thy kinswoman, and thou shalt be convinced of the truth of the words which I have spoken, by her example. For I was sent unto Zacharias her husband, some days ago, and I proclaimed to him also tidings of great joy, saying, "Behold, Elisabeth thy wife shall bear

thee a son, and thou shalt call his name John." And when Zacharias shewed that he did not believe my words, I inflicted upon him the punishment of dumbness. Now Elisabeth conceived a son, and Zacharias was dumb according to the word of my mouth, and there was great joy in the house of Zacharias. And this is the sixth month since Elisabeth conceived a son, according to the word which I announced to him. And thou, O wise virgin, art exalted above all the created beings and things which God hath formed; but I am unable to pronounce [upon thee] a decree of judgement in the same manner as I did concerning him, inasmuch as thou art the treasury of my Lord. For the mystery that hath come to Zacharias hath come unto others before him; but the mystery which hath come to thee hath never before happened, even from the beginning of creation, and it shall never happen again.'

28 And when Mary heard these things she spake unto Gabriel with a face of gladness, saying, 'Behold, I am the servant of the Lord, let it be to me according to thy word.' And the angel departed from her. And Mary in no wise forgot to do what she had been told to do, and she rose up quickly to go to Torinê. And she took with her the daughter (sic) of Joseph to be a companion on the road, and she set out on the journey, and undertook the fatigue and hardship of the road from Nazareth to Torinê. And she went into the house of Zacharias, and saluted Elisabeth. I marvel at thee, O virgin, how thou didst know where Torinê was, and who shewed thee the house of Zacharias, and why thou didst not lose thy way to the town, or wander into a strange house, for thou hadst not been shewn how to enter it, since thou wast not in the habit of frequenting it. The virgin saith: 'I went to see this marvellous mystery which had been pointed out to me. When I found Elisabeth she was with child. And I saw with my own eyes that her womb, which had been barren, was thrust forward through the weight of the child which she was carrying in it, and that her breasts, which had been dry, were heavy with milk. And when I saw the joy and gladness about the delivery [that was to take place] in the house of the barren woman, and when I saw Zacharias dumb and his mouth closed, I believed that the words which had

29 been spoken unto me [by the angel] were true. Nevertheless I did marvel at the statement that I should give birth to a child without [the help of] a man.' It was not merely a matter of making a woman who had been barren to conceive, for Isaac was given to Abraham when he was one hundred years

old, and Sarra (Sarah) herself was ninety years old; and Isaac was sixty years old when he begat Jacob and Esau, and Rebecca was fifty years old; and Rachel was a barren woman, and she bore Benjamin and Joseph; and Anna, the mother of Samuel, was a barren woman, and she gave birth to a prophet; but to make a virgin to bear a child without [the help of] a man was, indeed, a wonderful mystery. ³⁰ And Mary went and entered into the house of Zacharias, and saluted Elisabeth, and she found that Elisabeth was with child, and that Zacharias was dumb, and that all the signs [of an approaching delivery] were present; and she saw that Zacharias had received the punishment of dumbness, and that he was sitting in silence. And she saw also that the aged barren woman was bowed by reason of the great weight of the child, and she saw that her breasts, which had been shrivelled and dried up for a long time past, were full and large and dripping with milk, and she saw that her womb, which had been shrivelled and dried up, was thrust forward, and she saw that she was carrying a child. And she saw the gladness and festivity which were in the house of Zacharias. And straightway, when she had gone in to Elisabeth, and had saluted her, she (i. e. Elisabeth) leaped up like a girl through the Holy Spirit Who had come upon her, and as she stood up John moved through gladness within her. And straightway she cried out with a loud voice, and said, 'Blessed art thou among women! And blessed is the fruit which is in thee! As for me, who am I that the mother of my Lord should come to me?' And behold, when the sound of thy salutation reached my ears, the child moved within me through gladness.' And blessed was the woman who believed that there would be a fulfilment of the words which were said unto her by the Lord.

³¹ O Elisabeth, whence didst thou know that the child which thou hadst conceived could bear witness, and that he moved in thy womb? For such a thing hath never been for a woman to know what is in her womb, before she hath brought it forth and hath seen what kind of a child it is which she beareth. However, Zacharias cannot have told her what the angel had said unto him, for from the time when Zacharias shewed himself unbelieving in respect of the angel dumbness appeared in him, and from the time when he was in the Temple he never spoke to Elisabeth. O Elisabeth, thou wast bound to take care for that which thou wast to bring forth; but whence didst thou know the words which the angel had spoken to Mary, saying, 'And blessed is she because she hath believed that the words which have been spoken to her

shall come to pass through the Lord?' Was she, peradventure, present when Gabriel spake unto her? Assuredly not. It was the Holy Spirit that came upon her, and she prophesied concerning the things that were hidden. And the two young women had known each other from the time when they were in their mother's wombs, and they looked upon each other, and they rejoiced, and they wished to come forth before the time came. For this reason the Holy Spirit came upon them and Elisabeth prophesied. And when Mary was certain about the words of the angel she said, 'My soul is exalted in the Lord, and my spirit rejoiceth in God my

³² Saviour; for He hath looked upon the humility of His servant. For behold, from henceforth, all generations shall hold me to be justified. For He Who is mighty hath done great things for me, and His Name is holy. His mercy is from generation to generation on those who fear Him. He hath performed a mighty deed with His arm, He hath scattered the proud in the thought of their hearts. He hath overthrown the dynasts on their thrones, and hath exalted those who are humble. He hath satisfied the hungry with good things, and He hath sent the rich away empty. He hath helped Israel, keeping in remembrance mercy, according to what He spake unto our fathers, Abraham and his seed, for ever.' And Mary remained with Elisabeth for three months, and returned to her house. That Mary remained with Elisabeth for three months is an evident matter; but did she not then remain with her until she brought forth? Now although the Evangelist doth not make this [fact] perfectly clear, yet behold, the words that follow these statements will shew us [that she did]. He saith that 'the days of Elisabeth were fulfilled for her to bring forth', and it is manifest that Mary would not have left her without seeing Elisabeth's joy in the little child to whom she was about to give birth, for which very purpose Mary had gone thither.

³³ For if the man who is invited to a banquet, whether it be a feast for a birthday or for some other day of rejoicing, cannot possibly leave the man who hath bidden him to the banquet until he hath seen the end of the rejoicings and the festivities, how much more would the mother of Him Who is life, and Who filleth the heavens and the earth, be obliged to remain until she had completed the matter for the purpose of which she had come! Therefore most certainly Mary remained with Elisabeth until she had seen the little child, and had spoken to Zacharias. 'And after these things,' Scripture saith, 'Mary returned to her house,' and sat down [there] composedly until

she had fulfilled eight months. ³⁴ And what happened after these things? 'It came to pass,' Scripture saith, 'that in those days an order came forth from the Emperor Augustus that all the world should be registered for taxation, each according to his village; this was the first registration which took place, and Cyrenius was the governor of Syria. And every one went to have his name registered according to his city, and Joseph went up also.' And Joseph said unto Mary, 'What shall we do? Behold, they will lay hands on us, and make us go up to Bethlehem and have our names registered in the taxing-list.' And she said unto him, 'How can we go up? For, behold, the days are fulfilled for me to bring forth.' And the good old man said unto her, 'I believe that God will direct the journey for us.' And they rose up and left Nazareth, and they took the road to go up to Bethlehem, and they happened to arrive there on the Day of the Preparation, which is the great [day] of the fast. On that day no one asked them questions, and also they did not enquire for a place wherein to sojourn. And they found a caravanserai within the city where strangers lodged, and they also went in and camped there; but they could not find any room wherein to sleep because of the large number of people who were [already lodged therein]. And at dawn on the following morning, which was the Sabbath, and the first day of the new moon of the month of Khoiak, they unrolled their bedding by the side of a cattle-manger. And the whole of

³⁵ that day was passed by them in waiting for their turn to come for their names to be registered. And that which was written above them in the register of taxes was as follows: 'Joseph the carpenter, of the tribe of David, and Mary his wife, and Jesus their Son.' Blessed art thou, O Joseph, for thou didst attain to a position which had never before been reached by man. Thou didst attain to the honour of writing the Name of the Logos of the Father after thy name, as if He were [thy] Son. From what didst thou come, and to what didst thou attain? From being a carpenter, working at thy handicraft, with thy tools in thy hands, thou didst attain to making thyself the father of Him that hath created everything! When a man acquireth the rank of a king, or weareth a crown, after a time he passeth away, and his rank also passeth away with him. As for thee, not only shall thy sovereignty not pass away from thee after thy death, but it

³⁶ shall endure for ever. And we ourselves who are sitting upon lofty thrones, when our days are fulfilled, and we are obliged to sleep with our

fathers, our honourable rank and our names sink into oblivion together. But as for thee, O righteous old man, thy name shall remain and endure for ever! How canst thou conceal the fact that thou wast the father and servant of Him that created everything with His own hands? Then after all these things and the registration of their names on the twenty-seventh day, on the day of the ..., on the twenty-eighth day, which was the great day of the fast, they were not able to travel until the Sabbath was ended. And at midday of the twenty-eighth day Joseph looked into the face of Mary, and he saw that her whole body was shining brightly, and that she was greatly moved. And he spake unto her tenderly, saying, 'Why art thou disturbed this day?' And she said unto him in a terrified manner, 'O help me, for behold, the hidden fruit wisheth to come forth.' And

³⁷ he said unto her, 'Fear not, but be strong, for He Who shall come forth from thy womb is He Who shall help thee.' And after these things she was again greatly moved, because it was her first time of bringing forth, and she was a stranger in the place, and there was neither acquaintance nor kinswoman with her, and she had never seen a woman in this condition, and she had never been instructed in matters of this kind. And there was a very large star in the middle of the heavens, and it illumined the whole world, and the men who were in Bethlehem were examining it with much attention, and they spake unto one another, saying, 'This star [indicateth] that a king is going to be born.' And Mary and Joseph heard all the words that were spoken about this matter, and Mary rejoiced [as] they marvelled, for there is a caravanserai in heaven wherein God and His angels dwell. And Mary passed the whole of that night in a restless condition, and she was greatly perturbed. And

³⁸ at the moment of dawn on the twenty-ninth day of the month Khoiak, the fleecy cloud of light which overshadowed the good servant said, 'Do an act of kindness for Me; enquire after a woman who knoweth how to take care of children who are newly born from the womb.' And Joseph said unto Mary, 'Fear not Him that spake unto thee, for thou shalt bear a faithful son, for He spake unto me, saying, He Who shall be brought forth by her is of the Holy Spirit.' ³⁹ And when he had said these things unto her he walked out from the caravanserai, and he knew not whither he was walking. And he looked up, and he saw a tent outside the city, and there were a number of men in it. And he walked towards it, and he looked up, and he saw a woman

standing on the roof of her house, and looking over the wall. And Joseph cried out unto her, saying, 'I adjure thee, O thou woman, tell me if there be in this place a woman who knoweth how to act as a midwife; and let her come and sit with this young woman until she bringeth forth, and I will give her her hire.' And straightway the Holy Spirit came upon this woman, and she said unto him, 'Thou art Joseph, the blessed and righteous old man, the husband of Mary, from whose womb the Word of the Father shall come forth.' And he said unto her, 'Come down'; and straightway, by the Holy Spirit Who came upon her, she made haste, and came down, and put on her finest apparel as if she knew that she was going to meet God. And she came outside the door, and she stretched out her hands upwards to heaven, saying, 'O Jesus, the Word of the Father, as I have left my door open, and followed Thee, even so do Thou open unto me a place of abode in Thy kingdom.' And whilst Joseph was outside the holy Virgin Mary brought forth the Son of her first labour; and she wrapped Him round with strips of stuff, and laid Him to rest in the cattle-manger, for there was no room for them in the caravanserai. Hail, thou caravanserai, which thus became the Church wherein the Christ abideth! Hail, thou manger, thou first altar whereon the Christ offered up His sacrifice! Hail, ye strips of stuff of incorruptibility,

⁴⁰ X X which God the Word wore until He had reconciled us to Him, and to His Father! Hail, thou manger! Hail, thou caravanserai, which became [an abode] upon earth and a holy Temple for God the Word! Hail, thou manger, which became a place of rest for God and men, through the journey which He made to us! Hail, ye strips of stuff which protected us against the destruction of the Devil! May he never approach me again! ⁴¹ And it came to pass after these things that Joseph arrived walking with that woman, whose name was Salome. And they looked and saw the little Child in the manger, and they marvelled. And they saw also the Virgin sitting in a state of poverty, whilst her face was emitting rays of light, and they saw an ox and an ass protecting the little Child, and they saw that the whole caravanserai was filled with joy, for the Son of God was therein. And Salome went in to the manger, and she worshipped the Lord, saying, 'Mine eyes have seen Thy salvation, O Lord, which hath come to deliver all the sinners who are on the earth, of whom I am the first.' And after these things she went in to the Virgin, and she worshipped before her hands and her feet, saying, 'Blessed art thou, O Mary the Virgin, who hast set the whole world free from the curse which was

on us through the transgression of Eve. O Mary, thou art the woman who hath been awaited during all the long ages which have passed. And as for me, I shall never again return to my own house.' Now this woman Salome was the first who recognized the Christ, and who worshipped Him, and believed on Him when He came upon the earth; and she did not return to her own house until the day of her death.

⁴² Whithersoever Christ went to preach, with His mother the Virgin, there she followed Him with His disciples until the day when they crucified Him and [the day of] His holy Resurrection. She saw them all, with His mother the Virgin. I wish very much that I might describe unto you fully the life of that woman, and her acts and deeds, and tell you from whom she was descended, and who were her kinsfolk; but we must not scatter our words in another direction, and we must not forget the plan which we have laid down. For this reason I return to the subject of this feast which is spread out for us this day. ⁴³ And now, come thou into our midst, O Isaiah, thou mighty voice among the Prophets, and inform us this day what is the meaning of this manger, and the import of these ragged strips of stuff, and of these animals. 'The ox,' he saith, 'knoweth his master, and the ass knoweth his master's manger; [but] My people do not know Me, and Israel hath not found out who I am.' And then the Evangelist said, 'There were shepherds in that country who were in the fields, keeping watch by night over their flocks of sheep, and when they had seen the star they were afraid, for they were unable to sleep all that night. But they spake unto each other, saying, This [star] which hath appeared unto us is a great mystery. And just as they were saying these words, behold, the angel of the Lord appeared unto them, and the glory of the Lord shone upon them, and they were afraid with an exceedingly great fear.' And what man is there who would not be afraid if he saw an angel of the Lord standing in front of him, especially if he was arrayed in marvellous apparel? But through the visit of our Lord which He made to us, the angel straightway removed from them their fear, and he said unto them, 'Fear not. For behold, I proclaim unto you a great joy which shall be unto all people, for there is born unto you this day a Saviour, Who is Christ the Lord, in the city of David.

⁴⁴ And a sign (or, proof) unto you is this: Ye shall find the young Child wrapped in ragged strips of stuff, and lying in a manger.' And straightway their eyes were opened, and they saw a multitude of angels blessing God, say-

ing, 'Glory be to God in the heights, and His peace [be] upon the earth, in men, according to His wish.' And when the angels had made this confession, they straightway departed into heaven. And when the senses of the shepherds had returned to them, they said unto each other, 'These beings who spake unto us were angels. Now therefore let us rise up and go to Bethlehem, and let us see this great mystery by which the Lord hath appeared unto us.' Thereupon they came into Bethlehem, and the star drew onwards above them until it came over the place wherein the young Child was. And they saw Him with Mary His mother, and Joseph, and they knew that what had been told them was true; and the shepherds returned ascribing blessing and glory to God because of all the things that they had seen. And Mary kept all these words, and laid them up in her heart.

⁴⁵ And when Herod saw the star, he knew that it was the star of a king, and he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him, saying, 'What is the meaning of this mystery which hath taken place? Then behold certain Magi came out of the east, asking, Where is the King of the Jews Who hath been born? For we have seen His star in the east, and we have come to worship Him.' And when Herod heard these things he marvelled. Then he called the Magi secretly, and enquired of them concerning the time of the star that had appeared. And he said unto them, 'Come ye, and shew me by means of your art who this King is that hath been born.' And the Magi answered, 'He is not a king of this world, but a King Who will never come to an end, and His Kingdom shall never pass away. He is the King Who setteth all kings [upon their thrones], and Who removeth them [therefrom]. He is the King at Whose command heaven and earth shall pass away. He is the King Who shall give judgement to the whole world in righteousness. He is the King Who exalteth one man and humbleth another. If thou wishest to know, then we will tell thee: He is Jesus the Christ, concerning Whom it is written, "He shall be born in Bethlehem of Judea. When Herod heard these things from the Magi he was greatly disturbed, and he said unto them, 'It is impossible.

⁴⁶ Ye shall [not] find rest until ye find him. Accept ye [these] gifts, and ye shall go secretly and enquire, and ye shall search carefully and diligently for the place wherein the great King hath been born, and ye shall give gifts unto Him; and when ye find Him, tell me also so that I may come and worship Him.' And he said these things unto them with deceit, for he wished to kill Him. And when the Magi had received the order from Herod the king they

departed, and when they had journeyed a short distance from the city, behold, the star which they had seen in the east retreated before them, until it came and stood over the place where the young Child was. And they worshipped Him that had created everything which existeth, as He lay in a cattle-manger wrapped about in strips of ragged stuff, like [the child of] a poor man, for there was no room in the caravanserai wherein they could sleep. And the Magi said, 'Assuredly a piece of great good fortune hath come upon us despite our evil deeds.'

47 And I myself marvel, O Magi, at what ye were and at what ye became. From being supporters (i. e. followers) of the books of Magianism, and from fighting against God, and provoking Him to wrath, ye were the first to come and worship Him. From corrupting the souls of kings, and deceiving them, and leading astray the souls of many, ye were the first to come and worship the King Christ. For this reason, having attained these great miracles, they brought unto Him gifts, gold, and frankincense, and myrrh. And in the night that followed they departed to their house. And behold, on the morrow the angel of the Lord appeared unto pa pb pc them in a dream, saying, 'Whither are ye going?' And they said, 'Thou, the Lord, art He Who knoweth what we are going to do.' And the angel said unto them, 'Return not to Herod, but depart into your own country by another road.' And they said unto him, 'We know not the road by which we shall depart.' And the angel guided them, and they did not know whither they were going until he had taken them into their city, and [into] all the country of Persia. And a great fear came upon Herod, and he sought no more either the Christ or the Magi. And when each of the Magi had entered his own district, they made haste and burned their books dealing with Magianism, and they preached Christ Jesus in all the city, and in all the country of Persia.

48 Then the angel of the Lord appeared unto Joseph after the Magi had departed, and said unto him, 'Rise up, and get thee into Egypt, thou and the young Child and His mother, until I tell thee; for Herod will seek the young Child to destroy Him.' And Joseph arose by night, and took Mary and Jesus and Salome, and they rose up and departed into Egypt. Whither didst thou go, O Thou of Whom God called Himself the Father? Or, whither didst Thou go, O Thou, before Whom heaven, and earth, and creation quake? Why didst Thou flee from this wolf? He saith, 'I fled in order that I might fulfil the whole nature of men, with the exception of sin only.' He Who, if

He but look upon the earth, maketh it to tremble to its foundations, He Who, if He but touch the hills, they smoke, fled before the man whose breath was in His hand! 'I did not,' He saith, 'flee because I was afraid; but in order that I might go into the land of Egypt, and destroy therein the worship of idols, and prepare for Myself therein a people who were pure.'

⁴⁹ Come thou into our midst this day, O Isaiah, thou greatest of the Prophets, [come] into this festival this day and tell us the things which thou didst prophesy concerning the Christ and His mother the Virgin, from the beginning. He saith, 'Behold, the Lord of Hosts cometh into Egypt, sitting upon the light cloud, and all the images graven by the hand [of man] in Egypt shall be shaken.' And again he saith, 'And all the men of Egypt shall become like unto women through fear and trembling, because of the hand of the Lord of Hosts which hath been brought upon them.' Before ever the Lord came into the world the Egyptians were mighty, and their sceptre was over a multitude of nations. It was a strong nation which, as was to be expected, was to be humbled, for the Egyptians were worshippers of idols, but they were neither afraid of God nor of any other people. And when the Christ came into the world, and came down into Egypt, the fear of Him, and the trembling caused by Him, came upon them. He purified the people, He was holy, He purified the nations, and He made the Sceptre of all the nations to come over them. Therefore he saith, 'Egypt's labour [and] the merchandise of the people of Kûsh, and of the Sabeans, men of high stature, shall come to thee, and they shall pray unto thee, [saying,] For thou art the God, and they know not

⁵⁰ that the God of Israel is our Saviour.' Ye see, [my beloved,] how the prophecy hath made itself manifest. When the Word of the Father came down into Egypt, He came in humility. He did not come as one of high rank and dignity, neither did He wear the royal purple; but His kingdom is for ever and ever, and His dominion from generation to generation. He did not come seated on a waggon, but He walked on His feet, and His waggon was the cattle-manger. He, Who gave unto us the road whereby we may enter into heaven, instead of being arrayed in purple and in apparel unsoiled, was wrapped in strips of ragged stuff, even as we pc py are. For this reason every man who is a servant of Him cannot possibly walk in pride. Then he saith again, 'There shall be an altar to the Lord in Egypt, near the country of Kûsh, and they shall offer up a gift upon it unto the Lord.'

51 Now the sweetness of thy words, O Isaiah the Prophet, maketh us to forget the other portions of the narrative which we have begun to relate. Because Herod found that the Magi had made a laughing-stock of him, and that he was unable to overtake them on their road, he was filled with wrath by his father the Devil, for he was afraid, inasmuch as they were masters in the arts of the sorcerer, lest they should do evil things to him, and he did not know where the Christ was so that he might seek Him out. Thus he continued to feel two evil passions, anger because the Magi had made him a laughing-stock, and hatred towards the Christ, Whom he wished to kill. And he continued to expect the Magi to return to him until fully two years had passed. Now it was not Herod who put restraint upon himself, but God Who set a restraint upon his heart, and prevented him from searching out the Christ at once, and He held him back until all the things that were written concerning the Christ were fulfilled. And they circumcised Christ on the eighth day, and they performed on Him all that the observance of the Law demanded. And they took Him into the Temple, and Simeon the priest received Him in his bosom, and he blessed Him. And He increased in stature like [any other] child, and He obeyed His parents, and performed all the other things which it was right for Him to do. After these things He departed into Egypt, Joseph being with Him.

52 And when Herod saw that the Magi did not return unto him, he was exceedingly angry, and he sent and slew all the young children who were in Bethlehem and the region round about of two years of age and under. For the Evangelist saith, 'According to the time when he enquired of the Magians,' and it is evident that he delayed before he slew the young children. And when the sacrifice was made, all the people who belonged to Bethlehem, and to the region round about, mourned for their little children who had been slain. But all the denizens of heaven rejoiced over the sacrifice of the children which had taken place after the departure of Christ, [Who] said unto His Father, with rejoicing, 'Behold My first sacrifice which I have offered up unto Thee after My coming upon the earth. Now therefore, O My Father, accept from My hand My sacrifice [of the children] in place of the animals which are slaughtered for devils. Behold, I send up to Thee a great quantity of innocent blood, and I give these precious gifts unto Thee, O My Father, so that they may bless Thee and Thy holy angels until I come unto Thee. Forsake not the world, O My Father, and those who dwell therein. Remember that

Our hands have made them, and that all these creatures are the work of Our hands.' And Herod saw that he had two sons whom he had called by his name Herod.

⁵³ And when he was about to yield up his spirit, the soldiers of his army spake unto him, saying, 'Which of thy sons shall reign after thee?' Then Herod looked at his elder son, and said unto him, 'Rule thy people.' And the soldiers of the army set the royal crown upon his head, and they abolished his first name of Herod, and called him Archelaus, according to that which his father had given unto him. And the Lord removed from his mind the intention of seeking out Jesus. And the angel of the Lord appeared unto Joseph in Egypt, saying, 'Arise, take the young Child and His mother, and get ye into the land of Israel; for he who sought for the soul of the young Child is dead.' And straightway the good old man rose up, and took the young Child and Mary His mother, and departed into the land of Israel. And the young Child called Joseph 'My father', and Joseph instructed Him like a son, and the Child obeyed him like a good son.

⁵⁴ Now Archelaus had two sons; the elder was called Philip, and the younger was called Herod, according to the name of his father; and Philip had a wife whose name was Herodias. And after a few days Archelaus died and Herod was set up in his place. And he was a young man of goodly presence, and all the army loved him, but he had no wife, and he committed very great sin, for he slept with his brother's wife whilst his brother was still alive, but no one knew of this secret thing except John, the son of Zacharias the priest. And John lived in the desert of Torinë in those days, because at that time Herod was slaying the young children who were in Bethlehem. In seeking for the Christ, he sought also for John so that he might kill him, but his mother took him, and fled with him to the wilderness of Torinë. And Herod sent a message to Zacharias, the father of John, in the Temple, saying, 'Tell me where thy son is so that I may kill him.' And Zacharias said, 'I know not. His mother hath taken him and fled with him.' And Herod was angry, and he sent and killed Zacharias the priest, in the inner part of the apse, in the holy place on the steps [leading up to] the altar.

⁵⁵ And it came to pass after these things that Philip died, and he left a daughter who was skilled as a dancer. And Herod continued in sin, and John rebuked him, and sent warnings unto him daily through a messenger, saying, 'It is not lawful for thee to take thy brother's wife'. O John, than whom

among those who are born of women none is greater, I would that thou didst inform me who was the messenger by whom thou didst send warnings daily to Herod! For this took place before thou didst reveal thyself to men, and there existed no [other] man who would dare to utter words of this kind to the face of the king. I think, O my brethren, that it was an angel who acted as John's messenger, and who sent to Herod and spake unto him the secrets of John. Therefore Herod did not know where John was, and he could not lay hold upon an envoy whom he could not see, and whose voice alone he heard. And, afterwards, when the holy forerunner [of Christ] had revealed himself unto men, he again rebuked Herod, but Herod was unable to speak unto him according to his evil wish, because the multitude regarded John as a prophet. Now I should very much like to describe unto you what took place between Herod and John, but I am afraid that if I discuss this matter I shall entirely forget this great festival wherein we are engaged this day, namely, the festival of the holy Virgin Mary, who gave birth to God.

⁵⁶ There hath never been any other miracle as great as this on the earth; the finding of a virgin who was with child and who brought forth a man-child. And more miraculous still is it that when they did what was decreed for her, and when they had given her to a man, he neither knew her nor was he scandalized to find that she was with child by some one else. More miraculous still is it that the man accepted the paternity [of the Child], and ministered unto the Child she brought forth. Now had it been myself I should have said unto her, 'I wish to understand this matter which hath taken place. Thou wast delivered over unto me as a virgin, and pīr I was going to make a marriage feast for thee. But now, before this feast could take place, I walk with thee, and I discover that thou art with child, and that thou hast come to thy time for bringing forth.' However, no such [thoughts as] these rose up in his heart.

⁵⁷ O Isaiah, thou greatest of the Prophets, thou who hast talked with God on several occasions, and hast never kept silence concerning the miraculous virgin, what dost thou say? He saith, 'Before she felt the pangs of childbirth she brought forth. Before the pains of childbirth came upon her she was delivered, and gave birth to a man-child. Who hath ever heard of such a thing? Or, who hath ever seen a woman bring forth, and produce a whole nation at once?' And this is a most marvellous thing: she was obliged to go through the process of parturition, just like all other women, but, although she

brought forth with pain and trouble, the terror which is usually present in all women who are in childbirth for the first time was absent from her. O Mary, what didst thou intend to do when thou didst find thyself alone in the caravanserai, in a strange country, when thou hadst no man who was known to thee near thee, and when thou couldst not find a place wherein to lie down in the caravanserai? Didst thou remain alone without agitation, and without terror? Didst thou not, peradventure, say in thine heart, 'I am a woman like any other woman. I see that I am with child, although I am a virgin, for that which hath happened to me is a wonderful mystery. I feel [my] fruit moving. I feel the birthpangs flowing over me like the droppings of rain water.

58 I feel myself to be in a state of great misery, and I am sorrowing because of my absence from home and friends. I know not what to say, and I do not see any person who will take care of me and provide me with oil and wine, and the other necessary things which are prepared for women who are about to bring forth children for the first time. More especially do I feel at this moment that I am without kinsfolk and am a stranger, and that I am obliged to entrust myself to a caravanserai. For when all other women who are about to bring forth for the first time arrive at the period of the ninth month, their parents attend to their wants, but I see no one round about me, and there is no other house except the caravanserai wherein I can take up my abode.'

59 Nevertheless, why art thou disturbed, O Mary? Behold, all the hosts of heaven stand before thee instead of parents according to the flesh. Behold, God, the Lord of all creation, is unto thee a Father, in the place of brethren and kinsfolk. Behold, He Who hath created the whole world with His own hands is present, and He will protect thee and will take the place of wine, and oil, and the other necessities of the body, and He it is Who will give nourishment to the hungry Child Who shall come forth from thee. Instead of a house and a habitation the heaven of heavens shall be a house for thee and a habitation. Instead of couches, and feather pillows, and padded quilts and cushions, behold, the incorruptible, celestial clothing hath been prepared for thee, and instead of attendants and servants, behold, the old man Joseph, the blessed carpenter, hath prepared himself to be unto thee a servant and attendant. Be not afraid, O Mary, the Lord is with thee, even as He hath been in the time that is past, for the words of Gabriel unto thee were, 'Hail, thou

who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee'; and the abundance of every good thing that is in the heavens shall suffice for thee. What other woman in all the world hath found favour as thou hast, O thou holy city, wherein is set even the throne of the Great King? Verily, O holy Virgin Mary, thou art far more highly exalted than all those who are

60 pr pr exalted in the heavens and upon the earth. When I think of that which happened unto thee, I am as much stricken with amazement as I should be if I were to be transported from earth up to heaven. Now very many learned bishops, and theologians, and inspired men have wished to describe thy blessed and honourable estate, and they have laboured hard and abandoned their task, because they could not find any end to thy honour and thy virtue, and they could not discover how to effect their plan, for they became powerless before the height of thy attainment. Behold, the impious Nestorius, [that ignorant] mouth that deserved to be shut, and lo, it is already stopped with the unquenchable fire of Amente, meditated continually 61 upon the great mystery which had taken place, but he became præb stupefied, and his mind became wholly unbalanced. And he fell into a depth of wickedness, and he received the sentence of judgement which he deserved. He became a stranger to [his] diocese in this world, and he made himself a stranger to the glory of the kingdom of heaven; and his name was clothed with darkness (or, oblivion), and another received his bishoprick. Whilst he was still alive he received the excommunication which he deserved, and the banishment of shame which was his just due. Therefore, for this reason, O my beloved, let us not seek to pry into the dispensation of the Son of God, or into the manner in which it was effected. For he saith in the Book of Proverbs, 'If thou forcest matters, fighting (or, strife) shall arise.' It must be said: The Virgin brought forth the Word of the Father without the assistance of a man, and the fact is evident, but the investigation of the manner in which He came down, and of the means whereby he entered into the womb of the Virgin, is a thing

62 that is difficult for us to understand. Moreover, another præ mystery is that which Gabriel spake unto her, saying, 'It is the Holy Spirit that shall come upon thee, and the might of the Most High that shall envelop thee. Therefore He Whom thou shalt bring forth is holy, and He shall be called the Son of God'. These were the words that were entrusted to him to speak to the Virgin, and besides these he knew nothing whatsoever. And moreover,

the Virgin herself also was marvelling at the salutation (or, greeting), and she was troubled, saying in her heart, 'Behold, the sweet odour hath reached me through the angel. And behold, his word is fulfilled, for lo, I have conceived, lo, my breasts are full of milk, and lo, my womb is swollen. But I know not whence this hath come to me.' ⁶³ And now, O unbelieving heretic, if thou wilt not believe after all these things which are full of wonder, arise, come with me, and let us go into the town of Bethlehem, and pH I will make thee to know Him as He lieth in the cattle-manger, and I will compel thee to believe through the ox and the ass, which protected Him in the manger. Behold, the shepherds put to shame thy impiety because the hosts of heaven appeared unto them as they blessed God, and all the denizens of the heavens rejoiced in His holy birth. Behold, the Magi also who came out of the east with His star going before them from the east until it came to Bethlehem, they saw Him and worshipped Him, and [when] they saw Him they presented unto Him their gifts, and confessed their sins unto Him. The God to Whom the Virgin gave birth tore in pieces the bill of indictment of their sins through the burning of their books on Magianism, and they regarded Him as the King of earth, and acknowledged Him as the King of pH heaven.

⁶⁴ Behold, Mary the Virgin sat in the caravanserai, and she gave her breast to the Son of God Whom she had brought forth. And behold, Salome, who had forsaken her own house, and her previous manner of life and conversation, [said], 'Blessed art thou, O Mary, out of whose soul a sword hath come forth, in order that the thoughts (or, cogitations) of many hearts may be revealed! The sword that hath come from thy soul is the Word of the Father, and the thoughts [of many hearts are the thoughts of the] heretics who are lovers of vainglory, and who would separate the Divinity of the Only-begotten of the Father from Him, and of the Jews who lie concerning His holy resurrection, and [of the holders of] all the other impious dogmas which that sword shall make manifest. I entreat thee, O Holy Virgin, to come and give me thy hand during this great and holy festival this day, and hide not thy power from me, in order that we may eat of the good things, and be filled, and rejoice, for it is the meat and drink of the Spirit which thou hast set before us on the table of the Son of God. O gracious David, come and rejoice with us this day on this great festival. He saith, I have come. I cry out, Stablish the festival with those that make answer, even unto the horns of the altar. Thou art my God, I will praise Thee, and I will make Thee manifest.

65 'Thou art my God, I will exalt Thee.' O thou Isaiah, thou greatest voice of the Prophets, come hither and tell us what thou didst foretell concerning the Virgin, who produced God. He saith, 'Open the gates, and let the people who keep righteousness, and who keep truth and judgement, enter in; they shall hope in Thee, O God, for ever.' Verily great is the festival this day, for [it is in honour of] the woman who gave birth to God, Whom no place can contain, Whom the earth cannot support! The womb of Mary the Virgin embraced Him that made the heavens to stand fast by His word, and all the powers [thereof] by the Spirit of His mouth. Come ye, and let us look upon Him now seated upon the knees of Mary the Virgin, who giveth Him her breast. Him Who brought water out of the hard rock, and gave those who were athirst to drink in the desert, behold Him, I say, now sucking at the breast! And He Who created the earth, and the men who are upon it, [lieth] now like a little child in the bosom of Mary the Virgin. Behold, He is now lying in a caravanserai without a place whereon to lay His head. Well did He say, 'The foxes have their holes, and the birds of the heavens have their nests, but the son of man hath no place whereon to lay His head.'

66 This day, O my beloved, is Christ born unto us, and let us [this day] renew our birth through repentance. He came down unto us through His own wish to us-ward, and let us go towards Him with purity. He rested Himself in the manger out of which the cattle ate, and let us make ourselves perfect in incorruptibility. He increased in wisdom, and in stature, and in favour before His Father in the heavens, and with men upon the earth, and let us increase in the stature of perfection, and in virtue before God and His angels. He obeyed His father and His mother like a man, and let us obey His commandments and His statutes which He hath given unto us. He ate and drank like a man, so that He might make man eat and drink at His table in His kingdom. He suffered [as] He walked on the way, so that we might learn to suffer with Him, until at length we go up into heaven with Him. He rested at the fountain, so that we too might rest by the rivers of the water of life which flowed down from Him. He held converse with the Samaritan woman, so that we might become the sons of His mother the Virgin. He opened the eyes of the man who was blind from his birth, so that we might open the eyes of our heart and soul and make ourselves to rise up out of the ruin [caused by]

⁶⁷ Pho the Devil. He raised the dead, so that He might raise us up in our defeated state. He permitted sinful men to smite Him in the face, so that He might teach us to forgive those who sin against us. He permitted sinful men to revile Him, so that we might [do likewise] and receive honour before His Father and His holy angels. They stripped His apparel off Him, and it was divided among the soldiers, so that He might array us in incorruptible raiment in the heavens. They set a crown of thorns upon His head, so that He might set up on our [heads] the good crown of His never-failing mercy when we shall go to meet His Good Father Who is in the heavens. They placed a reed in His hand, and He was mocked by the unbelieving Jews, so that He might place in our hands the sceptre of dominion over the Devil and his wicked fiends. They placed upon Him a purple robe, so a that He might array us in glory and honour, and so that He might strip the Devil naked, and leave him in a state of shame and disgrace. He stood up before Pilate, so that He might bring us to stand up boldly in the holy resurrection. They cast Him into prison, so that He might bring us up out of the prison of Amente, and might give us as a gift to His Good Father.

⁶⁸ He ascended the wood of the Cross to be crucified for us, so that He might destroy in us sin, and teach us to spread out our hands, and to pray to Him and to His Good Father. They placed Him in a tomb, so that He might raise us up with Him, and forgive us our sins which we had committed in ignorance. He rose from the dead, so that He might teach us concerning His glorious resurrection. He went up into heaven, so that He might take us with Him at His second appearance. He took His seat on the right hand of His Father, so that He might make us to sit with Him upon the throne on the day when He shall judge the living and the dead. ⁶⁹ O my beloved, behold, let us understand this great sea of goodness which hath come to us this day through the holy Virgin Mary, who gave birth to God. Come, O all ye women who have borne children, and give glory to the Virgin who brought forth God. Come, all ye who have tasted marriage, and give glory to her who hath brought forth a child without the help of a man. Come, O ye widows, and rejoice this day, because the Judge of the widow and the Helper of the needy hath arrived. Come, O ye virgins, and gaze at the King of glory, and at the glorious Virgin, [the mother of] the Christ, Who glorifieth all virgins, and Who was born this day from the womb of the holy Virgin Mary, the Queen and Mother of all virgins, and the Lady of all creation. Come, O ye

old men, and look at the mighty Sceptre, whereby ye establish yourselves, coming forth this day from the womb of Mary, the spotless Virgin. Come, O ye young men and children, and gaze upon this maiden who brought forth God. Come, O ye strangers, and look upon Him that made Himself a stranger, for our sakes, and upon His mother the virgin. Come, O all ye tribes of the earth, and all ye nations also, and look upon Him Who was born unto us this day in a caravanserai, and Who when a babe was like the child of poor and needy [parents], and was wrapped in strips of ragged stuff, and was laid in a cattle-manger. O all ye people of divers tongues in all the world, come ye and look upon Him Who

⁷⁰ confounded all tongues so that no man could hear (i. e. understand) the tongue of his neighbour, coming forth this day from the womb of Mary the Virgin. The whole world rejoiceth this day, because He Who created it hath come down upon it. All the denizens of heaven rejoice this day, because He Who created the heavens by His wisdom came forth this day from the womb of Mary the Virgin. The Prophets rejoice this day, because He Who shall fulfil their prophecies came forth from Mary this day. Abel rejoiceth this day, because He Who shall avenge his blood on his brother hath come. In short, all creation rejoiceth this day at this great festival, which extendeth throughout the whole world, because the Word of the Father hath appeared in the little town of Bethlehem, and hath risen upon us from the holy Virgin Mary. ⁷¹ Now therefore, O my brethren, as far as we can participate in this great mystery this day, which is the birthday of the Christ, the Word of the Father and the King of kings, let us perform the good deeds that appertain to this great and holy festival. Let this festival be unto us a twofold occasion for joy; first, because we are called Christians, and secondly, because we are servants of the Christ. Let us not go forth from [this] church wherein we have been listening to His holy words, and have been instructed thereby, and forget them before we arrive at the doors of our houses. Let us put on splendid apparel, suitable to the honour that befitteth this great festival this day, that is to say, righteousness, and charity, and judgement, and every good [quality]. For this is the apparel that pleaseth God, and this it is that is befitting for us to put on at this festival. Let us never permit

⁷² ourselves to be stripped bare of it through carelessness (or, apathy). Woe be unto those whom the Bridegroom shall see without the wedding garment on them when He cometh! For although they are seated in the midst of all

those who have been invited to the feast according to their rank, He shall threaten them with a threat of severe punishment in the midst of all those who are sitting at meat, and He shall say unto them, 'My friend, by what means hast thou entered this place not being arrayed in the wedding garment?' And his mouth shall be stopped in the midst of all who are sitting at meat. And the King shall command those who are standing in attendance to bind his feet, and to cast him forth into the outer darkness, where there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. Woe unto those who have fallen asleep through listlessness, and to whom shall come the voice, 'Behold the Bridegroom! Come ye forth to meet Him.' Those who are ready shall go in to the wedding feast, and He shall shut the door. And those whose lamps have burned out shall come and shall knock, saying, 'Lord, Lord, open unto us.' And they shall hear the voice full of threatening and terror, saying, 'Verily, I say unto you, I know you not.'

⁷³ Now therefore let [the women] hearken to the following words which are spoken by the great master of the Church, Peter, the pillar of truth, who saith, 'Let there be no adorning which is outward, and scents, and gold ornaments, and [rich] apparel, and precious stones; but [let the adorning be of] the hidden man of the heart, with incorruptibility, and meekness of spirit, which before God is that which is precious. For after this manner did the women of old, and they adorned themselves, following the example of those who had been before them, and they inherited great riches, saying, In this way did the holy women who trusted in God adorn themselves, even as Sarah, the holy wife of Abraham, who obeyed Abraham her husband, and she called him "My lord". And he gave a proof to them in these words, saying, Ye shall be her daughters if ye do that which is good, and ye shall not be afraid with any fear whatsoever.' So therefore every woman who followed good deeds of holy women like Sarah in the place wherein she was is now in the kingdom of heaven, and she shall obtain the selfsame good things in the habitation of those who rejoice, from which all sorrow of heart, and grief, and sighing have fled. But in any case, when ye have been into the church, and have displayed your works of vanity, and boasted yourselves over your observance of the festival, and when afterwards ye go out of the church, and ye depart unto your houses, and ye see the tables laden with good things of every kind, whilst a multitude of poor people stand outside your doors in

great need and in want of food and clothing, and hungering and athirst, and ye do not turn your

⁷⁴ faces towards them, and do not pay the smallest regard to them, what profit do ye gain in observing this festival as ye are doing? For assuredly Isaiah, the mightiest voice among the Prophets, calleth this thing to mind in the following words, and speaketh as if he were God, saying, 'Your new moons and your festivals doth my soul hate. Ye have become to me a satiety, and therefore I will not forgive you your sins'. ⁷⁵ Behold now, I see many standing among you here in this place with their faces made sad by what they have heard, and their eyes are filled with tears, but yet so soon as they are outside the church they will forget forthwith the things which they have heard, and they will turn again to their former works, nay, they will even add to them. But why do I say 'When they have come out of church?' For before the tears which are in their eyes are dried, they will find themselves thinking about those who are coming out, and they will be directing their looks outside the church, thinking that they may perhaps find some foolish persons there like unto themselves. And they will stretch out their fingers to each other in order to display the gold rings that are on their fingers, and they will wave their hands to each other by way of speech [to shew] that they are not passing them by [without notice]. They make promises with their mouths whilst their hearts are filled with [thoughts of] adultery. Their hearts leap by reason of their excessive adulteries and lusts, and their lips speak words of depravity. Through their excess of error they desire to leave the church before they have received the benediction (or, peace). And such are the people who say, 'We are Christians.

⁷⁶ We stand up in church, and we pray, and we celebrate the festival of the Christ.' Let now those who belong to this class come and hearken unto Isaiah the Prophet, who saith, 'When ye shall stretch out your hands to me, I will turn mine eyes away from you; when ye shall multiply your supplications, I will not hearken unto you, for your hands are filled with blood, and your lips speak wickedness, and your tongues meditate violence.' Are not these the rebukes which such men ought to hear? If thou wishest to keep the feast, O beloved, and to include thyself among the servants of the Christ, abandon thy former deeds, even as did the Magians, bless with the angels, even as did the shepherds, and leave the door open, even as did Salome. Follow thou Him, as did Joseph, and thou shalt obtain for- ⁷⁷ giveness of thy

sins as did they of old. Hearken unto Solomon; what doth he say? 'Make ready works in thy way, and prepare thy field, and [then] build thy house.' For the settlement and arrangement of matters beforehand is the acquiring of the whole armour of salvation. Do thou follow after the Christ, Who is the new building. For what shall we give Him in exchange for this great reaching out which He hath made towards us? Verily, if we were to forsake the world, and to depart into the desert, we should not by any means be giving unto Him a recompense for this deed, and still less for all the sufferings which He bore for us willingly. For this reason, and since we know well that we are not able to offer him any excuse (or, explanation) or any recompense, let us give thanks unto Him for being permitted to suffer with Him, so that we may be able to destroy the snares of the Devil and his evil passion.

⁷⁸Now there will most certainly be some one among the well-fed and pleasure-loving people here present who will say unto me, 'In what way shall I be saved? For I am worn out, and I have not sufficient strength to suffer in my body. Moreover, I am a townsman (or, citizen), and I am delicate in my body, and I have become weak because of my old age. What can I do?' And I say unto such an one, Thou art using thy blindness of heart as a pretext when thou sayest these things, for what He demandeth from us is always the same, that is to say, we must give up doing the evil works which we have been in the habit of doing, and we must not turn to them again. For the Word of God inviteth us at all times, saying, 'Turn ye unto Me, O sons who have gone astray, and I will receive you, and will not reject you, saith God, the Almighty.' It is not men who have said these things, but God Almighty, Who hath spoken them by the mouth of His holy prophets. For behold, the prophet Isaiah is witness concerning the things which He hath spoken, saying, 'For the mouth of the Lord of Hosts it is that sayeth these things.' For again in another place the Lord saith by His holy prophets, '[As] I live, saith the Lord, I do not desire the death of the sinner, but that he should turn from his sin, and live'; and thou shalt be saved in the kingdom of God.

⁷⁹For when once a man hath cast God behind him, he committeth a multitude of sins, and he will go so far as to worship idols, but God doth not forsake him utterly, and He looketh out for his repentance. For very many are corrupt, especially at this present time, but these are they who deserve to be hated because of their evil deeds which they have committed from the beginning, for the evil deeds which they have committed from the beginning

are so evil that every one who heareth of them placeth his hands over his ears. Nevertheless, the man loving God desireth to make their hearts incline to repentance, and to make them to turn from their state of carelessness, and to do the things that are good. Afterwards, their name, which is internal, is covered up in the earth, and [their] good name followeth them, and at length every man thinketh well of them and desireth to hear of their good deeds, which are theirs at the last. Get thee outside this city a little way, and go into the monastery, and thou wilt see a multitude of men who in days gone by passed their lives in the theatres, and in places where races and feats of horsemanship were performed, and in committing fornication, but who subsequently renounced their former courses of life, and who at length became the equals of the angels, and who make people marvel at all their works.

80 O my beloved, may we be made to stand up with Him, so that we may become like unto those who are chosen [to be] with Him Who hath drawn nigh for their salvation. Now I was not willing to utter the words of sorrow of heart during this great festival which extendeth this day throughout the whole world, but the Word of the Father Who hath honoured [me] hath come unto us for the salvation of our souls, in order that He may set us before Him being spotless. May the God of truth, Jesus the Christ, our Lord, Who hath come forth from this holy Virgin this day, make us all to be chosen before Him when we meet Him. For we all have need of His mercy, whether it be those who speak or those who hear, or whether they be small or great, or male, or female, or old man, or little child. Whosoever shall dedicate his heart to instruction (or, rebuke) shall be filled with good

81 things. 'Come, my children,' he saith, 'hearken ye unto me, and I will teach you the fear of the Lord.' For the fear of the Lord worketh for life, and the love of God is made manifest in man. We speak many things to your charity because of the coming to us of God the Word and His mother the Virgin, but chiefly because of our excessive carelessness (or, apathy) about this multitude of sorrowful words. May it be that we all shall find boldness of speech before Him when we meet Him, and that after our removal from this life He may receive us to Himself in His tabernacle for ever! peec peec Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen. Bless us! [The Coptic text of the Colophon is published in Coptic

Martyrdoms, London, 1914, pp. 223, 224, and see Plates and XXVI; the English translation will be found on pp. 472, 473 of the same work.]

IV. THE DISCOURSE OF APA EPIPHANIUS, BISHOP OF CYPRUS, ON THE
VIRGIN MARY

¹ (Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 6782) The discourse which saint apa epiphanius, bishop of cyprus, pronounced on the holy virgin mary, who gave birth to god, on the day of her holy com-memoration, which is the twenty-first day of the month tôbe. IN THE PEACE OF GOD. AMEN. ² Verily, O my beloved, the world was deprived of a great and holy gift on this day, and the heavens received a chosen and most glorious pledge. Furthermore, it is right, on my own authority, to deliver an oration on the glory of this holy Virgin Mary, in whose honour we are celebrating a festival this day, for He Who dwelleth in the heavens took up His abode in her holy womb, and she became a resting-place for God the Word, and a resting-place for the King of glory. Verily the type of this holy Virgin is a great matter which meriteth wonder. But I appeal unto thee, O holy Virgin, thou God-bearer, not to take into account my feebleness, for I am quite unable to reach the apse of thy virtues by means of my poor tongue, and still less by the limitation of my infirm mind. Nevertheless I beseech thee, O thou habitation of the Only-begotten of the Father, to lend me thy hand in the matter which I have undertaken, so that I may set out on my way into the great treasury of thy virtues, which is worthy of wonder, and that I may speak thus with my poor tongue, Walk round about Zion, and go round about her.' Verily this woman Mary is the true Zion, or rather, she is far more than Zion, and she is greater than the heavenly Jerusalem, the city which the Lord hath chosen, for men cannot rejoice in Zion in the same way as in the holy Virgin. Now Zion was a well-founded city, which was built of bricks and mortar by

³ the hands of men; but as concerning this Virgin, no man knoweth where her foundations were laid, nor those of the building which was made in her by the hands of God, the great Artificer of heaven and earth, and of all things which are in them. Moreover, as concerning the Jerusalem of which the Psalmist spake, saying, 'Whither the tribes go up, the tribes of the Lord, to the testimony of Israel,' what doth the phrase 'for thither do the tribes go up' mean except that the true Israel dwelleth in the Virgin, and that He delivereth all the tribes of the earth? And if thou dost say unto me, 'The Patriarchs were great men,' then I in reply say, 'They were great men, but

they did not attain to the exalted state of this Virgin.' And if thou dost bring forward into the discussion the company of the Great Prophets, [I admit that] they were glorious in every particular, but they did not attain to the exalted honour of this Virgin. And if thou speakest to me about the

4 honour of the Martyrs, [I reply] that the honour of this Virgin is more exalted than theirs. And if thou speakest of the Apostles and sayest that they were great, I, nevertheless, say the same thing; their honour was not equal to that of this Virgin. And this is true not only as concerning men, but also as concerning all the angels of heaven, for with the exception of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, there is none whose honour is equal to that of the Virgin. But do not think that in saying these things I am disparaging the saints, for I am not; God forbid that I should do so. Nay, I would instruct you concerning the honour of this holy and spotless Virgin, and I would add to the words of the Holy Scriptures, in all conformity with them, so that thou mayest know the truth. Whether it be Prophet, or Patriarch, or Judge, or Apostle, or righteous King, in short, from Adam the first man, and the first created thing by the hands of God Almighty, until this present and until the end of the world, they were all made pure so that they might become pleasing unto Him Whom this Virgin brought forth, that is to say, unto Whom she gave birth, the Christ Jesus, our Lord. And he at Whom the Seraphim could not gaze, and into Whose face the angels were never able to look, did the holy Virgin dandle on her hands, and she put her breast into the mouth of God, without hesitation, and she made bold, and without fear called Him 'My Son', and He called her also 'My mother'.

5 But let not any man who may hear me uttering these things say in his simple mind, 'If this Virgin is so highly exalted as this, she cannot then possibly be of this earth, and she cannot have been begotten by a man, but she must have come from heaven, according to the mad words of those who go about publicly stirring up schism. On the contrary, let him believe with a certain mind that the Virgin really and truly belonged to this earth, and that she was produced, like all other folk, by a father and by a mother. And by the might of Him that provideth us abundantly with speech, that is to say, the Holy Spirit, we will [now] give proofs in words concerning the parents of this Virgin, and the parents of her parents, of whom there were more than forty-two generations before the birth of this Virgin. Harken now therefore unto me with diligent attention, O ye God-loving people, and do ye

give steadfast heed unto my words, so that we may open the great treasury which is filled with genuine pearls, and so that we may pour into the ears of your hearts words full of the benefits of the Holy Spirit of every kind. Take therefore into your hands the glorious Book of Saint Apa Matthew, which belongeth to the greatest of the famous voices of the Evangelists, this keen-minded man who searched deeply into hidden mysteries, this great and powerful man who hath revealed unto us the genealogy

6 of this holy Virgin. And let us understand also the word, which is full of holy mystery, of the teacher of the Gentiles, the herald of piety, the teacher Paul, who crieth out, saying, 'For it is evident that our Lord sprang from Judah, of which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning priesthood [coming] from it.' From what is it evident, O thou wise man Paul? Explain to me in what way did our Lord spring from Judah. Who hath interpreted things in this way, O maker of tents? Tell me where thou hast found the matter made manifest in this way. If thou reliest upon the words of his father Jacob, who cried out, saying, 'A lion's whelp is Judah,' and again, 'A ruler shall never cease in Judah' [thou art in error], for in these passages he referreth to the kings and the generals who were to arise from the seed of Judah, the son of Israel.

7 The matter is certainly not thus, O my opponent. Now I have several proofs from the Holy Scriptures which would make the whole truth to be quite clear and certain, but inasmuch as this is not the time in which to call all the saints into the midst, because the hour is now far advanced, and further since I must speak very concisely, I shall limit myself to this one Gospel, and shall restore for myself the whole 8 truth from it. Afterwards I shall describe to you the life of this Virgin, and then I shall bring my discourse to an end. Read now in the Gospel of Saint Matthew, and hear [what] he saith: 'The Book of the generation of Jesus the Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham.' From whom to whom, O Matthew? Thou sayest, 'from Abraham to David, fourteen generations,' and thou makest David the first [ancestor] towards Abraham. Listen now, and I will shew you. 'Abraham begat Isaac; and Isaac begat Jacob; and Jacob begat Isaac (sic) and his brethren; and Judah begat Phares and Zara by Tamar.' Pay great attention now to this passage in truth. Tell me now why he mentioneth Tamar in this passage. He doth not mention Sarah, the wife of Abraham, he doth not mention Leah, and Rachel, and Rebecca, those glorious women! and he doth not mention [the

daughter of] Saua, the first wife of Judah, but he doth say 'by Thamar'. Of what kin was Thamar? Harken, and I will tell thee. She was not descended from Israel, but from an alien people who knew not God. He saith, 'Judah took for his first-born son Er a wife whose name was Thamar. Afterwards Er died, and Onan his brother took her.

9 And Onan did evil before the Lord, and the Lord slew him.' And Judah said unto Thamar, 'Dwell thou in the house of thy parents, and remain a widow until my son Sélôm (Shelah) shall have grown up, and then I will take thee for him to wife.' And when very many days had passed by, and Thamar saw that his son Sélôm (Shelah) had grown up, and that he did not take her to wife, she was angry with Judah, since no one else had taken her to dwell with him. For at that time, when the husband of a woman died, from the hour of his death no man, except the brother of him that had died, was able to take her to wife. 10 And further, when Thamar saw that Judah had deceived her, and she heard that he was coming along the road to go to his sheep-shearing, she rose up, and putting off the garb of a widow which she was wearing, she dressed herself in the attire of a harlot, and covered her face, and sat down by the side of the highway. And when Judah saw her, he thought that she was a whore, for he did not recognize her because her face was covered. And when the words which he spake unto her, and those which she spake unto him, were ended, he gave her a pledge, and went in to her, and afterwards he departed on his way. And when he came among the sheep, he sent to her a young he-goat, but [his messenger] could not find her. And when subsequently the man asked, 'Where is the whore who was sitting here?' they said unto him, 'There is no whore here.' Verily the story is good, and its purpose is exceedingly beneficial; but this is not the moment in which to explain it in particulars, because we must not turn aside from our subject. Now take Thamar as the type of the Christian Church, and take Judah as the

11 type of the Father Almighty, and the three witnesses which he gave to Thamar become similitudes of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. And the shepherd whom Judah sent to Thamar with the young he-goat is Moses, and the he-goat is the Law which he gave, which Thamar did not accept, but she held fast to that which she had. The Church saith, 'The faith of the Holy Trinity is sufficient to save me and my sons.' And after certain days a report was received by Judah, saying, 'Behold, Thamar, thy son's wife, is

with child by fornication.' And when he heard of the matter, to speak briefly, he gave the command, 'Take her out, and burn her in the fire'; and they took her out to destroy her. And she took with her the three silent witnesses, which, however, spake more loudly than a multitude of witnesses, and these were

¹² the staff, the signet ring, and the necklace, which are the Name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. And she sent these to Judah, saying, 'Identify these things, and [say] whose they are. Deny not, by God, with the denial of thy tongue.' And when Judah saw them he recognized them, and he confessed, saying, 'They belong to me.' For he made no denial, neither did he desire the vain applause of men by putting to death his bride. If he had wished to do this of what avail would the testimony of the staff, and the ring, and the necklace have been? Was there then in the country no other staff, or ring, or necklace, save those of Judah? But Judah did not think thus, and he said, 'Thamar is more justified than I.' And add to this the fact that Judah did not recognize Thamar when he lay with her, and she had never lain with any man [before]. And through his absolution from this offence, and the confession of his penitence for what he had done, and his approval of the righteous judgement upon his offence, he obtained so high a degree of honour that kings were made to descend from his seed, and even the King of kings, the Christ, Who was pierced for us, [was descended] from him, according to the words of the wise man Paul. And Scripture saith: Afterwards Thamar brought forth two sons at the same time.

¹³ The first stretched out his hand, and the midwife bound round it a scarlet thread, and after he had withdrawn his hand, his brother came out, according to what the Evangelist saith, 'And Judah begat Phares and Zara by Thamar.' Now let us continue in the narrative a little further so that our discourse may come to an end, and we will complete our narrative with the wonderful words of the Evangelist Matthew, in order that we may know that, although the matter that has been mentioned was disreputable, it is shewn to have been one that was highly applauded. ¹⁴ And when he hath mentioned Thamar, Matthew is not wholly content, for having advanced a little further after these things he saith, 'Phares begat Esrôm; and Esrôm begat Aram; and Aram begat Aminadab; and Aminadab begat Naassôn; and Naassôn begat Salmôn; and Salmôn begat Boes of Rachab.' Now it is good for us to digress in our discourse a little at this point, so that we may find out

who Rahab was, or from what place she came. There is no need for us to heap up many words, for all we have to do is to follow the Scriptures confidently. Who is Rahab, except Rahab the harlot, who received into her house the envoys of Joshua the son of Nun, who had sent them to spy out Jericho? And after many other words between her and those men, she delivered them out of the hand of [the people of] Jericho, and she said unto them, 'According as I have done this good unto you, and have delivered you, ye shall swear unto me that ye will spare me and the house of my father.' And they swore an oath to her, and they gave to her a sign, namely, that she was to tie a red cord to her window whereby she helped them to escape, for her house was on the wall. Behold, O ye who are listening, in what way the facts concerning these two women are similar. Rahab was a

¹⁵ harlot, who received every one into her house, and Tamar dressed herself in the garb of a whore. Likewise, Rahab tied a red cord to her window, and it became a protection for her, and a red thread was tied round the hand of the son of Tamar. After the Israelites took the city [of Jericho], they destroyed it, but they preserved the house of Rahab, and it was kept safe, and she herself was numbered among Israel, and is numbered to this day. She was the harlot whom Salmôn took to wife, and he begat Boes of her. And afterwards, Matthew saith, 'Boes begat Iôbêd of Ruth.' Verily how marvellous are these matters. Those who are sinners, according to the earth, are the princes of the Scriptures! Let us consider now in this place who Ruth was. Now Ruth was not an Israelitess, but she was descended from the children of Moab. And Moab was the eldest son of Lot, whom he begot of his own daughter, and he was descended from the seed of Sodom, through his mother, that is to say, the wife of Lot. Now I hear the Scriptures saying in a concise manner, 'Neither a Moabite nor an Ammonite shall enter the house of God,' and yet Ruth herself was a Moabitess, and she obtained such great honour that the Christ sprang from her seed! Verily the things that appertain to our lives are imaginings only.

¹⁶ And the Evangelist Matthew is not content with what is given above, but he continueth to the end, saying, 'And Iôbêd begat Jesse; and Jesse begat David; and David begat Solomon of the wife of Uriah.' Who now is this wife of Uriah except Bersabee (Bathsheba)? But because the name of Bersabe (sic) is not known unto all men, for this reason Matthew saith, 'The wife of Uriah,' and doth not mention her name, and the cause for this is very clearly mani-

fest. And Matthew saith, 'David begat Solomon of the wife of Uriah; and Solomon begat Rehoboam; and Rehoboam begat Abia; and Abia begat Asaph; and Asaph begat Josaphat; and Josaphat begat Joram; and Joram begat Ozias; and Ozias begat Ioatham; and Ioatham begat Achaz; and Achaz begat Ezekias; and Ezekias begat Manasse; and Manasse begat Amos; and Amos begat Josias; and Josias begat Jechonias and his brethren at [the time of the] removal to Babylon. And after the removal to Babylon, Jechonias begat Zalathiel; and Zalathiel begat Zorobabel; and Sorobabel (sic) begat Abiud; and Abiud begat Eleakim; and Eleakim begat Azor; and Azor begat Sadôk; and Sadôk begat Achim; and Achim begat Eliud; and Eliud begat Eleazar; and Eleazar begat Mathan; and Mathan begat Jacob; and Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary, who brought forth the Christ Jesus from her body.'

¹⁷ Therefore all the generations from Abraham to David are fourteen generations, and from David to the removal to Babylon are fourteen generations. Thou canst see what his result is, and how the matter concludeth, and that there are forty and two generations from Abraham to the Christ. Of all these generations which passed the Evangelist mentions no women except the four who have been referred to above, namely, Tamar, and Rahab, and Ruth, and Bersabee. And that he hath mentioned these is not due to the subject of the worship of God, but to the reason which we stated early in our discourse. Tamar was descended from the Philistines, and knew not God, and she, who was treated as a whore by Judah, and by whom she conceived, was not descended from the seed of Abraham the blessed. Rahab, likewise, was descended from a foreign tribe, and was of the race of the people of Jericho, but she was not rejected because of her sins. And Salmon, who consorted with her, and begat Boes of her, was descended from the tribe of Judah. And Ruth was descended from a Moabite, and from an abominable native of Sodom, and Boes was descended from a tribe of Israel, and derived his origin from the same tribe as Judah. And Bersabee was descended from the sons of Khet, who were denounced by God. And David was of royal rank, and was descended from the tribe of Judah, according to the statement in the table of genealogy in [the Gospel of] Saint Matthew the Evangelist.

¹⁸ Now these things happened in this wise in order that the righteous might not feel offended at sinners; and that those who have been begotten by righteous and well-conducted parents, who were properly married to suitable wives, might not be offended at those who were brought forth by light

RĀ women, or who were begotten by parents irregularly married (who even themselves are in despair about themselves, and very often those who are of the circumcision of the seed of Abraham separate themselves from them), and that the matter might be evident to every one, namely, that it was for this reason, and many other good purposes, that the Christ was produced by women of this kind; and that & 2 those who were produced in sin, and those who were produced in righteousness, might be bound together in one communion, and that they all might have good hope. For He came to gather together those who were scattered, and those who were in despair about themselves, and He was produced by a virgin only, who produced Him from the seed of two kinds, which were bound together, that is to say, pious seed and impious seed. Now those who are in despair about themselves at this time, and who have been saved by mercy, are of the seed of righteousness, and these are they who are fixed firmly in the wall of the spiritual edifice, and are with all the others who are with the Stone in the corner.

¹⁹ And that he who is of the circumcision may not boast himself, He of His own accord made the Christ, the Tree of Life, to blossom for us. And in order that those of the seed of Israel who believe in Christ may know that He is the true Stone, the chosen one for the corner, that is to say, our Lord Jesus Christ, this same Christ came to us, and swept away the two walls from each other, that is to say, circumcision and uncircumcision, righteousness and lawlessness, and yoked them together in one union. ²⁰ And this same Evangelist Matthew saith, 'Now the & 1 bringing forth of Jesus the Christ was in this wise.' O Matthew, who hast the mouth that declareth every pleasant thing about our Lord, tell me, what is [the meaning of] this phrase which thou sayest at the end, 'was in this wise'? Matthew saith: I say that Jesus was descended from two kinds [of men], the sinful and the righteous, the worshippers of God and those who knew not God. Therefore, true indeed & 2 is the saying of the Lord, 'I did not come to invite the righteous, but the sinners to repentance.' And according as His infinite mercy spreadeth over every one, He sheweth mercy to the righteous, He forgiveth the sinner, He loveth the righteous, He hath compassion on the sinner, He speaketh words of good cheer to the sinner, and He healeth his wounds which are putrefying and stinking. For this reason is it not

²¹ for thee to say, O man, 'Behold, the Word made Itself flesh, and dwelt with us, in order that He might shew mercy unto all men together, both the

sinner and the righteous?' He rejecteth no man who goeth unto Him with repentance. And thou knowest that the harlot anointed His feet with unguent, and wiped them with her hair, and He blotted out her sins and iniquities. The Magi came to Him, they worshipped Him, and He made them citizens of the kingdom of heaven. And this holy Evangelist, who speaketh to us in this holy Gospel, himself beareth witness concerning Him, for he was a tax-gatherer, and when he forsook the collecting of taxes, He bestowed upon him the holy Gospel. And even the thief who had shed blood, as soon as he made supplication to Him in the hour of his necessity, saying, 'Remember me, O Lord,' straightway He took him to Paradise.

²² For this reason, O man, be not in despair concerning thyself. Whether thou art a fornicator, or a robber, or thou fallest into sin of any kind, only turn to the Lord, and He will forgive thee; for there is no sin which doth not become powerless before God, the Physician of our souls. Even though I wish to take my greatest fill of food at thy table, which is full of good things of all kinds of the Holy ²³ Spirit, O Saint Matthew, yet I see another table, which is overladen, by my side, and it urgeth me to go to it, and to taste the sweetness of the food [upon it]. And if I be filled with the great number of things which I have eaten, and thou hast sated me with the sweetness of thy good things, O Matthew the Evangelist, yet I see thy fellow Evangelist, Luke, the physician and healer of all the sick by means of spiritual medicines, and he inviteth me and draweth me to the cup of his wisdom. For even the rich men of this world, because of the savour and sweetness of the meats that are prepared for them, are wont to eat thereof again and again, and they enjoy themselves fully and live delicately on the things that perish. I entreat thee, O Saint Luke the theologian, to forgive me because I have forgotten thee in my discourse up to now; nevertheless teach thou me thy spiritual words which thou hast framed concerning the Virgin, who is worthy of perpetual adoration. Luke saith, I have spoken thus: 'In the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent by God to a Virgin, whose name was Mary.' And what is the sixth month, O great teacher, Luke the physician?

²⁴ Turn back a little in this discourse, and thou wilt know what the sixth month is. 'And it came to pass that when the days of the ministration of Zacharias in the Temple had come to an end, he departed to his house. And after these days Elisabeth his wife conceived, and she hid herself for five months, saying, This is what the Lord hath done for me in the days when He

looked to remove my reproach from among men.' So then it was in the sixth month after Elisabeth had conceived that Gabriel appeared to the Virgin. And the day on which Elisabeth conceived John, the lamp of the truth, was the seventh day of the month Athôr. Of this fact we are informed by certain Hebrew documents (or, copies), which are to be depended upon. And the day on which John was born was the twenty-seventh day of the month Epêp, and according to this John was, in his life in the flesh, six months older than our Saviour. The day on which the Virgin conceived the Living Word was the seventh day of the month Parmoute, according to the narrative found in the writings of the honourable and apostolic Saint Hippolytus the Roman.

25 And when Gabriel had gone into her presence at the first hour, he rejoiced and was glad, and he said, 'Hail, thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee. Hail, thou queen, and mother of the King! Hail, bearer of God! Hail, thou rational dove! Hail, thou ark that bearest up the Creator of all things! Hail, thou true vine, who hast made to flourish in her abode the grapes of the Father!' And Mary was disturbed at the address, and she pondered within herself what this salutation might mean. And the angel said unto her, 'Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favour with God. For behold, thou shalt conceive, and thou shalt bear a Son, and thou shalt call His Name A JESUS. This Son shall be great, and He shall be called the Son of the Highest.' As soon as she heard the words, 'Thou shalt conceive,' the Virgin was disturbed greatly, and she was afraid, for she thought that she was looking at some lying phantom. And straightway she dropped the work which was in her hands, and she made haste to lower her eyes, and

26 she also began to pray quickly, and she offered up her petitions to God in very great agitation of mind, because it had never been her habit to hold converse with men, and because she was a little maiden, and was at that time only fifteen years of age. And Gabriel took away fear from her, and he spake unto her gently, saying, 'Why art thou troubled at my words, O Virgin? Knowest thou not that nothing is impossible 27 with God? Believe me, I am one of the Seven Arch-Angels who stand before God at all times, and Gabriel is my name. Open thy mouth, and receive into thee the cloud of light; and thou shalt conceive and bear a Son, and thou shalt call His Name JESUS, and the Lord God shall give unto Him the throne of David His father. And He shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and there shall be no end to His kingdom. Receive my words, O holy Virgin, and dispute them not, lest

the same sentence that fell upon Zacharias fall also upon thee. But if thou wishest to know and to test my words, rise up and go to Elisabeth; get thee to thy kinswoman, get thee to the barren old woman, get thee unto her in whom the way of women had ceased through old age. And when thou hast gone to her thou shalt see with thine own eyes the large size of her womb, and the young child leaping with joy in her body. And she is filled with the Holy Spirit, and she will declare unto thee the whole truth. For she hath conceived a child in her old age, and this is her sixth month.' And Mary answered and said unto the angel, 'How can this possibly happen to me, [for] I have never known man? If the barren woman hath conceived she hath done so in the natural order of things and by the law of marriage.

²⁸ Now the thing that hath happened to Elisabeth is marvellous; but that which thou proclaimest to me is beyond all marvel and all thought.' And the angel continued to talk to Mary, and he said, 'It is the Holy Spirit that shall come upon thee, and it is the power of the Most High that shall overshadow thee.' And the Virgin was encouraged, saying, 'God can do everything.' And further, she said unto the angel, 'Behold, I am the servant of the Lord; let it be unto me according to thy word.' But we will say no more on this point, because the time hath arrived when we must continue our discourse, and bring to an end our words about [these] holy mysteries. Let us, however, say with the blessed woman Elisabeth, 'Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit which is in thee. Who am I that the mother of my Lord should come unto me? Verily at all times blessed shalt thou be among women.' And again, 'Thou who hast carried the Blessed One shalt be blessed in heaven and upon the earth. Thy womb is blessed because it hath carried for nine months Him that filleth heaven and earth. Blessed are thy breasts wherewith thou I didst nourish the Creator for three years.

²⁹ Blessed is thy mouth which hath held sweet converse with the Son of God.' If I were to begin to make mention of all thy members, the internal and the external, the whole period of my life would not suffice me for the declaration of all thy virtues. ³⁰ But I beseech thee, O Virgin, who didst give birth to God, I to help me, Epiphanius, thy worthless servant, and to make supplication to Christ on behalf of all the people of my city, nay more, of the whole world, and to be nigh unto me at all times. For unto thee more than to all the saints belongeth the power to make supplication unto Him, so that He may fill the hungry with bread, and may heal the sick, and may lead

those who have gone astray back into His holy fold. And unto us all together may He grant that we walk in the ways that please Him at all times, and that we may cast away from us the old man and his wickedness. Why dost thou distract thy mind so greatly, and labour for the things of men? Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof. Three cubits of earth are all that remain to thee, and a few clods will be cast upon thee to preserve thy miserable carcass. Whose law dost thou transgress? Remember the judgement

³¹ of God and the moment when all the deeds which thou hast committed shall compass thee round about. What help wilt thou be able to obtain? The Judge Who shall preside will not accept possessions from thy hand and let thee go free. Riches shall have been unto thee a means of enjoyment and the cause of the punishment [that shall last] for ever. Thy glory and thy honour shall be [thy] betrayers. Thou shalt not find an advocate who will plead for thee. Thou shalt suffer anguish, and be in despair, and shalt be stupefied through fear. Behold the tears of the orphan whom thou hast oppressed! Behold the sighings of the widow whose house thou hast plundered! Behold the poor men whose wages thou hast filched! Behold the slaves whom thou hast oppressed mercilessly! In short, all the sins which thou hast committed thou shalt find inhabiting thy soul, even as thou hast made them to do. Remember the day wherein [thy] natural disposition shall be revealed in heaven. Remember the glorious presence of Christ, according to what our Saviour said, 'Those who have done what is good [shall have] the resurrection of life, and those who have done evil the resurrection of judgement.' What shall I say unto thee, O my beloved? Behold, the kingdom which is in the heavens is prepared, and so likewise is Gehenna. Let the [hope for the] enjoyment of the kingdom which is in the heavens spur thee on.

³² Let the threat of the fire of Gehenna stir thee up to turn away from the works of the Devil, and to walk in the ways that please the Lord at all times. Then shalt thou inherit the things that shall never pass away, the which eye hath not seen, nor the ear heard, nor hath the imagining of them entered into the mind of man, that is to say, the things which God hath prepared for those who love Him, through the grace and love of man of our Lord Jesus, the Christ, to Whom, as is meet, and to His Good Father, and the Holy Spirit, the Life-giver, be glory, now and always, and for ever and ever. Amen.

Colophon

³³ O my fathers, and my brethren, and every one who shall read the volume of this book, do an act of grace, and pray for our God-loving sister, who loved to give charities and alms to the poor, [the name of the sister has been scraped off the vellum] because she undertook the preparation thereof with [the wages of] her own labour, and she gave it to the shrine of [the name of the church, &c., in all four lines, are scraped out] in order that the Archangel Michael, and Saint John, and the holy Virgin Mary, may entreat the Christ on her behalf, and may bless her, and [the names of her husband and family are scraped out] and moreover, when they shall come out of the body, according to what is ordained for every man, God may tear up the bill of indictment of their sins, and may write their names in the Book of Life, and may give unto them the things of heaven in the place of the things of earth, and the things of eternity in the place of the things of time, and may reward them one hundred fold in the heavenly Jerusalem, the city of all the righteous, for the gifts which they have made. So be it!

³⁴ Of your charity remember me, the least of all men, whose name is not worthy of mention in this volume [three lines, including the scribe's name, erased]. Behold, repentance hath made me free! I made bold, and I wrote this book while I was in Rite Piom (?), in the seven hundred and sixth year of Diocletian (A. D. 990).

V. THE DISCOURSE OF CYRIL, ARCHBISHOP OF RAKOTE, ON THE
VIRGIN MARY

¹ (Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 6782) The Discourse Which OUR HOLY FATHER, WHO WAS GLORIOUS IN EVERY WAY, APA CYRIL, ARCHBISHOP OF RAKOTE (ALEXANDRIA), PRONOUNCED IN HONOUR OF SAINT MARY, THE PERPETUAL VIRGIN, THE GOD-BEARER IN VERY TRUTH, WHEREIN HE MADE MANIFEST THE GREAT GLORY AND HONOUR WHICH SHE HATH RECEIVED FROM GOD. IN THE PEACE OF GOD! AMEN. O MY beloved, ye God-loving people, open ye the ears of your hearts, and hearken unto [the story of] the honour of the mother of God, the Queen of all women, the true Bride, whom the Son of God held in high esteem. He came and dwelt in her womb for nine months, and she bore Him for our sakes in Bethlehem. She wrapped Him in strips of ragged stuff, she laid Him in a cattle manger; and the boasts looked upon Him and recognized Him, and they protected Him. Thou didst stretch out

thy right arm, thou didst take Him and make to lie on thy left arm. Thou didst bend thy neck, and let thy hair fall down over Him. Thou didst kiss His mouth in the same way as the Father kissed His mouth in heaven, and thou didst seat Him upon thy knees. He lifted up His eyes to thy face. He stretched out His hand, He took thy breast, and He drew into His mouth the milk which was sweeter than manna. The savour of thy sacrifice was sweeter unto Him than the savour of the sacrifice of Noah. Having drunk from thy spotless breasts, He called thee 'My mother'.

² Come ye and behold God calling Mary 'My mother' and kissing her mouth. And as she kissed His mouth she called Him always 'My Lord, and my Son'. She worshipped Him, for when she used to give Him her breast she bowed down her head toward Him, whilst He stood up like a tower; and afterwards she worshipped Him, saying, 'My Lord, and my Son.' Then after these things she used to take hold of His hand and lead Him along the roads, saying, 'My sweet Son, walk a little way,' in the same manner as all other babes are taught to walk. And He, Jesus, the Very God, followed after her untroubled, He clung to her with His little fingers, He stopped from time to time, and He hung on to the skirts of Mary His mother—He upon Whom the whole universe hangeth! He would lift His eyes up to her face—He upon Whom the whole universe hangeth and through Whom it is kept in good order—and she would catch Him up to herself, and lift Him up in her arms, and walk along with Him.

³ Come, O all ye women, and look upon Mary, and see God, Who clave her side, lifting His face up and kissing her! Walk, walk, O daughter of Sion, I mean thee, O Mary. Behold, the King, the Christ, is on thee, for the King, the Christ, is with thee, He is sitting in thine arms! The Father hath made Himself a fellow worker with thee. The Son hath made Himself a kinsman of thine. The Holy Spirit hath made Himself inseparable from thee. The angels are subject unto thee, for He loveth thee, and hath sojourned with thee because of thy purity. For thou alone among all women hast found favour with God, for the Lord is with thee. Lift up thine hands and thine arms into the height. Take from God the Father the Image of His Son and carry it on thine head. The Holy Spirit shall guide thee on thy way, and thou shalt walk through all the world, and preach, and say, 'O ye people, know ye Him, for He is the Only Son of God, Whom I have brought forth.' ¹⁰

4 O Mary, I know that thou wast overjoyed in thine own manner. For unto every [other] woman who hath made a petition to Him God hath given according to the measure of mankind. But unto thee, O thou who hast asked Him to grant thee wisdom, God hath given thee His Gift, which is His Son. Thou didst hunger, and He gave thee milk in thy breasts in the heavens. Thou thyself wast brought forth by Eve, but thou didst bring forth God, the King of beings celestial and of beings terrestrial. Thou wast of no account in the world and in the affairs thereof, but God hath bestowed upon thee the heavens and the earth. When thou didst bow the knee to thy Son, and didst worship Him, straightway the angels worshipped thee. 5 O Mary, nine and thirty years didst thou complete, and God glorified thee. Declare unto me this mystery, O Mary. ii She saith: 'Hearken, and I will tell thee. From my childhood upwards I lived a quiet life. I was of no account in the world and in the affairs thereof. My womb grew large without [the help of] a man, and my breasts became full of milk. I never held converse with any young man. I suffered no pain when I brought forth. I was not frightened. I saw my Child. I did not know whence I had conceived Him. I knew that He Whom I had brought forth was God. Gabriel, the Archangel, was afraid, although he had announced these happenings unto me, for he knew that they were something new. I, however, was not afraid; on the contrary, I rejoiced, for I experienced gladness. When he saluted me he trembled, but I was filled with joy.' 'He came,' saith Mary, 'he opened my mouth, he went down into my womb. And the holy Archangel clave to me, he 11a directed me, and he ministered unto that which was inside my innermost part. When I used to sing a hymn at eventide angels sang with me. When also I used to bow my knees at dawn the powers (or, hosts) of heaven would worship that which was in my innermost part. At the third hour the Trinity would give me strength until the sixth hour of the day, and joy and gladness were with me. When I ate the manna of pearls came to me, and again when the sun was about to set it was the manna of the sweet smell [that came]. I did not know that He, unto Whom I was singing the hymns, was He to Whom all the world ascribed glory, [an ignorance] which I shared with all those whom I knew.

6 And the whole world ascribed glory to me, and they cried out, saying, 'Right well is it, O Virgin, who hast declared unto us the advent to us of our Saviour, the Christ! Right well is it that thou art held worthy to be the throne of God! Right well is it that thou hast delivered the whole world

through thy childbirth! Right well is it, O virgin maiden, that God abideth with thee! Right well is it, O mother of all the monks and of all the nuns! Thou hast set free all mankind who were fast bound in the Devil's hand. Thou didst hate the married life, and yet thou art made the mother of the True Bridegroom. Thou didst mortify thy body with ascetic exercises, and thy spirit rejoiced, for God was with thee. Since He Who is uprightness loveth thee, then there remaineth nothing that is not subject unto thee. Since thy

7 legs carried God when He was in thy pure womb, then most assuredly they shall become pillars in the midst of the heavenly Jerusalem. Since thy legs carried God when He was a little Child, then most assuredly thou art at this moment standing before the altar of sacrifice of thy Son. Since thou didst cover His face with thy garments to shield it from the wind and snow, then most assuredly the Cherubim and the Seraphim shall stand by the altar of sacrifice, and cover thy face with the splendour of their wings. Since thou didst carry Him in thy bosom, and didst hold Him on thy knees, then assuredly thou art sitting now upon a throne of glory, and the Cherubim and the Seraphim are standing and singing hymns to Him Whom thou didst bring forth. Since thou didst nourish Him with the milk which was in thy virgin breasts, then assuredly His Body of God and His

8 precious Blood shall be placed in thy mouth. Of what kind is the honour which shall be shewn to thee, O thou woman unto whom are subject the denizens of heaven, and the beings of earth, and the starry luminaries, and the angels who are in the heights, because of Him Who dwelt in thee? Harken unto Him, Who is on the right hand of His Father in the heavens, calling Mary 'My mother'. He obeyed Joseph as a father, with all obedience in everything. The angels acted as servants for Him, but He was subject to His mother according to the flesh. All these things shall be thine, O Mary, thou perfect Virgin. Come, O all ye women who desire virginity, emulate the example of Mary, the mother of thy Lord. Consider ye her coarse and meagre food and her sleeping on the ground. She craved for none of the things of this world. The mention of

9 her was always in the mouths of the priests. She never washed herself in a [public] bath. She never adorned herself with face-paint, and eye-paint, and powder. She never decked herself out in brightly coloured raiment, as do all [other] women who love fine clothes. She never tasted wine. She used to sit

always with her face turned towards the east, for she was always awaiting the Creator of the world. She never met and talked to any one, except her father, and her mother, and her brethren. For this reason, when Gabriel spake unto her, she was troubled at his words, and said, 'How can this possibly happen to me, seeing that I have never known a man?' And Gabriel said unto her, 'It is the Holy Spirit that shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee; therefore He to Whom thou shalt give birth, O Mary, shall deliver from captivity the race of Adam, through His Body of God and His precious Blood. He to Whom thou shalt give birth, O Mary the Virgin, hath fashioned every one with His divine Hands.'

¹⁰ How can the remembrance of thee be hidden? Or, how canst thou be forgotten, O wise Virgin? Thy name shall be proclaimed throughout all the world over the holy table by bishops and presbyters, saying these words, 'We commemorate Thy holy birth of Mary the Virgin.' Blessed art thou, O Mary, thou who art the object of the boasting of the angels, thou subject of the talk of the Archangels, thou subject of the hymn of the Cherubim and Seraphim, thou woman who art praised by all the saints! On the day wherein thou didst give birth to the Son of God, Who hath existed for ever, and Who hath neither beginning nor end, we heard the hymns of joy and blessing among the hosts of heaven, who said, 'Glory to God in the highest! His peace be upon earth in men of His will.' All peoples saw the glory of God to Whom thou didst give birth. Therefore blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy body, O thou whose womb hath received into itself this indescribable [Being]! Blessed art thou, O Virgin, the entrance to whose womb carrieth Him to Whom heaven is a throne and the earth a footstool, even as He said, 'Heaven is My throne, and the earth is My footstool.' As for thee, thy womb served both as heaven and earth, for the entrance thereto received into itself Him that filleth heaven and earth. Who is like unto thee, O wise Virgin? O what a thing is this at which to marvel and to be amazed! In heaven He had no mother, and on earth He was without a father! He was God in heaven, and on earth He was the Only-begotten!

¹¹ O holy Virgin, I cannot content myself in heaping blessings upon thee; my heart cannot understand the greatness of thine exaltedness, O thou who didst carry in thy womb Him before Whom the Seraphim stand up! What tongue of flesh can declare the majesty of thine exaltedness, O thou cruse of oil wherein the fire burned, and was not consumed, O thou place of sojourn

of God and His habitation, O thou concerning whom the prophets proclaimed, saying, 'This is the gate of the Lord, wherein the righteous enter!' The Lord looked out of heaven upon the world, and among the whole race of women He found none like unto thee, and for this reason His Only-begotten Son sojourned in thee. Hail, mother of the Lord, who hast found favour with God! Hail, blessing, and joy and gladness! Hail, palladium of the True King! Hail, laboratory of the True Physician! Hail, thou who didst bring forth to us Life, thyself being a Virgin!

12 O my beloved, what a hidden mystery is this which was revealed from heaven! In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth in six days, and rested from all His labours on the seventh day, and on the seventh day of the new month, according to the Law (i. e. reckoning of the Romans), that is to say, the seventh day of the month Parmoute, our Lord came down from heaven, and took [upon Himself] flesh of this Virgin. O wise Virgin, I beseech thee to bring the favour of God, Who is thy Son, upon us, and may He forgive us our sins, and deliver us from all the crafts of the Adversary the Devil. Take us all to thyself, lest the Devil take delight in us, and draw us down into the Gehenna of fire. O Mary, do thou draw nigh unto the King, the Christ, [so] that He may receive thy supplication on our behalf, for He is thy Son and thy Beloved, and thou didst bear Him, and He called thee 'My mother'. Verily, O Mary the Virgin, thy honour is greater than that of all the other women in the world. He Who breathed breath into every created being called thee 'My mother'! Thou art more exalted than the Cherubim and the Seraphim, thou art more blessed than the Thrones, because the Christ loved thee. He sojourned with thee because thou art Saint Mary, the perpetual Virgin. And she will do these things for us with her beloved Son, Jesus the Christ, our Lord, so that...

13 [The rest is wanting]

VI. THE TEACHING OF APA PSOTE, BISHOP OF PSOÏ

1 (Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7597) The teaching of our holy father apa psote, the great bishop of psoï, which he pronounced on the first day of the week, when arianus, the governor of thebaïs, had sent messengers to him to cut off his head. HE BESOUGHT THE IMPERIAL VELETARIUS AND THE SOLDIERS OF THE GOVERNOR TO PERMIT THEMSELVES TO BE INSTRUCTED BY HIM, AND HE PASSED THE WHOLE NIGHT IN PREACHING A HOMILY TO THE PEOPLE. I SALUTE you, O my beloved

sons and daughters, and I salute you at the same time with the salutation of God. I command you this day with the commandments of life, to make you to walk in them at all times, so that ye may continue to perform my intention; for I know by this that I shall never return again to you in the flesh. O my beloved sons, fight the good fight, for the contest in this world is of various kinds. Woe unto the man who shall continue to follow his evil works, but especially let there be woe unto those who devote their whole attention to the things which they are going to leave behind them, whether it be buildings, or estates, or any work of oppression. Now behold, ye see me this day. Whether I have done what is good, or whether I have committed acts of violence or deeds of evil, behold, messengers have been sent hither for me, to take me away from you, by the impious king. I testify to you that from my childhood upwards the angel of the Lord hath appeared unto me several times whilst I was pasturing my father's sheep, and he never ceased to recite the Scriptures to me in my abode until I knew them all by heart.

² Behold now, moreover, through the command of the Good God, I already know that my blood shall be shed for the sake of the sweet Name of my Lord Jesus the Christ, according as these things have been revealed unto me. But I am afraid of the road whereby I shall depart to God, and of the Powers that stand on it, because I am flesh and blood, like every other man, and no one is sinless in the sight of God. And the laws which are laid down for us in the Statutes of the Church are found written down for us, and they say, 'It is right that a bishop should not be blameworthy in anything'. Now who is there whom God could not reprove for his sins? For Scripture saith, 'How long will they speak the same words of scoffing?' Whatsoever a man shall utter he must account for at the impartial tribunal of God Almighty, the place where neither name nor apparel shall be of any use to us, and where each man shall receive according to his works. O my children, know ye the repentance whereunto ye are to cling, and according to the works of which ye are to walk, for the ways of going to God are difficult and bring [us] into tribulation; for 'narrow is the gate' through which the Lord leadeth His chosen, according to the word of the stone of truth, Matthew the Evangelist.

³ And there is especially the great terror of the difficulty and of the great abomination of this river of fire, whereon roll waves upon waves [of flame], and of the burning flames from which no man can escape. For whether a man be righteous or a sinner, all must be dipped in this river of fire before

they can reach the awful throne. O this river of fire which is full of trembling and horror! O this throne of terror! Every one must stand before it in fear, and trembling, and anxiety, and perturbation, and the knocking of the knees together. ⁴ Woe unto me, O my sons, for before I stand naked before the throne my evil deeds shall stand there before me, in the order in which I committed them, and I shall see them! Woe unto me at that moment when He Who seeth truly, and Who knoweth everything beforehand, shall pass sentence of judgement upon me! Woe unto me when He Who is without anger shall be wroth with me, and shall say unto me, 'Alas for this old man and his grey hairs!' Alas for this name [of monk], and this Christian garb! even [the rank of] bishop will not benefit me at all. Behold, our sins shall stand before us, one after the other, even as we committed them. Then what shall we say? Shall we not keep silence? Shall not we fail to find a word to utter on that day? Is there any kind of denial which we can set before Him? What shall we do? If we deny our wickedness, then shall the angels who shall stand by that awful throne with us contradict us through our own angels who will act as our opponents, saying, 'Thou didst commit this sin on such and such a day, and in such and such a way, and I was standing by thee.' Woe unto every man whose angel shall reveal his character before the throne of the Christ, and before God and His angels, and before the hosts of heaven!

⁵ Woe unto the bishop who doth not instruct his people thoroughly, and his city, and his diocese, for assuredly these things shall be required of him! And also, [woe be unto the bishop] who shall forget (or, neglect) the churches of God which are deserted, and the widows, and the orphans! Woe unto the abbot who shall permit a rich man to lead him into shame, who shall destroy the truth, and shall pervert judgement, and shall hesitate to give a decision according to the word of truth, and who shall ignore those whom he seeth, and those who are brought unto him! Woe unto the judge who shall pervert judgement for the sake of a gift, and who shall accept the person of the rich man, and condemn the poor man who hath nothing to give [him]. Woe unto those [priests] who shall deceive laymen, and who shall appoint themselves to any work connected with the church, whilst pretending that they only wish to act as judges on its behalf, or to decide about certain of the ordi-

nances thereof! Let the laity drive such a man out of this occupation, and let him not offer up any decision on your behalf before God. Woe unto

him that acteth deceitfully, as, for example, the head of the congregation, that is to say, the father of the monastery, who shall sell the works of God for money, or anything else, or who, knowing that there are certain brethren who rail at God, spareth them, and doth not expel them from the congregation! Woe unto the presbyter who doth neglect his people, and doth neither rebuke them nor teach them the things that would do good to their souls; assuredly the souls of his people shall be required of him, and he will have to defend them! Woe unto the deacon who shall profane the altar, and who shall devour the possessions of the Church, and shall perform the works (i. e. service) of God apathetically! Woe unto the layman who shall commit fornication, or who shall have union with the erring woman, or who shall look upon their forms shamelessly, or who shall cast the results of their lust upon the earth, and those whose hands shall serve them as wives, and those who shall pollute themselves with the irrational beasts. Men of this kind are those who pollute the temple of God. These are they whom God shall destroy by the breath of His mouth and by the smoke of His wrath.

7 My sons, do not by any means be envious of these, so that God may not abominate you speedily. Be not careless in anything, for all the carelessnesses of this world turn into punishments in the world which is to come. And we all know that our flesh is weak, and that our miserable souls are not able to bear the stripes which God shall lay upon us in the Righteous Judgement of our sins. If we continue in our sins God shall inflict pain upon us, more especially in the punishments which He shall bring upon us. O my sons, the end of each will come to him, and I shall find mine own end this day. For I know that they will take me to the feet of the governor, and that he will pass judgement upon me for the sake of the Name of my Lord, to force me to renounce Him, but it shall never happen that I will renounce Him! I am prepared for him (i.e. the governor) to cut off my head for the Name of my True King and Saviour, Jesus the Christ. For this reason I adjure you, O my beloved sons, to continue to remember me, according to the love of God, and to continue to do diligently the things that are good for your own salvation; for the salvation of every man [consisteth] in the performance of the Law of God.

8 For he who performeth the Law is a friend of God, whether he be in this world or in the next; whosoever transgresseth the Law is an enemy of God, whether he be in this world or in that which is to come. Ye yourselves

have heard the voice of the Gospel: in one place it blesseth, and in another it curseth, and is angry, and revileth. In one place [we have] 'Blessed are the poor', that is to say, those who have not put the Law of God behind them.

⁹ Woe unto those whom the world hath deceived by means of the things of vanity, that is to say, woe unto thieves, and murderers, and whoremongers, and adulterers, and magicians, and sorcerers, and necromancers, and sooth-sayers, and those who divine by means of cups! These are they whose hope is in the men who are magicians, and they set their minds upon them, saying that they will be able to endow them with strength in their tribulation. O ye silly, ignorant, and senseless men, tell me how [the matter standeth]. If God wisheth to bring an illness upon a man as a trial and as a lesson to him, is it not for the man, who is but dust and ashes, to bear it? Or, is he to turn backwards the commandment of God? But the guile and deceits of the Devil are the things that draw a man backwards, and they smile at him, one after the other, for the Devil wisheth to take him down into the pit into which he was forced to descend because of [his] disobedience. Behold now, ye see me in your midst this day, and I wish to fill myself with [the sight of] your gladness, and the sight of your sweet faces. O my sons, in a very short time now the soldiers of the governor will seize me, according to his order. And behold, the governor will come from Siût (Lycopolis), and go to Tkôou (Antacopolis), and they will take me to him; and they will take off my head in that place for the sake of the Name of Emmanuel, which, being interpreted, meaneth 'God with us'.

¹⁰ Strive ye earnestly, O my sons, so that ye may walk in the ways of the Lord, and put not His commandments behind your backs in the smallest degree, lest ye bring upon me, as well as upon yourselves, a sentence of doom which can never be removed. For, it is written, 'The disobedient is a son of perdition,' and perdition belongeth unto the Devil and his demons. And the kingdom of God is in the heavens, and it is that which He hath prepared for those who shall do His Will, even as He saith in the Gospel according to Matthew, 'Behold, Thy mother and Thy brethren are standing outside wishing to see Thee.' And He said, 'Whosoever shall do the Will of My Father Which is in the heavens, the same is My brother, and My sister, and My mother.' Similarly, He might have inverted the words and said of those who shall put the Law and the Prophets behind their backs, 'Whosoever shall not do the Will of My Father Which is in the heavens, the same is My enemy.

And as he hath hated Me, even so will I hate him. And as he hath denied Me in this world, I will deny him before the angels in the world that is everlasting. And as he hath forgotten to keep My Law, I also will forget him when he is in the darkness wherein there is no ray of light whatsoever.'

¹¹ For He said with His mouth wherein there is no lie, 'Love not the world, nor the things which are in the world; for the world shall pass away, and the desires thereof.' For as it is in the case of a man to whom a span of life hath been allotted, now he is not told 'thou shalt die at such and such a moment', neither is he told 'thy neighbour shall die at such and such a time', even so is it in the case of the world, for no one knoweth when the period of its duration shall be fulfilled, and the time of its end shall come, save Him Who hath defined the completion of the period, that is to say, God Almighty. Nothing whatsoever shall remain when the world hath passed away except God, the Master of the Universe, ¹² the Lord of everything which hath been and which shall be. And blessed are those who shall die in the Lord now, henceforth, and for ever. But woe unto those who shall die in [their] wickedness, for no other opportunity for repentance shall be afforded to them! nay, the sin, and the wickedness, and the other kinds of impiety which they have committed are the things that shall condemn them, and it is death that shall walk before them. For Scripture saith in the Psalms, 'Death shall shepherd them.' And again, 'He who hateth the righteous committeth sin.' It saith too in the Catholic [Epistle], 'He who hateth his brother is a slayer of man.' Then how great will be the condemnation of him that hateth Him Who created him! Every man who committeth sin hateth the God Who hath created him, and those who do not hate the Christ Jesus do not commit sin. I declare unto you a true saying: If ye examine your own understanding [ye will find that] every man who is a sinner is a hater of his own soul.

¹³ In what way doth a man [shew that] he hateth his own soul? Now very often a man saith unto me, 'No man ever hated his own soul.' I myself know this quite well, but direct thy attention to me, O simple brother. A certain man saith this day, 'I cherish my soul,' and he eateth and drinketh all his days. And when he dieth his soul is taken away and made into material for the blazing fire and into food for worms, because of the sins which he committed during the time when he was in the world. Now he saith in his folly, 'I love my soul,' yet notwithstanding he loveth to commit sin against it daily.

And he knoweth not that the things which he doeth daily are written down in the books which never grow old, and cannot be destroyed, for they are books of the spirit, and in these our sins are written down one by one. And since every sin hath a different character, and the gravity of each varieth, even so the characters of the punishments and their severity are different, to say nothing of the monsters with horrible faces which are on the roads, and the merciless avengers, and the dekans, who are without form, and who preside over [the infliction of] punishment. With mercilessness and very great frenzy they strip the skin off each man.

¹⁴ Remember the father of every sinner, [the Devil]. He goeth round and about, and raveneth like a lion; he wandereth about with his nets, and he cometh in many forms, and he wisheth to swallow up our souls. And the snares of death are in his hands when he cometh into the heart of a man, and he sendeth therein the passion of wickedness. And he hasteneth impudently to a man in his early years, and he cometh with an apology before the face of those who are older. Afterwards he cometh in the lust of the eye, and in jealousy (or, envy) of heart. He cometh also in avarice (?), and in pride, and in vainglory, and in lasciviousness, and in gluttony, and in wantoning, and in the love of the Sacrament, [and] in arrogance, [and] in fornications, and in adulteries, and in magic, and in sorcery. All these things are wont to attack a man during the first and second periods of his life. And when he cometh to the third period, that is to say, to old age, the Devil attacketh him with babbling, and littleness of heart (or, lack of courage), and the swearing of false oaths, as his strength faileth and he knoweth that it is old age that cometh [upon him]; and he maketh him to crave for food, and to suffer from hunger and thirst like the dogs. These and other such like things doth the Devil make to come upon man in the third period of his life. But blessed is the man whom the Devil shall tempt, and who shall overcome the Devil with repentance, for great shall be his reward from God on the day of his coming forth from the body.

¹⁵ O my beloved sons, behold, ye see that the lights have burned low, and that the sun hath begun to rise. Let us offer up the Holy Offering, for the time hath arrived for us to partake of the Holy Mysteries, the Body and Blood of the Christ, before I am taken from you. For, behold, the Imperial Veletarius said unto the soldiers of the governor, 'Let us take him and depart, for daylight hath appeared.' And when the blessed Apa Psote, the bishop, had

said these things he made the Sign of the Cross over the people three times, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And he administered the Holy Mysteries to them, and gave them the Benediction; and he dismissed them, and they went to their houses glorifying his Lord Jesus, the Christ, to Whom be glory, and to His Good Father, and to the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen.

VII. THE DISCOURSE OF SEVERUS, ARCHBISHOP OF ANTIOCH, ON THE
COMPASSION OF GOD

¹ (Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7597) The discourse which the man, who was truly inspired by the christ, the holy patriarch and archbishop of antioch, saint severus, pronounced on the compassion of god and the boldness of the holy archangel michael. HE ALSO SPAKE A LITTLE CONCERNING HOLY SUNDAY (I. E. EASTER SUNDAY), BECAUSE THE FESTIVAL OF THE ARCHANGEL FELL BY CHANCE ON THE SAME DAY THAT YEAR. HE SPAKE ALSO CONCERNING MATTHEW THE MERCHANT, AND HIS WIFE, AND HIS SONS. THIS DISCOURSE WAS PRONOUNCED ON THE TWELFTH DAY OF THE MONTH HATHOR, WHEN ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE CITY WERE ASSEMBLED AND WERE CELEBRATING THE FESTIVAL OF THE HOLY ARCHANGEL MICHAEL IN PEACE. ² Hear ye the Psalmist David, who indicateth to us that we are all to gather together at this holy festival to-day. And I see also that this festival is a double one, and I see that tranquillity existeth, and that there are no winds of fire [blowing] upon us to disturb us; on the contrary, we are prepared to receive those who together will do good to our souls, whether it be to us who speak or to you who hearken. And assuredly in us shall be fulfilled these words, 'One yieldeth a hundred-fold, and another sixtyfold, and another thirtyfold.' And I know that He Who is the true Giver of rewards, our Lord Jesus, the Christ, the Son of God, is not remote from us, for He spake by His true mouth, saying, 'In the place where two or three are gathered together in My Name, there I am with them in their midst.' And inasmuch as God is with us this day, let us apply to ourselves the word of God which He spake unto us by the mouth of the sacred singer David, who saith, 'Be ye quiet, and know that I am God. I will be exalted among the heathen, I will be exalted in the earth.'

³ Ye know, O my beloved, that to-day is the festival of the salvation of us all, that is to say, the Sunday of the deliverance of the whole world. It is right

therefore for us to address a few words of adoration to the Christ, Who hath existed before all worlds. I hear Scripture at this moment saying in the Gospel, 'The angel of the Lord came down from heaven, and he went, and rolled away the stone, and sat upon it. And his appearance was like unto that of a flash of lightning, and his apparel was white as the snow. Then he said unto the women, Fear ye not; for I know that ye are seeking Jesus, Whom they crucified; He is not here, for He hath risen, according to what He said.' Furthermore, let us celebrate the festival this day in the festival of the Resurrection of the Lord, more especially because the Lord is present with us, and also His glorious Archangel Michael, who maketh supplication to God to forgive us our sins. For verily he is the intercessor with God on our behalf, and he pleadeth until God delivereth us from every tribulation. And if we wish to be sure that it is he who maketh supplication on behalf of the whole race of Adam, hearken and I will shew you [that it is so].

4 There was a certain merchant in the country of Entikô whose name was Gedsôn, and he was a very rich man, and he was the owner of a very large business. His method of business was as follows: he bought certain products in one country, and, taking them to another, he sold them in accordance with [his] skill in the craft of the merchant. Besides all these things he was a Hellên (i. e. pagan), and he knew not God. Now whilst he was still living in his paganism, God, Who is a treasury filled with compassion of every kind, and Who delivereth every one who hopeth in Him, wished to deliver this man. And it came to pass that on a certain occasion he loaded up all his merchandise in a ship, and went in the beginning of the month of Hathôr to a city in the country of the Philippians, the name of which was Galonia, where he wished to dispose of his merchandise. And he made [the voyage], and arrived [there] during the festival of the holy Archangel [Michael]. Now the evening of the eleventh day of Hathôr was the time for lighting the festival lamps. And the merchant saw that the shrine had been cleaned and decorated, and that it was brightly illuminated with a very large number of lamps, and that great crowds of people were thronging there, and they sang hymns and psalms from the evening until the dawn.

5 And when the day was come the people began to celebrate the festival, and the bishop, and the clergy, and all the magistrates of the city were gathered together, and they decorated all the city, and every house, and every quarter (or, street). And when the merchant saw these things he marvelled,

for he was a pagan, and he did not like a thing of this kind; and it seemed to him as if he had been transferred from this world into another, by reason of the things which he saw and heard, and he was greatly disturbed in his mind. And he went to two men and said unto them, 'What is it that hath been happening from the day before yesterday until to-day? And the men, [who] were Christians, spake unto him, saying, It is the festival of the Archangel Michael, which we celebrate in his honour, for it is he who maketh supplication to God on our behalf that He will save us all.' And the merchant said unto the Christians, 'Where is he, for I myself would entreat him to deliver me from every evil thing?' And the men said unto him, 'Thou wilt not be able to see him unless thou becomest a Christian;

6 but if thou wilt become a Christian thou mayest entreat him, and he will deliver thee from every evil thing.' And the merchant said unto them, 'Take two pieces of money, one for each of you, and take me with you to the shrine of the Archangel Michael, and I will become even as ye are.' And the men said unto him, 'Ye cannot become as we are except our father the bishop baptize you.' And the merchant, by the Providence of God Who had called him, entreated them, saying, 'Do an act of grace, and take me to the bishop.'

7 And it came to pass on the morrow that the men of the city brought the merchant to the bishop, and they related to him all that had happened to him. And the bishop said unto the merchant, 'From what city art thou, O my son, or from what country?' And the merchant said, 'I am from the country of Entike.' And the bishop said, 'My son, dost thou really wish to transfer thyself from thine own service (or, religion), and to be numbered among us?' And he said, 'Because of what I have seen with my own eyes, and what I have heard with my own ears, it pleaseth me to transfer myself to thy service.' And the bishop said unto him, 'What God dost thou worship?' And the pagan said unto him, 'I worship the great luminary the sun, because it is he who illumineth the world by his power.' And the bishop said unto him, 'When the sun setteth the night cometh, and tribulation falleth upon us; where dost thou find the sun to deliver thee out of thy tribulation?' The merchant said unto him, 'I beseech thee to permit thy compassion to come upon me, even as upon all the people of the city.' And the bishop said unto him, 'Hast thou a wife or son?' The merchant said unto him, 'My father, my wife and my sons are in my own city.' And the bishop said unto him, 'If this be so,

8 my son, I will not baptize thee now, lest thy wife be not persuaded to [become a Christian] with thee, for in this case a scandal would arise among us, and she would separate herself from thee, or she would make thee to deny the baptism which thou hadst received. For from the very beginning transgression hath been due to the wife.' And when the merchant had heard these things he was exceedingly grieved. And after he had received a blessing from the hands of the bishop he came forth from him, and embarked in his ship to go to his own house. And when he had reached the middle of the great, deep sea, the Devil (who is the hater of everything that is good, and who was envious of him with a great envy and wrath, because he had made his heart right with God, and had turned to Him to deliver him from destruction), through the hatred of his heart towards him, raised up a mighty storm against him. And he made the waves of the sea to beat upon the ship with such violence that it was about to sink into the sea. And c

9 the merchant was afraid, and he did not find (i.e. know) what he should do nor to whom to appeal for help. And he cried out, shedding tears as he did so, 'My lord, thou holy Archangel Michael, help me in this great necessity wherein I am, and [deliver me] from the great tribulations which are round about me. O my lord Michael, I solemnly declare this day, by the glory which I saw in thy shrine, that if thou wilt deliver me on this occasion I will return with my wife and my children, and we will be Christians until the day of our death.' And straightway a voice came to him from the sky, saying, 'Fear not, no evil shall befall thee.' And immediately after the voice [had spoken] a great calm took place, and the waves ceased to boil up, and the ship became steady, and there was no further pitching and rolling. And straightway, through the grace of God and the supplication of the Archangel Michael, the ship sailed swiftly over its course until it at length arrived at the city of its destination in peace.

10 And when the merchant had come into his house he told his wife and his children the things which he had seen, and the things which he had heard, and the things which had happened to him in the city of Galonia of the Philippians. And afterwards he continued to discourse to them, little by little, saying, 'Verily, I have discovered that the sun which we have been worshipping is not a god at all, but that he is a servant of the God of the Galileans.' Now his eldest son was an educated youth, and he said unto his father, 'I will ascertain whether this is so or not at once.' And the youth went up

on to the roof of his house, and he cried out to the sun, saying, 'I adjure thee, by thy great light and thy heat which fill all this world, to inform me if thou art not the True God, or if thou art His servant, according to what my father hath told me.' And straightway there came to him a voice, saying, 'Well done, O youth, who dost seek after the True God. I am not God—far be it from me [to say so], as the Greeks say; but I am a servant of His, and I obey His command. Nevertheless, if thou art seeking after the True God, behold, thy father hath learned to know Him since he was in Kalonia, the city of the Philippians. And thee thyself also doth He call to Him,

¹¹ for thou art suitable [for doing] a great service for Him.' And when the voice had said these words it became silent. And the youth said unto his father, 'Is it true that thou hast only known God from the time when thou didst enter that country? Now I am with thee, and we will go thither together with joy.' And his father said unto Toulê his wife, 'If thou art displeased, behold, we have eight thousand pieces of money; take them for thyself if it be that thy heart is not in unity with me. I myself will take a thousand pieces of money, and I will go and obtain forgiveness of my sins.' And his wife said unto him, 'O my brother, I am ready to go with thee to any place where thou wishest to go.' Thereupon they made all their preparations, and they embarked in a ship and came to the city of Kalonia.

¹² And when they met the two Christian men who had acted as his guides, and whom he had found during his first visit, he talked to them, and they took him, and his wife, and his sons to the bishop. And when the bishop saw them he rejoiced exceedingly over the conversion of their souls, and he asked them, saying, 'Have ye prepared yourselves with all your hearts to become Christians?' And they answered and said unto him, 'Yea, by the Will of God and through thy prayers, we are ready to become Christians all together.' Then the bishop caused preparations to be made in the baptistery of the shrine of the Archangel Michael, and he baptized them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, the Consubstantial Trinity. And he changed the merchant's name at the holy font—now his former name was Gedsôn—and he called him 'Matthew'. And the name of his wife was Toulê, and her he called 'Irene', and of the four sons he called the name of the eldest 'John', and the second 'Stephen', and the third 'Joseph', and the fourth 'Daniel'. And after they had received baptism they passed twenty days in the city, and the bishop instructed them in the dogmas of the Orthodox

13 Aa Faith. And by reason of his great joy Matthew gave six thousand pieces of money to the shrine of the Archangel Michael, saying, 'I give these moneys for the redemption of my own soul and the souls of my children, and that they may serve as an offering in the shrine of the archangel, for it was he who made entreaty to Christ on my behalf until He granted me knowledge to go unto Him, and to make me to be worthy of His grace.' And after these things he received a blessing from our father the bishop, as did also his wife and his sons. And they came out from the city, and the magistrates thereof set them on their way, and they rejoiced with them over the conversion of their souls. And by the Will of God and His holy Archangel Michael they arrived in their city, and they rejoiced with their kinsfolk, and their kinsfolk rejoiced with them. And after they had come into their house they gave great gifts and charities to the poor and destitute. And all the people of the city blessed them, even as it is written, 'There is nothing hidden that shall not be revealed,' that is to say, these holy people made their most excellent virtues to light up [the city]. And after two months that distinguished man Matthew died; he came at the eleventh hour, and received the hire of a whole day, through the supplication of the holy Archangel Michael.

14 And a few days after the distinguished man Matthew had gone to his rest the enemy of God and man, and the opponent of the angels, that is to say, the Devil, stirred up a great nobleman of the city against his wife [Irene] and against his sons in an exceedingly cruel way, and he carried away their Ab (sic) possessions (? from them by force, and robbed them of everything that they had, and he even took away their granary from them. And John, the eldest son, who was wise, said unto his mother and his brethren, 'Rise up, and let us fulfil the word which our Saviour spake, saying, "When they persecute you in [one] city flee to another. For, behold, they are persecuting us and afflicting us in this city, let us flee to another and save ourselves. And since they are afflicting us in this place, let us depart to the city of Entia, and take up our abode there, and be safe.' Thereupon they rose up, and took their father's possessions, and fled to Entia, the metropolis of the country, and took up their abode there. And John and his mother and his brethren gave large gifts

15 to the poor, and to those who were destitute, and to every one who was suffering from sickness. And the Devil, who hateth what is good, could not

contain himself [when] he saw the charities which they were performing, and he ravened like a lion. And a few days after these things the house of one of the magistrates of the city was broken into, and a large amount of valuable goods belonging thereto was carried away in the night, and the magistrate reported the matter to the governor. And the governor enquired concerning the matter of the officers (or, guardians) who were set over the various wards of the city, and of those who were set to watch over the regions round about the city. And whilst they were making these enquiries, behold, the enemy of righteousness, that is to say, the Devil, took the form of an informer, and cried out, saying, 'These strange young men, the four of them, who have come and taken up their abode in this city, are they who have robbed the house of the magistrate;

¹⁶ behold, they dwell in the quarter [called] "Zeus". Pursue them forthwith, and when ye have examined them closely the truth shall be revealed.' And immediately, the matter having spread abroad, the neighbours seized the young men and delivered them into the hands of the guards, and the guards took them to the governor, because the matter was one of which they could take no cognizance. And when the young men had been sic) dragged into the market-place they lifted up their eyes, saying, 'O God of the Archangel Michael, perform an act of power for us. Thou, O our God, knowest everything, and that we did not know Thee from the beginning. And now we confess Thee, and Thy Archangel Michael, and we declare that Thou art the Living God. We are innocent of the lying charge which hath been framed against us this day. O thou holy Archangel Michael, in whom we have believed, forsake us not, for thou art he to whom we have clung from the moment when we were held to be worthy of the holy seal, which is in Christ, that is to say, the holy pledge of Chris-

¹⁷ tianity. O God, in Whom we have believed, help Thou us.' Ae And whilst they were saying [these words] a voice came unto them from heaven, saying, 'Fear not, O John, and ye his brethren, for no evil shall befall you. I am Michael unto whom ye have made your appeal.' And they said, 'May thy grace be upon us.' And Michael said unto them, 'Let your hearts be strong; fear ye not at all. I tell you that through Jesus the Christ, in Whose Name ye received baptism, no evil shall befall you. Nay more, I will continue to watch over you, and I will deliver you, and not you only, but every one who shall cry out and say, "O God of the Archangel Michael, help us," and I will come

unto him quickly by the command of God, and I will grant him his petition, and I will not permit any evil whatsoever to befall him.'

¹⁸ And when the Archangel Michael had said these things unto them he gave them [the salutation of] peace, and hid himself from them. Then the guard brought the young men before the governor so that he might pass judgement upon them, and when he had set them before the judgement-seat they said with one voice, 'O God of the holy Archangel Michael, help us; O our Lord, Thou knowest that we are innocent of this deed wherewith they have charged us. Nevertheless, Thy Will be done, O Lord!' And immediately, before the words were ended in their mouths, behold, the holy Archangel Michael took the form of an imperial nobleman of King Gesanthos, the king of Entia (?), the [chief] city of the district, and came [there]. And when the governor saw the Archangel Michael walking towards him in the form of an officer of Gesanthos the king, he rose up straightway and stood before him, and gave place to his royal rank, saying, 'I beseech thee, my lord nobleman, to turn and seat thyself here with me, and to listen to this defence.' And the holy Archangel Michael, inasmuch as he had come for this very purpose, sat down at the right hand of the governor, and the governor gave the order to place before him at the tribunal the four young men all together.

¹⁹ And as soon as they had set the young men before him at the tribunal the governor spake unto them with anger and abuse, saying, 'This matter is one which is due to the Devil ...Make haste and bring hither to me the property of Sulôm, the archon, which ye have taken, and do not die a terrible death. Testimony hath been borne against you that it is you who have carried away the property of the archon, and if ye do not produce it here before me ye shall die an evil death.' And with one voice they said unto the governor, 'As the True God, Jesus the Christ, liveth, and His holy Archangel Michael, in this affair we have never taken any part whatsoever, neither have we any knowledge thereof. For in very truth, O governor, stealing is held by us to be an abominable thing, according to the precepts of our fathers and their teaching.'

²⁰ And the Archangel Michael, who was in the form of a nobleman, spake unto the governor, saying, 'If thou wishest [to know] the truth, let them seize the little brother of these men, and take him into the house of this man Prosthuros, who hath a savage hatred against these sinless men, and

let him cry out, saying, "In the Name of Jesus the Christ, and the mighty miracles of the Archangel Michael, let the property of Sulôm the archon appear which hath been carried off, and which myself and my brethren have been accused of stealing"; and I declare unto thee that the truth shall appear immediately.' And the governor made the two soldiers and the attendants to take hold of the hand of the young man, and they went into the house of Prosthuros. And straightway the young man cried out, saying, 'In the Name of Jesus the Christ, the God of those who are in the heavens and of those who are on the earth, and in the name of the Archangel Michael and of his great power, let Thy grace come upon us, O God, and do Thou send forth from heaven Thy holy Archangel Michael, and let him reveal the property of Sulôm the archon;

²¹ for the stripes which I and my brethren have received from this merciless man Prosthuros are not few.' And immediately he had said these things a voice came unto him, and unto those who were with him, and also to the soldiers who were close to him, and to the guards who were holding him, saying thus, 'O ye men who have come seeking after the property which hath been carried off from the house of Sulôm the archon, come ye down into this cellar, and ye shall find that for which ye are seeking, so that the truth may be revealed to every one, for these men are innocent of the charge which is laid against them; and when this hath been done the truth shall be revealed through the greatness of the strength of the Archangel Michael.' And immediately the people heard the voice they went down into the cellar, and they found the property of the archon in a cellar under the house of Prosthuros, the merciless man who had behaved arrogantly towards the young men, that is to say, towards John and his brethren.

²² And straightway the governor released the young men, and they departed to their house, and glorified God and His Archangel Michael. And the archangel hid himself forthwith from the [sight of the] governor, and he appeared unto the four brethren who were coming to their house. And the holy Archangel Michael, the commander-in-chief of the army of the Lord, spake unto them, saying, 'O John and thy brethren, behold, I have saved you [once], and ye have suffered no harm, and I will save you again, and ye shall put the Devil to shame. And, moreover, I will give you boldness and fatherhood, and ye shall be heads over all people. And furthermore ye shall become fathers to King Gesanthos.' And John and his brethren related to their

mother everything that had happened to them, and she said, 'Let the Will of God be [done]. Besides, O my sons, let us not at any time abandon what is good, so that that which is good may be a means of salvation for us in this world, and in that which is to come.'

²³ And it came to pass that within ten days of the time in which these things happened John came and walked across the market-place of the town, and he saw two men who were clad in the livery of King Gesanthos, and they were demanding from every person one hundred oboli on penalty of death. And John said unto the soldiers, 'Will a man be seized and put to death or be in any danger if he giveth two hundred oboli?' And the soldiers said unto him, 'No.' And John said unto them, 'Wait for me a little, O my brethren.' And straightway he went into his house, and he took two hundred oboli, and four other oboli, and gave them to two men, and they gave them to the soldiers of the king, and the four other oboli he gave to the soldiers. And the Devil did not know what to do when he saw the deeds of charity which the four young men were performing.

²⁴ And it came to pass after these things that a certain man, who lived hard by the house of the holy men, invited a friend of his to his house, [and he went and] he ate and drank with him until the evening. And the guest rose up and came forth from the house of his neighbour, and he entered the market-place of the town in order to pass into his house. And whilst he was walking along the path a cerastes stung him, and he died. And when the night watchman was going his rounds to safeguard the town he found the man lying stretched out dead upon the ground. And he lighted a lamp, and examined the whole body, and he found therein no wound whatsoever; and he had the body prepared for burial and buried in a tomb. And the Devil went round about throughout the whole city proclaiming and saying, 'This murder hath been committed by the four young men who have come into the town during these [last] days'; and the report reached the governor, and the governor [made known] the matter to King Gesanthos. And when the king heard of this matter he commanded immediately that the four young men should be brought before him all together. And

²⁵ the soldiers arrested the young men, and they put halters on their necks, and brought them out through the open space of all the town to take them to the feet of King Gesanthos. And straightway there came a voice to them, saying, 'O John, and ye his brethren, fear ye not when ye shall go into

the presence of the king, for no evil shall befall you. The time of suffering hath passed, and the season of fatherhood hath drawn nigh unto you through the Lord.' And straightway they brought the young men before the king, and the young men made supplication to God and to the holy Archangel Michael to deliver them. And behold, straightway the mighty and holy Archangel Michael, whose name is sweet in the mouth of every one, took the form of a mighty general in the service of Kōstantinos (Constantine), Emperor of the Romans, and came into [the presence], and great majesty clothed him. And when Gesanthos saw him he rose and stood up before him, and

26 he yielded place to his royal rank, and after these things they sat down together. And King Gesanthos commanded them to bring in the four brethren before him, and he said unto them, 'For what reason did ye rise up against this man and slay him?' And the four brethren answered and said, [We have not committed] this murder of which thou accusest us; we are innocent.' And the king commanded [his men] to bring the instruments for the infliction of torture and to torture them. And the Archangel Michael, inasmuch as he taketh care of every one who is a true servant of the Lord, was pleased to make manifest the glory of these holy men, nay more, to save alive the town of the king and the whole multitude. And as he saved Nineveh, whose population amounted to twelve times ten thousand people, even so was it pleasing to God to save this town from destruction. Then the Archangel Michael answered and said unto Gesanthos, 'It would be a most marvellous event for us in this town supposing that a contradiction [of this charge] were to take place in the following manner. Supposing they were to bring the man who hath died and to set him before the whole multitude of the town, and we asked him, "What happened unto thee?" and straightway he told the truth before all the multitude! Therefore let them bring him that hath died and let us ask him. I declare that [if we do this] the truth shall become manifest, and the liar shall be put to shame.'

27 Then, when the king had heard these things from the archangel—now he did not know that he was Michael, but he told [him] that he was one of the Emperor's most honourable noblemen, as we have already said, although the archangel hath far higher rank than any nobleman of this world—he commanded [his men] to go into the tomb and to bring out the dead man, and to set him before him and before all the multitude that were

gathered together unto him. And Michael the archangel rose up before the king and before all the multitude of the city, and he who was in the form of a general cried out to the youngest of the four young men, saying, 'O Daniel, thou brother of John, come, my son, and say thou unto this dead man, "Who is it that slew thee? ²⁸ Mc Tell the truth before the king and all the multitude." And the young man Daniel was one of those whom they were going to torture, and he rose up and went to the dead man, and took hold of his hand, saying, 'O man, tell us who it was that slew thee. Speak the truth, and do not permit innocent blood to be shed unavenged through thee.' And the Good God made the soul of the dead man to return again to his body for the salvation of the whole town and the king, and through the great power of God and of His holy Archangel Michael the man came to life again. And he cried out in the midst of all the multitude, saying with a loud voice, 'Woe unto thee, O Gesanthos! Art thou so utterly bold as to sit by the side of the general of the King of all those who are in heaven and on the earth, the holy Archangel Michael? It is he who maketh supplication at all times for the whole race of men and animals, it is he who maketh supplication for the fruits of the earth until God sendeth the good dew upon them for the sustenance of men and beasts, and also for the sustenance of everything that breatheth and blesseth God.' And he who had come to life also said, 'Forgive these men,... they are holier than I, and the Archangel Michael will inform thee concerning everything which hath happened to me.'

²⁹ And straightway the Archangel Michael revealed himself in his angelic glory, and he went up into heaven whilst all the people were looking at him, and he took the soul of the man with him. And afterwards the Archangel Michael spake down to the king and the multitude, saying, 'Behold, I will make supplication to the Lord on behalf of thy soul and the souls of all the multitude of this city for the sake of these young men; therefore let John and his brethren be held in honour by thee, for thou and all thy city have been saved through them. And as for this man whom thou sayest they killed, they did not kill him, but he died like any ordinary man through the bite of a cerastes.' And when the heart of the king had returned to him he rose up, and brought in John and his brethren, and he kissed them, saying, 'Blessed is the hour wherein ye entered this city, O John and ye his brethren, against whom we have meditated evil things; behold, very many great benefits have accrued to us through you.' And the king caused his palace to be decorated

with garlands, and all the people arrayed themselves in festal apparel and rejoiced with very great joy for seven whole days. And the king said unto John, 'Speak, and we all will hearken unto thee.' And John spake unto the king, saying, 'Write a letter to Constantine, the Emperor of the Romans, and [ask him] to send unto us an archbishop to sanctify us and all our city, and let him give unto us the things which shall conduce to the salvation of our souls.'

³⁰ And Gesanthos the king wrote a letter to Constantine, the Emperor of the Romans, [wherein] was written thus: 'Gesanthos, who is called the King of Endikê, maketh bold to write to Constantine, the great Emperor of the Romans, the servant of Jesus the Christ. Greeting! A great act of grace hath come to us through the Good God, Who hath remembered us, and hath brought us out of the darkness of the service of idols, and hath drawn us to Him through the supplication of His great Archangel Michael, and hath made us worthy to look upon Him face to face. And he hath made the man who was dead to talk with us once again after he had been buried, and he ascended up into the heights of heaven in glory when we all were looking on. Therefore we beseech thy divine person to send unto us from before thee one of the great bishops to enlighten us concerning the Orthodox Faith, and to teach us the way whereby we may go to God, and to give us the holy seal [of baptism]. If thou wilt perform this good deed for us thou shalt receive crowns of glory from the True King, the Christ, and the God-loving Emperor shall be saved by the might of God.' And the king sent off the letter to Constantine in all haste,

³¹ and the Emperor received it, and when he had taken it and read it he marvelled exceedingly at the greatness of God's love for man and at the beneficence of the Archangel Michael. And with very great carefulness he made haste and wrote a letter to John, the Archbishop of Ephesus, wherein he wrote the following: 'Before all things I kiss the holy hand wherewith thou hast touched the holy Flesh of the Son of God. Greeting! Now a great joy hath come unto us from the True God, our Lord Jesus the Christ, and behold, we ourselves send on the news of that joy to thy fatherhood, so that thou mayest rejoice the more with us. For the sake of God then bear thou a little inconvenience, and go to the town of Endikê, and administer thy healing medicine of the doctrine of Christ unto those who dwell therein, and bring thou them out from the service of filthy idols. Devote thou thyself [to

this work] with all thy heart, for thy trouble shall not be utterly wasted, nay, it shall be unto thee for a crown of glory before the Great King, the Christ. Do this therefore for the sake of Christ, Who suffered on behalf of the whole race of Adam. Thou shalt give thyself the trouble to go to them and treat them with the healing medicine of thy spiritual ointment, and thou shalt teach them the matters of the holy

³² theology which is full of the Holy Spirit. Thou shalt give them the holy seal which is in the Christ, and shalt baptize them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, the Holy Trinity in Unity, and Unity in the Holy and Consubstantial Trinity. And this shall be unto thee a praiseworthy act before the Christ Jesus and His holy angels.' And Constantine the Emperor sent the epistle with haste to the Archbishop of Ephesus. And when the archbishop had received it he read it, and rejoiced exceedingly in the Holy Spirit because of the gift of God Almighty, and because of the conversion of the town to God through the supplication of the holy Archangel Michael. And straightway the archbishop took with him a deacon, and two presbyters, and a reader, and three singers, and twelve 'labourers', and priests also. And he took with him everything necessary for the equipment of the baptistery and for the service of the altar, and a table of gold, and four vessels of silver which were plated with gold, and a censer of gold, and a napkin worked with fine gold, and some coverings made of pure silk, and the Four Gospels, and the Book of the Acts of the Apostles, and the Apostolic Epistles—in short, everything that was necessary for the service of the altar. And they prayed to God, and set out on the road joyfully.

³³ And when they had drawn nigh to the city, [the arrival of] the archbishop was announced to the king. And the king and all the multitude of the city came out from it, and made obeisance to him, and they received a blessing at his hand, and the king himself received a blessing from the archbishop. And when the archbishop saw John he straightway kissed him, and said unto him, 'Rightly shall the good tree which yieldeth fruit be in the paradise of delight.' And the king related to the archbishop everything that had happened through John and his brethren, saying, 'For the sake of this man and his brethren hath God had mercy upon us.' Wherefore the archbishop went into the city in great awe. And the king entreated him [to come], and he brought him into the palace, for as yet no church had been built in the city. And on the morrow the archbishop said unto the king, 'Be-

fore everything else let us build a church.' And the king said unto the archbishop, 'My father, there is a new site whereon we can build one. Come and inspect it, and if, peradventure, it be suitable thou canst build a church there.'

³⁴ And the archbishop went with the king, and the archbishop approved [of the site] with the exception of the small walled building which was in the middle of it, and [the king] ordered it to be pulled down. And the king made the heralds to summon every man from every part of the city, and ordered them to assemble and to do work [on the church], whether archon, or rich man, or poor man, and even the king worked with his own hands; and they knew that they would receive their reward through the Christ. And by the Will of God the church was completed in twenty-six days, and the archbishop consecrated the shrine in the name of the holy Theotokos Mary. And when the archbishop saw the great size of the multitude who wished to receive baptism, he said unto the king, 'Where shall we baptize this multitude?' For as yet no church with a bath for baptisms in it had been built in the city. And the exceedingly wise John answered and said unto the archbishop and the king, 'In the lake of water which is to the east of the city, for I tell you that it is suitable for this honour.' And straightway a voice came from heaven, and every one heard it, saying, 'This is ordained by God, O John, thou wise one, thou son of the Apostles.' And the archbishop and the king rejoiced greatly over what they had heard, and they made the heralds order all the people of the city to be gathered together to the lake of water to receive forgiveness for their sins. And the archbishop went to the lake of water, and he made ready everything according to the Canon of the Church. And afterwards he prayed over

³⁵ the lake, and the deacon followed him, doing everything that was ordered in connection with the bath for baptisms. And a very great miracle took place at that moment, for when the archbishop came to the words of consecration the whole multitude heard a great choir of singers above the waters, and they repeated the words of consecration after the archbishop. And afterwards a voice cried out, saying, 'Whosoever receiveth baptism in this water shall receive at once the forgiveness of his sins.' And when the archbishop had finished the holy prayers he commanded that the whole multitude should hasten down to the lake, and should all receive baptism. And they all cried out, saying, 'We are baptized in the Name of the Father,

and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.' ³⁶ And when the king and all the multitude had received baptism, the archbishop gave them the Benediction, and they assembled in the church. And the archbishop shaved the head of John and consecrated him bishop, and he also appointed his three brothers to be elders. And the king had a son whose name was Achillas, and him the archbishop appointed to be a deacon. And all the multitude rejoiced in the Lord, and they said, 'Behold and see this stranger who came to this city, and was considered to be a man of no importance whatsoever, and, lo, he is now sitting with the archbishop, and is, as it were, a father to all this multitude.' Then the archbishop made ready the Offering, and elevated the Offering upon the altar, and he presented it. And the king and all the multitude marvelled because they had never been accustomed to a ceremony of this kind, and they had never seen zeal of this kind displayed. Now this was the first time the Offering was ever offered up in that country. And the archbishop administered the Sacrament to all the people, and he gave them the Benediction, and each departed to his own house. And the archbishop remained in that city for one month of days after this work, and he catechized the people daily, and taught them the whole Law of the Church; and after this he returned to his city in peace. And Gesanthos and all the multitude of the city glorified John and his brethren, and they progressed in the knowledge of the teaching (or, doctrine) of the Lord.

³⁷ And within a few days the holy bishop John said unto the king, 'Let us build a church in the name of the holy Archangel Michael, because it is through his supplication that we have all been saved.' And the king said unto him, 'Do whatsoever thou wishest, O my father, and we will hearken unto thee.' And the holy bishop John laid the foundation of holy church, and all the people of the city rejoiced with him, and they helped him in everything which he commanded them to do. And he finished the church, [and provided it] with everything with great zeal, and he put on its roof on the eighth day of the month. And the holy bishop John consecrated it in the name of the holy Archangel Michael and the day of its dedication fell by chance upon the twelfth day of the month Hathor. And all the people of the city assembled therein; moreover, the feast became unto them a double one, for the festival of its founding and of its dedication were celebrated on the same day in the new church. And after the dedication the holy bishop John went into the temple with the king, and with all the multitude of the city

and they overthrew it, and burnt the statue of Zeus with fire. And the demon who dwelt in the idol cried out, saying, 'Thou art afflicting me exceedingly, O John, [for] thou hast turned me out of my dwelling.' And the king made the people to build on the site of the temple a splendid church, and he made them to dedicate it in the name of the Twelve Apostles. And Saint John turned every one to the

³⁸ Orthodox Faith, and every one glorified God through him And when the Emperor Constantine had heard of everything which John had done, he glorified God exceedingly, and he wrote to him a letter, wherein he besought him to bless him and all his kingdom, and he addressed him in it as 'the new Daniel, the destroyer of idols'. And the country of Endike praised Saint John the bishop all his days, because of the multitude of the miracles which God worked by his hands. Ye see then, O my beloved, how great is the goodness of God, and how great is the boldness of the holy Archangel Michael, who cometh to every one who feareth God, and who keepeth His commandment. For our father Daniel said 'None standeth with me except Michael, our archon.' And again, 'The angel of the Lord laid hold upon Am-bakoum Habakkuk), and brought him to Babylon and the food which was in his hand, and took him to the pit of lions, and he gave the food to Daniel.' And again it saith in the Acts of the Apostles, 'The angel of the Lord opened the door of the prison by night, and brought Peter out.' The holy Archangel Michael ministered unto each one of the martyrs until they completed their strife, and they departed to heaven in glory through the supplication of Michael. The sun riseth upon all the world through the supplication of Michael. The great spring of Edem (Eden) sent forth its waters into the Your Rivers through the supplication of Michael. The earth seareth its fruits through the supplication of Michael. The

³⁹ whole world was reconciled again to God [by Michael], and he it is who delivereth every one from the snares of the Devil. We find the intercession of Michael in the strenuous work of our hands. We find the intercession of the archangel in the quietness of the oxen, and the growth of the lambs. We find the intercession of Michael in the growth of the wool of the sheep, and in the milk of the goats. We find the intercession of the archangel in the growth of all the fruits of the field. Through the intercession of Michael the trees bring forth their fruits. We find the intercession of Michael in the body of the vine and in the gladness [which is] in the vine. We find the interces-

sion of Michael in the joy, and in the fatness, and in the savour of the olives. We find the intercession of Michael in the slumber of a man, and in his

⁴⁰ est by night. We find the intercession of Michael in the vinds which stir up the seas, from which he delivereth [men]. We find the intercession of the archangel in the flight of the birds in the heavens, and in the motion of those upon the earth. We find the intercession of Michael in the union of holy matrimony, wherein men beget their children for blessing. We find the intercession of Michael in the war that destroyeth the ungodly, and establisheth peace, and delivereth the righteous. We find the intercession of Michael in the midst of brethren [who live] together, and he is among them. We find the intercession of Michael among the ascetics in the desert (or, mountain), and it giveth them strength. We find the intercession of Michael in the assembly of the monks, and it at the same time acteth as a peace-maker. We find the intercession of the archangel in the prayer of the bishops, and elders, and deacons at the holy table. We find the intercession of Michael in the voice of the readers and the leaders of the choir when they sing their hymns in church. We find the intercession of Michael when he is gentle towards those who are weary, and when he giveth them strength. We find the intercession of the archangel when he giveth help unto those who are vexed by processes in the law-court. We find the intercession of Michael when he giveth relief to those who suffer punishment.

⁴¹ In short, he giveth strength to the living in their necessity, and as for the dead, he entreateth God at all times on their behalf that He will shew mercy upon them. For of all the righteous who are in the heavens, unto which of them did [not] the Archangel Michael go when they were in trouble and help them? And unto which of all the martyrs who are in heaven did not Michael go, and give them strength, and deliver them from all their tribulations? For the archangel standeth by every one who crieth up to God with all his heart, and helpeth him. ⁴² Behold then, O my beloved, we know of a certainty of the love of God towards man, and of the loving-kindness (or, compassion) of the Archangel Michael for all mankind, and that he is a minister on their behalf before the Father, and that he causeth Him to shew mercy towards every one, and to make straight his ways. And as for us, let us, O my beloved, give unto him the things for which he wisheth, and let us make entreaty unto him by means of them, so that he may love us exceedingly, and may make intercession for us with God, and may let us live to-

gether in one fraternal bond. Let us keep our marriage bond holy and undefiled, and let there be no fornication whatsoever among us. Let there be no slanderous gossiping on our lips, for it is a sharp spear, and it is a hateful thing before God. Fornication is death in poverty and a friend of the Devil. Fornication is a thing that is hated by the Christians, and it is an enemy unto God and His angels, and a friend of perdition. Consider the sons of Eli the priest; when once they loved fornication destruction came upon them. Observe also the sons of King David; when once they loved fornication more than holy matrimony God cut them off, shortness of life laid hold upon them, and not one of them saw his children in Israel. Amnôn slept with his half-sister [Tamar], and Absalom slew him. Similarly Absalom slept with the concubines of his father, and God brought upon him a rebellion, and he died in the fight. Adônias (Adonijah) also made Abisats (Abishag), the Sô-manite, his father's wife, to be with child (?), and he died because of her.

⁴³ Now therefore, O my beloved sons, let us cast forth from us all perverse ways, and let us be without impurity, and sin, and scandalous gossip. 'Holy matrimony never defiled [any] man.' Observe that Moses spake with God several times, and yet he had his wife and his children, and these did not hinder him from going into the darkness to speak unto God. But do not make us to multiply our words overmuch concerning these things, and let the witnesses of the Old and the New [Testaments] be sufficient for us. And further, let us bring to an end our discourse on the Archangel Michael, Whose festival we are celebrating this day. This festival to-day hath no need of the rich man who weareth splendid apparel, whilst the poor man hideth himself from the draught of the door. This festival hath no need of the rich man who is sated with wine, whilst the poor man lacketh bread as he lieth in [his] quarter. This festival to-day hath no need of the person who eateth by himself in gladness, whilst the poor man in prison lacketh food. This festival to-day hath no need of the person who maketh merry and rejoiceth in his house by himself, whilst the poor man remaineth in his house with no man to visit him. These commandments are not of men, but of God. For God shall judge the whole race of men by the six commandments which are in the holy Gospels.

⁴⁴ Moreover, O my beloved, let us supplicate the holy Archangel Michael with a right heart, so that God may receive his prayers on our behalf, and so that He may forgive us the sins which we have committed in times past, and

may give unto us restoration for the future. And now I see that the moment hath arrived for us to go and fulfil that which it is incumbent upon us to do, that is to say, [the offering up of] the Holy Offering. This we must do, and receive the Holy Mysteries, the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus the Christ, to Whom be all glory, which is meet, and to the Father with Him, and to the Holy Spirit, life-giving and consubstantial, now, and always, and for ever and ever. Amen.

VIII. THE DISCOURSE OF CYRIL OF JERUSALEM ON THE DISCOVERY OF
THE CROSS AND THE BAPTISM OF ISAAC THE SAMARITAN

¹(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 6799) The discourse which saint cyril, archbishop of jerusalem, pronounced concerning the cross of our lord jesus the christ, on the day of its discovery, which is the seventeenth day of the month thoth. AND HE SPAKE ALSO ABOUT THE WORD WHICH THE LORD SPAKE IN THE LAW OF MOSES, 'CELEBRATE A FEAST TO ME THREE TIMES EACH YEAR'. AND HE SPAKE ALSO ABOUT THE HONOUR OF THE CROSS, WHICH APPEARED ABOVE THE GRAVE OF THE SAVIOUR. AND HE SPAKE ALSO ABOUT ISAAC THE SAMARITAN, WHOM HE BAPTIZED. AND HE PRONOUNCED DISCOURSES IN THE SHRINE OF THE RESURRECTION, THAT IS TO SAY, SAINT EIRÊNÈ. HE CELEBRATED THE FESTIVAL OF THE CROSS WITH ALL THE ORTHODOX PEOPLE, WHO WERE GATHERED TOGETHER INTO THE HOLY CHURCH. IN THE PEACE OF GOD. AMEN. ²'THE Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice; let the isles, which are many, be glad. The Lord reigneth; He hath arrayed Himself in splendour. The Lord reigneth; He hath arrayed Himself in strength, He hath girded Himself therewith. O [my] hearers, who love instruction, who love reasoning, and who love God, I observe that the understandings [of men] are different, each from the other, and even so is it in the case of the holy Prophets. David, the father of the Christ according to the flesh, said, The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice; and let the isles, which are many, be glad.' He spake also in the same spirit, saying, 'The Lord reigneth from the wood.' For it is the Holy Spirit, Who spake by the mouths of all His Prophets, Who maketh Himself manifest, like the tongues of fire on the day of the holy Pentecost. Moreover David, the righteous king, saith, 'The Lord reigneth; let the nations rage furiously.' O David, thou hymn-writer, only a little way back thou didst say, 'The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice,' but thou dost not say 'rejoicing in all the

earth'. And again thou dost speak, making a distinction between the islands and gladness and the tribulation of heart of the men who do what is evil. For wrath in a man is wont to bring in its train sorrow of heart.

3 But simple readings will not delight the hearts of those who listen if they do not find the interpretations thereof or that which shall declare unto them the meanings thereof. And behold, we will invoke the Holy Spirit, Who is One and is the same as the Father and the Son, so that He may open the eyes of our hearts in order that we may be able to understand a few particulars of His true knowledge, which He spake by the mouth of His holy Prophets. Now I myself alone am not capable of doing this. We will, however, keep with joy the festival of the Cross together with all the orthodox people who have assembled in this holy place this day from all parts of the country to glorify the Cross, and to worship and to bow down before Him Who ascended the Cross, our Saviour, Jesus the Christ, in order that He may permit all of us to enquire into His law and to understand His commandments.

4 Seeing that the Lord hath become King, we must know that He hath taken heed to time in order that He may manifestly become the King therein. Did not Daniel (sic) the prophet, the man beloved, say, 'His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and His sovereignty (or, dominion) is from generation to generation, and His power is from sea to sea, and from the river to the end of the world?' And again, 'The Lord is the King of all the earth.' And again, 'God is our King from everlasting.' If thou wishest to know, O thou heretic who art a hater of God, that the Christ is the King of kings, hearken unto Matthew and Luke the Evangelists, who say, 'When the Christ was born the Magi came out from the place of the sunrise to Jerusalem, saying, Where is the King of the Jews Who hath been born? For we have seen His star in the place of the sunrise, and we have come to worship Him. And they presented great gifts unto Him as King.' And if thou wishest to hear I will tell thee.

5 Now the case is like that of the king against whom a tyrant riseth up, wishing to have the mastery over him and his country. The tyrant taketh captive his soldiers and slayeth them, and he taketh his cities, and placeth them under his own rule, and maketh them pay him tribute. Then doth that king become exceedingly sorrowful because of all his host which another king hath carried away. And he taketh counsel with himself, saying, 'How

can I possibly fight against this tyrant? For those who are in his power are turned into slaves of his, and they obey him.' If, however, this king go out to war, and fight against the tyrant, and conquer him, and seize the soldiers of his host, and set all of them free from the power of the tyrant who had carried them off into captivity, they (i. e. these soldiers) will blow blasts on their trumpets, and they shout joyfully that their own king hath delivered them, and that he hath become king over them

6 once again. In times of old Sin had power and ruled in the world, and lawlessness transacted its business therein, and evil choked the lawful mastering influence, which was the mind. And the Tyrant led them all away captive, and slew them, and each one did what seemed to be good in his own eyes; in short, the chatterings of the Devil were spread abroad over the whole world, and there was no one that resisted the Tyrant who did these things unto them. Now had they fled away they would have ceased to be under the yoke of that Tyrant, and they would have been saved, but they did not do so, and that which is written was fulfilled in them, saying, 'They forsook the fountain of the waters of life'; and again, 'It was death that pastured them.' Therefore the prophet cried out, saying, 'Not him that saveth, and not him that delivereth—men cannot save them.' For, for no men, whether it be those who have been crushed under the weight of poverty, or those who have been fettered by some disease (or, sickness), or those who have been ruined in the law-courts, can death make an excuse for everything which they have done, neither can the angels save them. For the angels are immaterial beings, and they have neither bones nor flesh, and they are immortal; and the ministers are flames of fire, and they are slaves in the service of those who created them, and they are unable to set free those who are in captivity. But if the Lord of the slaves wished to make them free He could make them so in the twinkling of His eye.

7 Furthermore, the King of the denizens of heaven and the beings of earth paid good heed to those who had been led away captive by the wicked Tyrant, that is to say, the wicked Devil, who had conquered the men who had performed his will. Thereupon the King of glory came forth from heaven, but He did not bring with Him great multitudes to enable Him to remove those who were captives from the hand of the wicked Tyrant in Amente. He did not come in a form visible to every one, or in great glory, but only in the glory of His Father, which He did not leave behind Him, and

the Father did not wish to take it from Him. And He arrayed Himself in that humility wherewith He waged war against the wicked Devil, I mean to say the holy Flesh wherewith He clothed Himself, the Flesh wherein He arrayed Himself in accordance with His own desire, the Flesh which was not produced by human seed, and which did not make seed to proceed from it, the Flesh wherein was included everything with the exception of sin and guile. For He never committed sin, neither was guile found in [His] mouth. Inside the Flesh was God, and outside it also. Inside was God, but man could not see Him. And outside He wrought great miracles and healings of all kinds. His hand that was stretched out raised the dead, that is to say, the son of the widow who was in Nain.

8 Now on this occasion the dead man came to life again after he had been dead for a night, on the day following his death when they took him out to the tomb to bury him. He stretched out His hand of human flesh and God, and ordered [the bearers] to set down the bier whereon he was, and those who bore him stood still. And with one single word He raised him, and gave him to his mother, and she took him and departed to her-house. He danced for joy and blessed God, and she drew back from him, and gazed into his face, and marvelled. And crowds of people were running up to him uttering cries, and wishing to be sure that it was he. And the men and the women who had come forth [from the village] with him to follow him to the grave, according to the pagan custom, turned back before they decided to depart to their houses, and they did not return to their houses until they had seen the miracle which had happened. They saw the winding sheet and the grave clothes, they handled him that had been dead, they mounted on the shoulders of men, and they departed into the city and became witnesses concerning things that were incredible. And when every one had seen the miracle they believed on Jesus the Christ.

9 Now when the Pharisees, and the scribes, and the elders of the people had heard of this, they were wroth with Jesus, because He who had given life unto them had raised the dead, and they spake evil things concerning Him. Therefore was that which is written fulfilled in Him, 'The Lord is King! Let the nations rage furiously.' The Lord is King! He hath raised the dead. The stupid Jews were wroth with Him, they wished to kill Him. The Lord is King! He drove away devils, He made Beelzebub to be a creature of contempt, He cast out the devils. The Lord is King! He cleansed the lepers. [The stupid Jews]

were wroth with Him, and they wished to put Him to death because of Lazarus. All the people went to see Him, and they all believed in Him. The Lord is King! He healed those who were paralysed. The ungrateful were wroth with Him, and they called Him 'the son of Joseph the carpenter'. And similarly the Devil and his demons are wroth with a sinner when he repenteth, even as they were in the present case of Isaac the Samaritan, who was a native of the village which is called Iôppê (Joppa). He heard a multitude of men in that place saying, 'Let us go into Jerusalem, and let us worship the

¹⁰ Cross of Jesus, for the festival draweth nigh'; now the Samaritan custom is for all men to take all their property with them. And Isaac the Samaritan also said unto his household, 'Saddle our beasts, load up our gold and silver [upon them], and let us take them to Jerusalem with the multitude which is departing thither. Let us go to the well of Gabaôn, and purify ourselves, and all our belongings. Let us go together with all the faithful who are going thither to the festival, so that the Lebarites may not fall upon us, and rob us of our possessions.' Now this was the custom of the Samaritan people: They used to take all their possessions, from that of the highest value to that of the lowest, and sprinkle them over with the water [from this well], according to the desire of their evil hearts. If one of them died [on the road], or a woman who was pregnant resumed the way of women, [the kinsmen] when they arrived [at the water] used to wash them in it, because of the accursed (?) wish of their hearts. Besides these things, [Isaac] the Samaritan journeyed with the believers, and he wished to wash himself in the [waters of the] well which is in Gabaôn, and also all his possessions. Now this is the well by which Jesus (Joshua) the son of Naue (Nun) built an altar. When he had divided the land of promise among the children of Israel, he circumcised them at that place by the well. Therefore the Samaritans say that whosoever shall wash in [the waters of] that well, or shall dip his feet or his possessions therein, shall never have need to wash them again. It maketh the sun to travel in his course, and when thou sayest, 'The sun hath set,' the darkness cometh upon them immediately.

¹¹ And the believers and the Samaritan came to a lake of water, and the believers went down to it in order that they might drink, and their children, and their beasts. And the Samaritan found water and he drank, and his men and his beasts did so according to their need (?). And the Samaritan said unto one of the Christians, 'It must be a vexatious (?) thing for you to have to go to

Jerusalem to worship a log of dried up wood, whereon a man who was a prophet was put to death. It is not right to worship it, for through this ye and your children, and [your] beasts shall die of thirst, for God will be wroth with you, and will make the waters to become putrid.' And a certain God-loving presbyter whose name was Apa Bacchus heard these words; now he belonged to the Orthodox Faith, and he paid attention to the things which the Samaritan was saying, for he was uttering terrible blasphemies against the Holy Wood of the Cross of our Lord Jesus, the Christ. And Apa Bacchus answered and said unto the Samaritan, 'What is thy name, and of what place art thou a native?' And the Samaritan answered, 'Isaac is my name, and Moses and Joshua are they who gave to me the Law, and they spake from God. The Son of Mary was a Prophet of God Whom the Jews crucified because he abrogated the law of the Sabbath. God delivered Him over into their hands.

¹² He went up on a certain mountain, and it is not known what became of Him. They seized other thieves and another man, one Jesus, who was also a prophet, and Him they put to death on the wood of the Cross. This is He Whom ye now receive. Of Him nothing is found, in vain do ye go to worship Him. And it is not seemly to worship the work of men's hands, nay, we must worship God alone, even as He spake unto our father Moses, for He gave unto him the Law, saying, 'Thou shalt not worship any strange god.' ¹³ And when Apa Bacchus the presbyter had heard these things he was wroth with a divine wrath, and he said unto the Samaritan, 'The name which the Patriarch gave unto thee is good, but thy faith is vanity, and thou hast become diseased through thy sins. However, neither the name nor the apparel of a man can save him if he be not perfect in the Orthodox Faith. Verily I hold the pagans to be more blessed than thou, for they have no right knowledge whatsoever, and they have never read about the Creator-God as thou hast done. Thou sayest, All the works which God hath created, and which the faithful receive with thanksgiving, are abominable to me. Hast thou never enquired, O Samaritan, or dost thou know what is written, "Everything which God hath created is good, and nothing is to be despised, and all are to be received with thanksgiving? O thou senseless Samaritan, we do not worship the Cross as God, but we bow down to it, and we glorify it because the Son of God glorified it, inasmuch as He completed His dispensation upon it. Harken unto me, O Samaritan, and I will speak to thee. The serpent of brass which Moses made in the desert in days of old, and which was made manifest, was a mar-

vellous thing, for it resembled a living serpent; and if one of the children of Israel came to the serpent of brass quickly when he was bitten by a serpent, and looked at it, he obtained relief.

¹⁴For ancient [writers] say that the serpents which God sent among the children of Israel were so deadly that if a man were bitten by one of them his limbs rotted away and fell from [him] little by little until his whole body perished. If then the serpent of brass, concerning which God spake to Moses, made the spitting serpent, that is to say, the viper, to be of no effect, shall not the wood of the Cross make to be of no effect the poison of the serpent of the mind, that is to say, the Devil, to which thou givest a place within thee? The wood of the Cross became a resting-place for my Lord Jesus, the Christ. He Who was the God of the wood of the Cross Himself went up on it of His own free will. He died for our sakes, for us sinful men. When the Lord bowed His head upon it, and yielded up His breath, according to the wish of His Good Father, it was the wood of the Cross that removed the "middle wall of partition" which was between us and God, our Father, through His Only-begotten Son, Jesus the Christ, Who went up on it for us.

¹⁵The ark which Noah made in days of old, according to the command of God, carried both men and beasts, which were saved from the waters of the Flood. But thou, O Cross, didst carry Him Who commanded Noah to make the ark, and to gather together in it creatures of every kind, and food for their sustenance, like a good steward, and to give a remnant to the world. And again, O Cross, thou didst create a new world, when the blood of the spotless Lamb, the Christ Jesus, the Son of the Living God, was shed upon thee.' ¹⁶And when Isaac the Samaritan had heard these things which Apa Bacchus was saying he marvelled, and spake unto him, saying, 'Behold, thou sayest that Moses wrought great miracles, and that he made powerless the spitting serpent which used to kill those who were bitten by it. [Very well. Now tell me] what miracle the Cross ever did, so that I also may believe in it.' And Apa Bacchus answered and said unto him, 'O Isaac the Samaritan, thou hast neither seen Moses nor his miracles, and hast, in any case, only heard about him, [and yet thou believest in him];

¹⁷if thou wert to see the power of the Christ, wouldst thou believe on Him, and on His Holy Cross?' The Samaritan said unto him, 'Even if Moses and Joshua were to speak to me I should never believe in this wood of which thou speakest, unless I had seen some mighty deed performed by it.' And Apa

Bacchus the presbyter answered, saying, 'Not for thy sake only will I perform this wonderful sign, but for the sake of this multitude of people who have come to worship the wood of the Holy Cross of our Lord Jesus the Christ, so that they may not be offended like thyself, and I will pray to Him that went up on the Cross, and died for us of His own free will, and for our salvation.' And he prayed by the side of the lake, saying, 'O Thou Who didst make the rivers to flow with sweetness, so that men of every race might drink thereof, O Thou Who didst make the sea to be bitter, and then didst cause the rivers to flow into it, whereupon it ceased to be bitter, and became salt, who is there, O Thou man-loving God, that can comprehend Thy wisdom? For in the very beginning Thou didst gather together the floods and waters into one place, and Thou didst make firm the earth in the heart of the waters. Thou didst divide the waters and didst make them into three parts.

¹⁸ One part Thou didst make the firmament, and another part Thou didst make the sea and the rivers, and the third part Thou didst place under the earth, and Thy foresight did make beneficent regulations for them. Thus in the countries which have no rivers Thy goodness gathereth together the rains, and those who have need of the water which is under the earth will find it there. He who hath heard of Moses the Prophet [knoweth] that he made sweet the waters in Elim that were in twelve wells. Thou didst shew him a certain kind of wood, that is to say, the wood of the Holy Cross. Thou art able to make these waters sweet, for unto Thee alone belongeth power over everything. Now therefore, O Lord my God, as Thou didst reveal this wood to Moses, so that every one who belonged to the people of Israel might believe, let now also Thy Name be glorified, even as Thou hast been glorified by all Thy works. And let not the heathen say, Where is their God?

¹⁹ And as Apa Bacchus was praying to God a voice came unto him, saying, 'He who believeth upon Me shall say to this mountain, Remove thyself to this place, and it shall move itself [there], and nothing shall be impossible for him that believeth. For whosoever shall believe in the Cross shall be able to do these miracles, and he shall obtain whatsoever he seeketh; and whosoever receiveth Me receiveth Him that sent Me. Now therefore, that for which thou hast asked Me shall be [given] unto thee, for the sake of the faith that is in thy heart. Whosoever layeth hold of perfect faith unto him belongeth everything.' Thereupon the holy man, Apa Bacchus, took two little pieces of wood, and tied them together in the form of the Holy Cross, and threw

them into the lake of water, and cried out, saying, 'This lake hath Christ healed by His Cross, and the waters thereof shall be sweet from this time forth, and for ever and ever. Let every one who

²⁰ believeth in the Cross of Christ drink thereof in faith. But let not those who are enemies of Christ, and who do not believe in Him or His Cross, drink of the water of this lake, for it shall [taste] to them like vinegar and bitter gall.' And when Apa Bacchus had finished pronouncing these words he cried out to the multitude in the voice of the Gospel, 'Whosoever thirsteth let him come to me and drink,' and whosoever believeth in the Cross of Christ.' And a multitude of believers went to the lake, and took [water] from it, and they found it to be sweeter than honey, and exceedingly good. And when those who were pouring out (or, drawing) the water looked down into the lake, they discovered and saw there a little cross in the form of a torch of light, and they all cried out, 'One is the Christ Jesus and His glorious Cross.' And when the Samaritan heard these things he was afraid, and he did not wish to speak against the Cross again. And when the Samaritan was thirsty he went to drink water at his own watering place, and when he did not find any there he was greatly troubled in his mind, and he did not know what to do, for he and his men were consumed by thirst. And when he was suffering sorely from thirst, he rose up and

²¹ went to the lake, he and his men, to draw water to drink, and the Samaritan looked down into the lake, and he saw the similitude of a cross which was in the form of a torch of light. Then taking boldness to his heart, and casting fear from him, he drew some water from the lake and drank, and he found that it was like unto vinegar, and that it was bitter and was stinking. And the Samaritan cried out, 'Verily, the Christ and His Cross are not working miracles for us to-day.' ²² And straightway he went to the holy man, Apa Bacchus, and he said unto him, 'Take my possessions which I have brought on the road with me, and give them to the poor, and shew thou me the place of the wood of the Holy Cross, and I will worship it.' And the presbyter said unto him, 'My son, money may not be taken for the gift of the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, if thou wouldst become perfect, arise, go into Jerusalem, and seek out the holy place of the Resurrection. Go thou into the church there, and thou wilt find our father the bishop, and the orthodox believers assembled with him, for they are celebrating the festival of the Holy Cross, to-day being the day of the festival of the finding thereof. And when

thou hast gone in he will instruct thee in the way of salvation, and thou shalt see the power of the Christ and of His Holy Cross.' Then the holy presbyter, wishing to strengthen the heart of the Samaritan, and to confirm him in the faith, made the Sign of the Cross over the waters which had been drawn from the lake, and which were as acid as vinegar, and straightway they became sweet, and [the Samaritan] and his men drank of them in faith. And a very great multitude of people came to the holy man, Apa Bacchus the presbyter, and received a blessing at his hands. And when the [Samaritan] saw the multitudes he was greatly afflicted, and he departed and hid himself, and then he came into Jerusalem. And the multitudes of people who were by the lake rose up and came to Jerusalem, and Isaac the Samaritan came with them, following after them with those who formed his company.

²³ We will [now] describe unto you a great miracle which took place, and which is worthy not to be passed over. Now certain men, who were round about the lake whereof we have been speaking, told us that the holy man, Apa Bacchus the presbyter, was praying over us, and when he ceased the water & 1 RB & 2 ²⁴ & 1 RC which had been stinking and full of worms became sweet water. And they said, moreover, 'When Apa Baechus had gone into the lake we saw with our own eyes the form of the Cross, which was like unto a fiery torch, and shone exceedingly brightly.' And when the people had drunk they found the water exceedingly sweet, and they would never have known that the waters were at one time putrid had it not been that one of them knew how to read. He saw certain letters written upon a wall which was plastered with ashes, and there were written upon it letters which had been traced by the holy man, Apa Baechus, thus: 'Concerning the matter of its waters. The Christ and His Holy Cross made them sweet, so that believing men might drink of the same freely, and with thanksgiving, and so that they might be unto them for healing. When, however, the enemies of the Christ, who believe neither in Him nor in His life-giving and saving Cross, drink this water it shall become unto them as acid as strong vinegar and bitter.' And when the believing men heard these things from the man who knew how to read letters they drew some of the water, and they drank, and they found it to be exceedingly sweet. And they marvelled when they saw the place of the Cross of light at the bottom of the lake; now it was like unto a torch of fire.

25 And when those who were sick bathed themselves in the water they obtained relief. Now the lake was in the field of Pidôn, in Diospolis. And when those who were enemies of the Christ passed on to drink from the lake the water thereof became [in their mouths] like exceedingly strong acid, and it was to them putrid; but to those who confessed the Christ and who believed on His Holy Cross with all their hearts the water was sweet and cool. And because of this matter many pagans transferred themselves to the faith of the Christ, that is to say, through the appearance of the Cross which was visible to every one at the bottom of the lake, for it was shining brightly like a flame of fire. And the very large number of believers from that district gathered themselves together, and they were all of the same mind, and they built a church close to that lake, and they called it the 'Similitude of the Cross'. And I, Cyril, the least of men, consecrated it, and the miracle which took place therein I myself saw with mine own eyes. And behold, I will tell you about it by the love of God. Now lest it should appear to you that we are forgetting the principal subjects [of our discourse], that is to say, the Cross of our Lord Christ, and the verse which is written in the Psalms, 'The Lord is King;

26 let the earth rejoice,' and the words which God spake unto Moses, saying, 'Make ye to Me a feast three times every year,' and also Isaac the Samaritan, whom I baptized, we will now finish our discourse on these subjects, and we will then bring it to a close, by the Will of God, to the glory of the Cross, the festival of which we are celebrating this day, and by Him Who went up on it, our Lord Jesus the Christ. 27 And it came to pass that when Isaac the Samaritan had come into Jerusalem he enquired at once for Cyril, my feeble self, and he was told by a deacon, 'Cyril is celebrating the festival in the shrine of the Resurrection, the festival of the Holy Cross.' And Isaac said, 'Wilt thou take me to him? I am not a Christian, but a Samaritan; I have, however, seen a great miracle in connection with the power of the Cross.' And the deacon came and told me, and I gave him permission to bring Isaac to me. And I said, 'Go, bring in the wandering sheep, and take him into the church of the Christ, and let him hear the words of the catechism; and when his repentance is manifest to every one we will baptize him.' And the deacon went to Isaac and said unto him, 'Come into the church, and thou shalt see the might of the Holy Cross.' And he put the men of his company into a certain part of the church, and he saw what made him greatly afraid, namely, a

multitude of beings dressed in white. And he was terrified and seized with quaking, and he would most certainly have fled from the church if the deacon had not put courage into his heart, saying, 'Fear not, for the Christ shall receive thee to Him.' And he remained and listened to the passage that was being read, that is to say, the verse that we read in [the Book of] Ezekiel the Prophet (and the words were fulfilled in him), 'I do not desire the death of a sinner, but that he turn, and repent of his evil ways, and live.' And again, 'There is joy in heaven over a sinner that repenteth.'

28 And when he heard these things he drove fear out of himself, and his spirit exulted, and he hearkened to the word of God, and he paid diligent attention to the words which he heard. And they burned within him like a fire, and they were as sharp as a sword, according to what the prophet spake, saying, 'The Lord spake unto me, saying, Behold, I have set my words in thy mouth like a fire, and my people like wood for the burning.' Thus then do we complete the fundamental argument of our discourse on the verse which is written in the Psalms, 'The Lord is King; let the earth rejoice.' The kingdom [is that of] the Only-begotten Son of God the Father, and of His great exaltedness. He arrayed Himself in humility, He came to us, He humbled [His] pride, [and He was] not like the sacrifice which is slaughtered straightway, but He was left bound until the appointed time of the Father. And when the appointed time for which He had come was fulfilled, according to His own free will, and according to the dispensation of the Will of His Father, [the Jews] crucified Him for our sake, and He died and rose from the dead. He despoiled Amente, He brought up therefrom the [souls who were in] captivity, and departed with them to His Good Father, and sat down upon the glorious throne on the right hand of His Father. And the hosts of heaven cried out, saying, 'The Lord is King, from the trees of the wood

29 ... Let the heavens be glad, let the earth be glad, for He hath had mercy on His people, and hath redeemed their captivity. The Lord is King. He hath put on strength, He hath girded it on,' that is to say, the flesh which He took from the holy Virgin Mary, and which she put on Him. And she became one with Him in His God-head. He went up into heaven, He sat down at the right hand of His Father upon the throne of His glory, He created a thing of might, He bound Himself to it, that is to say, the wood of the Holy Cross, and He loaded Himself therewith, and took it up with Him into heaven. And He will bring it again with Him at His second coming when He shall

come to judge those who are living and those who are dead. The righteous and the sinners, [and] those who have believed in the Cross, shall see [it] going before Him, and the angels carrying along the Cross like the standard-bearers of an army.

30 But some one will say unto me, 'Why did they crucify Him, and bring the Cross to the place of giving judgement? Why did they bring Him?' [They did so] because of the stupid Jews, and because of every one who did not believe in the Cross of Jesus, and in order that they might not think that He was different from Him that would come as a judge to judge those who were living and those who were dead. For He shall come in the glory of His Father, and with His angels, and He shall display the Symbol of the Cross of heaven (?), that Cross which is the hope of every one who shall be sealed therewith. To sum up the matter: Baptism is incomplete without [the Sign of] the Cross. And & 2 & 1 Re & 2 doth not the priest make the Sign of the Cross over the vessel of baptism with his finger? Otherwise it would lack the Holy Spirit. It is the Cross wherewith demons and unclean spirits are driven away, and when the Sign of the Cross is made against them they flee from (?) the Holy Life; it is the pledge of the kingdom which is in the heavens.

31 Now observe, O my sons and daughters, that the hour is far advanced. And I observe also the multitude of people who have come to the festival, wishing to hear the word of God in purity, and to celebrate the festival, for the Lord said, 'Make three seasons [of the year] festivals to Me,' that is to say, 'Make a festival to Me three times.' On the fourteenth day of the new month, which is Parmoute, God commanded Moses to cause to be slain a sheep, perfect in every respect and a full year old, and to smear the doorposts of their houses [with the blood], so that the destroyer might not destroy their first-born. And for us also who are Christians a spotless Lamb hath been slain for us, Christ Jesus the Lord, to Whom the true lamb, Mary, the spotless Virgin, gave birth. For He was slain upon the Cross on the fourteenth

32 day of the new month, and He was slain upon the rock of stone, Golgotha, that is to say, 'the place of a skull'. And they pierced His right side, and blood and water came out. On what was His Blood poured out? Behold, it was shed on a rock of stone, on Golgotha, and that Blood shall never disappear until the end of the world, and that Blood shall be a mark of shame for the Jews, and of disgrace for the people. And we Christians take that Blood and shed it on the doorposts of our houses, that is to say, on our

mouths, and on our lips. And when we have received His perfect Blood, and have drunk thereof, we eat His Flesh, and we are safe from destruction, and we trample upon the Devil and all his evil thoughts. ³³ Where did they lay the Body of the Lord? They laid it in a tomb, which was in the place wherein we celebrate the festival this day. And who was it that raised Him from the dead? No man is able to find out this matter, nor doth any one know it, except the Father alone, Who raised Him up from the dead. For it saith in the Book of Psalms, 'The Lord hath risen like a man who hath been asleep, and like a warrior who hath been drunk with wine.' ¹ Who was the first person to meet Him, or unto whom did He shew Himself except Mary the Magdalene, the Mary who was the sister of His mother, who conceived Him without [the help of] a man, and brought Him forth without birth pangs, and reared Him without anxiety and pain? For a period of forty days He appeared unto the Apostles eating and drinking with them. And afterwards He addressed them, and spake unto them, saying, 'Go ye forth into all the world, teach ye all the heathen, and baptize them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.' ² And He promised to them straightway the Spirit, the Comforter, after the holy Pentecost.

³⁴ As concerning the season of which God spake unto Moses, saying, 'Thou shalt rejoice therein, and thy wife, and thy son, and thy servant, and thy cattle, and thy servants whom thou hast bought for money, and everything which is thine,' ⁴ this season is for us the seventh festival, that is the festival of Pentecost, which is the first day [of the week] whereon the Spirit came upon the Apostles. For as the diligent husbandman is wont to go into his field, and to cleanse it, and to pluck up the thistles and the tares, which have taken root therein, and afterwards to sow it with seed with a generous Ps. lxxviii. 65. 2 Matt. xxviii. 19. 3 John xiv. 26. 4 Deut. xvi. 14. ³⁵ hand, and to plough it with a plough, and as the diligent husbandman also considereth the weather at that season of the year, and whether rain will be likely to fall on the seed and make it to sprout vigorously, and whether the seed will become a good crop through the wind and the dew which shall come upon it from heaven through God, even so did our Lord Jesus the Christ act towards the holy men, that is to say, towards our Fathers the Apostles. He cleansed them from every defilement, and from every kind of guile, up to the time of the holy Pentecost, wherein He sent upon them the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of truth, and He filled them with all

knowledge, and they spake with divers tongues, Aë which they knew not, and they performed mighty deeds and miracles, and they brought forth the things which belonged unto the Lord, some a hundredfold, some sixtyfold, and some thirtyfold. This now is the season wherein we keep the festival according to the command of the Lord, not with over-eating and not with excess of wine and merriment, but with partakings of the Sacrament, and with the singing of psalms and hymns, saying, 'Let us come out openly, and let us sing psalms unto Him joyfully; for He is our God, and we are His people.'

³⁶ And when He had gone up to His Father, and had seated Himself on His right hand, [the angels] cried out, saying, 'The Lord is King over all the heathen, the Holy God sitteth upon His Holy Throne.' Now the Lord said unto Moses, 'Make a feast to Me three times each year.' Which then of your festivals is the greatest to-day, O my beloved? [Is it not] this which taketh place in the first month of each year, that is to say, the festival of the Manifestation of the Cross? And we will now make the matter clear to you, and shew you why we celebrate the festival of the Holy Cross to-day. Now the Jews lied concerning the Resurrection of the Lord, and they said, 'He did not rise from the dead, but His disciples came by night and carried Him away secretly whilst we were sleeping.' And it was their intention to conceal the glory

³⁷ of the Cross, according to the representations of Irenaeus, and Josephus, and Philemon on the authority of Hebrew writers, because of the wrath of the Jews against the disciples of our Lord and the Cross of our Lord. And there was very great wickedness in the hearts of the Jews, who crucified the Lord upon the wood of the Holy Cross, and they wished to burn the Cross after the Lord had risen from the dead. Now the wood of the Cross was fixed in the ground, in the place where they had crucified the Lord upon it. And when, little by little, a tumult [had arisen]—now the disciples hid themselves because of the fear of the Jews— Joseph of Arimathea rose up, and came to Nicodemus, and said unto him, 'Behold, the Jews, and the chief priests, and the other [members] of the Sanhedrim are taking counsel together, saying, Let us burn the Cross. Now therefore, let us take it and hide it, so that they may not be able to carry into effect what they are planning.' And the two men rose up, and came to the 'Skull' by night, and they found the holy wood of the Cross of Jesus and the superscription which Pilate affixed thereto. And

there were nails that were standing in it, that is to say, the nails that had been driven into the body of the Lord, and through His hands and His

38 feet, and they hid them, and also those of the thieves, for they could not [carry them away], because of [their] fear of the Jews. And Joseph said unto Nicodemus, 'Let us cut the wood of the Cross off close to the base, and carry the Cross away together with the [other] crosses, and place them in the tomb, in the place where they laid the body of the Lord; for the tomb is mine, and I have never laid in it any other body except the body of Jesus, and behold, He hath risen from the dead.' And they did according to these words, and they took [the crosses] into the tomb, which was hard by the place where they had crucified Jesus; and they rolled a stone before the mouth of the tomb and departed, and no man knew what they had done for a very long time. Now the disciples used to go into the tomb daily, and they prayed there by night secretly. And they used to carry thither the sick, who received healing through Jesus and His Holy Cross. And when the devils who had taken up their abode in men approached the tomb they used to cry out, saying, 'Jesus laid a penalty on us in the flesh. And now that they have crucified Him the wood of the Cross continueth His work in the tomb, and inflicteth suffering upon us, and casteth us out from the bodies wherein we have sojourned.'

39 Hear, moreover, another great miracle which our lords fathers the ancients have related unto us. A certain man who was a Jew used to live in Jerusalem in the old days, and he was exceedingly rich, and his name was Kleopa. He suffered cruelly from gout, and he was never able to walk upon his own feet, and he was wholly unable to mount a beast to ride, and he was always carried about on a litter; and [his servants] used to wash him, and carry him whither-soever he wished to go. And that man had not entered into the counsels of the lawless Jews who crucified the Lord of glory for our sakes, and he commanded his slaves, saying, 'Take no part with these lawless Jews who wish to put to death Jesus the Nazarene through jealousy and envy, for I know that He is the Son of God, according to the prophecy of our Fathers the Prophets, and that Mary, our sister, conceived Him by the Holy Spirit. Now this Mary is the daughter of Kleopa, who is surnamed Joachim, the brother of my father, and I believe that she never knew man, and that it was the Holy Spirit Who came upon her, according to the voice of the

archangel.' And this righteous man, that is to say, Kleopa, had an only son whose name was Rufus, and who was grievously sick of a fatal disease.

⁴⁰ And when only a few days remained before Rufus would die, Kleopa called his slaves, and said unto them, 'Get ye a stone-mason, who can hew stone, and let him hew a tomb for my son in the rock near the tomb of Jesus the Nazarene. There will I bury my son, and when I die do ye bury me in it.' And they did according to his word, and prepared the tomb. I have made to live Rufus, the son of Kleopa. And it came to pass that after two days Rufus died. Now the day on which he died was the Sabbath, and Kleopa did not wish to take his body out to the tomb [on that day], so that the Sabbath might not be profaned. And on the morrow, which was the first day of the week, they took the body to the tomb upon a bier. And his father put himself on a litter(?) and they lifted him up, and carried him out with the body, and he kept close to it, and wept for his son with very bitter sorrow. And when they had arrived at the tomb of Jesus, they set down the body of Rufus on the ground, and they placed his father by the tomb of Jesus. And Kleopa was sorrowing for his son, and he wept and cried out, saying, 'O my beloved son, would that these were the days when Jesus the Nazarene, Who raised the dead, was on the earth, for then I would have gone to Him, and made entreaty to Him, and He would have raised thee up for me.

⁴¹ For He raised up others, and they are in the body with us to-day. He raised up Anna, the daughter of Jairus, the chief of the synagogue, thy mother's brother, and behold, she also is in the body this day. He raised up Lazarus our brother from the dead. If, however, it be His will, may the Lord Jesus receive thee into His kingdom for ever.' ⁴² And Kleopa said these words to the Christ Jesus in great faith. And straightway a strong, sweet odour came forth from the tomb of Jesus, and Kleopa saw with his own eyes the form of a Cross of light that proceeded from the tomb, and rested on the bier of the dead man; and straightway the dead man rose and sat up. And when his father saw that his son had risen and sat up, he leaped up in the joy of his heart, and stood upon his feet, and became like a man who had never been ill at all. And a mighty fear seized upon those Jews who were walking with him, for they saw the dead man sitting up, and his father, who had been sick of the gout, rushing about from one place to another. And they removed the grave-clothes [from Rufus his son], and they dressed him [in others], and he rose up and stood in their midst. And the Jews said unto him, 'Who is it that raised

thee up?' And he said unto them, 'It was a Man of light Who came forth from the tomb bearing a Cross of light, No and He stood over me, and raised me up, and I have come to life once again, even as ye see.' And they said unto Kleopa, 'By what means art thou able to walk?

⁴³ Who healed thee?' And Kleopa answered with great joy, saying, 'He Who hath raised up my son, who had been dead for two days, He it is Who hath healed me.' And he took hold of his son's hand, and went with him into the city with great joy, and they blessed God and His Only-begotten Son Jesus the Christ, our Lord, and they cried out, saying, 'Great is Thy power, O Jesus the Nazarene, for Thou hast put Thy power into Thy Holy Cross, which giveth life unto those who believe in Him. In the place of grief Thou hast given unto me two-fold joy and gladness, and the resurrection of my son, and the healing that hath come to me.' ⁴⁴ And when all the people heard what had happened unto them they marvelled, saying, 'Kleopa hath recovered from the disease from which he suffered, and his son hath been raised up from the dead.' And they brought to Kleopa the widows and the orphans, and he provided full meals for them, and he distributed among them much money, and on the morrow he made his slaves free men. And he and his son went to the Apostles, and together with all his household received baptism in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, and they became excellent disciples, and they preached the Christ and His Cross. And when the Jews saw the miracle which had taken place they believed on the Christ Jesus.

⁴⁵ Now when the scribes and the Pharisees heard of the great miracle which had taken place at the tomb of Jesus they said, 'Let us burn it with fire.' And the chiefs of the synagogue and the Jews said unto the high priests, 'Let the fire seize it [if ye wish], but rather let the Jews defile the place with their filth, so that the tomb may nevermore be had in remembrance.' And this counsel was pleasing unto them all, and a proclamation was sent out through the whole city of Jerusalem, saying, 'Let men and women, when they clear out the dung from their houses, and from their workshops and stables, bring it every day, and cast it on the tomb of this deceiver Jesus. Whosoever shall be found not doing this shall be expelled from the synagogue and shall be fined a drachma of copper.' And this decision was promulgated throughout all Jerusalem, and the people were in the habit of carrying out their dung every day until the time of the Emperor Vespasian, who

laid waste Jerusalem. And up to the time of his coming against all the Jews they did not cease to do thus, according to the descriptions of Josephus, and Irenaeus, and other historiographer[s]. And the gate of light was defiled (?) from that time until [the coming of] Vespasian, so that there was a vast mass of dung over the grave of Jesus, which was brought thither from the whole city. Now Vespasian brought great destruction upon the Jews. He slew thirty thousand of them, and he banished

46 & 1 & 2 three thousand to Egypt, and he wrote to Ptolemy, the Governor of Ekeptia, saying, 'Thou shalt not permit the Jews to possess any freedom whatsoever in the country of Egypt. Thou shalt neither permit them to traffic in things which are slain for sacrifice nor shalt thou permit them to have control over the milk and the wine. They shall have no control whatsoever over the oil-presses, and the wine-presses, and the threshing-floors, and the places wherein field produce is sold. But let them do the work of watering and tending the cattle in the country of Egypt, until they have gotten it all out of your hands.' And the Egyptians afflicted the Jews severely, and they reduced them to a state of misery, which was worse than that wherein they suffered under the ancestors of the Egyptians in days of old under Pharaoh, when they were the bondslaves of the Egyptians. If a young man encountered ten strong men of the Hebrews, even though they were not doing

47 any harm to him, they would cry out to him to spare them; to this degree had God humbled them because of the arrogant wickedness which [they] had committed towards Him. Moreover, the whole of that generation which had crucified the Lord of glory came near to perish utterly, for they were slain by kings, and God also brought pestilences and famines upon them because of their sins. And the rest [of the Jews] who were left in Jerusalem forgot the custom of their fathers, and did not shoot out dung on the tomb again. And there was a very large quantity of dung on the tomb of Jesus, and on Golgotha; so great was it that no man remembered that the tomb was there. Moreover, men called the heap of dung the 'Skull of Jesus', that is to say, 'Golgotha'. And the Devil was pleased with this, saying, 'I will remove the remembrance of the Cross from among those who were followers (or, ministers) of Jesus.' Assuredly the Devil did not know that the Cross would very surely receive glory from kings, and from all those who believed upon Jesus, and that those kings would close the doors of the temples.

48 And even though these people were the instruments (or, tools) of the Devil, who wished to hide the Cross, they were not able to hide it either partially or wholly. For the Cross was graven in the hearts of the faithful, and they all remembered it as if it were an eikon, and they contemplated it as if it were an eikon; and if it were hidden for a short time they awaited [its re-appearance]. But it was like unto the sun in its strength, which setteth in the evening, and sheweth itself during the day. It was like unto a bridegroom who cometh forth from his marriage chamber; even so was the Cross. The Jews hid it because of their wicked jealousy of the Lord Jesus the Christ, but it made its appearance again, being more splendid than ever, and it beautifieth the altar and the sacrifice. It is the Cross that strengtheneth the God-loving kings, and they mount it on their crowns, and they

49 set it on the golden sceptres in their hands. The Cross is sculptured in the royal palace, and men set it up by the roadside. It is raised upon pillars and upon the corners of houses, so that it may be strength [for those who dwell therein], and for every one who passeth by. The Cross is also [found] on ships, and it delivereth them from storms and violent gales. It is in the coenobium of kings, and it giveth grace unto them; and [the mark of] the Holy Cross is prefixed to the documents of every kind that are written under their orders. Hail, thou strength and object of boasting of the Christians and the believing people! Nothing is done in the world without the Cross. No church is built without the Cross. No altar is dedicated without the Cross. No Sacrifice is offered up without the Cross. No bishop or member of the clergy is ordained without the Cross. None is baptized without the Cross, for those who are baptized are

50 sealed with the Sign of the Cross at the baptismal vessel. Whosoever hath the Cross with him hath a great help near him. For the Cross putteth a bridle on littleness of heart (i. e. depression), and the Sign thereof maketh anger to disappear, and it giveth tranquillity in the place of wrath at the [holy] Table. As for believers, the Cross blesseth their food through those who make the Sign over it. It is present at dinners (or, suppers), and with those who drink wine with joy. The Cross destroyeth the infidel enemies of the Cross, even as it destroyed Diocletian, and made him blind in both his eyes, and left him without strength; moreover, it became an exceedingly bitter enemy to him. And the Cross destroyed also Maximinianus, whose body suffered putrefaction whilst he was still alive, and whose tongue rotted in his

mouth, because he had blasphemed the Cross. And again the Cross destroyed Julian the Apostate, because he forsook Jesus. And

51 that apostate became a horn of the Devil before Antichrist. He reviled the Holy Scriptures on which he had meditated very many times, and which he had recited with his mouth, which deserveth to be stopped for ever, and with his tongue, which deserveth to be cut out, because he read them and then reviled them. Verily he neither read them [with seriousness] nor understood them. For if he had known their meaning he would have glorified the object of praise of the Christians, that is to say, the Cross, and he would not have died an evil death. For he made himself an enemy of the Holy Cross whilst he was alive, and for this reason [he drank] waters other than those wherewith men are wont to slake their thirst, and this lawless man died through thirst. Now he drank the urine of horses, and made himself mad (?). And his body was not worthy of a tomb, and it was not worth preparing for burial, and it was even as that of a poor man, since he made himself an enemy of the Holy Cross. Therefore let us not make ourselves love those who do works of this kind, lest we inherit their destruction. Let us not make ourselves enemies of the Cross, so that those things which happened to the Jews may not befall us. For those who defiled the wood of the Cross, wishing to hide it, slew their children with their own hands, and they devoured their own flesh, because of the great hunger which was sent upon them by the God of truth, Jesus the Christ, our Lord, in return for the impudent and wicked act which they committed against Him when they crucified Him.

52 & 1 And again, they wished to hide His Holy Cross, according to what Josephus and Irenaeus, who report Hebrew tradition, have said in their histories of ancient things and times concerning the events that happened to the Jews. O brethren, far be it from us to make ourselves unbelievers in the Christ and in His Holy Cross, lest all these evils come upon us, for great is the might of the Cross. And I dare to say concerning the father of all mankind, Adam (and concerning all his sons, that is to say, ourselves), whom God formed in His own image and likeness, that if Adam was the image and the likeness of God, according to the Scriptures, with the exception of the [death on the] Cross, the whole of him was God the Word. When [Jesus] spread out His hands on the Holy Cross, He was of the same type as Adam, until He delivered us from our sins. And we who have believed in Him are of the same type as He when we spread out our hands in prayer. Finally, let us

make ourselves to resemble our orthodox Fathers, who have gone to their rest, glorifying the Cross which giveth salvation.

⁵³ & 2 I will now declare unto you the principal object [of my discourse], especially as God hath acted graciously towards us through Constantine, the God-loving Emperor, who rose like a bright and shining star, and who rose upon us from heaven. Now this Emperor Constantine was sprung from a stock that loved God exceedingly, and because of this the Christ gave him glory through His Holy Cross, and He ⁵⁴ & 1 guided him through every country, and through every war until the day of his death. Constantine adorned the Church with every kind of royal adornment, and he placed his hope in God the Christ Jesus, and in His Holy Cross. And he continued to cling to Him with a firm faith, and he caused the doors of the temples of those who worshipped idols to be closed. He bestowed great honours on the orthodox Fathers the Bishops, and great benefactions on the holy churches in every country that was in subjection unto him; and Constantine, who glorified the Holy Cross, made their enemies to disappear, and suppressed them. Now this Constantine knew nothing about the Cross at first, because of the numerous kinds of idolatry which had spread throughout every country with the help of the apostate Emperors Diocletian and Maximianus. Constantine was descended from parents who were righteous men and Christians, and under their influence he became like unto them; and he shone like a bright and shining light upon those who were in the whole earth. Because of his skill in the art of the physician, and his knowledge, and his strength, every one was eager to see him. He suppressed idolatry of every kind, and for this reason Diocletian loved him, and delivered over into his hands the whole administration of his kingdom, for he was his equal as an Emperor, and was of the race of the old Roman Emperors. And he was such a mighty man of war that, in every war which he undertook, God humbled [his adversaries] before him, for He loved him.

⁵⁵ And it came to pass on a certain day that the God-loving Emperor Constantine was, during his early manhood, engaged in fighting the Persians in a place which is called Kallamakh. Now the Persian host was very numerous, for they had hired seven other nations to join them and to give them assistance, and they said, 'We will take all the countries of the Roman Empire, and we will subdue their people with them.' And they made bridges (? pontoons) in the ships so that they might cross the river on the morrow.

And they said, 'We will kill Constantine, the general of the army, who hath laid waste our country, and we will go into Antioch, and seize the Emperor, and all his possessions, and take all the captives who are there.' And Constantine was afflicted in his spirit, and he said, 'Who is there that hath power sufficient to do battle with this host of nations?' And when he rose up he sent a message to the Persians, saying, 'Let us not fight against each other until we and our hosts are overthrown. If we are not strong enough to fight you [successfully], we will abandon our country to you, and we will go away.' Thereupon the Persians rejoiced, because they believed that Constantine was faint-hearted. And Constantine went to his bed that night with his heart sad within him. And slumber fled from him, and his eyes were staring up into the sky, and he was thinking deeply because of the sore sorrow which was upon him. And he saw among the stars a Cross of light, and there was an inscription written upon it in Greek (Roman) letters, and he read the inscription which was written thus: 'Constantine, through this sign thou shalt conquer those who are fighting against thee. Seek thou the God of thy fathers, and thou shalt find Him.'

⁵⁶ And when he rose up in the morning he was marvelling and saying, 'Unto which God doth this sign belong?' And he caused the priests to be called and the chiefs of all the Government, and he asked them about the sign which he had seen, saying, 'Unto which God doth this sign belong?' And some of them said unto him, 'Assuredly it belongeth to Phiblarion, the conqueror and disposer of battles, who hath appeared unto thee to give thee the victory; therefore let us pour out libations unto him.' And others said, 'It belongeth to Herakles, and we must pour out libations unto him. It is he who wisheth to give thee victory in the war.' Now Constantine did not know what he ought to do. He was a Christian, and the son of a Christian, and yet he did not know the Sign (or, symbol) of the Cross, because at that time no church was being built, and the Cross was as yet unknown [to him], because it was the period wherein they were pulling down churches. Now Constantine was born during a time of persecution, and he and his parents went to Christ secretly. And whilst the noble Constantine was meditating upon these things, a certain soldier, who was a mighty man of war and a believer in God, and whose name was Eusignius, and who was very honest—now he did not declare himself openly because it was the time of persecution—this man, I say, went unto Constantine, and said unto him

⁵⁷ secretly, 'My lord, hearken unto the word of thy servant. The sign which thou didst see in the sky doth not belong unto any one of the gods of the Emperor Diocletian, but it belongeth to Jesus, the Christ, the Son of the Living God. He came down into this world, and took flesh in Mary, the holy Virgin, and became the selfsame flesh and Godhead. He lived for thirty-three years, and He did everything which men do in the same manner as ourselves, with the exception of committing sin. He effected very many cures, He raised the dead, to the blind He gave the light, He cast out the devils, He cleansed the lepers, and He healed those who were sick of the palsy. In short, His miracles and the mighty works which He did upon earth are innumerable. The godless Jews were jealous of Him, and they rose up against Him. They bound Him, they delivered Him over into the hand of Pilate the governor, who ruled over Palestine for Tiberius, and when he found in Him no offence [which merited] death he wished to set Him free. And the Jews were wroth [at this], and they rose in rebellion, and against his free will he delivered

⁵⁸ Him over into their hands, and they did unto Him according to their wish. And the Jews took Jesus, and they raised Him up on the wood of the Cross, and they crucified Him along with two thieves, and He died upon the Cross. And they brought Him down, and they laid Him in a tomb, and He rose on His third day, according to the Scriptures. He went up into heaven, He sat down at the right hand of God, and He shall come to judge the living and the dead. This sign which thou hast seen in the sky bringeth His heart (?).' ⁵⁹ And when Constantine had heard these things from Eusignius he said, 'Shall not then this sign which I have seen give me victory? I believe in it, because that same Jesus is the God of my fathers.' And straightway Constantine took his good spear, and fixed upon it a cross of gold, and set it before him. And when the period which Constantine had agreed upon with the Persians had come to an end, he passed over the river to do battle with them, and he trusted boldly in the sign which he had seen in the sky, and God gave unto him that day victory from out of heaven. And all the host of the Persians took to flight before him, and all those who were with them, and the two hosts took the same road, and the Romans slew the Persians as far as their frontier. And Constantine saw with his own eyes [angels] among the host of the soldiers with their swords drawn in [no] their hands awaiting them. And having obtained the victory through the Cross he returned to the city with

his company of soldiers, and not one of them was wounded. And these things happened thus according to the statements which we have gathered together from early Hebrew writers. And God, Who establisheth kings, and removeth them out of their places, destroyed the two eyes of Diocletian, because of what he had done in the matter of the worship of idols, and likewise thrust him from his throne.

⁶⁰ And by the forethought of God, the Members of the Senate, and the Councillors of the two cities, Rome and Antioch, took Constantine, and seated him upon the throne of Rome, and put the crown of sovereignty upon his head, and the sceptre [in his hand]. And the nobles of the two cities brought him gifts, and glorified God because of His gracious goodness and loving-kindness towards men, which He had made manifest to every one. And straightway Constantine remitted taxes to all classes of people everywhere, and he caused great peace to be in all the churches, and he wrote epistles to the orthodox bishops in every diocese wherein he ordered them to pray for him and for all his kingdom, so ⁶¹ that God might protect him. And great peace encompassed Constantine on every side, and God bestowed upon the churches great benefactions through him, and also on the heads of the churches, to whom he entrusted the work of building churches everywhere on a scale worthy of the glory of his kingdom. And there was born to him a son, and he called his name Konstantos (Constantinus II), according to his own name. And after these things another son was born to him, and he called his name Kos[tantos] (Constantius II), according to his name, and when they were grown up a little they were crowned with the crown of sovereignty, and the sceptre [was put into their hands]. And the Emperor Constantine, being informed that the worship of idols went on in many places, straightway issued an order to every city to close the temples, and to take away their keys, and to give them to those who were in charge of the churches. And they took away from them large quantities of money, which they spent in building churches everywhere, according to the Emperor's decree.

⁶² And Constantine rose up quickly, and he took with him his mother, and his sister, who was a virgin, and a large quantity of baggage, and a large escort of soldiers and slaves, and many holy bishops, and he departed with them to Jerusalem. And he caused to be brought before him the chief Jews, and he asked them questions, saying, 'I wish you to shew me the place where

[stood] the Cross whereon Jesus was hung, and the tomb wherein His Divine Body was laid, for the glorification of my kingdom.' And the Jews said, ⁶³'O Lord Emperor, behold, it is a long time since they crucified Jesus, and lo, this event happened six generations ago. And the city was laid waste and burnt with fire by the order of the Emperor Vespasian. They slew our fathers first of all, and then they led [some] away into captivity, and [others] they banished to Egypt. And if a remnant remained [after] the destruction of Vespasian, behold, we have been slaves of our lord the Emperor of the Romans, until this present.' And the Emperor said unto them, 'Ye may expect a very heavy punishment from me if ye are unwilling to shew me the place wherein they crucified the Lord, and the wood of the Cross itself, and the tomb wherein they laid His Body.' And the Jews made answer, saying, 'O our Lord Emperor, enquire of those who understand the Law thoroughly among the Jews, and the high priests among them, and they will be able to inform the Emperor concerning the matters about which he maketh enquiries. There is no one among us who hath knowledge about this city, but there may be some one of whom the Emperor could ask questions.' And the Emperor said unto them, 'Tell me [the names] of those among you who are well instructed in the Law. [If] ye [do this, I will] dismiss you in peace, and ye can depart to your houses.' And they gave him [the names of] seven men, saying, 'These men are well instructed in the Law, for they are chief priests. And these are their names: Judas, [Ben]jamin (?), Abidôn, Adôth-Iêsou, Iêsou (Joshua), Sulôm, Iassôn.'

⁶⁴And the Emperor said unto them, 'If ye wish to live your lives in [this] world, and your lives in the next, make haste and tell me where is the place of the wood of the Cross of my Lord Jesus, the Christ, and where is the tomb in which His Body was laid. If ye will not tell me where it is then I will destroy your bodies by a cruel punishment, and the Lord shall burn up your souls in the fire which can never be quenched.' And one of the Jews whose name was Iamîn answered and said, 'May my Lord Emperor live for ever! Command me, and I will declare that which I know. Now this city was destroyed three times by the Roman Emperors, and they slew our fathers, and a certain few of the people they banished to Egypt, and in that country they are until this day, and they have never rebuilt their houses [here]. If there be a remnant of our race existing, behold, they are in this city. We live under the yoke of the Roman Emperors, and pay them tribute. And we do not [seek to] circumcise any one of all those who live about us, but we seek to live

according to the Law of our fathers. As, however, for the matter concerning which thou dost ask us questions, we have no knowledge thereof.' And Constantine had the men thrown into a pit wherein there was no water, and he [ordered] that they were to be kept there without bread and water until they died.

⁶⁵ And after they had been in the pit for seven days the Jews cried out, saying, 'Let our Lord Emperor command us to be taken up [out of this pit], and we will inform our Lord Emperor concerning the matter about which he hath enquired of us.' And the Emperor commanded them to be brought up, for their bodies were transformed by the cold of the pit, which went a long way down into the ground. And one of them, whose name was Judas, said, 'Let the Emperor order [his servants] to give me a little water, and I will tell thee about everything concerning which thou hast asked me'; and the Emperor ordered them to bring some pure bread and some water, and he made them eat and drink. And when Judas had strengthened his heart with this food he cried out, saying, 'O my God-loving and man-loving Lord Emperor, our father David said in the Spirit, "The things which we have heard we know, and the things which our fathers have spoken are not hidden from their children of another generation." My father Simeon said unto me, "My father Judas informed me, saying, 'At the time when they crucified Jesus the Jews were gathered together, and they decided upon a plan. When they knew that Jesus had risen from the dead they gave a large sum of money to the soldiers who were keeping guard over the tomb, saying,

⁶⁶ [Say ye] that it was His disciples who came [and stole Him away] by night, whilst we were asleep, and we knew nothing about it. And our fathers denied the Resurrection of the Lord because of the blindness of heart. Then, afterwards, miracles took place at the tomb of Jesus, and He even raised those who were dead, and He cast out devils from men. And the Jews became jealous of Him because of this thing, and, having thought out the following plan, they made a proclamation, saying, "Let all the Jews who are in Jerusalem, and in every place which is nigh unto them, cast their dung upon the tomb of Jesus." And they issued the following abominable proclamation also, "Let [all the Jews] throw all the filth which they clear out of their houses upon the tomb of Jesus." And this thing they did for a very long time, in fact until the Roman Emperor Vespasian came. He put to death our kinsmen, who did not cease from acting in this wise until a very large quantity of filth

covered [the tomb]. Of this thou hast proofs from the Book of the Gospels of Jesus the Christ, O Emperor, in the words, "Where have they laid Him?" And the Emperor commanded them to bring a Book of the Gospels to him, and he read them through, and he found that there was no difference in the Four Gospels,

⁶⁷ but that each said, They took Him to the place of Golgotha, that is to say, the 'place of the Skull', and that they crucified Him there, and that the tomb wherein they laid His Body was nigh thereto. And the Emperor Constantine answered and said unto Judas, 'Shew me the place of Golgotha, and thou shalt become a free man.' And Judas said, 'Let thy lordship take the trouble to come with me, and I will shew thee Golgotha, which is the place of the Skull.' And the Emperor rose up, and his God-loving mother Helena, and the nobles who were with him, and Judas took them up on Golgotha, and he also took them up on the great mound of dung which towered above all the city by many cubits. The mound covered twenty arable fields, and the dung enveloped and filled the place of the tomb and [the place of] the Skull. And Judas said unto the Emperor, 'According to thy language [it is called] Golgotha, but in Hebrew, our own language, Gabbatha.'

⁶⁸ And when the Emperor had looked at the immense quantity of dung, and the waste character of the place, he was filled with tribulation. And when Judas saw that the Emperor was sorrowful of heart he said unto him, 'Let not my Lord Emperor be sad, for [it is very easy] to perform all thy will. Inasmuch as it was the men of our race who committed this great act of wickedness, send an order throughout all thy kingdom, and let [thine officers] seize all the Jews in thy kingdom, and let them bring them hither, from every region, together with their beasts, and their implements for digging, and their carts, [and let them clear the dung away]; because the fathers heaped up the dung there their children must be those who shall carry it away, for our fathers have eaten sour grapes, therefore let their children's teeth be set on edge.' And this counsel at once pleased the Emperor and his nobles, and straightway the Emperor issued an edict to all his kingdom, saying, 'I am the Emperor Constantine, a beggar at the feet of Jesus the Christ, the Great King in truth. I hereby write unto the chief officers of every city in every country and district, even those of the village or hamlet wherein there are ten men, who are under the dominion of my kingdom, and order you to seize all the Jews who dwell among you, and to send them to Jerusalem, to-

gether with their beasts, and their implements for digging, and their carts. And whosoever concealeth one of these shall be Fel seized as a criminal, and he and his house shall be put to death.'

⁶⁹ And when the copies of this decree of the Emperor were received [the officers] seized all the Jews in every place, and they sent them to Jerusalem, together with their implements for digging, and their beasts, and their carts. And they came out from every country to Jerusalem, and they were as many in number as the stars of the heavens. And the Emperor appointed over them taskmasters to oversee them in their labour. And he appointed two thousand soldiers in Jerusalem, and captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds, and gangers to compel all the Jews to work both by day and by night until the command of the Emperor Constantine was fulfilled. And he appointed to be with his mother certain holy bishops, that is to say, Apa Athanasius, Archbishop of Antioch, and Apa Joseph, Archbishop of Jerusalem, who was the fourteenth bishop of the circumcision who sat in Jerusalem after the Holy Apostles. And I myself, Cyril, am the successor of the [God-loving] ...he brought me into the church [and] I preached in his holy [are] name. And the God-loving and truly charity-loving Emperor Constantine rose up and departed to Rome because of the business of the kingdom. Then the Empress Helena called the chiefs of the Jews, and she said unto them, 'Come ye and finish that which the Emperor commanded to be done, so that ye may not become liable to punishment by death'; and the soldiers hurried on the Jews by day and by night.

⁷⁰ And the word of the Emperor was exceedingly urgent, and the Jews were anxious to fulfil the bidding of the Emperor. And they worked from the first day in which they worked, which was, in our opinion, the twelfth day of the month of Martius, that is to say, the month of Paremhot, until the sixteenth day of the month Thoth, before the top of the tomb became clearly visible. And they told the Empress, saying, 'Behold, they have found the tomb of the Saviour.' And she rose up straightway, and all the bishops, and all the nobles, and they came to see the tomb, and they threw themselves down upon the ground and worshipped before it. And, behold, a great light burst out therefrom like a flash of lightning. And ⁷¹Judas took a digging tool, and he dug a hole close to the wall on the eastern side of the tomb, and there were many bishops with him who dug also, and they found a great stone which they rolled away, and then the opening of the tomb appeared.

Now the time of day was the evening, and they went away from the tomb until the following day, and did not enter it; and those who were believers slept in that place, and they saw the light emitting a flame like unto a fire until the daylight appeared. And [the Empress rose up] early, and the bishops, and the believing folk, and they went forth to the grave of Jesus. And they took with them [censers of burning] incense and lighted lamps, and they looked into the grave of Jesus, and they saw three crosses resting one on the top of the other, and there was a leather roll lying upon them.

⁷² And when they had cleared out the tomb the bishops went in, and they took up the leather roll, and found that it was inscribed in Hebrew characters; and they gave it to Judas, who read them whilst the Empress and all the multitude listened. And this is what was written on the leather roll: ⁷³ 'We, that is to say, Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, have carried away the Cross of Jesus and the crosses of the two thieves from Golgotha and have laid them in this tomb, which is the place wherein they laid the Body of Jesus, Who rose from the dead. And we did this by night because of [our] fear of the Jews. We have not permitted [any] man to have knowledge of what we have done, because the Jews took counsel to burn the Cross of Jesus the Christ. For this reason therefore we removed them from the place of the Skull, and have put them in the place wherein the Body of the Lord was laid.' And the Cross whereon was written the legend 'This belongeth to Jesus the Christ' the bishops laid hold upon, and they clasped it to their bosoms, and they kissed it, and they lifted it up and carried it to the Empress. And the Empress laid her breast upon it for a very long time, and she clung to it, together with the most honourable and the most believing men. And she had it swathed in the purple apparel which belonged to the Emperor Constantine, and she had it wrapped in costly stuffs, and she made [the bishops] guard it most carefully for her until she wrote to the Emperor and told him what had happened. And she made the soldiers compel the Jews to cleanse the place well, and she took the number of all the people [there], and she found them to be one hundred and three thousand in number of the race of the Hebrews.

⁷⁴ And the Empress Helena wrote a letter to her son, saying, 'Blessed art thou, and well shall it be with thee, for that which thou hast asked from God He hath granted unto thee. Thou hast sought, O my beloved son, and thou hast found, thou hast knocked, and there hath been opened unto thee

the door of the Resurrection of the Lord. Thou hast found that which is of more value than all the world, that is to say, the Holy Cross of our Lord Jesus the Christ. Blessed art thou, O my beloved son, for thou hast cast behind thee the affection for this world, and the vain possessions thereof, until at length thou hast found the choicest of all choice possessions, which is not a precious stone of great value. Trouble thyself, and come and look upon that which carried God upon it, nay more, that which God carried. Thou shalt look upon it in its beauty and splendour, and thy weakness shall renew itself like [the strength of] an eagle. Trouble thyself, O my

75 beloved son, and come, and bow down, and worship, and kiss this very Cross which thou didst see clearly, and which hath given thee victory in battle.' And when Constantine had received his mother's letter he read it, and when he knew that they had found that for which he had been seeking, that is to say, the Holy Cross of our Lord, he felt very great joy and gladness. And he rose up quickly and came to Jerusalem. And when his mother and all the bishops had been told that the Emperor was coming, and that he was nigh unto them, they took the Precious Cross, which had been wrapped up in the imperial purple and in napkins of costly stuffs, and they lifted it up on a white mule, and they went with it to the Emperor for a distance of about six miles. And when the God-loving Emperor, the Emperor Constantine, saw the Cross he reached down from his chariot, and took the Cross, and lifted it up to his bosom, and wept over it. And he lifted up his eyes to heaven and said, 'I see my Lord Jesus the Christ, the God of my righteous fathers, during [His] exile in the flesh working great miracles by means of that whereon He rested, the Life-giving Cross. And I also see the Saviour of the whole world giving strength by the Holy Cross to those who seek Him and who believe on Him.' And the bishops and the 'work-lovers' sang spiritual songs, and they went on before the Emperor and the Cross to the interior of the city.

76 And when they reached the city and were entering in through the gates they sang the following hymn, 'Rejoice, O Sion, the city of the Great King, the Christ, for behold, thy King hath come unto thee with joy.' And the nobles who were with him glorified the King, the Lord, Who became King from the wood of the Cross. And the Emperor went to the place where the work had been carried on, and he entered into the tomb of Jesus, and he bowed down to the ground and worshipped, saying, 'I give thanks unto

Thee, O Only-begotten Son of the Father, that I am held to be worthy to bow before Thee in homage in the place wherein Thy Holy Body was laid.' And he inspected the whole of the sites which the Jews had cleared out and cleansed, and he went to the Rock of the Skull, the place whereon the Lord was crucified, and he bowed down and worshipped on it.

77 And besides these things he took [the Cross] and laid it in the tomb until he could build for it a shrine which should be worthy of its glory. And the Emperor spake unto the bishops, saying, 'I wish to build a new city on the spot where the Lord appeared to me in a cloud because of His wish to deliver me from the hands of those who sought to slay me, that is to say, the Persians. And I will build churches meet for the Christ in this place, to the glory of His Holy Cross.' And the bishops answered and said unto him, 'May God Almighty, unto Whom belongeth the Universe, and His Only-begotten Son Jesus the Christ, our Lord, and the Holy Spirit, maintain for thee and thy great dominions a long period of peace, so that thou mayest bring to completion everything which thou hast planned.'

78 And forthwith they began to burn bricks for the church, and Constantine set handicraftsmen to work, each at his own grade, and he made foremen to supervise the work which was carried on in all the workshops. And he also gave to his mother a very large amount of money from his own private purse, so that the building of the churches might be completed thereby. And he ordered to be brought to him vast quantities of alabaster, and stone slabs for tessellated pavements, and marble, and well-grown timber(?), and silver, and copper, and a very large quantity of lead; in short, he made to be brought everything which was required for the building. And he gave charge of the whole affair into the hands of his mother, and he appointed her to build in Jerusalem one church in the place of the tomb, which was to be called [the 'Church

79 of] the Holy Resurrection, Holy Love, Holy Peace', and another, which was to be called 'Saint Dimiou... the Skull'; and she built fine courtyards and other works. And the Emperor Constantine returned [to Rome] safely, and he glorified the Christ and the Holy Cross. And he sent to his mother in Jerusalem whatsoever things she found to be necessary. And those who were working at building the new Jerusalem were very many, and one may say that they were more in number than those who worked on the Temple of Solomon in days of old. And the work was carried on until the shrines were

completed, and they decorated them and made them to be like unto the firmament of heaven in its beauty. And the holy man Apa Joseph consecrated the [Church of] ...in the city, and there were with him many orthodox bishops who had come for the festival of the dedication of the Holy Cross. And the day whereon they consecrated the holy church was the seventeenth day of the month of Thoth, which is the day of the manifestation of the Holy Cross and the Holy Tomb. And Judas was baptized by Apa Joseph the bishop and other orthodox bishops, and he became an orthodox man and an excellent Christian. And a multitude of Jews and a multitude of the heathen were baptized, and they came to partake of the Holy Offering.

⁸⁰ And on the holy evening Apa Joseph related [the following]: Behold, a Cross of light appeared above the tomb of the Saviour, from the first hour of the day until the ninth. And they all saw it, that is to say, every heathen who was living in Jerusalem, and every one who lived around the city. And at the ninth hour of the day the Cross went up into heaven, and the gaze of every one followed it, both righteous and sinners, and they were sorrowful of heart because they did not see it again. And when the morning had come they came to the tomb to pray, and they saw a Cross of light within the tomb, and it shot out rays of light like flashes of lightning. And things having happened in this wise, the holy Apa Joseph, the God-loving and pious man, wrote letters and informed the Emperor Constantine of everything that had happened. And after these things Apa Joseph went to his rest (i.e. died), and Judas was appointed in his room; now he was the fifteenth [bishop] of the circumcision from our Fathers the Apostles. And he became famous in his diocese because of the confession of his orthodoxy. And when Judas died one Mark received his bishopric, and he was the first man who was not a native of Jerusalem to fill the office of bishop [in that city].

⁸¹ I have related all these things to your beloved persons, and I have revealed them unto you, for it is right so to do, so that we may keep the feast of the manifestation of the Cross, that is to say, the seventeenth day of the month of Thoth. Behold now the matter is manifest to us, through all the proofs [which we have adduced concerning] the manifestation of the Cross, and the dedication of the Holy Church of the Resurrection, which is [commemorated] on the seventeenth day of the month of Thoth, according to the [reckoning of the] Egyptians. ⁸² Behold, up to this point I have spoken about the glory and honour of the Holy Cross, and now let us rest satisfied,

and go into the baptistery to the Holy Sacrifice, for the hour is advanced. More especially let us do this because of the fatigue of those who have come to us in this holy place to-day, and who ascribe glory to the Lord Jesus the Christ, and His Holy Cross, which saveth every one who believeth in Him. For the words of God are more excellent than gold and precious stones, and sweeter than honey and wax (i.e. honey in the comb). The servants of God must have a single aim: Let us not find ourselves celebrating the festival of the Holy Cross openly, and at the same time mixing ourselves up with the works of the heathen. Let us not find ourselves ascribing glory to the Christ, and blessing Him with our lips only, whilst our thoughts are outside our hearts and are running on the polytheism of the Greeks. For the word is one thing and the thought is another; and the confession of the tongue is one thing and the faith that is perfect in the heart is another. The natural philosopher [informeth] us about a certain animal which is not endowed with reason, and which liveth in the wilderness, and is called a 'camelopard'. It is an exceedingly large animal, and its forepart is like unto the forepart of a camel, and it has the face of a lion, and its hind-quarters are like those of a camel, and its habits are like those of the camel, as, for example, it thrusteth itself into the heart of high trees, and eateth their branches. It is irregular in form and variegated in colour. The inside of it is foul, and its body is likewise. Exactly thus are the godless heretics, and their thoughts are like unto this animal.

⁸³ ...1 the name of the Cross, and they make Him to be a mere man. If the Christ is merely a man, and He is not God, O thou heretic, thou thyself dost worship a mere man. Now thy heart (or, mind) is inconsistent, and thou dost not always hold the same opinion, O heretic; a very little more and thou wouldst say, 'Emmanuel is not God.' For thy hatred, O heretic, is the indication of our orthodoxy from which thou fleest. Thy hatred and thy thought utter what is vain. Thou eatest ⁸⁴[parts of six lines are wanting] and hide their words [as] the madness of old men (?). O ye Christians, let us never think upon the things that are heretical, neither let us go into their churches to pray, for they are not churches. But produce within yourselves the thought that is good, and the faith that is perfect towards God and His Holy Cross. And ye shall say with all your hearts, Emmanuel Who became man was not God and His divinity was not transferred to His humanity in one moment or in the twinkling of an eye, Text mutilated. This day [is] the fifteenth of the

month Paône, and this year [is] the seven hundred and sixty-ninth of the Era of the Martyrs (i.e. A.D. 1053), and the four hundred and forty-eighth year of the Era of the Saracens, i. e. A.D. 1070. Christ is King over us! Amen.

IX. THE MARTYRDOM OF SAINT MERCURIUS

¹(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 6801) The martyrdom of saint mercurius the general, the holy martyr of the christ, which he completed this day, that is to say, the twenty-[fifth] day of the month athôr, in peace. AMEN. ²At the time when Decius and Valerianus were reigning in the great city of Rome they promulgated a decree, and issued a general order to compel every one, in every place, to offer up sacrifices and to pour out libations to the gods. And they summoned all the nobles of senatorial rank, and they set before them the terms which they had thought out concerning this general law, and the Emperors found that the nobles were of the same opinion as themselves, and they rejoiced exceedingly, saying, 'We give thanks unto you, O ye immortal gods, who have revealed this same opinion.' And in that hour they ordered an ordinance to be drafted to this effect, and it was written in the imperial writing and ran as follows: 'Decius and Valerianus, the pious Emperors with absolute power, and all the nobles of senatorial rank in Rome, [hereby] write unto those who dwell in every place, and we consider that it is incumbent upon us to make you to know the things that seem good in our sight. Now for a very long time past we have been sure that it is the gods of our fathers who maintain our own kingdom, and who graciously bestow benefits upon every one who is under our dominion, and we know their benevolent goodness and the benefits which they give according to what hath been said.

³And, moreover, it is through their means that we enjoy victory over all nations, and not this only, but they also supply us with crops and fruit in very great abundance, through our temperate climate. For these reasons we and all the men of senatorial rank have, with great readiness, drawn up a general ordinance which is to compel every one, in every place, both freemen and bondmen, and soldiers and rustics, to bring sacrifices to the gods and to pour out libations to them, and to make prayers and supplications unto them. If, however, there be any man who shall wilfully reject this our holy ordinance, which we have promulgated by common consent, our authority ordereth that he shall be forthwith committed to a dark prison, where he shall be delivered over to the most severe punishments. And whosoever shall hearken unto our decree shall receive very great honour at our hands. If there be any

man who shall shew himself disobedient to us and to our ordinance they shall deliver him over to the death penalty by the sword or by water, or they shall give him to be the food for wild beasts and birds of prey; and Christians especially shall be liable to death sentences of this kind. And those who shall hearken to our ordinance shall continue to live in a state of happiness.

⁴ And when this Imperial Edict was published the whole of the city of Rome was filled with quaking and fear, and not only was the city of Rome troubled, but likewise all the other cities, because this general order was dispatched also to them. And the governors of all the cities commanded the multitudes to do what they were ordered to do with all possible speed. ⁵ And it came to pass at that time that war broke out among the Barbarians, who attacked the Romans. And the Romans equipped their ships, and made them ready to receive their troops, to [go and] fight against them. And [the Emperors] ⁶ ordered regiments from every district and every city to come and give them help; and when they had arrived from all the various remote cities they prepared [for war] with all diligence. And there came also the regiment which was called the 'Martusian', which had served formerly in Armenia, and which was commanded by a tribune whose name was Sardonicus. And Decius came out to the war, but Valerianus remained in Rome directing the affairs of the kingdom. And the battle waxed fierce between the Barbarians and the Romans, and each army resisted the other. And when they had continued to do this for many days, a certain man in the regiment which was called 'Martusian', whose name was Mercurius, saw the vision of a man of light; and the man was tall, and he was dressed in gorgeous apparel, and he held a drawn sword in his right hand. And the man of light said unto him, 'O Mercurius, fear not, neither be cast down, for I have been sent to help thee, and to enable thee to shew thyself the conqueror. Take this sword from my hand, and go and attack the Barbarians, and thou shalt conquer them. Forget thou not the Lord thy God.' Now these things happened to him in an ecstasy, and he thought that it was one of the Emperor's chief governors who had spoken to him. And having taken the sword, and being filled with the Holy Spirit, he dashed into the midst of the Barbarians, and slew the captain who commanded them and so large a number of the men who were with him that his arm became tired and fell [by his side]; and the quantity of blood [which he shed] was so great that his hand slipped up and down on the

handle of the sword. This was how the Barbarians were put to flight, and how they were vanquished before the Romans.

7 And when Decius learned concerning the valour of this mighty man of war he summoned him to his presence, and promoted him to honour, and he made him a general, and commander-in-chief of his whole army. And Decius thought that he had conquered in the war through the Providence of c God, and he rejoiced exceedingly, and he distributed a large amount of money among the soldiers on that day, and the troops were dispatched to their own quarters. And Decius celebrated a festival in every city which he passed through as he was marching to Rome. And it came to pass in the night season, whilst the army was asleep, that the angel stood by the side of Mercurius in the form of the man whom he had seen in the battle, and he touched his side, and woke him; and when Mercurius saw the angel he was afraid. And the angel said unto him, 'Dost thou remember the words which I spake unto thee during the fight, O Mercurius? See that thou dost not forget the Lord thy God, for needs must that thou shalt suffer for His Holy Name. And thou shalt receive the crown of victory of the kingdom in the heavens, which is prepared for all those who love Him.' And when the angel had said these words he straightway withdrew himself from him. And when the blessed man had recovered his senses he remembered the words, and he marvelled at the strength of God's love for man.

8 Now Mercurius had heard about the Christian faith through his parents. His father [was called] Gordianus, and he was the commander of the First Regiment; and Mercurius was, at that time, a young man, about twenty years of age. And many and many a time he heard his father say, 'Blessed is the man who is a soldier in the service of the King of heaven, [for] God shall bestow upon him great honours, which shall never pass away, and he shall fight for Him against His enemies. And that King is He Who created the universe by His words. The heavens He hath stablished like a canopy, which He hath adorned with light-giving stars. He made the earth and the multitudes of flowers which produce sweet odours, and they are [intended] for the gratification and the healing of men. He made the sea that ships might sail thereon, and He made it to be a place for the rearing of fish. And also, it is He Who shall come to judge the living and the dead, and He shall give unto each man according to his works.' And when Saint Mercurius remembered within himself the words of his father, and the revelation which he had seen,

he was greatly moved, and he began to weep and to heave sighs, saying, 'Woe unto me, a sinner! I am like a tree which is without fruit, and which, even though it hath abundant foliage, hath no root, that is to say, the knowledge of the glory of God.'

⁹ And whilst he was saying [these things], straightway the king sent two of the messengers who are called 'Silentarii', and a few other attendants with them, to summon him into his presence, because he was in the habit of taking counsel with him. And Mercurius begged to be excused from going, saying, 'My body hath no strength'; and the Emperor held his peace that day. And on the following day likewise Decius sent messengers to fetch him, and when Mercurius had entered his presence they took counsel together concerning the matter which was before them. And the Emperor said unto him, 'Let us [go], O Mercurius, to the great temple of Artemis, and we will offer unto her sacrifice.' And when the Emperor set out on the road a great crowd of people followed him. And the blessed Mercurius turned back, and hid himself in the praetorium. And a certain man, wishing to stir up a quarrel between Mercurius and the Emperor, said, 'O great and powerful Emperor, victorious and pious, who hast been chosen by the gods to govern the whole kingdom of Rome, give me permission and let me speak, and do thou hearken unto me graciously.

¹⁰ Mercurius, whom thy mighty right hand hath exalted, and whom thou hast made most honourable in the kingdom of the Romans, hath not, in accordance with thy command, come with us to offer up sacrifice in the temple of the great goddess Artemis, and to bring offerings unto her, according to thy mighty command.' And the Emperor answered and said, 'Who is this man?' And [the slanderer] said, 'It is Mercurius, unto whom thou didst ascribe victory and greatness yesterday and the day before. And thou didst promote him to high rank, and especially to greatness. And this is not all, for he hath not only made himself disobedient to thy Majesty, but he hath made bold (? to persuade many folk to cease to worship the gods. If thou wilt make enquiries thou wilt find full proof of the things which I have said unto thee.' ¹¹ And Decius said unto him, 'Perhaps thou art envious of the man in thy heart, and dost therefore say these things against him. However, I will not believe thee except I know the truth of a certainty, and I see the matter absolutely with my own eyes, face to face; for the sight of the eyes rather than the hearing of the ears is what usually maketh one believe. Be silent

then, and do not utter another word against the man. If thou hast made these accusations against him through jealousy, as I have already told thee, know thou that thou shalt very soon receive severe punishment; if the things which thou hast spoken are really true thou shalt receive great gifts from my hands, since thou art of one mind with us in respect to the gods, and art [well disposed] towards the Emperors.' And Decius commanded [his servants] to bring Saint Mercurius into his presence with the honour which was his due. And when he had come into his presence the

¹² Emperor said unto him, 'Mercurius, was it not I who bestowed upon thee this great honour and promotion? Did I not make thee general over all the governors because of thine intelligence, and because of the victory which the gods bestowed upon us in the war? Why shouldst thou change this great affection which is in me towards thee into bitter hatred? These great honours [which I bestowed upon thee] thou hast turned into nothingness. By such behaviour thou dost treat the gods with contempt, according as we have been informed concerning thy piety (?).' Then the truly noble soldier of the Christ stripped himself of the old man and his works, according to the word of Paul the Apostle, and put on himself the new man, which through God was created in him by baptism. And the holy man answered with gentleness and courage, and said, 'Let this honour be unto thee, for even though I did go out to the war and fight, it was not I who conquered, but God, Who hath

¹³ been gracious unto me in Christ. Furthermore, take back thine honour about which thou hast spoken, for when I came forth from my mother's womb I was naked, and I will depart hence naked.' And having said these words he stripped off his military cloak, and took off his belt, and he threw them at the feet of the Emperor, and he cried out, saying, 'I am a Christian. Hear, O all ye people, I am a Christian.' Then Decius became like unto one of the stupefied, and he stared into the face of Mercurius for a long time. And he marvelled at the youthful beauty of Mercurius, for the blessed man was of a most goodly presence, and his countenance was very handsome, and his complexion was red and white, and his hair was red. His body was adorned with beauty and strength, and the looks of many were directed after him, and the people admired him. And after these things the Emperor Decius shook his head, and he commanded [his men] to cast him

¹⁴ into the prison, saying, 'Let now the man who cannot appreciate honour obtain some experience of disgrace.' And this he said thinking that his

ordinary good sense would return to him. So they took the martyr of the Christ to prison, and he rejoiced and was glad in the Spirit, and glorified God. And that night an angel stood by him, and said unto him, 'Mercurius, be of good cheer, and fear thou not the revilings of the tyrant. Believe thou on the Christ God, and confess that He is the Christ God, for He is able to save thee from every tribulation.' And the martyr was greatly strengthened by these words. These were the words which the angel spake unto him when he appeared unto him. ix ¹⁵ ie And on the following day Decius took his seat on the tribune, and he commanded that the blessed man should be brought before him. And he said unto him, 'Peradventure the honour which thou hast just received from me, that is to say, the disgrace which thou alone didst choose for thyself, is the kind of honour which suiteth thee?' And the blessed man answered and said [unto him], 'It suiteth me exceedingly well, for I have received a mark of honour which is indestructible.' And the Emperor said unto him, 'Tell me concerning thy family and thy native city, for I would know from what grade of life thou hast sprung.' And Saint Mercurius said unto him, 'If thou wishest to know about my family and my native city I will tell thee. As to my father according to the flesh, he was a native of Scythia, and his name was Kordianus (Gordianus). He once served as a soldier in the Martusian regiment, but at the present time he is acting as the chief officer of this same Regiment.

¹⁶ My father is a follower of the True God, and my city is the Jerusalem of heaven, the city of the Great King.' And the Emperor said unto him, 'Wast thou called by this name of Mercurius by thy parents or did some of the soldiers give it unto thee?' And Saint Mercurius said, 'My father used to call me Philopator, the interpretation of which is "lover of his parents", but when I became a soldier I was called Mercurius because the captain called me thus.' And the Emperor said unto him, 'Mercurius, consider well what thou art going to say. Wilt thou do according to our ordinance which we have published abroad for every man, and bow down to the gods, and take again thy former rank and honour in the army or not? Consider what thou art going to say, and tell us what it is quickly, for thou knowest well that thou hast been brought to this place for this very purpose.' And the martyr answered and said, 'Inasmuch as I have come to this place I shall conquer thee and thy father Satan, through whom all evil existeth. And when I shall have conquered a crown will be set upon my head by the true Master of the con-

test, my Lord Jesus the Christ. Therefore whatsoever thou wishest to do unto me that do quickly, and make no long tarrying.

17 For I have upon me the whole armour of God, and the breastplate of faith, by means of which things I shall overcome all thy designs and all thy crafty arts in respect of me.' 18 Then the Emperor was filled with wrath and said, 'Although this man saith "I have upon me the whole armour for work", he is nevertheless standing naked. I therefore command that he be fastened to four stakes, and that he be stretched at the height of a cubit above the ground.' And when they had done these things unto him the Emperor said, 'Where now is the armour wherein thou didst put thy trust? By the great god Zeus they shall stretch thee well.' And the holy man looked up into heaven and said, 'My Lord, help Thou me, Thy servant.' And the Emperor further commanded them to make gashes in his body with sharp knives instead of with scourges, and afterwards to scatter red-hot coals upon him so that he might be consumed; but little by little the flames of the coals were extinguished by the blood of the righteous man which was flowing freely. And the holy man bore himself with great bravery under this severe torture. And Decius commanded him to be released in order that he might not die [too] quickly, and to remove him at once to a dark place, and to set a strict watch over him. And the soldiers lifted him up, and he was half dead, but there was still a little breath left in him, although they thought he was dying. And after a very little time the angel of the Lord appeared unto him, and said unto him, 'Peace be unto thee, O valiant athlete!' And having said these words the angel healed the wounds which were in his body, and he made him so sound and whole that he rose, and stood up, and glorified God Who had helped him.

19 And after these things the Emperor commanded the soldiers to set him up before the tribune, and when he saw him he said unto him, 'When thou wast taken away from me [last night] thou wast half dead; how is it now that thou art able to walk? Perhaps there are no wounds in thy body at all.' Then Decius commanded his spear-bearers to make a thorough examination of his body, [and when they had done so] these men said unto the Emperor, 'We swear by thy might, O pious Emperor, that his whole body is sound, and that there is no diseased spot in it, and that it is like that of one whose body hath never been touched by a finger.' And Decius said, 'Assuredly will he say, It is the Christ Who hath made me sound and hath healed me. But did ye not

take a physician into the prison to treat him?' And they said unto the Emperor, 'We swear by thy glorious majesty which ruleth the whole world, that assuredly no physician treated him, and, moreover, we thought that he would die. Now in what way he hath maintained his life, or in what way he hath been healed, we know not.' And Decius said unto them, 'Ye know now what the magic of the Christians is like! How is it that yesterday he was only fit for burial, and yet to-day he is standing up well and whole?' And Decius was filled with wrath, and he said unto Mercurius, 'Who was it that healed thee without magic?' And Saint Mercurius answered, saying, 'It was my Lord Jesus

20 the Christ, the True Physician of our souls and of our bodies, Who was pleased to bestow healing upon me, even as I have said. The dealers in magical drugs, and those who use enchantments, and the worshippers of idols, are strangers unto Him. And He will bind them in bonds which can never be loosed, and He will deliver them over unto the fire of Gehenna, because they do not recognize the True God Who created them.' 21 And the Emperor said, 'I am now going to make an end of thy body by means of severe torturings; let me see if the Christ, in Whom thou trustest, will heal thee.' And the saint said, 'I believe in my Lord Jesus the Christ, and though thou mayest bring upon me multitudes of punishments thou wilt not be able to disturb me. For He saith, "Fear not those who can kill the body, but cannot kill your souls; but fear ye rather Him that hath the power to destroy [both] your souls and your bodies in the Gehenna of fire."' Then the Emperor commanded the soldiers to bring a red-hot iron instrument and to thrust it under his members, and after that to apply blazing torches to his sides. And when they had done this, instead of smoke, a strong, sweet odour was spread abroad to every one who was in that place; and, although he was suffering the most agonizing tortures, Mercurius neither uttered a groan nor dropped a tear. And Decius said unto him, 'Where now is thy physician? Let him come and heal thee. And moreover, thou didst say, He hath power to raise me up if I die.' And Saint Mercurius said unto him, 'Do whatsoever pleaseth thee. Thou hast power over my body, but as concerning my soul God is its master.

22 And even if thou destroy my body, my soul shall endure, for it is incorruptible.' And the Emperor then commanded the soldiers to hang him upon a tree head downwards, and to suspend a large stone from his neck, in order that it might cause him to suffocate and to die quickly; but as the power of God and His grace dwelt in the martyr, he was able to bear this torture for a

long space of time. And when Decius saw that the martyr was enduring the punishment valiantly, and that no manner of torture had any fatal effect upon him, he commanded them to remove the stone from his neck, and to bring a leather whip with four thongs, and to flog him with it until the ground was saturated with his blood. And the noble man was like unto a stone of adamant, and he bore this torture gravely, and he said, 'I give thanks unto Thee, my Lord, that

23 c Thou hast held me to be worthy to suffer for Thy Holy Name.' And when the Emperor saw that his determination was immovable, and that he was unable to persuade him to offer sacrifice, and having, moreover, received advice that he himself must make haste to go to Rome, he passed sentence of death upon him, and ordered him to be slain by the sword, saying: 'The head of this man Mercurius, who hath treated the gods with contempt, and hath despised [our] holy and gracious ordinance, and hath slighted our Majesty, shall be taken off in the country of Cappadocia, in that place where every one shall see him. Stripes shall be given unto him that, having received glory from the Emperor, speaketh against his commands, and finally they shall deliver him over into the hand of the sword.' 24 And those who were appointed to carry Mercurius away took him up, and set him upon a beast, and tied him on it, because the body of the martyr swayed about on all sides, and it was like unto a dead body. And they travelled on the road, which was long, and after a few days' journeying they arrived at the city of Kaisaria (Caesarca), and in this way, little by little, they brought him down. And the Lord stood by him, and said unto him, 'O Mercurius, come thou and rest with Me, for thou hast finished thy course. Thou hast kept the faith. Receive thou the warrior's crown, which it hath been appointed for thee to inherit.' And when the Lord appeared unto him the martyr gained strength, and he said unto those who were near him, 'Do what ye have been commanded to do quickly, and the Lord Who inviteth every one to repentance shall make you worthy of His grace, for He is rich, and He sheweth grace unto those who go to Him with a gift and without envy.' And when he had said these words they took off his head, and he completed a good confession of our Saviour on the twentieth day of the month of November, that is to say, the month Athôr. And a very great miracle took place which is worthy of mention. After the martyr had finished [his course] his body became as white as snow, and it exhaled a sweet odour like unto that of the choicest incense and

aromatic herbs. Now because of this sign very many men became Christians. And they laid the holy man in a shrine in a prominent place (?), where very many miracles and cures took place to the glory of God the Father, and of His Only-begotten Son Jesus the Christ our Lord, and of the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen.

²⁵ [This is] the miracle which was manifested through Saint Mercurius, and how the saint smote Julian, the lawless Emperor, with his spear; and the [account] thereof is written in the ninth [section] of the History of the Church. Amen. Now at that time, when Cyril was bishop of Jerusalem, a mighty sign of the Christ was made manifest. From the third until the ninth hour of the day a great cross of light appeared standing above the grave of the Saviour, in the sight of all flesh, both believers and unbelievers, Barbarians and Romans. [It was so wonderful] that all the multitudes who lived in the city gathered together with their meat, and their drink, and their wine, [and whilst they were eating they gazed upon] the cross until it ascended into heaven [about] the ninth hour. And the eyes of every one were gazing after it. And Cyril, the Bishop of Jerusalem, wrote [an account of] the miracle which had taken place, and he wrote a letter, and sent it to the Emperor Kōstos (Constantius), to the Province wherein was the town of Athanasius. Now Athanasius ruled over the Church of Rakote (Alexandria) for twenty years consecutively, and no strife whatsoever rose up against him; and the time which he passed in his diocese and in exile was twenty-two years. And when the Emperor Kōstos died Julian became Emperor in his place. He was a lawless pagan, and was descended from the sister of Constantine the Great, whose husband was a pagan. And the sons of Constantine saw that the young man had a strong voice, and fearing that he could not endure the ...of the empire ...

²⁶ they gave him to the Church, and made him a reader. And certain men of his father's household led him into paganism, and when Kōstos was dead Julian reigned in his stead. And Julian gave himself over to paganism straightway, and he sought to open the temples with the general consent of the public. Now he dwelt in the palace of Antioch, for he was unworthy to take up his abode in the buildings which had been occupied by Constantine. And he went into a place (i.e. shrine) of the pagans and their idols, and he took a hawk, and gave it to the priest, who offered it up as a sacrifice to the demon; and the priest took out the liver and gave it to Julian, who ate it up.

And Julian was the son of his sister, and the empire was confided to him. And when he saw the purpose of the brother of his mother he seized Theodorichus the presbyter and steward of the church, and put him to death. And Julian came and received a report concerning him, and he was exceedingly angry, and said,

27 'Though thou disturbest me I do not wish to put the people to death, in order that they may not boast themselves and say, We have been made martyrs by thee. But when I shall come into the country of Persia I will impose a law upon them, namely, the Christians [shall pay] each year three oboli of the pagan per head, and the councillor three ouggia. And these things he did so that he might harass the Christians by every means possible. At that time the Church was rich in the valour of the men who were arrayed in the Spirit, and it was supported by four pillars, and these were they: Athanasius of Rakote, and Anthony and Pachomius in the southern country, and Basilius in Cappadocia. Basilius was a friend of Julian, because they had passed their childhood together at school. 28 And when Basilius heard of Julian's evil deeds he went to visit him, together with certain God-worshipping friends who belonged to his diocese. And when they had entered into Julian's presence, and he saw the humility of their condition, and that their beards were grown long, he said unto them, 'What are these men seeking after?' And Basilius answered and said, 'We are seeking after a shepherd who will be good to his flocks.' And the Emperor said unto Basilius, 'Where hast thou left the Son of the carpenter, that thou comest here?' And Basilius said unto him, 'I have left Him making a chest (?) for thee wherein thou shalt be cast [into hell].' And the Emperor said unto him, 'I am not going to enter upon a philosophical discussion with thee, because thou art my friend, and I do not want to have thy head taken off.' And Basilius said unto him, 'Thou art not a philosopher. If thou wert a philosopher thou wouldst not cast behind thy back the wisdom which thou didst learn when thou wast a reader of the Books of the true wisdom.' The Emperor said unto

29 him, 'I read them, and I understood them.' And Basilius said [unto the Emperor], 'Thou didst neither read them carefully, nor didst thou understand them, for if thou hadst understood them thou wouldst never have reviled them.' And the Emperor said unto them, 'I will shut you up until I have arrived in Persia, and I will make you to know what it is to oppose the Emperor. Ye shall be filled with affliction in the place of restraint.' And Basilius

said, 'If thou shalt go into Persia and shalt return, then hath God not spoken by Basilius.' And Julian said, 'What shall I do to the Galilean, the liar? For He said in His heart, They shall not leave one stone upon another in the Temple of the Jews. I myself will build an imperial palace, and I will make His word to be a lie, and I will make you to know that He is a liar.'

³⁰ Ac And the Emperor commanded Basilius and the other two men who were with him to be shut up in prison, and he betook himself to his expedition into Persia. And he came to Jerusalem, and he saw the ruins of the Temple, and that there was not one wall standing round about it; and it was in the same state as when Vespasian destroyed it at the time of the destruction which he wrought against the Jews. And Julian commanded his servants to clear out the place in order that he might build an exceedingly splendid palace thereon. And he appointed a count over the Temple who should clear the site so that he might lay the foundations and build [the palace]. And he betook himself to Persia, and waged war there, and he left the holy men shut up in prison. And they cleared out the ruins of the Temple, of which not one stone remained that had not been torn away from the other, according to the word of our Saviour; and they began to

³¹ build, and they used to work on the building from sunrise to sunset. [When] the workmen arrived in the morning they used to find the portion which had been built up [the day before] thrown down, but this was not done by the hand of man. And they continued to work for two months of days with the same result, and they were miserable, for their work did not progress, according to the Divine Providence that hindered them. And the Jews there spake to the workmen, saying, 'Burn the tombs in which the Christians have buried [bodies], and then ye will be able to build'; and they hearkened unto them, and burned the tombs. And when they came to the tombs wherein were John the Baptist and Elisha the Prophet the fire would not touch them. And for many, many days the fire filled the region round about them, but it would not touch them. And certain of the brethren gave

³² unto him (i.e. the count?) money, and entreated him to allow them to take away the bones of the holy men; and he took the money and did even as they spake unto him. And he let them have their will, and made them come by night and carry away the bones of the holy men John the Baptist and Elisha the Prophet. And the hand of the Lord was with them, and they were moved [thereby] to take the bones to Egypt unto Athanasius, because he very

much desired to see them. And they came to the sea, and they embarked in a ship hurriedly, and they sailed and came to Rakote very quickly, and they gave the bones to Athanasius, and he rejoiced over them as if he could see them, that is to say, as if he were looking upon John the Baptist and Elisha in the flesh. And he hid the bones in the baptistery, and looked forward to the time when he would be able to build a martyrium over them.

³³ And Saint Athanasius used to eat by day in the garden of our fathers with the brethren, and daily he invited the chief clergy [to come there], and he ate with those who came to him of their own accord. And they did not only eat, but they hearkened also unto the words of the wisdom which God had given unto him, according to that which is written, 'Everything to the glory of God.' Whether at the moment of fasting, or at the moment of eating and of drinking, he ate [and] he drank by the word of God at all times. He ate then with the brethren, and with the clergy, and with the chief 'lovers of work' of the Church in the garden which he had in the quarter of the city which was called 'Hermes', [and which was situated] to the south of the city. It was open towards (i. e. faced) the dunghills and the open spaces formed by waste ground. And he was wont to say, 'If I can find the time I will clear away the dunghills and will build on the site where they stand a martyrium to John the Baptist.' And at that moment Theophilus was standing by the table eating, because he acted as secretary to him, and he

³⁴ 1 Cor. x. 31. heard the words which Athanasius said, and kept them in his heart. And Julian, according as he was impelled by wrath to go to Persia, [went thither], and the Christ Jesus God gave him into the hands of the Persians because he had left the holy men shut up in prison when he departed to Persia. And the death that he died took place thus: He saw one night a multitude of soldiers coming against him in the air, and, behold, a spear transfixed him in his loins, and he knew that they (i. e. the soldiers) were the holy men (Mercurius and his friends). And he took his blood and threw it up towards heaven, saying, 'Take this, O Christ, for Thou hast taken the whole world.' And having uttered [this] blasphemy he straightway fell down, and God took away his rule from the people, and delivered us, and the Romans occupied their country. Three days before the death of Julian, Basilius in prison saw a vision, and he awoke and spake unto his companions, saying, 'This night I have seen the holy martyr Saint Mercurius. He went into his martyrium, and drawing forth his spear said, "Shall I permit this lawless man to

blaspheme the God of heaven in this manner?" And having said these words he departed, and I ceased to see him.' And the two companions of Basilus answered, saying, 'In very truth we also ourselves have just seen this very same vision.' And when they perceived this purpose which God had shewn

³⁵ them they believed, and they said unto each other, 'Let us send in to the martyrdom of Saint Mercurius and see if his spear is fixed in its place or not.' And they sent, and finding not the spear they believed in the vision. And after three days letters were sent to Antioch, saying, 'The king hath died in battle.' And as the result of a vote [directed] by God the whole Senate took Jovianus and made him Emperor in place of Julian; now Jovianus was a believer, and he had been a man of God from his youth. And he set at liberty immediately the holy men, Basilus, the pillar of truth, the Cappadocian, and the brethren. Thus then, according to the word of Basilus, Julian did not return. In the peace of God. May the prayer and supplication of this great general, Saint Mercurius, come upon us, and may we all be saved [thereby].

³⁶ [Here follow in the MS. the extracts from the Psalms and the passages from the Holy Scriptures which are to be sung and read on the day of the festival of Saint Mercurius. These are: Ps. viii. 6, 7; 4, 5; Luke xiv. 25-35; Matt. ii. 1-12; Mark i. 1-11; and Matt. viii. 5-13. The Colophon states that the MS. was written by the most miserable of sinners and the most wretched and unworthy among men, Aurillios (Aurelius) Victor, the deacon, the son of the blessed Mercurius, deacon of the church of Saint Mercurius, the great General, in the city of Asna in Upper Egypt, who asks for the prayers of those who shall read the book, &c.]

X. THE MARTYRDOM AND MIRACLES OF MERCURIUS THE GENERAL

¹ (Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 6802) The martyrdom of saint mercurius the general, who completed his glorious strife on the twentieth day of the month athôr, in the peace of god. MAY HIS HOLY BLESSINGS BE WITH US. AMEN. And it came to pass in the twelfth year [of the reign] of the Emperor Decius, Valerianus and Maximinianus being Caesars and rulers with absolute authority, a persecution arose of all the ...and of every one who confessed the Christ. And he published an edict in every city, and in every country, and in every province compelling every race of men ...to offer up sacrifice to the gods ...in the whole world at that time. And these were the words which were written in this ordinance: 'Decius, Valerianus, and Maxentius, the great Emperors who rule with absolute authority, and who are masters of

the whole world, hereby issue a decree to [all those who are] in the world, and in the countries and provinces under our dominion, ...victory ...the glorious gods have made manifest to us, according as they have had a care for us through their benevolent providence, more especially in the matter of the great victory which they give unto us in the contest of war, and they deliver us from out of the hands of our enemies, who rise up against us from time to time, and who make the dominion of the Romans glorious in every country, and the barbarians become subject unto us ...

²[The rest is wanting, as also is the text of the First, and that of a part of the Second Miracle.]

[*The Second Miracle.*]

³'I will teach thee.' And he came forward immediately to leap upon the animal, and to beat the man, who was a poor workman. And straightway Saint Mercurius turned himself on the bier, and the mule, whereon the man was riding, backed, and his feet were at once caught up in the saddle, and the animal ran away and fled with him, with the man hanging [head downwards] ...blind. And the mule took the voice of men, and she cried out, saying, 'O thou man of perdition, and O ye pagans, whose god hath been destroyed, come ye out and look upon the holy martyr Mercurius, and the punishment (? of your son, and believe ye on Jesus the Christ, the God of heaven and of earth.' And again the mule took to flight with him, and did not return ... [five or six lines wanting]. O how very many were the wonderful things and sights which took place that day! There was not a single man who remained in all the city; for whether he were small or whether he were great, they came forth before the holy martyr, being driven out by [his] power. And the man, and his wife, and his daughter gave chase to the mule, and they suffered trouble, ...

⁴[seven or eight lines wanting] with him, and she took the image of gold which she used to worship, now it was in two halves, and [she] came out into the midst of the city, and every one was looking at her idol. And her daughter went to her like one of those who are demented, and she cried out, saying, 'O Saint Mercurius, look thou upon my wretched state, and upon my great disgrace, and the disgrace of my image, and have mercy upon me.' And when she had come out, her daughter told her, saying, Saint [Mercurius] ... [five or six lines wanting] the coffin, she cried out, saying, 'O thou martyr, who didst receive the [power?] from the King, the Christ, forgive me. I will

believe in thee, and in thy God, Whose Name I am not worthy to utter from my polluted mouth.' And straightway the white matter ran down from her eyes as if she were shedding tears, and she was able to see, and her eyesight was restored, and it became even as it had been originally. And afterwards she hacked to pieces the image, and she pounded the fragments of it together, and she cried out, saying, 'O Apollo, take shame to thyself! O Christ, take honour to Thyself! May His martyr do the same!' And when her parents saw the healing which had taken place during the night, they cried out, saying, 'We are Christians! Alike are the God of heaven and His holy martyr, Saint Mercurius. Glory be unto Him for ever and ever! Amen.'

The Third Miracle of Saint Mercurius.

6 And it came to pass after these things that the Christian folk held converse together, saying, 'Let us take the body of the martyr into the city'; and a few of them answered and said, 'Perhaps the heart of the righteous man will not be persuaded [to allow this].' And after these things they began to strive each against the other, and straightway the righteous man moved of his own accord, and he departed into the city. And the mule cried out, saying, 'Sing praises to the martyr.' And the father of the young man who had been dragged at the saddle of the mule cried out, saying, 'I beseech thee, O my lord the martyr, as thou hast given light unto my daughter, let thy mercy assist also another child of mine, who is suffering, and is hung up (?).' And straightway the martyr put himself upon the ground, and he rose up and stood upon his feet, and there was not any [sign of] corruption in his body, neither was there in it any mark of a wound, and it had suffered in no way whatsoever. And the clergy and the 'lovers of work' sang hymns before him, and censers (?) filled with burning incense of the choicest kind were there, and branches of shrubs with sweet-smelling flowers, [and these went with him] until they brought him into the city. And a certain man wished to take him into his house, but the righteous man would not be persuaded to allow this; now his body was as heavy as lead, and the people were not able to move it at all. And the multitude cried out, saying, 'He will not be persuaded to allow this; let us take him into the church'; and he went with them, and they took him into the church, and they left him there until a martyrium worthy of him was built. Glory be unto him for ever and ever! Amen.

The Fourth Miracle of Saint Mercurius.

8 And it came to pass after seven days, during which all the multitude of the city had eaten and drunk, and had kept the festival with exceedingly great joy because of the manifestation of the body of the saint, that the father of the maiden unto whom the saint had given the light went to the bishop and asked him for holy baptism. And when the bishop had appointed to him a certain number of days wherein to fast, he baptized him and all his house, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And when the number of his kinsfolk who had received baptism with him openly was made clear, it was found that fifty-three souls had been baptized. And after all these things, behold, Saint Mercurius appeared unto the poor man as he did formerly, and he said unto him, 'Why art thou lying here leading a life of ease? Why dost thou not get up and make bricks for my shrine?' And the man said unto him, 'My lord, I am a poor man, and I have no workmen, and I have neither beasts of burden nor money for the expenses [of the same].' And the saint said unto him, 'I will give unto thee whatsoever thou hast need

9 ve of, only thou must remain a poor man. When thou goest into my house, if thou shalt have no doubt in thy mind, thou shalt see my power. And when thou hast risen up early to-morrow morning, come thou to the eastern part of the first of the quarters of the city, and thou shalt find there the young man [who owneth] the mule and who shall go thither by chance, because he is wishful to meet thee and to talk about my body. Say thou unto him, "Whatsoever thou hast in thine hand give thou unto me, for I have need thereof. And he shall give unto thee three oboli, which he is wishing to give as alms. Assuredly I will not permit thee to lack anything, and they shall bring [money] unto thee [in such a quantity] that thou wilt not know what to do therewith. And if he shall ask thee, "Whence didst thou know that I had anything in my hand? say thou unto him, "It was Mercurius, who healed thee, and it was he who told me to speak outo thee. And, moreover, the young man shall speak unto his father, saying, Thou knowest at the moment when thou didst entreat me how I made haste, and hearkened unto thee, and how I gave light (i.e. sight) to thy daughter. And again I gave thee thy son, safe and sound.

10 If there be anything that is lacking, make use of thy friend the martyr, for the honour of a friend [resteth] upon a friend, and the martyr is wont to perform abundantly. For to-morrow, however, this is abundance. If he shall

give work unto thee, do thou do it; and if he will not hearken unto thee, feed thyself on the three oboli until we come to thee, by the Will of God, for I will come unto thee again and will not tarry.' And when the [saint] had said these things unto him he came out from him in peace. ¹¹ And when the morning of the next day had come, the poor man rose up, and he walked into the first quarter of the city, and came upon the young man, and took [from him] the three oboli, and told him everything which Saint Mercurius had said unto him in the dream; and the young man went and told his father in fear. And when his father had heard these things he glorified God and His holy martyr Saint Mercurins. And he was not unmindful in the least degree, for he made ready his camels, and a large number of hired workmen, and a large number of waggons, and he collected a very large quantity of materials for building, and delivered them over into the hands of the poor man, so that the men might make bricks. And he gave him tools for digging up the ground, and everything of which he had need.

¹² And it came to pass on a certain day that, whilst the beasts were occupied in ploughing, suddenly one of the oxen attacked the other, and gored him with his horns. And when the poor man saw what had happened he was greatly grieved, and he said, 'Woe unto me because of this thing, for the archon's servant hath slain his beast! Would that I had never related this dream to the young man, and would that he had not told it to his father, because he trusted me in this matter, and now this serious calamity hath come upon me.' And whilst he was saying these things, behold, Saint Mercurins took the form of an archon of the city, and came out for a walk, and he saw the poor man, and went up to him, and feigning to be surprised at what he saw said unto him, 'O man, why didst thou let thy beasts be so close together that one of them could gore the other? His master will hold thee liable for him.' And the labourer grieved exceedingly; and again he glorified the God of Saint Mercurius. And when the people unto whom the ox belonged heard [of this] they came to see what had happened, and they were exceedingly sorrowful, because the animal was a very fine one, and was very strong. And Saint Mercurins was sitting some way off, and no one saw him except the poor man. And a very large number of people collected round about the animal, and they took him into the city, into a place where he would be by himself; and they put food before him to make him eat, but he would not taste the food at all. And his master was very much

¹³grieved about him, for he was a powerful animal, and his body was goodly and large. And when the people had departed to their houses the poor man remained behind and was alone with the animal; and he was exceedingly sorrowful, and he was meditating upon his poverty. And suddenly, behold, Saint Mercurius came in, and he smiled a holy smile, and stood up by the side of the animal of the poor man, because he was in the habit of appearing unto him face to face. And the saint said unto him with a smile, 'Thou hast not tarried in becoming fatigued, O brother.' And the man said unto him, 'Come, and see what hath happened.' And after these things Saint Mercurius moved the ox with his feet, and he said unto him, 'In the Name of Jesus the Christ, my Lord, rise up, and perform thy work without suffering.' And the ox rose up with great vigour, just as if he had not received any injury whatsoever, and he ate some of the grass that was there. And straightway Saint Mercurius rebuked the ox which had fought with the other ox, and he said unto

¹⁴him, 'Thy horn shall fall out of thy head, and thou shalt never again have the power to drive it into any man or animal, and thou shalt be gentle for evermore.' And straightway his horn withered away and fell out of his head, and he became gentle and docile. And the poor man cast himself down before Saint Mercurius, and said unto him, 'I thank thee, O my lord Mercurius, thou martyr of Christ Jesus, for the sake of whose Holy Name thou didst become a martyr'; and straightway Saint Mercurius hid himself (i. e. disappeared) from him. And the man came out, rejoicing and saying, 'Saint Mercurius hath appeared unto me and hath healed the ox, and hath rebuked the quarrelsome animal that attacked him, and he hath become a rational creature.' And the multitude came to see what had taken place, and they all cried out, 'One is the God of Saint Mercurius. Glory be unto Him for ever and ever. Amen.' And it came to pass after these things that the people began to work at the making of bricks for the shrine of Saint Mercurius, and, behold, the pagan archon himself came and put himself near to the workmen who were making the bricks for the shrine of Saint Mercurius. And he quickly prepared for himself a place on his property for making bricks, which was nigh unto theirs, for he wished to build an entrance hall (or, portico) to his house.

¹⁵And he came one day and sat down by the workmen who were making bricks for him, and he rose up and examined the bricks, and when at length

he came to the bricks that were being made for the saint he felt that he would rather have [a few of] those than all his own put together. And he said, moreover, [within himself] 'I will carry away one hundred loads of these bricks which [are made by] the Christians, and I will give orders to the workmen to set them aside [for me]. And if they say we cannot permit thee to take them away, I will beat them, and then carry away the bricks by force, and I will see what this person Mercurius shall do unto me.' And he departed to his house on that day. And when a few days had passed he went and looked at the bricks of the saint, and he heaved deep sighs because both small and great in the city had turned themselves into day-labourers, and were working [at the brick-making] because they were eager to [help in] building the martyrrium for the saint. And, moreover, the alien pagan coveted with a great covetousness, which was of the devil, the bricks of the holy man.

¹⁶ After these things he called to the poor man unto whom Saint Mercurius used to appear, and he said unto him, 'Come, shew me the limit of my stack of bricks and of thine, for I wish to add a building to my house.' And the man said unto him, 'Thy men know the number of thy bricks.' And the archon said unto him, 'I have taken no man with me except thyself, but, according to ¹⁷ my own opinion, up to this place the bricks belong to me.' And the poor man became greatly terrified, and said unto the [pagan], 'Punish not thine own soul, and lay not a finger on the bricks of this holy man, lest some calamity befall thee. Nevertheless, if thou dost determine to take them, I know thy might and thy strength.' And the pagan struck the poor man a blow, and said unto him, 'It is not as thou sayest. That one (i. e. the saint) shall strike a blow at thee, and I shall carry away more than these, [and then] I shall know thy strength, and [the strength] of that one, and what he will do unto me.' And the [poor] man said unto him, 'Do whatsoever pleaseth thee. Behold, the God of Saint Mercurius is looking at thee, and thou wilt certainly not overcome Him.' And the archon straightway, with arrogance, sent a message to his servant, and he went and brought camels, and he walked before them in a haughty manner, and he loaded the camels with the bricks of the saint. And as he was standing before a very large male camel which belonged to him, he ordered with great arrogance his servant to load this camel with bricks, and he said, 'Let me now see the power of this Mercurius.' And straightway, before the words ceased in his mouth, the camel in

front of which he was standing opened his mouth, and seizing the pagan archon he cast him down under him, and then lay down (or, rolled) upon him. And behold, straightway Saint Mercurius came riding upon his horse of the spirit, and he stood by the camel who had gained the mastery over the man, and he smote him with his spear in his left leg, and

¹⁸[One leaf wanting—pages and] 'now he threateneth me, for thou art he who shall give a mark (or, sign) in my martyrrium, and thou shalt hang [therein] head downwards.' And the multitude followed after him in fear and trembling until he entered (?) the lower part of the shrine hanging head downwards. And the man cried out, saying, 'My lord, Saint Mercurius, forgive me because of my ignorance, and I will give unto thee all my bricks for the building of thy shrine. And I will give unto thee the finest wood of every kind, and all the materials which I have collected in my house, and all the members of my house shall become Christians. And I will set at liberty my servants, and they shall become free men, and I myself will become the door-keeper of thy shrine until the day of my death.' And when the man had said these words the camel let him down on the ground, and Saint Mercurius laid his hands upon his wounds, and he healed him, and he set him free, and there was no sign of any wound whatsoever in all his body. And great fear seized upon every one who had been standing by and looking on whilst the camel was inflicting wounds on the

¹⁹archon. And the archon made a confession before them and said, 'I saw Saint Mercurius driving his spear into me,' but when the man examined his body he could not find in it the mark of any wound whatsoever. And the people enquired of him, saying, 'Where is the wound in thy body? Assuredly thou didst cry out, saying, "Behold, the righteous man speared me in my legs with his spear."' And the archon said unto them, 'From the very moment wherein the camel dropped me, and [the saint] laid his hands upon all my body, I became healed.' And immediately the archon went to the bishop, who baptized him, and all the people of his house, and all his slaves, whom he set at liberty, and they left in peace. And he gave to the shrine of the saint all the materials which he had collected for the building of his own house, and the wood, and the stone, and all his bricks. And he sent them into the shrine, together with fine gold, and many cart-loads of materials. And he himself worked with his own hands among the workmen, and all his men

did likewise, and all his beasts worked [for the saint] for nothing. And he said unto those who were working, 'Continue, and

²⁰ build the house of this mighty man.' And he died, according to the fate of all men, before the martyrdom was completed. Glory be to God, and to His holy martyr Saint Mercurius!

The Sixth Miracle of Saint Mercurius.

²¹ And it came to pass that, when the building of the martyrdom of Saint Mercurius had once been begun, it progressed rapidly, for the materials were abundant, and the workmen on the shrine of the saint were many. And after these things a certain man in the city came and walked about the shrine, and when he saw the timber and bricks for the shrine of the martyrdom he marvelled, and he coveted some of the wood which was lying about. And he said, 'I have need of this fine plank of wood, and I am going to carry it off.' And he went to where the wood was, and lifted it up on his back, and he walked away with it until he came to within a short distance of the city. He then lost his way, and did not know where he was walking, because the saint had made his mind to wander, and at length he came and stood at the door of the poor man, the steward of Saint Mercurius, unto whom the saint used to appear. Now the man who had stolen the wood did not know whither he was going. And, behold, the saint spake unto the steward,

²² and said unto him, 'What doest thou sitting here [idle]? ²³ Behold, the wood is being stolen from my shrine! Rise up, and go to the door of thy house, and there thou shalt find the man with the wood on his back, and he is staggering about hither and thither, and he doth not know whither he is going. Now it is I who have made him lose his way, and I have prevented him from knowing where he was going, until at length he came to this place. Thou wilt see him there carrying the wood which he hath stolen.' And when the thief saw the house in front of him, and that one had opened the door to him, he recognized that the opener of the door was the steward of the martyrdom, for his understanding had returned unto him. And straightway he cried out, saying, 'One is the God of Saint Mercurius! Have mercy upon me, and be not angry with me, and bring [not] evil upon me. I have sinned against thee and I have stolen thy wood.' And, behold, the saint spoke again unto the steward, saying, 'Speak thou unto the man in this wise: Why didst thou dare to come and commit this outrageous robbery at my shrine? Moreover, the wood which thou didst go and steal was given unto my shrine

[by men] for the redemption and salvation of their souls. But through the compassion of God, behold, I will set thee free. Take the wood and carry it away and lay it in the place wherein thou didst find it, and then get thee to thine own house. And when the morning hath come let him proclaim what hath been done to him, in order that others may fear, and may not again steal the building materials from my shrine, lest I bring evil upon them.' And when the saint had said these things he disappeared from the steward.

²⁴ And the poor man rose up, and came forth, and he found the man with the wood on his back, standing by the door of his house; now the thief knew not whither he had come. And he was saying, 'O Saint Mercurius, have compassion upon me, and have mercy upon me, for I have sinned, O my lord.' And the poor man spake unto him, saying, 'O my beloved brother, whence camest thou carrying [this] wood on thy back? I say unto thee this wood belongeth to Saint Mercurius; moreover, tell me all that hath happened unto thee.' And the man told him how he had carried off the wood, and how Saint Mercurius had made his mind to wander so much that he at length arrived at the door of the house of the poor man without knowing what he was doing. And the man unto whom Saint Mercurius [was wont to appear] announced to the man who had stolen the

²⁵ wood everything which Saint Mercurius had declared unto him. And when the thief had heard these words he marvelled and said, 'I will not do it for one day only, but if the God of Saint Mercurius will graciously grant unto me health, I will never cease to labour at his shrine until it be finished. And I will proclaim his mighty power in every place whereinto I shall go.' And straightway his senses returned unto him, and he departed to his house, and glorified God and His holy martyr, and he lay down and slept until the morning. And when daylight appeared [the thief] proclaimed in all the city what had happened. And he went to the place where the wood had been brought, and he lifted it up on his shoulders—now every one was looking at him—and he carried it to the shrine of the saint, and laid it down in the place wherefrom he had taken it. And great fear fell upon every one who saw him, and no other man again laid a hand upon any other material for the shrine until it was completed. And the man [who had stolen the wood] did not cease to toil in mixing mud and making bricks for the shrine of the saint until [the building] was completed. And he glorified the

²⁶ God of Saint Mercurius.

The Seventh Miracle of Saint Mercurius.

²⁷ Hearken also, O my beloved, to the following great miracle, which is to the glory of the God of Saint Mercurius. And it came to pass that when the building of the shrine had been successfully finished, and it had been beautified with adornments of every kind, they made and placed in it a screen (or, grating) made of shouebe wood. Now there were three large shouebe trees which were the property of the woman unto whom Saint Mercurius had given the light, and these had belonged to her blessed husband, who before his death had intended them to be made into a large kiubél. And besides [these], when God visited him, according to the fate of every man, and he died, he left very large possessions to her. Thereupon the apse was made of good and sound shouebe wood. And when a very large number of men had been gathered together to lift it up into its place, a few of the workmen said among themselves in a jesting manner, 'I really do wish that the heart of Saint Mercurins would be gracious unto us who are building his martyrrium, and that he would make the shouelle-wood apse to put forth branches, laden with fruit, just as if it were growing, so that we might eat thereof.' And suddenly, whilst yet the words were coming out of their mouths, the wood sent forth branches laden with very fine ripe fruit.

²⁸ And when the multitude saw what had taken place, they cried out with a loud voice, and glorified God, and His holy martyr who doeth great and mighty and marvellous things. And certain zealous men brought away some of the fruit, and laid it up for themselves in their houses as a phylactery. And O how very many were the cures which were performed by means of that fruit! And the multitudes ate, and drank, and gave thanks unto God and to His holy martyr, Saint Mercurius. And every person who was in the city and in its neighbourhood, both small and great, heard of this, and they came with one accord to see the great miracle; and both men and women came and saw what had happened, and [learned] that it had been done by the righteous man. ²⁹ And there was in the city a certain Jew who was called Gaipios, and he behaved in an uncouth and savage manner to every man, more especially to the Christians. And he too heard of the wonderful thing which had taken place in the shrine of the saint, and he said, 'I will go and see if these things which these Christians are saying are true or not; peradventure they are telling lies.' And he commanded one of his slaves to saddle a white she-mule, and he mounted her, and he said unto his servant, 'Come,

and let us see the stupid fraud which the Christians are celebrating.' Thereupon they set out together, and went on until they came to the shrine of Saint Mercurius, and the Jew went into the shrine riding upon his beast. And one of the Christian young men who cleaned and tended the shrine said unto him, 'Whither goest thou, O godless man, with this beast? Wouldst thou go into the church of God [riding upon an ass]?' And the Jew paid not the smallest regard to him, nor to his words, but he went in and stood still, and looked up into the apse, which was laden with fruit and leaves that seemed to be growing upon a tree in the ground. And the Jew said, 'Who is it that hath been adding leaves which are out of season to the crowns?

³⁰ They tell lies about the saint in saying that it is he who hath done this.' And the incorruptible young man, who had at first spoken to the Jew about [bringing] the beast upon which he was riding [into the shrine], answered and said unto him, 'He who shall destroy thee forthwith is he who maketh manifest all the miracles.' And straightway [the Jew] was filled with wrath, and in a mighty passion he rode his beast at the young man in order to trample him under foot. And straightway the feet of the mule sank down into the ground, as if it had been mud, and the Jew fell upon his face, and cut himself on the stones and bricks which were lying scattered about on the floor of the building. And, behold, straightway Saint Mercurius came to the door, and he was accompanied by an angel, and he was holding his spear in his hand. And he said unto the Jew, 'What doest thou in this place, O thou man?... This place is not one in which to stable beasts, [though] thou hast brought thy mule into it. The leaves (or, foliage) are out of season, and so likewise is the fruit. Thou hast come into this place for the purpose of driving away those who are working at my shrine.

³¹ Thou wilt neither work thyself [for me] nor wilt thou let others work.' And straightway the saint thrust his spear into the middle of the body of the Jew, and his bowels came out, but no man saw the saint except the Jew, whom the saint was piercing. All they saw was a man lying stretched out upon the ground in a state of unconsciousness, and knowing nothing whatsoever about what had happened to him. ³² And it came to pass that after a time the Jew cried out with a loud voice, saying, 'O Saint Mercurius, help thou me in this hour of necessity, and I will never, never again be ignorant concerning any of the saint's deeds. And if thou wilt shew mercy unto me, and wilt bring me out of this sickness, I will become a Christian. And I will

make and dedicate a stele to thee whereon thou shalt be represented in all thy glory, and I will make thee [to appear as thou art] now, with thy spear thrust into me; and I will also make a figure of myself lying prostrate under thy feet, in great shame and helplessness. And I will gild thy figure with the finest gold, and will [inlay it] with precious stones which shall sparkle like fire, that is to say, with chrysolites, and the figure of thy spear I will inlay with precious stones of great price, that is to say, with diamonds. Help thou me, O my Lord Mercurius.' And having said these words he fell back prostrate and lay there half dead.

³³ And after these things the angel of the Lord spake unto Saint Mercurius, saying, 'Withdraw thy spear from him, if he will truly believe in our King the Christ. Far better is the sinner [who repenteth] that he hath sinned than a righteous man, and there is joy among the angels over a sinner who shall repent of his sins, even according to what the Saviour told His disciples when He was with them, saying, "Let Thy mercy come to him, for he is without knowledge."' And the saint released the Jew. And when his senses returned to him, he related unto the multitude that were gathered together everything that had happened to him, and they glorified God Who worketh these miracles by the hand of His holy martyr. And after these things the man rose up, and departed to his house, and he related to his wife and to his servants everything that had happened unto him; now he had no son, for [his wife] was barren. And on the morrow he said unto his wife, 'Whatsoever God willet let it come to me.' And

³⁴ he took his wife and his servants, and he went to the bishop, who baptized them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And the bishop called the (sic) name of the Jew Zacharias, and that of his wife Elisabeth. And when he had gone into his house he knew his wife, and she conceived two male children at one time. And when nine months were fulfilled, she brought forth male twins. And she called the first-born Mercurius, after the name of the saint, because, [said she], 'I have obtained salvation through him'; and the second she called John, after the name of the Baptist. And after all these things the Jew summoned an artificer in metals, and gave unto him ten pounds of fine gold, and a number of very fine precious stones, and the artificer made a portrait figure of Saint Mercurius, holding in his hand his spear, which was inlaid with diamonds. And he made also a figure of himself (i. e. of the Jew) in gold, inlaid with precious

stones, [lying] at the feet of Saint Mercurius, who was thrusting his spear into his body. And the Jew took this stele into the church, and after it had been consecrated at the shrine he deposited it in the sanctuary, where it remaineth to this day. And it is at this moment a testimony of the miracles of the holy martyr, Saint Mercurius. In the peace of God! Amen.

The Eighth Miracle of Saint Mercurius.

35 And it came to pass that, after the shrine of the saint had been consecrated, the report of the miracles which were performed therein spread abroad into every region. And a great multitude of people came to visit his holy relics, and worshipped them, and those who were sick obtained healing, and departed to their houses. And he (the saint) cast out devils, and the people paid many vows and gave offerings to his shrine. And there was a certain archon who lived on an estate which was nigh unto this place, and who was called, according to his name, that is to say, 'Kuri[o]s Hermapollo.' And he had a little daughter, who was an only child, for he had not begotten a son, and had no child except her. He had brought her up [from the time when] she was a little orphan, and he was wont to regard her in the same way as he regarded God. And he heard of the mighty deeds and miracles of Saint Mercurius, and he rose up and took as a little benefaction thirty oboli, and he went into the shrine of the saint, and he prayed, and gave the thirty oboli to the steward of the shrine. And the clergy made a great feast in his honour, for they were very hospitable men, and they drank a large quantity of wine, and they ate very much food, and they pleased the archon very greatly.

36 And when at length the opportunity offered itself the archon said, 'Of what thing have ye need? Tell me, and I will dedicate it to this shrine.' And the clergy and the steward said unto him, 'We wish to have a good bier whereon we can carry the body of the martyr.' And the archon made answer, saying, 'If the God of Saint Mercurius will fulfil the petition [IIC] which I shall make, I will have made a bier for the martyr. I will decorate it with the finest carvings in ivory, and it shall be like unto the couches of the Roman Emperors.' And after these things the archon laid himself down to sleep in the night, and behold, Saint Mercurius appeared unto him in the form of a general, and he said unto him, 'When thou shalt have risen up, and mounted thy beast, and entered into thy house, do not omit to have this bier made for me even as thou hast promised. For I know that thou art liable to be a little careless about the ordering of the bier concerning which the clergy in-

formed thee in the evening. Now I will not make a bargain with thee, but I know that after a certain time thou shalt beget [a son]. Come to my shrine, and I will shew mercy unto thee.' And the archon awoke from his dream, and he marvelled exceedingly.

³⁷ And when the morning was come the archon went into the church and worshipped before the body of the martyr, and ne he came forth and mounted his beast, and departed to his own house. And when the day had arrived whereon the archon was to come into the martyrrium of the saint, a certain archon of the city, hearing that his daughter was a virgin, and that she was very beautiful, sent some of the people of the city to him, saying, 'I wish to take thy daughter to be my son's wife. And I will give thee [for her] a crown (or, sceptre) in gold and silver, and men slaves and women slaves, and camels, and ships with crews that sail on the sea, in such numbers as befit the honour of thy greatness.' Then the mother of the maiden, that is to say, the wife of the archon, called to him, and she informed him of the matter. And the archon said, 'If I cannot find a young man whom I can bring into my house, and to whom I can transfer all my income, I shall never be able to let her leave me; and besides her I have no other child. I regard her as I regard God.' Then the wife of the archon told everything [which the archon said] to the women who had come [from the other archon], and they departed sorrowfully, and reported the matter to the young man and to his parents, and they were grieved exceedingly, and spake never a word.

³⁸ And when the evening had come the parents of the young man called to their son, and they spake unto him about several other maidens in the city, but they did not please the young man; on the contrary, he was sad of heart because of the maiden. Now he knew that she was exceedingly beautiful. And the young man was still a minor, and he attended school (or, college), and was under the direction of his master. And the master was in the habit of sending the young man daily to the maiden, and he told her the things which his master wrote down for him upon his writing tablet. And besides this the young man, because of the intensity of his love for her, would spend the whole night lying on his bed pondering what he could possibly do to obtain possession of the maiden, either by lawful matrimony or by fornication. In short, he continued to be in a very sorrowful state, but he told no man [the cause] of his sorrow.

³⁹ And it came to pass that in less than a month after these things had taken place the mother of the young man died, and because of his great grief for the young man's mother the archon did not again seek out a wife for his son. And as for the young man, his mind never ceased to run upon the maiden, and he pined away daily, and at length he came nigh to die. And he paid visits to many magicians, for he wished to compel the minds of the parents of the maiden to incline to the giving of her to him, but he did not attain this object. And at last he found a mighty magician who said, 'I will make thee to see her, and thou shalt have speech with her several times mouth to mouth.' And the young man by reason of the intensity of the desire of his heart for [the maiden]

⁴⁰ [One leaf, or more, wanting] the corner. And they made the wooden supports to stand on bases, and they carved leaves in ivory [and affixed them to them]. And they made the bier, and they fastened to it the image of the martyr made in brilliant precious stones, and three crosses of gold and three crosses of silver. At length the bier was finished satisfactorily, and with great splendour, and he laid the bier upon his beasts by night, and he and his wife, and his sick daughter, and his servant set out and arrived at the shrine of the saint on the third day, which was [the day of] the festival of Saint Mercurius, that is to say, the twentieth day of the month Athor. And when the clergy saw the bier they marvelled exceedingly, and they sang hymns of praise, and they took it into the church. And the archon, and his wife, and his daughter went into the martyrrium, and they worshipped before the body of the saint with great joy. And the steward took them away into a place by themselves, where

⁴¹ [?] they rested from the fatigue of the journey. And their [?] daughter was suffering greatly, because her disease, which was like unto that caused by a devil, was aggravated by the church. And, behold, Saint Mercurius arrayed himself in the garb of a general, and he went to the city of the archon, and entered into the house of the young man who had brought the serious sickness upon the maiden. And he appeared unto him in a very terrifying manner, with his drawn sword in his hand, and he struck him thrice with [the flat] of the sword, being full of wrath. And the young man awoke from his sleep, and he saw the holy man standing over him, face to face, and he rose up quickly upon his bed so that he might leap to his feet and make his escape. And straightway he fell upon his face at the feet of the saint, who continued

to beat him very severely for a long time. And the young man kissed the feet of the saint, saying, 'Woe unto me! I am a sinful man!' And he wept, and he said, 'What is the sin which I have committed against thee, O my lord?' And

⁴² the holy man said unto him, 'Hast thou never heard what [?] is written: "Thou shalt not curse the governor of thy people, neither shalt thou [raise] thine hand against the anointed of the Lord?"' And the young man said, 'It is thus written, my lord. But tell me thy name, and do thou make me to know my sin, for I repent of my sin, and I know that there is repentance [for me].' And the holy man said unto him, 'I am Mercurius, who work these miracles in this city of Caesarea. I have come to scourge thee and thy magician, who hath caused this severe illness to fall wrongfully upon the daughter of Hermapollon of this city. But inasmuch as I see repentance in thee, I will not destroy thee this time. Only take heed, and when thou risest in the morning forget not to go unto the magician who is causing [this] sinful thing, [and bid him cease]. And when thou comest to my shrine thy joy shall be fulfilled in every particular.' And the young man said unto the saint, 'I myself will come joyfully, but perhaps that magician will not agree to come.' And Saint Mercurius answered and said unto him, 'Deliver thyself, and do not permit that man to come and assume authority over thee.' Then the holy man disappeared from him.

⁴³ And when the morning had come the young man went to [his] father, and said unto him, 'My father, help me. I wish to go to the shrine of Saint Mercurius and pray.' And his father cherished him exceedingly, for he had no other child besides him, and he said unto him, 'Go, my son, but do not tarry in coming back, for my bowels yearn for thee, O thou light of mine eyes.' And he gave him a large quantity of goods, and three male slaves to escort him on his way. And he travelled on his way in great haste, and came to the city wherein lived the man who was a magician. And the young man said unto him, 'Magician, rise up, let us go to the shrine of Saint Mercurius, and pray there'; and he related to the magician everything which had happened unto him. And when the magician heard that the man and his daughter were in the martyrdom of the saint he was afraid, and he said, 'If thou wert to kill me at this moment I would not come [with thee] to the shrine of Saint Mercurius, for it hath been revealed unto me that the father of the maiden will kill me because of [the illness of] his daughter.' And straightway the young man continued his journey, with great strenuousness, until he came to

the martyrdom of the saint in great fear; and he worshipped before the body of the saint, and he saw the maiden lying as it were on the body of the saint, and her father and her mother were crying to the saint to help her, and he afforded her some relief (?). And the young man called the steward, and gave to him ten oboli. And the archon, who was the father of the maiden, looked [behind,] and saw the young man, and he recognized him, and he went

⁴⁴ [?] [?] 3 I to him, knowing nothing about the matter, and saluted him, and enquired of him concerning the health of his house. And when the two of them had prayed the archon urged the young man, and took him to the upper chamber wherein he lodged, and they ate and drank together, and the young man saw the maiden, and he rejoiced exceedingly; but he was grieved for her because she had suffered torments, and the [?] heart of her parents was shamed because [she had not recovered] from her illness. And besides this the young man was afraid that the martyr would not appear, and, in short, there was very great anxiety in the heart of the young man. And Saint Mercurius appeared to the father of the maiden, and he lifted him up as he lay upon his bed, and he took him outside the place wherein he slept, and he said unto him, 'Give thy daughter to the young man who is with thee, if thou wishest to have her healed, and do not seek out evil in him, lest some other trouble, far more serious than this, come upon her.' And he informed him that after three [months] had passed his (the young man's) father would die, and that the young man would attain full age, and he said, 'Neglect not to take him for thy daughter after the death of his father.' And the saint told him how the young man had caused magic to be worked upon his daughter, and how she had fallen sick through his longing for her; and he also told him how he himself had appeared to the young man, and how he had chastised him with his own hand, and concerning everything which had happened to the young man until he came to the martyrdom. And when Saint Mercurius had said these

⁴⁵ things he disappeared. And the archon awoke from his [?] dream, and he smelled a very strong sweet smell, and he said, 'Verily it is Saint Mercurius himself who hath come and appeared unto me.' And he continued to think about the young man, and about what he had done to his daughter, because of his desire for her, and about the giving of his daughter to him, and he pondered and wondered whether or not it would be the wish of the saint to make the mystery clear, and whether he should keep [the matter] secret. And

whilst he was meditating upon these matters a trumpet was sounded to make all those who were sleeping in the shrine to get up, and to come to church, and to sing hymns with the 'lovers of work' (?), because it was the day of the great festival of the saint, that is to say, the twentieth day of the month Athor. And the people rose up, and arrayed themselves in white garments with joy, and they came into the church, and they continued to sing hymns until the day came. And the archon also rose up, and he called his wife and his daughter, and they came to the shrine, followed by their slaves, and the young man also came with his slaves,

⁴⁶ and they went in and worshipped at the body of the saint; and they rejoiced. And the young man looked at the bier and [?] marvelled at its beauty, and he found the magician tied to the bier of the martyr like a muzzled dog. And when he saw the young man he cried out, saying, 'Woe is me, O my lord brother. Come and look upon my most wretched state.' And the young man said unto him, 'Wherefore hast thou come into this place?' And the magician said unto him, 'O my brother, it came to pass when thou didst depart from me that Saint Mercurius came to me, and he gagged me, and he brought me hither, and tied me up to this bier, and the people treat me with scorn.' And forthwith he cried out, 'Help me, [O] my beloved brother, for even whilst I am talking to thee the saint is slapping my face, and I am greatly shamed.' [And the young man] said unto him, 'Have they not informed thee concerning the mystery—that it hath been revealed? Why lost thou seek to make it manifest?' And behold, immediately, a demon leaped upon the magician, and he overpowered him, and thrust him to the ground, and cried out, saying, [?] Let me alone. I will teach him! Saint Mercurius hath commanded me [to do so], for very great are the blasphemies which he hath made (i. e. uttered) against God Who made

⁴⁷ 3 I 2 him.' And behold, a devil took possession of a woman also, even in the presence of the body of the saint. And when the Eucharist was ended all the people gathered themselves together to see how the saint had put to shame the devils. And the archon came and sat down. And the woman who was possessed of the devil cried out, 'O Hermapollo, ...' the evil of this magician, for it is he who hath enchanted (or, bewitched) thy daughter. And, moreover, give thou thy daughter to the young man, according to what thou wast told in [thy] dream, otherwise she will never be healed. And do not thou neglect to accept the person of the young man for thy daughter's sake, for his

father hath only another three months [to live]. And after these things thy heart shall have rest.' And the heart of the archon's wife wondered by reason of the things which she had heard;

⁴⁸ and behold, immediately the mother (?) of the maiden looked [?] upon her, she was relieved of the torturing pain, and she was as if she had never been ill at all. And the woman through whom Saint Mercurius had spoken said unto the magician, 'From this moment onwards thou shalt never dwell among men, but thou shalt flee to a remote place, and thither shalt thou abide by thyself in the wilderness until the day of thy death.' And he (Mercurius) rebuked the spirit which was in him, and cast him out, and he made good his faculty of sight, and the magician departed into the desert, and there he dwelt until the day of his death. And when the day of the festival was over Hermapollo mounted his beast, and he, and his wife, and his daughter, and his slave[s], and the young man, and his slave[s] departed, and they came to their native city. And the archon announced to his wife everything which the saint had said to him in the dream. And when his wife knew (or, understood) what the archon told her of the dream she saw that what he had told

⁴⁹ ¹ Text illegible. ⁵⁰ her was the same as that which the saint spake by the mouth of the woman who was possessed of a devil. And when the people heard [these things] a great trembling of heart took place in their midst, and they sent messengers to him, and they ate and drank with him. And they told him, saying, 'Cease to be anxious, and we will arrange the marriage according to what Saint Mercurius spake unto us.' And when the young man heard these things he rejoiced exceedingly; and when the feast was ended the young man went into his house, and he told his father everything, and his father rejoiced exceedingly. And when the morning had come the father of the young man gathered together all the rich noblemen of the city, and they came to the house of Kuri[o]s Hermapollo, and they spake to him concerning his daughter. And they agreed together, and the archon gave her a large quantity of gold and silver, and numerous ornaments of jewellery, and men slaves and women slaves, and boats and ships with crews that sailed the sea. And they brought singers, and players upon pipes and tambourines and [other] musical instruments, and play actors, and acrobats and buffoons, and they celebrated the wedding with very great pomp and ceremony. And one week later a very large number of rich men and a very large number of archons

were invited, and they celebrated the wedding with great splendour and they rejoiced exceedingly.

⁵¹ And within three months after the wedding the father of the young man died at a ripe old age. And when the days of mourning were fulfilled, the young man took his gold and his silver, and all his possessions, and his slaves, and brought them to the house of his father-in-law, and they remained together until the day of their death. And they (i.e. the young man and his wife) used to come every year to the shrine of Saint Mercurius, on the day of his holy festival, and pray there and give thanks unto God, to Whom belongeth mighty miracles. And, O my beloved, ye see these great and gracious acts which God ⁵²[?] [?] performeth for His chosen ones from time to time! And, O ye God-loving people, I wish I could set a few of them before you; but I know that I have not the strength to complete the description of the miracles [of any one] of the saints, especially those of the martyr Saint Mercurius! And, moreover, moderation is good in everything. Blessed be every one who readeth [The rest is wanting]

XI. THE ENCOMIUM OF ACACIUS, BISHOP OF CAESAREA, ON MERCURIUS
THE MARTYR

¹ (Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 6802) The Encomium Which SAINT APAACACIUS, BISHOP OF CAESAREA, PRONOUNCED IN THE [A] MARTYRIUM WHICH WAS BUILT IN THE NAME OF SAINT MERCURIUS, ON THE DAY OF HIS HOLY COMMEMORATION, THAT IS TO SAY, THE TWENTIETH DAY OF THE MONTH ATHÔR, WHEREIN HE PRAISED THE NUMEROUS MIGHTY DEEDS AND MIRACLES WHICH TOOK PLACE THROUGH THE HOLY MARTYR, SAINT MERCURIUS. IN THE PEACE OF GOD. MAY HIS HOLY BLESSING BE WITH US ALL TOGETHER. AMEN. ² Verily, 'the light hath risen upon the righteous,' in respect of this Saint Mercurius, according to the words which the sacred singer, the father of the Christ according to the flesh, the righteous king, the hymn-writer, David spake. He crieth out, he crieth out with his sweet voice, and he singeth to his harp with the plectrum in his hand, saying, 'The light [A] hath risen upon the righteous.' And again he saith, 'The light hath risen in the darkness for those who are right in their hearts.' The Christ Himself saith in the Gospel, 'Then shall the righteous shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father.' Now Saint Mercurius ...was a pagan before thou didst know the Christ well. And having buckled on his armour he went

forth to fight against the Barbarians. Now before these things he served as an officer under Decius, the lawless Emperor. He took in his hands arrows, and ceased (?)

3 not to destroy the Barbarians with them. And the angel of the Lord came down from heaven, and gave unto him a sword, saying, 'Destroy the Barbarians [with this] ...[several words are wanting here] it is seemly that we should manifest great readiness of disposition towards them (i. e. the gods), and that we should pay honour and glory unto them according to their merit, and offer gifts and offerings in return for the good things which they have performed for us in times past. We order the doors of all the temples to be opened, in every city and in every town, from Rômania [in the north] to Pilak (Philae) and Kûsh in the south, and incense to be offered up therein to the glorious gods, and their worship to be performed therein with great zeal.

4 And we command that no Christian shall be allowed to appear in any sacred place, and that the governors of the provinces shall pursue the Christians in every place, whether bishop, or presbyter, or reader, or monk, or layman, or male, or female, or soldier, or peasant, or civil officer; in short, every class of man [that existeth] for the administering of my kingdom, and shall compel them to offer up sacrifices to the glorious gods. And whosoever shall gainsay (or, resist) my command him shall they deliver over unto severe tortures of various kinds until he dieth.'

5 Then Decius, the lawless Emperor, ordered the herald to make a proclamation throughout the whole city, saying, 'Take heed, O all ye people, whether soldier or peasant, and every man of every class and of every age whatsoever, and come, all of you, to the temple of the gods and offer up sacrifice to them therein. Build firmly altars at the gate of the temple, offer up sacrifices upon them, frankincense, and bulls, and goats, and feathered fowl, and let the firmament be filled full with the smoke of the heavy fumes of their burning carcasses.' And there was great quaking among the Christians, for [the servants of Decius] pursued them, and beat them, and dragged them to the gates [of the temples], and to the secret shrines, and they compelled them to offer up sacrifices. And there was very great trouble in every place, for the tyrant commanded [his soldiers] to produce before him every kind of terrifying instrument of torture in order that when the Christians saw them they might fear the glittering swords, and the iron beds, and the instruments for drawing out the sinews, and the knives for slitting and cutting out

the tongue, and the metal helmets, and the sharp butchers' knives, and the brazen cauldrons filled with boiling bitumen, and the brazen cauldrons filled with [boiling] oil (?), and the wheels with knives attached thereto, and all the other terrifying instruments of torture.

⁶ And that impious Emperor said, 'Whosoever shall gainsay (or, resist) my command I will gouge out his eyes, I will tear out his tongue, I will take out his entrails, I will cut through the soles of his feet, and I will take out his brains, and the rest of his body I will give to the fire that it may consume it.' And when the men who were pious saw these things great despair laid hold upon them, and they were afraid, and they dropped their hands by their sides in helplessness. Every man was delivering his neighbour over unto death, fathers were delivering their sons over unto death, and forgot the truth (i. e. tie) of nature, and brethren dragged out [brethren], and thrust them forward, and delivered them over unto death. And every one who confessed the Name of Jesus was greatly disturbed. ⁷ And there was in the army a certain valiant young man whose name was Mercurius, and he was an officer in the Martusian regiment, and he feared God. He was exceedingly goodly in appearance, and the whole army loved him because of his intelligence and his cultivated manners. He was by race a native of Cappadocia, and he was a Christian from his childhood, and his parents were Christians. He was a mighty man in battle, and God was with him in all his works. And when the tribune saw that he was far advanced in his knowledge of the theory and practice of the craft of the soldier he made him a commander of his regiment. And when the Emperor saw the valour of the young man he loved him, and clave to him, and took counsel with him about the affairs of the Government. And it came to pass after these things, when the persecution had spread abroad, that the heathen Barbarians revolted against the Romans. And the Emperor Decius and the whole Senate found themselves in a position of great difficulty through their great lack of troops and equipment, and through the defeat which had come upon them suddenly. For the Barbarians had fought against them with such success that they captured the great country of Armenia which was on the frontier between them and the Romans. And the Emperor Decius commanded the soldiers of every troop and regiment to be called up to go to the war and to fight against the Barbarians. Then the Emperor reserved for his own command certain armies and regiments, and he marched out to do battle with the Barbarians. He

crossed the Euphrates, the great river, which is on the frontiers of Armenia, and he conquered the Barbarians in the twinkling of an eye, and defeated their king and his army.

8 And it was at that time that the great valour of this noble man, Saint Mercurius, the true believer, the commander of the Martusian regiment, was revealed. He was a man who was perfect in his service of God, and in his daily life and conversation he practised piety of every kind. The Word of God was sweeter than honey in his mouth every moment. And it came to pass that one night when he was sleeping among his troops, having finished reciting his prayers, he lost consciousness for a little while. And behold, the angel of the Lord stood over him, and touched his side, and awoke him. And the angel had a sword in his right hand, and his appearance was awe-inspiring, and he was arrayed in the panoply of war which was marvellous [to behold]; and when Saint Mercurius saw him he was greatly afraid. And the angel answered and said unto him, 'Mercurius.' And Mercurius said unto him, 'Behold me, O Lord.' And Mercurius opened his eyes, and when he saw the angel he was greatly afraid, and he thought that he was one of the imperial officers or a general. And the angel reached out to him the sword which was in his hand, now it was in his hand and drawn from its sheath, saying unto him, 'Take this drawn sword which is in my hand, for by means of it thou shalt destroy the whole host of the Barbarians. I am the Commander-in-Chief of the hosts of the Lord.

9 I have come to help thee and thy fellow soldiers who believe in the Lord Jesus the Christ. Now therefore conquer and prevail, for I will be with thee until the end of thy strife, in peace. Behold, the time hath come, and behold, the contest is arranged. Strive in such wise that thou mayest receive thy strength, for no athlete receiveth the crown unless he hath striven skilfully, and the husbandman who hath toiled strenuously is he who receiveth the fruits first. Now, therefore, hearken unto the words which I shall speak unto thee, and delay not to place thy confidence in the Lord thy God. For a mighty contest is prepared for thee, and thou shalt be a valiant martyr. The fame of thy martyrdom shall be bruited abroad throughout the whole world, and every one who heareth concerning it shall marvel at thy valour, and they shall glorify God because of the mighty deeds, and miracles, and works of valour which the Lord thy God shall have performed for thee. Great tortures await thee at the hands of the lawless Emperor, and cruel tribulations; but

endure patiently, and thou shalt receive a crown incorruptible. Whosoever is held to be worthy to touch thy body shall be saved.

10 And if any man shall be in any need or necessity, or shall be suffering torture (?), or [in peril] in the desert, or in peril by sea or by river, or in tribulation, or in prison, if he remember thy name with faith, and call upon thee, he shall be saved. Whosoever shall build a shrine in thy name, and shall give an offering in thy name on the day of thy commemoration, on them will I bestow my blessing and happiness in their habitations, and I will never allow them to lack anything whatsoever. Of the man who shall make a copy of the book of thy martyrdom I will tear up the bill of indictment of his sins, and I will nevermore remember all the evil deeds which he hath committed, and I will bestow him upon thee as a son in my kingdom. And behold, I will bestow upon thee three crowns; one for thy riches (sic), one for the sufferings which thou hast endured in My Name, and one for thy virginity. Be strong and prevail, for I am with thee.' And when the archangel had said these things unto him he went up into heaven surrounded with splendour. Now, when these men who were round about Saint Mercurius saw the great vision which appeared, they became like unto those who are dead.

11 And on the morrow the Emperor Decius commanded his officers to set the hosts and troops in battle array, and when they had arrayed themselves in the panoply of war to attack the Barbarians in battle. Then the truly valiant man Saint Mercurius set out to attack the host of the Barbarians, and he rushed in among them through the power of God which was with him. And he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and saw the Archangel Michael, who was in the form of a general of the army. There was a drawn sword in his right hand, and he reached it out to Saint Mercurius, saying unto him, 'Be of good cheer! Take this sword, and make thy way to the Barbarians, and slaughter them therewith in the Name of the Christ Who shall give strength unto thee.' And Saint Mercurius stretched out his hand and took the sword from the hand of the Archangel Michael, and he set out for the hosts of the Barbarians. And he slaughtered them in the Name of the Christ, giving them no quarter, until his hand stuck to the sword by reason of the great quantity of blood [upon it]. And he destroyed the Barbarians with an exceedingly great and severe slaughter that day. And the remnant betook themselves to flight and made themselves invisible, and these fire from heaven consumed. And when the Emperor saw the deeds of valour which Saint Mercurius per-

formed, through the strength of God, which was with him, he rejoiced exceedingly over the victory and the conquest which had accrued to the Romans. And the Emperor bestowed upon Saint Mercurius great honours and very many possessions, and he determined to make him the captain of the Martusian regiment.

¹² And it came to pass after these things that the Emperor Decius commanded all his army, and all the troops and companies thereof, and the exarchs, and the generals, and the patricians, and all the Romans of senatorial rank, to assemble in the temple of Apollo, and to offer up sacrifice. Then, when the blessed man perceived the grievous error which had obtained dominion over the Emperor and over the army through the Devil, he withdrew himself from them, and he went into his house, and he made supplication unto the Lord, saying, 'O Lord Almighty, the Father of our Lord Jesus the Christ, take good heed unto Thy clay which Thou hast fashioned, and scatter Thou abroad the stumbling-blocks which the Devil hath cast into the hearts of all mankind. Stablish Thou the hearts of the people, and of [every] one who feareth Thy Holy Name. O Lord, give Thou strength

¹³ to Thy Church, so that every one may believe in Thy Holy Name. Glory be unto Thee, and unto Thy Good Father, and unto the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen.' And it came to pass that when the Emperor had come to the door of the temple, the whole army was gathered together inside it to offer up sacrifice, each one according to his rank. And when it came to the turn of Saint Mercurius to offer up sacrifice, he was not to be found among the soldiers. And when the Emperor had sought for him, he found him in his house sitting in sackcloth and ashes, and he was grieving exceedingly over the great schism which had arisen throughout all the world through the Devil. Then certain of the soldiers of the regiment of Mercurius made their way to the Emperor, and they laid information against the blessed Mercurius, saying, 'O our Lord Emperor, live for ever! Thy glorious sovereignty hath commanded all classes of men to offer up sacrifices to the glorious gods. Behold now, there are those who are nigh unto thee, and who are attached to thy personal service, who treat thy glorious decree with contempt, to wit, Mercurius, who is under the rule of thy kingdom, and whom thou hast exalted to honour, and thou hast bestowed upon him the rank of Count, and hast set him over the regiment. So great is this honour that the whole of the Roman army, when it heard of it, glorified him, and put

¹⁴ itself into subjection to him because of the great honour which thou hadst conferred upon him. Behold, he hath treated thy sovereign power with contempt, and he hath not joined us in the temple to offer up sacrifices to the gods; but he hath gone into his house, and stripped off himself the insignia of his rank, and hath thereby disgraced the Roman fame, and hath cast a blemish on the holy law. We found him in his house, sitting in sack-cloth and ashes, and praying to the Lord his God with tears. And he was persuading every one to turn away from the worship of the gods, and was making them follow Jesus the Nazarene, Whom they crucified, and he said, "It is He Who is God; He created the heavens and the earth"; in this wise he was making every one withdraw from the gods.' ¹⁵ And the Emperor spake unto those who related these things unto him, saying unto them, 'These things which ye say unto me about Mercurius, who was attached to me, to the effect that he treateth me with contempt, may be true; nevertheless, let two of the officers who are here go and summon him hither, so that I may know that these things which ye say unto me about him are really true or not.' Then they brought the blessed Mercurius into the presence of the Emperor Decius. His eyes were filled with tears, he was arrayed in the garb of humiliation, and they set him in the presence of the Emperor. When Decius saw him in the garb of humiliation he shook his head, and he found it very difficult to understand what had happened [unto him]. Then he spake unto Mercurius, saying, 'Mercurius, tell me what hath happened unto thee, and what excuse thou hadst for treating with contempt the great honours and the high rank which I have bestowed upon thee. I held thee to be worthy of the forethought of the gods, and thou hast reckoned as dross the high rank which I conferred upon thee, which was above that of every one else in the Army. Furthermore, explain unto me whence this error hath come to thee. The whole of the Roman army is assembled in the temple to offer sacrifice to the righteous gods, and it is thou only who hast separated thyself from the troops. And further, tell me what is the country of which thou art a native. Did thy parents call thee by this name [of Mercurius]?'

¹⁶ And the blessed Mercurius answered and said unto the Emperor, 'Thou wishest to know of what country I am a native: listen, then, [and I will tell thee] about my origin (or, kin). I am a native of Cappadocia, so far as this world is concerned; but as for my own native city, I belong to the heavenly Jerusalem, the mother city of the saints. The name which my parents gave

unto me originally was Philopator, the interpretation whereof is "lover of his father", but R R when I became a soldier I was called Mercurius by the commander of my regiment. I am a servant of Jesus the Christ, my Lord, the Son of the Living God.' And when the Emperor heard these things he remained stupefied for a very considerable time. Then he shook his head, saying, 'Cast away from thee this silly boasting and this mad idea of thine, and get thee into the temple, and offer up sacrifice to the great god Apollo. Then get thee back to thy troop, where thy fellow soldiers are, and take up thy rank and duty as before.' And the holy man Mercurius said unto the lawless Emperor, 'Let this fact be quite plain before thee, O lawless Emperor: I will not offer up sacrifice unto thy [god] Apollo, that vain thing, and forsake my God, Who is the Creator of R B the heavens and the earth, and of everything [in them]. For I am a Christian. To the liberty and the life of the soldier of this world I bid farewell, and as for the high rank [which thou gavest me] I need it not. I am a servant of the Christ Jesus, the Son of the Living God.'

17 And the Emperor Decius answered and said unto him, 'Mercurius, up to the present I did not believe the things which thy accusers told me concerning thee, for I knew well how envious [of thee] were those who made accusations against thee, and that they did so because they saw the great honour which I had conferred upon thee over the whole regiment, and over the whole army. Now, therefore, hearken unto me: Sacrifice to the gods. Do not let the matter force me to forget the friendly disposition which I had towards thee, and to deprive thee of thy rank, and to inflict severe R C tortures upon thee.' And the blessed Mercurius answered and said unto the Emperor, 'The friendship of this world is of no account whatsoever, and it is a thing inimical to God. Similarly, these honours are for a season only, but the glory of God endureth for ever. Now, therefore, trouble not thyself to no purpose, for I am a Christian, and I will not offer up sacrifice to thine abominable god; moreover, whatsoever thou wishest to do unto me that do.' And Decius said unto him, 'O Mercurius, offer up sacrifice, and do not die a terrible death.' And the blessed Mercurius said unto him, 'O Emperor, let [this] one word be sufficient for thee.

18 I will not hearken unto thee and serve strange gods, and cast my God, Jesus the Christ, behind my back.' And when Decius heard these things he was exceedingly wroth, and he commanded them to strip off his apparel, and to make ten soldiers lay him on the ground, and all of them to beat him

with leather whips at once; [and they did so] until the ground under him [was soaked with] his blood. And Decius the Emperor said unto him, 'Mercurius, thou findest tortures to be troublesome things. Are they worse than thy offering of sacrifice or no?' And the blessed Mercurius answered, saying, 'As long as I have with me my Lord Jesus the Christ to help me, I shall not sink under thy tortures. For I am a servant of my Lord Jesus the Christ, Who helpeth me, and Who is the King of what is in heaven and of what is on the earth.'

¹⁹ And when the Emperor Decius heard these things he said, 'Mercurius, hearken unto me. Offer sacrifice unto the gods, and take heed to these terrible tortures, in order that thou mayest [not] die an evil death. Up to this point I have had compassion upon thee, and have been long-suffering in respect of thee. For I did not wish to do thee harm, especially because thou wast my friend during the attack upon me in the war. Hearken unto me, and offer up sacrifice to the gods. Destroy not thy early manhood by [these] divers tortures. I am considering carefully thy youth and thy friendship [in speaking thus].' And the blessed Mercurius answered and said, 'Every suffering which shall be unto me through confessing [my] God will add to my holy reward, for the ²⁰ sufferings of this present are not worthy of the glory which shall be revealed unto us.' And when the Emperor Decius heard these things he said unto Mercurius, 'Since thou hast stablished thy heart on words of folly, and reckonest Roman honours to be as dross, and since thou wilt not permit thyself to sacrifice to the righteous gods, according to the ordinance of the Senate, and wilt not obey the Imperial Law, I will punish thee according to thy foolishness, and I shall see whether the God in Whom thou believest can save thee from my hands.' And Saint Mercurius said unto the Emperor, 'It is written in [the Book of] the Holy Apostle, "Who shall separate us from the love of God? Not tribulation, or affliction, or persecution, or hunger, or nakedness, or danger, or the sword. Even as it is written, For Thy sake they slay us all the day long. For we are persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angel, nor principality, nor power, nor things which are, nor things which shall be, shall be able to separate us from the love of the Christ."'

²¹ And when the blessed Mercurius had said these things the Emperor Decius was wroth, and he commanded [his men] to put Mercurius on the rack and to rack him. And the executioners racked him until the bones of his back were pulled asunder, yet the blessed man never ceased to bless God, say-

ing, 'O Lord Jesus the Christ, the Only-begotten of the Father, Who wast born of the holy virgin Mary, Who didst take flesh upon Thyself of the true lamb, and didst at length deliver the whole race of Adam, and didst set us free from the slavery of our sins, I give thanks unto Thee that Thou hast made us worthy of Thy great goodness. Hearken Thou unto me this day. I am Thy servant Mercurius. Make Thou me to be worthy of Thine invitation, and of the participation in Thy holy sufferings, and of the faithful witness of Thy God-head. Now, therefore, O my Lord, forsake me not, and go not Thou far from me, for tribulations await me, and fetters have fallen upon me. But give Thou me strength, O my Lord, until I have finished my contest in peace. Let not my enemies rejoice over me, and let not them say among the heathen, Where is their God?' And when he had said these things, behold, a voice came unto him, saying, 'Be of good cheer, O My athlete Mercurius.

22 Bear patiently, O My chosen hero, for I will be with thee, I will give strength unto thee, and I will be with thee as a Protector. I will help thee in every suffering which thou shalt endure in My Name. Be not dismayed, neither be thou downhearted at the tortures. I will be with thee; I will give strength unto thee, until thou hast completed thy contest bravely.' Then straightway the Archangel Michael kissed him, and made the Sign of the Cross over his whole body, and immediately the rack split asunder and became two parts, and the fetters wherewith he was bound were burst asunder, and he leaped up, and stood upon his feet, and there was no injury on him; on the contrary, he was glorifying God. 23 And when the Emperor saw what had taken place he was filled with wrath, and he said, 'Since this man said, "We have a panoply in which to fight," I hereby give the order for him to be stretched out on four stakes, and to suspend him between heaven and earth one cubit.' And when they had done this unto him the Emperor said, 'Where is now thy panoply in which to fight, wherein thou didst put thy trust? I swear by the greatest of the great gods, Zeus, that thou hast been well handled.' And the holy man looked up into heaven and said, 'O Lord, help me, I am Thy servant.' And the Emperor further commanded them to make gashes in his body with sharp knives and goads of iron, and after- iv A wards to sprinkle burning coals of fire upon it, so that little by little it might be consumed; and [when they did these things] the fiery coals were extinguished by the blood which flowed from the righteous man. And the holy man bore

up under this new torture with great fortitude. Then Decius made them carry him away, saying, 'Let him die quickly'; and the soldiers bore him away quickly into a place of darkness. And when they were carrying him away he was half dead, but there was a little breath left in him, although they thought he was dead.

²⁴ And behold, a very short time after this, the angel of the Lord appeared unto him, and said unto him, 'Peace be unto thee, O thou mighty athlete!' And when he had said this he healed the wounds which were in his body, and made him to stand up, and he was so sound and well that when he rose and stood up he [was able to] glorify God Who had helped him. And after these things the Emperor made them to set him before the tribune. And when the Emperor [saw] him he said unto him, 'Hast thou been rescued from my hands? Thou art half dead. By what means now wilt thou walk? Perhaps even there are no wounds on thy body?' Then he commanded his spearmen to examine carefully the body of Mercurius, and they said unto the Emperor, 'We swear by thine own power, O pious Emperor, that his entire body is in a healthy state, and that there is no sign of injury upon it, and that it is as if it had never been touched.' And Decius said, 'Assuredly he will say, "It was Christ Who healed me. Did ye not take a physician into the prison to treat him with medicines?' And they said, 'By thy glorious majesty which ruleth the whole world, it was none of the men who heal that cured him. We thought that he would die, and how he is alive and how he hath been relieved we do not understand at all.

²⁵ The magic of the Christians is exceedingly powerful. Yesterday he was a dead man, and to-day he standeth up whole and well.' And the Emperor was filled with wrath, and he said unto Mercurius, 'Tell me truly who it was that healed thee without magic.' And Saint Mercurius answered and said, 'It was my Lord Jesus the Christ, the Physician of souls and bodies, who bestowed a cure upon me: for it is said, "The man who useth magical drugs, and the men who use incantations, and the worshippers of idols shall be strangers unto Him; and He shall bind them with fetters that cannot be loosened, and shall deliver them over to the fire of Gehenna, because they know not the God Who made them."' ²⁶ And [the Emperor] said, 'I am going to inflict the most terrible tortures upon thy body; let me see if the Christ, on Whom thou believest, will heal thee.' And Saint Mercurius said, 'I believe on my Lord Jesus the Christ; even though thou shalt inflict multitudes of punish-

ments upon me, thou shalt not make me to be troubled. For He said, "Fear not those who can kill your bodies, [but] who have no power to kill your souls; but fear Him Who hath the power to destroy both your souls and your bodies in Gehenna." Then the Emperor commanded [the executioners] to bring a red-hot iron and to apply it to his members, and to apply blazing torches to his ribs; and when they had done this, instead of smoke, a sweet odour arose and it spread about among all those who were in that place. Now although they tortured him horribly he neither uttered a groan nor wept. And the Emperor said unto him, 'Where is thy Physician now? Let Him come and heal thee. And thou didst also say, If I die He is able to raise me up [again].' And Saint Mercurius said unto him, 'Do whatsoever thou wishest. For thou hast power over my body, but God is the master of my soul. And even if thou shalt destroy my body, my soul shall endure, it being incorruptible.' And the Emperor further ordered them to hang him up head downwards, and to bring a large stone and to suspend it from his neck, so that he might become suffocated and die quickly. And the power of God dwelt in the martyr, and [His] grace, and he subsisted for a long time under this punishment.

27 And when the Emperor Decius saw that he bore the pain with fortitude, and that the torture in no way affected him, he ordered them to remove the stone which was attached to his neck, and to bring a leather whip with four thongs, and to beat him until the ground [under him] was saturated with his blood. And the noble man bore up under this torture also, and he was even like unto an adamantine stone in his fortitude. And Mercurius said, 'I give thanks unto Thee, O my Lord, that Thou hast held me to be worthy to suffer for Thy holy Name.' And when the Emperor saw that his resolution was immovable, and that he could never persuade him to offer up sacrifice [to the gods], he came to a decision, for it was urgent for him to go to Rome, and he passed the sentence of death upon him, and ordered them to dispatch him with the sword, saying, 'Mercurius having treated the gods with scorn, and despised the holy dogma of our compassion, and esteemed our power of no account, [I] hereby command that he be taken to the city of Cappadocia, and that he be beheaded there, in the sight of all men.'

28 For unto every one who, having received honour from the Emperor, shall contradict his command, shall stripes be given, and finally he shall be delivered over to the sword.' When those who had been appointed to remove

him lifted him up, and set him on a beast, they had to tie him on because the body of the martyr swayed about from side to side, for he was, as it were, dead. And they journeyed on the high road, and after a few days they reached the city of Caesarea, and in this state they carried him along, little by little. And the Lord stood by him, and He said unto him, 'Mercurius, come, take thy rest with Me, since thou hast finished thy course, and hast kept the faith; receive thou the crown of the athlete's craft, and that which hath been allotted to thee thou shalt inherit.' And when the Lord had appeared unto him the martyr became strong, and he said unto those who were in charge of him, 'Do quickly that which ye have been commanded to do. The Lord Who calleth every man to repentance shall make you to be worthy of His grace. For He is rich, and He is wont to be gracious unto those who go to Him willingly, and without ill will.' And when he had said these things they took off his head, and he completed the good confession of our Saviour on the twentieth day of November, which is Athor.

29 And a great miracle took place which is worthy of mention. After the martyr had ended [his course] his body became as white as snow, and it emitted a sweet smell which was like unto choice incense, and because of this sign very many men became Christians. And they laid the holy man in a prominent place, wherein very many works of power and miracles were performed. Glory be to God the Father, and to His Only-begotten Son, Jesus the Christ, our Lord, and to the Holy Spirit, now and always, for ever and ever. Amen.

XII. A DISCOURSE ON THE ARCHANGEL GABRIEL BY CELESTINUS,
ARCHBISHOP OF ROME

1 (Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7028) The Discourse Which THE GLORIOUS PATRIARCH, WHO BECAME A HABITATION FOR THE HOLY SPIRIT, APA CELESTINUS, THE ARCHBISHOP OF THE GREAT CITY OF ROME, PRONOUNCED ON THE GREAT HONOUR OF THE MESSENGER OF GOOD TIDINGS OF THE WORDS OF LIGHT, THE ARCHANGEL GABRIEL, ON THE DAY OF HIS HOLY FESTIVAL, WHICH IS THE TWENTIETH DAY OF THE MONTH KHOIAK (sic). AND HE SPAKE ALSO CONCERNING THE DEEDS OF POWER AND THE MARVELLOUS THINGS THAT TOOK PLACE IN HIS HOLY SHRINE WHICH HAD BEEN BUILT IN [HIS HONOUR] IN THE CITY OF ROME. AND [HE SPAKE] ALSO ABOUT THE WORDS WHICH ARE WRITTEN IN THE LAW, 'WHATSOEVER THING THOU WOULDST

NOT WISH TO BE DONE UNTO THEE, THAT DO NOT UNTO ANY ONE.' AND [HE SPAKE] ALSO CONCERNING [THE WORDS], THE GREATEST SIN [OF ALL] IS A LYING TESTIMONY, ESPECIALLY THE CONFIRMATION OF THE LIE BY MEANS OF FALSE SWEARING.

² And [he spake] also concerning [the words], prayer helpeth a man, and delivereth him from the snares of satan. IN THE PEACE OF GOD! BLESS US. AMEN. AMEN. ³ Thanks be unto God! Now His grace hath acted as a protector to us, and He hath prepared us by His invisible hand, and hath brought us into the circle of this year of our lives, and hath brought us together in the shrine of the announcer of glad tidings of the worlds of light, the holy Archangel Gabriel. For this reason I will take (i. e. borrow) the voice of the holy hymn-writer David, the collector of the words (? that are sweet, and the righteous king, and I will say with my poor tongue, 'This is the day which the Lord hath made; let us gather ourselves together and rejoice and be glad in it.' And [to] Judah [he] saith, 'Celebrate thy feast, and give the things which thou hast vowed.' Therefore blessed be God, for He hath made us worthy, and hath gathered us together in the shrine of His holy steward and messenger of glad tidings of the worlds of light, the holy Archangel Gabriel. Let us assemble then in purity of heart and purity of body, and let us celebrate the festival of him whose festival both God and His angels keep.

⁴ Let us cast out from us every blemish and all hypocrisy, and let us celebrate the festival of the Archangel Michael, and let us cry out and say with the sacred Psalmist David, 'Bless the Lord, O all ye His angels, ye mighty ones of power, who perform their words.' Verily, O holy Archangel Gabriel, great is the glory which God hath given unto thee over all the spiritual and angel hosts that are in the heights of heaven, O thou archangel who wast called by this name of 'Gabriel' by God from the beginning, and who dost continue to serve the offspring of God, that is to say, the Word. Now the interpretation [of the name] of Gabriel is 'God and man', according to the type of our Lord, Who came in humility, and Who put on the flesh for our sakes. He was God and man, and His Godhood was not separated from His manhood, not even for the twinkling of an eye, God forbid! But He was God and man, completely and at the same time, in the womb of His mother. She brought Him forth: He was God and man. They crucified Him: He was God and man. He became the very same flesh [as man], in Godhood in the same nature, indivisible, immutable, inseparable each from the other.

5 Come now, O Nestorius, thou truly godless man, thou mouthless person, who didst deserve to be buried, fill thyself full of shame, and hold thyself to be covered with disgrace! Come now, and look at the King Christ. He is One One. He is God and man. Kings and their armies come and bow down to Him in worship, and the whole world partaketh of His Body and of His Blood. They cry out in the voice of that blessed man, saying, 'Remember Thou me, O Lord, when Thou shalt come into Thy kingdom.' And thou, O thou profane man, didst languish in thy misery (?), and didst die in exile because of thy blasphemy, and because of thy tongue which was full of poison. 6 Now we had well nigh gone and forgotten thy honour and thy glory, O thou great Archangel Gabriel. But shew unto us consideration, for I am exceedingly helpless in my actions, and my feeble tongue is unable to describe the glory which God hath given unto thee, O Gabriel, thou archangel of joy. What tongue of flesh and what human mouth is there that can describe thy honour, O thou holy priest of the Great King? Let my withered (? face rejoice, O Gabriel, thou messenger of glad tidings of the angel hosts, O thou true ministrant, who dost minister to the offspring of his Lord, C O thou orator of the truth, thou herald of the kingdom which is in the heavens! I wish to see thee, O holy Archangel Gabriel, who didst hold converse with the Virgin; O thou traveller for the journey from heaven of God, the Almighty One of mankind, I desire to see thee. O thou who didst hold converse with the Queen of Women, I wish to see thy face resplendent with joy. Thou didst hold converse with the choicest woman in heaven and in earth, thou didst say unto her, 'Hail, O thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee.' O thou Commander-in-Chief of the King of kings, my feeble tongue is incapable of describing thy glory! I will, however, say, 'Blessed be God, the Merciful, who did say with His mouth of God (i. e.

7 divine mouth), "In the place where two or three are in My Name, there am I in their midst."' If God is with two or three, then who shall be able to estimate this day His joy, and that of His Good Father, and that of the Holy Spirit, when they see this great multitude of listeners who are gathered together to glorify His great and holy Archangel Gabriel, the archangel of joy? Let us then drive away from us all violence, and all backbiting, and all blasphemy, and all hatred, and all lying, and every evil deed, for those who do them [fall] under a curse. For every man who uttereth a lie is like unto the Devil, who never stood in the truth. Hast thou never heard what is written,

'The Lord shall destroy every one who uttereth a lie' and also, 'Every one who uttereth a lie is not of the truth, but is of Satan.' Therefore, he who uttereth a lie, or taketh a false oath about the possessions of this world, [which] he must depart and leave, is like unto Judas the Iscariot, who betrayed his Lord for the sake of money. Hast thou not heard what is written, 'Cursed is the man who shall utter the Name of the Lord over a matter which is vain?'

8 Now I wish to speak to you for the benefit of your souls, but it is our God of the Archangel Gabriel, whose feast we are celebrating this day, Who urgeth me on. For all the angels whom God sent under the Old [Covenant] ministered unto men who died; but it was thou thyself, O holy archangel, whom the Father sent under the New Covenant unto Mary, the holy Virgin, to announce to her the birth, according to the flesh, of His Only-begotten Son. O thou Archangel Gabriel, to whom honour is meet, O thou wise herald, O thou holy innocent, whose wings are laden with sweet odour, O thou master of the house who art ready, and who preparedst a house for Him that laid the foundation of all the world! God looked through all creation, and He found among the whole race of women none who could be compared with Mary, and He was pleased to dwell in her under a dispensation, until He had redeemed our race. God looked through all the hosts of angels in heaven, and He found no one who could be compared with thee in the dispensation of thy holy name [O Gabriel]. For this reason He sent thee to His Mother, the Virgin, to give her glad tidings, and a being incorporeal was sent unto the holy and believing woman. He sent the messenger of the glad tidings of life to the Queen of the race of women.

9 And Gabriel was sent, and upon him rested the cloud of life, wherein was the life of every man, and it was his duty to make it to dwell for nine months in the womb of her who was the choicest woman of heaven and earth. And when the [arch]angel appeared unto her, he said unto her, 'Hail, O thou who hast found favour! The Lord is with thee. Behold, thou shalt conceive, and thou shalt bring forth a Son, and thou shalt call His Name Jesus.' And immediately he had said these words to her, she conceived through the hearing of her ears, and through the salutation of the Archangel Gabriel, and the Son of God went down into her womb, she being unconscious of it. 10 I beseech thee, O holy Archangel Gabriel, thou messenger of the good tidings of life, when thou comest into our midst this day, wherein this great

festival is celebrated everywhere, bless thou this great multitude which is gathered together in thy Holy Name. For, behold, thy Lord, and the Lord of us all, is with us this day, together with all His holy angels, and His Mother, the Virgin, and they celebrate the festival in thine honour. And all the incorporeal angel hosts rejoice with thee on the day of the revelation of thy holy name. O Gabriel, thou consolation of the angel hosts, thou object of boasting of the ranks of angels who are in the heavens, great is the honour which God hath given unto thee in heaven and on earth. In heaven thou art called 'messenger of glad tidings of the worlds of light', and on earth thou art called 'angel of joy', because of the great and marvellous services which have been entrusted unto thee, O Gabriel, thou truly faithful ministrant. For when persecution (?) rose up against Daniel the Prophet, and they cast him down into a pit of lions, and he was in sore affliction through hunger and thirst, the holy Archangel Gabriel had pity upon him, by the command of his Lord. And he seized Habakkuk by the hair of the head—now he had the dinner in his hand—and by the fervour of the Spirit he transported him from Judea to Babylon, a distance of forty caravan stages, and took him straightway into the den of the lions, and gave the dinner to Daniel. And Daniel ate, and blessed God, saying, 'Thou hast remembered me, O Lord, O Thou Who forsakest not those who love Thee.'

¹¹ And it was also Gabriel who shut the mouths of the lions, so that during the seven days in which he (Daniel) was at the bottom of the pit of the lions they attacked him not. And it was the Archangel Gabriel who appeared unto Daniel, and taught him [the meaning] of the vision, even as it is written, 'Gabriel, make me to understand the vision'; and, 'Behold, the man Gabriel came to me, and gave me strength according to the former [measure]'. It was the Archangel Gabriel who appeared unto Zacharias in the Temple, and announced to him the birth of John, and when he made himself unbelieving he caused dumbness to make its appearance in him. And it was Gabriel who appeared unto the shepherds, and proclaimed unto them the glad tidings, that is to say, the news of the birth of God the Word, of the truly spotless lamb, the God-bearer Mary. It was the Archangel Gabriel who brought out the Hebrews from captivity, and

¹² delivered the people in the land of their servitude. And he saved them in the desert, and wrought all these signs by the hand of Moses, the greatest of the Prophets. And Gabriel is the faithful messenger who is equipped for

service in the midst of the angel host, and it is he who bringeth glad tidings among the angels. And Gabriel is the body-guard(?) of God Almighty, and the steward of the kingdom which is in the heavens. O Gabriel, thou faithful messenger of glad tidings, who is there that can declare thy glory? What tongue of flesh belonging to the men who are on the earth can declare thy great glory, O thou Archangel Gabriel? Thou standest before God at all times, according to what thou thyself didst testify to Zacharias in the Temple, saying, 'I am Gabriel who stand before God.' And what human heart, even though it be that of the wisest man on earth, can make manifest unto us thy honour, O thou Archangel Gabriel, unto whom belongeth the face that radiateth gladness

13 and joy? Moreover, there is no honour which is like unto thine, for thou standest before God at all times, and thou dost make supplication unto Him on behalf of the whole race of Adam. And at the moment when all the orders of angels, and these Cherubim and Seraphim cast themselves down before God, and confess the glory, and honour, and power of God, the King of heaven and earth, and they cry out always, saying, 'Holy art Thou, Holy art Thou, Holy art Thou, Lord of Hosts, the heavens and the earth are full of Thy glory,' [at that moment I say] the great Commander-in-Chief, the messenger of the good tidings of life, Gabriel, and the great Commander-in-Chief Michael, the governor of the heavens, cast themselves down before God, Who is seated on His throne, saying, 'O Lord God Almighty, have mercy on Thy people. Shew compassion on Thy likeness and image. Redeem the work of Thy hands. Accept not the accusation of the Enemy against them, for he hateth Thy servants. Give strength unto the men whom Thou hast created according to Thine image and likeness. Bless the work of their hands. Increase the fruits of their ground. Send unto them the dew and rain at all times. Make thou the waters of the river [Nile] to rise for them, according to Thy will. Forgive them their foolish wickednesses. Make not a reckoning with them of their iniquities, for Thou well knowest that it is [their] ignorance of the [wiles of the] Devil which hath led astray their hearts from Thee.' And they neither cease from their prostration on their faces, nor from their invocations of Him by day and by night until He hath forgiven His image and His likeness, and this His loving-kindness and compassion come upon them (i.e. men) through their supplication.

14 But, I beseech thee, O holy archangel, forgive me, for I have made bold to undertake a work of which I am unworthy, and which is beyond the measure of my ability, that is to say, to declare thy honour; nevertheless the excuse of my halting tongue shall not prevent me from singing a little song in thine honour. And He Who is in truth the Great King shall be able to [pay unto thee] honour according to thy merit. I will now turn back, and will declare unto you certain of the works of power and of the marvellous deeds of the great Archangel Gabriel, which took place in the holy martyrium wherein we are gathered together to the glory of God and of His great and holy Archangel Gabriel, whose festival we are celebrating this day.

15 There was a certain rich man in this city whose name was Philip, and this man was exceedingly rich in gold and silver, and in flocks and herds. And according to what was commonly reported about him, he possessed more than fifty denarii of gold, for he was a very great merchant, and he carried on business in many countries. And a very large number of men in his employ used to work in foreign countries, and they brought to him great quantities of merchandise from all lands. And the people used to shower upon him blessings innumerable because of the good works that he did. And this good man was naturally charitable, and he was very generous to the poor whom he loved, and he used frequently to give large gifts and alms to the poor and to the orphans, and besides these he gave large offerings to the shrine of the holy Archangel Gabriel. Now he lived hard by the shrine of the holy Archangel Gabriel, and there was a certain poor man who lived near him, whose name was Stephen, and he begged his bread day by day. And Philip, the rich man, in his goodness used to provide the poor man with everything which he needed, for the love of God, and as I have already said he lived near him. Now the poor man Stephen knew how to read and write well, and the rich man Philip was uneducated, and did not know how to read or write.

16 And Philip often made the poor man conduct his correspondence for him with his customers, and with the men who did business under his directions, and he trusted him with all his confidential matters; and Stephen wrote letters about every matter which concerned Philip's business. And very often the men who bought from the rich man and sold to him gave much money to the poor man secretly, to make him to keep the rich man ignorant of his various transactions in business, and to prevent him from knowing what [moneys] he should be receiving from them day by day. In this wise the

poor man gradually became a rich man, but the riches which he had gathered together wrongfully were scattered abroad suddenly, even as I shall now make clear unto you, according to the words of the honey-sweet writer David, who saith, 'Trust not in wrongdoing, neither set thy heart to snatch at riches; if [riches] come unto thee, set not thy heart upon them.'

17 And when the poor man had, little by little, gained wealth, he found bread, and ate thereof. And on a certain day he went to the rich man, and said unto him, 'I wish thee to do me a favour. Give unto me a little gold, for I want to become a merchant and, together with my sons, to traffic therewith, and when the time [cometh] wherein thou shalt ask for thy gold to be returned I will give it unto thee, together with thy share of the profit which I shall make, and I shall be under an obligation to thee.' And the rich man said unto him, 'Go, and prepare thy bond for me, setting out therein of what thou hast need, and I will give it unto thee.' And the poor man sat down, and prepared the bond [asking] the rich man for seven hundred oboli, and he swore by God Almighty that, when the business was done, he would give unto the rich man one half of the profit which he should make on them. And the rich man took the bond, and gave the seven hundred oboli to the poor man, who went and traded with them for three years. And although he gained a very large sum of money thereby he made no attempt to give any of it to the rich man, either as capital or as interest. And when many days had passed, the rich man brought the poor man into his house to set his accounts in order for him.

18 And when he had opened the chest wherein the bonds (or, contracts) and the ledgers were kept, he set Stephen to search for the documents of which he was in need. And when Stephen, the man of whom we are speaking, found his own bond he slipped it inside his under garment (or, shirt), without the rich man, on account of his innocence and want of suspicion, knowing anything about it; and he came out of the house without the rich [man] knowing [that he had it]. 19 Thus day by day the poor man waxed rich little by little, but the riches which are gathered together by means of wrongdoing perish quickly and become scattered, even as I have already said. And when Stephen went into his own house he rent his bond and tore it up into little pieces, and he said in his heart, through his evil thoughts which Satan thrust into his mind, 'Verily I shall never now pay this man any part of the seven hundred oboli which I owe him. And if he shall say unto me, "Give

me the oboli," I will say unto him, "I owe thee nothing. Produce [my] bond (or, contract) which thou must hold if I really owe thee [money], and if thou canst not do so I owe thee nothing. I have no need of gold for myself." Then I will take them for myself and become rich thereby, and they will suffice me for a very long time. I will eat with them, and I will drink, and I will heal my soul.' And he did not remember that which is written, saying, 'Thou fool, thy soul shall be taken from thee. The things which thou hast prepared, whose shall they be?'

²⁰ We are, however, delaying our narrative. Now when four years had passed, and the rich man saw that the poor man had paid him nothing, either as regards principal or interest, he made haste and sent a message unto Stephen by his servants, summoning him to him. And when the poor man had come to him, he said unto him, 'Give me the seven hundred oboli which thou owest me, for I am in need of them.' And that godless man began to make a denial to the pious rich man, saying, 'I have no money whatsoever of thine, and thou didst never give me any.' And the rich man said unto him angrily, 'O thou wicked man, behold, have I not in my hands the bond (or, contract) which thou didst make with me, for seven hundred oboli? Behold, it is five years since I gave them to thee. Not only hast thou not paid me any interest on them, but lo, thou now wishest to take possession altogether of that which belongeth to another.' And the poor man answered and said, 'If the bond is in thy possession, produce it here so that I may see it, and then I will go and deliver unto [thee] my house and my children, and thou wilt be master of seven hundred oboli.' And the rich man examined all the bonds and all the [other] documents [in the chest], and when he could not find the bond he knew forthwith that it had been stolen and carried away.

²¹ And he said unto the poor man, 'I know of a certainty that it is thou who hast carried it away by theft. But if thou art bold enough in thy heart to say that I did not give thee seven hundred oboli, come and let us go to the shrine of the holy Archangel Gabriel which is in our quarter of the city, and [if] thou wilt swear unto me [there], and wilt convince me, I will make no further claim upon thee.' ²² Then that fool thrust aside all fear of the Lord from him, and the [remembrance of] the very many benefits which he had received from the rich and pious man, and he forgot altogether that which is written, saying, 'The Lord shall destroy every one who uttereth a lie.' And he said unto the rich man, 'Let us [go], and I will swear to thee'; and straightway

they walked to the shrine of the Archangel Gabriel. And when they arrived there [they found] a great multitude of people gathered together, and they wondered what had happened. And the rich man said unto the poor man, 'Give me the seven hundred oboli which I gave unto thee. Swear not to a lie lest evil come upon thee.' And that fool said, 'I owe thee nothing.' And the rich man said unto him, 'If thou owest me nothing, swear it to me so that I may depart.' And that godless man held in contempt the powers

²³ of the holy Archangel Gabriel in respect of moneys which were lost (i. e. bad debts). And in his foolish stupidity he laid his hand upon the door of the altar-chamber, and he swore an oath, saying, 'I swear by the mighty power of the Archangel Gabriel that I owe thee nothing, and that thou didst never give unto me the seven hundred oboli for which thou art harassing me.' And straightway, whilst yet the words were in his mouth, a power smote him, and he fell headlong on his face, and both his eyes became blind, and his face was turned round behind him, and his tongue filled his mouth. And he fell down on the pavement of the sanctuary, and he bit his own tongue and lips in great agony, and he foamed at the mouth like a man who is possessed of a devil. ²⁴ And when the multitude saw what had happened they marvelled and were greatly amazed, and they cried out with a loud voice, saying, 'One is the God of the Archangel Gabriel.' And after a considerable space of time, during which he was suffering torture, the poor man Stephen cried out with a loud voice, saying, 'Forgive me, O my Lord Archangel Gabriel, that I dared to swear a false oath in thy name. This rich man did lend me seven hundred oboli five years ago, and I worked (i. e. traded) with them, and I have not given him anything at all for them. And having found a favourable opportunity I stole and carried away the bond, and I deceived him, wishing to keep possession of the oboli and to become rich thereby. Woe is me! What shall I do? For I have sworn a false oath.' And straightway he sent a messenger to his house in haste, and his wife brought seven hundred oboli, and gave them to the rich man. And the man Stephen remained in a state of torture the whole day, and it seemed to him as if a spear was being driven into his body, and he yielded up his spirit in the most miserable way that it is possible for a man to do. He swore a false oath, and he gained nothing at all thereby except the destruction of both his soul and his body.

²⁵ Thus ye see, O my beloved, the manner in which the power of the Archangel Gabriel prevaieth, in whose honour we are celebrating the festiv-

al this day, and that he who sweareth a false oath in his name shall surely die in misery. Let us put ourselves far away from lying, that evil vice, and especially from those who confirm the lie by a false oath. Do ye not hear the Lord crying out to every one, 'Let your words be Yea, Yea, and Nay, Nay, so that judgement may not be passed on you?' And let us take care to guard our life against the terrible oaths which we are in the habit of swearing, especially concerning subjects of the most trivial character, lest we receive great condemnation and punishment everlasting in the place wherein a man will not be deemed worthy of visitation. ²⁶ And this maketh me remember that I promised to relate unto you a few of the works of power and of the miracles of the great Archangel Gabriel, whose festival we are celebrating this day, to the glory of God and of His great Archangel Gabriel, the messenger of glad tidings. Now there was another man in this city who had been blind in both eyes from his childhood. And when he heard about the works of power and the miracles of the Archangel Gabriel, he asked the servants of his household to take him into the shrine of the Archangel Gabriel, saying, 'Assuredly his mercy will come to me, and he will graciously give me the light of mine eyes.' And they took him into the shrine of the Archangel Gabriel, and he was saying, 'Assuredly his mercy shall come to me.' And when he had gone inside he cast himself on his face before the holy altar, and he wept, saying, 'O my lord, thou holy Archangel Gabriel, shew compassion upon my misery, and graciously grant unto me the light of my eyes, for I suffer exceedingly.' And whilst he was weeping, and saying these words, he felt the hand of a man touch his eyes. And when all the people who were gathered together in the shrine of the Archangel Gabriel saw that the man who was blind could see, and that he was uttering loud cries for joy, saying, 'One is the God of the holy Archangel Gabriel, for His mercy hath come to me, and He

²⁷ hath bestowed upon me the light of my eyes,' the whole multitude rushed to him, and the people asked him, saying, 'Tell us what hath happened unto thee, and how it is that thou canst see.' And he told them the good news and about everything which had happened unto him, saying, 'It happened to me after I had come unto this holy shrine. I cast myself down before the holy altar, and I made entreaty to the holy Archangel Gabriel. And straightway I felt the hand of a man come down over my face, and it made the Sign of the Cross over my eyes, and straightway I was able to see. And I heard a voice saying unto me, "Behold, I grant unto thee the light of

thine' eyes, according to the supplication which thou didst make to me." And I said unto him, "Who art thou, my lord?" And he said unto

28 me, "I am Gabriel, the archangel." These are the words which I heard, but I saw no man talking to me.' And when the people heard these things they lifted up their voices and cried out loudly, saying, 'One is the God of the Archangel Gabriel.' And the man who had recovered his sight remained in the shrine of the Archangel Gabriel, and ministered therein until the day of his death. 29 And there was another man, who was rich in gold and in silver, and he was dumb, and he after a time fell sick of the disease which is called 'gout', and he suffered excruciating pains in his feet by day and by night. And he had spent ample means on the physicians, and was in no way benefited thereby; on the contrary, his disease became more severe. And when he heard of the works of power and the miracles which took place in the shrine of the holy Archangel Gabriel, he made his slaves take him up and carry him into his holy shrine. And he lay down in the shrine, and he was in great pain, and he cried out, saying, 'My lord, thou holy Archangel Gabriel, have compassion upon me, and graciously heal me, for I am suffering exceedingly great pain.' And there was likewise another man there who was paralysed in his legs, and he had always to drag himself along the ground like a child. And he was in the shrine lying down, and he was entreating the archangel to grant him healing, and he was lying down by the side of the blind man in the shrine, and he was suffering agony in his feet, and the two men were seeking for healing at the hands of the holy Archangel Gabriel. And at that moment the archangel had compassion upon them, and he was pleased in his benevolence to bestow healing upon both of them at the same moment.

30 Thereupon he appeared unto the paralysed man in a dream, and he was in the form of a man of light, whose face was emitting rays of light. And he said unto the man who was paralysed, 'If thou wishest earnestly to be healed and to recover [thy] health stay where thou art until all the people who are in the shrine have lain down. And when thou art sure that they are all asleep rise up, uncover thy hands and thy feet, and go to the bed of the rich man who is suffering pain in his feet, and begin to lift up (or, carry off) the bed whereon he is, and thou shalt find healing. Thou shalt walk on thy feet, and thou shalt recover straightway, and thou shalt depart to thy house like one who hath never suffered from illness.' 31 Ac Ac Ac And when the man awoke from his dream he marvelled, and he said within himself, 'Verily I have been

deceived by this dream. If I were to do this, and to go and carry away the rich man's clothes, he would certainly wake up, and his slave would seize me. And, moreover, I am helpless, being paralysed, and they would deliver me over into the hands of the Eparch of the city, and he would kill me. I should be going in quest of healing for my body, and should ruin my soul through the tortures which they would inflict upon me. No, I will never do this thing.' And on the coming night the Archangel Gabriel came to him, wearing royal apparel of great magnificence, and he was shining more brightly than the sun. And he spake unto the paralytic—now a very strong sweet odour issued from his mouth—and said unto him, 'For what reason hast thou been careless, and hast not done that which I commanded thee? Be certain of this thing: if thou wilt not obey me never till thy dying day shalt thou be relieved of thy disease. If, however, thou wilt do what I command thee thou shalt recover thy health forthwith.' And when the archangel had said these things unto him he departed from him immediately; and the paralytic woke up trembling and afraid. And he strengthened his heart boldly, saying, 'Verily it was the Archangel Gabriel who spake unto me. Now, therefore, even though it happen that [the slaves of the rich man] seize me and put me to death, I will not be disobedient on this occasion. Let the will of the Lord be done.' Thus the paralytic hid the matter in his heart, and he informed no man of what had taken place.

³² And when the evening was come the paralytic waited until all the people who slept in the shrine were asleep, and then he rose up, and stripped his hands and his feet, and he went to the deaf man, who was suffering [from gout] in his feet, and he seized the clothing which was on him and began to pull it off him. And the man who was diseased in his feet and who was dumb awoke from his sleep in a state of fright, and God and the Archangel Gabriel had compassion upon him, and the fetter of his tongue was broken straightway, and he spake, although he had never uttered a word before, and he cried out with a loud voice to his slaves, saying, 'Get up quickly and seize this thief who hath come and carried off my clothes which were on me.' And the paralytic trembled lest the slaves of the rich man should seize him, and straightway the power of control came to his hands and his feet, and he leaped up from the ground, and took to flight on his feet like unto a trained runner until he reached the place wherein he slept. So likewise also was it with the man who had gout in his feet, for the power of control came to him, and he

jumped down from his bed like a man who had never ailed at all, and pursued the paralytic and his servants, and he wished to seize him.

³³ And after a little time, when they had realized the act of grace which had been vouchsafed to the two of them, that is to say, to the rich man who had been relieved of his gout and also of his dumbness, and to the paralytic, and that they had gotten control of their limbs, the two men came forward, and they acknowledged the healing which had come to them both, and they cried out both together, 'One is the God of the holy Archangel Gabriel.'

³⁴ And when the whole multitude of people who were gathered together in the shrine of the holy Archangel Gabriel had seen this great miracle they were filled with very great fear, and stupefaction came upon them. Then they asked the paralytic, 'What happened to thee to make thee act thus?' And he declared unto them everything that had happened to him, saying, 'Behold, this is what happened to me. It was the Archangel Gabriel, who appeared unto me twice, dressed in a garb of light, who did this.' And all the people who were gathered together in the shrine of the holy Archangel Gabriel lifted up their voices and cried out, saying, 'One is the God of the valiant archangel! Great are the works of power of the messenger of the glad tidings of life, Gabriel, whose name is most honourable.' And the men who had obtained healing remained in the shrine of the Archangel Gabriel, and they prayed and fasted therein until the day of their death. What shall I say about the miracles which thou hast wrought, O thou mighty orator of God the Word, thou holy Archangel Gabriel? Verily, if I were to carry out my intention to its full extent, I would do my utmost to describe each and every one of thy miracles, and I would not narrate a part of them only. However, I must only describe a few, and I therefore make a selection from the great and important works which thou hast performed, to the glory of the Christ our Saviour and of His great and holy Archangel Gabriel, whose festival we are celebrating this day.

³⁵ There was a certain man who lived in a village which was about six or eight miles distant from the city, and this man had an only son who had arrived at the age of manhood. After a time he fell sick of the disease of the gout (?), and he suffered excruciating pains in his hands and his feet, both by day and by night, and he was wholly unable to lift up his head. And he passed six years lying upon a bed, and never once rose up from it during that period. And his parents and his kinsfolk often fell into despair about him, and said,

'Verily death would be far better for him than this suffering which attacketh him.' And his parents spent very large sums of money on physicians, from whom he received no benefit whatsoever; on the contrary, he became worse. And when his father heard of the works of power and the miracles that were taking place in the shrine of the holy Archangel Gabriel, which was in the city of Rome, he made a vow, saying, 'If the God of the Archangel Gabriel will hearken unto my supplication, and will graciously bestow healing upon my son, I will give six oboli to thy shrine yearly until the day of my death. For I know well, O my lord Archangel, that thou art [able] to do everything.

³⁶ Now I cannot bring my son to thy shrine, for he is neither able to walk nor to ride a beast because of the pain that is upon him, but I believe that thy holy power filleth every place. Let thy mercy come to me, and grant unto me the healing of my little son, and [if thou wilt] I will acknowledge thy power until the day of my death.' And straightway the Archangel Gabriel hearkened unto the entreaty of the man, and he wished to bestow healing upon his son, for he is compassionate. And he brought a little drowsiness upon the young man, and he slept more than he usually did, for he slept neither by day nor by night, and he was [always] crying out because of the excruciating pain ³⁷ which consumed him. And when the young man had fallen asleep the holy Archangel Gabriel came unto him in a dream. He was arrayed in great and indescribable glory, and he was enveloped in a mantle which emitted rays of light, and he said unto the young man, 'Behold, I am going to remove the pain from thee, and no suffering shall attack thee from this hour.' And the young man said, 'My lord, who art thou that art surrounded with such great glory as this?' And he said unto him, 'I am Gabriel the Archangel'; and straightway he disappeared from him. And when the young man awoke in the morning he found that all his body was bathed in sweat. And when he perceived that healing had come to him, and that there was no pain whatsoever in his body, he leaped off his bed and stood upright, and he ran

³⁸ along and skipped, and he blessed God; now he had become like unto one who had never been ill at all. And straightway he cried out, saying, 'I glorify thee, O great and holy Archangel Gabriel, because thou hast remembered me, and hast granted healing unto me.' And when his father and his mother saw the healing which had come to their son unexpectedly they wept many tears, and then they asked their son, saying, 'What was it that

happened unto thee, O our beloved son?' And he described unto them the dream which he had seen, and straightway they cried out, saying, 'One is the God of the holy Archangel Gabriel. Great is the benefit which thou hast performed for us, O good messenger of glad tidings.' And there was great rejoicing in all their house because of the healing of the young man which had taken place, more especially because he was the only son. And every one who heard marvelled exceedingly, and they glorified God and the holy Archangel Gabriel, and the report [of the healing] reached every one.

³⁹ And on the morrow, which was Sunday, the man called his son and gave unto him the six oboli and certain other gifts of value, and he sent him to the city of Rome to present them to the shrine of the holy Archangel Gabriel, according to the vow which he had made. And the young man took them with gladness, and he put them in his [wallet] to go to the shrine of the holy Archangel Gabriel. And having journeyed on by himself until he drew nigh unto the city, which was about three miles off, he came to a wood (or, forest) of large trees and thick undergrowth through which it was very difficult to travel. And behold, straightway a very fierce lion rushed out of that dense forest, and with a roar sprang upon the young man, and leaped upon him, and digging his teeth into his side dragged him away into the forest, wishing to devour him. And the young man cried out in great distress, saying, 'O my lord, thou Archangel Gabriel, help me in this great distress, for thou knowest, O my lord, that my father hath sent me to thy shrine to present these little gifts to thy holy shrine, and then to return to my house, but behold, I shall die through this lion.' And at that very moment, behold, the holy Archangel Gabriel came forth from heaven, wearing a garb of light, and he took the young man out of the mouth of the lion, and he made the Sign of the Cross over his side, and healed him of the wound which the lion had inflicted upon his

⁴⁰ [The remainder of the Encomium is wanting]

Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt, Part 2

TRANSLATED BY E. A. WALLIS BUDGE

Manuscripts of the 5th–10th century

The last six of the eighteen Coptic texts that Budge first published: an encomium on the archangel Michael, the histories of the monks of the Egyptian desert by Paphnutius, the prayer of Athanasius when dying, a discourse of Timothy of Alexandria on Michael, an encomium on Raphael, and a Coptic Apocalypse of Paul. Several are legendary or incomplete, and the names of the authors are those that the manuscripts give.

XIII. THE ENCOMIUM OF THEODOSIUS, ARCHBISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA, ON SAINT MICHAEL

¹(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7021) The encomium which our holy father, who is honourable in every respect, apa theodosius, archbishop of rakote, pronounced on the festival of the holy archangel michael, which is the twelfth day of the month athor. HE RELATED ALSO VERY MANY APHORISMS CONCERNING ALMS AND OBLATIONS. HE SAID, 'IT IS THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL WHO SERVETH EVERY ONE WHO GIVETH ALMS, AND HE TAKETH THEIR ALMS AND THEIR COMMEMORATION INTO THE PRESENCE OF GOD, AND HE FULFILLETH ALL THEIR PETITIONS'; AND HE SAID, 'THE CHEERFUL GIVER IS HE WHOM GOD LOVETH'. AND HE DISCOURSED ALSO CONCERNING ALL THE SAINTS WHO ARE [MENTIONED] IN THE SCRIPTURES, AND WHOM THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL ASSISTED IN ALL THEIR TRIBULATIONS, AND DELIVERED FROM ALL THEIR AFFLICTIONS. IN THE PEACE OF GOD. BLESS US. AMEN. I RECEIVE the first-fruits of the speech of my mouth from the hand of Him Who shall give me consolation and encouragement in everything, Who knoweth everything,

²Who openeth the door of speech to those who seek Him, Who giveth wisdom to the wise, Who alloweth Himself to be seen by every one that

seeketh Him with benevolent cagerness. Who is this, except the Word of the Good Father, Who is broken in His Holy Body by my sinful hands, Whose precious Blood I pour out into the cup and administer unto those who crave for it, my Lord and my God, Jesus the Christ, the God and Saviour of us all? He crieth out, saying, 'Every one who asketh shall receive, and he who seeketh shall find, and to him who knocketh it shall be opened.' And now I have seen the munificence of my Lord with gladness, and I will go unto Him this day, and I will ask that I may receive in large measure, and I will knock so that He shall open unto me. But now, O thou who art listening, and who lovest to be instructed, thou wilt say,

3 'What is this petition which thou wilt ask of Him this day, after what thou hast already received? Thou hast previously uttered a Discourse on the New Moon, which is the beginning of all the festivals of each year in the Lord. Similarly thou hast already pronounced an Encomium on the life of him than whom among those who were born of women none hath arisen who is greater, the holy forerunner of our Lord Jesus the Christ, and His kinsman, John the Baptist. And thou now sayest, "I am going to ask for something else." O my holy father, dost thou not know that moderation in everything is good, and whether thou eatest, or whether thou drinkest, or whether thou prayest, there must be moderation in everything, even according to what the master Paul saith, "The worship of God in a sufficient degree is a great advantage (or profit)?"'

4 And I will make answer unto thee straightway, O beloved friend, saying, 'Right well doest thou in speaking, for thou hast revealed friendly anxiety on my account. Nevertheless, I shall make bold to speak, even as did the "Friend of God" who became the father of a multitude of nations, namely, our father Abraham the Patriarch, who said, Since I have already once taken upon myself to speak to my Lord, I will speak this time also.' And even though it may be over [bold] on my part to make myself equal unto him with whom God and His angels sojourned, I will nevertheless make a petition unto Him even thrice, and He will not repulse me, for this God is the same God, and this Lord is the same Lord, and this loving-kindness is the same, and it abideth for ever. Behold, I will further prove to thy mind that it is God Who hath commanded us to receive from His hand, and if it be not so, why did ye ask me to bring into your midst on this great festival to-day not only the whole world, but all the heavens likewise? Ye all cry out to me,

whether small or great, or male or female, saying, 'We beseech thee not to defraud us of this great benefit, but to lead us to this great festival this day. We wish to hold converse with him, and to enjoy the honour of thy commemoration of him this day. He it is who serveth on behalf of all of us before God, Who sheweth compassion upon all mankind. He it is who is full of mercy and loving-kindness towards all the images of God.' Who is this? It is the great Archangel Michael, the Commander-in-Chief of the hosts of heaven.

5 I conjure you, O my beloved, my God-loving children, to stretch out your hands to me this day to help me in this great undertaking, lest, having set sail on this boundless sea, I shall not be able to guide my little boat to land; now ye all know my poverty, and that I have not great stores laid up in my barns. [Help me] to load up a great ship which shall be able to sail over the sea, and to bear up under gales of winds. But my cargo is a little one, and my boat is very small, and I fear lest, when I have begun to sail my boat with its cargo out of this harbour into the next, it will approach the quarter whence the winds blow, and the squalls will capsize my boat, and hurl my cargo and myself into the sea. And alas! I know not how to swim and to save even my own life. And assuredly every one will say, [if I escape,] that I have found favour (i.e. been fortunate), for the soul of man is better than the whole world filled with money. For this very reason I am afraid to launch my boat on the sea, for I know that [my] boat is frail, and that I do not know how to swim, and that perhaps if I were to set out I should not be able to return to shore in comfort.

6 And besides, even if I were able to endure all the dangers and all the sufferings of the sea, I should not be able to bear the ridicule, that is to say, the following words which men would most assuredly cast at me, saying: 'O thou man, who was it that compelled thee to attempt to do a piece of work that was beyond thy power? Since thou knowest that thou art a wretched creature, set not thy hand to a task which is wholly beyond thy capacity. Behold, there are large numbers of shipping merchants who are well versed in the craft of seamanship, and if thou hadst committed thy little freight to them they would have traded with it, and thou wouldst have had thy profit on the price of its sale; and besides, thine own boat would have been safe. And thou dost not know how to swim.'

7 Now I will shew you, O brethren, what manner of boat mine is, and of what kind is the freight thereof, and what I mean by [my ignorance of] swimming. My boat is my sinful body, which I have never been able to steer properly; the freight, which is very insignificant, is the blindness of my heart; the art of swimming, [which] I know [not], is the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures of which I have no [adequate] understanding. And [yet] ye compel me this day to set my hand [to a task] which is beyond my power, especially as ye have asked me to make a discourse about the honourableness of this great and holy Archangel Michael. Still more especially is this the case seeing that Michael doth not belong to the earth as do we, and that he is a denizen of the heavens and not a being of flesh like unto ourselves. On the contrary, he is an angel of light, and he is not a creature of the earth but of the Holy Spirit. He is not a messenger of the earth who shall come to an end, but he is a ministrant, a flame of fire. He is not an archon who will perish, but an archangel in the heavens. He is not an earthly Commander-in-Chief who will come to an end, and whom the king can dismiss whensoever he pleaseth, but he is the Commander-in-Chief of the hosts of heaven, and he shall endure, with the King thereof, for ever. He is not one who taketh counsel about souls to destroy them, but he is a minister unto both souls and bodies at all times before God the Creator. He maketh no accusation, but is a messenger of

8 glad tidings unto every one. He is not a foe of man, but a friend that loveth the image of God. He is not an enemy against us, but one who ensueth peace for every one. He is not haughty (or, arrogant), but gracious, and all the qualities of compassion of the Father abide in him. His arrival is not announced unto the King, but he is wont to go before the throne of his Lord with boldness, because of his being known unto Him. His rule is not over one order [of angels] only, but all orders of heaven are subject unto him, according to the command of the Almighty. In short, his station is not on the left hand, but he standeth on the right hand of God at all times, and he taketh counsel for the salvation of man, who is the image and likeness of the Living God.

9 And who is this being who is clothed with such great honours as these, and with the glories that are never-ending? Hearken, and I will tell you. It is Michael, the great archangel of the King of all the denizens of heaven, and of all the beings of earth, and all virtues befit him, that is to say, Michael, the

archangel of the hosts of heaven. And who is this being on whom the King of kings bestoweth such majestic rank and royal dignities as these? It is Michael, the governor of the kingdom. And who is this being to whom the Great King giveth such great glories, and such splendid consolations as these? He hath girded him with a girdle set with precious stones of great price, and hath arrayed him in a glorious mantle, of the measure of the majesty of which no man can describe, for it is immeasurably superior to anything which man can compare with it. It is Michael who contended against and seized the Enemy who opposed his Lord, and chastised him. And who is this with whom all the ranks of heaven rejoice when they have crowned themselves with crowns? It is Michael the archangel whom God hath this day established to be the governor over all His kingdom. And who is this being who giveth commands unto the heavens, and they obey him? It is Michael the arch-

¹⁰ angel, who obeyed the word of his King, and cast out the i Accuser who worked evil round about him. And who is this being for whose sake the whole world standeth idle, and every handicraftsman ceaseth work in order that they may celebrate his festival with great honour? It is Michael the archangel, the comforter of the denizens of the heavens, and he delivereth those who are on the earth, and bringeth them to our God the Creator, in his love towards us which is very great. But assuredly ye will say unto me, 'The denizens of the heavens indeed celebrate the festival [of Michael] this day, and they rejoice because God hath appointed over them their Commander-in-Chief, but why should the beings of earth rejoice in exactly the same manner? And why should they celebrate the festival of the holy Archangel Michael? He is not formed in exactly the same way as those who are upon the earth. In his glory he is unable to stand upon the earth, according to what is written in another place. For he is a spirit, and he is [not] flesh. Michael is an incorporeal being, and no corporeal being is able to look upon him and to abide his glory.'

¹¹ And I will make answer to thee, and I will give thee satisfactory proofs that it is most right for the beings of earth to rejoice [over Michael]. Now the denizens of heaven do not commit sin, and they have in them neither hatred, nor envy, nor enmity, nor backbiting, nor murder, nor theft, nor impurity, nor fornication, nor any evil quality whatsoever, but they are holy, and they dwell in holiness and rest in holiness, through Him that is exalted

for ever. And they celebrate an endless festival with Him at all times, because there hath been cast out from them him that made accusations against them, him that was the Enemy of Him that created them, the Enemy of all righteousness, the Hater and the Satan, that is to say, the Devil. Therefore this day do they celebrate the festival of the archangel, for it was he who fought and prevailed, and it was he who humbled the haughty one speedily. And when he had made him helpless he cast him out into a place from which there was no escape on the earth. And the Archangel Michael did not [only defeat] this [being] and set him down upon the earth, but he received power from the Lord in such wise that he came down and seized him, and bound him with fetters which cannot be loosed.

¹² And he did not leave him merely bound on the earth, but it is written that he cast him into the lake of fire, which blazeth with flames of fire and sulphur (or, bitumen), wherein he shall be kept until the day of the Great Judgement. For if he had been left upon the earth no creature of flesh would have been able to escape from his snare. But I think that when it is said that he was cast down into the lake of fire, and [into] the abyss, and [into] the darkness, it is [said so] that thou mayest know the truth, for it is written, 'Those who are in the heavens, and those who are on the earth, and those who are below the earth.' And I say unto you that ¹³ from that time until this present he hath been punished in the lake of fire. Now thou wilt say unto me, 'O friend, if the Devil is fettered [as we read] in the Book of Job, why was he able to inflict all these evils upon Job at the moment when the angels of God were standing [near]?' Listen with attention and I will shew you [why], not with my own words, but with those that come unto me from another place, for it saith that 'The Devil taketh upon himself the form of an angel of light.' But if one [testimony] be not [sufficient for thee], the Master Paul saith, 'The messenger of Satan inflicteth buffetings upon me, lest I become exalted above measure.' And our Saviour said as He drove him away, 'Get thee behind me, Satan,' and Scripture saith also that the Devil tempted

¹⁴ Him. And David also said, 'Let the Devil stand at his right hand.' And the Apostle also saith in the Catholic Epistle, 'From the beginning the Devil received disgrace, and was a worker of sin.' I must not, however, tarry in [my] discourse because of him who hateth our race, but hearken, and I will describe [the matter to] you. When a king, or a governor, or any one whatsoever who is under authority, sendeth an order to one of his fortresses, those

who go [to the garrison] take great pains to carry out their orders, because it is the business of the king upon which they have come. And they say, 'Let us perform the orders of the master, lest he revile and abuse us.' In precisely the same way is the existence of the evil with the good. However, at the moment when the Devil was cast out of heaven, a multitude of angels followed him; now these were they who loved cursing, and they ...and they came to the end of their glory, and they were ...Moreover, the Devil had meditated

15 so much upon his own greatness in his heart that he dared to say concerning Him that created him, 'I will become like unto Him.' And in his pride he set himself to appoint certain orders of angels under his authority, and to make himself like unto his Lord. And straightway God sent His great Archangel Michael, and he bound him in fetters and placed him in a region of darkness under the earth, and those who were in his following became devils along with him. For this reason they are called by a name that indicateth their close association with him, that is to say 'demon', which is 'devil', and until this day they have assisted him in all his evil deeds; now in his pride he had massed armies under his authority, and he made himself to be like unto his God. And straightway God sent His great governor, His Archangel Michael, [who] curtailed his power and placed him in a region of darkness which was under the earth, together with those who were in his following, even as it is written, 'The [evil ones], and the [wicked], and [the abominable], and the perverse.'

16 Behold now, I have shewn thee, O friend, that the Devil is fettered; but the demons still perform his will, according to his envy and his hatred towards us. But let the words of the fable (or, legend) which we have just uttered concerning these matters suffice us, and let us return to the consideration of the victorious warrior bearing the crown of victory, the mighty one, the greatest of the great masters of war, the Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the heavens, who hath made for us the heavens to be the table of his great festival, which is spread for us this day in the heavens and on the earth, according to the command of our Lord Jesus the Christ. For He is One God and One Lord, and One Kingdom, which endureth [for ever], and which is the type of the Holy Trinity, and is One substance with the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, inseparable, unchangeable, indivisible, incomprehensible, cannot be searched out, inscrutable...

¹⁷ the heavens, and those who are on the earth. And as for us, O my beloved, inasmuch as we know, O my beloved, that great is the joy of this great feast which is spread for us this day, let us also keep the feast which God and His angels are celebrating in his honour. Let us array ourselves gloriously within and without this day, and let us this day go into the great banquet of the great warrior of the King of kings, the holy Archangel Michael. But ye will say, 'Since this is a royal banquet, is it not meet that we should keep ourselves in the background until those who are great nobles have been summoned first of all into the hall of the King and of His Commander-in-Chief Michael, and then for us to follow in after them?' Right well is it that ye asked the question, O my beloved, for humility exalteth and directeth rightly; but come ye, follow me, for the great nobles have already gone into the banquet with Michael, and have taken their places. These are the nobles who went in first of all, hearken ye attentively: Adam, and

¹⁸ Seth and Abel, his sons. Enoch, and Methuselah, and Noah. Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and Joseph his son. Moses, and Aaron, and Joshua the son of Nun. Gideon, and Barak, and Samson, and Jephthah. David, and Solomon, and Hezekiah, the righteous kings. Isaiah, and Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, and the three holy men, and Elijah and Daniel, these great prophets. Zacharias the priest and John his son. The Twelve Apostles. And Stephen the archdeacon. And the holy and aged priest Simeon. And the martyrs and all the righteous. And why should I speak [only] of the beings of earth, for there are there the Lord in glory, and all the Hosts of heaven, the Angels and the Archangels, the Cherubim and the Seraphim, the Principalities and Powers, the Thrones and ¹⁹ Dominions; and all these hosts are there. And they ascribe glory unto God and unto His great and holy Archangel Michael. Verily the great and holy men who have lived upon earth feast with us, and I will enquire of them concerning this great feast which is spread out for us this day throughout the whole world, and I know well that I myself shall rejoice with those who rejoice, according to the words of Paul the Apostle. And more than this, I will begin first of all with our father of all mankind, whom God created in His image and likeness, our father Adam, for I see that he is the first at the feast this day in the place where those who belong to the earth are reclining at meat. What shall I, peradventure, be bold enough to say unto him? I am afraid and I tremble with awe. And behold, now, I observe also that all those who are with him this day at this banquet yield place to him,

and I reckon myself among their number. And though I be a sinner I will also give unto him joy (i. e. congratulations) with my tongue in these words, saying, 'Hail, my holy father, lord! Hail, thou father of my fathers and of all the men who have been and who shall be!' And

20 if I give unto him these three congratulations, which are appropriate to his glory, assuredly he will cry out like a father to his son, saying, 'My son, come thou and rejoice with me at this great banquet this day.' And finding freedom of speech before him I ask him, saying, 'My lord father, art thou not he whom God formed with His own hand? And did He not fill thee with the glory of His own image and likeness? Art thou not he concerning whom God [spake] unto all His hosts in heaven, saying, "Come ye, and worship the work of My hands, My image and My likeness?"' And Adam answereth and saith, 'Yea, my son, I am indeed he to whom all these things have happened.' And I make answer to him also, and I say unto him, 'My lord father, did not all these things take place, that is to say, that all the angels bowed down in homage before thee with the exception of one only and his host?' And Adam [answereth and saith], 'Yea, my Lord made everything subject unto

21 ii me when He placed me in the Paradise.' And I make bold and say unto him, 'Why art thou at this banquet this day? The angels are not more exalted than thyself, [for] thou art the likeness and the complete image of God.' Adam saith, 'Hearken unto me, O my son, and I will inform thee concerning [my] honour at this great banquet this day, for I have more knowledge than thou, and I was present when these things happened. At the time when [my] Lord and my God and my Creator made me in His own likeness and image He fashioned me splendidly. He breathed into my face a breath of life, He set me upon an exceedingly glorious throne, and He commanded all the hosts of heaven who were in truth under His power, saying, "Come ye, and worship the work of My hands, My likeness and My image." And there was there [a hateful being], who was of the earlier

22 creation, that is to say, Satanaël, who is called the Devil, [R]b and he was an archangel. Furthermore, when the command had issued from the mouth of God, Michael, the archangel, who was one of the Seven Archangels, and his host came and worshipped first of all God our King, Jesus the Christ, and afterwards they worshipped me; and they answered and said, "We worship Thee, O God the Creator of the Universe, and we worship the work of Thy hands, Thy likeness and Thy exact image." And afterwards

Gabriel the archangel and his host came, and they bowed low in homage even as did Michael, and so likewise did all the hosts of angels, each rank in its proper order. Finally the Master said unto that Mastêma, the interpretation of which is "hater", "Come thou also, and worship the work of My hands, which I have fashioned in Mine own likeness and image, even as have thy companions all the other ministrants." And Satanaël

²³ answered boldly and said, "There is no rank under Thine [R]c which is superior to mine, Thine own alone excepted. And besides, I am in glory, and I am [of] the first creation, and shall I come and worship a thing of earth? Far be it from Thee to make me worship this thing! On the contrary, it is he who should worship me, for I existed before he was." 'And the compassionate God said unto him, "Satanaël, hearken unto Me! I am thy Lord, I am thy Creator. Come now, and worship the work of My hands." And the Mastêma said, "Far be it from me! Neither myself nor any of my legion will do so. Far be it from us to worship that which is inferior to us! Moreover, we are beings of spirit, but this creature is of the earth, and we will not worship him." And God spake unto him the third time, saying, "O thou who dost belong to My first creation, was it not I Who appointed thee to be a general under My

²⁴ authority, and made My angels subject unto thee in this place? Wouldst thou now set in revolt My kingdom? [R] Wouldst thou now display disobedience, which shall be [an example] for ever? Wouldst thou now make foolish servants to rise up against their masters? Wouldst thou now point out the way to disobedience, O Mastêma? Art thou not My servant? Am I not thy Lord? Have I not the power to cast thee away from before My face, and to take away from thee thy great glory, O thou with whom there is no equal in all My kingdom except Myself, and My Father, and the Holy Spirit? Now hearken unto Me, Come thou and worship My clay." And that boastful and envious being said unto Him unto Whom all Creation is in subjection, "Far be it from me for ever to worship two Lords! I and all my host will never do so, especially since, besides Thyself, there is no one greater than myself in all the kingdom of heaven. And if I should be willing to do so, I should not be able to make my host do so, for they worship me only. Far be it from me to worship a being who is inferior to myself!"

²⁵ 'And straightway God was angry, and He commanded a mighty Cherubim (sic), who smote him and reduced him to [R] Re helplessness. And He ordered Michael to take away from him his sceptre, and his crown, and his

staff which was of light, and his girdle of sapphire, and He removed from him all his glory, and He gave him a staff of darkness, and He expelled all those who were with him from His kingdom. And Michael did everything which he had been commanded to do, and he seized him, and he broke him by his power, and he cast him and all those who were with him forth from heaven. And the Good God cried out unto Michael when He saw the archangel's good will and compassion towards His clay, and said unto him as he stood in the midst of all the hosts of the heavens, "Michael" [now the interpretation of this name is] the 'strength of ÉI', "come, O My holy general

²⁶ Michael. Come, O thou who hast contended and prevailed. Come unto Me, O Michael, thou minister of the commands of thy King. For behold, I know thy desire towards Me, and towards all My created beings, and I also will make straight My desire towards thee. And thy mouth shall be opened, O Michael, and thou shalt receive all My loving-kindnesses within thee, so that thou mayest continue to make supplication unto Me at all times on behalf of My likeness and My image, and I will shew mercy unto them. For I know that the Mastêma will fight against My created being, wishing to cast him away from Me even as I cast Mastêma forth from My kingdom. But behold, I entrust My created beings unto thee so that thou mayest deliver them from his snares. And thou shalt entreat Me on their behalf when they shall commit sin, for I am long-suffering. Behold, O Michael, I appoint thee this day to be the General-in-Chief of all the hosts of the

²⁷ heavens, and with the exception of Myself, and My Father, and the Holy Spirit, among all the ranks of angels which are in the heavens there is none so great as thou, O thou General-in-Chief Michael. Come, stand thou at My right hand, and strengthen thou My throne at all times, and thou shalt command all the hosts in the heavens, and they shall obey thee in everything, O Michael. It is thou who shalt teach all the ranks of angels in the heavens to serve thee with integrity, O Michael, the object of [My] boasting, thou rectitude of My kingdom. Come, lift up thy head which thou didst bow low, and with which thou didst worship My created being, and I will put upon it this great crown, which I removed from the head of the Enemy. Stretch out thy [right] hand, and receive the staff of office, and thou shalt be Commander-in-Chief in the place of the Accuser of shame. O Michael, stretch out thy left hand and receive this mighty armour, and be thou prepared to fight against the enemies of thy King. O Michael, take the girdle of

sapphire, and [gird it] about thy loins, so that when those who are waging war against thy Lord see thee they may be quickly overcome. Open thou thy mouth, O My minister, and receive strength, so that thy word may become like the sound of the roar of a multitude. Come, array thyself in My glory, O Michael, so that thou mayest teach every one to glorify Me.

28 Behold, I know, O Michael, all thy desire towards My clay, come now, and serve Me during the whole life of My image. Behold now, thou seest that Adam is alone and that he hath no one with him of his own kind, but behold, I have placed a mark on his side which shall become a being like unto himself. And since, O Michael, I have said, It is not good for man to remain alone, let us make for him a helper of his own kind, O Michael the helper, and she shall be of the same kind as himself at the moment when I fashioned him, before I bring her unto him. O Michael, if I had created Adam and made him to remain by himself, it would have been unnecessary for Me to have planted the Paradise. O Michael thou Archangel, all this world which is beneath My throne I will make to be inhabited by the likeness of Adam, that is to say, by My image. And now, O Michael, I have appointed thee to be the steward of my

29 Ko kingdom, so that thou mayest minister compassionately unto My clay. O Michael, the whole of the race of Adam shall know God through thee, O Michael, thou Commander-in-Chief of My kingdom. Thou, Michael, art the governor of the denizens of heaven, and also of the beings of the earth. O Michael, thou art the sweet-smelling savour at the moment of the Holy Sacrifice, and thou, O Michael, art he who shall present the Offering on behalf of the whole race of the sons of Adam. Very many things shall arise through the sons of Adam, and thou, O Michael, art he who shall make supplication unto Me on their behalf and I will forgive them. The sons of the race of Adam shall blaspheme Me through him A that shall lead them astray, but I will forgive them through thy supplication, O Michael." And when the Lord had said all these things unto Michael, He stretched out His hand, and put upon Michael's head the crown, and He made him an archangel. And he set upon it three seals in the form of the Holy Trinity, and the similitude of His image was upon the seals, so that the Archangel Michael might continue to invoke God at all times on behalf of His image, that is to say, of myself. For this reason I, your father Adam, have come to the banquet of Michael.'

30 And thou, O Abel, the righteous man, the little sinless child, I entreat thee also [to tell me why thou art rejoicing] at this great festival this day, which is the festival of the holy Archangel Michael. Abel saith, 'I rejoice because he whose festival we celebrate this day was [the angel] who made supplication [to God] on behalf of my father and my mother, and God forgave them their transgressions, and it was he who took my gifts up to God, Who received my sacrifice from me, and Who paid not attention [to that of my brother, because he brought it not] with a right heart. Therefore do I rejoice this day.' And I see thee, Seth, this day, and I see that thou art rejoicing at the festival of the holy Archangel Michael. [Why dost thou rejoice?] Seth saith, 'I am rejoicing because, when Kaein (Cain) had slain Abel my brother, God gave me as a gift to my parents. And my mother could not find milk to suckle me, for she had ceased to produce any on account of her grief for my brother Abel. But the holy Archangel Michael gave me every kind of spiritual food from heaven. Therefore do I rejoice this day.'

31 O Enoch, thou righteous man whom God removed from [the earth], wherefore art thou present at this great festival this day, which is the festival of the holy Archangel Michael? The righteous man saith, 'I am rejoicing because it is I who write with my own hands in the register the sins, and the wickednesses, and the good deeds which are committed in the whole world. And the holy Archangel Michael taketh them into the presence of God, and presenteth unto Him the good deeds, and for the bad deeds he maketh supplication unto Him, and He forgiveth those who belong to my race. For this reason I rejoice this day.' O Methuselah, thou righteous old man, who didst wax exceedingly old in days, is not thy joy this day genuine, for I see that thou art very glorious in the midst of this banquet this day? Methuselah saith, 'Wherefore should I not rejoice? I am the eighth from Adam. The Archangel Michael took my prayer up to God, and He bestowed upon me so long a life that my age and my years exceeded those of our father Adam by thirty-nine years. Therefore do I rejoice this day.'

32 O Noah, thou righteous man, I see that thou art rejoicing this day. Noah saith, 'Hearken, wherefore should I not rejoice and be glad? For when God was wroth, [and wished] to destroy the world, He put me, and my wife, and my children, and all the creatures that move on the earth, into the Ark, and shut the door of the Ark. And the cataracts of the heavens and of the earth were opened, and they surrounded us for forty days and forty nights,

and we saw neither sun, nor moon, nor star. But the holy Archangel Michael acted as steersman for us and the Ark, and he continued to make supplication to God until the waters diminished, and [the land] that was dry appeared, and I and those who were with me were delivered. Therefore do I rejoice this day.' And dost thou, O thou patriarch Abraham, rejoice this day at the festival of the holy Archangel Michael? 'Yea,' saith Abraham, 'I do rejoice this day; for I am the first man with whom Michael, and my Lord, and his fellow Archangel Gabriel became friends. And Michael made supplication to God on my behalf, and He gave me my son Isaac. And I ate with him—would that I had been worthy!—under the tree of Mabrè (Mamre). Therefore do I rejoice this day.'

³³ And thou, Isaac, thou righteous man, thou son of a holy promise, the holy sacrifice which was accepted by the living God, why art thou so splendidly arrayed at the festival of the holy Archangel Michael? Isaac saith, 'I am arrayed thus gloriously because I was the only son of my father and my mother. My mother was a barren woman, and she had no child except myself, neither did she give birth to any child after me. My father bound my hands and my feet, and offered me up on a stone [which was set] upon a desert mountain. I saw with my eyes the sacrificial knife in the hand of my father as he was about to drive it into me, when straightway the Archangel Michael came, and snatched the sacrificial knife from the hand of my father, and he provided a sheep for the offering in my stead, and my sacrifice was completed. Therefore do I rejoice this day.'

³⁴ And thou, O patriarch Jacob, who prevailedst with God, and wast a mighty one with men, dost thou also rejoice this day at the festival of the Archangel Michael? Jacob saith, 'I rejoice exceedingly this day, because when my brother Esau pursued me to slay me I departed to Mesopotamia of Syria to the feet of Laban. And Michael came to me, and apportioned to me [my wages from the cattle], and blessed me, and my children, and my wives, and because of this Israel took the name from me. Therefore do I rejoice this day.' And thou, O Joseph, thou righteous man, thou man of understanding, who wast envied [by thy brethren], what art thou doing in this place this day? Dost thou rejoice at the festival of the Archangel Michael? Joseph the righteous man saith, 'Verily I am right in rejoicing this day. For when my brethren, who were envious of me, sold me into a strange land, and when I became a miserable outcast, and was without friends in my great tribula-

tions, the Archangel Michael came to me, and delivered me, and made me king. Therefore do I rejoice this day.'

³⁵ O Moses, and Aaron, and Joshua, the son of Nun, why do ye rejoice so greatly at the festival of the Archangel Michael? The saints say, 'The festival assuredly belongeth unto us, and we rejoice therein, for it was Michael who walked with us and with his people, and who captured our enemies, and guided us into the land of promise. Therefore do we rejoice this day.' And thee also, O Gideon, do I see rejoicing at the banquet of Michael? Gideon saith, 'I rejoice this day because it was Michael who came to me, and filled me with his power, and went and crushed Midian, and delivered my people.' O Manoah, and Anna thy wife, how great is your joy this day! And the judges say, 'Because we were barren from our youth, and had no children, we continued to pray and to offer up offerings to God, that they might be a memorial for us; and God gave us Samson, the strong man, and our son also rejoiceth with us this day.'

³⁶ And thee, O David, thou father of the Christ according to the flesh, thou righteous king, do I see this day striking a ten-stringed harp of the spirit at the banquet of Michael? David saith, 'Yea, I do rejoice, and I am arrayed in rich Apparel, because all the verses of the words of God and His Words are [inscribed] upon the tablet of my heart, and the verse which is appropriate to this festival is this: The angel of God campeth round about those who fear Him and delivereth them. Therefore do I rejoice this day.' Solomon, thou wise man, dost not thou rejoice this day in the joy of the holy Archangel Michael? Solomon saith, 'Yea, I do rejoice this day, for it was Michael the archangel who stood by my side from my youth up, and he made peace to be in my days, and he took my prayer up to God, and I builded His house.'

³⁷ Hezekiah, thou righteous king, dost thou rejoice this day at the festival of Michael, the Commander-in-Chief? Hezekiah saith, 'Yea, I do rejoice, for when the Assyrians camped round about me and my people, Michael the archangel went and crushed them by night. And their number amounted to eighteen and a half times ten thousand men, and I and my people were delivered. Therefore do I rejoice this day.' O Isaiah, thou great Prophet, hast thou occasion for rejoicing at the festival of the Archangel Michael? Isaiah saith, 'This is the occasion of my joy: Through all the revilings and abuse which were heaped upon me by Manasseh and those who were with him, it

was Michael who stood by my side, and it was he who gave me strength to endure even up to the point when they sawed me down in twain with a woodsaw. Therefore do I rejoice this day, O my holy father.'

38 And do I see thee also this day, O thou holy man Jeremiah, with thy great lamp of light, rejoicing at the festival of the Archangel Michael? Jeremiah saith, 'Yea, I do rejoice greatly this day, because I passed seven years in captivity with my people, and the holy Archangel Michael made supplication [on my behalf] unto Him that liveth for ever, and He put mercy into the hearts of the Babylonian men, and they set me free, and I returned to Jerusalem with my people. Therefore do I rejoice this day.' Come, Ezekiel the Prophet, and shew us what is the reason that thou dost leap with joy and boldness at the festival this day of the holy Archangel Michael. Ezekiel saith, 'I leap and I rejoice [this day] because it was Michael, the great archangel, who brought unto me the roll of the books, and he commanded me, and I ate it, and the prophecies were revealed unto me. Therefore do I rejoice this day.'

39 And, O Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, peradventure ye are rejoicing this day at the festival of the holy Archangel Michael? 'Yea,' say the three holy saints, 'we rejoice and are glad because it was he, whose festival we are celebrating this day, who came into the midst of the blazing fiery furnace and quenched the flames for us, and he made the king to believe in God. Our martyrdom was completed, and we rejoice this day at this great festival.' [And thou Daniel,] I think that thou art rejoicing exceedingly, and what kind of joy is thine? Daniel saith, 'Neither once is it, nor twice, that I have seen Michael, who is the governor in very truth. And at the moment when I was cast into the den of lions, it was the Commander-in-Chief, Michael, who came to us, and shut the mouths of the lions. Therefore do I rejoice this day.'

40 O ye Twelve Apostles, do ye rejoice this day at this great festival, and are ye rejoicing greatly? They say, 'We do rejoice, for after the great sorrow which came upon us at the time when they crucified our Lord Jesus the Christ, and we hid ourselves through fear of the Jews, Mary the Virgin came and informed us, saying, I and those who were with me went to see the tomb at the break of day on the first day of the week, and we found the holy Archangel Michael. He had rolled away the stone, and was sitting upon it, and he gave us the good news, "The Lord hath risen." Therefore do we rejoice

this day.' 3 N And thou, O holy priest Zacharias, and John thy son, do ye rejoice at the festival of the holy Archangel Michael? The holy men say, 'We rejoice because the holy archangel was appointed to be Commander-in-Chief, and I am priest unto him, and my son John is the son of Elisabeth the kinswoman of Mary; and the mother of Jesus is my kinswoman, according to the flesh. Therefore do I rejoice this day.'

⁴¹ And thou Stephen, thou archdeacon and protomartyr, dost thou rejoice this day at the festival of the Archangel Michael? Stephen saith, 'Yea, my joy is great. For when they were stoning me, I lifted up mine eyes unto heaven, and I saw the heavens open, and I saw the Archangel Michael and all his angels, and they were making supplication on my behalf. And I saw Jesus standing by the right hand of God the Father. Therefore do I rejoice this day.' O all ye Martyrs and Righteous, do ye rejoice at the festival of Michael this day? The saints say, 'Yea, verily, we do rejoice this day because in all the tribulations that came upon us, and in all the tortures which they inflicted upon us, it was the Archangel Michael who gave us strength, and we bore them until at length we completed our strife; and we received great honours because of him. Therefore do we rejoice this day.'

⁴² O all ye orders of angels who are in the heavens, do ye rejoice this day with us at the festival of the holy Archangel Michael? They say, 'Yea, all joy is ours because on the day when our Creator rebuked the Proud One, He set us at the feet of the Humble One, the great and holy Archangel Michael. Therefore do we rejoice this day.' ⁴³ Verily, O my beloved, great is the honour of this great feast which is spread out for us this day, not only upon earth, but in the heavens also. Now therefore, O [my] listeners, who love instruction, let us hasten to betake ourselves to the feast of the Archangel Michael, so that we ourselves may partake of the multitude of good things that shall be laid out before us and before all the saints whose names we have enumerated. Perhaps, O my beloved, if we dare to go into the banquet of the Commander-in-Chief, and we are not arrayed in rich-apparel, and we enter in [dressed] in mean attire, with our bodies full of imperfections, we shall find ourselves in a state of shame among those who wear their rich garments draped about them. And they will thrust us away so that we may not approach them, and so that they may not be defiled by us, and after looking upon us with looks of disgust and contempt they will betake themselves to casting us forth [from the hall]. And assuredly those who are arrayed in

splendid attire will reproach us with words of abuse as follows: 'O ye fools of men, are ye not ashamed to be in this state? And if ye are not ashamed, are ye not afraid of Him Who is the King in truth, the Christ, and of His holy Archangel Michael? Is it possible that ye do not know unto Whom this hall belongeth, and whose banquet this is?

⁴⁴ If ye do not, then learn that the hall belongeth to the King, and the banquet is that of the holy Archangel Michael, who conquered in the war in the presence of his Lord, Who, because of his valour, hath bestowed upon him all these honours. Verily, I am stricken with wonder that ye were so bold as to come into the inner hall, and especially so seeing that your bodies are uncovered. Have ye never heard Him say, "Come not into My marriage chamber without being arrayed in the wedding garment? Have ⁴⁵ ye not heard Him [speak] concerning the man who was so bold as to go therein dressed in mean apparel, like unto your own? Ye know well what happened unto him, for it is written, He made them bind his hands and his feet, and he cast him out into the outer darkness, where there is weeping and the gnashing of teeth.' Now therefore, O brethren, rise up and withdraw yourselves into the outer hall, a little way from the door, so that when our Lord the King cometh in with His holy archangel we may make supplication unto him. Peradventure he will shew a little mercy unto us, even as he doth unto those others who beg for alms at the door of the hall, for the archangel is compassionate, and if ye shall keep the festival in his honour he will never forsake you in any matter whatsoever. But take heed to your outward apparel, and do not let them find us in an unprepared state in the midst of this festival this day, so that we may not depart to the sufferings of the others. Behold, I have told you, and ye have heard, O my beloved, the rebukes which these men suffered, more especially [because] they were men [like unto themselves] who spake unto them, and not God. But perhaps one will say unto me, 'What kind of mean garments are these to which ye refer, and what are these imperfections of the body? There is no respect of persons with God, and God doth not care more for the rich man than the poor man. Cannot I wear what I like? No man wisheth to receive an insult.'

⁴⁶ O my beloved, the matter is not in this wise at all. Far be it from us to cause any man to say that God is a respecter of persons, or that He hath more pleasure in a rich man than in a poor man. Hearken, and I will tell thee what is goodly and what is mean apparel. When thou goest to enter into the ban-

quet of Michael, anoint thy head, and wash thy face, and cast away from thee hypocrisy, and thou wilt do what is very useful for thyself. When they invite thee to the banquet of Michael, cleanse thy heart wholly from every kind of wickedness, and cast away from thee backbiting gossip, and thine apparel shall be splendid, and thou shalt rejoice, and shalt do very well for thyself. When thou goest into the church of God, that is to say, into the house of Michael, strip off thyself fornication and every kind of foul passion, and array thyself in gentleness, and in purity, and in righteousness. And thou shalt go into the hall with joy, and thou shalt keep the feast with the holy Archangel Michael. When they summon thee to the wedding of the

⁴⁷ King and His great general, let thine alms and thy charities open for thee the door of the bride-chamber; and the things which thou shalt give thou shalt find tenfold on thy table. If thou wishest to glorify Michael, the King's Commander-in-Chief, let the widows and the orphans come away from thee with their faces joyful, and their hearts happy, and arrayed in apparel according to thy ability. And I say unto thee that thy gift shall be great before God and the holy Archangel Michael. If thou wishest to go into the banquet of Michael joyfully, receive strangers into thy house on the festival of the Archangel Michael, and do thou acts of kindness unto them, and Michael shall come forth with joy, and shall take thee into the hall of his King in peace. If any man maketh supplication unto thee, and asketh thee for something in the name of Michael, refuse not to give it unto him. I tell thee, O my beloved, that whatsoever thou shalt give to men, Michael shall take into his hands and present before God on thy behalf, and He shall reward thee twofold upon earth in everything, and God shall shew

⁴⁸ mercy unto thee in His kingdom, for it is written, 'Mercy shall enable a man to triumph over judgement,' and again, 'Shew mercy, and mercy shall be shewn unto you.' If thou shalt continue to keep the festival of the holy Archangel Michael once each month, that is to say, on the twelfth day, the day on which it is celebrated, and thou shalt keep in remembrance his offering, and an oblation, and an act of service, according to thine ability, the archangel shall continue to make supplication to God on thy behalf at all times, and he shall bestow upon thee everything of which thou hast need, as the thought thereof ariseth in thy mind. ⁴⁹ But perhaps there is some one who will say unto me, If I must give alms and oblations I will give them to God. Michael is not God that I should offer up sacrifices unto him. There is

no god except the God of heaven, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit.' And I on my part will make answer unto thee, saying, Thou speakest well; a faithful man indeed is he whose faith is right towards his Lord. But hearken, and I will tell thee. Let us take the case of a king who hath taken possession of a certain (? country, and who hath a vast number of soldiers (or, armies) with him; wilt not thou find among all these hosts one man who is superior to all the rest, even though the king is over them all? And if it happen that the king hath an affection for some individual among these royal troops he will bestow upon him honours and possessions. And these will not be given unto him because of the troop of which he is a member, but they will be bestowed upon him because the king knoweth well that his company is mighty. And he hath power to approach the king at all times, and he is able to deliver him from every [evil] thing, and from every danger, and he is such a valuable member of his body-guard that other folk find favour through [him].

⁵⁰ And thus it is with every man who giveth alms and oblations unto God on the day of Michael; for the archangel taketh the sacrifices and gifts from his hands, and presenteth them unto God as a sweet-smelling savour, and he receiveth commands from God concerning these men, and he prepareth for them a multitude of good things, and he offereth them up before God as acceptable gifts, and they escape punishment for ever. Furthermore, if ye wish to know what things men give as alms and oblations to God on the day of the holy Archangel Michael, and how he is wont to minister unto them whilst they are in the world, listen to the following great and wonder-worthy history which redoundeth to the glory of God and of His holy Archangel Michael. ⁵¹ There was a certain righteous man who was a lover of God, and who loved to give alms, and he lived in close agreement with his wife, who was a prudent and pious woman, and who was as wholly devoted to works of charity and almsgiving as was her husband. And these two people were devoted followers of the holy Archangel Michael; now the name of the man was Dorotheus, and the name of his wife was Theopistè. And from the time when they were married—now both of them were still quite young—they had each possessed a large and certain income, which had descended to them from their parents, and they possessed flocks and herds, and also other necessary goods of this world. And these two people observed a good custom in respect of the holy Archangel Michael on the twelfth day of each month.

When the twelfth day was drawing nigh they prepared offerings on the eleventh day of each month, and on the morning of the twelfth day, at

⁵² daybreak, they used to send their first-fruits and their offerings with gladness to the shrine of the holy Archangel Michael. And afterwards they used to kill a sheep, and stew the meat thereof with pot-herbs in a cooking pot, and they baked as much bread as was likely to be required. And when they had made an end of these preparations they would receive the Holy Mysteries, and then they would summon every needy person whom they could find and bring him into their house, and the blind, and the halt, and the widows, and the orphans, and the strangers (i. e. pilgrims), and every one whom they could find. And when they had brought them into their houses they would stand by them, and both Dorotheus and Theopistè would minister unto their wants until they had eaten, and then they gave them wine in abundance. And when the [guests] saw fit to come out they would anoint their heads with oil, and set them on their way with joy, saying, 'Depart ye in peace, O beloved brethren, for we esteem your coming unto us as a great act of grace.' And these things they did on the twelfth day of each month, until at length the sweet savour of their alms and charities entered

⁵³ into the presence of God in the heavens, and every man glorified them in their turn because of their excellent dispositions. And they hid their virtues entirely, and sought not for any glory from men; on the contrary, all their hope was in God and in the Archangel Michael. And it came to pass that after they had acted in this manner for a very long time God gave the command for a cessation to take place, and He prevented the waters [of the river] from coming upon the land, in order to admonish the children of men concerning their sins. Moreover, He made this to happen in the country for three successive years, and at length there was exceedingly great distress in the land of Egypt; and those who lived there forgot wholly the former abundance (or, plenty) of Egypt, even as it is written. Furthermore, multitudes of men and cattle died because the waters did not come upon the land for three successive years. And this holy man and his wife did not cease to do that which they had been in the habit of doing every month, and they made supplication unto God and unto His holy Archangel Michael, saying, 'Let not cease [materials for] thy gift and thy offering in the hands of thy servants.' And thus were they when they themselves began to be in want,

⁵⁴and a very large number of their beasts died. In brief, they had passed through the second year [of scarcity], and they entered upon the third year, and everything which they had came to an end, and all their sheep died one after the other. And the pious and believing man said unto his wife, 'My sister, bestir thyself, for to-morrow will be the twelfth day of the month Paone, and let us take care to prepare the offering. Let us kill the sheep and celebrate the festival of the holy Archangel Michael, for if we die we belong unto God, and if we live we belong unto God.' And she said unto him, 'As the lord my brother liveth, this duty hath been present in my mind for the last two days, but I found no opportunity to ask thee about it. See what hath happened unto us. I rejoice greatly this day that thou hast not forgotten the sacrifice of God; do, O my brother, according to what thou sayest.' And Dorotheus rose up early in the morning on the twelfth day of the month of Paone, and they performed all their service; but of their former abundance they had no remains whatsoever, and there was nothing at all left them except a little bread and a very small quantity of wine. And all the apparel which they had were the garments wherein they partook of the Sacrament, and in these they returned thanks unto God and the holy Archangel Michael.

⁵⁵And they prayed and blessed God by day and by night with tears, saying, 'O holy Archangel Michael, entreat thou God on our behalf, and beseech Him to open His hand for us for blessing, so that there may not cease from us the hope of thy alms and sacrifice which we give in thy name. O Michael, thou great and holy archangel, thou knowest well our heart and our good will towards thee, and that we have no protection whatsoever except thine. Thou hast been our protector from our earliest youth until this present, and thou hast ministered on our behalf before God our King. And now, we beseech thee, O our good guardian Michael, if it be that this great sorrow of heart is really to continue with us to our death, notwithstanding these agreements which we have established with thee and with God not to make to cease thy sacrifices and thy oblations, then let thy goodness intercede for all the likenesses (or, images) of God, and do thou perform this great favour for us. Entreat thou God, the King of kings, on our behalf, so that He may shew mercy unto us, and remove us from this life, even as He hath removed all our fathers. For behold, O our protector, thou seest the

misery that hath come upon us. But all these things have come upon us in return for our sins. And it is far better for us to

⁵⁶ die than to forget thy sacrifice and thy offering. For poverty is very many times worse than [death], because it maketh those who are suffering from it to deny out of sheer fear the Name of Him Who created them. And now, also, we cast ourselves down before thee, O thou holy Commander-in-Chief Michael; forget not thou us, [for] we are thy servants. For we know well that thou dost go into the presence of the King at all times, and that thou art never afar off from those who call upon thee, and that thou dost draw nigh unto them, as it is written, 'The angel of the Lord encampeth round about those who fear Him, and delivereth them.' And he saith in another place, 'He sheweth mercy, and he giveth all the day long.' Behold then, O thou ministrant Michael, thou seest that all our necessity resteth upon us, and that we have no words to utter with the exception of these, "We are utterly destitute; help us, O God our Saviour, and relieve us for the glory of Thy Name." And there is yet one other thing which we must say with thanksgiving: It is the Lord Who gave, it is the Lord Who hath taken away; what hath come to pass is that which hath pleased the Lord. Blessed be the Name of the Lord for ever! Amen.'

⁵⁷ And when the holy man and woman had said these things, they continued in supplication to God and to His holy Archangel Michael from the twelfth day of the month Paope to the ninth hour of the twelfth day of the month Athôr, which is [the day of] the great festival of the holy Archangel Michael. And when the morning had come—now the time for their making ready the offering was from the evening of the eleventh day, and they had always been in the habit of preparing it early in the festival—the holy and truly believing man went to his wife, and said unto her in humility and shamefacedness of heart, 'My sister, what art thou doing sitting down? Knowest thou not what kind of a festival it is to-morrow? Do not, O my sister, forget our good custom, and do not let the remembrance of the holy Archangel Michael cease from thy heart. Do not, my sister, do not, I say, fall into despair and abandon hope.' Harken now to the words of consolation which this blessed woman addressed to her husband with understanding. She said unto him, 'Right well is it that thou hast come, O my lord brother! Right well is it that thou hast come hither to me now with the comfort of our wealth, that is to say, the joy of our souls united!'

⁵⁸ Verily, O my brother, from the first hour of this day until the moment wherein thou hast come to me hither, a fountain of tears hath not ceased to flow from my eyes. A fire consumeth my innermost parts because of the remembrance of our protector and our ambassador, the holy Archangel Michael. Now therefore, O my brother, consider what we shall do, so that our sacrifice may not cease from us; let us give unto him anything which we have left unto us. Furthermore, I have heard our master Paul the Apostle say, Whosoever hath begun [to do] a good work, let him complete it until the day of the being present of our Lord Jesus the Christ. Now behold [we have begun], let us fulfil our quest.' ⁵⁹ And her husband said unto her, 'What is there [left] to us [to give], O my sister? [Tell me] so that we may know if it will be sufficient for our wants or not.' And she said unto him, 'We have some broken pieces of bread left, but they are not sufficient to set before the brethren to eat, and there is a little oil in the flask which might be sufficient for us to use in anointing the head[s] of the guests after their meal, but there is not a loaf of bread nor any flour left.' And her husband said, 'In truth, my sister, even if we had these there is no sheep to kill; nevertheless, let God's Will be done! God will not demand from us anything which is beyond our strength, and it is far better for us to give a little than not to give at all. Moreover, that which hath entered into my mind I will carry out, and I will tell thee what it is. Behold, we each have still left to us the apparel in which we receive the Sacrament. I will arise, and will take the cloak that is mine first of all, and I will exchange it for flour for the offering. Its price, however, will hardly suffice [to buy sufficient flour] for the guests, because it is very much torn.

⁶⁰ If we succeed in exchanging the cloak, I will go and see if God will provide us with a sheep, and I will give thy cloak in exchange for it, and we will slay it for the festival, and we will celebrate the festival of the archangel to-morrow gloriously, for this is his great festival. If we find [a sheep] we shall eat, and if we do not find [it], it is the dispensation of the Lord.' And the wise and understanding woman said unto him, 'My lord brother, not only will I sell my cloak together with thine, but I will sell my very soul for my lord the archangel.' And her husband said unto her, 'My sister, very right is the good disposition which thou hast exhibited towards the holy Archangel Michael.' ⁶¹ Thereupon the man took his cloak, and sold it, and bought some wheat, and he gave it to the miller to grind, and he returned to

his house rejoicing, and he said to his wife, 'Behold, God hath arranged the matter of the offering for us.' And, moreover, when they came to the twelfth day of Athôr, the worthy woman went to her husband early in the morning, and she said unto him, 'My brother, take my cloak, and get thee gone and sell it, and see if thou canst find a sheep, so that we may be able to provide for the feast for the brethren who will come unto us.' And he, wishing to find out the extent of her [good] disposition towards Michael, said unto her, 'My sister, if I take away thy cloak, how wilt thou be

⁶²able to go and partake of the Sacrament on this great festival this day? Now I am a man, and I can go about just as I am everywhere, but it is seemly for a woman to take good heed to herself in respect of her body, and most of all in church.' And she lifted up her voice and wept, saying, 'Woe is me, my brother! What is this thing which thou hast said unto me this day? Am I to make myself a stranger unto thee this day? Are we to separate ourselves this day and become two people? Am I not of the same flesh as thyself? Have I not a portion with thee in the sacrifices? Wouldst thou rob me this day of my love towards the holy Archangel Michael? Do not, my brother, do not, I say, think in thy heart that I can abandon my purpose towards the Archangel Michael. The Apostle hath already fully proved to us that there is neither male nor female in Christ.' And as she spake these words she wept, and her soul was sorely disquieted within her. The man, however, rejoiced very greatly over the greatness of her faith, and he took the cloak from her hands, saying, 'Make ready the offering, and the first-fruits, and the oil, so that we may send them to the Church; and set out the table in the midst and the bread, and make ready the vegetables by the time I return, according to the Will of God, with the sheep.'

⁶³And the man went out, and as he walked along he supplicated the holy archangel to make straight his ways before him. And as he was walking along he came upon a shepherd, and he said unto him, 'Hail, friend!' And the shepherd said unto him, 'Peace be unto thee, O honourable man!' And the believing man said unto him, 'Can I find with thee this day a sheep [suitable] for this great man who is coming unto us this day?' And the shepherd said, 'A sheep of what price dost thou wish for?' And the believing man said unto him, 'I want one worth a termésion.' And the shepherd said unto him, 'Give me the price and I will give thee the sheep.' And the believing man reached out to him the cloak of his wife, saying, 'Take the cloak, which be-

longeth to my wife, and keep it in thy hands for three days; if I do not bring the money to thee [before the end of that time], I will assign it to thee.' And the shepherd answered and said, 'What can I do with this thing? There is nothing in my house except wool and stuff; I will not take it.'

⁶⁴ And when the believing man saw that the shepherd spurned both him and the cloak, he turned away on his road with great sorrow of heart and abundant tears. And whilst he was walking along sadly and thinking what he should do, or what he should say to his wife, suddenly he looked straight before him and saw the Archangel Michael riding upon a white horse, and he was in the form of one of the chief imperial noblemen. And the believing man was greatly afraid, and he withdrew himself to one side out of the way of the archangel's path until he should have passed by. And when the archangel in the form of a nobleman came up to him, he pulled his horse's bridle, and stood still and said unto the man, 'Hail, Dorotheus! Whither walkest thou by thyself?' And with trembling Dorotheus said unto him, 'Hail, master, my lord archon!

⁶⁵ Welcome is thy coming unto us this day.' And the nobleman, who was Michael, said unto him, 'Is Theopistè thy wife still alive?' And Dorotheus, with his face turned towards the ground through shame, said unto him, 'Yea, thy servant is alive.' And the nobleman, who was Michael, said unto him, 'What is this which thou art carrying?' And Dorotheus said unto him with confusion, 'It is a cloak which belongeth to my wife.' And the nobleman, who was Michael, said unto him, 'What art thou doing with it in this place?' And Dorotheus said unto him, 'A very great man is coming to visit me this day, and I have not been able to find everything which I wanted, and there is no gold in my possession. And because of the time of suffering whereunto we have come, I brought the cloak hither to give in exchange for a sheep, but no one will take it from me, and I do not know what to do.' And the nobleman, who was Michael, said unto Dorotheus, 'I will make myself surety for a sheep, and I will obtain it for thee, and thou shalt cook it for me and for those who are with me this day.' And Dorotheus answered, 'Yea, very gladly will I do so, my lord. May I be found worthy! Come thou into my habitation.'

⁶⁶ And Michael said unto one of the angels who were journeying with him under the forms of soldiers, 'Walk thou with Dorotheus, and go to this shepherd, and say unto him thus: The nobleman who passed thee by recently

saith, Send me a sheep of the value of a termésion. I will be responsible for it, and will send unto thee the price thereof by the hour of noon this day.' And the soldier walking with Dorotheus went unto the shepherd in the name of the nobleman, and they brought away the sheep. And the nobleman said unto Dorotheus, 'Behold, the sheep is ready for the need of the great man whom thou hast invited. See now if thou canst find some wood and a fish for my need, because I do not eat [the flesh of] sheep.' And Dorotheus said unto him, ⁶⁷ 'I only wish that I could find a fish, my father, and [if] I could obtain one I would rejoice.' And the nobleman said unto Dorotheus, 'What wouldst thou give for a fish?' And Dorotheus said, 'I would deposit my wife's cloak as a surety for one until I could send the price for the same.' And the nobleman, who was Michael, said unto him, 'If the matter be thus, let the cloak stay with thee. I will send in my own name, and I will take the fish until thou art able to send the price thereof.' And the nobleman called one of the soldiers who, in the forms of angels, were travelling with him, [and said unto him], 'Get thee to the river, and cry out to the fishermen there, and say unto them, The nobleman who came and passed by you and spake to you this day saith, Send me a fine fish worth a termésion, and I will send you the price thereof by the hand of Dorotheus the husbandman, by the hour of noon this day.' And the soldier went to the fishermen, and spake unto them in the name of the nobleman according to the message which he spake to him. And the fishermen gladly gave him a large fish, which was still alive, and he brought it quickly to the nobleman, who was Michael.

⁶⁸ And the nobleman, who was Michael, said unto Dorotheus, 'What more dost thou wish for? Is not the matter good? Is not the need supplied? Is not the material for the dinner provided?' And Dorotheus answered and said, 'Yea, my lord. Thou hast performed for me this day a very kind act. The day hath advanced, and our business hath prospered well, and thou hast done a very great favour to thy servant.' And the nobleman said, 'Let us make haste'; and they took the sheep and the fish, and they departed. And as Dorotheus was walking along he was thinking about the price of the sheep and of the fish, and where he would be able to find the things required by the nobleman, both apparel and wine, and where he could get bread suitable for him; in short, multitudes of thoughts were surging up in him. And he made supplication to God with his whole heart, saying, 'O Archangel Michael, my protector, stand thou by thy servant this day, for I am doing all these things

in thy name, and in that of thy Lord, this day'; and whilst he was pondering these things the archangel knew his thoughts and his patient long-suffering.

⁶⁹ And after these things they knocked at the door of the house of Dorotheus, and Michael was the first to knock, and he saw that it (i.e. the house) was decorated with garlands. And he walked inside [the courtyard], and the God-loving woman came out to him and said, 'Welcome, O my lord nobleman!' And the nobleman said unto her, 'Hail, Theopistê,' the interpretation of which [name] is 'she who believeth in God'; 'what art thou doing in these days?' And Theopistê answered, saying, 'Thou art welcome, my lord, and we glorify God and thy grace. Come thou in, O nobleman, and do not stand outside.' And whilst she was saying these words, behold, Dorotheus brought in the sheep, and the large fish, and the cloak, and set them before her. And she said unto him, 'Whence hast thou obtained these things (i. e. the sheep and the fish), my brother? For I see that thou hast brought back the cloak.' And Dorotheus said unto her, 'The nobleman made himself responsible for me, and they were given unto me.' And Theopistê said, 'Well spoken, my brother! God and the archangel have brought the nobleman and those who are with him unto us this day.' And the nobleman, who was Michael, said unto them, 'We are going to the Sacrament, for it is a festival, and the time of service hath come, but remain ye here, both thou and thy wife. Kill the sheep, make [your] preparations here carefully and suitably. And look to this fish, and do not touch him until I come, when I will dress him according to my own liking.' And they said, 'As my lord nobleman commandeth even so shall it be.'

⁷⁰ And the nobleman went forth from them. And Dorotheus and his wife did not know who he was, but they thought that he was a nobleman of the district. Then Dorotheus said unto Theopistê, 'My sister, what shall we do? How shall we be able to prepare for the nobleman's reception? Where shall we find bread or wine suitable for him? Would that we could do as we did in the days that are past, when our path was prosperous!' And Theopistê said, 'My brother, God will not forsake us. Meanwhile arise, and let a man kill the sheep, and we two will do what is necessary here'; and they did so. And Theopistê said unto him (i. e. the servant), 'Let us go and bring out a little wine, and let us see if it be suitable for the nobleman or not.' And when they went [to the wine cellar] and opened the door they found that it was filled with [jars of] wine up to the very door. And Dorotheus was greatly dis-

turbed, and he said unto his wife, 'Hath any man been bringing [jars of] wine in here since I went out this morning?' And his wife

⁷¹ said unto him, 'As the Lord liveth, since the time when I brought out the offering of first-fruits this morning, only one jar of wine hath been brought in here.' And Dorotheus said unto her, 'Be patient, my sister, until we see what is the end of the matter.' Afterwards he said unto Theopistê, 'Let us go in and fetch out a little oil for the meal and for the needs of the brethren.' And they both went into the cellar, and they found seven jars filled with oil up to their very brims, and they found there also large vessels and jars filled with every kind of rich meats and sweets according to the need of the house. And very great fear fell upon Dorotheus and Theopistê. And afterwards they went also into the house and into their bedchamber, and they found there the boxes wherein they kept their clothing filled with splendid apparel of every kind, which was similar to that which they had worn in the time of their wealth, and one might almost say that, in very truth, they were the actual garments. And after these things they went into the chamber wherein the bread was kept, and they found it full of loaves of bread of the finest quality and of whiteness like unto snow. Then straightway they perceived that it was the favour of God which had come unto them, and they glorified God and the holy Archangel Michael.

⁷² Then Dorotheus said unto Theopistê, 'Behold, God hath prepared everything. Let us make ready for the nobleman, because it is time for us to go to the Sacrament'; and they did everything that was necessary. And they made ready their large broad cushions whereon the nobleman might recline at meat, and they covered them with costly cloths befitting his exalted rank; and they set out the tables for the brethren in their places, according to their custom. And they dressed themselves carefully in fair white apparel, and went to the Sacrament in the shrine of the holy Archangel Michael with great fervour and with great joy. And when they had gone into the church they cast themselves down upon their faces together before the holy place, and they prayed to God and made great thanksgivings unto Him. And they gave thanks unto the holy Archangel Michael with great earnestness, saying, 'We render thanks unto Thee, O my Lord Jesus the Christ, and we glorify Thy Good Father, and we render thanks unto Thy great, holy Archangel Michael, because Thou hast neither deprived us of Thy mercy, nor been unmindful of our supplication, but hast quickly sent unto us Thy loving-kind-

ness.' Then after these things they partook of the Sacrament and received the benediction.

73 And they made haste and went home and opened with great zeal their house to the brethren who were in attendance upon the nobleman. Moreover, they compelled to come into it every one, that is to say, men, and women, and children, in such numbers that the whole hall was full. And Dorotheus and Theopistè his wife girded up their loins, and stood and ministered unto the brethren in all their wants, and they supplied them with wine in great abundance. And whilst matters were happening in this way, behold, the nobleman, who was Michael, and who was with all his company of soldiers, knocked at the door of the house. And Dorotheus and his wife made haste and came forth therefrom rejoicing, and they bowed low in homage before him, saying, 'Right well is it that thou hast come to us this day, together with all thy company of soldiers, O our lord nobleman. Verily we rejoice exceedingly that we have been held worthy for thee to come unto us on a day that is especially glorious. May the Archangel Michael rejoice with thee! Come in, O blessed man! The Lord be with thee!' And the archangel, who was the nobleman, went into the hall of the house, and he found it to be filled with men, and women, and children, both small and great. And pretending to be astonished, he said unto Dorotheus and Theopistè his wife, 'Brethren, why have ye with you this company of people

74 whom I see in such great numbers here? Peradventure ye are giving yourselves additional trouble on my account, because I have come to you this day. Do ye not perceive what serious difficulty and trouble arise therefrom? Surely ye could only, with the greatest difficulty, have made [such a feast as] this in the days when ye were prosperous and wealthy.' And Dorotheus and Theopistè answered and said, 'O our lord nobleman, forgive us. We have not added to our trouble because of thee--thanks be unto God and unto the holy Archangel Michael--and among all these people whom thou seest here this day there is no stranger present, for they all belong to our family, and all are descended from our fathers.' And as they said these words the Archangel Michael rejoiced over their perfect dispositions, and he said unto them, 'Come, the time hath arrived when I and those who are with me would take the food we need.' And they went into the place which they had prepared for him, and when they had entered the dining hall the nobleman took his seat upon a chair, and he commanded, saying, 'Bring hither the fish to me so that I may

prepare it for dressing according to my wish'; and they made haste and brought the fish to

⁷⁵him. And the nobleman said unto Dorotheus, 'Open his belly'; and he did so. And the nobleman said unto him, 'Take out his stomach'; and when he had taken it out it was very large. And the nobleman said unto Dorotheus, 'Open it'; and he opened it, and he found inside the stomach a large bag which was sealed with a seal. And Dorotheus was struck with wonder at the matter, saying, 'What is this, O nobleman, which I have found in this stomach?' And the nobleman said unto him, 'It happeneth that large fish swallow everything which they find; meanwhile open the bag, and let us see what is inside it.' And Dorotheus said unto him, 'My lord, how can I possibly open it? Behold, it is sealed.' And Michael, that is to say, the nobleman, stretched out his hand, and took the bag, and opened it, and he found it full of choice pieces of gold; and they counted the gold pieces and found that they amounted to three hundred oboli with heads. And afterwards he found under all the gold pieces three termésia, one under the other. And Dorotheus lifted up his eyes to heaven and said, 'Righteous art Thou, O Lord, and Thy Name is true; there is no limit [to Thy gifts] for those who love Thee.' And the nobleman, who was Michael, cried out to Dorotheus and Theopistè his wife, and said unto them, 'Come hither to me, O brethren.

⁷⁶Since ye are compassionate folk ye have obtained a large sum of money through me; I came to you indeed, but, behold, God prepared you. And I know these gold pieces and the seal, and I find that they belong to my Lord the King. Now therefore, in return for the hospitality which ye have shewn to me and to my company this day, behold, I will bestow upon you three hundred oboli and also the three termésia. Take them, and give one to the shepherd [in payment for the sheep], and one to the fisherman in payment for the fish; now I made myself responsible for them on your behalf, and, behold, the time of noon hath arrived when, according to the agreement [the money is to be paid], and as for the third take it and give it to the man with whom thou didst deposit thy cloak, and from whom thou didst take the wheat for the offering.'

⁷⁷And Dorotheus and Theopistè cast themselves down before the nobleman, saying, 'What is this which thou sayest unto us, O our lord nobleman? We are thy servants. Didst thou come unto us that we should take anything from thy hand? Is it not an honour for us to receive into our house any of-

ficer of the Imperial Army? Art thou not master of our bodies, and canst thou not do what thou wishest with us? And besides these [considerations] also we cannot accept anything except the gift of God. Thou well knowest, O our lord, what day this day is. The little bread which we eat this day with our kinsfolk doth not belong unto us, but unto God and His great and holy Archangel Michael, whose festival we are celebrating this day. Nevertheless, if it be thy will, O our lord, we will accept the [three] termésia only, where-with we will pay for the sheep and the fish, and redeem the cloak [pledged for the flour of] the offering, according to thy command.' And the nobleman said unto them, 'Verily, by God's Truth and by the salvation of my Lord the King, ye shall take everything, leaving nothing whatsoever behind. And lest ye be afraid that should the King hear about this He may threaten you with punishment, I myself will explain the matter on your behalf to my Lord the King, and He shall bestow upon you also other great honours. And if ye would persuade yourselves that these are all the things which ye have to take from my hands [ye are mistaken], for this is only the interest on the same. When, however, I return to my city, by the Will of God, I will send to you in full measure the principal and the great honours which I wish to give to you.'

⁷⁸ And Dorotheus and his wife Theopistè rejoiced when they heard these words, and they said unto the nobleman, 'O our lord, we beseech thee not to lead us thy servants astray by these words, for we, O our lord, we are thy servants. Take back from us the words, for they are beyond our measure [of understanding]. Where could thy servants obtain money [to give thee?] And besides, how can we accept interest [for money which we never lent]? On what day did our lord, unto whom we minister, come to us? For, by God's Truth, we have never seen thee enter our house [before]. We did not even know thy face before this day. And how canst thou possibly say unto us, O our lord, that thou hast received anything from us?' And the nobleman answered and said, 'It is I who will explain to you how I entered into your house, and when I did so. From the day whereon your parents died, and ye obtained possession of their substance, I have been coming into your house once every month. And after I entered your house ye sent very great gifts to my city, to my Lord the King. And your names are written upon all of them, in order that when ye shall go to the city of the King He will reward you for them twofold.'

79 And Dorotheus and Theopistè answered, saying, 'We entreat thee, O our lord, to do us a very great favour and to tell us thy name, for then, perhaps, we shall understand the matter, and be able to find an explanation for thy words which thou speakest unto us.' And the nobleman, that is to say, Michael, answered and said, 'I will tell thee my name, and the Name of my King, and the name of my city Jerusalem; and if ye wish to learn them hearken, and I will declare them unto you. I am Michael, the governor of the beings of heaven and the beings of the earth. I am Michael, the Commander-in-Chief of the hosts of heaven. I am Michael, the archangel of the worlds of light. I am Michael, the victorious warrior in battle before his King. I am Michael, the comforter and the object of boasting of the denizens of heaven and of the beings on the earth. I am Michael, in whose face is placed the loving-kindness of God. I am Michael, the archangel of the world of light, and the steward of the kingdom of heaven. I am Michael, and I receive the sacrifices and the supplications of men, and present them unto God, the King in truth, Jesus the Christ, our Saviour. I am Michael, who walk with all the men whose hope is in God.

80 I am Michael, the archangel who ministereth unto all mankind with joy, and who hath ministered unto you, O Dorotheus and Theopistè, from your youth up even until this present. And I will never cease to minister unto you until I present you to the King of the denizens of heaven and of the beings of earth. Inasmuch as ye have ministered unto us ourselves, as well as unto my Lord, with great strenuousness, I will not forget your sacrifices and your charities, which ye have been wont to give unto God in my name. Was I not standing by you yesterday, and did I not hear you holding converse together concerning myself and the customary offering and gifts which ye give in my name during my festival? I was not remote from you (i. e. very close to) at the moment when ye were weeping and making supplication to me, saying, "Entreat thou and beseech God for us that He may remove us out of the [world] rather than that [our] sacrifices and charity towards the archangel shall come to an end. Did I not see you at the moment when ye bartered away your cloaks wherein ye were wont to receive the Sacrament, and gave them in exchange for the offering for my festival? I declare unto you that I was with you on all these occasions. Moreover, all the things which from your youth up ye have given in my name I have never forgotten;

⁸¹ on the contrary, I have presented them all to God on your behalf.
⁸² Verily, I have taken your sacrifices from you in truth, and your gifts, even as I did those of Abel, because ye gave them with a true intent. O Dorotheus and Theopistê, blessed are ye, yea and ye shall be blessed, even as it is written, and according to your names, which are also a blessing unto you, for Dorotheus [meaneth] the "gift of God", and Theopistê meaneth "she who believeth in God". I am Michael the archangel whom ye have appointed to be your protector before God. I am Michael, who take your prayers, and your sacrifices, and your tithes up to God, even as I did for Cornelius in olden time. And also, as regards Cornelius, I went to him, and I taught him the way of salvation, that is to say, baptism, which he put on through Peter. Fear not, I am not remote from you (i. e. I am very near you) even as ye yourselves have drawn nigh unto me and unto my Lord, since it is written, "Draw nigh unto God, and He will draw nigh unto you." And now, O Dorotheus and Theopistê, take to yourselves strength, and arise, stand up, and accept these gifts from my hands, for, as I have already declared unto you, these things are merely the interest, and when ye shall remove yourselves from this life I will give unto you the principal in the Jerusalem of the heavens, the city of all the saints. For I have already received you to favour at the hand of God in return for your sacrifices and your pious charities.'

⁸³ And when the Archangel Michael had said these things to Dorotheus and Theopistê as they lay prostrate on the ground like dead folk, he took hold of their hands, and raised them up, and dispelled their fear. And he gave unto them the gold pieces, saying, '[Your offerings and charities] shall neither come to an end nor cease. And ye shall not be last in any good thing, and ye shall not fall behind in your sacrifices and your charities, which ye shall continue with praiseworthy zeal from this day, this festival, until ye end [your lives]. Now ye shall end [your lives] with joy. And ye shall send away [satisfied] the brethren who shall come unto you at my commemoration. Thou shalt send to the [owners] the price of the sheep, and the price of the fish, and thou shalt redeem the cloak. And the three hundred oboli, and also the three termêsia, whereon is the seal (i. e. the Sign of the Cross), are given unto thee as a reward in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, One perfect Godhead.' And when he had said these things unto them he gave them the salutation of peace, and went up into heaven with glory, and all his angels with him; and Dorotheus and Theopistê continued

to gaze after him until he entered into heaven, in peace. Amen. And Dorotheus and Theopistê his wife did as the holy Archangel Michael had commanded them. And they kept the festival to the end of their lives with great zeal, and they did not cease to offer what they had been wont to offer in respect of sacrifices and offerings, in the name of the holy Archangel Michael, until the end of their lives.

⁸⁴ Oh And, O my beloved, do ye fulfil even a very little of all the things which ye have just heard. Are not these profound proofs (or, examples) sufficient to convince your hearts? Is it possible that ye will hesitate any longer to give gifts to God on the festival of the holy Archangel Michael? Will ye not obtain boldness through the things which ye have given on the festival of the holy Archangel Michael, and which he shall give [back] to you, together with their increase (i. e. interest)? For behold, O my beloved, ye have seen the great gift of God which reached these holy people Dorotheus and his wife Theopistê, and how, since their hearts were right with God and His holy Archangel Michael, God Himself directed His love (or, charity) to them, and sent unto them His great Archangel Michael, and prepared for them great and unending riches, as well as the consolation of the riches of the heavens. And, O my beloved, my brethren, behold, we know in very truth that everything which we shall give unto God in the name of the Archangel Michael we shall Fô. receive twofold in this world, before we arrive at the things that appertain to heaven.

⁸⁵ Now therefore, O my hearers, let us not hesitate to give according to our ability, for we know that whatsoever we shall give unto the Archangel Michael he will employ in ministering unto us with gladness, and that whether it be little, or whether it be much, he will accept the good motive from us. For God doth not demand from you anything that is beyond thine ability, but it is the good intent which He requireth. If [ye think this is] not so, hearken: In days of old [when] our Saviour was in the world with us, all the rich men brought [gifts] and cast them into the treasury, yet God did not hold them to be justified over much. But when the poor widow woman had gone round about in her house, and had found two lepta, that is to say, two nomisma, and had brought them quickly and cast them into the treasury, God accepted her intention, and ascribed blessing to her, saying, 'Everything which she found in her house hath she given to the Lord.'

86 And do thou thyself, O my beloved, use all care and diligence in giving gifts unto God on the festival of the holy Archangel Michael, and God shall give unto thee a multitude of benefits, and Michael shall minister unto thee therewith. If thou shalt give an offering unto God in the name of the holy Archangel Michael, God will feed thee with the bread of life in the heavens. If thou shalt clothe a naked man on the festival of the Archangel Michael, God Himself will array thee in apparel of light in the heavens. If thou shalt give a cup of wine to a man on the festival of the holy Archangel Michael, God Himself will give thee to drink of the produce of the True Vine. And if thou hast not wine wherewith to do this, give a man a drink of water in the name of Michael, and God Himself will give thee to drink of the fountain of the Water of Life, which floweth forth from the holy throne. And if thou shalt go and shalt visit any one who is sick on the day of the Archangel Michael, God Himself will send Michael to visit thee on the day of thy great sickness, that is to say, the sickness whereof thou shalt die.

87 And if thou shalt go to any one who is in prison on the day of the festival of Michael, and shalt comfort him, God will send unto thee Michael, and he will deliver thee from the prison of Amente, and God Himself will say unto thee, 'I was in prison, and ye visited me.' And if thou shalt build a church upon earth in the name of Michael, God Himself will build for thee a house not made with hands in the heavens. If thou shalt see a man who is helpless through disease, or who hath a wound in his body, and thou shalt treat him with medicines on the festival of the Archangel Michael, God Himself will shew compassion unto thee, and will heal thee of the wounds of Amente. For it is written, 'Blessed are the merciful, for unto them shall mercy be shewn.' And again, 'Shew mercy, and mercy shall be shewn unto you.' And 'Mercy shall make a man to triumph over judgement.' And again, 'Charity covereth a multitude of sins.'

88 O my beloved, my brethren, let us call upon God, and let us take care and be diligent to love charity on the day of the Archangel Michael, for we know that he is an efficient being, and that he entereth into the presence of God at all times, and that he giveth unto every man according to his works. Let us follow after love, O my beloved, for love is from God, and God is Love. It was love which God shewed to our father Adam, and to Eve, and He accepted their repentance through the supplication of Michael, and forgave them their transgression. It was love which He shewed to Abel, the righteous

man, when He accepted his sacrifice from him through the supplication of Michael. It was love which God shewed to Enoch, [when] He removed him and did not let him see death, through the supplication of Michael. It was love which God shewed to Noah, [when] He made him an ark, and kept him and all his house safe amid the waters of the Flood, through the supplication of Michael and his angelic hosts. It was love which God shewed to our father Abraham, [for] He established a covenant with him, and He bestowed upon him Isaac, through the supplication of Michael and his hosts. And it was love which God shewed to Isaac, [for] He accepted his sacrifice, and took a sheep in his stead, through the supplication of Michael.

⁸⁹ [And it was] love which God shewed to Jacob, for He gave him favour in the sight of Esau his brother, through the supplication of Michael and his hosts. It was love which God shewed to Joseph, [for] He delivered him from the hands of his brethren, and out of the hand of the Egyptian woman, through the prayer of Michael and his supplication. It was love which God shewed unto Moses the Prophet, [for] He delivered him from the servitude of Pharaoh, and filled him with more grace than any other man, through the supplication of Michael and his host. It was love which God shewed unto Joshua [the son] of Nun, [when] He made the sun to stand still in Gabaon (Gibeon), and Joshua destroyed all his enemies by the prayer of Michael and all his host. And it was love which God shewed to Moses [when] He gave unto him His Law, and Moses gave it unto the children of Israel. It was also love which God shewed unto King David, [when] He chose him from among his brethren, and set him to be king over Israel, through the supplication of Michael and his host. And it was also love which God shewed unto David's son Solomon, when He commanded him to build a house to the Lord, through the supplication of Michael, the holy archangel.

⁹⁰ And it was also love which God shewed unto Hezekiah, the righteous king, [when] he added fifteen years to the years of his life, through the supplication of Michael, the greatest of the governors, and of his host. It is love also which God shewed unto the race of Adam when He esteemed it to be worthy for Him to invite us to this great festival this day with Him Who took flesh in the holy Virgin Mary, and when He gave Him for us all so that He might withdraw us from Amente and forgive us our sins, through the supplication of Michael and all his host. And it was also love which God shewed unto our Fathers the Apostles, whom He chose from the whole

world, and through whose preaching we all have come into the knowledge of the truth, through the supplication of Michael, the great and holy archangel.

⁹¹ Now therefore, O my beloved, behold, we know that the Will of God existeth in love and charity, and that the Archangel Michael is our helper and minister with God. Let us follow after love and charity, for it is written, 'Charity (or, love) shall make a man to triumph over judgement,' and 'Charity exalteth, and love maketh straight.' And the Compassionate said, 'Be merciful, and mercy shall be shewed unto you. Give, and it shall be given unto you. For with the measure wherewith ye measure, it shall be meted out to you.' Let us measure with good measure this day, on the a festival of the Archangel Michael, in order that he may measure for us with a generous and abundant measure in the Kingdom of Heaven. Let us keep a spiritual festival this day, on the festival of the Archangel Michael, in order that he may keep the festival with us and with our Lord at the festival which shall endure for ever in the heavens. Let us then cast behind us the works of darkness this day at the festival of the Archangel Michael, in order that he may put upon us the armour of light. Let us glorify God this day at the festival of His mighty governor, in order that He may glorify us with His great and perfect glory.

⁹² Let us go to the holy Archangel Michael at his festival this day, with our bodies cleansed with holy water, and arrayed in garments [made from] the sheep, and our hands filled with branches of sweet-smelling trees. And let us make supplication unto him, saying, 'O thou archangel and Commander-in-Chief of the hosts of heaven, Michael, do thou entreat God on our behalf to forgive us our sins. O thou archangel, entreat God on our behalf to allot unto us our food and our apparel, according to His wish. O Michael, thou great archangel, entreat God on our behalf, so that He may graciously grant unto us peace with one another, for thou thyself art peace. Thou, O our helper, knowest well that we are dust and ashes, and that our nature is prone to fall (or, slide). But God is the Compassionate and the Forgiver. Unto us belongeth the attribute of committing sin, and unto thee belongeth the attribute of making supplication on our behalf before God to forgive us our sins. Unto us it belongeth to make supplication to God, and unto thee it belongeth to invoke God on our behalf to forgive us, O Michael our governor. Unto us it belongeth to go out of the right way, and unto thee it belongeth to set us in the right way before God our King.'

93 O Archangel Michael, of a truth we know that thou art our treasury of the compassion of God, and that thou dost minister on behalf of us all at this moment before God the Christ, the God of all supplication, Who is blessed for ever. May He forgive us all our sins which we have committed, may He make it acceptable unto us to cast behind us the things which are behind, and to separate ourselves from those which are useless. And do thou present us to Him [as] holy folk, without blemish before Him, in love. For thou, O our great Archangel Michael, art he who careth for us, in order that we may live in thy place of rest in the heavens. Happily indeed hast thou come unto us, O great Archangel Michael. Happily hast thou come unto us, coming with our Lord, thy King! Happily hast thou come unto us, coming with our Lord, our King! Happily have all thine angelic hosts come at this great festival, which is spread before us this day, O Michael.

94 And the banquet which thou hast made for us is not a banquet for poor men, but a banquet for the rich men of an Emperor. They are not governors who are sitting at meat at this banquet, but the Lord of the denizens of heaven and of the beings of earth. And they are not mere human beings who are waiting upon us, but those who serve us are angels. And this table is not a material table, but a spiritual, and it is a similitude which is filled with life for ever. Those who keep the festival with us this day are not men only, but it is God in very truth, Who stretcheth out His holy hand, saying, 'Right well is it that ye have come unto Us this day! Peace be unto you, O My brethren. And I rejoice with you all, for it is written, "Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in My Name, there am I in their midst." Furthermore, if He spake in this manner about two or three only, how very great must be the joy of the Lord our King and of His holy angels at this moment this day, when they are in our midst and are celebrating the festival with us at this great banquet, and with this great assembly of men, and women, and little children, and great men, and believers, who are present at this great festival this day, which is the festival of Michael, the great and holy archangel! Besides [this] He glorifieth every one who keepeth the feast to Him in the festival of the holy Archangel Michael, the great, holy general.

95 Verily, O my brethren, I have set my hand to a task which is beyond my strength, and I have set sail upon a great and wide sea which I am unable to traverse. Now, I said at the beginning of this Encomium that my boat was a small one, and that my cargo was light, and that I did not understand the

craft of the mariner, and that the sea, that is to say, the Encomium on the great, holy Archangel Michael, was exceedingly difficult. I entreat you, O my brethren, to give me your help in order that I may be delivered in the depth of [this] boundless sea, and may come to you on shore once more without mishap (or, directly). Furthermore, I undertook to speak unto you the words of praise and honour which are proper for him whose festival we celebrate this day, the great Archangel Michael. But my tongue is flesh, and my body is a body of earth, and I am not able to describe adequately the measure of his splendour and the fullness of his glory. O thou who, after God, art my lord! O Michael, thou art the joy of my heart! O holy archangel, thou art the comfort of my tongue! O Michael, thou art the word of my mouth and the comfort of my heart, and my prayer before God! What tongue, or what heart, or what understanding is there that can know or comprehend the perfectness of thine honourable rank and the glory wherewith God hath endued thee!

⁹⁶ All these words which I have uttered, O thou governor of the kingdom which is in the heavens, and those which are like unto them, are appropriate to thy great glory; but, forgive me, O archangel, because I am a sinful man, and I am exceedingly weak in my deeds. I beseech thee, O my helper Michael, accept from me my prayer and my supplication, that is to say, my insignificant offering which I have taken pains to give unto thee at thy festival. Blame not thy servant because my gift is little, but let my willing intent be before thee like the two lepta [of the widow], for I know that thou art merciful and long-suffering, and therefore I come to thee. I know that I have no other help but thine before God, O holy Archangel Michael. If thou wilt shew mercy unto me, and wilt accept my prayer at my hands, and my little gift, [good and well,] and if it be still too poor, I will be diligent in presenting unto thee as a gift my tongue and my heart at all times, all the days of my life. And indeed I am confident that, if I treasure up all these things rightly in my heart at the mention of thine angelic name at all times, I shall not be without reward and without fruit before God. The remembrance of thy name, O holy Archangel Michael, is as sweet upon my tongue as is honey in my mouth.

⁹⁷ The mention of thy holy name, O holy Archangel Michael, is to me an equipment in my lying down and in my rising up. O great and holy Archangel Michael, the race of Adam hath found freedom of speech before

God through thee. O holy Archangel Michael, the sweet scent of our prayers riseth up to God through thee; O Michael, thou holy archangel, it is thou who dost lift [them] up to God until He sheweth compassion upon us. And this day also, on thy great festival, mayest thou minister on our behalf before God the Father, and may He accept our intention which we bring ⁹⁸unto Him at thy holy commemoration. O thou great helper, Michael, make supplication on our behalf before God, and make us to walk in those [paths] that are pleasing unto Him at all times. May He deliver us from the snares of the Devil, may He make us to be to Him a kingdom, and a priesthood, and a holy nation, and a people [destined] to life, through the prayers which the great and holy Archangel Michael, whose festival we celebrate this day, maketh on our behalf; and through the ministrations of our Lady, the pure God-bearer, Saint Mary, who in very truth gave birth to God; and through the prayers also of his fellow archangel, the bearer of good tidings of the worlds of light, through the grace and love to man of our Lord Jesus the Christ, unto Whom, and His Good Father, and the Holy, Vivifying and Consubstantial Spirit, be glory, now, and always, and for ever. Amen.

⁹⁹[Here follow in Oriental 6781 the texts of the passages from the Old and New Testaments which are ordered to be read on Saint Michael's Day.] This book was produced by the zeal and care of our noble and God-loving brother, Sirê, the son of the blessed Phêu (?), who liveth on the plain to the south of the city of Snê (Asnâ), in the village which is called Pkouroosê (?), with [money obtained by] his own labour. He hath given it to the shrine of the holy Archangel Michael in the district of Tbô for the salvation of his soul, and in order that the God of the Archangel Michael might bless him, and his wife, and his children, and his flocks and herds, and every possession which he hath. And when he goeth forth from the body may he also be held worthy to hear with joy [the words], 'Come, ye blessed of My Father, and inherit the kingdom which hath been prepared for you from the foundation of the world.' Amen. So be it.

¹⁰⁰[The date is obliterated.]

XIV. THE HISTORIES OF THE MONKS OF THE EGYPTIAN DESERT, BY
PAPHNUTIUS

¹[Some pages wanting] 'and the service whereunto we have committed thee. Blessed are we [in] our country, which was worthy of Thy holy footprints! Rightly did the Psalmist David say, "Lovely are Thy dwellings." And again,

"Lovely are they because of their fathers." It is the Lord Who [speaketh], it cometh to pass with ...and with great [fear] and joy towards us. I remember the word which the Lord spake in the Gospel, "In the house into which ye shall enter, say first of all, 'Peace [be] in this house. If there be therein the sons of peace, let your peace abide therein; but if not, then let your peace return to you.'" And when I found that they were sons of peace I permitted my peace to rest upon them, according to the word of the Master of us all, the Christ Jesus our Lord. And when the hour had come we celebrated the Sacrament. And they set before us a table, and we prayed, and we ate, [and we drank]

²[One or two lines wanting] man Apa Pseleusius, and asked about a certain sage, the good brother with whom thou didst dwell, that is to say, Apa Zauboulôn (Zebulon?), and he was a man who was profitable, and we profited by him exceedingly. And he said unto me, 'I myself profit in these respects; I received benefit from him by reason of his humility and his silence. He never wished to decide by his speaking any matter whatsoever. Whether it was a humble person who spoke to him, or whether it was a man of importance, he was wont to say, "I do not know."' I said unto him, 'How is it that [thou art able to speak thus], and to act in this wise?' The old man said unto me, 'Hearken, and I will tell thee. He took unto himself a wife in his youth. And he progressed in every work; he was a virgin from his childhood. And he fled from all intercourse with women, for he was afraid, according to the word which is written, "Whosoever looketh upon a woman to desire her hath already committed adultery with her in his heart." And "lust, [when] it hath conceived, bringeth forth sin; and the sin, when it is fulfilled, giveth birth to death." And he walked in all humility. And he saw a vision in this wise: It was as if he saw a man shining with glory, who stood before him, and said, "It is impossible for any man to act as the servant of two masters; either he loveth one, or he hateth one." This is thy case exactly, my brother Pseleusius. Thou wouldst be zealous in a good work, according to that which is written by the Apostle, "No man who is a soldier hampereth himself

³with [the affairs of this life that he may please him] that hath made him a soldier. And, moreover, if one strive he doth not receive the crown unless he hath striven lawfully." Thou shalt be victorious on the right hand and on the left. And straightway the man who was speaking to him in the vision disappeared, and he ceased to see him. And there was a certain old man who

lived close by him who had a knowledge of the Scriptures, and a certain brother used to go unto him frequently and enquire of him concerning passages in the Lectionary which they read in the church (now he loved the poor exceedingly), and the brother used to tell his thoughts frequently to this old man, who would explain to him the Holy Scriptures. And it came to pass that when the morning had come the brother went to this old man, and when he had come to him he described to him the vision which he had seen, and he [asked him what] it was intended to mean. And the old man told him that he must strip himself of whatsoever he possessed, and "take up thy Cross and follow thy Lord, and let

4 the dead bury their dead" [one line wanting] vanity. (sic) Hast thou not heard the Lord saying in the Gospel, "No man who putteth his hand to the plough and looketh back shall enter into the kingdom which is in the heavens?" And this word "looketh back" indicateth the affections for [this] vain world and for the things thereof, the which we have not renounced. And now, my beloved brother, I do not wish to make thee to go away and leave me because of thy knowledge and because of thy visits to me, which are full of profit [to me], but I wish also to make thee to go through the invitation with which thou hast been invited. Rise up, get thee gone to the brethren, and they will dress thee in the garb of the monk, and they will shew thee what it is right for thee to do.' And thereupon the brother departed according to what the old man said. And he went to the brethren who were in a place which is called ...

5 [Three lines wanting] and graciously courteous. And his face was exceedingly pallid, and his whole body also by reason of the excessive severity of his ascetic labours, even as it is written, 'The wings of a dove which are pale like silver, and the parts round about her neck which have the greenness of gold.' He speaketh thus because the lifting up of the hands of the old man was like unto the [lifting up of] the wings [of the dove], according to the Scriptures. And he likened him unto the paleness of silver because of the purity of his prayers, and unto the greenness of gold because of the vigour of his asceticism, even as it is written, 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for it is they who shall see God.' He was a man who suffered greatly, for he passed the whole night in vigil, and very frequently he ate tares, even as did John the Baptist, concerning whom it is testified, 'his food was locusts and wild honey.'

6[One line at least wanting] because of the purity of his heart and the purity of his body. And the holy father Apa Pseleusius said that he was in the habit of receiving revelations very frequently, and that every thing which he spake (i. e. foretold) used to come to pass in truth. And he used to see visions like Daniel the seer. And Apa Pseleusius also said, 'When then I had come to him, that is to say, unto the John of whom I spake first, and of whom I have said all these things, he received me with great hospitality, and I found nothing at all in his habitation except three cakes of bread, and they were only there for the sake of the strangers who used to pass by, lest they should say, "The old man doth not eat bread." And when I had tarried there some time I begged him to endue me with the garb of the monk

7[Three lines wanting] the rules of life of the monk. And he said unto me, 'O (?) my brother Pseleusius, it is written, "Thy words are sweeter in my throat, O Lord, than is honey in my mouth." Since, however, thou dost ask me, O my son, concerning instruction [say], Be ye honest with those who are outside. And be ye seasoned with salt, according to what the Saviour saith in the Gospel to His Apostles, "Ye are the salt of the earth." Be ye mild and simple, according to what our Lord saith, "Behold, I send you forth like sheep among wolves; be ye then wise as serpents and harmless as doves." He said unto them, "like sheep," but He had no faith in the carelessness of sheep to make [them] to walk therein ...their hearts ...through the thoughts of the devil. 8[Nearly four lines wanting] destruction, nor that we should abandon our hearts to eating, and drinking, and pleasure, for our adversary the Devil walketh about and lieth in wait for men, roaring like these lions and seeking to swallow up our souls.' And whilst I was passing some days with him he said these words and others which were like unto them. And I entreated him to take me to a place by myself. Thereupon he brought me to this place, and he remained with us for some days until he had instructed me concerning living by myself in the desert, and he gave me certain commands [concerning] the resisting of the thoughts of the Devil which rise up in the mind, and the bitter conflict therewith. And he left me by myself until my brother Zaboulôn came to me. Then he said unto me, 'I beseech thee, O my father Pseleusius, since there is ...

9[Three or four lines wanting] The old man answered and said unto me, 'Since thou askest me I will tell thee, and nothing shall be hidden from thee; and the things which are hidden from thee before men shall the Holy Spirit

reveal unto thee.' I said unto him, 'Do an act of grace unto me, O my father, and pass not by me thy servant.' He answered and said unto me, 'Since thou askest I will tell thee.' He said, 'I went once into the inner desert, and I journeyed therein for two days, and I found a few palm trees in a little ravine and a spring of water, and round about the waters there were trees and plants. I sat down by the spring to rest myself a little, for I was exhausted by the fatigue of the road. I said, "I wonder if there is a brother living in this place or not." Whilst I was thinking in this wise I looked and I saw a man ...

¹⁰[Four lines wanting] ¹¹the palm trees, and they brought a little water for me to drink. And I wished to remain with them in that place, but I is remembered my brother Zaboulôn, and I could not remain without him, according to what the Apostle saith, 'A great door hath been opened unto me [by] the Lord. And I could not rest in my spirit because I found not Titus my brother.' And again, 'I have planted, it is Apollos who hath watered, and it is God Who hath given the increase.' And I said unto them, 'How was it that ye were able to come to this place? How do ye obtain food? What are your names? Of what places are ye natives? And how do ye partake of the Sacrament whilst ye are in this place?' And they said unto me, 'We are natives of the town of Souan (Syene, Aswân), wherein we lived together, in one mind, ever since we [came] into the world. We were, moreover, friends each of the other. We used to go to church together daily, both evening and morning, and we heard [together] the Holy Scriptures, when they were read, and the passage in the Lectionary from the Gospel, which saith, "Whosoever loveth father or mother more than Me is not worthy of Me," and "He who will not take up his cross and follow Me is not worthy of Me.

¹²And when we heard these words of life from the mouth of our Lord Jesus the Christ, our Saviour, the Lover of men, and those which were like unto them, that is to say, the following, "Whosoever loveth his soul shall lose it"; and "Whosoever shall lose his soul for My sake shall find it"; and again, "If a man gain the whole world and lose his soul [what shall it profit him], or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?";—when we heard these [words], we all made up our minds together, for the word of God was sweeter unto us than honey and the honeycomb, and we agreed together to go forth on a certain day from the town wherein we were. Now we waited for a few days, saying, "Peradventure it is the Devil who is tempting us. And when we felt the good resolve prompting us not to abandon our plan, we distributed

among those who were in need the things that were superfluous for us, and we took

¹³ a few bread cakes and came forth from the town, and we embarked in a small boat, and came to a mountain which is called the "Bend". And we dwelt with the holy brethren who were in that place, because there was great abundance [in the land] at that time by [the Will of] God. And we met a holy old man whose name was Zacchaeus, who had grown old in the life of the anchorite, and he was a very strict ascetic. And two brethren lived close by him, and they were his disciples; the name of the one was Sarapamôn, and the name of the other was Matthew. They were greatly advanced in the practice of ascetic valour, and in the giving of thanks, and they obeyed the old man Apa Zacchaeus in everything, doing all which he told them [to do]. And Sarapamôn developed a lovable quality, which was this: When a man came seeking for handiwork which he could buy from him, he would first of all gather round him the brethren, and would say unto them, "Whosoever hath any handiwork ready by him, let him bring it to me, [and I will give] to him its price." And he used to

¹⁴ [Parts of two lines wanting] came to him, he knowing, and he would take it from him by force and give him his own. And he loved loss more than gain, and contumely more than honour. And he continued to exercise this lovable quality until the day of his perfection (i. e. death). And Matthew developed the following habit: he could never be persuaded to bring his speech (i. e. to discuss) to any passage [of Scripture]. And if any man asked him concerning a reading of the Scriptures, he was in the habit of replying to him thus: "Excuse me; I do not understand it," although he was a very learned man, and had been well grounded in the Holy Scriptures. And thus he died on the fifteenth day of the month Paone. 'And as for the old man, of whom we have already spoken, that is to say, Apa Zacchaeus, he it was who taught us concerning dwelling in the desert, and he it was who endued us with the garb of monasticism. And the old man talked to us concerning the virtues of the holy men who were in the desert, and who desired earnestly never to see a human being. He laid down [for us] rules for a very strict form of the ascetic life, and he commanded us [saying, "Take good heed]

¹⁵ to your souls!" He himself led a very hard life of self-abnegation, and although he was at that time in his old age he was a virgin, and had been one from his birth. He fled from all and every kind of intercourse with women,

and all light conversation and jesting. He loved tears more than laughter, and he ceased not to weep, either by day or by night. And one day we said unto him, "My father, why dost thou weep in this fashion?" And he said, "It is meet to do in every way that which is specially ordained, and not to cease from doing it by day or by night." He wept for his sins, even as it is written, "Blessed are those who mourn, for they shall be comforted." If this passage be kept strictly by you, ye shall have relief from your sufferings. For it is right that all men should keep before them these three (sic) things, that is to say, their departure from the body, and the sentence that shall be passed upon us on the great and

16 [C] terrible Day of Judgement. And besides, ye have heard concerning Moses the Great, and how while he kept both his hands raised he continued to vanquish Amalek, and how when he dropped them Amalek vanquished [the Israelites] and [IV] prevailed. For Holy Scripture saith that Aaron held up the right hand of Moses, and Ôr (Hur) his left. And in this manner, by their lifting up his hands together under one impulse, Moses vanquished Amalek. And the holy scribe saith also that Aaron supported the hand of Moses until the second hour of the night, that is to say, he supported it the whole day.

17 'And thus is it with a man. Every man who shall lift up his hands, after the manner of the Cross of the Christ, shall vanquish all his enemies, even as Moses vanquished Amalek by the lifting up of his hands. As for Aaron, the Scripture likeneth him unto the place of rest which is in the heavens, and the rejoicing in the Jerusalem which is in heaven, and the throne and the apparel which shall be given unto the saints, even as it is written, "Thou hast rent my sackcloth, Thou hast girded me with joy." And again, "He shall be held worthy to be a partner with the first-born whose [names are] written in the heavens, and [in] the Paradise which is in the East." "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, [to imagine] the things which God hath prepared for those who love Him." And Ôr (Hur) the Scripture likeneth unto the judgement (?), and the worm which never sleepeth, and the [flood] of tears, and the gnashing of teeth, and the outer darkness, and the pit of the abyss, and the river of fire which punisheth and causeth exceedingly great fear. For when a man setteth the remembrance of these things in his heart at the moment wherein he prayeth, his supplication shall reach the throne of God, and everything which he shall ask for in [the Name of] God shall be [given]

¹⁸ unto him, even as it is written, "The supplication of the righteous man is exceedingly mighty and it hath effect," and it vanquisheth the hidden Amalek and his power. And the second matter for which a man shall pray is joy and weeping, but joy because of weeping, and because the remembrance of the place of rest which is in the heavens; and weeping because of the remembrance of the punishments which are in Amente. [O my brethren], my sons, it is right for all men to set before themselves the remembrance of these two matters—death and suffering—and when we have suffered a little, death cometh (?). ¹⁹ And when we had heard these things from the holy old man Apa Zacchaeus, we were filled with joy, and we said unto him, 'Do us an act of grace, and take us to some place which is known unto thee, and wherein we can obtain salvation.' Thereupon he gave unto us... loaves of bread and two books, and he journeyed with us until he brought us unto this place; and he tarried with us a few days until we understood how to live in the desert. And he gave us a number of very strict rules, and certain regulations concerning vigils, and eating and drinking in proper quantities. And he instructed us as to the way in which the devils tempt men in all their numerous forms, even as it is written in the [Book of the] Apostle, 'For our fight is not against blood and flesh, but against principalities and powers, and against the spirits of wickedness which are under the heavens.' For the demons fight with each other naked at night. And he gave us certain regulations which shewed us how to behave towards any brethren who should visit us. And thus, having departed from us, he went to his rest on the eleventh day of the month of Thoth, and we have remained in this place until this day, O our holy father. We obtain our nourishment here, and we go forth into the outer mountain (i. e. desert)

²⁰ and partake of the Sacrament with the brethren on the Sabbath and on the first day of the week. Behold, we have informed thee about our appointed course of life. As for thee, do an act of grace, and pray for us, O our holy father.' And I came forth from them and I abode in my habitation. The name of one of them was Anianus, and the name of the other was Paul. And within a few days we heard from a certain brother who was in the habit of visiting them, and who had visited them frequently, that both of them had died, Anianus on the twentieth day, and Paul on the third day [R] of the month Paope. And when our brother Banouphiel heard [this] he went and brought their bodies and buried them in a spot near him. ²¹ Behold now, O

my brother Papnoute (Paphnutius), these things do we tell thee concerning those who dwell in the desert, as the result of what I have seen and what I have heard, and of what I remember of the fathers who succeeded them there, and of the end of their lives. And there remaineth that which we have to say concerning the holy old man Apa Isaac, the remembrance of whom is good (i. e. blessed), whose life was ill-regulated before he became a monk in this place, and who dwelt on an island which was in the middle of the Cataract, about four miles to the south of us. He was a disciple of the old man Apa Harôn (Aaron), and he poured water on his master's hands, even as did Elisha the Great on the hands of the Prophet Elijah. He was in very truth a perfect man, and he possessed very many virtues widely different in character. And when I heard of the blessedness of this man, which was so exceedingly great, I entreated my

22 father Pseleusius, and I said [unto him, 'I will go] to him [R h] and make myself worthy of his blessing, and we will pray in his habitation.' And we came forth, and we embarked in a little boat, and we sailed towards the south to go to the holy old man Apa Isaac. And there were very large rocks growing up (i. e. standing) in the water in the middle of the river, and the waters thereof roared in a terrifying manner. And when we had arrived at the south, and were drawing nigh to the habitation of the old man, a short time before [we arrived] he was informed by the Spirit of our coming, and he came out and stood on the bank of the river. And the man possessed a gracious appearance, and he was very far advanced in years. And when we had tied up our boat to a post on the bank, he cried out to me by my name, saying, 'Welcome is thy coming unto us, O my brother Paphnutius, who hast been held worthy to salute the saints!' And when he had greeted us, he took us into his habitation with joy, and he said unto us, 'Do an act of grace, and let us offer up a prayer together, for ye are holy men who have come unto me this day.' And after we had offered up prayer we sat down, and he brought

23 a vessel of water, and we washed our feet. [And when we had washed our feet in] the water [he spake], saying, 'I am [KO] [not] worthy of this great favour, namely, your coming unto me this day, O holy brethren.' And afterwards he set before us a table, and we ate, and we returned thanks, and we sat down. And I talked to him about his system of work, and I said unto him, 'My father, thou art very far advanced in years.' And the holy old man answered and said unto me in a voice that was full of joy, 'Forgive me, O my

father, my brother Paphnutius, I am the very least of men and a sinner. Since, however, thou dost ask me concerning my system of work, I will declare unto thee the things which I saw, and those which I heard when [I was] with my holy father Apa Aaron. Besides this I was a disciple at his feet, and I entreated him to relate unto me the things which he himself had seen, and those which had happened before his time. My holy father Apa Aaron said, "Assuredly I will declare unto thee, O my son, the things which I have seen, and those

²⁴ which I have heard from the blessed Apa Marcedonios (sic) the bishop." [KA] ²⁵ Now he said, "When I became governor, and took over the rule of [Syene], I came to the South, and I passed through the towns in this district, and went into Pilak (Philae). And it was the Sabbath day, and I made enquiries for a place wherein I might receive the Sacrament, for I was an orthodox Christian. The people who lived there worshipped idols, and the very few orthodox Christians who dwelt in their midst possessed neither freedom of speech nor liberty of action because the majority of the people were idolaters. I next asked a man, who was a Christian, where I could receive the Sacrament, and he said unto me, O my lord governor, those of us who live in this town suffer violence at the hands of the worshippers of idols who are therein, but nevertheless certain clergy who belong to the city of Souan (Syene, Aswan) are in the habit of visiting us, and they administer the Sacrament to us on the Sabbath and on the Lord's Day. And I, Macedonius, laid up these words in my heart. And when I had [returned and] entered Rakote (Alexandria) to pay my respects to the military governor, I sought out Apa Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria, and I related unto him everything which I had seen. And the holy sage and veritable patriarch said unto me, Are there many worshippers of God in that place?

²⁶ And I said unto him, Yea, my father, for a certain man who was a Christian, and who spoke to me said, Certain of the clergy belonging to the city of Souan visit us, and administer the Sacrament unto us on the Sabbath and on the Lord's Day. Now, therefore, O my lord father, do thou look out a man who is worthy to minister in this most necessary work, and do thou consecrate him bishop, and then I will take him to the South with me.' And the holy archbishop answered and said unto me, Because thou hast sought after a good work, what man hath more prudence than thyself, or who is there that can be compared with thee in understanding? It is thou who shalt

be the shepherd of the sheep who are in that place. And I said unto him, Forgive me, O my holy father, I am wholly unworthy of work of this kind; but he persuaded me with his gracious words, and [prevailed over] me.

27 'And when I had come to the south I distributed the things which it was unnecessary to keep among the [dwellers] in this place, O my brother Aaron, and I did not permit myself to act with freedom of speech and as a bishop, but I behaved as one who was of the very least importance in their midst. And I saw them going into their temple, and worshipping a certain bird, which is called "hawk", inside a mechanical contrivance. And it came to pass that after some days I came into the court of the temple, and the priest had gone forth from the city, having departed on certain business, and his two sons remained [in the temple], so that one of them might offer up sacrifices to the idol. And I, Macedonius, went to them, and I spake unto them with guile, and I said, I wish to offer up sacrifice unto God this day. And they said, Come, and offer it up. And when [the young man] had gone into [the temple], he commanded [the servants] to lay wood upon the altar, and to kindle fire beneath it, and the two sons of the priest remained by the side of the wood until it had become thoroughly burnt through.' [Meanwhile] the [holy] bishop Apa Macedonius went to the place wherein was the mechanical contrivance, and he took out the hawk, and cut off its head, and threw it from him upon the blazing altar; and he went forth from the temple and departed.

28 When the two sons of the priest saw what had happened they rent their garments. And the elder said unto the younger, 'What shall we do? We are in difficulties on every side. When the inhabitants of the city hear about it they will stone us, because we have been careless and permitted their god to be burned. And again, supposing that we are able to save ourselves from them, we shall not be able to escape from the hands of our father, because he loveth the divine hawk more than us. Now therefore, O my brother, let us rise up and flee unto some place in the desert; peradventure we shall escape from him.' And in this way did it happen that the two young men came forth from the city that day, and no one knew about their flight because God watched over them, and they were set apart for a good stewardship. And they crossed the water (i. e. the Nile), and they came to the east, and they looked at the mountain in the inner desert, saying, 'It is [RH] better for us to die

[here] where the wild beasts will eat our bodies than to let the people of the city stone us.'

29 And it came to pass that their father came and went into the temple to offer worship to the idol early in the morning, according to his habit, before he departed to his house. And when he had gone into the temple and did not find his sons he went to the innermost part (i. e. the sanctuary), and when he did not find them there he turned back to the mechanical contrivance wherein the hawk had been, and found it not, and he came out in a state of bewilderment, saying, 'What can have happened? For I can find neither my sons nor the divine god.' And a certain old woman who was standing nigh unto him in the temple heard him, and she cried out to him, saying, 'Come to me, O blessed priest, and I will tell thee what I saw this day. This day I saw that wicked monk, who is leading into error certain of the people of this city, go into the temple with thy sons, and this is not all, for he it is who is corrupting their minds, and they carried away the divine [hawk], and then betook themselves to flight.' And when the priest had [RG] heard these words from the old woman he departed and made his way towards the city [to seek for] his sons, saying, 'I will not only kill my sons, but if I can find that monk I will destroy him.'

30 And a certain man, who was a believer, having heard the old woman talking to the priest, went to the holy bishop, and said unto him, 'My noble father, hearken unto the words which this cursed priest of the temple spake concerning thee, saying, "If I can only find him, I will kill him." Now therefore, O my holy father, arise, and get thee gone into a quiet place for some days until the matter hath passed by.' And the bishop said unto that man, 'Wherefore, my noble son? I have heard the blessed mouth of our God, our Saviour Jesus the Christ, our Lord, saying, "Fear ye not those who can kill your bodies, but who are unable to kill your souls."' And that man said unto the bishop, 'He said also, "When they persecute you in this city, flee unto another."' And the bishop said [unto that man], 'Who told him that I went into the temple?' And the man said unto him, 'I heard a certain old woman who was near him in the temple [tell him].' And the bishop said shortly, 'May her tongue become like iron and remain without motion until the gift of God shall make itself manifest.' And this took place according to the bishop's words, even as were fulfilled the words which Peter the Apostle spake unto Simon, saying, 'Thou shalt be blind and shalt never see the sun again.' And

when the holy bishop had said these words the man went forth from the presence of the holy man.

³¹ And [the bishop] rose up and departed to the north, to a place which is called Pia (or, the Valley). And he lived in that place, and made supplication to God, and he fasted and passed whole nights in vigil frequently. And he said, 'O Lord God, turn the heart of the men (?) to repentance this night.' [And straightway] he saw a vision, and it seemed as if he himself was standing up, with the two sons of the priest before him, the one on the right side of him, and the other on his left side, and they were kneeling down. And a man of light came and stood over them. And he placed a crown upon the head of him that was on his right side, who was the elder, and another crown upon the head of him that was on his left side. And he placed in the hand of him that was on his right side

³² [A] [Aa] a sceptre whereunto was tied a key, and in the hand of him that was on his left he placed another sceptre whereunto was tied a key. And the [man of light] went up into heaven, and he (the bishop) watched him depart. And the holy bishop Apa Macedonius rose up in the morning, saying, 'What is [the meaning of] this vision which I have seen? Are sons to be born unto me after I am become worn out? The matter is somewhat late. Nevertheless, Thy Will be done, O my Lord Jesus the Christ.' And whilst the bishop was pondering over the matter in this wise, a voice came to him, saying, 'How long art thou going to remain careless about the sheep which have been committed to thy charge? ³³ Rise up, get thee to them, and thou shalt find chosen vessels in that place.' And he rose up and set out on the journey [Ab] according to what he had been told. And when he had travelled into the desert a distance of about three miles he looked to the right side of him. And he found the two sons [of the priest] lying under the top of the mountain, being half dead of hunger and thirst, for for six days they had neither eaten bread nor drunk water. And when the bishop saw them he remembered the vision which he had seen, and he said, 'These are the two young men about whom I was instructed in the vision, and these also are they concerning whom I was told, saying, Go, thou shalt find chosen vessels.' And Macedonius the bishop said, I went towards the young men, and when they saw me they plucked up courage, and they rose up and cast themselves down at my feet, and they showered kisses on them; and I helped them, and I

raised them up, and having seen that they were exhausted by hunger and thirst, I tarried there with them. And the elder

³⁴ brother made a sign to the younger, saying, 'Speak,' and the [Ab] younger brother made a sign to the elder, saying, 'Do thou speak.' And the elder brother answered and said, 'In very truth, my father, I felt as if I had eaten when I saw thee, though from the day wherein we came forth from the city we have neither eaten nor drunk, and I have seen no man whatsoever with the exception of thyself. And this is our sixth day. And it happened during the night which is past—now I was not asleep, and my eyes were open—that a man of light came unto us, and he had a book in his hand, and his sandals were ..., and he was arrayed in very splendid apparel; and he stood over me, and he made me rise up. And when I had risen up he dressed me in a tunic and fastened it by a band over the shoulders. And when I had passed a short time in the tunic he stripped it off me, and gave it to my younger brother, and fastened it by a band over his shoulders; and when the tunic had been on him for a short time he stripped it off him, and put it on me again.

³⁵ And I looked on my right hand, and I saw thee, O my holy father. And that man of light seized me with his hand of light and threw me up into his bosom, and afterwards he seized my brother and threw him up into his bosom. And straightway he became invisible, and I ceased to see him. And now, O my father, since we are held to be worthy of thy visiting us, behold, our souls and our bodies are in thy hand, for it was actually through thee that we fled from the city and came unto this place.' ³⁶ And when the bishop had heard these word he remembered that the apostle had said, 'The spirit of the prophets shall come upon thee.' And he said unto them, 'Arise, my sons, let us away, for it hath been appointed by God that we should dwell together.' And they rose up, and they came forth from the mountain together, and departed to the place wherein the holy bishop lived, and all three of them dwelt together. And the bishop said, 'I cannot eat with them because they have not received baptism.' And he rose up, and filled a vessel with water, according to his usual practice, and he prayed over the water, according to the Canon, and he said unto them, 'What are your names?' And the elder brother said, 'It is difficult to find out our names, because the titles whereby we are called are the names of gods'; and they told them to the bishop. And he said, 'From this time onwards ye must never be called by them again.' And he gave

a name to the eldest when he baptized him, and called him Mark, and the other brother he called Isačas (Isaiah); and when he had baptized them he administered to them the Sacrament. And afterwards he set a table before them so that they might eat. And after they had been living with him for a number of days, they paid great attention to his habits of prayer, and to his manner of life, and to his methods of work;

³⁷ for they knew no prayers and could only follow the holy man [when he said his prayers]. And Mark said, 'O my holy father, we wish thee to shave the hair of our heads, in order that we may serve before thee'; and he shaved their heads, and they obeyed him in everything. And it came to pass that after some days the holy bishop remembered the vision of the two young men which he had seen, and he said, 'Verily, these are the two young men whom I saw, one on my right hand and one on my left.' And he took Mark first and made him a presbyter, and Isaiah his brother he made a deacon.

³⁸ And it came to pass [one day] when the bishop was in his habitation reading the Holy Gospel, and when Mark was sitting by the door, that certain Anouba men, who were sojourning in that place, approached with their camels, and one of the strong savage camels knocked one of the weak ones down, and broke its leg; and when the Anouba saw what had happened they quarrelled with each other over it. And the master of the camel, the leg of which was broken, said unto the other, 'I shall take thy camel in place of mine'; and great strife broke out between the two men. And when Mark the presbyter saw them fighting together he went up and informed the bishop, who decided in his mind not to go down to them. When, however, he came at length to the passage which is written, 'Blessed are the peacemakers, for it is they who shall be called the sons of God,' he straightway tied (or, wrapped) up the Book, and came down to the Anouba men. And when they saw him, he who had suffered an injury rushed to him, and said, 'Come, sit down, my father, and hear our case'; and the bishop sat down. And the Anouba man said, 'I tethered my camel, but my neighbour did not do so, and his camel came and knocked mine down on the ground, and broke its leg.' And when he

³⁹ had finished speaking the other man said, 'Indeed, I did tether [my camel], but it broke loose without my knowing A H it.' Meanwhile the bishop sat and held his peace until they had finished all their arguments. And the bishop said unto them, 'Hath there never been any matter of dispute between

you before this day? Is the matter of the camel the only one about which ye have quarrelled?' And one of the Anouba men said, 'I will declare the truth unto thee, O my holy father. Behold, we have travelled together for thirty years, and neither of us hath quarrelled with the other even for a day.' And the holy bishop said, 'Bring hither to me the camel the leg of which hath been broken'; and they brought the camel to him. Now the bone was broken, and the fractured parts were only kept in position by the hide, and the camel walked with the greatest difficulty dragging its leg. And when the holy bishop had looked at the beast,

⁴⁰ he said unto the younger brother, that is, unto Isaiah the deacon, 'Go and bring me a little water in a basin,' and Isaiah went and brought it to him. And the A O bishop said unto Isaiah, 'Sprinkle it on its leg, saying, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.' And he made the Sign of the Cross over the broken leg, according as he was told, and the broken bones of the leg rejoined, and it became as if it had never been broken at all. And when the Anouba men saw what had happened they marvelled, for they knew not God. And certain men who were inhabitants of Pilak (Philae) passed by, and when they saw what had taken place they ascribed glory to God, and they went into the city, and they published therein the fame of the holy bishop, because of what they had seen. And they told the high priest of the temple, that is to say, the priest, about his sons, through one of whom, the younger, the miracle had taken place.

⁴¹ And when the priest heard thereof he made haste to come forth from [the temple], and he went to the place wherein was the bishop with his sons. And when he was approaching the bishop's habitation, the bishop was informed of his coming by the Spirit, and he went forth and said unto him, 'Aristus, what benefit hast thou in leading astray this multitude and in inflicting harm upon their souls?' And straightway Aristus cast himself down at the feet of the bishop, and he kissed them again and again, saying, 'Forgive me, O my lord father.' And the bishop took him by his hands, and raised him up, and took him into his dwelling. And it came to pass that when the priest saw his elder son Mark, he went towards him to embrace him, but Mark would not permit him to do so, saying, 'Thou art not yet worthy of holy baptism.' And when his father saw this he marvelled, and he said unto Mark, 'Art thou not my son?' And Mark said unto him, 'Indeed I am no son of thine; this very day have I gotten a Good Father.' And his father said unto

him, 'Shew me the way in which it is meet for me to live.' And Mark, his son, said unto him, 'Behold our father the bishop!

⁴² He it is who shall tell us how we ought to live.' And the bishop began to speak to Aristus out of the Holy Scripture, and he helped him to [understand] the ordinance of baptism and the Orthodox Faith. And when the priest had heard these words he said unto the bishop, 'Blessed indeed am I, O my holy father, in that I am held to be worthy to hear these sweet words from thy holy mouth. I beseech thee, moreover, O my holy father, to give me holy baptism, even as thou hast given it to my sons.' And when the bishop knew that the fear of God was stirring [in] him, and that his heart was firmly fixed on God, he said unto him, 'I will not baptize thee in this place. But arise, get thee into the city, and attend to the affairs of thy house, and build a church.'

⁴³ And when the bishop had been instructing them for a considerable time they said [unto him], 'Delay no longer; perform the ordinance of the water'; and the bishop consented. And the bishop said, 'Bring me the oil'; and he (i. e. Mark) brought it. And the bishop took it, and prayed over [the water] and the oil, according to the Canons of our holy Fathers the Apostles, and he said unto Mark the presbyter, 'Make a proclamation in the church, saying, Let him that wisheth for the Lord come unto me.' And [the people] went to him in a body with joy and gladness, and he baptized them; and the bishop baptized the priest first of all, and he called his name Jacob. And after him [he baptized] all the people of the city, men, and women, and young children, and there was not one person left who did not receive baptism on that day. And when, having finished baptizing the people, the bishop went into the church, he sent and called the man whom he was wishing to ordain presbyter, ...our

⁴⁴ Lord Jesus. And the man (i. e. the priest) rose up and departed, even as the bishop had commanded him, and he put his house in order, and [gave away] everything which he had. And he filled [a vessel] with water, and washed himself, and he arrayed himself in festal linen apparel. And the priest sent a message to the bishop, saying, 'I have set everything in order, even as thou didst command me; rise up, and come into the city'; and the bishop rose up, he and his disciple, and departed thither. And when the people of the city heard [of this] they all rejoiced together, from the youngest to the oldest. And by the ban which the bishop had pronounced on it. And Apa

Macedonius the bishop rose up and went to the stretcher, and he placed his finger in her mouth, and straightway the bonds of her tongue were relaxed, and she spake freely, and ascribed glory to God. And when the multitude saw what had happened they cried out with loud voices, saying, 'One is the God of the holy man Apa Macedonius, the bishop.'

⁴⁵[And the bishop baptized the old woman] ..., and when he had administered the Sacrament to the multitude he went to the church, and sat down there for a week of days. And he consecrated [some of the men] presbyters and deacons, and taught them the Ordinances and Canons of the Church; and after the seventh day he departed to his abode. And it came to pass that after some days his body caused him exceedingly great pain, for he was very far advanced in years. And he called Mark the presbyter and Isaiah the deacon, and he said unto them, 'Behold, the days of my visitation have drawn nigh. After I have ended my course, thou, O my son Mark, shall God set in my place. Sit thou upon my throne, and do thou pasture diligently the flock of God, O my son, even as I have committed it into thy hand.'

⁴⁶[Three lines wanting] ...he became sick, and his sickness waxed sore upon him, and he grew worse and worse until the seventh day of the month Mekhir. And he called his disciples, and he commanded them about everything which it was meet for them to do, and on the morning of the eighth day of Mekhir the holy bishop Apa Macedonius went to his rest at a good old age. And when the people of his city heard [of his death] they came out to the place where he was, and they made a great mourning for him because they loved him exceedingly, and they made his body ready for burial in a manner befitting his rank, and they buried him outside his house. And it came to pass that when the episcopal throne had remained empty for some time and without a bishop, all the people were gathered together, and they said unto each other, 'How long shall we remain careless of the great duty which is incumbent upon us, and not seek out a shepherd...'

⁴⁷[Three lines wanting] ...of the deacons.' And they passed three days together discussing the matter in this manner, and they arrived at no decision. And the chief presbyter of the church rose up and said unto the congregation, 'I will declare unto you a matter which is worth your carrying out, if ye will hearken unto me.' And the majority of the people said, 'Tell us what it is, and if it be suitable we will carry it out.' And he said unto them, 'Let us select certain men from among us, that is to say, Stephen and men like unto him,

and let lots be cast, and him upon whom the lot shall fall let us take and lay hands upon him and make him bishop.' And it came to pass that when the presbyter had finished speaking the archdeacon answered and said, 'I have that which I would say...'

48 [Three lines wanting] ...' And they said, 'They are his sons.' And the archdeacon said, 'Behold, they are [his] heirs, and ye shall not overlook them'; and when he had said these things they remembered Mark and Isaiah. And all the people answered and said, 'What the archdeacon hath said is what shall be.' And straightway they sent and brought Mark and Isaiah unto the place wherein they were, and they sat down in the church, and their choice fell upon Mark the presbyter. And Mark said unto them, 'Forgive me, O my fathers, I am wholly unworthy of a duty of this kind. Seek ye out some one who shall [be more able to] shepherd the flock of Christ.' And all the people loved Mark because of his understanding and wisdom, and because he had been thoroughly well instructed by his father the bishop, Apa Macedonius, and they took him by force.

49 And they wrote a letter to the [holy] Archbishop [Apa Athanasius concerning him, and they took him and made him to embark in a ship], and they sailed with him to Rakote (Alexandria). And when we had entered the town we enquired for the Patriarch, and we did not find him in the church that day, because he was a holy man and loved solitary contemplation exceedingly. And certain [God-] fearing men having informed us that he was wont to withdraw for peace and quiet to a little monastery in the western quarter of the city, we summoned one of them to take us to him, because we were unacquainted with the neighbourhood. And when we had arrived at the place wherein he was a certain deacon came out, and we told him the matter on account of which we had come. And the deacon went in and informed the archbishop, who sent and brought us in, and we cast ourselves down upon the ground, and we did homage at his holy feet. And Apa Athanasius had been informed by the Spirit [concerning the matter of our journey some] days [before we arrived] ...

50 [Two lines wanting] And Saint Athanasius answered and said unto Mark, 'My son, hast thou forgotten the moment when the tunic was put on thee and was fastened by a band over thy shoulder? This day is the day that was appointed for thee, O thou faithful presbyter!' And Mark marvelled at the words which were addressed to him; he remembered the vision, but he

had told no man whatsoever about it except Apa Macedonius the bishop and his brother Isaiah. And Mark said, 'Thou art indeed a holy man of God, O my lord and blessed father.' And the archbishop said, 'Thou alone hast specially sat as a disciple at the feet of a bishop and a holy man who was indeed holy.' And when he had said these words he commanded a deacon to take us to a place where we could be alone, and he commanded [One line wanting]

⁵¹ And when it was morning [on the following day] [Two and a half lines wanting] mb ...and there came also the great folk of the western quarter [of the city] wishing to receive a blessing from him. And the deacon came in and informed Athanasius concerning them, and Athanasius said, 'I am not disengaged.' And the deacon said unto one of them, 'Pray trouble yourselves and go away until to-morrow morning, because we have with us here certain brethren who [have come] on behalf of the people in the South.' And when he had told them [these things] they departed, saying, 'Pray ye for us, and meanwhile we will go and pray in the Monastery of Apa Mēna, and we will return unto thee.' And we gave unto Athanasius the document containing the resolution which had been passed by the majority, and when he had read it he rejoiced exceedingly, and he said unto us, 'I rejoice very greatly over the wandering sheep in your city whom God hath turned unto repentance.' And he told them concerning the Canons of the Church [on the subject], saying, 'In what way do ye read? ...we ...according to what our father Apa Macedonius [told] us. And when the [holy archbishop] heard [these words] he said ...

⁵² [Two or three lines wanting] mc ⁵³ 'built upon it. Verily, my children, your holy father did not lay the foundation only and build until he had finished the foundation, but he built until he had finished the whole building, and had laid the coping stone upon it. And to you yourselves doth it belong to keep the things which he commanded.' And when he had made an end of speaking to us, Mark the presbyter said, 'There is one matter which is a stumbling-block to me, and I wish to tell thee what it is, O my holy father'; and the archbishop said, 'Tell me what it is.' And Mark said, 'Certain heathen men [live] to the east of us and to the west of the south of our city; they are called Anouba, and they are very poor. And it happeneth that when they cry out to us, saying, "Give us bread," my understanding moveth me not to give it to them, because they are heathen.' [And the holy archbishop said unto him, 'Have ye not read in the Gospel, "Seek, and ye shall] find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you?' Have ye not heard the Apostle saying, Doth God

belong to the Jews only? Is He not the God of the Gentiles also? Yea, He belongeth to the Gentiles also, for God is One. He said unto Abraham, "Behold, I will make thee to be a father of many nations.

⁵⁴ And again, He said of Cornelius in the Acts of the Apostles, that he was "one of another nation", yet because God is One, He sent unto him Peter, the chief of the Apostles, who baptized him, and God taught him by means of a vision not to consider any man to be polluted or unclean. And, O Mark, thou canst collect for thyself a multitude of testimonies from the Holy Scriptures that will convince thee completely [of the truth of this].⁵⁵ And Mark said, 'I will seek, and I [shall find; I will knock, and it shall be opened unto me] ... [Two or three lines wanting] ... And the archbishop said unto him, 'It cannot be that thou hast not known these things until now! Hast thou not read in the Gospel what our Saviour said unto the Canaanitish woman? He said, "It is not good to take the bread of the children and throw it to the dogs." And she answered and said, "Yea, Lord, [but] the dogs also eat of the fragments which fall from the table of their masters." And observe the manner in which our Saviour applauded her answer. He said unto her, "O woman, great is thy faith; let it be unto thee even as thou wishest." And her daughter was better from that hour.' And the archbishop said also [unto him], 'I will relate unto thee another parable which I heard from the fathers who were monks and who lived in ...

⁵⁶ [Three or four lines wanting] ...not good is his work. That which he doth [he doth not do] in secret. Moreover, James saith in his Catholic Epistle, "He who saith, I am a worshipper [of God], and bridleth not his tongue [is no worshipper], but he deceiveth his heart, and the worship of this man is vain." And another brother said, "Yea, his work is good." The holy psalmist David saith, "I will give (i. e. make) my prayer before every one who feareth the Lord." And again, the Apostle saith, "Pray without ceasing." And behold, there are very many other passages in the Scriptures which will make us certain about prayer. And the other brother said, 'Our Lord told us thus: "When thou art going to pray, go thou into thy chamber; shut the door on thyself, pray to thy Father Who is in secret, and thy Father Who seeth thee in secret shall reward thee [openly]."' And the other brother said, 'Similarly I myself do not believe this matter.' And the other brother said unto him, 'Let us enquire of Apa Phou-p-kôht, and he will give us the explanation of the matter into which we are enquiring...[And the two brethren set out] together

57 ...Now the brethren had bestowed upon him the name of [Phou-p-k]ôh[t], because he was not satisfied with any man's [performance] of the things which it was right for [them to do]. And the two brethren rose up, and went quickly to him, and they called into [his cell], according to the rule of the brethren. And he came out, and took them into his place, and they prayed and then sat down together. And he said unto them, 'Welcome to you, O brethren'; and they said unto him, 'Forgive us, O our holy father.' And one of them made a sign to the other to speak, and he who had made the accusation against the brother that he performed his daily works and deeds in public made answer and told him about the strife which was between them. And the old man answered and said, 'Forgive me, O brethren; strife concerning the Scriptures is labour and weariness, for as soon as it is restrained in one place it breaketh out in another. But I will relate unto you a matter which is connected with the affairs of this world. It came to pass during a certain year when the inundation did not permit all our fields to be watered because the level of the Nile-flood was not sufficiently high. Now there were two men in one house, and one of them said, "I will run out to the field so that I may sow a little seed,

58 lest we die of hunger and [perish]." And the other brother said, "I myself will not go, because there is not sufficient [H] water to enable all our fields to be watered." And the brother who had first spoken to his companion departed, and sowed a little wheat, and a little barley, and a few lentils, and a few beans, and a little of each of the other kinds of seeds. And the famine waxed sore in the land. Now, therefore, my brethren, which of these two brethren shall live: he who sowed a little seed, or he who sowed none at all?' And the brother who was engaged in the strife answered, saying, 'He who sowed a little seed.' And the holy man said unto him, 'Thou hast judged rightly, my son, for he who performeth a little commandment well shall live rather than he who performeth no commandment at all.' And straightway that brother, when he heard this rebuke, cast himself at the feet of the brother with whom he had the dispute, saying, 'Forgive me ...

59 ...the two of them. [no] And now [said the archbishop], my son Mark, I have told thee these things because of the heathen Anouba of whom thou hast spoken unto me. It is more profitable for thee to force thyself, especially for love's sake, than to be forced without any love in thy heart; for love covereth a multitude of sins. Needs must that after a certain time [hath

elapsed] that heathen man shall believe in God, and therefore have I said these things unto thee. For I find thee to be like unto a seed in its nest, according to what Isaiah saith, 'Destroy not him that hath the blessing of God in him.' And it came to pass, when the holy Archbishop Apa Athanasius had said these things, that he spake unto his deacon, saying, 'Prepare the Offering; we will consecrate the bishop.' And thus [saying] he rose up, and grasped the hand of Mark, and led him into the church—now all the people were accompanying him—and he laid his hands upon him. And the archbishop came out and departed to the place wherein he lived. And he said unto his deacon,

60 ['Make ready a table] so that we may eat bread with each other'; and thus it happened that we were held to be worthy of the blessing of his holy fatherhood. And we passed three days with him, according to custom, and on the fourth day he sent the episcopal licence, and dismissed us. And when we had come outside the door he sent his deacon to Apa Mark the bishop, and he led him into his presence. And [the archbishop] said unto him, 'When thou shalt have entered the South [and returned] to thy place, lay thine hands upon thy brother. Thou shalt ordain him deacon first of all, and subsequently presbyter, because he hath been appointed to the stewardship, for the tunic was also put upon him, and was fastened over the shoulder. Now, as for thyself, as thou didst come under the protection of thy father, even so shall thy brother come under thy protection. For this reason, after thou hast run thy course he shall sit in thy place.' And when Mark had heard these things from [Apa Athanasius, the holy] archbishop, [he departed].

61 Now when we had come forth from him we departed to Rakote, and we embarked in a small boat, and sailed unto a place which is called Skhissa. And there was a very large number of boats tied up at that place, and we examined them all and did not find one bound for the city of Antinoë, because in that nome they are [engaged in] the transport of wheat. However, God decreed a piece of good fortune for us, for when we had passed a few days in that place with the brethren and with the bishop, and were saying, 'Why is it that we have not been able to find among all the ships lying here one that is going to sail to our region?' the bishop said unto [us], 'Be patient, God will send one unto us opportunely, and we shall depart to our house in peace.' And the following evening there came into port a ship which belonged to

the city of Souan (Syene, Aswân), a place which was not very far from his city. [The captain] had brought his cargo to the North, to the city ...

⁶² [Nearly two lines wanting] ...and the noblemen were in ill health, and they brought him and their wives, and their goods, and all their baggage, and their slaves, and they came to Rakote. And when the morning had come the brethren who were travelling with the bishop looked, and as soon as they saw the ship they knew that it had arrived in port during the night. And straightway one of the brethren went, and spake unto the captain of the ship, saying, 'Wilt thou allow us to embark with thee when thou shalt depart to the South?' The captain said unto him, 'Of what place are ye natives? I see that your speech resembleth ours.' And the brother said, 'We belong to Pilak (Philae).' And the captain said, 'Whither goest thou in this place, and for what purpose hast thou come?' ... ⁶³ [Five or six lines wanting] ...he found him (i.e. the bishop) sitting at the door of the church, and he cast himself down and did homage at his feet. And he said, 'I am worthy of a great favour this day, O my holy father'; and he spake and related unto the bishop how his ship was being delayed. And the bishop said unto him, 'They shall release it this day, if it be God's Will.' And the captain ran off to the ship, and told [this] to the noblemen and to his fellow sailors, and they too ran up to the church to receive a blessing from the bishop. And [the bishop] entreated the noblemen to let the ship go, and to carry him to the South; and they said, 'As thou commandest, O our holy father, so shall it be.' And thus [Five or six lines wanting]

⁶⁴ by the help of the Christ, the wind drove us on with all its power until the company arrived at his city. And when they had arrived in their house in the South, they made a great entertainment in honour of the bishop, and they gave him a sheep to carry back to his city. And when the people heard of his arrival they all flocked out, and they sang psalms and hymns before him until they brought him into the church, and seated him upon the throne. And he gave unto them the deed of his appointment to the bishopric, and the deacon took it and told the people about it, and [how Mark] was the heir, and he read it to the people. And he made ready the Offering, and he administered the Sacrament to them all with his own hand, from the least to the greatest of them. And he passed three days in the church teaching them,

⁶⁵ [Three or four lines wanting] he performed many charities, and he kept all the commandments of his holy father Macedonius the bishop. And after

some days there was a great festival, and all the people besought him to come into the city and to administer the Sacrament unto them. And whilst they were making the Offering ready Mark called to his brother Isaiah, and he took him, and ordained him a presbyter, according to the command which the Archbishop Apa Athanasius had commanded him. And when he had administered the Sacrament to the people he blessed them, and sent them away in peace. And when he had passed [many] days in shepherding his people in the fear of God, his body failed in strength, and he called his brother, and said unto him, 'Hearken, and I will tell thee. Since the holy Archbishop Apa Athanasius said that the office of [bishop] was to be committed to thee

⁶⁶[Three or four lines wanting] he succumbed to the sickness on the tenth day of the month of the 1st of May, and he departed to his rest on the fourteenth day of this same month. And when the people were informed [of his death] they came out, and they kept watch over his body, and they all wept over him, saying, 'He was a good man'; and then they buried him with the body of Apa Macedonius the bishop. And the people straightway laid hands on Isaiah the presbyter and took him into the city the selfsame day, and they all persuaded him to let them appoint him shepherd over them in the place of Mark his brother. Thereupon they wrote out the list of the votes which had been cast in his favour, and they handed Isaiah over [with it] to certain God-loving brethren, so that they might take him to Rakote where he would be consecrated bishop. And straightway he came forth to the ship, and they embarked therein, and sailed to the North, and, by the Will of God, [they suffered no delay], and they arrived at the

⁶⁷[Three or four lines wanting] c he said unto them, 'He is coming this day. Get ye gone to the church, and watch it. When he shall come he will go into it and receive the Sacrament therein this day.' And whilst they were talking to the man, behold, the archbishop came, and the people were singing psalms before him; and they went to him, and they cast themselves down on the ground and did homage to the archbishop. And he raised them up, saying, 'Rise up, my children.' And they rose up, and they received a blessing at his hands, and they gave him the list of the votes concerning the bishopric, and accompanied him into the church, and he sat down. And when he had read the document, he ordered the Offering to be prepared, and he rose up and took Isaiah and led him into the innermost part, and he consecrated him bishop; and Isaiah received the Sacrament from his holy hands. [And

when the archbishop had administered the Sacrament] he sat down, and caused [the deed of his (Isaiah's) appointment to the bishopric] to be written

68 [Three or four lines wanting] we embarked, and we let go, and, by the Will of God, within a few days we came into port in the city of Souan (Syene, Aswân). And the people heard [of the bishop's arrival], and they came out to meet him, and they sang before him, and took him into the church, and enthroned him. And Isaiah gave unto them the archbishop's deed of appointment, and they read it, and then the bishop dismissed them in peace. And after Isaiah had passed three days in the church he came forth, and departed to his own abode. And he did not go into the city except on the day of some great festival, and on the occasions when the clerks came with the clergy and the nobles of the people, and entreated him to favour them with his presence. And the blessed man Apa Isaiah was a man of benevolent countenance, and he was greatly beloved, and the rich

69 [Three or four lines wanting] they came forth, and they watched his noble corpse, and they all mourned for him, saying, 'He was an exceedingly good man.' And when they had prepared his body for burial in a manner befitting his rank, they buried him by the side of his holy and blessed fellow ministrants, that is to say, Apa Macedonius and Apa Mark, and each went to his own abode. And the people of the city passed a certain number of days without a bishop. Now there lived on the island a certain monk whose name was Psoulousia, and every one who knew him bore witness to his [good] deeds; and our father Apa Aaron had established him in the monkish life when he was bishop. And God put it into the heart of the people to seek him out, and the clergy and the people came out to the island, and

70 [Three or four lines wanting] 'every [one]. For I am a foolish man, and I know not which is my right hand and which is my left.' And after they had passed a considerable time in entreating him, and although he refused to be persuaded by them, they seized him by force, and lifted him up and carried him into the city. And they wrote out the list of the votes which had been cast for him, and they sent with him certain God-loving brethren whom they admonished to keep a good watch over him until they had brought him to Rakote and he had been consecrated. And when they had arrived at the quay of Skhissa they embarked in a small boat, and sailed therein until they entered the city. And when they came to the gateway they found a certain brother, and they besought him to tell them the place where the archbishop

was. And the archbishop himself was sitting inside the gateway, and was conversing with two bishops, the one from Athribis, [and the other from...

⁷¹[Three or four lines wanting] Apa Sellousia (sic). And [the archbishop] said unto him in a voice which was full of joy, 'Hitherto thou hast lived day by day in a state of irresponsibility, but to-day thou shalt take upon thyself responsibility which is like unto our own.' And when the archbishop had said these words he rose up and took him into the church. And he made them prepare the Offering and the altar, and he prayed over him, and appointed him to be a reader; then he made him a deacon, then he made him a presbyter, and then he likewise consecrated him bishop. And he dismissed us, saying, 'Depart in peace.' And we came forth from his presence having forgotten the deed of appointment to the bishopric; and we went back to him, and we asked him about it. And he commanded his deacon, and he drafted (?) it with his own hand, and he

⁷²[Three or four lines wanting] 'everything concerning the bishopric which hath come to me is above my merits, saying, I saw thee with men wrapping thee in a garment, and placing a key in thy hands.' And it came to pass that when he had come to the South, the bishop went first of all to his own place which was on the island, he and those who were with him. And he sat down in that place because he was a man who wished exceedingly for peace and quietness; and when the people heard of this they were sad. And they embarked in boats, and they came to the island, and when they had received a blessing at his hands they told him about the episcopate (or, diocese); and the brethren who had travelled with him told them that he had been consecrated bishop. And the people said unto him, 'Why dost thou not come into our city, O our father, even as all the [other] bishops have done?' And he said, 'Believe me, O my children, I did in truth crave to see my own small habitation first of all.' And they brought him out, and they made him embark in a boat, and they sang before him until they brought him into the church; and they seated him upon the throne, according to custom. And having administered the Sacrament unto them all he dismissed them in peace. And the bishop Apa Psulousia went into the church, and passed sixteen days in teaching the people the Word of God, and he commanded them to preserve [their] purity and their love towards each other, and afterwards he returned to his place of abode.

73 And it came to pass after these things that Apa Timothy died, and Apa Theophilus occupied the [archi]episcopal throne [of Rakote, or Alexandria]. And all the bishops went to Rakote to do homage unto him, and among them there went also the holy man Apa Psulousia. And when they had arrived in the city they found the archbishop in the church, with all the clergy and the laity gathered together round about him, for it was the seventh day after the Sabbath on which the people were baptized. And when they had filled the font with water the archbishop and the other bishops went in and prayed over the 'Jordan', but Apa Psellousia stood by the door of the baptistery, at a little distance from it, and he did not go inside because he considered himself to be unworthy. And the archbishop was informed concerning him by the spirit, and he ordered him to be brought in, and he said unto him, 'Why didst thou not come into the church and pray with us?' And he said unto the archbishop, 'Forgive me, O my holy father, I am a feeble man.' And when he had stretched out his hands, and prayed with them, the font boiled like a brazen cauldron, and became red-hot. And when the archbishop and all the other bishops saw the miracle which had taken place, they glorified God and the holy bishop Apa Pselousias (sic) because of his purity. And when the archbishop had administered the Sacrament to them he dismissed him. And the bishops remained with him that day, and on the morrow he sent them away so that each one might depart unto his own city.

74 And the holy man Apa Pselousias continued to remain quietly in the place wherein he had lived first of all, before he or or became a bishop, until the day wherein he finished his course. He succumbed to the sickness on the twentieth day of the month Paône; and subsequently he went to his rest on the twenty-third day of this same month. And all the clergy and the laity came out, and they took charge of his glorious body, and they buried it [in his] own glorious ... 75 Now therefore, my brother Papnoute (Paphnutius), since thou didst ask (? me for a little [information]), behold, I have told thee concerning the bishops who lived in Pilak (Philae). According to what my father Apa Aaron himself told me, his parents paid money and bought him a commission in the army; and he received seven loaves of bread daily, but he never ate any of them, and he gave them to the company. His parents wished to take a wife for him, but he had no desire for one, and he preserved his body in a virgin state from his birth to the end of his course. And it came to pass on a certain day that letters were sent unto the imperial troops ordering

their transfer to another city; and the order came to Apa Aaron to take command of them and to march with them. And when he had come outside the city a lion met him on the road at eventide, and wished to destroy him.

76 And the righteous man said, 'When I remembered the word which the Prophet David spake, saying, "The lion and the bear did Thy servant slay," I lifted up my eyes [to heaven] and I said, "O my Lord Jesus the Christ, [if Thou wilt] deliver this wild beast into my hands, I will give up everything that belongeth to my house, and all my possessions, and I will make myself a stranger to my parents and to all my slaves, and I will make myself a stranger to the things of this world, and I will dress myself in the garb of the monk for Thy holy Name's sake.'" And the holy man Apa Aaron said: When I had said these words, I got ready the spear which was in my hand, and I drove it through the lion's body, and he died. And I did not return again to the city at once, but I departed to another city which was situated in the country to the south of me at a distance of three days' march.

77 [When I arrived there] I sold my horse, and my tunic, and all that appertained thereto, and all the things which I had with me. [With some of the money] I bought myself some clothes like unto those that were worn by the country folk, and the rest I devoted to the poor who were in that place. I then went to Mount Shiët, and in that place I donned the garb of the monk. But I did not remain in that place because of my parents, for I did not want them to follow me. And I travelled to the South, little by little, until I came unto this mountain. These things which I have related unto thee, my brother Papnoute (Paphnutius), [have I heard] from my father Apa Aaron. And when I entreated him to relate unto me also what happened subsequently (? [he said]: If thou wilt pray for me I will tell thee the things which I have seen with mine own eyes. It came to pass that when I was a child in the house of my parents, my parents put me to school that I might be taught to write, and my master took great pains with me daily until he had taught me to write the holy letters.

78 And having made progress I was able to read the passage in the Gospel, 'Whosoever will not forsake father or mother,' and the rest which follows these words, 'and follow Me, is not worthy of Me.' And I pondered on the passage, and I continued to meditate upon it with my whole heart. And it came to pass that after some days I heard a report about our holy father Apa Aaron, to the effect that he was living in a place which is called Peia (?), and

was performing a multitude of cures on those who were sick of all kinds of diseases. And I rose up, and I went to the place where he was, and I sat down by the door of his habitation until the sun set, for that day was the ... ⁷⁹ And when the evening had come, and he did not come out, I rose up and I walked into the desert (or, mountain) a distance of about three miles. And after some time I looked down on the sand, and I saw the footprints of men which were directed to a bend in the rock. And I followed them, and I found there my holy father Apa Aaron, and there was a rope to which was tied a large stone hanging from his neck. And when I had called out to him 'Bless me', he withdrew his neck from the rope, and threw the stone upon the ground, and put on his garment. And he looked into my face, and said unto me, 'My son, whither goest thou in this region?' And I said unto him, 'Forgive me, my father, I only lost my way.' And he said unto me, 'Come, sit down, my son; thou hast not lost thy way; on the contrary, thou hast found the good path.' And when I had seated myself near him I besought him, saying, 'I would that thou wouldst permit me to become a monk with thee.' And he said unto me compassionately, 'Our Saviour saith in the Gospel, "Come unto Me every one who is weary, and I will give you rest."' The

⁸⁰ name of the monastic life is good, but this life is [full of] weariness even to its very end.' And I said unto him, 'I have come to this place for this very thing, O my holy father; if I am to be successful in it thou must shew kindness unto me.' And he said unto me, 'The thing which thou seekest is good, O my son. If thou hast put forth thy hand to a work which is good, who shall hold thee back, O my son?' And we rose up and came forth into the desert (or, mountain), and he took me to a certain presbyter to array me in the garb of monkhood. And when we had cried out into [the dwelling] the presbyter came out, and saluted us, and took us into his abode; and straightway my father told him concerning me. And forthwith the presbyter shaved off the hair of my head and arrayed me in the garb of monkhood; and we rose up and departed to our own place. And my holy father Apa Aaron passed a week of days in building me up in the works of the service of God.

⁸¹ After these things he said unto me, 'Sit thou down here in this place, and I will go and pay a visit to my brother, and then I will come back to thee'; now he did not wish to let me know that he wanted to go to his ascetic exercises which he performed daily. And I said unto him, 'Wilt thou come

[back] this day?' And he said unto me, 'Nay, beloved (? brother, leave me free until the Sabbath.' Now the first day on which he departed from me was the ...And he passed the first day, and the second, and the third, and even the fourth day and the fifth day [away from me]. As for me, devils were torturing me exceedingly, saying, 'Why hath thy father left thee alone and departed? Why did he not take thee so that thou mightest receive the blessing which is with that brother?' And when these [thoughts] continued to obsess my mind I rose up and I set out to go into the desert (or, mountain) to the place wherein I had found him on the first occasion. And I found him standing up in the sand, now it was exceedingly hot weather, for it was the season of the filling of the waters (i.e. the rise of the Nile), and there was a great stone lying upon his head, and his eyeballs were well-nigh bursting [out of their sockets] on account of the heat.

⁸² And he fell upon the ground and gave himself up to die. And I laid hold upon him, and I raised him up, and I wept in his face, saying, 'Wherefore dost thou torment thyself with such excessive severity, O my holy father?' And he said unto me, 'For what purpose didst thou come to this place, O my son?' And I said unto him, 'Certain Nubians have been tormenting me, and I have come to tell thee.' And his mouth parted in a smile, and he said, 'Verily they are invisible Nubians, O my son.' And I made supplication unto him, saying, 'I beseech thy holy paternity [to tell me], why thou dost condemn thyself to such severe suffering and labour.' And Apa Aaron, the very aged man, made answer, saying, 'I will hide from thee nothing, O my son, in respect of the matters concerning which thou askest questions. For,' said he, 'the moment I remembered the sufferings which my Good Saviour endured for us until He redeemed our race from the captivity of the Devil, and gave His Body and His Blood for us, I said, Henceforward, since God took it upon Himself to suffer on our behalf, it is meet that we ourselves should endure sufferings of every kind so that He may shew mercy unto us in the day of our visitation.' And we rose up and came forth and departed to our place of abode on that day.

⁸³ Now this was his manner of life. On the day whereon he ate bread he drank no water, and the day whereon he drank water he ate no bread. And it came to pass one night when both of us were sleeping in our place of abode that the demons assumed forms and appeared in the valley, and they uttered cries like the roarings of savage lions (?). And when I heard them I was terri-

fied, and I threw myself on my father, saying, 'The savage lions (? have come upon us.' And he said unto me, 'Fear thou not, my son, for it is written, "Through our God we shall do a mighty thing. And again [it is written], "Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered.'" When he had said these things we rose up, and we departed to the upper chamber. And certain of the demons were crying out, and some of them said, 'Bring them out and we will slay them'; and others said, 'Let us slay them in the place wherein they are.' Now the saint knew through the spirit that they were demons, and he said unto me, 'Let us give ourselves to prayer'; and as soon as we had given ourselves to prayer the demons fled along the valley. And I marvelled, and I said unto the holy old man Apa Aaron, 'Are not the demons wont to assume many forms?' And he said, 'Thou wilt see, O my son, that that which thou hast done is a very small matter.

⁸⁴ For a certain brother spake unto me, saying, It happened unto me on an occasion that I was standing under a mountain one summer's day. It was my sixth day wherein I had neither eaten bread, nor drunk water, nor sat down. And the Demon came, and there was a staff of gold in his hand, and he said unto me, "Be strong, O warrior of the Christ, who fightest nobly. For I have seen thy sufferings, and I have been sent unto thee to give thee consolation. And that brother, having perceived the craft of the Devil, drew the Sign of the Cross on the ground, and straightway the Devil made himself invisible.' And it came to pass that when the holy man Apa Aaron had said these things unto me, I cast myself down at his feet, and I besought him, saying, 'Who was that brother?' And he said, 'Stand up, and I will tell thee.' And when I had stood up he said unto me, 'See, tell no man, I was this servant, and I was wholly unworthy that this should have happened unto me.'

⁸⁵ And it came to pass on another occasion that we were sitting together, and there came out from the mountain a certain Nubian and his son to drink water from the river. And as soon as the child thrust his hand into the water to drink a great crocodile seized him, and dragged him under, and departed with him. And straightway his father cast himself upon the ground, and uttered loud cries, and wept bitterly, for besides that son he had no other child. And as the man ran up the mountain making loud outcries he cut himself against the sharp edges of the rocks, and he bruised and wounded himself exceedingly. And when I saw the depth of his sorrow of heart I told my father; and he rose up and came to the door, and made signs to the Nubi-

an with his hand that he should come unto him. And when he had come and he (i. e. Apa Aaron) saw the wounds in his body he wiped away the blood which had run down over his limbs, and he seized him and brought him into his place of abode; and he drew him in by force and made him sit down. And when he had questioned him about what had happened, now Apa Aaron could not understand what the Nubian said unto him, my father said unto me, 'Rise up, and see if thou canst find a man on the road, [and if thou canst] call him hither.

⁸⁶ Peradventure thou canst find [one] who will know how to talk to him.' And having gone out I found a man of Pilak (Philae), who was riding upon an ass, going to Souan (Aswân), and I called him and said unto him, 'Dost thou understand the language of the Nubians?' And he said, 'Yea'; and I took him to my father Apa Aaron. And when that man had looked at the Nubian and saw the wounds that were in his body he marvelled exceedingly, and he said unto him, 'In what way wast thou wounded?' And the Nubian told him what had happened. And the holy man Apa Aaron took a chip of wood, and gave it unto him, saying, 'Take it, and cast it into the river at the place where the crocodile carried away thy son'; and the man departed [and did] even as he was commanded. And it came to pass that when he had cast the chip of wood into the water a mighty crocodile appeared, and cast the little boy up on the shore, and there was no injury whatsoever in his body. And the man took him by the hand and brought him to the holy old man Apa Aaron. And when the Nubian saw this miracle he uttered loud cries of joy, and embraced him and kissed him. And the man departed to Pilak (Philae), and he did not go to Souan (Aswân) that day, but he went about preaching the miracle which had taken place.

⁸⁷ And when the Nubian saw this miracle that had taken place he departed to his house, glorifying God and proclaiming abroad that which had happened. And all those who heard glorified God and His holy man Apa Aaron until this day. ⁸⁸ And it came to pass on another occasion that, on a certain day while we were sitting together in our place of abode, a fisherman came to us; his garments were rent, his head was filled (i. e. covered) with dust, and he was shedding floods of bitter tears. And I went to him, and said unto him, 'What hath happened unto thee?' And he said unto me, 'It happened that I and my little son, who was in the boat with me, were dragging in the net, when suddenly he fell into the water, and went down into

the net. And I could not draw up the net because of the strength of the current which was very great. But remembering my lord, the holy father Apa Aaron, I rose up, and I have come to him so that his favour may help me, for the boy was my only son.' And I rose up and I went and I told my father, who rose up and came down, and the fisherman cast himself down at his feet, and worshipped him, saying, 'Help me! Entreat the Christ that He may graciously give me [back] my son, for besides him I have no other child.' And the glorious old man said unto him, 'Get thee gone, my son, for by the Name of the Lord I believe that thou wilt find thy son sitting in the boat.' And the fisherman said, 'I believe, by God, that it shall be even as thou sayest';

⁸⁹ and he went to the boat, and he found his son even as Apa Aaron had said unto him. And he enquired of his son, saying, 'What happened unto thee?' And the boy said unto him, 'It happened to me that when I went down into the net, and when my last breath was in my windpipe, I looked, and I saw a man of light, who took me by the hand, and brought me up out of the net, and lifted me up on the boat, and then, quite suddenly, I ceased to see him.' And his father took him, and brought him to the feet of the holy man Apa Aaron, and gave thanks unto God and unto the holy man Apa Aaron.

⁹⁰ 3 s And there was also a certain husbandman a little way to the south of us, who worked in a vineyard, and it came to pass that when he had climbed up a palm tree to gather the fruit thereof the band [round the tree in which he sat] frayed through, and he fell backwards to the ground, and he became like one of the dead. And when his son, who was sitting under the tree, saw what had happened he wept bitterly. And when the men who were round about him heard him crying out they went to see what had happened, and when they saw the man who was their companion lying on the ground like a dead man they said unto his son, 'Get thee to the holy man Apa Aaron, and bring a bowl of water from him in faith, and sprinkle it over him; perhaps he will then wake up.' And the youth went to the holy man weeping; and the holy man was sitting by the door, for he was suffering from fever and was exceedingly weary. And the youth cast himself down before him, and told him what had happened. And when the compassionate and righteous man had heard what had happened he became very sad of heart, and he said unto me, 'Bring me a little water hither, and let the youth take it and sprinkle it over him (i. e.

91 his father) in the Name of the Christ.' And I brought the water to him, and he made the Sign of the Cross over it, and he gave it to the youth, saying, 'Take it and sprinkle it over him'; and as soon as the youth had sprinkled it over his father he stood up. And the man came with his son, and worshipped at the feet of the holy man Apa Aaron, who raised him up, saying, 'Worship God, for I am the least [of God's creatures].' And having risen up his son shewed him what had happened unto him, saying, 'When I had sprinkled the water over thee thou didst tremble (or, shiver), and then stand up just as if thou hadst woke up from slumber.' Thereupon they went forth from his presence in peace. 92 And there was in Peilak (Philae) a certain woman who was about to give birth to a child, but her child stuck inside her, and died. And having remembered the miracles which God had worked through the holy man Apa Aaron, she cried out, saying, 'O God of the holy man Apa Aaron, do Thou hear me in this hour of distress,' and straightway she gave birth to her child, and he was dead; and her parents mourned exceedingly for the child. And when the young woman saw her parents sorrowful of heart she said unto them, 'Why are ye sorrowful of heart about the child? Had I not begged the God of the holy man Apa Aaron to help me, I myself would most certainly have drawn nigh unto death.' And when her parents heard these words—now they were exceedingly rich—they took money in their hands, and they went to the holy man Apa Aaron. And he, having been told by the spirit, 'They will come unto thee,' said unto me, 'Shut the door, and do not admit any man into my presence this day.' And the parents having arrived they spent a considerable time in calling out to those who were in the house. And Apa Aaron looked out through a window, and said unto them, 'What seek ye?' And they answered and said, 'We are seeking thy holiness.' Then he said, 'Of what have ye need?' And they said, 'We have come to meet thy holiness face to face. Accept from us this little gift, and pray thou for the little child that he may live for his mother's sake. For his mother called upon thy name at the moment when she was about to give birth, and had she not done so they would both have died.'

93 And Saint Apa Aaron said unto them, 'Well hath the Apostle said, "The love of money is the root of all evil." And again, Peter rebuked Simon, saying, "May thy silver and thy gold go with thee to perdition, because thou thinkest that the gift of God is to be acquired by money." And it was through his love of money that Gehazi was cursed with leprosy. And again,

our Lord said unto the imperial officer, who had given Him neither gold nor silver, "Thy child liveth." And to you, even you, if ye believe, shall the gift of the Christ be [given].⁹⁴ And they answered and said, 'We believe, O our holy father, that everything which thou shalt say unto us Christ shall fulfil.' And the father of the child [took] a little of the dust from the doorway of the abode of Apa Aaron, and tied it up in his neck-cloth. And when they had come into the house they found a great multitude of people gathered together, and the man's wife and her child. And the father of the child unrolled the small quantity of dust which was tied up in his neck-cloth and sprinkled it on the little dead child, and straightway the child moved his body and opened his eyes. And the people who were seated by his mother marvelled, and they glorified the God of the holy man Apa Aaron. And the people used to bring unto Apa Aaron multitudes of folk who were suffering from diseases and sicknesses, and he healed them. And he was like unto the Apostles, to whom God gave power over every kind of sickness.

⁹⁴ And on another occasion a certain man who was a native of the city of Souan (Syene, Aswân) came unto him one day, and continued to weep before him, saying, 'There is a certain rich man living in my city to whom I am in debt ten oboli, and I am unable to find them to pay to him. I have entreated him, saying, "Be patient with me, and I will pay thee. But he will not agree to this, and he hath seized me for his debt, and he wisheth to take away from me my vineyard, which I inherited from my fathers, and wherefrom I obtain a small profit whereon I and my poor children subsist. And besides I pay him interest [on his money]. I beseech thy holiness to send a message to him to lift his hand from me. Moreover, a certain member of his household spake unto me, saying, "He will press thee for the principal, and he will make thee to suffer a legal process, and thou wilt be obliged to assign [to him] thy vineyard. But I believe that if thou wert to send a message to him he would not refuse to listen to thee'; and as he said these words he wept. Now it was evening, and the debtor rose up to go to his house. And when Apa Aaron saw his grief of heart he said unto him, 'Sit thou down in this place until the morning, for it is now very late';

⁹⁵ and he sat down in the outer court. And my father Apa Aaron said unto me, 'Take a loaf of bread and some water, and give them to him, and do thou say unto him, "Sit thou down [here] until the morning, and the Lord shall help thee."' And I did as [my father] had told me, but the man had

no appetite for any food because of his grief. And I went and told my father, and he came forth to him, and he said unto him, 'Be not disobedient, O my son. Rise up and eat a little bread, and I believe that God will help thee'; and in this way he was able to persuade him, and the man rose up and ate [bread].
96 And the holy man Apa Aaron rose up and went to the upper chamber. And he passed the whole night in making supplication unto God and in praying on the debtor's behalf. And when the morning had come the man wished to depart to his house, but the holy man Apa Aaron said unto him, 'Tarry thou here for a little while longer, and thou shalt depart to thy house with thy heart glad.' And whilst these words were still in his mouth, behold, the rich man arrived riding upon an ass, which was being held (i. e. led), and there were two other men following him in order to shew him the way to the righteous man; and his eyes were open, but he could not see. And he cast himself down at the feet of my father and did homage unto him; and Apa Aaron took him and lifted him up. Then the holy man said unto him, 'Hast thou never heard the law which saith, "Thou shalt not covet anything of the possessions of thy neighbour, nor his house, nor his field, nor his beast, nor his vineyard, nor his olive garden ...

97 ... [And he saith also, 'Woe unto him that joineth house unto house, and unto him that joineth field to field, and who carrieth off the things that belong to their neighbours.' This word 'Woe' maketh perfectly manifest the fact that a severe punishment is prepared for him that shall covet the possessions of his neighbour, from the greatest even to the very least. And again, the Saviour cried out, 'Blessed are the merciful, for unto them shall mercy be shewn.' Then again, 'Mercy shall make a man to triumph over judgement.' Be merciful in this world, O my son, so that mercy may be shewn unto thee in the other world whereunto thou shalt depart. It is good for thee to shew compassion on the poor, so that the merciless misery of Nineveh may not come upon thee, for judgement is cruel towards him that doeth not mercy. And again, 'Mercy shall make a man to triumph over judgement.' Hast thou never heard about Ahab, and about what happened unto him when he coveted the vineyard of Nabouthai (Naboth) the Jezreelite?

98 And when the holy man Apa Aaron had said these words unto the rich man, the rich man answered, saying, 'Have mercy upon me, O righteous and noble man! Do thou make supplication unto Christ on my behalf that this darkness over my eyes may cease, and I will never disobey thee in any matter

whatsoever.' And the holy man said unto him, 'Dost thou believe that I am able to do this?' And the rich man answered, 'Yea, most firmly, O my holy father. Furthermore, hearken unto me, and I will relate unto thy holiness what happened unto me. It came to pass that, when the man concerning whom thou hast spoken unto me had departed from my presence yesterday, I went up to my house, and I lay down to sleep. And I awoke in the night, and I perceived this great blackness over my eyes. And when the morning had come I said unto the men of my house, "I am unable to see this day." And they said unto me, "Assuredly this hath befallen thee through the holy man Apa Aaron, for we saw the man with whom thou wast talking about money go to him." And as soon as I heard that he had gone to thy holiness I knew that this thing had come to me because of him, and I myself have come unto thee because I believe that thou art able to heal me.' And the holy man said unto him, 'If thou wilt shew mercy to the poor man, Christ Himself will heal thee.' And the rich man called one of those who were accompanying him, and he took the deed of the debt from his hand, and gave it unto the righteous man Apa Aaron. And the holy man Apa Aaron said unto him ...

⁹⁹ [Two lines illegible] '...in this world, and He will give thee thy wages in the world which is to come'; and straightway he made the Sign of the Cross over the rich man's eyes. And Apa Aaron cried out to me, and said unto me, 'Bring me a bowl of water.' And Apa Aaron said unto him, 'Wash thy face in firm belief.' And immediately he had washed his face he was able to see; and those who were near him marvelled, and they glorified God. And the rich man rose up, and did homage to the holy man Apa Aaron, giving thanks both unto God and unto Apa Aaron because he could see. ¹⁰⁰ And the holy man gave the deed of debt to the poor man, and he commanded him, saying, 'Do thou thyself also shew mercy unto him that is thy neighbour, even as mercy hath been shewn unto thee. Say thou not "I am a poor man, I am not able to perform the commandment in the Gospel," for the Gospel will never accept from thee any excuse, O poor man, which thou mayest utter, but, even for as little as a cup of cold water, God will give unto thee a reward. Be not thou like that worthless servant unto whom his lord forgave a debt of many talents, and who went and squeezed the throat of his fellow servant on account of the few [moneys] which he owed him, but be thou like unto the wise servant who doubled his talent. And the wretched man answered and said, 'Pray for me, my holy father, and I will keep every commandment

which thou shalt lay upon me.' Thus the two men received benefit, and they went forth from the presence of Apa Aaron, glorifying God. And when the rich man had entered into his house he related unto his household everything that had happened unto him. And there was in his house a certain man whose legs had caused him very great pain (i. e.

¹⁰¹ they were gouty) for a very long time, and when he heard of the miracles which the holy man was working he said, 'How I wish that I were one worthy of meeting him, and that he might shew mercy on my misery, for then I should obtain healing.' And the man with the gout said unto the rich man, 'Did not Apa Aaron touch any of the members of thy body?' And the rich man said, 'Yea, he did, he touched my hands. I had cast myself down at his feet, and I lifted up my hands on his feet, and I did homage unto him.' And the gouty man said unto him, 'Do me a favour, and come close to me.' And when the rich man had drawn close to him the gouty man seized his hand, and laid it upon his feet and legs, saying, 'I believe [that if the hand which hath touched] the holy man Apa Aaron [touch my legs] I shall find healing.' And thus it came to pass that the gout ceased from his legs from that very hour, and every one who heard glorified the God of Apa Aaron.

¹⁰² And there was also in Pilak (Philae) a man who owned an ass which he worked in a building (?), and when he came to go into his house the ass fell down therein at his feet, and died. And the man, by reason of his great faith in the righteous man, left the ass lying there dead, and came and told him about it. And the righteous man said unto him, 'He is not dead, my son, but is in a fainting fit.' And he gave the man a staff, saying, 'Go and smite the ass with it thrice, and he shall stand up.' And the man took the staff and went and smote the ass therewith thrice, and the ass rose up and stood upon his feet according to his wont. And the man came unto my father, saying, 'My father, I thank thee greatly for the favour which hath been vouchsafed to me.' And my father admonished him not to tell any man whatsoever what had happened, [saying], 'No man must be allowed to disbelieve our words.' And moreover our Saviour said, '[Verily, verily, I say unto you, whosoever shall believe on Me, the works which I do] he shall do also, and he shall do things which are greater than these.'

¹⁰³ And the holy man Apa Aaron used to work very much with his own hands, for he remembered what was written, 'We worked with our hands by day and by night, so that we might not add to the toil of any one of you.'

Sometimes he made baskets, and sometimes he plaited rope, and he never made haste to speak unless there was very urgent need for so doing. On one occasion a man came to him and bought some cord from him for the needs of his vineyard. And the shoots of the vines were very backward, but when the man had taken the cord from him, and tied it round his vines, an exceedingly abundant harvest of grapes was the result. And those who heard thereof glorified God. And on one occasion certain fishermen came to him, being sad at heart, and they made supplication unto him, saying, 'Do us an act of grace and pray for us, for we are being harassed by a certain nobleman about a large quantity of fish, which we are unable to obtain to deliver to him. And we are afraid that he will hold us liable, and mulet us of a fine beyond our power [to pay]...

¹⁰⁴[Three lines illegible]... [said unto] Peter, 'Cast the net on the right side of the ship, and ye shall catch something.' He did not say on the left side, but on the right side, the meaning of which is: When a man abandoneth himself to evil thoughts, that is to say, to the things that are on the left hand, [he doeth evil]. When he doeth the things of the right hand, that is to say, the things that are good, everything which he shall ask in God shall be given unto him. For He spake in this wise unto those who were on the left hand, 'Depart from Me, ye accursed, into the everlasting fire which hath been prepared for the Devil and his angels.' [And unto] those on His right hand He said, 'Come ye unto Me, O ye blessed of My Father.' And again, 'Come unto Me, all ye who are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' And again, 'Inherit the kingdom of heaven which hath been prepared for you from the foundation of the world.' For what reason? He saith, 'I was an hungered, and ye fed Me: I was athirst, and ye gave Me drink: I was naked, and ye clothed me: I was a stranger, and ye received Me: I was sick, and ye visited Me: I was in prison, and ye came to Me'; which is to say, If ye cast your net on the right side

¹⁰⁵ye yourselves shall catch many fish, according to your need. And they said unto him, 'We swear by thy salvation, O our holy father, it is only because of [our] poverty that we have not gone regularly to the church on the Sabbath Day and on the Lord's Day.' And he said unto them, 'I have not said unto you, "Ye do not go to the church of God." If ye invoke Him He will shew mercy unto you, and He will never let you want for anything whatsoever. Now it is meet that Christians should go to the house of God early in

the morning, and should make supplication unto Him to stablish the work of their hands.' And they bowed down and did homage at his feet, saying, 'Pray over us, O our holy father, and we will keep all thy words.' Thereupon he prayed over them, and gave them a cruse of water, saying, 'Sprinkle this over your nets and ye shall catch something.' And they departed in faith, and they caught a large number of fish, and they gave the nobleman as many as he wanted, and they kept the remainder for use in their houses. And they came to the righteous man, and they gave thanks unto God, and to him for his holy prayers...

¹⁰⁶ [Three lines illegible] ...immediately. And in the case of another man also whose ship was in danger [of sinking], when he cried out to God in the name of Apa Aaron his ship was saved, and all its cargo likewise. And it came to pass on another occasion that one day two Nubians were walking together, and were going into Souan (Syene), and one of them had only one eye. And his companion said unto him, 'Come, let us take a blessing from the hand of this great man' (i.e. Apa Aaron). And the man who had only one eye said, 'He is not a great man. If he be really a great man let him open my eye'; and whilst the words were in his mouth, his eye, which had been blind hitherto, recovered its sight, and that, which had up to that time been able to see, became blind. And when his friend saw what had happened unto him he marvelled exceedingly, and said unto him, 'Did I not tell thee that he was an exceedingly great man?' And his companion said, 'I have suffered no loss: for one eye hath been shut and another opened. However, let us go and visit him, for perhaps he will give light to the other eye'; and the two of them came to the holy man Apa Aaron. And my father said unto the Nubian who had played the part of an unbeliever, 'Since thou knowest that thou hast not suffered loss, what doest thou in this place?' And straightway mighty [fear fell upon him], and he did homage to Apa Aaron, saying, '[Open mine] eye';

¹⁰⁷ and straightway he was able to see with the other eye. Pœ And the two Nubians believed, and they went forth from his presence with gladness, and proclaimed abroad throughout the whole of that country the miracle which had taken place. And again, there was a certain [God-]fearing man in the city of Souan (Syene) who was a believer, and he came to visit us on several occasions. And it came to pass, on a certain day when he was wishing to come to us, that his wife said, 'If thou art going to the holy man Apa Aaron, beseech him to pray to the Christ for us, so that He may give unto us male

seed. For I have heard that when a certain girl came to the time of her delivery she could not bring her child to the birth, but that when she had invoked Apa Aaron she gave birth to her son, who was, however, dead. And her father went to him, and entreated him, and people say that when her father took a little dust from the door of Apa Aaron's place of abode and sprinkled it over the little dead boy he came to life immediately. And in thy case also I believe that if thou wilt make entreaty to Apa Aaron, whatsoever thou shalt ask from him shall come to pass.' And when the man had come unto us he related the matter to my father, saying, 'I have lived with my wife from the time when I was a youth, and we have no child [even after] ...years. Now therefore,...

¹⁰⁸ [One line and a half illegible] ...God, He will give them to thee.' And the righteous man went into the chamber wherein he meditated alone, and he prayed, saying, 'O my Lord, it is Thou Who didst give to Sarah, the barren woman, our father Isaac, and Thou didst give Joseph to Rachel, and Thou didst give Samuel to Hannah. Now therefore, O Lord, what Thou wast yesterday Thou art to-day, and Thou wilt be the same for ever. I know Thy goodness, O Lord. Do Thou hearken unto my supplication, and fulfil the petition of this man who hath come unto us.' And when Apa Aaron had finished his prayer he came unto the man, and he said unto him, 'Depart, my son, in the Name of Christ. I believe that even as God spake unto our father Abraham, saying, "I will come, let the time [pass] for Sarah to have a son," and it was so, even so shall it be with thee.' And according to what he said, even so did it come to pass, for within a year the man came unto us with the child perched upon his shoulder, and he thrust him out to my father, saying, 'Behold the fruit which God hath given unto me through thy prayer.' And the holy man Apa Aaron took him to his bosom, and blessed God, saying, 'Blessed art Thou, O God, in all Thy works.' Then he gave the child to his father, saying, 'Take heed to the favour of God which hath come unto thee! May the Christ, Who hath graciously bestowed him upon thee, increase him and thee, and may He make us to do His Will.'

¹⁰⁹ And again, there was a certain man whom a demon troubled exceedingly. And when his parents heard of the report of Apa Aaron they bound him hand and foot, and set him upon an ass, and carried him to him; now four men [were needed to] hold him. And when they had brought him they lifted him off the ass, and set him down by the door, and laid him on the

ground. And the demon uttered from within the man many shameless words, saying, 'Art thou a soldier that protecteth violence (or, oppression)? Were not thy fathers noblemen who devoured whatsoever the poor man had? I know of a day wherein thy father lent a certain man ten oboli, and when the man, because of his poverty, could not ¹¹⁰pe find them to give them to him, thy father seized his house in lieu of them. Is not this thing which he did a sin? And thou thyself hast come to this place, saying, "I will heal this sick man," but thou art no physician at all! And my father restrained himself until the man had said all that he had to say, and [then] he said unto him, 'Thou art unworthy that [any] should answer thee. Now therefore I adjure thee in the Name of the Christ, Whom they crucified, to come forth from [this man].' [And when the devil] heard ...carry off the man ...Then the holy man filled his hand with water and sprinkled it in his face three times, saying, 'In the Name of the Holy Trinity, come forth from him'; and the devil came out. And the holy man said unto him, 'Get thee gone to the Babylon of the Chaldeans, and remain thou in that place until the Day of Judgement, wherein every man shall receive according to what he hath done. As for thee, they shall cast thee into the pit of Amente.' And when the devil heard these things he departed, being full of rage. And when the mind of the man had recovered its balance, he, and his parents, and all those who were accompanying him, glorified God.

¹¹¹ Then they entreated the holy man to accept some reward, but he would not suffer them to make him a gift, saying that he had never accepted any gift whatsoever since he became a monk. And he was wont to say unto me often, 'Set not your gaze upon the works of this world which shall profit in no way whatsoever, but as long as we have food and raiment these things should suffice us. Moreover, our Saviour said unto His Apostles, "Get not to yourselves gold, or silver, or copper in your girdles. Therefore it is meet for the monk to walk in this wise, and [to lead] a good life.' And henceforward [the parents of the man] renounced this world, and followed after the Lord.

¹¹² And it came to pass after these things that the holy old man Apa Aaron rose up and walked in the valley (?), and he commanded us, saying, 'Sit thou down in this place. And if any man cometh seeking after me say thou unto him, "He hath gone to visit a brother."' Now this was the manner of his daily life: When the winter arrived he would dip his body-garment into water, and then put it on and stand up in the dew, and he would pass the whole

night praying, and when it was dawn he would go into the crevices of the bitterly cold rocks. He gave himself no rest at all, either by day or by night. During the summer he used to stand in burning heat and pray; and he spent his whole time in the constant practice of these strenuous exercises. And it came to pass one year that the Nile-flood did not rise high enough to water all our fields, and a multitude of poor folk came weeping unto him, saying, 'O our holy father, we and our children shall die because the Nile-flood hath not risen.' And he said unto them, 'Believe ...

¹¹³[One or two lines illegible] ...the prayer of the poor man who is in sorrow of heart, his supplication shall be poured out before God.' Then again, 'The Lord heareth the wish of the poor.' And he quoted to them a very large number of passages from the Scriptures, and explained them unto them, and he comforted them, and then they departed from him blessing God. And the holy man Apa Aaron was not unmindful of their distressful suffering, for he used to go to the river each evening and immerse his body therein up to his neck, and make supplication unto God, saying, 'O Thou Good Christ, have compassion, O Thou Compassionate One, upon Thine image and likeness.' And he continued to do thus regularly until God had compassion upon his tears, and made the waters [of the Nile] to flow over the whole country.

¹¹⁴Ph And it came to pass one year that certain men came to him filled [with complaints]—even as the narrative will shew us if we proceed to the end—and when they had remained for some time entreating him to pray to the Christ that He would send to them water for the preservation of the people, they became terrified because the time of the filling of the waters had passed, and they continued to weep ...[Three lines illegible] ...saying, 'O God, cast not behind Thee the works of o Thy hands, that is to say, man and beast. And, moreover, Thou hast created us all of Thy Blood, and Thou didst deem us worthy of Thy coming into [this] world. Thou wast born after the manner of a man for our salvation. We know well that with Thee nothing is impossible. O God, forget not the souls of the poor, lest they commit sin with their lips before Thee. For I remember what the wise man Solomon saith, "Give me neither riches nor poverty." And whether He bringeth up the waters of the river, or whether He bringeth them not, it is for our recreation only. For God hath the power to make all His creatures fall into the want of their food. Nevertheless God permitteth the poor man to beg from the rich man, so that when the rich man sheweth mercy mercy may be shewn to him

on the day of his visitation. And if the poor man beareth up under his poverty he shall go into the kingdom ...

115 [Three or four lines illegible] ...the kingdom which is in the heavens. The merciful man is like unto the ladder which Jacob saw, with the foot thereof planted firmly on the earth, whilst the head thereof reached up into heaven, that is to say, the Father of mercy. Consider that He said, "these little ones," that is to say, those who are of little account. And again, as He said, "When thou makest a dinner or a supper do not call thy neighbour or thy kinsman, but invite the poor, and the blind, and the lame, because they have nothing whatsoever which they can give unto thee in exchange, and they shall reward thee at the resurrection of the righteous. And if we are not able to ascend to the head of the ladder, that is to say, if we cannot give in abundance, let us find the mercy which is perfect. Therefore let us shew mercy, for mercy maketh a man to triumph over judgement.

116 And when the holy man Apa Aaron had said these words he prayed, and he dismissed the men in peace, saying, 'God shall make the river to be full of water, and He will bring the water up to its proper measure. Be neither afraid nor unbelieving. Ye say that the time for the filling of the waters hath passed; nevertheless, believe that God is able [to do] everything.' And they departed in peace. And the following evening the holy man went to the river, and prayed, saying, 'O Thou God Who art the same yesterday, to day, and for ever, Thou it was Who didst cleave the rock, and the water flowed forth, and Who didst give the people to drink. And when Samson was athirst Thou didst make the jawbone of an ass to give forth water which healed (i. e. quenched) his thirst. Therefore I make supplication unto Thee this day in order that Thou mayest send the waters of the river over all the land, so that those who are poor among Thy people may find means for their subsistence, and may bless Thy holy Name.' And the holy man Apa Aaron passed the whole night in praying and making supplication to God that the water of the river [might rise]; and thereupon the water rose and went on rising and filling [the river], and it did not fall for a whole day, that is, not until the whole of our fields had been watered. Thus there was prosperity and there was abundance in that year through the prayers of the holy man, even as it is written, 'The supplication of a righteous man is mighty and prevaieth. If we were to undertake to narrate all the signs and wonders [which] God [wrought]...

117 [One line illegible]... by the holy man Apa Aaron [my] discourse would prolong itself inordinately. And it came to pass one day when he was sitting down, and some people were gathered together round about him, that a poor man with a sack of barley upon his back came to him and entreated him, saying, 'Bless it for me, O my holy father, and then I will go and make it into bread for my children, for I am a poor man.' And the holy man Apa Aaron filled his hand with water, and sprinkled it on the sack of barley, saying, 'Go, make it [into bread] for thy children in the Name of the Christ.' And the man took the barley and departed, and made it [into bread], and there was a great blessing in it. And the man came to us glorifying God and the holy man Apa Aaron.

118 Behold, O my brother Papnoute (Paphnutius), I have told thee a few [facts] concerning the life and ascetic practices of the holy man Apa Aaron, but because I am a tongue of flesh it is impossible for me to describe his virtues adequately. I will now narrate unto thee the marvellous manner of his death. He was an aged man, and very far advanced in his days. His body was completely worn out by his excess in the practice of asceticism. He fell sick on the fifth day of the month Pashons, and on the following day, which was the sixth 119 day, I heard the voices of angelic choirs singing, 'Blessed! Blessed!' [but] I did not know whom they were describing. And I, O Paphnutius, said concerning him, 'This is his end. The denizens of heaven are blessing him, even as he hath been blessed upon earth.' And they continued to do this until the first hour(?) of the ninth day of the month Pashons, and on the seventh hour of that day the holy man Apa Aaron died, at a very old age. And we buried his body with splendour and honour, and we laid it with the bodies of the holy bishops that were in Pilak (Philae), that is to say, Apa Macedonius, and Apa Mark, and Apa Isaiah. Now, therefore, O my brother Paphnutius, pray for me, and pray that God will shew mercy unto me, and that He will make my end in this world pleasing unto Him. And I said unto him, 'Thou hast made thyself worthy of a great act of grace, for from thee I have heard of the lives and practices of these holy men. Moreover, I will write them down in a book, so that they may be laid up as authoritative directions for all the generations [of monks] that shall be'; and even so have I written them. And when we had finished talking together, I, and Apa Isaac ...Apa Aaron, he made ready a table, and we ate and drank together, and we rose up

and prayed, and I came forth from him to go and visit the brethren who were to the north of him.

¹²⁰ This is the life of the holy man and anchorite of Philae, Apa Aaron, who finished his course in the mountain to the east of Philae. Glory be to the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and vivifying and consubstantial Holy Spirit, now, and always, and for ever. [Here follow the passages of Scripture that were read on the festival of the commemoration of Apa Aaron (May 2). These are:— At the setting forth, Ps. xcix. 1-9. The Epistle, Heb. iv. 14-v. 6. The Catholic Epistle, Jas. v. 10-16. Acts vii. 34-43. Ps. lxxvii. 18-20. Matt. iv. 23-v. 16. Mark xvi, including the twelve verses not usually found in manuscripts.]

XV. THE PRAYER OF SAINT ATHANASIUS WHEN DYING

¹ The prayer which saint athanasius uttered at the moment when he was about to lay down the body, that is to say, on the seventh day of the month pashons. IN THE PEACE OF GOD! BLESS US. AMEN. I AM departing into the hands of God, and not into the hands of men. Therefore, O Lord God of Powers, hearken Thou unto the prayer of Thy servant Athanasius, and send Foli. not Thou them after my soul. For I am a man of blood and flesh, and Thou knowest the weakness of the sons of Adam, and how when even a slight wound is inflicted upon any one [of them] he is laid low and is in danger [of death]. And what an awful thing it is to fall into the hands of God, wherein are the tortures which Thou hast made for the punishment of sinners, and the Gehenna of, fire, and the cold, and the worm which never sleepeth. If I say, 'I am a righteous man, and I have endured suffering for Thy Name's sake,' Thou wouldst find that I had committed sin even in this case. And if the angels whom Thou didst create of holy spirit and fire are considered to be perverse [by Thee], then how much more will it be the case with me, for I am dust and ashes. I am a creature of flesh which shall dissolve away and become dust and ashes. And Thou didst fashion me in the womb of a woman, Thou didst plant me like a thistle which shrivellet up in the fire, Thou didst give me bones, Thou didst gird me about with sinews and flesh, Thou didst spread over me a skin, Thou didst put into me breath, and a holy spirit, and [the other things] ...

² [Two lines illegible] ...the earth shook to its foundation, Who sitteth upon the Cherubim of light, before Whom stand thousands of thousands, and tens of thousands of tens of thousands [of angels], ascribing glory unto His Majesty, Who stablished the Seven Heavens and the Seven Firmaments

by the word of His power, Who set a boundary to the sea which it hath been unable to pass over, Who dissolveth all souls, Who raiseth them up and placeth them under His compassion, Whom no angel whatsoever dare oppose, except His Good Son, and His Holy Spirit, and before Whose Godhead my miserable and sinful soul cannot appear, except through Thy compassion. O Lord of my soul, and my body, and my spirit, hearken unto me. O God of my life, accept from my hand my confession, and shew mercy upon my soul. I come unto Thee, O Lord and Master of the Universe, Who didst accept the prayer of the first man Adam, and didst give him repentance, accept Thou my prayer from me, and send Thou after my soul at this fitting moment, with loving-kindness and tenderness of heart. O Thou Who didst hear the prayer of the first martyr Abel, hearken Thou unto my prayer, and send the angel of righteousness after my soul. O Thou Who didst hear the prayer of Abraham our father, when he was in the land of Canaan and slew mighty kings, whose hosts were far more numerous than his own, hearken Thou unto me this day. O Thou Who didst hear the prayer of Isaac, and didst deliver him from the hands of the Philistines, hearken Thou unto me this day, and graciously grant unto me a favourable reception. O Thou Who didst hear the prayer of Jacob,

3pne when he had departed into Syria, and didst appear unto him, the God, and didst give him the riches of Laban, hearken Thou unto me this day. O Thou Who didst hear [the prayer of] Joseph in Egypt, hearken Thou unto me this day. I come unto Thee, O Thou Who didst hear the prayer of the great Prophet Moses, who brought the people of Israel out of Egypt, hearken Thou unto me this day. I am Thy servant Athanasius. O Thou Who didst hear the prayer of Joshua, the son of Nun, [when] he was fighting against his enemies, and didst send to him the General-in-Chief of the powers (or, hosts) of heaven to enable him to take vengeance upon his enemies, hearken Thou unto me this day. I come unto Thee, O my Lord, for this is the road of all men, but I go by a road which I have not known before, neither to-day, nor yesterday, nor the day before, a road wherein there is ...

4[Two lines illegible] 5...my soul is afflicted like a round cake before the fire, and is like a thing in the furnace; for this reason I make my confession unto Thee, O God of my life. I know, moreover, that Thou dost hearken unto the cry of Thy servants. Hearken Thou unto my cry, O my God, Who hast brought me out of the night of ignorance, and do Thou bring my soul

out of my body quickly and without suffering, for Thou art the Good God. O Thou Who didst hearken unto the prayer of the Judges, Barak, Samson, Jephthah, Gideon, and Deborah, Gothoniël (Othniel), and Aôth (Achsah), so that they judged Thy people and shepherded them in the desert, do Thou hearken unto my prayer, which I pray to Thy Goodness, O Lord God of Israel. Thou Who didst hearken unto the prayer of Jeremiah the prophet when he was in the pit, in the mud, do Thou hearken unto me and unto my prayer wherein I make supplication unto Thee, O God, [Thou] hearer [of prayer]. Thou Who didst also hearken unto Isaiah, the great prophet, when he cried unto Thee, and prayed on behalf of Thy people, and didst deliver him from destruction, do Thou hearken unto me, and deliver my soul from destruction. Thou Who didst hearken also unto the prayer of Ezekiel the prophet, and didst breathe (?)

6 upon the [dry bones], and didst raise them up, and the breath of life came to them again, do Thou hearken unto my prayer, and have mercy upon my soul, O Lord God of my life. Thou Who didst hear Daniel the prophet when he was in the pit of the lions, and didst send Habakkuk unto him with the dinner, [do Thou hearken unto me this day]. Thou Who didst hear Jonah when he was in the body of the great fish for three days and three nights without any to give him food to eat, and didst make the great fish to cast him up on the dry land, do Thou hearken unto me this day. 7 O God, Who hast delivered me in every tribulation [hitherto], do Thou deliver me on this terrible occasion also. O Thou Who didst hearken unto the prayer of Elijah, the great Prophet, and didst shut up the heavens for three years and six months, do Thou hearken unto me this day. O Lord of heaven and earth, Who didst hearken unto Elijah, who raised up the son of the Sômanite (Shunammite) woman to her, hearken unto me as I cry out to Thee at my departure from my body, O God of my salvation. Thou Who didst hearken unto the prayer of David when he was fleeing before his enemies, do Thou deliver my soul out of the hand of the Accuser. Thou Who wast with our Fathers the Prophets, and with our Fathers the Apostles until they had performed all these mighty works, and these wonders, and these [signs?], and these [mighty deeds], do Thou be with me, O God of my life. I am Thy servant Athanasius. I know that Thou didst hearken unto me in many tribulations when I cried unto Thee, hearken then unto me now, my Lord. Send Thou unto me Michael, Thy great archangel, in loving-kindness, and re-

ceive my soul into rest, and let him make of no effect the cunning device of the Accuser, who meditateth to make accusation against us before Thee. Receive no accusation against Thy servant. Crush and destroy those who are on my left hand, and extinguish the flame of the fire.

8 Permit me to stand up before Thee, O Thou that judgest the whole world, with a face wherein there is no shame. Let those who are on the left hand be ashamed, and let those who are on the right hand stand by me. Let the fire that cannot be quenched be extinguished, and do Thou heap fire upon the Shameless One and his Powers. Graciously grant that I may make entreaty through [my] shame and fear, for Thou alone art the True God, before Whom are fear, and trembling, and terror. O Thou Who art God alone, in Whose hands are my soul and my spirit, I make supplication unto Thee.

9 O my Lord, I come into Thy hands, O Thou before Whom are fear and trembling, and at Whose Word the heavens and the earth melt away, and the mountains shake to their very foundations, and the [powers] that are in the abyss quake, and Tartarus trembleth. This is the Invisible God. A mere thing of naught is the soul of Athanasius before this great and terrible [God]. Whether I say 'I am a righteous man', or whether I say 'I am a sinner', who is there that can prevent Him from casting my soul into Tartarus? Who is there that can oppose Him in His power? If He willeth to raise [men] up again, unto Him belongeth the power so to do. None of the things that are hidden in the heart of a man are hidden from Him. He scrutinizeth the heart and the reins. He understandeth the good qualities and the bad qualities that are in the heart of man. He is God. He is the Lord of my virtue whilst I am in this flesh. Thou hast permitted me to perform my wish upon earth for cursing and for blessing. When I go forth from this body it is Thy power which shall be my Master, to speak and not to speak.

10 For this reason so long as I am in the flesh I will never cease to praise, and to bless, and to glorify Thee. For I have been held worthy to worship Thy Law, and to stand before Thy people unto whom I have ministered from my youth up until this present day. I will have confidence under His wing, and I will not be afraid of the evil hap, nor of the devil of the midday hour. [Nearly two lines broken and illegible]... those who boast themselves upon earth, saying, 'This world is what we know. Let us live delicately, and eat, and drink, and enjoy ourselves with fleeting pleasures, for we do not know on what day we shall die'; those who nourish their souls on the day of their

slaughter; those who set their hope upon vastness of riches, which shall not help them on the day of their tribulation, neither shall it relieve them in the least degree in an attack of fever, nor utter a word [in their defence] before the judgement-seat of the Christ. Therefore their portion is a portion which is diminished, and their visitation is a visitation of anger and wrath.

11 For I have been a servant of the Christ from my youth even to my old age, and I will never cease to bless God and His beloved Son, of Whom I have been a follower during all my time. Who is as glorious as Thou art, O Christ, Whom every one eagerly desireth to see? Thou art Jesus, the mighty Power of the Father. Thou art the Offspring of the Virgin, without [the help of] a man. I will never cease to bless Thee, O Thou Holy Pearl. I will never cease to bless Thee, O Thou Who endurest for ever. Thou art Jesus, the Son of the Father. Yea, Amen. Thou art He Who commandeth the Cherubim and the Seraphim. Yea, Amen. Thou hast existed with the Father, in truth, always. Yea, Amen. Thou rulest the angels. Yea, Amen. Thou art the Power of the Heavens. Yea, Amen.

12 Thou art the Crown of the Martyrs. Yea, Amen. Thou art the deep counsel of the Saints. Yea, Amen. Thou art He in Whom the deep counsel of the Father is hidden. Yea, Amen. Thou art the Mouth of the Prophets. Yea, Amen. Thou art the Tongue of the Angels. Yea, Amen. Thou art Jesus, my life. Yea, Amen. Thou art Jesus, the object of the boast of the world. Yea, Amen. O Jesus, the Christ, the hope of every one who setteth his mind on Thee, who is as glorious as Thou art, or who can be compared unto Thee? [Thou art] the King Who sittest above the Cherubim, and the Seraphim stand before Thee. Heaven and earth await Thy mercy. O Thou Who dispensest life to men and cattle, and to wild beasts and the feathered fowl, Thou feedest them all. Thou art He Whose [Name] they interpreted Emmanuel, the translation of which is 'God, with us'. Thou art He Who was called Rabboni, God and Master. Thou wast of lowly birth, but mighty in Thy Godhead. If I would ascribe blessing unto Thee, blessing is Thy attribute. If I would ascribe glory unto Thee, glory is Thy attribute ...compassion, my God...

13 [One line illegible]... Thy Holy Blood gathered them together into one flock, and Thou didst gather them together into one safe fold, which the wolf shall never find. Thou hast appointed over them faithful shepherds, who shall shepherd them in righteousness. Be not Thou far from me, O

Christ, for Thou art merciful, and a Lover of souls. Thou didst deliver me because of the apathy of my fathers, and didst place me to be the shepherd of Thy people, whom I have shepherded according to Thy wish. I will bless Thee, O Thou my Deliverer; I will bless Thee, of Whom all these blessings are Thy attribute, Thou subject of boasting of the saints, Jesus, the Power of the Cherubim and Seraphim. I will bless thee, O Thou Who dost make fat the earth, and it increaseth, Jesus, the Wise One of the valiant ones. I will bless Thee, Thou Sceptre of righteous kings, Thou Crown that never fadeth, the Life of every one. I will bless Thee, the Resurrection of every one, and the Light that proceeded from Light. Heaven and earth hang upon His word, even as a drop of water hangeth from the potter's vessel.

14 [Thou art] the Father of the universe, Who spoiled Amente, and destroyed Edôm, and brought up Adam and his sons, and crushed the Enemy and all his power, and gave light to the sun, and ordained the revolutions of the moon, and gave names to the multitude of the stars, and ordered the Seven Heavens and the Seven Firmaments, and laid the foundations of the earth on the waters, and placed the waters upon (?) the earth and the abyss under the earth. I will bless Thee, O Thou Who didst make all Creation by Thy word, and didst rest on the seventh day. I will bless Thee, O Thou Alpha and Omega; the Beginning and the End. I will not cease to bless Thee, O Jesus, into Whose hands I am about to come, for Thou art my succourer, and the strength of my salvation. Put Thou me not to shame, for I put my trust in Thee. Harken, O Lord, unto my prayer this day, and send Thou unto me Michael Thy archangel that he may receive my soul in rest, and do Thou establish it in the city of Thy loving-kindness, for Thine is the glory, and the power, for ever and ever. Amen.

15 And when Apa Athanasius had finished [his] holy prayer he yielded up his spirit, like one who falleth asleep, on the seventh day of the month Passions. And I, Timothy the deacon, was standing by the side of the holy man Athanasius pâc when he was about to lay down the body, and I testify unto you, in the presence of God ...[Three lines illegible] 16 ...[as white] as snow, I saw Michael take the soul of Athanasius, and ascend into the height of heaven therewith, and it was of the selfsame form as Athanasius. I saw the choirs of the angels blessing God and saying, 'Let us ascribe glory unto God because He glorifieth His saints.' And as for us, O my beloved, let us follow the teachings of our father Athanasius, and ascribe glory unto God. And even if we are

not able to attain to the measure of our fathers, nevertheless let us be exceedingly diligent in the matter, and God shall help us, and we shall bring it to perfection. Ye must consider, O my beloved, how strenuously this mighty athlete fought until he met God face to face, and received the crown of life, and how God held converse with him, mouth to mouth, and how he was on very many occasions carried up above the Cherubim, and how he put kings and heretics to shame through the might of God, which was with him. Consider also what an awful thing it is to fall into the hands of the Living God. Therefore, if thou committest sin against Him, He will punish thee, and if thou doest what is good, He will rejoice with thee, and will cause thee to meet Him face to face, and will accord thee a gracious reception, and will give unto thee ...in this [world] and life everlasting through Jesus the Christ, our Lord, to Whom be all glory and all honour as is meet for Him, and to His good Father, and to the vivifying and consubstantial Holy Spirit, now and always, and for ever.

XVI. THE DISCOURSE OF TIMOTHY, ARCHBISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA, ON
SAINT MICHAEL

¹ The discourse which saint timothy, the archbishop of rakote, pronounced on the festival of the holy archangel michael, that is to say, on the twelfth day of this month of paône. AND HE DISCOURSED ALSO ON THE CAVERNS OF THOSE WHO ARE UNDERGOING PUNISHMENTS, AND ON THE SOULS WHO ARE IN THEM. AND HE DISCOURSED ALSO ON REPENTANCE, AND THE RISING [OF THE NILE]. IN THE PEACE OF GOD! BLESS US! AMEN. ZAMEN (sic). AMEN. This day is a great festival, O my beloved. Let us assemble together, and let us rejoice, and let us be glad therein. I behold this day the mighty archangel, the holy Michael, placing in our hands spiritual food, according to the words of the holy singer David, who said, 'Judah, celebrate thy festival, and pay thou the things which thou hast vowed.' And again [he saith], 'The angel of the Lord campeth round about those who fear Him, and delivereth them.' Now this merciful angel who campeth round about those who fear Him and delivereth them [is Michael]

² [Two lines illegible] ...Michael striveth on their behalf, and he maketh supplication to God until He re-establisheth them in these worlds of light. And [this he doth], not for the righteous only, but also for the sinners who have turned their hearts to Him, even those who have once only offered up

an offering in the Name of God and that of the Archangel Michael. And Michael the compassionate will never forget that man who shall give unto the poor even one loaf of bread or one cup of cold water. If thou wishest to hear [it] I will relate [a story] unto thee. Now it came to pass that I, the least of all men, Timothy your father, went up to Jerusalem to worship the Cross of our Saviour, and [His] life-giving tomb, and the holy places wherein our Saviour walked about. Afterwards I went into the house with the mother of Proclus, the disciple of Iônên (sic) the Evangelist, and I dwelt therein, and I found a parchment book which Proclus, the disciple of John, had written; and the people who were in the house had taken it and were using it as a phylactery. And I read therein, and I found this great consolation, which was like unto that about which the Evangelist testifieth, and he said: It came to pass that I John with whom the angel walked...

³[Two lines illegible] ...up on a lake which was exceedingly terrible. And that lake was situated amongst lakes, and the depth and the breadth of that lake were greater than the depth and breadth of all [the other] lakes. And I heard great noises therein, which were like unto the roar of mighty waters. And I asked the angel who walked with me, saying, 'My lord, what is the meaning of this pit which I see? Up from the midst thereof there riseth such a great smoke of fire that the fiery fumes of its smoke go up for a distance of three hundred stadia.' I saw lions of fire which made [me] ill, and dragons of fire, and serpents, and scorpions, and the bear of fire, and the worm which never sleepeth coiling itself in folds, and vipers and asps of frightful aspect. And there was a wheel (?), and thousands of thousands, and tens of thousands of tens of thousands of fiery lightnings leaped forth, and shot down into the chaos of Tartarus, that burned with fire.

⁴And this angel said unto me, 'O beloved of God, John, thou seest this punishment, which is the most terrible of all punishments. Woe be unto all those sinners who shall be cast into this punishment, for it is exceedingly severe ...[Two lines illegible] ...I will tell thee about it. The wheel (?) of fire which thou hast seen beareth down the sinners who are on it, and it submergeth them for three hundred days; only with the greatest difficulty can a man remain fast in the lower part thereof, [for] afterwards they are cast up again, like a wheel, in the third year. All those who are to be punished are bound thereto, and the path of all of them leadeth to the bottom of that pit.' And I wept for a long time over the destruction of the sinners. And the angel

said unto me, 'Weep thou not, O John, beloved of God, for, behold, thou shalt this day see a mighty miracle wrought by the Archangel Michael and his great boldness.'

5 Then, whilst I was talking with him, behold, Michael the archangel came forth from heaven sitting upon the chariot of the Cherubim. The angels went before him singing, and there followed him all the righteous, and the Patriarchs, and all the Prophets, and they were decked with great splendour and with great glory. And there were ...in their hands, and branches of sweet-smelling shrubs, and they went before him dancing and singing praises to him. And he came [and stood] over [those who were suffering] punishments, and straightway the flames [were extinguished], and all the wild beasts which were in them... [Two lines broken and illegible] and they disappeared. And straightway Michael the archangel lowered [into the lake] his right wing, and there came up on it a multitude of souls, whereof the number could not be told, [for they reached] from the arm of the compassionate archangel to the extreme tip of his wing, and he brought them up out of [their] tortures, and set them down upon the earth, and he filled twelve meadows [therewith]. And again Michael, the mighty one, lowered his wing into [the lake], and he seized a larger number of souls than on the first occasion, and brought them up. And afterwards the Cherubim, and the Seraphim, and all the righteous who had come forth and followed him, bowed low before him, and they entreated him to lower [his wing into the lake] for the third time. And Michael, who is full of compassion, did so, and he brought up [on it] an exceedingly great number of souls, [whom] he delivered from unending tortures. And straightway the angels, and all the righteous who had come forth with Michael, [took] them [and carried them] into the Jerusalem [which is in the heavens]...

6 [Two lines broken and illegible] ...Michael brought them before the Father of goodness, and all the souls worshipped Him; and straightway the Archangel Michael took them into the rest which is everlasting. And I John marvelled exceedingly at the compassion of God and His Archangel Michael, and I ascribed glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, and I gave thanks unto God, and unto the Archangel Michael. And the angel who was accompanying me said, 'O John, thou beloved of God, take good heed unto the day which is the day of the festival of the Archangel Michael. Now the first is the twelfth day of the month of Athôr, wherein the

Father established him over the kingdom that is in the heavens, because of the victory which he gained, and because he bound in fetters the Enemy who was fighting against his Lord. The second festival is on the twelfth day of the month of Paône, whereon [God] gave this never-ending gift ...

7 [Four lines broken and illegible]... when they had seen the insolent contempt which the Jews shewed to Him, [which was so great that even] the heaven of heavens was not able to bear His sorrow of heart. And when He had risen from the dead ...It was Michael who suffered with Him from the door of the tomb to Amente. And again, it was Michael who bound Beliar (i.e. Satan) in fetters, by the order of his Lord, and it was Michael who brought to the Saviour all the captive souls over whom the Devil had tyrannized, and our Saviour went up to the Father with the captive souls. And after the Resurrection the Father rejoiced over His beloved Son, and kissed Him, and granted to Him the power to judge the living and the dead. Unto Him belongeth the power of the Godhead henceforth and for ever. Then the Son of Goodness, Jesus the Christ, arrayed Michael in great and indescribable splendour, which was greater than the glory that He had bestowed upon him on the first occasion, when He established Him as Governor over the kingdom which is in the heavens ...

8 [Four lines broken and illegible]... over all the tortures, and each of the angels is arrayed splendidly in his place. And when the Archangel Michael cometh forth from the veil of the Father all ranks of angels, from Adam His created being, are gathered together unto him, and they sing hymns of praise before him, even as thou hast seen them, O John the Theologian, until he cometh to [the place of] all the tortured. And forthwith the way of all the tortured is open, and the great torture which is excruciating and is most terrible [is relaxed]. And all the souls that are undergoing torture assemble together in this lake year by year, according to the compassion of God the Father. And the Archangel Michael cometh to these [beings who are] tortured, and lowereth his right wing into the lake three times, and bringeth up a multitude of souls, and setteth them down upon the earth. Now, when his wing is filled (i.e. covered) with souls in this manner, their number amounteth to two hundred times ten thousand, and nine times ten thousand, and a half of ten thousand, and eight hundred and seventy (i.e. 2,095,870 souls).

9 Now the first... [Two lines wanting]... and the poor, and those who have kept [the day of] the Resurrection of our Saviour, that is to say, the Lord's Day, and those who have given a crust of bread and a cup of cold water to the poor on the holy day of the Lord's Day. The second [class] he bringeth up in the name of the Archangel Michael, and it includeth those who have been merciful to the poor in respect of the crust of bread which they gave to the needy in the Name of God, and [that of] the Archangel Michael. And our Lord Jesus the Christ crieth to the class of tortured souls so that they may obtain rest whether they be Christian, or Gentile, or Jew. Those who have partaken of (?) the Body and the Blood of our Lord Jesus, the Christ, doth God let alone. And straightway all the righteous, and all the hosts which are in the heavens, invoke the Archangel Michael, even as thou hast now seen them do, in order that he may shew compassion upon all the souls that have remembered his name upon the earth. After these things he doeth in this manner a second time...

10 ... the supplications of the saints, and the compassion of God. And the Archangel Michael hath acted in this wise from [the time of] the Resurrection of our Saviour until this day, and moreover, he will not cease to do so on every twelfth day of the month Paône until the end of this world. And he taketh them (i. e. the souls) each into the place which it hath merited; furthermore, Michael goeth inside the veil on the same day, and casteth himself down at the feet of the Father, and worshippeth Him, and doth not rise up [again] until the Father hath accepted his supplications and until He provideth the means of subsistence for men and beasts, and water in the river [Nile]. For all the angels who are over the Powers of the earth are gathered together every twelfth day of the month Paône, outside the veil of the Father, [and wait there] until the Archangel Michael cometh forth from inside the veil. Immediately the angels see his face and the kind of apparel which the Father of Good hath put upon him, straightway the angels who are over the operations of the earth know what [manner of crops] shall be upon the earth; this they know through the kind of apparel wherein Michael is arrayed. And the angels rejoice with an exceedingly great joy on behalf of all mankind because God the Father hath had compassion upon them, through the supplication of the merciful Michael, and hath provided for their sustenance, and for the river to rise for men and beasts.

¹¹ Now therefore, O John, blessed are those who shall remember the poor in the name of the Archangel Michael. I declare unto thee, O John, that if a man shall provide for making a copy of this book, or shall have copied a similar work of instruction, and shall give it to a church in the name of the Archangel Michael, or shall give an offering to the house of God, or shall light a lamp in the church in the name of the Archangel Michael, or shall offer up incense for his name's sake, or even if he give a loaf of bread in remembrance v Paa of him, whether he be the greatest of all sinners, or whether he be a man who is utterly careless, when he cometh forth from the body, [and he is borne to the places of] punishment, he shall not feel the torture of the place of punishment wherein he shall be, because of the deeds of charity which he did in the name of the Archangel Michael. But he shall be in the places of punishment as one who is in a house which is comfortably warm until God shall visit him and shall shew mercy unto him, and bring him out of the places of punishment, and take him to a place of rest through the supplication of Michael.

¹² Now therefore, O John, the beloved of God, if a man shall provide a copy of the glorious Covenant (i.e. the New Testament), and shall have one written, and shall give it to a church in the name of the Archangel Michael, or if he hath one written, and keepeth it in his own possession, neither sickness, nor pestilence, nor ill luck shall enter the house wherein it is for ever. And upon his beasts and cattle, and upon his fields, and upon his fruit trees and vineyards no harm shall fall through any wild animal or rat, and there shall be no wastage in his fields, and there shall be no privation in his house, and his children and his children's children shall lack nothing, even to the fourth generation. The name of Michael shall be over them like a strong coat of armour. If a man shall write down the following legends, [or shall paint them] upon the [wall?] of his house, that is to say:

¹³ no harmful thing of the adversary shall fall upon that house, and no device whatsoever of evil men shall prevail against it. Now, let every man who shall have written [a copy of] the Covenant (i. e. the New Testament) keep it carefully as a phylactery, and not lay it in a place wherein there is any unclean thing, for mighty is the power of these wonderful Names. And when the angel of the Lord had said these things unto me he brought me down upon the earth, and I John stood upon the Mount of Olives, and he went up into the heavens. And I marvelled exceedingly at the things which had been

revealed unto me, and I ascribed glory to God and to His great Archangel Michael. ¹⁴ These are the things which I found in Jerusalem in the house of the mother of Proclus, the disciple of John the Evangelist; and I, your father Timothy, returned to my city Rakote in great joy. Now therefore, O my beloved, inasmuch as we have heard these great and imperishable [words] from the mouth of the angel, according to the testimony which the Evangelist hath borne to us, be not apathetic in shewing mercy to the poor and to those who are needy, each one of you according to his ability, in the name of the Archangel Michael. Through the supplication of Michael we obtain this great freedom of speech before our Saviour. We, miserable sinners that we are, obtain through the supplication of Michael the waters of the river Nile, and the dew, and the rain. We obtain through the supplication of Michael a fine climate, and the growth of the fruits of the earth. We obtain through the supplication of Michael sweet spiritual foods. We obtain through the supplication of Michael the wine which we drink, and the other kinds of sweet spiritual foods, and all the rest of the drinks which we drink to the love of God. If thou wishest to make the name of Michael protect thee in every temptation, write thou the name of Michael upon the four corners of thy house, inside and outside.

¹⁵ And also write it upon the edge of thy garment so that it may protect thee from every evil which shall rise up against thee, both that which is hidden and that which is manifest. Write thou the name of Michael upon the table at which thou eatest, ...[thy] bread, [and] it will make it ...Write pue it also upon the platter wherefrom thou eatest, so that it may give sweetness to thy mouth and satisfaction. Write it also upon the cup wherefrom thou drinkest, in order that it may bring thee joy and gladness without drunkenness and arrogance; there must be no drunkenness. When we drink wine we should sing psalms and make a merry noise, according to the words of Paul: 'He who would rejoice, let him sing psalms.' Who is mighty in his strength and in his wisdom except Him concerning Whom the Psalmist saith, 'The Lord hath risen up like a man from sleep, and like a mighty man drunk with wine?' The righteous man Noah was drunk with wine, even as the Scripture saith, 'He planted a vineyard, he ate of the fruit thereof, he became drunk.' When a man drinketh wine, and becometh drunk, he uttereth obscene and foul words, nay, more than this, he committeth fornication, or doeth dis-

graceful and bold and impudent deeds, and he staggereth about from one side of the road to the other in the market-place and streets of the city.

¹⁶ Such is the man who is drunk indeed, and who is full of disgrace, and our holy fathers knew of the danger of wine before they gave us admonitions about it; do not, under any circumstances, O my beloved sons of the Holy Church, [get drunk]. For this matter (or, habit) clingeth ... ¹⁷ [One line wanting] ... Let us keep watch over our feet at all times, and pray with our faces cast down to the earth, and let us make entreaty, saying, 'O Archangel Michael, abase thyself before the Good Father that He may forgive us our sins and our transgressions. We beseech thee, O Michael, to make supplication to the Master, the Christ, on our behalf, so that He may bless our days, and [give us] peaceful years. O our helper, Michael, entreat Him Whose mercy is according to His desire, the God of the universe, so that He may make the storm which [is blowing] over us to sink to rest. O compassionate Archangel Michael, make entreaty to the Lord for us that He may bring up the water in the river Nile, and that God, the Compassionate, may open unto us His right hand, which is full of good things of all kinds and which giveth food unto all flesh, even as it is written, When Thou openest Thy hand they shall become filled with Thy goodness.' O Archangel Michael, Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the Lord, entreat God the Merciful One to keep guard over and to bring up our little sons until they arrive at a full and perfect state of manhood. We beseech thee, O Archangel Michael, of thy compassion to make supplication on our behalf to the Father, Who forgiveth, that we may be guarded from every temptation of the Adversary, and that He may permit us to repent, and that we may be saved before we bring to an end our life in lying vanities.

¹⁸ I beseech you, O beloved brethren, O Christ-loving congregation, to withdraw yourselves from injustice of every kind, and from slander, and impurity, and envy, and hatred, and strife, and theft, and enmity, and slaughter, and fornication, and pollution, and uncleanness, and guile. And ye must make haste to lift up your hands and your souls, and to go with boldness, and with purity, and with honest intent to the Commander-in-Chief of the armies that are in the heavens, that is to say, Michael. And may it happen unto us, O brethren, that as we gather ourselves together in this holy place on this great festival this day, even so He may gather us together in His kingdom, and that having made us all worthy we may hear that

blessed voice, saying, 'Come, ye blessed of My Father, and inherit the kingdom which hath been prepared Piia for you from the foundation of the world,' through the grace and love of man of our Lord Jesus the Christ, to Whom be all glory and honour, which befit Him, and His Good Father, and the [Holy] Spirit, [life-giving and consubstantial, for ever and ever. Amen.]

Colophon

¹⁹ [This book was copied] through the zeal and care of the [p h] most God-fearing deacon whose name God knoweth. He provided the money for the copying of the volume of this book by his own labour, and he had it written, and he gave it to the shrine of Apa Aaron in the mountain of Tebô (Edfû), so that the God of this blessed and righteous man Apa Aaron, and of the Patriarch and Apostolic Archbishop Athanasius, and of the Archangel Michael, might bless our God-loving and charitable [deacon] with every perfect and spiritual blessing, even as He blessed our Fathers, the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, from whom all the nations have received light, and that He might deliver and save him from all the wiles of the Devil, and from all the evil designs of wicked men, and gird him about with patient endurance. And after the stablishing (?) of this festival of the saints which he hath commemorated may he receive favour from their King, the Christ, and may they cause him to be worthy to hear the voice which is full of joy and gladness of every kind, saying, 'Come, ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom which hath been prepared for you from the foundation of the world.' Amen. Zamen (sic). So be it! Amen. Amen.

²⁰ It was written on the twenty ...day of the month [p c] Epép, in the seven hundred and eighth year of the Era of Diocletian (i. e. A. D. 992), by ... [Zôkratôr] ...the least of all men, the son of the blessed Archdeacon Joseph. Pray for me a sinner. ²¹ I, Zôkratôr, the least of all men, the son of the blessed Joseph, the archdeacon of the city of Snê (Asnâ), may God give him rest! beg you to remember me, of your love, O my fathers and brethren. Behold my repentance. Entreat ye God on my behalf that He may forgive me a few of my sins, which are exceedingly many, and that He may lead me henceforward in the right way, according to His holy and blessed wish. And do ye yourselves forgive me all my blunders, because I am not very learned, and I only received my instruction from the school teachers. Behold my repentance. Do an act of grace and forgive me. In this year wherein we have written this volume, which is the seven hundred and eighth year [of the Era

of Diocletian] (i. e. A. D. 992) and the three hundred and seventy-second year of the Saracens (i. e. of the Era of the Hijrah = A. D. 982), a great miracle took place in connection with the rise of the river Nile. On the fifteenth day of the month of Mesore, we were taxed (?) on a cubit of water, but afterwards it (i. e. the flood) ...until it ...two cubits. Thus through the prayers which Saint Mary, the Lady of us all, made on our behalf, God visited us through His compassion towards [us] ...Mesore ...

XVII. ENCOMIUM ON THE ARCHANGEL RAPHAEL BY SAINT JOHN
CHRYSOSTOM (INCOMPLETE)

¹ (Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7022) The Discourse Which SAINT JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, THAT IS TO SAY, HE OF THE TONGUE OF GOLD, ARCHBISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE, PRONOUNCED CONCERNING THE HOLY ARCHANGEL RAPHAEL, ON THE DAY OF HIS FESTIVAL, WHICH IS CELEBRATED ON THE FOURTH OF THE EPAGOMENAL DAYS. THIS DISCOURSE WAS PRONOUNCED IN THE SHRINE THAT HAD BEEN NEWLY BUILT BY THE GOD-LOVING EMPEROR ARCADIUS IN THE NAME OF THE HOLY ARCHANGEL RAPHAEL IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE CITY. AND AFTER THE DEDICATION IN THE FOLLOWING YEAR, THE GOD-LOVING EMPEROR CAME TO PRAY AND TO BOW DOWN IN THE NEW SHRINE WHICH HIS BROTHER HAD BUILT, AND HE (CHRYSOSTOM) CONSECRATED IT. AND THE PIOUS EMPERORS HONORIUS AND ARCADIUS WERE IN ACCORD, AND THEY INVITED THE GREAT JOHN CHRYSOSTOM TO PRONOUNCE A FEW WORDS OF LAUDATION ON THE HOLY ARCHANGEL RAPHAEL. AND THE HOLY CHRYSOSTOM, OR RATHER, THE HOSTEL OF THE HOLY SPIRIT, UTTERED THIS DISCOURSE. AND HE RELATED A FEW OF THE MIGHTY DEEDS, AND SIGNS, AND MIRACLES, WHICH TOOK PLACE THROUGH THE HOLY ARCHANGEL RAPHAEL, AND EXPLAINED WHEREFORE HE WAS CALLED THE REED OF THE SPIRIT. IN THE PEACE OF GOD. MAY HIS HOLY BLESSING COME UPON US, AND MAY WE ALL BE SAVED TOGETHER. BLESS US. AMEN.

² My beloved, 'the angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear Him and delivereth them,' and in very truth the holy Archangel Raphael did encamp round about those who fear Him, [that is to say, the family of] Tobit, and delivered him. And again the Scripture saith, 'He will

give His angels charge concerning thee, that they keep thee, and bear thee up on their hand, lest thou strike a stone with thy feet.' For in truth the Lord did give His holy Archangel Raphael charge concerning Tobias, the son of Tobit, to keep him in all his ways, 'lest thou strike a stone with thy feet.' When the husbands of Sarra (Sara) struck a stone, and fell down, He sent His word and healed them, and delivered them out of all their tribulations. The Psalmist David saith, 'Verily God sent His word,' that is to say, His great Archangel Raphael. He healed Sarra, the daughter of Raguel, of the cruel disease of barrenness, and delivered her from the revilings of the servants of her father, according to the word of the holy Apostle Paul, who said, 'Are they not all ministers of the Spirit who are sent out to [perform] service for those who shall inherit salvation?'

³ My beloved, when I think of the loving-kindness of God towards man, which is very great, and especially towards the righteous, I marvel exceedingly. Now the righteous Lord, even as it is written, 'putteth away the sins of the sinners,' even as hath been said by the mouth of the Lord, which cannot lie, 'There is joy in heaven before God and His angels over a sinner when he repenteth.' In truth the holy angels merit honour, and it is meet especially for us to rejoice with them. Now it is the righteous who minister unto them, through the command of the Creator God Almighty, with willingness and trembling. The blessed angels rejoice in the conversion of sinners, and they also minister unto the righteous with exceedingly great gladness. Even so is it with a king of [this] earth. When a tyrant, or an arrogant oppressor, riseth up in his province, and committeth lawless acts and doeth deeds of aggression, the king straightway meditateth in his heart, saying, 'By what means can I put down this tyranny?' Then he summoneth to him one of his chief captains in whom he hath confidence, and he dispatcheth him to depose the adversary of the king. And when the captain hath done this he returneth to his lord with joy and gladness, the tyrant of yesterday being vanquished and lashed to his horse. Then doth the joy of the king rise up, because his enemy hath fallen before his general, and he bestoweth upon his chief captain honours and gifts which are greater than any which he hath ever bestowed on any one before. And in this manner doth the man-loving God act in this world.

⁴ Now Michael, and Gabriel, and Raphael are they who are the greatest of all the angelic hosts. As concerning this Michael, God sent him in primeval

time, and he smote the Old Serpent, that is to say, Satanaël, and he vanquished him, and bound him in fetters for one thousand years, and because of this God bestowed upon him this great and exalted position. And as for Gabriel, because of his faculty of knowing things beforehand, the Lord, and His Father, and the Holy Spirit decided that he should go to the Virgin with the good news. Raphael [goeth] to the righteous men, and serveth them, and acteth as guide to them, and healeth them [of their sicknesses], and [it belongeth to him] to bind the wicked demon Asmodeus with fetters. For God hath appointed unto each of the angels the work which is associated with the meaning of their names. Michael He appointed to act as a minister to men [before Him] because of his faculty of watchfulness (or, keeping awake). If thou wouldst translate [the name] Michael [its signification is] 'The Compassion of God Almighty'. [The name] Gabriel [meaneth] 'God and man', and for this reason God made him the minister and the messenger of the good tidings of what God is about to do unto man. The meaning of [the name] Raphael is 'God Who guideth men'. And God gave unto these angels these names through His foreknowledge of those who were about to be before they came into being.

5 And now let us return to the subject of the discourse and speak about Tobit, the son of Tobiel. Tobit saith, 'I Tobit was walking on the road at midday. Righteousness was in my hands at all times all the days of my life.' Verily Tobit was a traveller on the ways of truth, and a doer of charity with a benevolent mind, and the son of Tobiel gave first-fruits and tithes to the house of God. For this reason the Devil became envious of him, and made him blind. God Himself saith by the mouth of the holy Prophet David, 'Behold, I have become old, and I never saw a righteous man whom God had forsaken.' Subsequently God sent His holy Angel Raphael, and he bestowed upon him the light of his eyes. And also, when he wished to send his son Tobias into a region afar off, He made the good angel to act as his guide. And in the place whereunto he departed he healed Sarra, the daughter of Raguel, and bound the demon Asmodeus with fetters. Thus he filled the house of the poor man with joy, and the house of the rich man he filled with gladness, and the house of chiding and abuse he filled with singing and music, and he made the grief and sighing of Raguel to flee away. And he wiped away also the tears from the eyes of Sarra, and took up her prayers to the Seventh Heaven, to God Almighty.

6 For, O my beloved, this [Raphael] is a good angel, he is a minister, he is a flame of fire, he is a spirit, he is a faithful guide, he is incorporeal, he is also an archangel. He is a good servant (?), he is a wakeful watcher (?), he is a workman who is to be trusted. He is a physician who healeth and accepteth no fee. All these things which I declare unto you this merciful archangel doeth at the command of his Handicraftsman, God. And if ye wish to know, O beloved brethren, how it is that all these names are applicable to this compassionate archangel, I will make the matter manifest to you. Now I have already told you that the [arch]angel is a good being. Behold, his loving-kindness manifesteth itself openly, because the archangel serveth [man with] obedience, even to the preparation of food for him. He is a man, he is a minister who standeth before the deathless King, the Christ.

7 He ministereth at His command, according to the word of the sweet-smelling tongue of Paul, 'Are they not all ministers of the Spirit who are sent out to [perform] service for those who shall inherit salvation?' Thou seest the faithful testimony! He is a spirit, according to the prophecy of David, saying, 'Who maketh His angels spirits'; he is a flame of fire, even as it is written, 'His ministers a flame of fire.' He is a guide, and therefore he guided Tobias in a foreign land, without any injury whatsoever. He is a chief cook, for he cooked the fish for the young man. He is an angel. He is a master of the bridal ceremonies, for he spake unto Tobias, and he made a marriage. He is a being without body, for he tasted no food whatsoever all the days wherein he was travelling with him. He is a messenger, for he made supplication to the Treasury of Compassion, the Christ, on behalf of Tobit and Tobias his son, and Sarra. He was a ...when Tobias was in the bride-chamber. He took a camel to Ecbatana and brought back silver. He is a physician, for he healed the eyes of Tobit, who was a charitable man, for he said unto his son, 'According to what thou hast, and according to thy superabundance, do acts of charity, for charity delivereth a man from death.' He is a Commander-in-Chief, for he bound Asmodeus in fetters.

8 He is an unpaid [minister], for he would not take the hire which had been agreed upon with him. He is a good servant, for he performed service for all those who needed it from him. He is a [faithful] minister, for he stood before him and served like a loyal servant. O how deep is the sea of the compassion of God! O how great is the obedience of this archangel, who standeth before the Lord of Hosts, and standeth [as] ever a man to serve! 9 Now

therefore, permit us, O my beloved, to bring forward and to declare unto you a few matters concerning this martyrdom wherein we are gathered together in the name of the archangel. It happened to me one day, when I John was celebrating my Eucharist at the sixth hour, that a great light rose up in the house wherein I was, and, behold, a young man with an exceedingly beautiful countenance came in to me. He was enveloped in great splendour, and he had a staff of gold, surmounted by a cross, in his right hand, and he called unto me three times, saying, 'John, thou reed of the Holy Spirit! John, thou tongue that healeth the souls which have been shattered by sin! John, thou tongue of the speaker who is able to persuade God in the Seventh Heaven!' And when I heard these words I was troubled, and I fell down at ix

¹⁰ his feet that I might worship him. And he took hold of my hand, and raised me up, and said unto me, 'Fear not. Do not [worship me], for I am thy fellow servant, but worship God.' And I said unto him with fear and trembling, 'Who art thou, O my lord, who art enveloped in such great splendour? I have never seen any one like unto thee.' And he removed fear from me, and he said unto me, 'I am Raphael, one of the Seven Archangels. I am Raphael whom my Master joined to Philotheus, and I presented him and his father and his mother to the Christ Jesus. I am Raphael the archangel, and the Christ gave thee into my hand from the time when thou wast a child. And moreover, from the time when thou wast born until this day, I have never left thee for an hour, or for half an hour, or even for the twinkling of an eye. And I will never leave thee until the day [cometh] when I shall take thee to the King, the Christ. He gave thee into my hand when thou wast spotless. [I was with thee] in the house of the learned man who taught thee letters, and also when thou didst make thy passage by sea to Athens and

¹¹ ib Bêrût, into which cities thou didst enter. I walked with thee and I prepared the path whereon thou wast to travel, and I prepared for thee the instruction which was peculiarly suitable for thy mind and heart, even as the husbandman prepareth his seed beforehand, and diggeth his furrows in the water. And now, be strong and prevail. Fear thou not, O thou marvellous confessor, for I am not one to strike fear into souls; on the contrary, I am one who giveth comfort unto souls, for I am called by my fellow angels, "The merciful angel." Be strong, let thy heart be bold, and fear thou not, for I am not associated with disturbance, but with peace. Now therefore, O John, behold the Emperor Arcadius will ask thee about a matter which concerneth

me, for he would like to build a martyrium in my name. Encourage him with thy softest speech, for it is written, "The tongue of the righteous man is more excellent than gold and silver"; and make him to be happy in the building of my shrine. When thou shalt consecrate my shrine and the gifts of great price and beauty which the God-loving Emperor shall give unto it (?) ...Declare these words unto the pious Emperor [IV] ...the Christ ...the Holy Spirit, which is like unto a sweet odour that floweth from his mouth. Be of good cheer, and the peace of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit be with thee.' And when he had said these things unto me he went up into heaven with great glory.

12 And I John neither ate nor drank that day because of the joy which was in my heart through the archangel's talk with me. And it came to pass on the following day that the pious Emperor Arcadius came unto my lowliness in the Patriarch's house and received a blessing from my hand. And I said unto him, 'Sit thou down, O lover of the Christ, O thou who art troubled in thy mind about the building of the shrine of the holy Archangel Raphael, whose gracious remembrance [of the saint] driveth away sleep from thee, whose remembrance of the service of the saints maketh thee to forget the enjoyment of the Empire. Blessed (?) [art thou who ...] that which is good, ... shall be [IV] unto thee. In very truth is fulfilled in thee the word of the inflexible Paul, "Minister to the saints"; and again, "God is not unjust to forget your labour, and the love which ye manifest in His Name."' And when I had said these words unto him the blessed Emperor [was astonished] for a long time. And he answered and said unto me, 'We are blessed, O Israel, because the things which are pleasing unto God are manifest unto us. And blessed are we also because God hath raised up unto us such a spiritual father as thyself. Verily thou art an angel who dost walk upon earth with men.

13 Furthermore, in thee is fulfilled the word of David, the holy psalmist, saying, "The generation of the upright shall receive blessing." Furthermore, O my holy father, behold for many days my heart hath been troubling me concerning the building of the shrine of the holy Archangel Raphael. I swear by thy holy prayers that I have not slept at all during the past night because of this matter. Behold, behold the Spirit... [About sixty-four pages wanting]

XVIII. THE APOCALYPSE OF PAUL (INCOMPLETE)

¹(Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental, No. 7022) ...before it, saying unto it, 'O thou most wretched soul! The evil things which thou doest by day and by night I take daily into the presence of God, not through [my] will, but through the Will of God, Who commanded me, saying, "Cease not to minister unto them. Perhaps they will turn and repent." Behold, I have made myself a stranger unto thee this day. Let us [go] to the Judge of Truth.' And its spirit came forth from it, saying, 'O thou wretched soul, thou didst not give me rest during my little time which I passed in sojourning with thee. Or, O thou wretched soul, didst thou endure ...or did thy heart turn? The breath of the breath of life of God was in thee. Let us [go] to the presence of the Judge of Truth. I will never forgive thee; and I have made myself a stranger unto thee this day, and do thou do likewise [to me].' Thus the spirit of the soul abuseth it (i. e. the soul), and its angel afflicteth it, and as soon as it standeth up the Powers shall snatch it up into heaven, [and inflict upon it] suffering after suffering. And sluggishness shall come forth from it, and scandal-mongering, and the spirit of rapine. And as for the Powers of the Darkness, some have the faces of lions and wear plates of armour filled with fire,

²and have slaughtering swords in their hands. Some have the faces of bulls, and their hands are like unto the hands of men, and huge horns of fire project from their heads, and the spears which they hold in these hands they drive into the souls of sinners. Some have the faces of bears, and their eyes shoot out fire on all four sides. There is fury in their faces, and there are huge iron butchering knives in their hands, and they are ready to crush the souls (?) of the ungodly before they come forth from the body, and to inflict upon them sufferings during the agony of death. Some have the faces of serpents, and have smoke issuing from their mouths, and fumes, and fire. Some [have the faces of] ravens, and hold in their hands saw-like weapons wherewith they torture souls. Some have the faces of vipers, and have spears like unto those of fishermen, which they are ready to drive into the souls [of sinners], and to torture them with pitiless cruelty. Some have the faces of asses, and are arrayed in black armour, and hold in their hands shearing knives of fire which they thrust into the souls [of sinners] in furious anger. Some have the faces of crocodiles, and have in their hands huge knives, with which they secretly lop off the limbs of the souls [of sinners]. Some have the faces of wild beasts, and tongues of fire which project from their mouths, and their teeth

are of iron. Those who are there seize the souls, and when they have chewed them up in their mouths they swallow them straightway; and afterwards they vomit them into

3 Then the Powers of Darkness go to the soul, and they say unto it, 'Whither wouldst thou go, O wretched soul? Wouldst thou go to heaven? Tarry hither that we may Text mutilated. see what is in thee. If thou dost not, no holy helper will accompany thee.' And I heard a voice up in the height, saying, 'Bring up hither this wretched soul, in order that it may know that the God Whom it hath despised doth exist.' And immediately the soul entered into heaven I heard angels and archangels who were in number tens of thousands of tens of thousands, saying, 'Boast not thyself, O soul, of all the works which thou hast done in the world.' And straightway the mouth of the soul was closed, and it was unable to utter a single word before God. And its angel said, 'Weep with me, O my fellow angels, because no rest shall be given unto the soul wherewith I sojourned.' And the angels answered and said, 'Away with it! Away with it! For from the moment wherein we saw it there hath been a foul smell in our midst.' And they took away the soul to enable it to pay worship unto the God Who created it in His own image and likeness. And its angel made a sign, saying, 'O Lord God

4 Almighty, I am the angel of this soul, and I brought unto Thee its deeds, both those belonging to the day and those belonging to the night; judge it according to its judgement.' And the spirit of the soul said, 'I am the spirit, the breath of life which sojourned with it; judge it according to its judgement.' And the voice of God came unto the soul, saying, 'Where are all the good works which thou shouldst have done? Have I separated Myself even from the unrighteous for a single day, and did not My Son speak unto the righteous and unto all My chosen ones?' And the mouth of the soul was closed, and it could not find a word to utter. And the voice of God came, saying, 'There is no acceptance of persons before God, and the Judgement of Truth is what shall be. He who hath done what is truth, unto him shall truth be done. He who hath shewn mercy, unto him shall mercy be shewn.' And they shall give the soul into the hand of Aftemeloukhos, the Angel who is over the punishments, and he shall cast it into the outer darkness, the place wherein there is weeping and gnashing of teeth, until the day of the Great Judgement. And I heard the voices of the angels and the archangels, saying, 'Righteous art Thou, O Lord, and Truth is Thy Name.'

5 And afterwards I Paul looked, and I saw another soul which had just been brought forth from the body, and two angels held it. And it was weeping and crying out, saying, 'Have mercy upon me, O Judge! This day is the seventh day since I died and was given into the hands of these two angels; but whither they are going to take me I know not.' And the Judge answered and said, 'What didst thou do in the world? Assuredly thy deeds were without mercy, for thou hast been given over into the hands of those who have no mercy. Thou hast not done that which is upright, and that which is upright will not be done unto thee in the hour of thy necessity. Confess the sins which thou hast committed in the world.' And the soul answered and said, 'Lord, I have not committed sin.' And when it had said, 'I have not committed sin,' the Judge said unto it, 'Dost thou think that this place is like the world, wherein each man committeth sin, and hideth his sin from his neighbour? When [souls] appear before the throne of God, the sins of each man, as well as his good deeds, become manifest.' And at that moment the mouth of the soul was stopped, and it was unable to find a single word to utter. And I heard the Judge of Truth saying, 'O angel of this soul, come into the midst.' And at that moment the angel came into the

6 midst, with the bill of indictment of its sins in his hand, and he said, 'My Lord, the sins which this soul hath committed since its youth are in my hand; dost Thou wish me, O my Lord, to recite its sins from the time when it was ten years old?' And the Judge said unto the angel of the soul, 'O angel, I do not seek to know what sins it hath committed since the time when it was ten years of age or fifteen; on the contrary, I only ask thee concerning the sins which it hath committed in this year, the year in which it died. I swear unto thee by Myself, and by My angels, and by My hosts, that if the soul repented in that same year in which it died, I will forget all the sins which it committed in the time that preceded it.'

7 And God called Uriël and Suriël, and said unto them, 'I wish you to bring these souls into the midst'; and straightway they brought them, and the soul looked at them, and recognized them. And God the Judge said unto the soul, 'Dost thou know these [souls] who have been brought into My presence?' And the soul answered and said, 'Yea, my Lord.' And God said unto the soul, 'What didst thou do unto them?' And the soul said, 'A year hath not yet passed since I slew [this soul], and shed its blood on the earth. And this other soul I slew by means of fornication. I took everything which it had by viol-

ence, and I rewarded it with a multitude of evils instead of all the good things which it had done unto me.' And the Judge answered, saying, 'If a man doeth violence to another man, and the man dieth, watch is kept until the man who hath done the violence cometh, and then they (the two souls) are presented before the Judge of Truth so that each one may receive according to his works.' And I heard a voice saying, 'Give this soul over into the hand of the governor of the abyss of Amente, and let him torture it until the day of the Great Judgement.' And I heard the tens of thousands of tens of thousands of the angels praising and blessing God, saying, 'Righteous art Thou, O Lord, and true are Thy judgements.'

8 And the angel answered and said unto me, 'O Paul, thou chosen one of God, hast thou seen all these things?' And I said, 'Yea, my lord.' And he said unto me, 'Follow thou me now, and I will take thee and shew thee the place of abode of all the angels.' Then I went with the angel, and ne he took me to the Third Heaven, and he set me by a gate, and I saw that that gate was of gold throughout. And I saw two pillars of gold before the gate, and there were tablets of gold, which were full of (i.e. covered with) writing upon the pillars. And the angel turned and said unto me, 'Blessed art thou, O Paul, for they shall take thee inside this gate. It is not permitted to every one to enter inside it, [and none doeth so] except the fortunate, and the innocent, and those who have in them no wickedness whatsoever.' And I said unto the angel, 'What are these things which are written upon these tablets?' And he said unto me, 'These are the names of all the righteous who serve God with all their heart.' And I said unto the angel, 'My lord, are their names really written in heaven before they have come forth from the world?' And the angel answered and said unto me, 'Not only are the names of those who serve God with their whole heart [written] in heaven, but the form [of each of them] is in heaven, and the angels recognize it, and they say, "This is [the form of] the man who serveth God with his whole heart," before he leaveth [this] world.'

9 And when the gate was opened, behold, an old man, whose face shone like the sun, drew nigh unto me straightway, saying, 'Hail, Paul, thou beloved of God!' And he smiled and [kissed] me at first, but afterwards he ceased to smile, and he wept. And I Paul was troubled, and I said unto him, 'My father, wherefore dost thou weep?' And he answered and said unto me, 'I am distressed in heart because of this name of "man". Many are the promises

of God and His good gifts, but not very many men shall partake of them.' And I said unto the angel, 'Who is this, my lord?' And the angel answered and said unto me, 'This is Enoch, the scribe of righteousness.' And immediately I had passed inside that place I saw another being, namely, Helias (Elijah), who came and saluted me, and he was smiling; and afterwards he ceased to smile, and he wept. And he said unto me, 'O Paul, come and see, for the labours which thou hast wrought for mankind have been accepted from thy hands. Many are the good gifts of God and His promises, but not very many men shall partake of them; for only at certain seasons, and at certain times, one by one are they fit [to enter] these places.' And the angel answered and said unto me, 'The things which thou hast seen in this place thou shalt not reveal [whilst thou art] in the flesh; but follow thou me, and I will shew thee that which thou mayest make manifest.'

¹⁰ And he brought me out from this gate, and took me to the Second [Gate], and he led me into the firmament, and took me to the place where the sun riseth. And I looked and I saw the foundations of heaven which were [resting] upon a river of water, and the river of water was encircling the whole world. And I said unto the angel, 'My lord, what is this river of water which encircleth all this world?' And he said unto me, 'This is the river "Ocean".' And immediately I had gone beyond Ocean, I discovered that it was the light of the sun that illumined that country, and that the country was seven times brighter than silver. And I said unto the angel, 'What is this place?' And he said unto me, 'This is the country of inheritance. Hast thou never heard [the words], "Blessed are the meek in spirit, for it is they who shall inherit the earth?"' When the souls of the righteous come forth from their bodies to meet God they are placed in this country.' And I said unto the angel, 'Shall this country then appear after a time?' And the angel answered and said unto me, 'When the Christ shall appear in His kingdom, this country [also] shall appear above this, like a breath of the dew. God knoweth all His saints, and the Christ shall reign over [them] for a great number of years, and they shall eat of the good things of the country, the which I shall now shew you.'

¹¹ And I looked out on that country, and [I saw] a river now flowing with milk and honey, and on this side of the river and on that were growing trees that were laden with fruit. And I looked to the east, and I discovered every kind of thing which God had created in that place. I saw palm trees growing

there, and each one was wholly different from the other; some of them were thirty cubits in height, and some of them twenty, and some of them ten, and the ground whereon they were growing was seven times whiter than silver. From the root of each tree up to its heart there were ten thousand branches with tens of thousands of clusters, and there were ten thousand clusters on each branch, and there were ten thousand dates in each cluster. And thus was it also with the vines. Each vine had ten thousand branches, and each branch had upon it [ten thousand] bunches of grapes, and each bunch had in it ten thousand grapes. And there were other trees there, tens of thousands of tens of thousands of them, and their fruit was in the same proportion.

¹² And again I said unto the angel, 'My lord, why is it that the fruits of these trees are tens of thousands of tens of thousands in number?' And he answered and said unto me, 'O Paul, thou beloved of the Christ, God giveth with all His heart unto those who are appointed to receive them (His gifts), that is to say, those who have suffered wrongfully for His Name's sake.' And again I said unto the angel, 'My lord, are these the promised things which [God] hath Prepared for His saints?' And he said unto me, 'There are things which are seven times better than these. I testify unto thee, O Paul, that when the righteous come out of the body, and see the promised things of God which have been prepared for them, they are wont to heave sighs and to weep, saying, Wherefore did the matter come forth from our months, or why was I angry with my neighbour one day?' And I said unto the angel, 'My lord, are there then other promised things which are superior to these?' And the angel said unto me, 'These promised things appertain to the world, and they are kept for men of holy marriage; but those who are chaste and are virgins shall receive the things which are seven times more splendid. As for the things which are there, I will shew them all to thee.'

¹³ And he took me to the eastern side of the river of good things, and I looked and I saw that the water of this river was very much whiter than milk, and I said unto the angel, 'My lord, what is this?' And he said unto me, 'This is the Archêerousa Lake. The City of the Saints which the Father built for His Only-begotten Son Jesus, the Christ, lieth to the east of all these. It is not permitted unto every man to enter therein. And the Archêerousa Lake hath been placed on this road for the following reason: If a man who is a fornicator or a sinner turneth away [from his sin] and repenteth, and bringeth

forth fruit meet for repentance, when he cometh ¹⁴ forth from the body he first of all worshippeth God, and then he is delivered over into the hand of Michael, and he washeth himself in the Archêerousa Lake, and he is then taken into the city to those who have never committed sin.' And I Paul marvelled, and I blessed God because of the things which I had seen. And the angel said unto me, 'Follow thou me, Paul, and I will take thee into the city of the Christ.' And when we had arrived at the Archêerousa Lake he made me embark in a ship of gold, with a prow of silver, and cordage and tackle of gold, and sails of silver; and the ship was inlaid with precious stones, and it was manned by three thousand angels. Then the angels sang to me, and they took me into the city of the Christ, and those who were in the city came forth to greet me with great joy. And I saw the city of the Christ, which shone with light that was seven times brighter than that of the sun. It was built wholly of gold, and was encircled by twelve walls [built of] precious stones; and there was a tower built inside each wall, and the circumference of each wall was one hundred stadia. And I said unto the angel, 'My lord, how great is the stadium of God?' And the angel said unto me, 'The stadium is equal to one stage on the road (or, a day's journey). And in the interior of the city there is every ...' of this

¹⁵ world. And four rivers encircle the city. The river on the western side of the city is of honey, the river on the southern side of the city is of milk, the river on the eastern side of the city is of wine, and the river on the northern side of the city is of oil.' And I said unto the angel, 'What are these rivers which encircle the city?' And the angel answered and said unto me, 'The four rivers which encircle this city resemble the four rivers which are upon the earth. With that which floweth with honey the Phison is to be compared, with that which floweth with milk the Euphrates is to be compared, with that which floweth with wine the Geon (Gihon) is to be compared, and with that which floweth with oil the Tigris is to be compared. And since the righteous do not seek to obtain their freedom upon the earth, and since they suffer hunger, and are athirst, and endure violence for God's sake, for this reason God giveth unto them the good things that are in this city ten thousandfold.'

¹⁶ And when I had gone into that city I found great trees growing before the gate of the city, and there was no fruit upon them, and nothing except leaves. And certain of the men who were under the trees were naked, and

whensoever the trees saw a man they bowed themselves down [before him], and then raised themselves up again. And when I saw them I wept. And I said unto the angel, 'What is the matter of A few words seem to be wanting in the manuscript. ¹⁷ with these [men] that they are not allowed in this city?' And the angel said unto me, 'It is not meet to weep for these more than for all the rest of the world.' And I said unto him, 'What is the matter with these [men]?' And he said unto me, 'These are men who are specially set apart. They do works and they fast, but they are more proud than all other men. They make themselves out to be the only people who are justified, and they treat with contempt those who are their neighbours. If they feel the desire they give salutation to men; if they do not feel the desire they salute no man, no matter who he may be. If they feel the desire they open their mouths to men, and if they do not feel the desire to do so they do not open them. If any one [of them] doeth a favour to a man he exalteth himself over him, saying, "I am he who nourished thee with my goods."' And I said unto the angel, 'Is it not then pride which hath corrupted them, and which doth not permit them to go into the city of the Christ?' And he said unto me, 'Pride is the root of every evil.

¹⁸ These have not made themselves like unto the Son of God Who came in humility.' And I said unto the angel, 'Wherefore do the trees bow themselves low and then raise themselves up?' And the angel answered and said, 'In times of old they were on [the earth], and they worshipped God, and one day they bowed themselves because of the disgrace of man, for they cannot endure the pride which is in him.' And I said unto the angel, 'How were they (the naked men) placed in front of the city?' And he said unto me, 'They were set in this place through the goodness of God. Furthermore, this is the road whereby the saints enter into the city. When the Christ, the King of the Worlds, shall appear at His [second] coming, all the righteous shall find favour with them (the saints), and they (the men) shall be taken into [the city] for a time, but they shall not enjoy full freedom in the same degree as those who have passed their whole time in serving God in all humility.' And the angel drew me to the river which is to the west of the city. In the gate I found Isaiah, and Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, and Amos, and Micah, and the Lesser and the Greater Prophets, and they saluted me inside the city. And I said unto the angel, 'Who are these, my lord?' And he said unto me, 'This is the Road of the Prophets.

19 Every man who loseth his soul for God's sake, and who doth not do what he willeth for the world's sake, when he cometh forth from the body he goeth into the presence of God, and worshippeth Him. And He delivereth him over into the hand of Michael, who taketh him into this city, [where] the Prophets salute him, saying, "He is our son, because he hath done the Will of God upon the earth; he shall inherit these things"...' 20 the good... of the Lord God took me to the river of milk which was to the south of the city, and I found all the little children whom Herod had slain for the sake of the Name of the Christ, and they all kissed me. And I said unto the angel, 'My lord, it is not permitted to every man to abide with these holy children, is it?' And the angel said, 'All those who keep their virginity, and are pure and without blemish, when they go forth from the body are taken to worship God, and they are then given into the hand of Michael, who bringeth them unto this place, and giveth them into the hands of this multitude of little children, who kiss them as their fellow members and brethren, and they receive an inheritance with them in the city of the Christ Jesus for ever.'

21 And [the angel] took me to the river of wine which is to the east of the city, and I found there Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and they kissed me. And I said unto the angel, 'Who are these?' And the angel said, 'When all those who have received strangers hospitably go forth from the body, they depart to the presence of God, and worship Him, and He giveth them into the hand of Michael, who taketh them into the city. And all the righteous salute each man on the way, saying, "O our son and brother, receive ye our hospitality. Come ye and inherit the city of the Lord our God, each according to his work." And each man findeth men to take them into the city of the Christ Jesus, Jerusalem.' And I looked and saw certain men in the gate singing psalms and hymns, and ascribing glory to God, and they were rejoicing greatly. And I said unto the angel, 'Who are these?' And he answered, saying, 'These are they who went to God without the hypocrisy of men in them. All those who rejoice and sing psalms and hymns to God with their whole hearts are brought into this gate, and are set in this city, and they are placed with the saints who sing to the Christ always.'

22 And [the angel] took me into the middle of the city, to the Twelfth Wall (or, tower), and I found it to be the most splendid of them all. There was such great glory in that Wall that no being of flesh could describe the magnificence and splendour thereof. And I said unto the angel, 'Is there not

in this place one part which is the best of all?' And the angel said unto me, 'O Paul, thou chosen one of God, behold, the Second Wall is better than the First Wall, and the Third Wall is better than the Second Wall, and all the Walls are better, each than the preceding, up to the Twelfth Wall.' And I said unto the angel, 'My lord, make me to know the meaning of this matter, for I do not understand it.' And the angel said unto me, 'If there be any man in whom there existeth the least wish to slander, or to feel envy or pride, he is stripped of his honour in the city of the Christ.'

²³ And, moreover, I saw certain thrones of gold which were set about in divers places, and there were crowns of glory lying on the top of the thrones. And I looked and I saw the Twelfth Wall, and I saw ...the thrones, the magnificence of which I cannot possibly describe. And I said unto the angel, 'My lord, who are they who shall sit in this place on these thrones?' And the angel said unto me, 'They are the inept and useless men, and the simple-minded, who make themselves to be foolish for God's sake. They are those who know very little indeed of the Scriptures and the Psalms, in fact nothing except the passages which they hear from the Scriptures through men of God; nevertheless they perform many religious labours, their hearts being right with God. And the righteous who are within the city of the Christ marvel, saying, Look and see these ignorant folk who have no knowledge of the Scriptures, and how they have received

²⁴ this great honour from God because of their foolishness!' And I Paul saw in the midst of the city a large altar which was of very great height, and there was a man standing before the altar, and his face was shining like the sun, and there was a harp of gold and a psaltery of gold in his hand, and he was crying out 'Hallelujah!' and those who were on the gate and those who were on the Wall were answering him and crying out 'Hallelujah!' and the foundations of the city were shaken. And I said unto the angel, 'My lord, who is this who is so mighty?' And the angel answered and said unto me, 'This is David, the father of the Christ according to the flesh. And this [city] is the heavenly Jerusalem, and when the Christ God sheweth Himself in His kingdom, David the king must play music so that the righteous may answer him and cry "Hallelujah!".' And I said unto the angel, 'My lord, why is David the only one who playeth a harp, and why do not all the righteous [play harps]?' And the angel said unto me, 'The Christ, our Lord, sitteth on the

right hand of the Father in the heavens, and David playeth to Him in the Seventh Heaven, according to the manner in

²⁵ which he played upon earth. Without David the Prophet it is impossible to offer up a sacrifice in any place. He playeth the harp over the flesh of the Christ and over His Holy Blood, according to the manner of his doing in heaven.' And I answered and said unto the angel, 'My lord, what is [the meaning of] "Hallelujah?"' And he said unto me, 'Paul, thou master of the Church, rightly dost thou enquire concerning everything. Now the word "Hallelujah" is the Hebrew for "Give glory unto God, Who hath created everything"; and the interpretation thereof is, "Let us bless God together." And I answered and said unto the angel, 'Then any man who saith "Hallelujah" blesseth God?' And he said, 'Yea, [and he also] saith, "Give glory to the Lord.'" And I said unto the angel, 'Then he who saith "Hallelujah" hath no need to translate the word?' And the angel said unto me, 'If a man be suffering from sickness there is no blame [attached] to him if he doth not make answer, and if he hath waxed old there is no blame [attached] to him; but if he be strong and vigorous, and he answer not, this man is arrogant and contemptuous, and he is unworthy to bless Him Who created him.'

²⁶ Then he brought me out of the city into the middle of a wood, and from thence to the Acherausian Lake. And he brought me through a good country to the river of milk and honey, and he brought me to the ocean that supporteth the sky, and he took me up into the sky. And the angel said unto me, 'Paul, Paul, dost thou know where thou art now?' And I said unto him, 'Yea, my lord.' And the angel answered and said unto me, 'Follow me, and I will shew thee where they take the souls of wicked men and sinners when they die.' And I went with the angel, and he took me to the place where the sun setteth, and I discovered the foundations of the heavens firmly laid on the river of water. And I said unto the angel, 'What is [this] river of water whereon the sky resteth firmly?' And he said unto me, 'This is the Ocean. This is the river that goeth round the whole world.' And when I had come beyond the Ocean, I saw nothing whatsoever, in that place except misery, and sighing, and sorrow of heart, and gloom, and darkness, and smoke (or, mist),

²⁷ and destruction. And I Paul looked and I saw a large desolate region which had been dried up by a burning wind, and was awful to contemplate; and it was [full of] pits and deep holes in the ground. There was a pit which

had been dug to a depth of one hundred cubits, there was a pit which had been dug to a depth of fifty cubits, there was a pit which had been dug to a depth of thirty cubits, there was a pit which had been dug to a depth of twenty cubits, and there was a pit which had been dug so deep that [its end] reached the confines of the abyss. There was a pit filled with dragons, there was a pit filled with ice (or, snow), there was a pit filled with pitch and sulphur which boiled up like [the water in] a boiling cauldron, and from which portions of pitch and sulphur

28 pā belched up [into the air] to a height of thirty cubits, there was a pit filled with worms (or, serpents), which stank exceedingly, there was a pit filled with some most horrible liquid, there was a pit filled with fire, the flame of which was like unto leeks in colour, there was a pit the smoke of which rose up to the very firmament, and there was a pit over which the angels of death presided. 29 And I Paul looked and I saw a great river of fire upon the surface of which rolled many waves. And there was a multitude of men and women immersed therein: some were immersed up to their knees, and some were immersed up to their waist, and some were immersed up to their lips, and some were immersed up to their hair. And I answered and said unto the angel, 'My lord, who are these in these rivers of fire?' And the angel answered and said unto me, 'These are they who never governed themselves, and those who never gave away a cup of cold water, and those who never joined themselves wholly to the righteous, and those who never joined themselves wholly to sinners; and they themselves destroyed their own lives upon earth. They were in the habit of passing a few days in worshipping God, and then they would pass a few days in committing sin and in fornication; and they ceased not from their sins until they died in the middle of them.' And I answered and said unto the angel, 'Who are these who are immersed up to their knees?' And the angel said unto me, 'These are they who used to go out of church and occupy themselves with works of various kinds, and commit sin daily. Those who are immersed up to their waists are those who used to receive the Body of the Christ and His Holy Blood, and go away and commit fornication, and ceased not from their sins. Those who are immersed up to their lips are those who used to slander the church and their own houses. Those who are immersed up to their hair are those who were wont to deride each other with crooked counsel, and to behave deceitfully towards each other.'

30 To the west of this river of fire there was a place of torture, which was filled with men and women, and the river of fire flowed on over them. And I Paul looked and I saw a hollow place which went downwards for a depth of thrice ten thousand cubits, and in it souls were heaped up one above the other, and one generation above the other, and they were all heaving sighs and weeping, and saying, 'Have mercy upon us, O Lord,' but no mercy whatsoever was shewn unto them. And I said unto the angel, 'Who are these, my lord?' And he answered, saying, 'These are they who never made God their helper in the time of tribulation.' And I said unto the angel, 'Since there are thirty or forty generations [heaped] one above the other, surely the depth of the pit must be very great?' And the angel said unto me, 'I testify unto thee, O Paul, that this pit goeth downwards, even to the very confines of the abyss, and that it boileth inside it, like [the waters of a boiling] cauldron.' And the angel said unto me, 'O Paul, I swear unto thee by God, that if thou wert to cast down into it a piece of stone it would scarcely reach the bottom in one hundred years.' And I Paul heaved a sigh, and I wept over the whole race of mankind. And

31 p the angel said unto me, 'Why dost thou weep, O Paul? Thou canst not be more merciful than God. For God knoweth that the Judgement will come, and therefore He waiteth patiently for each man until he hath performed his wish upon the earth.' Then I looked at the river of fire, and I saw an old man who was being dragged along, and they immersed him up to his knees. And the angel Aftemeloukhos came with a great fork of fire which had three prongs, and with it he dragged out the entrails of the old man through his mouth. And I said unto the angel, 'Who is this old man who is made to suffer so severely?' And the angel said unto me, 'This is an elder who did not fully act up to the name that had been conferred upon him. He ate, he drank, and he committed fornication, and then went to offer up the Sacrifice upon earth.'

32 And I looked and behold, I saw a little to the other side an old man, whom the Four Angels of wrath were dragging along, and they were running by him, and they immersed him in the river of fire up to his knees, and flashes of fire were beating upon his face like these storm winds, and they did not permit him to say, 'Have mercy upon me,' at all. And I said unto the angel, 'My lord, who is this?' And he said unto me, 'This is a bishop who did not fulfil satisfactorily the duties of his bishoprick. Although the august name of

bishop had been conferred upon him, he did not even for one day give a right judgement, neither did he walk in the goodness of God, Who had conferred his title of bishop upon him, nor did he do good unto the widow and orphan. He was an enemy of man, and the things which appertained to God were not in his heart, and therefore he is rewarded according to his works.'

33 And I looked once again at my side, at the river of fire, and I saw another man who was being immersed up to his knees; his hands were stained with blood, the worms crawled out of his mouth and nostrils, and he was heaving sighs and weeping, saying, 'I am being treated more unjustly than all the others who are suffering torture.' And I said unto the angel, 'Who is this, my lord?' And the angel said unto me, 'This is a deacon who committed fornication with women who did not belong to him, and he did not act rightly before God. He ate the Offerings fearlessly, and he wasted himself in every kind of worthless manner. He held not in reverence the day wherein the title [of deacon] was conferred upon him, and the Blood of the Christ was in his hands. He destroyed his whole life, and he repented not until he died; for this reason he shall abide in these tortures which shall long endure.'

34 And again I looked at my side, at the river of fire, and I saw one by the side of whom [the angels of wrath] were running, and they dragged him along, and they immersed him in the river of fire up to his lips. And a pitiless angel came with a red-hot instrument, and he burned away his tongue and his lips little by little. And I heaved a sigh, and I wept, and I said unto the angel, 'Who is this, my lord?' And he said unto me, 'This is a reader whose duty it was to teach the people, but he did not act in accordance with the things which he read to them, and with the commandments of God.' And again I looked, and I saw pits by the river of fire wherein men and women were immersed, and the worms were eating them, and they were sighing and weeping; and I also wept and sighed. And the angel said unto me, 'O Paul, thou chosen one of God, what seest thou?' And I said unto the angel, 'Who are these, my lord?' And he said unto me, 'These are the people who took usury and devoted their minds to their riches, and did not make God their helper.' And

35pe I Paul saw another region which had been parched by a hot wind, and it was very spacious, and there were men and women also there, and they were gnawing their tongues. And I said unto the angel, 'Who are these, my lord?' And he said unto me, 'These are they who used to slander the Church.

They paid no heed to the Word of God, but provoked God and His angels; therefore they shall receive this torture which shall endure.' And I saw also a pool in the pit which was of the colour of blood. And I said unto the angel, 'My lord, who are those who have suffered [here]?' And he said unto me, ³⁶ 'This is the pool into which floweth the blood of those who suffer torture.' And I saw certain men and women who were immersed [in the blood] up to their knees, and certain others were immersed up to their lips. And I said unto the angel, 'Who are these, my lord?' And he said unto me, 'These are the magicians who worked enchantments on men and women, and they will be left here to suffer until they die.' And I looked again and I saw some other men who were immersed up to their waists, and they were exceedingly black, yea, seven times blacker than sackcloth, and they were low down in the valley of fire, and were suffering grievous torments. And again I heaved sighs and wept. And I said unto the angel, 'Who are these, my lord?' And he said unto me, 'These are the women who used to commit fornication with strange men, although they had their own husbands available, and the men who [used to commit fornication with strange women, although they] had their own wives available. Therefore shall they receive this torture which shall endure for ever.' And again I looked and I saw some tender virgins wearing filthy garments, and the Four Angels were stripping them. And they had collars (or, necklaces) of fire in their hands, and they were putting them on their necks, and they were being taken to places of darkness, and they were heaving sighs and weeping. And I said unto the angel, 'Who are these, my lord?' And he said unto me, 'These are they who defiled their virginity before they were given to [their] husbands and before they were of age to be married, neither did their parents know of their doings. Therefore do they receive this punishment which shall last for ever.'

³⁷ And again I looked and I saw some men and women with their hands and feet cut off in a place of coldness, and worms were devouring them; and I heaved a sigh and wept. And I said unto the angel, 'Who are these, my lord?' And he said unto me, 'These are they who oppressed and wronged the poor and the orphans, and who did not make God their hope and help; therefore shall they receive this punishment for ever.' And I looked again and I saw some others who were exhausted through their craving for water, and whose tongues were parched with thirst, and who were not allowed to drink. And fruits from gardens had been set before them, but they were not permitted to

eat thereof. And I said unto the angel, 'Who are these, my lord, who are not permitted either to eat or to drink?' And he said unto me, 'These are they who broke [their] fast before it had been kept by them; therefore they shall receive this punishment for ever.'

³⁸ And I saw some men and some women suspended head downwards; and great torches of fire were burning before their faces, and dragon-serpents were girt about their bodies and were devouring them. And I said unto the angel, 'Who are these, my lord, who are suffering in this terrible manner?' And the angel said unto me, 'These are the women who used to beautify themselves with the paints and unguents of the Devil, and then go to church to find occasions for committing adultery, and not [to seek] their lawful husbands; and through their deceitful paints and unguents they made God their enemy. Therefore shall they receive this punishment which shall endure for ever.' And I Paul looked again and I saw other men and other ³⁹ P H women who were immersed [in fire], and [lying on] gridirons of fire. They were wearing black raiment, and they were blind, and they were [all] going to one pit, which was filled with fire. And I said unto the angel, 'Who are these, my lord?' And the angel said unto me, 'These are the godless heathen who never knew God; therefore shall they receive this punishment which shall last [for ever].' And I also saw some other men and women laid out upon gridirons of fire, and savage carnivorous beasts were tearing out their entrails and devouring them, and they were not once permitted to say, 'Have mercy upon us.' And the angel who was over the punishments, who was Aftemeloukhos, rebuked them, saying, 'Remember ye the Judgements of the Son of God, which were declared unto you, but unto which ye would not listen; they were described to you, but ye would not accept the report of the same. Therefore it is not the severity of the Judgement of the Son of God, but your own deeds which have brought you to this place of punishment.' And I heaved a sigh and I wept, and I said unto the angel, 'Who are these?' And he said unto me, 'These are the widows and the virgins who have killed the image of God, and who have abused their bodies by means of fornication; and with them, and suffering the same punishment, are the men who had carnal intercourse with them.'

⁴⁰ And their children whom they put to death made an accusation against them to the Angel who is over the Judgement, saying, "Mete out judgement on our parents for our sakes, for they destroyed the image of God."

And although they bore Thy name, that is to say Christian', they did not perform Thy commandments; but they also cast us to their dogs, and to their swine, and did not permit us to grow up into righteous men and to serve God. And the little ones who had been slain were given to the Angel who was over the punishments so that he might take them to a place which was spacious, wherefrom they could see their parents who were enduring the punishments which shall last for ever.' ⁴¹ And I looked again and I saw some other men and women, and they were arrayed in pieces of sackcloth saturated with pitch and sulphur. And serpents of fire were coiling themselves round their necks, and their arms, and their feet, and the pitiless angels were dragging them along, and were thrusting into them the horns of fire which were on their foreheads, and they reviled them, saying, 'It was possible for you to know God, and to worship Him, and ye did not worship [Him].' And again I said unto the angel, 'Who are these, my lord?' And the angel said unto me, 'These are they who withdrew themselves from the world, and who donned the garb of the Christ, but the possessions of the world and the cares thereof made them miserable beings. They never performed an act of charity any day. They never shewed mercy to a widow and to an orphan on the same day. They never received a stranger into their houses. They never did a kindness to their neighbour. Never did a pure prayer of their own ascend to God from them. Never because of their anxiety about their possessions did they act in a right manner before God.'

⁴² And he who was over the punishments carried them from this side to that, and all those who were suffering punishments looked at them. And those who were suffering punishments said unto them, 'We are suffering punishments because when we were in the world Satan was with us, but what do ye here in this place?' And again [the Angel who was over the punishments] sent them to another place, and those who were suffering punishment there also said unto them, 'Right well do we know that we are sinners, whereas ye carry upon yourselves the Name of God, but it is only by word of mouth: therefore shall ye receive this punishment for ever.' And I heaved a sigh and I wept, saying, 'Woe to the race of men! Pol. pi Woe unto the sinner who is born into this world!' And the angel answered and said unto me, 'O Paul, why dost pix thou weep? Wouldst thou be more compassionate than God? God knoweth that there is judgement to come, and for this reason He alloweth each one to do what he pleaseth upon the earth.' And great grief fell

upon me, and [I shed] tears. And the angel said unto me, 'Why dost thou weep, O Paul, before thou seest the Great Judgement? Follow thou me, however, and I will shew thee [punishments] which are seven times more [terrible] than these.'

43 Then he took me to the place where all kinds of punishments were inflicted. He took me to the pit of the abyss, and I found it sealed with seven seals of fire. And the angel who accompanied me said unto him that was over the pit of the abyss, 'Open the pit in order that Paul, the beloved of God, may see it, for he is to be permitted to see everything relating to the punishments which he wisheth to see.' And the angel said unto me, 'Withdraw thyself a little way because thou wilt not be able to bear the evil stench.' And immediately he uncovered the pit of the abyss the strong fumes of an evil stench rose up from the pit, and it was far worse than all the torturings. And I looked down into the pit, and I found that it was filled throughout and heaped up everywhere with masses of fire which were blazing in all directions, and I saw that it would be most difficult even for

44 one person to descend into it without the greatest danger. pix And the angel said unto me, 'When a man is cast down into this pit as a punishment, the remembrance of him never ascendeth before the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and before all the angels.' And I said unto the angel, 'Who are those who are cast down into this pit?' And he said unto me, 'Every one who saith that Jesus hath not come in the flesh, and that He was not brought forth by Mary, the Holy Virgin; and those who say that the bread and the wine over which the Name of God is pronounced are not the Body of the Christ and His Blood; and all those who deny their baptism, and who pollute their seal with violence; this shall be their place of habitation for ever.' Now the distance of each one from the other was a cubit of length.

45 At a distance from the foundation thereof I saw some men and women who were living among ice and snow, and were gnashing their teeth. And I said unto the angel, 'My lord, who are these who are living in this place of torment?' And he said unto me, 'These are they who say that the Christ hath not risen from the dead, and that this flesh [of ours] cannot rise [from the dead].' And I said unto the angel, 'Is there nothing at all except the gnashing of the teeth and ice, which those which are in this place possess? Is there no heat at all here?' And the angel said unto me, 'Nothing at all; ice and snow are the only things that exist in this place.' And I said unto the angel, 'If the

sun were to rise upon them would they become warm?' The angel said unto me, 'If seven suns were to rise upon them they would never become warm, because of the ice and snow which are over them.' Then I spread out my hands, and I heaved a sigh, and I wept, saying, 'It is far better not to have begotten a wicked man upon the earth than to have done so.' And straightway when the men and women saw me weeping they all cried out, and those who were suffering punishments, both those who were inside and those who were outside, wept.

⁴⁶ And I Paul looked and I saw the heavens opened, and I saw Michael, the [Arch]angel of the Covenant, come forth from heaven with all the hosts of the angels, and all the angels cast themselves down on their faces. And when all those who were suffering punishments saw them they wept, and they said unto him, 'Have mercy upon us, O Archangel of the Covenant, thou compassionate one, who dost pray for mankind at all times; the world is at peace through thee, O Michael. We see the Judgement, and we know the Son of God. If only it had been possible for thee to have healed ⁴⁷ *pix* us before we came to this place which is full of suffering! We heard that the Judgement was to take place before we came forth from the body, and we did not occupy ourselves with the things of the world. Permit us, O Michael, to repent.' And Michael answered and said, 'Hear me, O ye who are suffering punishments, and hear Michael speak, who standeth at all times before God. As God liveth, Whom I serve, and as the Lord liveth before Whom I stand, neither a day nor a night hath passed wherein [I have] not prayed on behalf of the race of men. Michael prayeth in heaven, and meanwhile men carry on their plays and amusements upon the earth, and their fornications, and those who are upon the earth do not assist Michael. O men, ye passed all your time upon the earth and did not repent. I am he who maketh entreaty to the Lord until He sendeth to you dew out of heaven. I am he who prayeth unto God until the abyss openeth its mouth, and poureth out water upon the earth, and it giveth its fruits. I testify unto you that when a man doeth one small good thing, I become unto him a strong defence and helper, until he is delivered from punishments. Where now are your prayers? Where is your repentance? Where are your charities which ye have done? Ye have wasted your time which ye have passed upon the earth. Weep ye therefore, O men, and I myself will weep, and the angels also, and Paul also, the beloved of God, will

weep with you. Perhaps He Who is compassionate will grant unto you a little respite.'

⁴⁸ And again those who were suffering punishments lifted up their voices and wept, and again they heaved sighs, according to the commandment of Michael, saying, 'Have mercy upon us, O Son of the Living God.' And Paul himself also cried out, saying, 'O my Lord Jesus the Christ, have compassion upon Thy created beings.' Then Michael, followed by ten thousand angels, cast himself down before God, saying, 'Have compassion upon Thy created beings! Have compassion upon Thine image! Have compassion upon the sons of Adam!' And I looked and I saw heaven shake, even like a tree which is shaken by the wind. And when they had cast themselves down before the throne of God, I saw the Four and Twenty Elders and the Four Beasts cast themselves down. And I saw the altar and the veil cast themselves down, and I heard a voice, saying, 'Why do ye pray to Me and to My ministering angels?' And a voice [spake], saying, 'We make entreaty on behalf of mankind, and we await Thy loving-kindness and compassion.' And I saw the heavens open, and the Son of God came forth from heaven, and He had a crown upon His head. And when those who were suffering punishments

⁴⁹ saw Him they cried out, saying, 'Have mercy upon us, O Son of the Living God. Thou hast given rest to the denizens of pie heaven, and to those who are upon the earth, grant rest even unto us; for from the moment wherein we saw Thee rest hath come to us.' And straightway the voice of the Son of God went forth among all those who were suffering punishments, saying, 'What good things have ye ever done upon earth that I should give you rest? They poured out My Blood for your sakes, but ye did not repent. They set a crown of thorns upon My Head, but ye did not repent. The hands which fashioned you had nails driven through them for your sakes, but ye did not repent. I asked for some water to drink, and they brought unto Me gall and honey. I was nailed to the Cross, but ye did not repent. They pierced My right side with a spear for your sakes, but ye did not repent. All My prophets and righteous men were put to death for your sakes, but ye did not repent. In all these things repentance was given unto you, but ye would not repent. But, for the sake of Michael and My beloved Paul, I do not wish to grieve you, and those (i. e. Michael and Paul) offer up offerings on your behalf, and on behalf of your children and brethren, for there is one among

them who performeth My commandments. And because of My goodness, and

⁵⁰ because I rose from the dead [on that day], I will give unto you rest upon the Lord's Day every week, and during the fifty days which follow the [day of the] Resurrection, whereon I rose from the dead.' Then all those who were suffering punishments cried out, saying, 'We bless Thee, O Jesus, the Son of the Living God, for the day of rest to us is worth more than the whole of our life which we led upon earth before we knew that such sufferings as these existed. If we had known that all these sufferings were to come upon us, we should not have bought, neither should we have sold, and we should have done nothing whatsoever upon the earth. For [what] benefit to us is it to be born into the world? Behold, verily [our life] is [like unto] the breath which each draweth into his mouth! With us [here] there are the tears which we shed, and the worm which is under us, and they cause us more suffering than the judgement under which we are.' And the Angel who was over the punishments rebuked them, saying, 'Why do ye weep and cry out? There is no mercy in us towards you, because ye did not make God your help and hope, and there is no mercy for you in the Judgement on the part of him that sheweth not mercy. Mercy shall reach you only on the night of the Lord's Day, because of Paul, the beloved of God, who hath been brought into this place.'

⁵¹ And the angel said unto me, 'Paul, thou chosen one of God, hast thou seen all these things?' And I said unto him, 'Yea, my lord.' And he said unto me, 'Follow thou me now, and I will take thee into Paradise, and all the righteous will behold thee with joy and gladness, for all the righteous are ready to come forth for thy sake.' And I accompanied the angel, and he caught me up in the spirit, and took me to Paradise. And the angel said unto me, 'O Paul, thou shalt see the place whereunto I shall take thee. Paradise is in that place, the place wherein Adam and his wife transgressed.' And when I had drawn nigh unto Paradise, I saw the beginnings of the four rivers in that place. And the angel made a sign to me, saying, 'This is Phison, which surroundeth the whole country of Eueilat (Havilah). [This is] Geôn (Gihon), which surroundeth the whole country of the peoples of Cush. This is Tigris, which floweth towards [the country of] the Assyrians. [This is] Euphrates, which floweth towards Mesopotamia.' And immediately I had gone into Paradise I saw a tree growing, and the root thereof poured forth water [like]

a spring, and it supplied water to the four heads of the four rivers. And the Spirit of God blew upon the trees, and when the water flowed forth the Spirit cried out. And I said unto the angel, 'My lord, what is this tree which poureth out water?' And the angel answered and said unto me, 'At the time when as yet God had not made the heavens and the earth, nothing at all existed except water; and the Spirit of God used to come (i. e. breathe) upon the water. When God had made the heavens and the earth, the Spirit [breathed] first on the waters, and secondly on [this] tree, and when the Spirit breathed [upon it] the waters flowed out.'

⁵² And the angel took me by my hand, and brought me into the middle of Paradise. He shewed me the Tree of Knowledge of what is good and what is evil, and he said unto me, 'This is the tree through which death came into the world. This is the tree of [the fruit of] which Adam ate, and through which ultimately death came upon every man.' And he also shewed me [another] which was growing in the middle of Paradise, and he said unto me, 'This is the Tree of Life.' And there was a Cherubim with a revolving sword of fire by the tree. And as soon as I stood still to gaze at the beauty of the Tree of Life, I looked and I saw a virgin appear, and three angels who were singing to her. And I answered and said unto the angel, 'Who is this virgin, my lord?' And he said unto me, 'This is Mary, the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, who dwelleth amid this great

⁵³ splendour.' And when she had drawn nigh unto me, she said unto me, 'Hail, Paul, thou beloved of God! Hail, beloved Paul, beloved of angels and men! Hail, Paul, who wast a herald of the truth in the heavens and upon the earth! All the righteous make entreaty to my Son, Jesus the Christ, Who is my Lord, saying, "Grant Thou our entreaty, and do Thou bring Paul up to Thyself, so that we may see him in the flesh, before he cometh forth from the body. And my beloved Son said unto them, "Be patient for a little time, and he shall be with you for ever. And they all said with one mouth, "Do not cause us grief, O our Lord. We desire to see in the flesh Paul, who hath received such a great measure of this great glory, and who supporteth these great ones and these little ones. When each one cometh into this kingdom he asketh whether this one (i. e. Paul) hath arrived in this place. And they say, "One is Paul who is on the earth. He preacheth the Christ with his sweet words, he draweth multitudes to the Christ, and he taketh them to Jerus-

alem, the city of the Christ. Behold, all the righteous are gathered together unto me that they may meet thee.

⁵⁴ I swear by the right hand of my Son, O Paul, thou chosen one of God, that whosoever shall write down in words this Apocalypse, [describing] what thou hast seen in the heavens, shall never taste any torture whatsoever or any of these punishments which thou hast seen in Amente, with the exception of that which must of necessity accompany his departure from the body. Whosoever shall read it in faith, the bill of indictment of his sins shall be torn up and destroyed. Whosoever shall hear it read, and shall keep the commandments of my Son, him shall my Son bless in this world, and He shall shew mercy unto him on the day of his visitation. Many, many times blessed art thou, O Paul. Think not, O Paul, that thou art the only one for whose sake I have come forth, for I testify unto thee that I will be the first to come forth to all who shall do the will of my Son, and I will never permit them to be treated as strangers, and at length they shall meet my beloved Son in peace.'

⁵⁵ And whilst the Virgin was holding converse with me, behold, three other beings came from a distance and they were beautiful in their forms, and their angels were singing to them. And I said unto the angel, 'Who are these, my lord, who rejoice at seeing me?' [And the angel] said [unto me], 'Then thou dost not recognize them, O Paul?' And I said, 'I do not, my lord.' [And the angel] said unto me, 'These are the Fathers of the people, Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob.' And straightway when they saw me they saluted me, and they said unto me, 'Hail, Paul, beloved of God and man! Blessed is the man who is calumniated for God's sake!' And Abraham said, 'This is my son Isaac whom I offered up to God. Behold Jacob, the beloved of God. Because of our knowing God in the world, He did not punish us when we came to Him. Blessed be every man who shall believe through thee! They shall abide patiently on God with sufferings, and with the love of man (i. e. hospitality), and purity, and humility, and tender compassion, and faith towards God. Moreover, we will make a covenant with Him Whom thou proclaimest to this effect: We agree to minister unto all those men who shall believe through thee.'

⁵⁶ Whilst he was speaking to me, I looked afar off, and I saw twelve other [beings], and I said unto the angel, 'Who are these, my lord?' And he said unto me, 'These are the Patriarchs.' And immediately they had come up to me they saluted me, and said unto me, 'Hail, Paul, beloved of God and man!'

God hath not caused us grief in letting us see thee in the flesh, before thou hast come forth from the body.' And each of them repeated his name to me, from Reuben to Benjamin. And Joseph said, 'I am Joseph whom they sold. I testify unto thee, O Paul, that notwithstanding all the sufferings which I have suffered, and all the wrong which they did unto me, I have never kept any evil feeling in my heart against them, even for a single day. Whosoever suffereth wrong for God's sake God shall repay many times over when he goeth forth from the body.'

⁵⁷ And whilst this Joseph was talking to me I looked afar off and saw another being, whose angel was singing to him. And I said unto the angel, 'Who is this angel with the beautiful form?' And he said unto me, 'Dost thou not know this being?' And I said unto the angel, 'I do not, my lord.' And the angel said unto me, 'This is Moses the Law-giver, unto whom God gave the Law.' And when he had come up to me he saluted me and wept. And I said unto him, 'Wherefore dost thou weep? I have heard that thou art the meekest man who ever lived on the earth.' And Moses said unto me, 'I weep because my plants which I planted have neither taken root nor brought forth fruit. My sheep Fcl. which I pastured are scattered abroad like unto those who pivs have no shepherd at all. All the trouble which I took for the Children of Israel is wasted, and all the mighty deeds which I performed for them in the desert they have not understood. I marvel at the uncircumcised strangers and worshippers of idols who have entered into the inheritance of Israel. I testify unto thee, O Paul, that at the time when they crucified the Son of God, Michael, and Gabriel, and the angels, and Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the righteous were weeping. And whilst the Son of God was hanging upon the wood of the Cross they made signs unto me, saying, "Moses, look at thy people and see what they are doing to the Son of God." Blessed art thou, O Paul, and blessed are the people who shall hearken unto thee, and who shall believe at thy preaching.'

⁵⁸ And whilst Moses was talking to me, behold, another twelve [beings] were approaching from afar, and when they came up to me they said unto me, 'Thou art Paul, beloved of God! Verily thou hast acquired glory both in the heavens and on the earth.' And I said unto them, 'Who are ye?' And they said, 'We are the Prophets.' And one of them said, 'I am Isaiah, whom Manasseh sawed in twain with a wood-saw.' Another said, 'I am Jeremiah, on whom the Children of Israel cast stones until they had killed him.' Another

said, 'I am Ezekiel, whom the Children of Israel seized by my legs, and dragged over large stones (?) until my brains were shaken out of my head. Such were the sufferings which we endured, but I wished to save Israel. I testify unto thee [O Paul], that those who inflicted sufferings upon me were the Children of Israel. I used to cast myself down upon my face and pray for them from the morning following the Lord's Day until the whole week had passed, and I cast myself down upon my face until Michael came and set me upright upon the earth. Blessed art thou, O Paul, and blessed is the nation who shall believe through thee.'

⁵⁹ Whilst he was saying these things unto me there came another angel who was exceedingly beautiful in his form. And I said unto the angel, 'Who is this, my lord, for as soon as he saw me he rejoiced?' The angel said unto me, 'This is Lot, [who lived] in the time of Sodom and Gomorrah.' And when he came up to me he saluted me, saying, 'Blessed art thou, Paul, and blessed is thy generation.' And he said unto me, 'I am Lot, who lived in the city of the ungodly, when the angels sojourned with me in the forms of strange men. When the people of my city rose up against them wishing to do evil unto them, I took my two daughters, who were virgins that had not yet known men, and I gave them unto them, saying, "Take them and do whatsoever ye please with them, only do no harm unto these strange men who have come in [under] my roof." And now, the things which each one shall do in this world shall God requite to him many, many times over. Blessed art thou, O Paul, and blessed shall the heathen be who shall believe through thee.'

⁶⁰ And whilst this [angel] was talking to me, I looked, and, behold, another was coming from afar who was exceedingly pne pne beautiful [in his form], and his face was radiant and was bursting with smiles, and an angel was singing to him. And I said unto the angel, 'Is it so that an angel accompanieth each of the righteous?' And he said unto me, 'The angels of all of them sing unto them, and never leave them.' And when the angel had come up to me, he saluted me and said unto me, 'Noble art thou, O Paul, thou beloved of God and man. I am Job who suffered all these sufferings and strokes of ill-fortune, and under them I passed forty years. The sore which broke out in my body was like unto a grain of wheat for three days, and it resembled the hide of an ass, and the worms which came out from my sores when I

measured them were the width of the palm of my hand in length. The Devil appeared unto me three times, saying,

⁶¹[Fifty-two pages wanting] '...and six months, for God loveth a righteous man more than all the world, [and] the angels come and make supplication before Him for rain. And God saith unto them, "Except ye persuade My servant Elijah and he entreat Me, I will not permit the rain to come upon the earth. The sufferings which each endureth for God's sake will God requite unto him twofold. Blessed art thou, O Paul, and blessed are the heathen who shall believe through thee.'" And whilst this angel was speaking Enoch also came and saluted me, and he said unto me, 'The man who endureth suffering for God's sake God will not afflict when he goeth forth from the world.'

⁶²And whilst this Enoch was speaking with me, behold, two other angels came up together, and there was an angel who was running behind them, and was calling out to them, 'Stand (i. e. wait) for me, so that I may come and see Paul, the beloved of God; there will be redemption for us if we can see Paul whilst he is still in the body.' And I said unto the angel, 'My lord, who are these?' And he said unto me, 'This is Zacharias, and [this is] John his son.' And I said unto the angel, 'Then [who is] the other who is running behind them?' And he said unto me, 'This is Abel whom Cain slew.' And they saluted me, and they said unto me, 'Blessed art thou, O Paul, who art righteous in all thy works.' And John said, 'I am he whose head they cut off in prison for the sake of a woman who danced at a feast.' And Zacharias said, 'I am he whom they killed whilst I was offering up the Offering unto God. And when the angels came for the Offering they carried my body up to God, and no man found my body [or knew] whither it had been taken.' And Abel said, 'I am he whom Cain slew whilst I was offering up a sacrifice to God. The sufferings which we have endured for God's sake are nothing, and the things which we have done for God's sake we have forgotten.' And the righteous and all the angels surrounded me, and they rejoiced with me [because] they had seen me in the flesh.

⁶³And I looked and I saw another angel who was taller than they all, and who was exceedingly fair to behold. And I said unto the angel, 'Who is this, my lord?' And he said unto me, 'This is Adam, the father of you all.' And when Adam came up to me he saluted me with gladness, and he said unto me, 'Strength [to thee], O Paul, thou beloved of God, who hast made multitudes to believe in God and to repent, even as I myself have repented, and

have received my glory from the Compassionate and Merciful One.' And after all these things I was caught up into a cloud, and carried into the Third Heaven. And I Paul was greatly afraid when I saw that the angel who was accompanying me changed his apparel (or, form), and that he burst into flames like a fire. And straightway a voice came to me, saying, 'O Paul, thou beloved of God, the things which thou hast seen in this place reveal not unto any man whatsoever, for the things which thou hast seen are things that are not commonly seen.'

⁶⁴ And I looked and I saw a seal (cross?) hanging in a solitary place. There was a ...in a voice of light; and there were seven eagles of light standing at the right side of the altar, and seven to the left of the same. And companies of singers were singing and ascribing blessing to the Father, and tens of thousands of tens of thousands of angels were standing before Him, and thousands of thousands of angels were surrounding Him, saying, 'Honourable is Thy Name and splendid is Thy glory, O Lord'; and the Cherubim and the Seraphim said, 'Amen.' And when I Paul saw them I quaked in all my members, and I fell down upon my face. And, behold, the angel who accompanied me came to me and raised me up, saying, 'Fear thou not, O Paul, thou beloved of God; rise up now and follow me, and I will shew thee thy place.' And the angel who accompanied me took me into the Paradise, and I saw a multitude of men walking about, and they were happy, and were singing and ascribing blessing to God. And they were exceedingly meek, and their faces shone like the sun, [only] seven times [brighter], and the hair of their heads was like unto white wool. There was in that place a vast number of glorious thrones, and the glory of each one of them was different, and the glory of each was greater than that which was next to it. And when I had come up to them straightway [those who sat on them] cried out 'Blessed art thou, O Paul! Blessed are the heathen who shall believe through thee, O thou who art worthy to be brought into these places whilst thou art in the flesh!' And they all saluted me, and I made answer to them, and I blessed God with them.

⁶⁵ And I said unto the angel, 'My lord, what is this place, and who are these men?' And the angel said unto me, 'This is the holy country of the Lord, and these men are all the Prophets who shall live in this place until the Day of Judgement, together with those who have not defiled themselves in the world. And thine own throne shall be in this place, and needs must that thou shouldst see thy throne and thy house before thou goest down into the

world. And in every place throughout all the world wherein thou shalt preach this Apocalypse, there shall be many who shall hear, and shall repent, and shall escape the tortures and punishments which thou hast seen.' And when I heard these things from the angel who accompanied me, I said unto him, 'My lord, indeed I do desire to be in this place, and I will not be disobedient (?). Now shew me my throne in this place.' And the angel took me into a tabernacle of light, and shewed me a throne of glory, before which two angels were singing. And I said unto the angel, 'My lord, unto whom doth belong this throne which is so splendidly glorious, and who are these angels who are singing before it?' And he said unto me, 'This is thy throne, O Paul, and these two angels are Uriël and Sūriël singing before thy throne. Knowest thou not, O Paul, that thy name is renowned among angels who cannot be counted for number? Knowest thou not that every man who shall endure suffering in this world for the sake of Christ's Name, and for mankind, doth God reward sevenfold, and that all the angels rejoice with him?'

⁶⁶ And the angel who accompanied me shewed me a great number of magnificent trees, and there was a multitude of men round about the trees, and their raiment was glorious. And they all cried out to me, 'Hail, Paul, thou beloved of God and man!' and they all saluted me. And I said unto the angel, 'My lord, who are these?' And the angel said unto me, 'These are all the plants which thou hast planted in the world.' And the angel took hold of me, and he said unto me, 'Come, I am going to make thee to see the Paradise of heaven, and thy throne, and thy crown'; and I saw the Paradise, and it was exceedingly wonderful. Three walls surrounded the Paradise of heaven; two [of these] were of silver, and there was a wall of gold between the two walls of silver, one within the other. Each wall was fifty and

⁶⁷ twenty and two cubits in height, and there was a curving (? path (? inside each wall, from east to west, and from north to south. And the Paradise was two hundred and forty-four thousand and four hundred measures along (? the wall. There were two hundred and forty-four thousand strong pillars in it, and each pillar was seventy-two cubits in height. There were eighteen hundred different kinds of vegetables (? therein, and twenty hundred [different kinds] of splendid flowering plants, and forty and five different kinds of sweet-smelling plants, and twelve cypress trees. A wall of stone of the colour of the leek surrounded it. There were twelve hundred gold lamps inside it, and round about it were sixteen [hundred? pillars of silver and marble, and

its door was a single gem (?). On the right side of the door were three eagles, and on the left side were three eagles. And all the Paradise was [lighted with] caerulean blue light, and this light was like unto that of noonday wherein there is no greyness, and the light of God was in it always, and it lighted up every part of it. And the Paradise emitted the odour of garden herbs at the hour of dawn, and it emitted the odour of myrrh at the season of noonday, and when the sun set the sweet odours of all the trees which were in the Paradise flowed forth and spread themselves over the world during the night. The bases of the pillars were planted with malabathrum (cinnamon)

⁶⁸and real styrax plants, and branches of almond trees hung down over their capitals, and they were in number one hundred and forty thousand and eight hundred; and stones of great price were inlaid in them. And all the trees of the Paradise sang praises to God three times daily, namely, at dawn, at the hour of noon, and at eventide. And they all cried out and ascribed blessing to God, saying, 'He is holy, He is holy, He is holy,' three times. 'God, the Almighty, receiveth honour, and receiveth glory!' And the Paradise cried out and ascribed blessing to God. ⁶⁹And the angel answered and said unto me, 'O Paul, hast thou seen the Paradise of heaven and the glory thereof, of the splendour of which no man whatsoever hath been able to discover the end?' And I said unto him, 'Yea, my lord, I have, but I am afraid lest peradventure I may not be worthy to abide in this Paradise.' And the angel answered and said unto me, 'Be strong, O thou who shalt be strong, and thou shalt prevail over the Accuser who shall come in Amente. And thou shalt receive glory exceedingly great when thou shalt go down into the world again. And when the whole race of man shall hear the words of this Apocalypse very many shall repent and shall live. And, moreover, I will take thee and shew thee thy throne, and thy crown, and thy brethren the Apostles.'

⁷⁰And the angel took me before the veil in the holy country. And I saw a throne spread out, and there was lying upon the throne a garment, the preciousness of which was indescribable; and there were slabs of marble upon the throne. And I answered and said unto the angel, 'My lord, of what kind is the place of abode of my brethren, my fellow Apostles?' And the angel took me before the veil, and I saw a great number of thrones and a multitude of angels singing and glorifying God. And I saw a great number of garments and a great number of crowns laid before the throne; and a sweet odour came forth from that place. And the angel said unto me, 'This is the place [of

abode] of thy brethren, thy fellow Apostles.' And I also saw a man wearing white apparel, and there was a harp in his hand, and he stood on the right-hand side of the veil; and he sang and played his harp, and the angels made answer to his songs. And I answered and said unto the angel, 'Who is this, my lord?' He said unto me, 'This is David singing praises.'

⁷¹Pax And I saw in the holy country a place which was set with real sapphires, and that country was white like unto snow. And there was a great number of crowns and a great number of thrones therein; and all those who were in that place wore cloaks and tiaras, and a multitude of angels were singing praises to them. And I said unto the angel, 'Who are these?' He said unto me, 'These are the martyrs who suffered martyrdom for the Name of Christ, through the preaching of thyself and that of thy brethren the Apostles, and they receive very great honours.' And they came to me, and they kissed me, and they said unto me, 'Blessed art thou, O Paul, because thou art held worthy of these places, and we with thee, and because thou art held worthy to see these great wonders which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, and thou hast seen them in the body. Inasmuch as God hath seen the self-restraint under which thou livest, and thy toil and labour in preaching, He hath esteemed thee worthy of these great honours.' And I Paul walked in the Holy Spirit, and I blessed God, saying, 'I bless Thee, the God of the Universe, Who can only be seen in a mystery. Blessed be the glory of Thy Godhead, Honoured One, Who liveth in the honour of His majesty, and [in] His Only-begotten Son Jesus the Christ, our Lord, Who sustaineth the Universe, through Whom the Universe existeth.'

⁷²And the angel of the Lord lifted me up, and brought me [down] upon the Mount of Olives. There I Paul found the Apostles gathered together, and I saluted them, and I declared unto them everything that had happened to me, and the things which I had seen, and the honours which the righteous shall have, and the ruin and the uprooting that shall be to the wicked. Then the Apostles rejoiced and were glad, and they blessed God, and they commanded us, that is to say me, Mark, and Timothy the disciple of Saint Paul, the Doctor of the Church, to do into writing this holy Apocalypse, for the behoof and benefit of others who shall hear it. And whilst the Apostles were talking to us the Saviour appeared unto us from out of the chariot of the Cherubim, and He said, 'Hail, my holy disciples, whom I have chosen out of the world! Hail, Peter, crown of the Apostles! Hail, John, My beloved! Hail,

all ye Apostles! The peace of My Good Father be with you.' Then He turned to our father and said unto him, 'Hail, Paul, glorious writer of Epistles! Hail, Paul, mediator of the Covenant! Hail, Paul, coping-stone and foundation of the Church! Hath thy heart been convinced by the things which thou hast seen?

73 Art thou satisfied to the full by the things which thou hast heard?' And Paul answered, 'Yea, my Lord, Thy grace and Thy love have performed for me great benefits.' And the Saviour answered and said, 'O beloved of the Father, Amen, Amen. I say unto you that the words of this Apocalypse shall be preached in the whole world for the profit of those who shall hear it, Amen, Amen. I say unto thee, O Paul, that the man who shall have provided for the making of a copy of this Apocalypse or shall do it into writing himself, and shall make it a testimony to the generations that shall come after, shall never be shewn by Me Amente and the bitter weeping thereof to the second generation of his seed. And the man who shall read it with faith, himself and his house will I bless, and on him who shall deride the words of this Apocalypse I will take vengeance; let not men read therein except on the holy days, because I have [therein] revealed unto you, O My holy members, all the mysteries of My God-head. Behold, I have already told you everything. Go now, depart, and preach ye the Gospel of My kingdom, notwithstanding that [the end of] your course and of your holy contests draweth nigh. And thou, O Paul, My chosen one, and thou, My beloved Peter, shall complete your course on the fifth day of the month Epêph, and shall be in My kingdom for ever. My power be with you!'

74 Paa And straightway He commanded the cloud to take upon itself the disciples, and to carry them each to the country which He had set apart for him. And He commanded them to preach the Gospel of the kingdom of heaven in every place for ever, through the grace and love for man of our Lord Jesus the Christ, our Saviour, unto Whom be glory, and unto His Good Father, and unto the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever! Amen.

Colophon

75 May this benefit be through Him to the God-loving brother, Psate, a native of the town of Mekra, in the nome of Ermont! May the Lord God of the holy Archangel Raphael and of Saint Paul the Apostle bless this same man Psate, and his wife, and his son, and his business undertakings; and may He

make him to be a joint heir with His saints in His kingdom which is in the heavens for ever! Amen.

P A R T T W O

The Monastery of Saint Macarius

Hugh Evelyn White's translations of the fragments of apocryphal gospels and acts, martyrdoms, lives and homilies found in the Wâdi 'n Natrûn.

New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius

TRANSLATED BY HUGH G. EVELYN WHITE

Manuscripts of the 5th–10th century

English translations of the fragments from the library of the Monastery of Saint Macarius in the Wâdi 'n Natrûn that were bought for the Cairo and the Cambridge collections: apocryphal gospels and acts of the apostles, texts on the Virgin and the archangels, martyrdoms, lives of monks and bishops, homiletic fragments and liturgical fragments. Most of them are broken, so each section is a fragment of a larger work; the dots and brackets are the editor's marks for places where the manuscript is damaged.

APOCRYPHAL FRAGMENT ON ADAM

¹ Thus it was—God approving him (sc. Abel) and his good disposition—that when Cain his brother saw that which he did, he envied him with a wicked envy. He also brought of the firstfruits of his field offerings to the Lord. Whensoever he brought them, he would say in his heart: "God eateth not anything": he would sit down to eat them in the presence of the Lord in his unpardonable greed. God had respect unto the disposition of Abel, but to the Sacrifice of Cain He paid no heed. Now Cain was vexed in heart: his countenance changed through shame. God said unto Cain from Heaven: "Wherefore art thou vexed in heart? Though thou didst well in bringing them, thou didst not well in dividing them. Bethink thee that thou hast sinned." So Cain was wroth against Abel his brother, because God loved him (Abel) more than him. He said unto him (Abel) in the guile of his father the Devil: "Let us go into the field to take our pleasure for a little." For, lo, (as) God made all things in six days, so also He made man a giant, (so that) if he journeyed from the eastern parts, he would come to the western in six days' journey. Therefore Cain journeyed with Abel his brother three days' journey, until he came to the Rock of Golgotha, the place of Jerusalem, the place

wherein there was no town; for as yet there was no man there. Cain the wicked one did this thing that his father might not hear his (Abel's) voice when he should slay his brother.

² When he had brought his brother up thither like a little lamb which is dumb, he trampled upon him with his feet. [...The waters of the Flood] "rolled it, until it came to the place wherein his son's blood was poured forth. When the men saw it, they marveled greatly, saying: This is one of the men of old time:" they buried it in that place. They called it The Place of the Skull unto this day, and they built the city in that place. So when men were multiplied, they turned back to their old sins. But the Son of God could not endure when He saw that the whole image (sic) of manhood would go to perdition. He bowed the Heaven of Heavens and came down: He gave Himself up into the hands of sinners. They condemned Him to death. He endured all torments in [the flesh?...] ³ [Three lines lost.] "They took His cross and fixed it upon the Rock of Golgotha, the place where Adam's skull was buried with Abel his son: they hanged the Savior upon the Cross. (Yet) after all this His Godhead did not separate from His Manhood. They thrust a spear into His holy side, and thereout came water and blood which fell upon the ground. It (the ground) was rent: the depths were troubled, because He unto whom they did all this was God: the luminaries of Heaven were darkened. When the First-created saw all this he marveled and arose and drew near to the Cross to behold that which was come to pass. The Savior stretched forth His holy hand upon him who approached...his arising (?): He [commanded the] Archangel...

FRAGMENT FROM AN APOCRYPHAL GOSPEL

¹ 10 And lo, the days were accomplished that the Virgin should bear Our Savior. She said unto Joseph: "Help me; for He Who is in my womb would come to birth." With the Angels let us praise Him! Recto [He did not resist when the] "soldiers sought Him, nor did He take weapons. Lo, He hangeth in your midst, O my brethren, like one of your own kind. I speak not of a kingdom for a season, but of a kingdom for ever: when He shall have arisen from the dead, He shall reign over all, the living and the dead. For this same cause I say: My Lord, remember me when Thou shalt come in Thy kingdom." Jesus answered: "Today shalt Thou be with Me in My kingdom." Then the impious Gestas rebuked his companion, saying: "[If He were?] not a sinner (?)" Verily

I say unto you that this one (Gestas) also departed and received the portion of Judas in Amenti. Verso

² Pilate, therefore, when he saw that there was in Jerusalem at that time a multitude of people from every nation and every country, showed forth Jesus unto them as the King of the Jews. He wrote an inscription in this manner (and placed it) upon the cross. He wrote it in Hebrew because of the Jews who were in the city and the strangers also; that they might read it when he should have raised it up, that they might not deny it. He wrote in Latin because of the Romans who were in Jerusalem...

THE DESCENT INTO AMENTI

¹ Who is This Who hath trodden down Amenti and hath brought up the dead, and hath made war in the land of Death, and is in state? Who is This Who bindeth and maketh fast in the midst of the brethren, and releaseth them that are in the prison that He may bring them forth from darkness? Lo, This is He Who by His death giveth new life, and, behold, the country of the dead is troubled at His entering into it. Who is This Whom the land of the dead heard and arose, and, lo, the bodies therein were troubled, seeking after their limbs? Who is This Who hath bound the strong ones in their country, the destroyers of the land of Death and Satan? Who is This Who weareth on His head a crown of thorns and is pierced? He hath cast off the corruption of Death. He will not return...

² Be ashamed, O Death, and know that This is the Christ, the Son of God... (l. 6) Not even the demons failed to know Him upon Golgotha, and the elements knew Him when they quaked at His voice. By the unveiling of His flesh He hath confounded powers and authorities and astounded them in that they knew Him upon the Cross. Had it not been for the Crucifixion, they would not have known the Son, Who He was; but at the Crucifixion they all beheld and knew Him, every one. Judas himself not even... the demons who knew the Son of God. For he did not take... upon himself to know Who it was Who in His weakness showed us the power of His mightiness, and at His Crucifixion received the adoration of the Gods. On that (i.e. the Cross) whereby all the strong ones are laid low they raised Him up and glorified Him...

³ [(The souls in Amenti cry out to Christ)... And another said: "Let] Thine abundant mercy [come] speedily Recto unto me, my Lord." Another (said): "Deliver my soul from the depths of Amenti." Another: "Bring my soul out

from the depths of Amenti." Another: "Bring my soul out of this prison." Another: "Thou wilt not leave my soul in Amenti." Another: "Let my life come up from destruction, O Lord my God." Now when Christ Whose compassion is abundant heard them, He saluted (?)... For this cause God the Word visited all men who were in the flesh through the medium of flesh, there being therein (sc. in the flesh) a reasonable soul. But as for the souls which were separated from their bodies, He appeared unto them in Amenti through the medium of the holy divine soul which is separate (from the body). Therefore let us haste to go down to Amenti in our understanding that we may behold how with... might He seized authority... at that time...

4...and more than she sought. Peter wept and asked forgiveness of Thee, and Thou gavest him the keys of the Church of them who are in the Kingdom of Heaven. For such is Thy... upon them who have been cast away from of old, and upon them who had not there any hope of salvation in Thee, and upon them who came alone unto the land of Amenti by reason of sin, in that Thou hast revealed unto them the greatness of Thy love for man. For this cause I say and will not cease to say: "Quicken me for Thy mercy's sake. For in death there is none that remembereth Thee. Who shall be able to show Thy praise in Amenti?" For this cause I hasten, for this cause I prepare, for this cause I labor, knowing that there draweth nigh unto me "the end of my life. Shall I confess God at all in Amenti?... There is no deliverance after death, there is no deliverance in the grave. For my life is a...; and while its course(?) passeth, there is none to contend(?)... and to gain the crown in that place; while the night taketh hold on me ere yet the market with its goods is opened. Harken unto that which the Scripture saith concerning all men who end their lives (well): For death..."

5 "Prepared is the bride-chamber, prepared are the victuals made ready for the marriage-feast, the tabernacles and the everlasting habitations are prepared. Opened are the treasuries of good things, already prepared is the everlasting Kingdom of the Heavens. The good ones stand looking down upon men." While the true Potentate, Christ, was speaking these and such like words, He raised up Adam whom He had reconciled with Himself; and He raised up Eve together with him. And He raised up also many bodies of the Saints who slept from of old, and He brought them forth from the tombs. And they preached the Resurrection "of the Lord after three days; the which took place to the joy of us, the faithful; and when we beheld it, we welcomed

it. And now let us exult with the Angels and hold festival with the Archangels. Let us give glory with them unto Him Who hath raised us up from destruction, even Christ.

6 To Whom belongeth glory and might together with His good Father and the Holy Spirit, the Giver of Life, now and at all times and throughout all ages. Amen.

FRAGMENTS OF AN APOCALYPTIC GOSPEL

1 that there was to be an earthly Kingdom of feasting and good cheer, as also did Irenaeus. In the latter half of the second century the fanaticism of the Montanists discredited belief in the earthly Millennium, and it was sapped by the allegorizing teaching of Origen at Alexandria. The belief also finds expression in the Apocalypse of Paul—whatever be the date of that work—; though 'a new earth' or mystic 'land of inheritance' is to be the scene of the Thousand Years' reign. But while Alexandria and other intellectual centers might philosophize and spiritualize, the simple and illiterate peasantry of Egypt retained the material beliefs which alone were intelligible to them. Before 260 A.D. an Egyptian bishop, Nepos, led a reaction in the Arsinoite nome against the Origenistic school, teaching belief in the Thousand Years as a period of bodily luxury and delight. The movement was formidable enough to call for the intervention of the Archbishop, Dionysius, who in confuting it impugned (as others had done) the authenticity of the Revelation, the corner-stone of the Chiliastic doctrine. Very possibly the opinion, though outwardly silenced, remained unshaken in the country villages; but it never again found an articulate champion in Egypt. Methodius of Tyre (early fourth century) and Apollinarius of Laodicea (c. 368 A.D.) were the latest exponents of Chiliasm in the Near East, but do not seem to have been connected with Egypt.

2 Now our fragments certainly represent an attempt to express in authoritative form the Christianized belief in the Millennium, and, as was usual, the belief has been embodied in a 'Gospel' or 'Revelation.' To produce such a work the compiler has selected passages or episodes from the Johannine Revelation, and after working them up to suit his purpose, has made them the backbone of his narrative. But—perhaps because the Revelation was open to challenge—he has also worked in strands from unimpeachable sources: such are the resurrection of the righteous and their assumption to meet the Lord (fol. 116), the Coming of Christ in full view of the sinners and the severance

of the wicked from the just (fol. 116), and the introduction of Chorazin and Bethsaida (fol. 117). Further instances will be found in the Notes. Other elements are apparently either invented—e.g. the 'blessing' pronounced by the Father (fo. 112)—or are derived from Old Egyptian beliefs, the Judgment in Amenti (fo. 117) being a notable instance of the latter. The presence of this typical Egyptian belief suggests that the 'Gospel' is Egyptian in origin, or at least extensively worked over by Egyptians; and the play (if it is deliberate) on the words *cobr*—*cebrus* (fo. 117 ll. 9 f.) points in the same direction.

3 If this is so, we have here fragments of an Apocryphon of local origin upholding a definite belief not known to have been publicly championed in Egypt after the second half of the third century. Though our leaves contain nothing distinctly pointing to this period, neither (I think) do they show marks of later date. Possibly, therefore, the 'Gospel' is to be connected with the anti-allegoristic movement headed by Bishop Nepos in the Arsinoite Nome. Conjecturally, but only conjecturally, we can go a step further and identify the original work with the apocryphal book ascribed to Nepos and entered on the black list in the Decree of Gelasius. If so, the fragments assume something of historic importance. The 'Gospel' was doubtless attributed to some venerated name by those who used it, but on whom it was fathered we cannot tell. In fo. 116 Bartholomew is introduced, but quite without significance; nor does the only other definite personal reference (to Mary, fo. 141) furnish any clue to the authorship.

41. "...Thou shalt remember My head and My right hand, that Thou mayest say: Blessed be My Father Which is in the Heavens." For lo, every one shall say that I and Thou together are one. For Thou art the form of My Godhead, the express image of My essence and My might, with one kingdom, one dominion and one power. When Thou shalt go down upon the earth that Thou mayest hold festival with the righteous in the Thousand Years of Thine inheritance, there shall come unto Thee the angels and the great powers of the Heavens... that they may spend good days (?), that Thou mayest delight Thyself with Thy holy ones upon the earth. "The door of the Heavens shall stand open, while good things come down upon the world from them who are on high, that they may remain with them, (even with) the saints who shall eat of them. They shall know how far above the good things of earth are those of My kingdom."

5 And after that My Father shall have blessed Me, hear the manner in which I shall come. Michael and Gabriel and Raphael shall sound the trumpet before Me at the command of My Father. Then shall the host of Heaven crown themselves, they shall raise a chant before Me, saying: "Ye angels rejoice, and ye Heavens hold festival; for the Kingdom is of the Lord and of His Christ." "Recho" [I will raise up the bodies of My martyrs...], "and My pure virgins, and the continent who finished (their course) in purity. They shall stand upon their feet, their souls returning into them in a moment. The Angel of the Presence shall comfort them all: he shall take them up upon the Chariot of the Cherubim: he shall carry them up to Heaven, that they may walk with Me in their flesh upon the clouds of Heaven. They shall behold Me with them as I come down from the gates of the Heavens—even the sinners who were numbered with the anti-Christ: these are they who shall be upon the earth in the days of My Appearing."

6 "Verso Bartholomew answered and said: My Lord, 'wilt Thou that... in the days of Thine Appearing? If the righteous shall be upon the earth for the Thousand Years, where shall the sinners dwell? Surely they will not live with the righteous of Thine inheritance?'" The Savior answered and said: "In the day when I come upon the clouds of Heaven, all the pure ones shall be with Me from Adam, and Abraham, and Isaac and Jacob, and all the righteous: I will set them before My face. And Mistrael, the Angel of Wrath, shall gather together all the sinners to the western part of the whole earth, that he may remove them to the regions which are without, unto the place which is anti-Christ's. "There shall be a Pillar of Light, like unto silver, in Amenti: all the multitudes of mankind shall be brought unto the Place of Judgment. But ye upon your thrones within the wall shall order the judgment. But the rest of the righteous—they who shall not be able to attain unto the measure of the judgment—shall sit upon a Pillar of Light, that they may behold them who do judgment and them who have judgment done upon them.

7 In that day I will cause the Angels of Wrath to go forth in the whole world, that they may bind the anti-Christ and them that are with him and cast them into chains of fire. Straightway the Shameless One shall wax wroth, the Great Devil shall arise: 'he shall show himself forth in the world, he shall cause error, he shall make the multitudes to err, (saying): I am God; there is none other save me.' He shall go up unto the cities, wherein I did My mighty works and they believed not on Me, Chorazin and Bethsaida: he

shall lead forth a multitude following after him and crying out: 'Thou art God, our Christ and our King.' Then Enoch shall say unto them in that day: 'This is not God: believe not on him! But this is the Son of Iniquity: this is the Devil, who from the beginning hath led men astray from life. Lo, in the land of the Inheritance shall the Christ do judgment'..."

⁸ "Retto..." and Enōs and Nōe and Iaphet and Melialeēl. He made them to stand up in His presence in the midst of the Angels of Glory, and said unto them: 'Lo, the works of the Devil increase in Sodom and Gomorra: his abominations increase in them. What will ye that I should do unto them, O my righteous ones? I will cast upon them fire and brimstone that I may consume them to their foundations.' "Verto Then the righteous wept in the presence of My Father, saying: 'O God and Father of Wisdom, the Lord of Virtues and of Spirits, pardon them that Thou mayest show them the way, that Thou mayest bring them back to Thee; because the Devil hath led them astray through his wicked works.' My Father said unto them by the mouth of a Seraphim—for lo, it is not possible (for any) to behold My Father save the Cherubim who are His council, and all the pure ones—My Father said: 'O My chosen, the righteous, the word hath gone forth from My mouth: I will consume them, I will consume them; because Satan hath exalted himself in his workings, saying: "Mine is the whole earth: the place wherein I wish to be, (there) I will be. Lo, I choose for myself the land of Sodom: I am therein." Lo, now I will consume them and destroy them to their foundations'..."

⁹ "[...spreading] 'forth our hands we prayed, and He uttered a prayer. The earth quaked and the whole city bowed to this side and to that. And if ye wish to hear that prayer which He uttered in Chorazin, arise and beseech Him to declare it unto you together with the mighty works which He wrought upon the (sic) bodies until He raised them up, that ye may hear and marvel." Then the Apostles all hastened to our Savior and kissed His hands, saying: "Our Lord and our Teacher, we would not that any man should speak with us, save Thee. For lo, we wish 'to hear Thy sweet voice at all times. (As for) Mary, our sister, we find her at all times to speak with us; but (as for) Thee, there are two more days which Thou wilt spend among us ere the Pentecost is completed, and after that Thou wilt go up into the Heavens from among us."

¹⁰ The Savior answered and said: "O My disciples, though ye say that when I shall have gone up into the Heavens, ye will find Me no more to speak with

you; verily I say unto you that every time that ye shall ask a question, everything which ye shall ask in My name and the name of My Father, I will come straightway to declare [it unto you]..."

APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF THE APOSTLES: THE TRAVELS OF SAINT JOHN

¹not deserve to live! If thou canst not serviceably perform a task, then why didst thou undertake it eagerly, leaving me to undo your carelessness? Art thou come hither to mock Romanna, her whose fame reaches unto Rome? Thou shalt not be able to escape me; for thou art my servant. In eating and drinking thou delightest thyself, but for doing work thou art remiss. O thou ill-favored one, change thy disposition, that thou mayest serve Romanna." Now when I heard these things which she said to John dealing him sore blows the while, "I was in great sorrow of heart and grief. But John said unto me: My son, Prochorus, wherefore art thou perplexed? For thou knowest that we set out boldly on the sea, and art thou grieved in heart at a single buffet from a woman and a little anger? Get thee to the work assigned thee, and perform it cheerfully. For our Lord Jesus, our Maker, was buffeted: they spat in His face, they scourged Him, they crucified Him. Us, even us, His handiwork, He Himself hath redeemed with His blood, and gladly 'became like unto us: and He told us all these things beforehand. But in His patience let us possess our souls."

²Now when he had thus spoken unto me, I went my way and toiled at the task appointed me by Romanna. And when the morning of the next day appeared, Romanna came to John and spake unto him in this wise: "If thou needest aught else for the body, I will give it thee: only give heed to thy work properly." John said unto her: "I have enough for the needs of the body; and as for the work, we will attend to it." She said unto him: "Then why do many (complain of thy neglect?"). [John explains that he is unused as yet to his task. A demon in the guise of Romanna appears threatening and reviling John.] ("...depart) from this place. I by no means wish that thou shouldest serve me more." But John knowing through the Spirit that it was a demon, prayed in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. And straightway the demon fled away ashamed.

³Now on the morrow Romanna came saying unto John: "Many tell me concerning thee that thou payest no due heed to thy work. But thou doest thus of thy perverse wish that I may release thee from this place. And The demon is speaking. thou canst not depart again out of my hand. If thou

shouldest seek to escape from me, I will not leave one of thy members whole." And in "all this, John did not answer her. But when she perceived his patience and gentleness, she thought to herself that he was a simpleton, and spake unto him with harsh speech, reviling him and saying unto him: Art not thou my slave, O ill-favored one? What sayest thou? Dost thou not admit thy slavery? Answer me!" And John said unto her: "Verily I am thy slave, I the fire-man, and also Prochorus the bath-man." Now Romanna that accursed woman had a friend who was chief among the judges, among them who are called scholastici. She betook herself unto him and spake with him saying: "Two slaves of my parents, whom they bequeathed unto me, (ran away) many years ago; and now they are come (back) to me, confessing, 'We are thy slaves.' Is it possible for me to establish afresh the sale of them?" The scholasticus said to her: "If they say: 'We are thy slaves since the time of thy parents,' thou mayest take three trusty witnesses unto them, in order to establish securely the fact of their purchase."

⁴ But John through the Spirit was aware of this and said unto me: "Know, my son, that this woman desireth us to admit to her that we are her slaves. Now let us not be grieved at this thing, but rejoice the more, and let us do so (as she bids); that by these means Our Lord Jesus the Christ may show this woman whose disciples we are." When John had so spoken, Romanna came in in great triumph and straightway seized upon John, saying: "O runaway slave, why when thy mistress entereth in dost thou not come forth unto her to do obeisance to her?" [John and Prochorus admit that they are the slaves of Romanna. The bath-house is haunted by a demon who thrice a year strangles the first person to enter.] (Now the owner of the) bath-house, Dioscorides, used to observe the day on which these things occurred. This man had a son, eighteen years old, very comely in form, named Domnus. And he used to keep guard over him on the days when the mischief was to occur, and would not allow him to go to the bathhouse on that day. So then after we had spent three months at the bath-house, the son of Dioscorides entered into the bath-house alone to bathe. And I went with him, having the utensils in my hand and waiting on him. And straightway, when he had entered in before me, the demon strangled him.

⁵ And when his servants knew of it, they came forth weeping and saying: "What shall we do? For our lord is dead." And when Romanna heard it, she cast her mantle upon the ground and tare the hair of her head, saying: "Woe

is me, wretched that I am! What shall I do henceforward? With what face shall I look upon the face of Dioscorides? Or how shall I answer him, miserable that I am? But as for him, if he shall hear that his son is dead, he too will die. For my lord Domnus was his only son. O great Artemis, help; that life may return unto this youth through thy power. For we know all, both men and women of Ephesus, that it is thou who reignest over all. I beseech thee raise up thy servant Domnus." And she kept tearing the hair of her head from the third hour of the day unto the ninth hour. And there was no life in the youth.

6 Now there was a great multitude assembled because of the lad, some lamenting for the boy, and others wondering at Romanna and the way she acted in her grief. And when John was come forth from the stoke-hole, he said to me: "Prochorus, my son, what is this tumult in the city today by reason of this woman?" But when Romanna saw him speaking with me, she rushed (upon him) and seized him, and said to him: "O wizard, thy sorceries are revealed! For because of thee my goddess hath withdrawn herself from me." And she dealt him a buffet, saying: "O wicked slave, that art come now to mock me! Dost thou rejoice over that which hath befallen my son? What sayest thou, O worthless slave?" When John had heard these things from Romanna, he departed into the bath-house. [John restores the boy to life: Romanna, Dioscorides and others are consequently converted. A demon takes the form of an imperial official commissioned to arrest John and Prochorus, and bribes two of the city guards to aid him.]

7 (The demon said) "unto them: Swear to me by the great Artemis that in death and in life ye will work with me, and I will show you. And they swore unto him: "We will stand by thee in all things. And he showed them a great load of gold, saying: "My comrades, do your utmost, and, lo, I these (monies) I have prepared for you in return for your pains. And they said unto him: "Show us thy business and be not anxious. He said unto them: "I, poor wretch, am a man of Caesarea in Cappadocia in Palestine (sic). I am an adjutant of a comentaresius, and there were delivered unto me two men, wizards, from Jerusalem: the name of the one was John, and the name of the other was Prochorus. Now I cast them into the prison. And on the fourth day the archon asked for them; and, lo, they were shown to have wrought wicked and harmful deeds. And when the archon saw the multitude of their evil deeds which were manifested, he sent them again to the prison, that by ex-

amination of them he might know of a certainty concerning the evil deeds which they had committed. Now when I had removed them to cast them into the prison, they escaped out of my hands by wicked sorcery. And when I informed him who was over me of the matter, being vexed with me he said: Depart, wretched man, and seek after them.

8 If thou dost not bring them to me, thou shalt die miserably; and if thou dost not find them, do not return to me. For I know the wrath of the archon against me. And he was showing them the semblance of a pile of gold, saying: "I have heard from a number of men that they are in this region, and for this cause I am come to this city. And he began to weep, "saying: My wife and my children and they of my house—I have left them behind me, and lo, now I wander in this strange land. But consider us, my good comrades, and take pity on my condition as a stranger. And the guards said unto him: "Be not troubled, comrade. Only, are the wizards in this place? He said unto them: "Yea; but I fear lest perchance they escape from this place by reason of their wicked art, that is, sorcery. But do thus, my good comrades. Cast them into some place and let no man know it, that ye may slay them secretly and receive these monies which I have brought away with me."

9 But they said unto him: "It is much better for thee if they be taken, that thou mayest bring them to thy country; for if they be killed, how wilt thou return to thy city?" But he said unto them: "Slay them, my good comrades; and I do not wish to see my city ever, nor to behold it again." And they agreed with him to slay them and to receive at his hand the semblance of money. Now the holy John knew through the Spirit that which the evil spirit did. And he said to me: "Myson, Prochorus, I would have thee know and prepare thy 'soul for certain trials. For lo the demon who is in the Temple of Artemis stirreth up reproach and great affliction against us. For, lo, he hath raised up two of the guards against us, having spoken evil to them concerning us. And Jesus, my God, hath showed me everything which the demon hath spoken against us. Be strong of heart, therefore, my son Prochorus, and prepare thyself for these things."

10 So while John was telling me these things, there came to us the two men who were of the guard, and seized us. Now Dioscorides was not there at that time, 'but was gone to his house on some public business. And John said unto them: "For what cause do ye this?" And they said: "For an evil art, that is, sorcery." But John said: "And who is he who accuses us of these things?"

They said to John: "We will take you to the prison until you meet your accuser." But John said unto them: "Ye may not take us wrongfully. If ye have not here our accusers before our faces, why then do ye vainly this idle thing?" But they 'dealt John a buffet. And as they dragged us away, they did not take us into the prison, but took us to a house apart, that they might kill us, even as the evil demon had enjoined upon them. But Romanna made search for Dioscorides. So when that man heard her, he arose in haste and came and delivered us. And he spake harsh words to the guards, saying: "It is not lawful for you to imprison any man unaccused and unless he who accuses them appears face to face with them—much more 'since they are not in the public prison, but in a private house, so that ye may plot evil against them. Behold now, these men (shall be) in my house; and if there is any man who accuses them, let him come and take them, and let them be judged according to the law." And Dioscorides took us to his house.

11 But the guards said to one another: "Let us go and bring hither their accusers (sic), and then we shall be able to get justice." Now in dealing with this matter alone, Dioscorides was rough with them. So they went to the place where the demon "was sitting—he who claimed to be one of the guards and an adjutant of a comentaresius—, and they did not find him. They fell into great and unendurable lamentation. They sat down in that place, saying: Woe unto us! What shall we do? For that man is not here, and if Dioscorides shall find us lying (?)—for he is a man of great power—perchance he may deal hardly with us." And they were in that place lamenting. And while they were so speaking, there came to them (the demon...) [The demon stirs up the people of Ephesus against John and Prochorus. At the prayer of John the temple of Artemis falls down and the demon is cast out. The two are now brought before the magistrates of the city accused by a Jew, named Mareôn.]

12[And the magistrates said:] "What have they done that appertains to the working of sorcery?" And Mareôn declared unto them: "A man of the guard who came from their country seeking them, he gave information concerning them and the things which they did in that place." Then they said to Mareôn: "Let the man who came, of whom thou speakest, appear, that he may declare the truth concerning them. As for these men, let them be cast into the prison until that man appear, to speak the truth concerning them." Then they cast us into the inner prison, securing us with fetters. But the multitudes went about through the whole city seeking for him who was called

one of the guards. And they kept seeking for him by means of heralds, who are those who cry out. And when these could not find him, after three days they (sc. the people) came to them who governed the city, saying: "We have not found the man who knoweth the truth concerning these men." But the rulers of the city said unto them: "Then we cannot hold strangers in the prison if their accusers are not here to bring an indictment against them."

13 And they who controlled the city sent and let us go, casting us out and commanding [us not to stay in the city]. [John and Prochorus retire to Marmareôn, but are bidden by Christ to return to Ephesus, whence John should be transported to the Isle of Patmos. The sufferings and achievements of John are more fully recorded elsewhere.]

APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF THE APOSTLES: THE DEATH OF SAINT JOHN

1[... are written] down in other (works) in an exceeding great discourse which we call Kamatike, that is to say, The Sufferer. And for all those things which come upon us we give glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen. wonders innumerable through the Name of Our Lord Jesus the Christ, and had brought back almost the whole country from the pollution of idols, and had brought them from the bitter servitude of Satan to the knowledge of Our Lord Jesus the Christ and of His good Father and of the Holy Spirit, and filled the whole country 'with Churches of the Christ, assigning unto them a multitude of Bishops and Priests and Deacons, while moreover the faith of Our Lord Jesus the Christ and knowledge of Him spread and increased among them all; and after that all the holy Apostles had finished their course—Peter being crucified in Rome, and Paul beheaded, and Mark in Rakoti drawn for two days until he died: in a word, each one in the country whither the Lord had sent him (having perished) under a multitude of afflictions and by various deaths—the blessed John (still) lived in this world for a number of years down to the reign of Domitian. He spent seventy years in the body after the Resurrection of the Lord and became an old man, exceeding heavy. He did not taste the bitterness of death by the sword or by any other instrument of execution, because the Lord loved him greatly according to his merit; as it is written in the Gospel. For he was the beloved of the Lord, he who was found worthy to rest upon His bosom...

2[God purposes to give rest to John. The Apostle addresses the believers at Ephesus and, after administering the Eucharist to them, causes Prochorus

and others to dig a grave outside the city. He then utters a thanksgiving to God.] '... 'Who deliverest at all times those who with all their heart long for salvation; Thou who didst give Thine own self, that all living things might know Thee; Thou Who hast care for all Thy creation, down to the smallest creature, and forgettest none (of them); Thou Who didst cause the wild and waste soul to become tame and gentle; Who didst reveal Thyself to her when she was dead, and redeem her for Thyself when she was defiled with the filth of sin, and didst unite her with Thyself as a pure bride when she was defiled with the uncleanness of her iniquities and wholly vanquished by Satan; Who didst give her Thy hand and raise her up from the fall caused by her enemy, making her to guard (?) against him, and casting him down under her feet; Thou Who alone art pure and abidest in them that are pure, Jesus the Christ, my King, the only Gracious One, Joy of them who are in the Heavens, Protector of them who are upon the earth, Dread of them beneath the earth, Delight of all them that are Thine; Who preservest them who are upright with their whole heart; Who takest to Thyself in glory them who are worthy;—take me to Thyself also according to Thy word and Thy promise unto me of old, that Thou mayest give me repose..."

3 [After ending the thanksgiving, John bids his companions return to the city with a last message to the brethren.] "When we heard these words, we kissed his hands, weeping with a bitter weeping. And when we had left him in the pit, we went unto the city and told the brethren everything; and they straightway went forth with us to that place. And as for him, the holy Evangelist, we did not find him; but we found his garments and his sandals, sprinkled over with dust which covered over the pit wherein we had left him, (that is), the place into which he had descended. And we marveled at that which was come to pass, (for) we did not recognize the place of the pit wherein his body was buried, because of the abundance of the dust which was gathered over it and which covered the whole spot. "And so we returned to the city giving glory to Christ our God, Who doth vouchsafe such grace as this to them that are worthy of it, Who glorified His beloved, the holy and pure Apostle and Evangelist John, with this form of death, marvelous beyond the deaths of the rest of the Apostles.

4 And for these things we laud and we glorify our good God, our Lord Jesus the Christ, our true King, with psalms and praises and spiritual songs. For to Him fitly belongeth glory, together with His good Father and the Holy

Spirit, the Giver of Life and consubstantial with Him, both now and at all times and for ever and ever. Amen.

APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF THE APOSTLES: THE PREACHING OF PHILIP AND
PETER

1 of the Lord." "And straightway the gate came in together with the pillar which was upon it and became (part) of the building in the presence of the whole multitude; and no sound of it was heard at all. And Philip turned himself unto the multitudes and said unto them: "Lo, we will build the house of the Lord. Let the children who are virgins come to work upon the house of the Lord: after that, let us all work." And the whole multitude, men and women, all came to work upon the house of the Lord. Now the Apostles were in the house of Karron, the ruler of the city, rejoicing at the faith of "the whole multitude. At that time the Savior took the form of a man of light and came and spake unto them: Hail, Peter and Philip, my honored Apostles! See ye not the multitudes which believe? Now therefore go forth unto them that ye may teach them the word of life. Only be not neglectful. Whatsoever ye shall ask, I will give it unto you. My peace be with you at all times." And when Jesus had said these things unto them, being in the form of a man of light, He went up into the Heavens in glory.

2 Then the faces of Peter and Philip, "the holy Apostles, shone with the glory of Jesus which He had revealed unto them. And when they came forth, the whole multitude fell at the Apostles' feet and worshiped them. But the Apostles raised them up and taught them, declaring unto them the faith of the Lord Jesus the Christ and (exhorting them) to depart from their former sins. And all the multitudes pressed upon the Apostles desiring to receive blessing at their hands, especially when they saw the glory of Our Lord Jesus the Christ which surrounded them. Now there was also a man, possessed by a demon, who cried out with "a loud voice, saying: I beseech you, holy Apostles of Christ, do not torment me. I will come out of him." Then the demon cast the man upon the ground, and after that came out of him. But Peter and Philip commanded the demon not to return unto him for ever. Then the man who was cured cast himself down at the Apostles' feet and began to kiss them.

3 Now Philip and Peter took the multitude to the waters and baptized them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. And the Apostles said to the multitude: "Lo, the Lord hath forgiven

APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF THE APOSTLES: THE MARTYRDOM OF PHILIP

¹you your sins which ye committed in ignorance. Do that which is good also henceforward, that ye may receive the good things of the Kingdom of the Heavens." And they all cried out saying: "We give glory to Thee, O God of Peter and Philip, because Thou hast had compassion on us and had mercy upon us." And the Apostles consecrated for them the Church; and the whole multitude was assembled unto it in great joy and gladness while they harkened unto the word of God. Philip read unto them in the Law (and the Prophets), while Peter interpreted them unto them through (the Spirit). [The Apostles celebrate the Offering for the people and, after appointing a bishop, priests, and deacons, depart from the country.] And the men said unto him: "And where is the God Who made all these things whereof thou speakest?" The holy Apostle Philip said unto them: "He is in the Heavens and upon the earth with us, the men who do His will."

²When the Devil perceived that the holy Apostle desired to bring back the whole multitude unto God, even the Christ Jesus our Lord, he quickly filled their hearts with his evil thoughts and wrought within them for evil. He caused them to seize the holy Apostle Philip; and they bound him meaning to put him upon a cross. And thus everyone who seized him fell blind. And the whole multitude cried out, saying: "One is the God of the holy Apostle Philip! Do not slay the holy Apostle who is come to save us all at once." Thus the whole multitude delivered the holy Apostle Philip from the hands of them who wished to slay him. He was journeying also, preaching in all the regions round about him, preaching unto them God the Word with many miracles and healing every man who was sick among them; so that the whole multitude of the city sought after him, while he taught them concerning the Kingdom of Heaven. When they brought unto him the blind, he bestowed healing upon them; when they brought unto him the lame, he cured them by the word of his mouth alone; when they brought unto him the halt, he caused them to be whole; when they brought unto him the deaf, he made them to hear; when they brought unto him the dumb, he made them speak through the power of Christ which was in him; when they brought lepers, he cleansed them through the laying-on of his hands, while he prayed to God over them; when they brought unto him men possessed with demons, he cast them out; and through the grace of our God he wrought (?) healing upon these also. In a word, he was healing every sickness

and every frenzy: they were all being healed at the hands of the holy Apostle Philip.

³ Then the great men of the city were wroth when they saw those things which the holy Apostle did for them that were diseased; but more especially when they saw their beloved ones, their sons, and their daughters, and their brethren, and their companions, renouncing their worship (of idols) and believing on the Christ Jesus, the Only-Begotten and the Word of the Father. And so they assembled together, even all the great men and they who did not believe on the holy preaching of Philip. They assembled therefore in a secret place and spake shameful words with one another, saying: "Up, all of us together, that we may seize this great sorcerer who is called 'Apostle,' and lay our hands upon him and bind him to kill him. For we will not leave him alive, lest the whole city perish through his attempt. And moreover, this will be an advantage unto us, that the king will not hear that a strange man is come into our city and overthrown the heart of all the men who are therein; lest he (sc. the king) send and slay us, (asking): 'Wherefore do ye bear with him until he corrupt the whole multitude of the city that they may disobey my decree?'"

⁴ And the great men of the city took one resolve together, and laid hands upon the holy Apostle Philip, and seized him, and bound him, adding blasphemous words also which they spake to his face: and they kept reviling him also with great impiety. But the holy Apostle was gentle... [Philip urges his persecutors to repent. They hang him on a cross head downwards and torment him until he dies.] (And they) "all (took counsel together) saying: Let us kindle a fire and cast his body into it, that his bones be not found any more." But while they were kindling the fire, that they might cast his body therein, lo, the Lord Jesus the Christ, for Whose Name's sake he had endured all these sufferings, sent His angel, (who) took his body out of their midst and out of their hands in the middle of the day, the whole city and the region thereof gazing after him (sc. the angel), as he rose on high in glory and honor: and he hid it (sc. the body) in a rock at Jerusalem.

⁵ Now when the whole multitude "saw the great marvels which were come to pass and the many great miracles of this man of God, they lifted up their voices on high to God, crying all with one cry, and saying: One is the God of the holy Apostle Philip, the faithful servant of Jesus, the Lord of

them in Heaven and of them on earth, the great God Who is exalted and blessed both in Heaven and upon the earth."

APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF THE APOSTLES: THE PREACHING OF
BARTHOLOMEW IN THE CITY OF THE OASIS

Then they changed their raiment and took on the appearance of husbandmen and appeared before the archon and his beasts. Peter said unto him: "Hail, O Master of camels!" And the man answered: "Hail." Peter said unto him: "Thou wilt be able to do us a kindness, if thou wilt take us into the city with thee." The archon said unto him: "For what purpose goest thou into this city, to buy or to sell what?" Peter said unto him: "I wish to go into the city to sell this slave of mine." Straightway the archon descended, making his camels kneel and said: "Today is a great day for me. For, lo, for many days have I been abroad with my beasts and my servants seeking for a slave to purchase, but have not found one. Behold, now I have found what I sought." And the archon said unto Peter: "Tell me what is his craft, that I may buy him and give thee his price." Peter said unto him: "(He is) a vine-dresser; and the vines which are blighted he makes to flourish again." The archon said unto him: "It is for a skilled worker of this kind that I am seeking; for I have many vines, and I wish to put him in charge of them all."

APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF THE APOSTLES: THE MARTYRDOM OF MATTHIAS
him and have not found him profitable." And the archon wept, saying: "What shall we do? Not only the beasts, but we ourselves twill perish of thirst in this wilderness." Then Bartholomew also wept; and he was praying inwardly without utterance, that they might not know that he was an Apostle. [Bartholomew having restored the camels to life, the caravan reaches the city. The Apostle works in the vineyard and while there cures a nobleman who had been bitten by a snake. In consequence, the people are converted and a Church is built on the vineyard where the miracle took place.]

APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF THE APOSTLES: THE MARTYRDOM OF MARK
1[Mark is appointed to preach in Egypt, Libya, and Marmarika. The state of the inhabitants is described.] (... the people) there were uncircumcised, being idolaters, full of all uncleanness and worshipping material creatures, and building in every quarter and at the beginning of every street dwelling-places and temples of the idols. And they used to practise therein magic rites and sorcery and fornication and slaying of children. Now when he (sc. Mark)

was sent forth by the Apostles, he came first to Pentapolis; for by race he was a man of that region. He preached unto them the beginning of the word of God and wrought among them great marvels and mighty works. For them that were sick he healed; the lepers he cleansed; multitudes of evil spirits he healed (sic) through the word of grace. A multitude believed on Our Lord Jesus the Christ because of him, and they brought down their idols and destroyed their groves: they received the light and were baptized in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

2 Now in that place it was revealed unto him through the Holy Spirit that he should depart unto Rakoti (Alexandria), (the city) of the Pharos. [On entering Alexandria Mark meets with and converts a certain shoemaker.] The man (believed on God) by reason of those things which Mark was speaking, when signs and wonders came to pass. He received baptism, he and all his house, together with a great multitude of that place. Now the name of that man was Anianus. So when there was a great multitude of them that believed on the Christ, the men of the city heard that "a Galilean is come hither and turneth away the sacrifices of the gods and revileth their worship." And they were seeking after him to take him and slay him, and they laid many traps for him, to slay him. But when the blessed Mark was aware of their design, he ordained Anianus as bishop, and three priests, Mélius, and Kerdonos, and Primus, and seven deacons, and eleven door-keepers for the service of the Church.

APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF THE APOSTLES: THE MARTYRDOM OF LUKE

1 Again he fled and betook himself to the Pentapolis; and when he had spent there two years, he ordained there other bishops and clergy, and again went unto Rakoti. And they increased in the grace and knowledge of God. And he established for them a Church in the regions called The Cattle-Pastures in the place which is above the sea, in a great quarry, beneath a rock. And the righteous one rejoiced greatly and, bending his knees, gave glory to God. Now when a long time was passed and the Christians were multiplied, they mocked at the idols and derided the Pagans. And when the Pagans knew that he was come thither, they were filled with envy because they heard concerning the miracles which he was working. Them that were sick he healed; the lepers he cleansed; the deaf he caused to hear; unto a multitude of blind he vouchsafed sight; and he preached unto them the good tidings of salvation and grace... through Our Lord Jesus the Christ.—And they were seeking

after (him) to take him, but did not find him. And they were gnashing their teeth: and in their theaters and their banquets of their idols they kept crying out speaking against him, saying: "Great are the iniquities of this wizard."

² Now the hallowed (Feast of the Passover) took place... [Mark is at length seized and is dragged through the streets until he dies. An attempt is made to burn his body, but it is carried off by the believers.]

TEXTS RELATING TO THE VIRGIN: A LIFE OF THE VIRGIN

¹ But when she heard these things, she cried out and said unto him: "How shall this come to pass unto me? I have not known a man at any time." So soon as the Virgin opened her mouth and spake with the angel, the Holy Spirit entered into her and filled all her members. And the angel said unto her: "A holy spirit shall come upon thee, a power of Him who is exalted shall overshadow thee. For this cause that Holy One Who shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God"—and the remainder of the exalted praises which he spake unto the pure Mother of God, Mary. From that day the Spirit was within her, and she was filled therewith. Her womb became as (the womb) of them who are with child, through the grace and... of the Holy Spirit. But when Joseph regarded Mary and saw her womb thus increased, he was troubled and thought that... she had conceived. He said within himself: "I am an old man and I honor... [ll. 32-35 are too imperfect for translation.]

² These and such like things he pondered; even as the Evangelist informs us and says: "Joseph her husband being a righteous man and not wishing to make her a gazing-stock, planned to put her away privily. And while these things were in his heart, as he was sleeping, lo, the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, saying: 'Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife; for He Whom she shall bring forth is of a holy spirit'—and the rest of all the words which the angel spake unto her. 'And Joseph arose from sleep and did according as the angel said unto him. He took Mary, his espoused wife, into his house, and knew her not.' Then God wrought within her, and the Holy Spirit increased (?) within her. And her face shone with the...full of glory, which is the grace of the Holy Spirit.

³ '...the root of David, thou hast been unto Me a place of rest. All the holy ones shall come unto thee to behold thine ineffable glory, marveling that a woman of the daughters of Sarah should be held worthy of glory of this sort. Lo, I give thee authority, O My holy Mother, that they all submit themselves unto thee, and authority... Lo Paradise... [ll. 13-17 too fragmentary for trans-

lation.]... by all the holy ones. If thou shalt have need (?) of Paradise..., all good things shall be thine—those which eye hath not seen and which have not entered into the heart of man. If I stretched forth My divine hand and took thy breast, and drank of the milk... in thee, like... [Eight lines are wholly lost.] before thy face, O My Mother. Eat and drink and delight thyself in the ineffable good things of Heaven. For lo, all the precious things of the Kingdom of Heaven are prepared for thee, O My Virgin Mother, who art perfect.'

⁴ Now when Mary heard of these glories from her Son, she was exceeding glad and her spirit rejoiced greatly within her. She cried out, saying: 'Who am I, even I, that I should receive all these glories after this sort? I know, O my Son, that I was held worthy to be unto Thee a resting-place upon the earth; but all these glories pass the measure of all human kind. I know, O my Lord, that Thou wast in my womb nine months, by a mystery which cannot be contemplated, even as (it is with) all women who are with child. But all the glory which I beheld today surpasses...' [Seven lines are wholly lost.]

TEXTS RELATING TO THE VIRGIN: SAINTS PETER AND JOHN, THE
DEATH AND ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN

¹ The Departing out of the Body of the Lady of us all, the holy Theotokos, Mary, the very Mother of God, on the twenty-first day of Tōbi, and her holy Assumption on the sixteenth day of Mesurē; according as they were related by Peter and John, the holy Apostles of Our Lord Jesus the Christ. In the Peace of God! Amen. ² While the Mother of God, Mary, was dwelling retired in her cell with ten holy virgins abiding with her, unto whom God was revealing great mysteries, it came to pass that, when the day of her repose, which was declared unto her by the Lord, was drawn near, in the night of the twentieth day of Tōbi she beheld a vision. She called unto the virgins who were with her; and they came unto her and said: "What hath befallen thee, O Mother of the Lord?" And she said: I have seen a vision this night, as if I saw my Son in the midst of certain little children clad in robes and with crowns of pearl upon their heads: wondrous to relate was their glory and their honor. After that I beheld Peter and John with fine raiment in their hands. The little child, who was like Jesus my Son, said unto me: 'O woman, dost thou know who I am?' But I perceived that He was my son and said unto Him: 'When I behold thee I seem to behold Jesus, my Son.' He said unto me: 'O My beloved Mother, I will not leave thee apart from Me, but will take thee

to Myself, that thou mayest rest for ever.' And I said unto Him: 'What seek these little children who walk with Thee?' And He said unto me: 'These are the little children whom Herod slew, at the time when thou didst bear Me into the world, thinking that he would find Me among them.

³ For this cause do they walk with Me at all times.' And I said unto Him: 'My Lord and beloved Son...'...he said unto me: "...O my beloved brother, remember all those things which the Lord spake. And remember that it was thou who didst rest upon His bosom: He revealed unto thee all His mysteries; there is none that knoweth them but thou and He. For thou art His chosen virgin; and as for me, He did not leave me sorrowful, when I said unto Him: My Lord and my God, [show unto me? those things which Thou hast spoken to John thy Beloved..." ⁴..."Mary and the virgins who were with her. And the holy Virgin said unto them: "What is this great disturbance which ye cause me today?" They said unto her: "O our holy Mother, we would not have come forth to this place; but in this night we heard a sound of a great trumpet which cried saying: 'Arise, haste ye to Jerusalem, unto Mary the Mother of the Christ, for the day of her departure is come.' For this cause are we all come unto thee today, O our Mother." "And she marveled greatly when she heard the chosen (?) virgins. And she said unto them: Let us go (?) to pray." When they had prayed, they were speaking unto the virgins who were with her. [And while they conversed] together, [lo, the Lord Jesus the Christ] came. [And] the [Virgin said unto Him]: "My Son...what is the will (?) of my...from Peter...guide them unto me. He said unto me...that thou mayest do it...when I (?) come...

⁵ "...For the glory belongeth unto Thee with Thy good Father and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen." Then answered Our Lord Jesus the Christ saying: "O My Virgin Mother, all things which thou shalt ask, shall be done for thee. I say unto thee that in all places wherein My Name shall be preached throughout the whole world, when they shall build Churches in thy name, he who shall expend that which..." "He who shall take care in his heart to do a good deed and write thy holy life—I will write his name in the Book of Life; and every sin which he hath committed, I will forgive him: I am the Lord. He who shall take care for My holy Gospels, or the words of My Apostles and My chosen Prophets, or the books of the holy Scriptures—I will set him in the Church [of the Congregation (?)...

6...[Whosoever shall give] "a crust of bread in thy name, I will requite him an hundred-fold (?) in My Kingdom. He who shall take care for the Offering, or...vessels, or a..." "... (l. 4) [she bowed?] her head down into the bosom of her Son and fell asleep on the twenty-first day of the month Tōbi, according to the good pleasure of Him Who shall come in heavenly glory. Now after all these things Our Savior said: Haste ye..." "... "We sang over it (sc. the body of the Virgin) a spiritual song. But as we were going out to the tomb, it (the song) reached the heart of the chief priests. They said to one another: Come, let us slay them who carry her body and let us burn her body with fire." Now they, the lawless men, pursued after us; and we set down her body together with the bier and fled. But as for them, the Lord cast blindness upon them (all) save one of them, that he might be a witness of those things which were to happen.

7... "and it (the fire) destroyed the multitude, even unto the resting-place of the body of the holy Virgin. But when the Apostles saw that the Jews were retreated, they arose and came forth from the place wherein they were hiding. And when the man, whose arm was torn off, saw the Apostles, his courage returned unto him, and he besought them, saying: O my lords, have pity upon my unbelief." And he came to Peter weeping and (saying)..."every [one] whom the... He was found in... Who is... unto the rest. We also knew [...] which was come to pass... For He is the Lord of the "Greeks together with all the Christians; He unto Whom belongeth might and power and honor and glory, Christ, the Very God of the Christians, for ever and ever. Amen.

TEXTS RELATING TO THE VIRGIN: EVODIUS OF ROME, ON THE DEATH
OF THE VIRGIN; THEODOSIUS, THE DEATH AND ASSUMPTION OF THE
VIRGIN

1 (The text is too faint for accurate transcription.) "A Discourse which our thrice-blessed Father Abba Theodosius, the Archbishop of Rakoti and the Confessor (p. 1) who put on Christ, delivered. And he delivered it touching the Assumption of the Lady of us all, the pure Mother of God, Mary, which is the sixteenth day of the month Mesôrê; beginning from the Dispensation of Christ unto the End of this Holy Virgin and her pure Assumption. And he delivered this Discourse in his last year, wherein he was to fall asleep. In the Peace of God! Amen. Today is fulfilled the prophecy of the singer, David, which saith: "They shall bring in unto the King (p. 2) virgins behind her: they shall bring in unto him all her companions also." Verily, O our Father

the Prophet, there is a mystery in this saying. Thou sayest: "They shall bring in unto the King virgins," implying a multitude; "behind her," implying one: "they shall bring in unto her all her companions also."

2 Moreover he saith: "Give me your devout attention and your heedful understanding, that the discourse may proceed without check. For today they bring in unto the King virgins, that is the virgin body of the Virgin and her very Soul, both together."

THEODOSIUS: ENCOMIUM ON THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL

1 "... (They who are in Heaven hold festival because there hath been cast) out from them he who slandered (?) them—he who was the enemy of Him who created him. For this cause we (?) they) hold festival in honor of the Archangel Michael, because it was he...who conquered and humbled the proud one... speedily. And when he had brought him low, he cast him forth... (l. 4)...he came down and mastered him and bound him in chains which may not be loosed. Nor...did he leave him bound upon the earth; but it is written concerning him that [he cast him into] the lake which is full of fire and (there) he is kept until the day of the Great Judgment. [For if he (the Devil) had remained] upon the earth no flesh would have escaped his evil... But thou wilt say unto me, friend: "If the Devil was bound, why, when the Angels of God stood in the presence of the Lord, as it is written in the Book of Job, (and) in what manner did he...and how did he bring evil upon Job, since he was bound?" He saith...

2 "Harken and I [will inform thee...] Paul the...Apostle saith The servant of Satan buffeteth me..." Our good Savior spake (?) unto him saying: "Get thee behind me, Satan." But now we will not linger over this story (lit. the word) nor spend long time in speaking of him who hateth our race: let what has been said suffice (?). Rather let us return unto the Conqueror, the honored wearer of the crown, the Archangel Michael, who hath prepared (?) for us today the glorious table of the great festival which is spread for us today in the heavens and upon the earth according to the commandment, our Lord Jesus the Christ Himself, (Who is) one God, and one Lord, and one Kingdom existent in the Holy Trinity which is consubstantial for ever. Now as for us, O my beloved, since we know how great a potentate is the great Archangel, let us rejoice with him whom God hath glorified; [let us] eat of the good things which the holy Archangel Michael hath prepared for us. But thou wilt say: "Since it is a royal banquet, it befits us to hold back until they

are summoned before us, who are the nobles of the Palace of the King and of his Chief Captain Michael. Afterwards let us follow them." (It is well spoken; for) as was said above, O my beloved, humility exalteth and guideth (aright). But arise (?) and follow me. Lo, the nobles have already gone in unto the banquet of Michael...

3 These are the nobles who have already taken their places. Harken attentively and I will declare them unto you:—Adam and Abel, and Seth his son; Enoch, Methuselah, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph his son; Moses, Aaron, and Joshua the son of Nun; Gideon, Barak, Samson, and Jephthah; David the King, and Solomon his son, and Hezekiah, the righteous Kings; Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, the Prophets; the Three Holy (Children), Elias and Elisha the great Prophets; Zacharias the Priest with John his son and the Twelve Apostles; Stephen the Archdeacon, the righteous old man, the Priest Simeon, and all the Martyrs. Why do I speak only of men of the earth? Nay, there are the Lord of Sabaoth and the whole host of Heaven... [But I] desire to return again unto the Palace of the holy Archangel Michael, unto the great ones...the holy men of earth that I may [inquire] of them concerning this great feast which is spread out for us today, that I may...it; to the end that today I also may "rejoice with them that do rejoice," according to the saying of the wise Solomon (sic).

4 But I will commence my task with the Father of all mankind, with him whom God made after His likeness and His image, your Father Adam. For he is the first whom I behold in the banquet hall, foremost amongst the men of earth...today. And although I am a sinner, yet I will pay him reverence with my tongue and say unto him: "Hail, my holy Father! Hail, Father of all mankind and of my holy Fathers who have been and who shall be." If I give him these three greetings which befit his glory at this festival, doubtless he will cry out like a good father to his son: "Come, let us rejoice with thee today at this great festival." And when I find boldness of speech before him, I will ask him: "My lord Father, art thou not he whom God fashioned with His own hands, whom He filled with (the glory of) His likeness and His image? Art thou not he whom God commanded, saying: 'Eat of the trees...'"

5 ...He glorified the God of the Archangel Michael. Then Dorotheos said to Theopiste: "My sister, lo God hath ordered (everything): let us prepare (the table) for the archon." For the time was come for them to go to the Synaxis; and they spread their great cushions to do honor to the archon. And they set

the tables for the brethren according to the custom. (Then) they clothed themselves with white and glistening garments and went to the Synaxis in great joy. And when they were entered into the sanctuary of the Archangel Michael, they fell down upon their faces giving 'thanks unto God and saying: "Thanks be unto thee ten thousand times. We glorify thee, O Lord and the holy Archangel Michael, because Thou hast not deprived us of Thy mercy and hast not forgotten our offering, but hast declared unto us Thy loving-kindness speedily." Then after these (words) they received the (Kiss of) Peace and returned in haste. They opened the door of their house unto the brethren and busied themselves about the archon with great zeal. And when the house was full of rejoicing, they filled (it) with people and rose up and ministered unto them in great gladness in (all their) wants...

ENCOMIUM ON THE ARCHANGEL GABRIEL; JOHN CHRYSOSTOM,
ENCOMIUM ON THE PROPHET ELIAS

¹"[We have not] laid trouble upon ourselves on thy account; but, thanks be to God and the holy Archangel Michael, there is no stranger amongst all these whom thou beholdest. But they are all brethren and kinsfolk and friends of our fathers and our kindred." And while they were saying these things, the Archangel Michael was rejoicing at the perfection of their dispositions. [At Michael's bidding Dorotheos brings in the fish, which he had bought for the Archangel's entertainment, and opens it.] "He found a great bag in it secured with a seal. And Dorotheos marveled and said: What is this, my Lord, which I have so found?" The archon—that is, Michael—said unto him: "Great fishes are wont to swallow up everything which they find. Open it, that we may see what is in it." And Dorotheos said: "My Lord, how shall I open it..." ...the holy Elias, he...chariots of fire. For who among you can touch the fire of this world without being burned?—much less the fire of those chariots, over which the holy Elias had power because of his purity.

²For this cause therefore, my beloved, let us love purity, let us cast away from us uncleanness which the Lord abhors more than all (other) sins. Let love dwell among us; for love covereth a multitude of sins: let us be humble of heart, for pride of heart is the root of all evil. Let us hold fast the foundation of the right faith: so shall we [put away] defilement and..., purifying our souls and our bodies and our conscience. Let us hasten into the Oratory of that pure one, the holy Elias—he whom we [commemorate] today. Let us sing of him with spiritual songs, to the end that we may gain grace [from the

Lord Jesus the Christ], that He may forgive us our sins, and that we may make ourselves worthy of His pure Body and Blood. So shall we keep the feast of the holy Elias, each one according to his ability. For he requires nothing from us beyond [our power, but only bread whereon we shall feast together with him on the day of his Commemoration. If we give] a cup of cold water according to our power, we shall make ourselves worthy of the blessing of the holy Elias, even as the widow of Sarepta in Sidonia made herself worthy of it. She also will be with us to make us worthy thereof through the prayer of the holy Elias the Tishbite, by the grace and the high power of our Lord, and our God, and our Savior, Jesus the Christ;

3 Through Whom all glory and all honor and all worship befiteth Him together with the Father and the Holy Spirit, the Giver of Life and Consubstantial with Him—now and at all times and for ever and ever. Amen.

ENCOMIUM ON THE THREE CHILDREN; MIRACLES OF SAINT GEORGE

1 ... "But the holy George [appeared] to the King...saying:...this steward...for, lo,...Behold, for many days I have desired [to bring] punishment upon him, but...because of the worship of idols of Diocletian. And now, when thou art arisen in the morning, take away the keys from him and give them to another one whom the people shall choose." And when the King was arisen, he went into the topos to pray, and found all the people looking towards him with joy; because they had found a righteous King, perfect after God's own heart, like David and Solomon. And when he had prayed, he sat down; and they all showed him "and informed him concerning the steward of unrighteousness, telling him of his pitilessness towards the poor and needy, saying: We know of what sort (?) are all the things which this man hath done unto this day, but we could not speak because of the idolatry which was spread abroad over the whole earth. But now, O our Lord, that God hath sent thee unto us as a deliverer, do justice according to thy wisdom."

2 And the King declared unto all the multitude those things which the holy George had spoken unto him concerning the steward in the vision. And he sent straightway and caused them to destroy his house and his garners; and they cast him out of the topos. And they made inquiry throughout all the city and found a man...

THE MARTYRDOMS OF JAMES THE PERSIAN AND OF THEODORE THE
STRATELATES

¹Redo [It came to pass that when the] 'holy man saw the Lord Jesus the Christ with His holy Angels standing by Him, while the whole place was filled with light, he feared greatly and became as a dead man. But the Savior stretched forth His hand and signed (with the cross) his whole body in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. He took away his fear from him, and said unto him: "Take courage, Theodore My chosen one, be not afraid. Rise up that I may speak with thee and show thee all those things which shall befall thee, to the end that thou mayest be strong of heart and contend in the good contest, until thou shalt receive the crown of victory and inherit the good things of the Kingdom of Heaven which I have prepared for those who shall love Me and do My will."

²Verso "Then the holy man Theodore answered: Who art Thou, my Lord, that I see Thee with this great glory about Thee?" The Savior said unto him: "I am Jesus, thy King: I am the crown of them that take in hand to contend for My Name's sake. Dost thou not remember the day when thou wast sick? Thou didst escape death by saying in the presence of them who surrounded thee: 'Would that I also had become a martyr, to die for the name of the Christ, if perchance I might find a little loving mercy at His dreadful judgment-seat.' But now, Theodore My chosen, prepare thyself to contend for My Name's sake. I have finished preparing for thee thy dwelling in the Heavens; I have written thy name in the Book of Life." [Theodore in his sickness cries out] "... (l. 10) my Lord Jesus the Christ, deliver me that I may die for Thy holy Name in the presence of all them who are in this place." Now the great rulers of the city surrounding him... (l. 20) They spake with one another, saying: "What is this Name...able...of this great...?" But when... (plural) arrived..., that holy man saw...his vapor (sic)...

³...he said: "O mighty martyr,...to thee the Cross of the true Son of God, Jesus the Christ, Who came into the world to save sinners. I am the...my soul..." ... (l. 4) But when it was day, he (the Governor) ordered that they should fix him (Theodore) upon a wheel. He... "Redo Verso...(l. 4) He lifted up his eyes to heaven and his (?)...unto Him Who had done good unto him. And he was saying: My God, the Ineffable, Thou Who didst...; Thou Who didst break the gates and the iron bars of [the house?] of Amenti..." "Redo Verso this healing." When she heard this, she fell down straightway, and became as

one dead. And..." saying: Alas! If your father Theodore were here and saw you,...here..."

THE MARTYRDOM OF JUSTUS THE STRATELATES

¹ Then the Archbishop took the son of the King of the Persians and guarded him according to the command of the King Diocletian. But after certain days the King of the Persians heard that Nicomedes his son... "(Arianus cried out:) "Woe is me today more than all the princes of the earth. For the King is wroth with me and seeks to destroy my life. Therefore he hath sent unto me the great General that he may set fire to my city." Then the multitudes returned and declared unto Justus everything which had come to pass. And when he heard, he had great compassion. Then he caused them to bring paper and ink and wrote unto him (Arianus) saying: "I am Justus, the least of all men. I swear unto thee by the high power of my Lord Jesus the Christ that no harm shall happen unto thee if thou shalt deal with me according to the command of Diocletian the King."

² So they took the letter and sought for him (cc. Arianus). They found him in a bakery, and gave him the letter. Now when he had read it, he took courage a little; and he arose and went to the place wherein was the blessed Justus. And when he saw him afar off, Arianus cast himself down and did obeisance "to him, saying: What hath befallen thee, O my Master, Lord Justus the General, that thou art come to this place?" The holy Justus said unto him: "I am sent unto thee that thou mayest torment me as it pleaseth thee and afterwards cut off my head. For I and this multitude which followeth me are Christians openly." When Arianus heard this he was greatly encouraged and straightway ordered the executioners to put to death the whole multitude. After that, he said to the blessed Justus: "Lo, I have killed all thy servants. Now, if it be thy wish, do thou thyself offer sacrifice." The blessed man said unto him: "The death of my servants is no death; but I have sent them before me to the bridechamber of the Christ." Arianus said unto him: "Be content with these words, and do sacrifice. For lo I feel shame before thee: it is not possible for me to torment thee, neither shall I be able to neglect the command of my lord the King."

³ But the blessed man said unto him: "As Jesus the Christ, my true bridegroom, liveth—He Whose General I will be from henceforward, inflict on me every torment which pleaseth thee and every form of death, and I am ready to endure them by the help of Him Who strengtheneth me, my Lord

Jesus the Christ. Only fear not at all." Now when Arianus heard this his spirit grew strong within him exceedingly. And straightway he commanded that they should hang him upon the hermetarian and torment him. He caused them to pour pitch upon the instruments of torture which they applied to him. After that, he made them lay him down upon the hermetarian, and bring awls of iron, heated in the fire, and thrust them into his ears, so that the fire entered into his whole head. And again, he made them lay bare his privy parts and pour molten lead thereon.

4 But the blessed man lifted up his eyes to heaven and said: "Hear me, my Lord Jesus the Christ! I suffer even unto death. Harken unto me, Thou Who art in the glory of Thy Father; 'for Thou art my glory and my might and my strength. Send unto me Thy holy Angel, that he may strengthen me in this hour of necessity. For the victory is Thine, my Lord Jesus the Christ, together with Thy good Father and the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.'" When he had so spoken, he looked towards his right and saw the Savior with Michael on His right hand and Gabriel on His left. And the Savior said unto him: "Fear not, Justus My chosen one, but be strong and of a good courage. I have finished preparing for thee thy throne in the Heavens, and I will set thee... in the Place of Glory." And He stretched forth His hand upon his whole body and healed his frame (?). And He strengthened him, saying: "Be not afraid, neither be dismayed at all. For the death of this world is no death but life eternal. (I swear by) the... head of My Father that since thou hast exiled thyself and suffered shame for My sake,..."

5 Ratio...king because of them, that he should declare their value. I had gold sufficient to buy thee, if I had wished, with all thy provinces. But I abandoned all these for the sake of the Kingdom of Heaven which I have chosen for myself. And now do unto me that which pleaseth thee. Fear not at all." When Arianus heard that, he was troubled and resolved to kill him, that he might depart from him. And forthwith he commanded that a mill should be brought and he made them cast him beneath...a mill-stone that they might crush him with (?) a water-wheel... (I. 24) And, lo, our Lord Jesus the Christ came down from the Heavens, having [angels round about Him: He] laid His hands...upon the [holy one?...within him. And so He brought his soul again into his body. He made the sign of the cross upon his body and said unto him: "He who hath conquered maketh thee to conquer. Be of good courage, O My chosen one, Justus. Fear not: My strength shall be with thee. I

am Jesus, thy King." Now when the Savior had said these things unto him, He gave him His peace and went up into the Heavens in glory.

6 Then the multitudes, when they saw that the blessed Justus was arisen again from the dead, all cried out: "We are Christians openly: we believe on the God of the holy Justus." And straightway Arianus was wroth...when he saw the multitude following after Justus... (LI. 26-30 too fragmentary for translation.) (The multitudes cried out) "with one voice: We are Christians openly." And when Arianus saw them following after Justus, he knew that they would not sacrifice. And straightway he commanded that the blessed Justus and all the multitude should be led forth and their heads cut off. Forthwith the Savior appeared unto him (sc. Justus) and said unto him: "My true champion, verily thou hast contended! I also will cause great marvels to be wrought in the sanctuary wherein they shall lay thy body. And after thy death I will put it into the heart of a faithful man—lo, he standeth now with a multitude—to bury thy body according to thy glory and thy worth. And I will cause them to build a great martyrrium for thee in a little village to south of this city and to lay thy body therein—and the name of the village is Tisi-djereht in P-halé. And I will cause many mighty works to be performed through thee by means of thy body, and in every place wherein thy name shall be uttered. And all men that are sick of any sickness or are in any stress, if they shall say in faith, 'O God of the holy Justus, help us,' I will harken unto them right soon and pity them, whether they be sick, or in prison, or in peril, or on the sea, or on the rivers, or (in danger of) murder, or (of) theft, or in any place, or in any stress: I will grant all their petitions. If a woman shall be in pangs of child-birth..."

7 (The missing folios contained the conclusion of the promises to Justus and the execution of the Saint and his companions.) Recto "But after these things there came a faithful man, even as the Lord had said unto him (sc. Justus), and embalmed his holy body properly and removed it to Tisi-djereht in P-halé. They built a martyrrium over it, according to his deserving, and placed his holy body therein. For (sic) everyone who was sick with any sickness soever, if they worshiped over his body, obtained healing. Now we also, O my beloved fathers and brethren—since God hath vouchsafed unto us the gift of his pure martyrdom—after this long time let us give glory unto God the Father on the day of his glorious Commemoration, to the end that he may obtain grace for us in the presence of God, that our sins may be forgiven

us by the Lover of 'Mankind, Our Lord Jesus the Christ—through Whom all glory and all honor and all worship is meet for the Father together with Him and the Holy Spirit, the Giver of Life, now and at all times and for ever and ever. Amen.

⁸ The blessing of the holy Justus the General be with us all evermore. Amen. Verily if thou speakest, be wise; if thou barkenest, understand. For a wise and prudent man, my son, buildeth the House of the Lord. Bless me, forgive me, make mention of me that the Lord Jesus the Christ may forgive me my sins. I am the poor one, sinful above all men who are upon the earth, and not worthy of the name by which I am called, the most mean Markur(ios), the son of Philotheos, of Pidjis. Make mention of me, that the Lord may forgive me my sins. He who shall say 'Amen,' shall also receive according to (sic) the blessing, Amen, so let it be; Amen; (Amen).

SERGIOUS: THE MARTYRDOM OF APA APOLI

¹ (ll, 20 ff.)... prayed... (and) did not keep silence. And straightway the Lord Jesus came unto him with the holy archangels Michael and Gabriel. The Savior said unto him: "Hail, Apoli, My righteous martyr! I am with thee." And the holy Apa Apoli said: "Who art Thou, my Lord, Who art in this great glory?" And the Savior said unto him: "I am God Who came unto thee when thou wast sleeping in... I spake with thy father Justus and thy mother, saying..." (ll, 20 ff.) "... I will heal the flesh of thy body again." And straightway the Lord went up into the Heavens in great glory. And when morning was come—there was a man in Pouasti named Iskhiron (Ischyrion). This man was exceeding rich in substance; and he had two sons. And this man was wont to sit with the eparch in his house at all times while they feasted... [And while a] feast was being held in the [house of the eparch...].

² [News is brought that the two sons of Ischyrion have been killed in the collapse of a house which they were demolishing. They are raised to life by the Saint. The eparch next attempts to burn Apa Apoli.]... the holy Apa Apoli prayed in this wise, saying: "My Lord Jesus the Christ, my Savior, harken unto my prayer! Thou Who didst harken unto the prayer of the First Man and didst restore him again to his first estate; Who didst harken unto righteous Abel and didst avenge him upon Cain; Who didst bring forth Abraham and cause him to be in a strange land and didst deliver him with Sarah, his wife; Who didst deliver Isaac in the midst of the Philistines; Who didst deliver Jacob from the hands of Esau his brother; Who didst deliver Joseph out

of the hands of the woman of Egypt; Who didst give strength unto Judith so that she cut off the head of Holofernes; Who didst deliver Jonas out of the whale's belly; Who didst harken unto Susanna (and deliver her) out of the hands of the Elders; Who didst deliver the Three Holy Ones out of the midst of the fiery furnace in Babylon; Who didst deliver Daniel out of the den of lions;... aid me today, that... Jesus the King of Kings forever and 'ever.'"

³ And when he had spoken thus, the fire came forth and consumed the priests of Apollo. But the holy Apa Apoli stood up in the presence of the whole multitude, and there was no harm happened unto him. And they all cried out saying: "One is the God of the holy Apa Apoli! There is no other god save He." And straightway there sprang forth into the midst forty men and fifty women and twelve young children. And they cried out: "We are Christians openly." And Ptolomeos the eparch was wroth and ordered them to be slain with the sword. And they accomplished their martyrdom on the seventeenth day of the month Epèphi. In the Peace of God! Amen. Now it came to pass after these things that the holy Apa Apoli stood up in the presence of the eparch and said unto him: "Be ashamed, thou and thine accursed gods! My Lord Jesus the Christ hath sent His good angel and delivered me out of the midst of the fire." And Ptolomeos the eparch commanded [that he should be driven out] of the Palace and [cast] out of the city, and that the gates of Pouasti should be shut.

⁴ (ll. 3 ff.)... "But the holy Apa Apoli stood up and spread abroad his hands to pray, saying: My Lord Jesus the Christ, come, help me and strengthen me and grant me the means to come unto this eparch, and that I may put him to shame and his gods. For the power and the glory belong to Thee with Thy good Father and the Holy Spirit forever and ever." When he had said these things, the Savior appeared unto him with Michael and Gabriel on His right hand and on His left. And the Savior said unto him: "Hail, Apa Apoli, My chosen! Because thou hast left the perishable riches of this world, and hast cured thy passions, (and) hast followed after Me,... I will bestow on thee three crowns, one because of thy martyrdom which thou shalt accomplish, and again another because of thy virginity, and a third because of thy riches which thou hast forsaken. And now fear not: I am with thee at all times."

⁵ And the Lord commanded Michael "[to touch the guards of the gates?]" And [they] all became as dead men. And the Savior stretched forth His hand and opened the gate: the saint entered into Poaasti. And the Savior gave him

His peace and went up into the Heavens in glory. Now the holy Apa Apoli went unto Ptolomeos the eparch and cried aloud, saying: "Be ashamed, thou and thy gods! For whereas thou didst cast me out of the city and didst shut the doors, my Lord Jesus the Christ... hath opened all the gates." And the eparch was troubled, and said to them of the guard: "What shall we do with this little lad who wearies us, and will cause every man in this city to confess his God, and [will...] upon us...?" And they of the guard said: "Let us cast him into the prison until... that we may take counsel." And the holy Apa Apoli [was cast] into [a dungeon where there was] no... and no light.

6[Christ again appears to the saint in prison. Apoli asks where his body will be buried since he is in a strange land. Christ informs him of the honor to be paid to his relics.]

THE MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS OF SHENTALET

1("...do not receive) 'him, neither say unto him hail'; for he who shall say unto him 'hail' is a partaker in his evil deeds." The Governor answered: "[Dost thou call] me an unbeliever?" The blessed Thomas answered and said unto him: "Verily thou art an unbeliever. For else wouldest thou not deny thy God—Him Who hath made the Heaven and the Earth, in Whose hands is thy life." When the Governor heard this, he ordered that they should smite him with links (?) of iron. And the guards did so, saying unto him: "O,... this is not the mode of speech..." But the holy Thomas turned... his face to the Governor and said: "Strike the other (cheek), thou who..., according to the saying of my Lord Jesus the Christ, my Lord and my God, when the soldiers buffeted His face." The Governor commanded them to smite his face again and to cast him into the prison until he should take counsel and know what to do. He (Thomas) spent all that day with (?) Paphnouti, the man of 'Tel-pontourôt, and Apa Ginousi of Pelkhêmi. And they were praising the Lord God the Almighty.

2 For that night—it was the Lord's Day—they spent singing hymns to the Lord until light dawned. And they passed the whole of that day without the Governor sending for them until the morrow. But when the morning was come, the Governor took his seat upon the tribunal and had the holy men brought that he might hear them. He said to the holy Thomas: "Art thou crazed in thy head?" The holy Thomas answered and said unto him: "A discreet word pleases a wise man,...; let a word..." But the Governor said: "I pardon thee, because thou art a lad; otherwise, I would... until I see [thee

withdraw?] from every word." The pure martyr of Christ, the holy Thomas, answered and said: "... that we..." The Governor answered and said to the blessed Thomas: "... ³ "[...I speak, not through any power] 'dwelling in the idol—for there is none, my lord—but that I may worship thee according to my best will.' The holy Thomas answered and said to Apollo: I command thee, O foul idol, in the Name of my Lord Jesus the Christ, the true God, to come down from thy place and break all the other idols (and) this statue also, which Diocletian the unbelieving king hath made." Straightway the idol leapt down by reason of the command of God the Almighty: he laid hold on all the idols and brake them like a vessel of clay which is broken. The holy Thomas said also to the idol: "I command thee by the power of my good God to pursue this lawless Governor and teach him until he learns that the Lord God Who is in Heaven is the Lord of Heaven and Earth." Then the idol pursued after Kulkianus the Governor and throttled him, until his eyes started from his face: he smote him even unto death. "The Governor cried out, saying: O holy Thomas, help me!" The blessed Thomas also cried out, saying: "Unless thou confess in the presence of this whole multitude that Jesus the Christ is the Son of God, I will not deliver thee." Kulkianus the Governor cried out: "I believe on Thee, my Lord Jesus the Christ, the Son of the living and...only God: there is no God in Heaven or upon the Earth but Thou alone, Jesus the Lord, the true God."

⁴ Straightway the demon departed from him. The whole multitude cried out: "One is the God of the holy Thomas, Jesus the Christ, our Lord." Kulkianus caused the multitude to be cast into prison: as for the holy Thomas, he had him left in prison without food and without drink, that he might die of hunger. "That I may see," said he, "whether Jesus will be able to deliver him out of my hands." They cast him (Thomas) into the prison: they gave him neither bread nor water until the end of ten days. But the blessed Apostle Thomas... [When they saw him] "with his face shining like the rays of the sun, they marveled greatly and said unto him: Peace be unto thee, O blessed champion, the holy Thomas, servant of our Lord Jesus the Christ the very and only true God." The holy Thomas cried out and said to them: "Peace be unto you, O holy martyrs of Christ, the true God; peace be unto every one who believeth on my Lord Jesus the Christ the King immortal forever."

⁵ Every one who was sick with any sickness in the city entered into the prison to the holy Thomas. He healed them; and at the word of his mouth

alone health came upon them all. His speech also in exhortation was like (the speech of) our pure Fathers the Apostles of the Christ Jesus, the true God Who is exalted. Now when day was come, the Governor ordered that the tribunal should be prepared and that they should bring the blessed Thomas from the prison with chains of iron upon his limbs. And they brought him to the tribunal, to the presence of Kulkianus the Governor. "The Governor said to the holy Thomas: Art thou persuaded to do sacrifice to Apollo, before I give thy bones to the wild beasts?" The brave martyr of the Christ, the holy Thomas, answered: "O Governor, the death of this world is no death, but life eternal; but the death of hopeless (?) torments—that is death eternal." The Governor answered and said unto the holy Thomas: "Offer sacrifice: do not die miserably." That pure one said to the Governor: "I will not sacrifice to thy vile and blind gods who are abominable." (The Governor) ordered that they should give him to a ravenous she-lion. And they loosed her upon him that she might devour the flesh of the righteous one. But the lioness sprang and came to the feet of the righteous one, the pure martyr of the Christ, the holy Thomas: she licked his blessed feet. Through the power of God she received the voice of a man and cried out, saying: "Blessed art thou, O pure martyr of Christ, the holy [Thomas...]."

6 marks the line of junction between the two fragments. "...if I speak one word to thee, thou speakest two to me." He commanded that they should hang him on the hermetarium and pour vinegar and quick-lime into his nostrils and mouth. The noble champion of Christ, the holy Thomas, endured the torment. The Governor said unto him: "Wilt thou not answer me, Thomas?" The blessed Thomas said unto him: "My Lord Jesus the Christ, the true God, will deliver me from thy torments." The Governor bade them bring vitriol and boiling pitch and pour it upon his head. But the holy Thomas cried unto the Lord, saying: "I receive grace of Thee, O Lord God the Almighty, I receive grace of Thee, Jesus the Christ, my Lord, that I am found worthy to endure these torments through the power of Thy pure Name which is blessed in all things, my true King. Harken unto me, my Lord Jesus the Christ, the true God, in this time of adversity that Thou mayest help me."

7 Straightway, lo, the holy Archangel Michael came down from Heaven and caused the oil and the pitch to become like cool water upon the head of the blessed Thomas, the faithful. And the holy Thomas cried out, saying: "Be

confounded, O Governor, together with thy abominable gods, evil demons, thou and thy foul Apollo! I too have with me my Lord Jesus the Christ, my true God." When Kulkianus the Governor heard such words as these he was enraged with a rage of his father the Devil. He commanded a caldron to be brought with brimstone and pitch. They filled the caldron and kindled a fire under it so that its smoke rose up exceedingly. They bound the hands and feet of the holy Thomas and lowered him into the boiling caldron. But the holy one lifted up his eyes to Heaven and cried out, saying: "My Lord Jesus the Christ, my good God, help me in this time of adversity wherein I am."

8 While the noble one, the holy Thomas, was yet speaking these words, behold Michael, the Archangel of the powers of the Heavens, came down from Heaven and stood upon the boiling caldron: he took a handful from the caldron and cast it into the face of the Governor. Immediately his eyes fell down from him. And when the multitudes saw that which was befallen, they cried out, saying: "One is the God of the holy Thomas!" Now Arianus the Governor of the South was also in Rakoti with Kulkianus the Governor of Rakoti. He arose and came to the holy Thomas as he stood in the caldron, and said to the blessed one: "Have pity upon this unhappy man and heal him in this torment." Forthwith the holy Thomas came up out of the caldron and went to Kulkianus the Governor and spake unto him, saying: "Though thou art not worthy, O lawless one, to be signed (with the sign of the cross) in the name of my Lord Jesus the Christ, the true God, yet because of this multitude which believeth on the Lord Jesus the Christ—my King the Christ is the true God—, I grant thee healing until thou shalt go down into His hands." Immediately Kulkianus the Governor saw again: he departed to the banquet, he and Arianus, the Governor of Antinoë at that time. He commanded them to take the holy Thomas to the prison bound in chains of iron.

9 The holy ones said unto him (ic. Thomas): "Conquer, thou who hast conquered, and find strength thou who hast found strength! Be of good cheer: the Lord be with thee, until thou shalt put to shame Kulkianus, the lawless Governor." Then answered the brave martyr of Christ, the holy Thomas, and said unto the saints who were in the prison: "Pray for me, O my blessed fathers, in your holy prayers, that my Lord Jesus the Christ may give me strength." The holy martyrs answered: "My (sic) Lord Jesus the Christ will give thee strength until thou shalt finish thy contest." While the saints were

still sitting, there came in a man possessed by an unclean spirit. The evil spirit vexed p him in the prison. The pure martyrs of Christ besought the holy Thomas to heal him. "The blessed Thomas stretched forth his hand and signed him (with the sign of the cross) in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit—the Trinity Which is perfect in one Godhead—and said: My Lord Jesus the Christ will heal thee from thy sickness." Straightway the evil spirit went forth from the man; and he was healed. When they who were cast into prison saw that, they gave glory to our Lord Jesus the Christ, the true God.

¹⁰ Now when morning was come Arianus the Governor of the South said to Kulkianus the Governor of Rakoti: "Let me sit upon the tribunal, that I may teach this unholy Christian, Thomas." And when he was seated on the tribunal, he ordered them to bring unto him the holy Thomas. He said to one of the martyrs whose name was Apa Paphnouti, the man of Telpontouro (sic): "Do sacrifice: do not perish miserably." But he, the faithful one, cried out, saying: "I will not do sacrifice to thy abominable gods." He commanded forthwith that his head should be cut off with the sword. And "Michael the Archangel set a crown upon him in glory and honor. Arianus said to the holy Thomas: "Do thou also sacrifice: do not perish miserably." The blessed one answered him: "I will not sacrifice: that which thou wilt, do unto me. Only I will not worship thy gods, who are demons and abominable." Arianus the Governor raged with wrath and commanded a sharp sword should be brought him, that the holy Thomas should be seized and his privy parts cut out. But the holy one answered nothing at all. Arianus said unto him: "Dost thou feel this torment suffered in this manner?" The brave martyr of Christ answered: "Thy torments are naught in my sight; but the torments of my Lord Jesus the Christ, they are torments indeed. He will cast thee forth from His courts and cast thee into eternal punishments, thou and thy lawless King Diocletian."

¹¹ (Arianus) commanded that they should...upon him: he caused... (They put fetters upon) his hands and his feet. They bound him to the hermetarion and racked him until his bones parted (?). Straightway, lo, Michael the Archangel came and brake the bonds which bound him without the soldiers, who guarded the appointed (?) place, being aware. And the holy Apa Thomas uttered a loud cry, saying: "Be confounded, O Arianus the Governor! I have conquered thee and thy torments and thy foul gods. Lo, there came

unto me the angel of my Lord Jesus the Christ, the true God, and delivered me from thy torment by the power of my Lord Jesus the Christ." When Arianus the Governor heard this, he commanded them to seize the holy Thomas and hang him up... by his neck on the branch of a tree, and to hang a great stone to the feet of the Saint as he hung on high, until all the bones in his neck should be broken... Michael, the Archangel of the great powers of the Heavens, came and stood upon (?) the branch of the tree and the stone which they had hanged upon him: he brake the cords which bound him. And the Archangel Michael said unto him: "O noble champion of Christ, holy Thomas, be of good cheer and take courage: fear not, I am with thee until thou shalt accomplish thy contest and thy martyrdom." The holy Thomas said unto him: "Strengthen me, my Lord, until I put to shame this lawless Governor." Michael the holy Archangel gave him his peace and went up into the Heavens in glory, while the holy one gazed after him.

¹² Now the holy Thomas went unto the prison: there was no hurt upon him. And when the saints saw him... (they said):... (I. 25) But when day was come, Arianus the Governor knew that the blessed Thomas was in the prison. Arianus answered: "I caused him to be hanged by his neck, and they hung a great stone at his feet... until he..." He sent to the prison that he (sc. Thomas) might be brought to him.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ASTRATOLE

... (I. 3) because of him. He remembered the holy Apa Ginousi, and said in his heart: "I saw Ginousi, the servant of Jesus the Christ, hanging on the hermelarion; and Jesus his God delivered him. If the God of the holy Ginousi (will) deliver from this great adversity wherein I am, I also will believe on Him and will give my blood for Him at the tribunal of the Governor." And he cried out with a loud voice, saying: "God of the holy Ginousi, help me, and I will believe on Thee and I will think also upon Thy holy Name."... 'sleeping in... In the middle of the night, lo, Michael the Archangel appeared unto him and spake with him, saying: "Astratole." He said: "Lo, (here am) I, my Lord. Who art thou in this form?" He said unto him: "I am Michael the Archangel, who came down from Heaven and delivered thee from the hands of the demons. Thus saith the Lord: 'Observe the covenant which thou didst make with Me: do not break it; but go to the judgment-seat to confess My Name at the tribunal in the presence of the Governor.'"

THE MARTYRDOMS OF APA KRADJÛN AND APA AMOUN

¹ The Martyrdom of the holy Apa Kradjôn the Monk, the pure Martyr of Christ, and the man of Pinehan; the which he accomplished nobly on the xxi day of the month Eph. In the Peace of God! Amen. (p. 1) [It came to pass in the days] of the persecution and tempest which came upon the race of the Christians, and the transgression which befell by reason of a single man—and when the decree came to Rakoti from the lawless kings, who forgot the living God and persecuted the Christians; and when the saints heard, they fled to the deserts and holes of the rocks—at that time there was an Archbishop at Rakoti named Theonas; he feared God greatly. And there was with him a son of the habit, named Theopemptos. This man was an excellent (?) scholar because of the power of God which was with him and the wisdom which He gave unto him. He pleased his Father well. So he made him bishop in a monastery, outside the city, which was called The Monastery of the Fathers; and they who were in that monastery were six hundred monks.

² Now when the holy Bishop heard the news of the persecution, he fled with all them who were with him to the desert of Shiët. His Father also... had the intention of fleeing. Now there was a virgin in Rakoti who feared God well. He entered therefore into her house and spent a great while in her dwelling, living in a workshop. For lo, they had come upon him suddenly and he found no way of escape. This virgin sacrificed to the idols against her wish and in appearance only; because lawless men caused the whole city to offer sacrifice... [Kradjôn and Amoun approach the cell of the Bishop intending to plunder it. They are confronted by the old man.] (p. 5)... "they approached the cell of the God-loving Bishop, while at the same time the foreknowledge of God led them on to the healing of their souls; as it is written, 'There is a sin which leads to death, there is a sin which leads to life.' And they gave ear during the whole night, harkening to the word of God at the mouth of the old man. One of them was called Apa Amoun, and was by birth a man of Therenouti: he was a painter. And the other, named Apa Kradjôn, was by birth a man of Neban: he also had been taught to paint a picture skilfully; and he was a warrior in strength and handsome in aspect. All they who walked in the way of robbery trembled before him; and also... the rulers of Egypt stopped their mouths (?)...

³ p. 6 And Apa Kradjôn said to his comrade: "My brother,... all the time we [have passed?] 'in great carelessness and perdition, remaining in our sins.

We have not found any profit in our lives. Consider this old man who saith by the word of God, that except (through) God man will find no profit. But now, my brother, let us do our diligence to hate ourselves (?); for until this day we have lived according to our own desires. Therefore, if now these godless kings should seize us, they will chastise us, that we may worship idols and forsake God who made us, that we may worship stocks and stones." In such wise they spent a great part of the night, harkening to the word of God at the mouth of the holy man. And when the old man came forth, he found them sleeping, forgetful (?) of the watch of the night: and he... upon them, smiting (?) them, and saying: "Apa Kradjôn and Apa Amoun..."

⁴[In the leaf to which this fragment belongs Kradjôn's resolve to confess the faith (apparently in consequence of a vision) is related.] "... (he lived) nobly and the brethren all marveled at him. But after these things God, the Lover of Man, revealed unto our father...concerning Apa Kradjôn in a vision in the night; and he related it to the holy Bishop. And the old man marveled at him and said: "Blessed be the Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Who hath sent the Angel of...And when he looked upon Apa Kradjôn, he knew that a power of God rested upon him. "...for a year I have seen the life which thou leadest, and there is no hope therein nor any star (sic)... For if thou hopest to win for thyself life eternal, then how shall the Holy One deliver him (?) who (used to practise?) robbery?" Then Apa Kradjôn said unto him: "My Father, pray for me in thy holy prayers. For lo, I will arise and [confront] these godless kings, and will show forth the Name of my God, Jesus the Christ, and His power which...strengthen me..."

⁵marks the junction of the new fragment. [Apa Kradjôn said], "...my holy Fathers, pray for me; for lo, six years have I been with you in the (monastic) habit. Remember me, do not forget me; but forgive me those things wherein I have offended." So he prayed and departed from among them: he walked in haste, and was running in the course through the power of Christ. And when he came to the ferry of Pshati he found a numerous army with the idolatrous kings resting beyond the city, and a multitude of the king's soldiers standing up above the ferry. Then Apa Kradjôn spake with them: "I beseech you, show me the house of a Governor who is in authority, one of them who love idols exceedingly and hate Christ." Then they regarded him and considered the manner of his speech...they were wondering [at him]. And they said unto him: "Whence art thou, O brother? Dost thou not

know...these Governors...?" "But he said unto them: You were not asked to inquire my place of origin. But I beseech you to satisfy me in that which I asked you." They said unto him: "If thou wilt not tell us whence thou art, or what thou seekest, we also will not inform thee of that which thou seekest."

6 Then he passed three days sitting up above the ferry, and did not cross over, because the lawless (kings) ordered that none should cross over. Thus they blocked (?) the roads and the...until the priests had finished who were sacrificing to the idols. And so the whole city was filled with smoke of the fire which they set (?) to the houses and villages which did not (sacrifice?). And as they were passing over, certain soldiers of the king saw him...They said to him..."Art thou...? Hast thou not yet departed to a...?" He said unto them: "Yea, I remain..." When the king looked upon Apa Kradjôn, he marveled at him, as did all his fellow-kings, because of his strength and beauty. His shoulders rose up above all the soldiers; and he cried out, saying: "It is well that thou art come, O king of the idols, thou in whose hands are the keys of Paradise and thou dost not know them! O lamp of darkness, whose foolishness guideth a multitude of sinners unto God! I would have thee know this, therefore, O king, that many times I have prepared myself to come unto thee, but (only) now hath the Lord prepared my path and brought me unto thee. For I know that through the will of God and the wickedness of your folly I shall go unto the place where is the Bridegroom. I know that the purity of my soul and my body and the redemption of my sins come from Him. For I committed many sins at the first, while I walked in heedlessness and in many violent deeds, running eagerly with 'robbers in sins. But I have received grace at the hand of my King, the Christ, in that He hath guided me in the straight way."

7 Then the king was silent until he had finished these words; and there was no one who could answer him a word, because the king was not yet speaking with him. Then the king said unto him: "Where wert thou until today?" Apa Kradjôn said unto him: "I was a fugitive." The king said unto him: "If thou knowest that thy death will come at my hands while I torment thee; if thou knowest that thou wilt die miserably, wherefore then hast thou fled in this manner from safety to meet it (sc. death), that thou venturdest to utter these words?" Apa Kradjôn said unto the king, "How is it possible for a vineyard to be reaped when its time is not yet come? For in the desert of Sin,

when our fathers had crossed over the sea, the Lord used to speak with them through one man, Moses, upon whose face they could not look until..."

§1 × × × marks the junction of the two fragments. "(To) Kulkianus, the Governor of Rakoti, who lives in the providence of the Gods, (from) Arianus, the Governor of the Thebais, greeting. For as much as our Lord the King hath deemed me worthy of his honored letter, bidding that every person in every place, whether man or woman, in a word, every class, should worship the honored gods, who are these, Apollo and Artemis and the rest of the gods—we have found this man, named Apa Amoun, who scorns the decree of the Augustus, our Lord the King Diocletian. Now I have inflicted on him great tortures; yet he is not willing to do sacrifice according to the command of our Lord the King, but confesses, 'I am a Christian.' Now therefore I have sent him unto thee that thou mayest hear him." And when he (Kulkianus) had read this letter, he commanded them to cast him into the prison until the next day. So the holy Apa Amoun was in the prison...the grace...the Lord Jesus the Christ...

§"And God was strengthening him in all things which they brought upon him. And the word of God was in his mouth, and the grace of the Holy Spirit was speaking in him while he was in the prison, encouraging all those who were in the prison looking forward to the crown which the Lord should set upon their heads. He was saying unto them: Great is the honor which the Lord hath shown unto us from our childhood in graciously giving us power to prepare ourselves for this hour. Fear not...if we shall endure slight afflictions, but afterwards shall rejoice for ever in the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus the Christ." Now there were other God-loving brethren in the prison because of the confession of the Name of the Christ. He saw (there) a holy deacon named Apa Pousi, and a holy priest also named...on of Smoun, and...n, and Sarapion. And the holy Apa Amoun was...

§10 Redo Then answered the holy Apa Amoun: "It is written in the Scriptures, 'All the gods of the heathen are demons: like unto them are all they who trust in them.' And now, O lawless Governor, [away with thee] to destruction together with thy gods and thy so insensate king also. For I will not do sacrifice to thy gods (which are) made with hands. So what thou wilt, do unto me quickly." But the Governor said unto him: "Dost thou wish to die miserably, O Amoun? These labors I forgive thee. Now leave this error and haste to do sacrifice to the gods. And I will grant thee great honors and will

make thee priest unto all my gods. I desire now therefore that thou set my heart at rest, that thou mayest become a companion with my..." Now when the holy Apa Amoun heard this, he answered, mocking him, and said: "O Governor, if this is so, bring thy gods to this place that I may sacrifice unto them." When the Governor heard these things from him, "he rejoiced exceedingly, as though he (Amoun) would sacrifice to his gods. Straightway he commanded that they should bring Apollo into the theater and that the heralds should proclaim aloud throughout the city: Assemble all ye, that ye may behold Amoun the Christian who is to sacrifice to the gods of the King."

¹¹ Then the whole multitude came together into the theater, hastening all of them to behold the spectacle. The Governor therefore said unto the holy man: "Come, Amoun, my chosen one, offer sacrifice, that we may depart unto the banquet." But that pure one, Apa Amoun, drew near unto the idol and kicked it, saying: "By the power of Jesus, my King, (I command thee), get thee down to the abyss until the Day of Judgment." Forthwith the earth opened its mouth and swallowed up the idol. When the multitude beheld the miracle which was come to pass, they cried out at the Governor, saying: "[Shame upon?] thy gods who..." And they were praising the holy Apa Amoun, saying: "One is the God of the Christians, Who is the God of Apa Amoun."

THE MARTYRDOM OF PAËSI AND THEKLA

¹... (l. 4) But the holy Apa Amoun cried with a loud voice, saying: "[I beseech] thee to have compassion on me." And when he had spread abroad his hands, he began to pray, saying: "My Lord Jesus the Christ, [the Deliverer?] of every one who suffereth for Thee, Thou also... (l. 15) Thou Who didst make all things which are on the Earth and in Heaven; Thou Who didst hear the Three Holy Children in the furnace of fire, Thou wilt hear (?)..."... that holy one Apa Amoun stood up. There was not...; [but he was] without any hurt. Now when the multitudes saw this miracle which was come to pass, they cried out, saying: "There is no God in Heaven and upon the Earth save the God of the holy Apa Amoun." But when the Governor heard these things, he was exceeding wroth, because of all these things which the multitude said.

²(The eight lines following are illegible.)... marks the junction of the Cairo and Leipzig fragments. "Thekla thy sister." And Paësi (?) said unto him: "Thou dost hate me, Paul, because I went in unto the clergy and the

holy ones. For this is my delight wherein I delight. For God hath saved me from my sins." And he consoled himself with the holy ones and departed to his house in peace. He lay down and did not eat or drink for three days. Now when Paul came to seek for Paësi, the servants of Paul said to Paësi: "If Paul cometh unto thee today, compel him to eat with thee. For lo, for three days he hath not eaten nor drunk." ... (I. 19) "Paul, be constrained, that we may eat bread with the holy ones." Paul was glad, and went in haste and prepared a meal, and went unto the prison: he ate and drank with all the saints... while they were eating...

³[Paësi and Paul are arrested and kept in prison: Paësi hopes to see his sister before his death.] "...If the Lord bid, I will remain until the Lord bring her unto us. But if again He wills to separate us from one another, His will be done." In that night there appeared unto him the Archangel Gabriel and said unto him: "Hail, O man that art worthy to be loved by God and men." Now it came to pass that when Paësi saw the Angel of the Lord, he fell upon his face and was greatly afraid. For the whole prison was as light as day. The holy ones beheld the light, and were confounded and fell upon their faces. And the Angel stretched forth his hand and laid hold on them, and raised them up, and said unto them: "Be of good cheer, for the power of the Apostles is with you that ye may put to shame this lawless (Governor) that God and His holy Angels may be glorified."

⁴Paësi said unto the Angel: "I desire to see Thekla my sister before I die." The Angel of the Lord said unto him: "Paësi, seven days hence thou shalt behold Thekla thy sister, and thou shalt (always) be with her through the power of the Lord, and thy soul shall not be parted from her soul, nor thy body from hers. If thou desirest..." "... will bring thee before the judgment-seat of [the King?], he will cause thee to be placed upon a bed of iron and shall put fire under thee. Verily I will be before thee upon the bed. I will quench the fire and will overshadow thee that the fire devour not a single hair of thy head. Be strong and be a man of might; for lo, thy martyrdom shall bring shame upon this lawless (Governor) for six months." Then Paësi said unto him: "My Lord, strengthen me, and I will give my body unto all the tortures of the tribunal." And the Angel greeted him and went up into the Heavens in glory.

⁵Now when day was come Armenius the dux of Rakoti sat upon the judgment-seat in the theater. He commanded that the holy Paësi should be

brought unto him with the holy ones. They were brought bound hand and foot with chains of iron, having collars (of iron) about their necks; and the torturers followed hard after him and the holy ones, driving them along until they brought them before the judgment-seat. When the dux saw them, he said unto Paësi: "O sorcerer, hast thou felt the torments of the 'tribunal'? Dost thou know that they...? But now, sacrifice to the gods and do not perish miserably." But the holy man said unto him: "Thou... and thy Apollo and Artemis also, and thy abominable king Diocletian." The dux was angered, and commanded him to be placed upon a bed of iron and that the torturers should light a fire under him. [Straightway?] the Archangel Gabriel [came] down from Heaven [and]

6...him and covered him with his wings: he spake with him of the mysteries of Heaven. And the tormentors put fire under him from the fifth hour of the day unto the sixth hour. And the dux arose and commanded, saying: "Come, let his ashes be cast into the sea. For he said: 'Christ will deliver me:' let Him come now and deliver him from this torment, if there is any strength in Him. For there is no god who hath power like Apollo and Artemis." Straightway, while he was yet speaking, Paësi came out of the fire of the bed through the power of the Holy Spirit, while the Angel of the Lord held his hand... (The remainder of the recto, which is very dim, has not been deciphered.)...they said unto him: "Thy torments are derided. Lo, our tongues and our eyes... and our bodies are whole." When the multitude beheld the holy ones with their bodies whole, they cried out, saying: "Great is the God of the holy Paësi and Thekla his sister."

7 The holy Paësi and Thekla his sister departed to the prison. And the dux departed to his house. He did not eat nor drink in his wrath because of the shame which the holy ones had brought upon him. And Dorothea his wife went into the triclinium and said to him: "Wherefore dost thou not eat nor drink? Perchance it is because the Christians have put some slight shames upon thee." And the dux was angry, and said unto her: "Wretch, dost not thou then worship this Name Jesus, and therefore speakest on behalf of these sorcerers? Give thanks unto Apollo the great God that I do not put thee utterly to death on account of them." She said to him, "Would only that I were worthy of this honor!" She said also to him: "I am weary of begging thee to leave the Christians alone. Does not their God protect them? He is more powerful than thy dumb Apollo of stone."

TEXTS RELATING TO SAINT MACARIUS: FOUR ODES ON SAINT
MACARIUS

¹ The God of Glory was with the just one, the Great Abba Makari, the Spirit-bearer, For He assigned unto him a holy Power, even the Cherubim, from the beginning. Whilst he was sitting one day in the cave, meditating upon the Holy Scriptures, There appeared unto him the Cherubim and spake with him on this wise, saying: "Look to thyself, Makari, be not proud of heart: lose not thy labor because of the glory of men. "When thou hast fulfilled all the virtues, say in thine heart: 'I am a sinner.'... "Look to thy vineyard, Makari, for it is near the vintage: let not mischievous foxes destroy its fruit. ""Look to thy tree, Makari, for it beareth fruit: let not the fowls of the air spoil its fruit. "Look to thy treasury, Makari, for it is full of good things: let not thieves break into it. ² "Look to thy ship, Makari, for it is full of royal treasures: let not the waves of the sea overwhelm it. "Look to thy plough, Makari, to which thou hast set thy hand; look not aside to that which maketh it (?) become crooked." When Abba Makari heard these words, he cried out, weeping, and spake on this manner: "What is my pride of heart, sinner that I am, when evil spirits corrupt my soul? "What is my pride of heart, sinner that I am? I have not labored with a brother at any time." When the Cherubim heard this, he commended him... Abba Makari and his Children. The Cherubim who abode with thee, my Lord Father, Abba Makari, until he brought thee unto these deserts, had four faces: A face of a lion and a face of a bull, a face of a man and a face of an eagle. Such is the fashion of the Cherubim according to the word of the Scripture.

³ I will liken the face of a lion unto our Father Abba Makari; for he became a mighty lion against the evil spirits. I will liken the face of a bull unto our Father Abba John; for he 'planted the tree in the dry ground, till it bare fruit. I will liken the face of a man unto our Father Abba Pishoi; for he spake with Christ, like Moses the Law-giver. I will liken the face of an eagle unto our Roman Fathers; for they received wings of fire and sped into these deserts. Lo, Moses the Black also came into these deserts: he wore the unfading crown of martyrdom. The Forty-nine Martyrs, the old men of the deserts—they poured forth their blood upon the Rock of Piamoun. The holy Ellaria (Hilaria), the holy Anastasia, the holy Aripsima, the brides of Christ. The Sanctuaries which thou hast established, my Lord Father, Abba Makari, shall not cease to bear fruit until the end of this age.

4 Pray the Lord for us, my Lord Father, Abba Makari, with thy cross-bearing sons, that He may forgive (us our sins).

TEXTS RELATING TO SAINT MACARIUS: MACARIUS AND THE HIERACITE
1["... As if someone were walking upon the sea and gazing steadfastly] towards the sun which beareth him up by means of its beams, and were to look upon the waters upon which he walketh: will he not be submerged, because he hath removed his gaze from the sun which supported him with its beams? What will happen unto him because he hath disobeyed the sun which said unto him: 'Take heed to thy gaze that thou look not upon the waters; for, lo, it is not thou who bearest up thyself, but my beams'? Even so also the man whose gaze is fixed upon God, seeking after the glory of God at all times, is wont to seek to hate the glory of men. If he turn aside to the glory of men, he fallett away from the glory of God, and his gaze is defiled by a multitude of passions, and in the end he submerges his cargo altogether."

2 The Bishop marveled, being astounded at his speech and his excellent wisdom: and he departed to his city, praising God and His servant Abba Makari. Once an old woman came unto him (sc. Macarius) and brought unto him her son, bound in (chains of) iron and held by two men, being possessed by a demon which raved exceedingly. His mother walked after him weeping. For this was the working of that demon: after he had eaten three measures and drunk water...

TEXTS RELATING TO SAINT MACARIUS: AGATHOS THE PRIEST, THE
VISION OF BENJAMIN

[Know, my brethren, that not one of these shall receive the lot of Jacob; and the] "power which rests upon it (sc. the Sanctuary) and its altar: they are concerned with naught save the ornament of meekness and gentleness, which is perfect in every good grace; even as the Epistle of the Apostle Paul beareth us witness in the discourse on this same vocation. Lo, think not, my brethren, that I have decreed this ex-communication because of this generation, but... because of that (generation) which will come, even as was showed unto me by him (sc. the 'Cherubim' or Seraph) who declared unto me, I fear that they shall become (such) in the last days." For this cause I have written this Canon strongly. I establish it because of those who will come after a time, that they may turn away from the glory of men and love the glory of God most High.

TEXTS RELATING TO SAINT MACARIUS: THE TRANSLATION OF SAINT
MACARIUS

¹"The Coming to Shift of the glorious Relics of our righteous and Spirit-bearing Father, the great Abba Makari, which took place on the nineteenth day of the month Mesôre. In the Peace of God! Amen. Verily it is a true saying of the holy Prophet and Psalmist David who saith that: "All the bones of the righteous the Lord keepeth them and not one of them shall perish"... Prophet... "He that keepeth Israel [shall neither slumber nor sleep." And likewise: "The Lord will deliver all them that love Him." The Lord also saith in the holy Gospels concerning the...: "A hair of your heads shall not perish." For lo, four hundred and forty years are passed from the time when our holy Spirit-bearing Father, the great Abba Makari, fell asleep, unto the day of the coming unto us of his holy relics. And according to the word of the Prophet: "He who is the Lord's... the Lord will deliver his bones... without perishing..."

²...the Rock rejoicing. He was...to fulfil the command of the Almighty. For this cause he ceased not to...him until he brought him unto the feet of the Lord; according to that which the holy man Abba Sarapion, the disciple of the great Abba Antonius, hath related unto us. So when our God-bearing Father upon whom the Holy Spirit looked at all times,...And when his departing...unto the Lord...Whom he loved, they laid his holy body in (a cave) near by the Church which he had built; even as it is written in his holy life.

³So when the whole earth...[was] filled with...the trumpet of those marvels and the [wonders which were performed], the Lord working them by his means, "for this cause there came from every place, not only in Egypt but in distant lands, companies of faithful people who prayed in his cave and worshiped at his tomb; and they who were sick in divers ways enjoyed healing. More especially the people of P-djidjbêr, the village of our righteous Father, used also to come eagerly and to do reverence to him; and they beheld the astonishing wonders which were wrought by means of his holy body after those (wonders) which they had experienced through him while he was in the flesh. They made an agreement together to take him away by stealth from the deserts and bring him to P-djidjbêr, their village; and this came to pass. And then after a Recto time they assembled together and went secretly to Shiët... since they already knew the place wherein lay the body of our all-holy Father. They went and took it away by stealth from the place wherein it lay and placed it upon their beasts (camels) and carried it to P-djidjbêr. And

so they built a Church richly adorned according to his renown and laid him therein; because the land of Egypt was in great prosperity in those days, for it was the time when the Romans were ruling.

4 Verso And through the power of the Paraclete which was with him, many signs and wonders were wrought by his means in that Sanctuary. But after [three hundred and sixty years the Saracens gained] dominion, [they] began ...And P-djidjbêr itself also was desolated save for a small (portion) in just this manner. And when Joseph, the Christ-loving archon of Elmi, saw that they could not take care of the Sanctuary wherein was the body of our Father the Prophet, the great Abba Makari, he went reverently with multitudes of clergy to remove it to Elmi. And multitudes also of devout persons were marching with them in great tranquillity, in the five hundredth year of the holy Martyrs. And so straightway he built a Church in his name: he laid him therein, because there was a multitude of believers... to the man of God, our Father Abba Makari...

FRAGMENTS OF PUBLISHED TEXTS ON SAINT MACARIUS; ODES TO THE
SAINTS OF SCETIS

1 Hail to Abba Makari, the great net who drew every one into the Way of God, and put upon them the holy habit, teaching them to dwell solitary in holes of the ground. Glorious exceedingly beyond what words can tell was Abba John the Hegumen. By reason of his purity the beasts became as rams (sic) before him; by reason of his obedience a dried stick blossomed and bare fruit. I am at a loss in my thoughts, my mind is bewildered, I can find naught to say worthy of thy glory, O Man of Light, Our Father Abba Pishoi, who nobly didst run the race. Hail to Maximus and Domitius, our Roman Fathers! When they had taken up their cross they followed after Christ to the holy mount of Abba Makari. Even as John, the holy virgin, and James, the sons of Zebedee, when they left their father and their nets in the ship and followed after Christ with a true heart, in exchange for their nets and the fishes of the sea He made them to be catchers of men—(so) our Father Maximus and Domitius left their wealth and their palace, they despised their substance, they trusted to attain life eternal. They inherited (sic) the fourth laura which God chose in the desert.

2 [Hail to Abba John Khamé...!] He became founder of a haven of salvation for many souls so that they were delivered. Hail to Abba Moses, mighty warrior, first of the martyrs that were upon this mountain! Hail to the Forty-

nine, blessed Seniors, who poured forth their blood upon the top of the Rock! Hail to Hilaria, and Anastasia, and Aripsima the brides of Christ! Blessed art thou, O Abba Makari, for the God of Heaven giveth great glory unto thee. Thou shalt see thy Sons and thy Sons' Sons as a crown unto thee in the Kingdom of Heaven. Ode 3 (the same). For the two initial lines see the Cairo Psalmodia, p. 354. [Thou didst become a luminary shedding light upon the] earth, O our blessed Father, my Lord Father Abba John; so that through thy humility and thine angelic life thou didst hang all Shiët upon thy little finger like a drop of water; and thou didst chastise thy body with toilsome discipline, that thou mightest be free from peril in the Day of Judgment; so that also thou didst become worthy, O our holy Father Abba John, to sit with the Apostles to judge thy generation.

³ Ode 4 (Moses the Robber).

The Twenty-fourth day of Paôni: Abba Moses.

⁴ Would that I might become a dove, that I might fly and come unto the high Rock of Abba Moses; that I might do reverence over his body ere they bear it forth from the cave; that I might entreat him to pray unto the Lord for me and for the sins of my soul; that Christ our God may forgive me ere I am borne forth from my... Ode 5 (The Forty-nine Martyrs). [Through the intercessions of] "the Forty-nine Martyrs, O Lord, vouchsafe unto us forgiveness of our sins. "O come today, all ye people, that we may laud our cross-bearing Fathers, whose feast we celebrate today, Assembled with the Angels and the company of "the Saints and our cross-bearing Fathers, the Nine and Forty Martyrs! The chief among the Saints, named Abba John, stood in their midst and cried, saying: "Lo, the Barbarians are coming. He who would flee, let him flee: those who will remain with us, let us (sic) not be faint of heart."

⁵ Some of the old men fled... Our Father Apa Samuel. A choice savor and a smoke of incense, a holy sacrifice well pleasing unto God were thy holy prayers and thy austerities, O our righteous Father Abba Samuel. I will not leave untold thy austerities and thy penances which thou didst perform in Shiët; most of all, the sufferings which thou didst endure at the hands of the Colchian tyrant. Thou didst offer up thy life for the confession of the right faith in the holy Trinity. Thou didst make strong thine heart, like a martyr, and so didst receive the crown of patience. They drove thee forth from Shiët, so that thou didst come and dwell in the Mount of Neklone. Again, when God called thee from this mountain of thy vows (?) for a great service, of thy pa-

tience in a strange land of barbarians I will make mention. The Lord Jesus the Christ caused thee to work signs and great wonders in that place: thou didst cause (the dumb) to speak, thou didst cause the lame to walk, women who were barren thou didst cause to bear children. Thy name was renowned in the land of Nemax, and they glorified thee as the Apostles. They suffered thee, after the desire of thy heart, (to depart) so that thou didst go and dwell in the Mount of Kalamon, the place wherein the Lord God promised that thou shouldst dwell, thou and thy sons for ever. Thou didst bring in a numerous people into the Kingdom of Heaven through thy holy prayers.

ABBA APOLLO

He himself became a director and teacher of multitudes of souls: he brought them to worship the Lord. The holy woman also who was wedded with him became a faithful mother of multitudes of virgins, and wrought signs and wonders. They passed their holy lives most nobly and were with Christ Whom they loved with their whole heart. Pray, &c., my righteous Lord Father, holy John Khamé, that, &c. O who shall be able to express the great mercies which God the Word hath showed unto us? He hath seen our lowliness and our feebleness, He hath looked down from on high and hath helped us. He sent us first the great Abba Antoni and Abba Makari to guide (us) unto... And to teach us the progress unto God through discipline and austerity. In their path walked Abba John, whose face was illumined...

LIFE OF THEODORE, DISCIPLE OF PACHÔM

Now this man (Apollo) was a shepherd by profession, as were his fathers. But while he was still in his youth, that man gave himself up unto great sins... (l. 6). And he gave himself into the hand of the Devil until he had completed forty years. And he fulfilled all the desires of Satan and his abominations, envies... (l. 15). In a word...(l. 18) [He thought within] himself, saying: "From my youth I have sinned and committed everything which my soul desired. And I have not left unfulfilled any one of all the sins of the Devil. One only have I failed (to commit); for I desire to rip up the womb of a 'woman who is with child, to see how the child lieth in her womb.'" [Ll. 4-16 Apollo meets his victim who implores him not to harm her.] "... (l. 17) for since the day that I came forth from my mother's womb, no strange man hath defiled my body..." (l. 22) But when the shepherd Apollo heard this, he relented not at all, nor did he lift up his eyes to Heaven. But the Devil...

THE TRANSLATION OF EPHRAEM SYRUS TO SCETIS

[They brought his] "pure [body] to the blessed Monastery of our Father Abba Pishoi in the desert of Shiët with praises and hymns and great honors and many high distinctions as befitted him. When they drew nigh to the place which God had prepared for him, the whole multitude which was there hastened and came forth to meet him. They chanted before him in many praises with David the Psalmist, saying on this wise: All the bones of the righteous the Lord God keepeth them, and not one of them shall perish." And his blessed bones were laid in an ark of choice wood with the pure body of our Father Abba Pishoi. This holy memorial took place upon the seventh day of the month Tôbi, while God wrought great miracles in his holy Oratory.

GREGORY OF NYSSA: LIFE OF GREGORY THAUMATURGUS

¹[For alone of all lands and seas] that Pontus (is called) 'Euxine,' since it supplies unstintingly all necessities conducive to life, not only of the men of that part and the inhabitants of the country, but also of such others as may hasten thither from every part. For verily this is the nature of that country. Not only does it abound in all necessities conducive to life, but (it lacks) not for all other things (from abroad, since) the sea supplies them from every part. Such is that whole nation, that if a man gives heed to a part of it alone, he thinks it more choice than all the rest. For this cause by a decision of that whole race together the city of the great Gregory was founded to become the metropolis of that whole race. "This city a great king, famous among them who held the realm of the Romans and who was named Caesar, ordered to be called after his name, because of his love and his goodwill towards it.

²But all these matters tend not at all to our mark, that we should think of them as glories of that great man who is now amid the Saints. For what (glory is it to him that there are abundant) crops in (the country, that the city is adorned) with marvelous works, (or that goods) are imported from all parts by way of the sea which is nigh thereto? Nay, I will not make mention at all in my discourse of his ancestry nor of them who were the authors of his birth according to the flesh: of their wealth, and their renown, and their worldly distinction, I will not speak. For (what could) tombs and (monuments contribute to his praise?) "from the (use of their) names also he knew those who had appeared to him, since each one addressed his fellow by his

name. For it is said that he heard her who had appeared in the form of a woman begging John the Evangelist to reveal to the youth the mystery of the truth. And that one also was speaking to her in this manner: I am ready to vouchsafe this, O Mother of my Lord, since this is thy wish." And so, after he had declared the matter sufficiently in some few words, they disappeared.

³ But he (Gregory) straightway wrote down the holy words which he had heard, and afterwards he preached according to the sense of that utterance in the church. And he preserved that doctrine which he had received from God as an inheritance for those who should come after him. And even until now the people of that country are instructed therein, "remaining untainted by the mischief of any heresy. These are the words: There is one God, the Father of the living Word (Who is) the established Wisdom and the Power of His likeness; the Father perfect, and the Son perfect; Father of the only-begotten Son, and one Lord; One-Only of One-Only; God of God; the Image and the Likeness of the Godhead; the Word Who hath wrought the Wisdom which embraceth the system of all things, and the Maker of all creation; very Son of very Father, Invisible of Invisible, Incorruptible of Incorruptible, Immortal of Immortal, Eternal of Eternal; with One Holy Spirit Who proceedeth from the perfect Father and (is manifested) through the perfect Son, perfect Life, the Cause of them who live, the Pure One, the Supplier of purity, He (in whom God the Father) is (revealed)...

⁴ When Gregory had declared the faith towards God, confirming it not by words, but by wonders shown forth in deeds, the priest answered: "I also wish to see a miracle such as can convince my heart, that I may confess the faith." It is said of that great man that he wrought a miracle in that place, which was great. When the priest said concerning a great stone which lay before him and which could not be moved by the hand of man: "Through the power of the faith alone let me see this stone remove to another place at thy command;" then that great man Gregory did not rebuke (him) at all, but straightway commanded the stone as one that had understanding: "Depart and go to another place"—namely that which the priest indicated. And when this came to pass, straightway the man believed on the word and left all, his kindred, his house, his wife, his children, his friends, his priesthood (in?) the temple, and his goods. He chose to be with Gregory in place of all that he possessed, and to gain the fellowship of his toils and that true philosophy and his teaching.

5 Let all the subtle arts, then, of speech-writers keep silence—those arts which extol highly the greatness of marvels with the eloquence of rhetoricians! For the marvel is not such among those of which we have spoken as to be made greater or less than it actually was through the power of speech. For who could exaggerate that which we have related, enhancing the greatness of the marvel? Nay, more, who could detract from the marvel in the telling so that the hearers failed to be amazed at that which happened? A stone caused them who were servants of stones to withdraw themselves from stones, and became a guide unto the infidels. The text of the verso is restored from the Greek. "For what ears hath a stone? Or what perception hath it, that it should become subject to the authority of him who commanded it? Or what faculty of walking hath it? Or, again, with what limbs is it furnished, or what its bodily parts? But when the power of the command served the stone in place of all these...

6 When with this beginning the great Gregory had commenced his warfare against the demons and was going about with the priest, as it were with a monument which he had set up for his triumph over them, so that the whole tribe of them trembled because of his renown; so with a great assurance and boldness he entered into the city, not with chariots, nor with horses, nor with mules, nor yet making a vain show with multitudes of followers, but glorified through the virtues which surrounded him. And the whole multitude went forth from the city to behold a new marvel, everyone de'siring to see that Gregory who, though a man, had received authority, as though of a king, over them whom they called their gods, in that he summoned the demons and dispatched them at his command as he pleased to the place he desired..., bringing them in and casting them forth like slaves. They (the people) were saying: "Lo, even the priest, that minister of theirs, he hath taken and made him his servant through his power, so that he hath forgotten the glory which was formerly his and hath chosen this man's life of travel in preference to his own property."

7 With such feelings they were all expecting him before the city. But when he came to them, and when every one was gazing at him, he passed them all by like a lifeless piece of wood. For he turned himself towards no one of those who were surrounding him, but walked straight on (to the city). "[This conduct on the part of Gregory seemed to transcend even] the miracle of the stone. [And so he entered in], thronged on every side by all those

who... by reason of the crowds who marched with him as he entered; since the (whole) city had come forth to meet him, doing honor to his priesthood; although, as I have said before, there were only very few therein who had received the word of the faith before he came into it. When he had rid himself... "When [he was within the city] and there was not any house wherein he could rest, either (belonging to) the Church or to himself, and when those who accompanied him were troubled and at a loss to know where they should dwell or with whom they should find shelter, the teacher said unto them: Wherefore are ye at a loss together for a place wherein to repose your bodies, as though ye were without the shelter of God?

8 "Think you that God is too small a dwelling-place, if in truth in Him we have our being and live and move, as it is written?" Or doth the shelter of heaven irk you that ye seek after a dwelling-place? Nay, let your one care be for a house which belongeth to each one of you—that which is builded and raised on high by virtue. And let this alone grieve you, if we have not there a house of this sort prepared for us. To be encircled with earthly walls is no advantage to them who live in virtue. More fitting is it that they who are defiled with wickedness should betake themselves to the use of walls; for oftentimes the house is a veil for the secret things of shame. But as for them who adorn their life with virtues, naught will be found in them for walls to hide."

9 Now while he was thus speaking to them who were with him, there was (there) "a man who was distinguished in his birth and his wealth and other respects, and who was numbered among the magnates. The name of the man was Musonius. This man, then, seeing that many were eagerly bent upon this same purpose, to receive the man (sc. Gregory) into their houses, anticipated the rest in securing (?) for himself this favor. He besought the great Gregory to lodge with him and to honor... his house by entering into it, [in order that he might be revered and famous in after time], and that he might thus hand down a recollection of this kind to all future generations. But when the rest... assembled... and begged him for [the same], he decided that it was just that he should grant this favor to [him who had first sought it]..."

10 [Gregory's power of settling disputes was comparable to that of Solomon, whose decision of the dispute between the two mothers is described at length.] (When the other of the two, being moved) "inwardly, since she was the mother of the living child, admitted that she was vanquished and begged that the little child might be spared—for she was grateful that the

child should live at all—, the king treated this utterance as a decision of the truth and gave the verdict for her who had... For he reflected that she who did not shrink from seeking after the death of her son, was accused by nature; for had she been the mother, she would not have been eager to slay him. What, then, is the judgment of the great Gregory which we are going to relate? It chanced that two brothers, who were young, divided the inheritance of their father and were disputing over a lake of water, each of them striving "to get it for himself and refusing to take the other as a partner with him in the possession. They took (?) Gregory to decide this case. And when he was come to that place, first of all he used his own laws, giving decision that they should be reconciled with one another. He besought them that they would both be of one heart in fellowship with one another and gain the advantages of peace, since they were more precious than any wealth. He spake unto them thus: This (gain) will abide with you whether ye live or afterwards die. Moreover, the enjoyment of this possession is for a season, and it hath there an eternal reproach for him who wrongs..." And he was saying...to them...

¹¹ [He prevented the brothers from slaying one another, not to speak of] "the multitudes assembled with each of them [for the purpose of?] war with one resolve. [For there was a single] end to their attack on one another—death. Much more right it is [to marvel at him who] did away with the sentence of death through his prayers, and made nature one with itself again, and changed their eagerness for murder into peaceful gladness... (I. 2) These were the things said and done concerning the lake. Another marvel after this which he [wrought?] and showed forth, [and which is] remembered to this day, is this. There was a river [flowing through] that place, [which owing to] its roughness [and] turbulence... is called Lycus." And Gregory continued rebuking those who were assembled with him with these words... until the servants had fulfilled his bidding with that which he had commanded them, and had returned unto him. With them came (Alexander).

¹² "(Moreover, this was dear) to the enemy of righteousness, and [he desired?] that the chosen vessel should remain useless and obscured by ignorance; for he was unwilling that a man of this sort, who would be a destroyer of his tyranny, should come into the midst.

LIFE OF ABBA PIDJIMI

¹(Slight traces of one line.)...but Michael also, when the Devil disputed with him concerning the body of Moses, did not dare to bring a railing accusation against him. Do thy diligence to have pity (?) [upon] every creature. For all things are by the will of Christ, and all things are from Him." He said also in other words (?)... in himself (?) and... [when] therefore thou knowest that... do not scorn any... [of] the Lord. If thou beholdest a sinner, do not hate him, but hate the sin which he doeth, that thou mayest not do it thyself. It is written that if... thou shalt load them upon a...; if an ass, thou shalt change them to a sheep (sic). Even so do thou also change everything which thou shalt see and hear into things good. If thou beholdest a likeness (or image)... (l. 3) all the precious things (?) [belonging to?] those who shine like the sun in the Kingdom of the Heavens."

²He said also concerning [delicate] meats and perfumes: "Think upon the good things prepared in the heavenly Jerusalem and the perfumes which are in Paradise. If thou [sufferest] afflictions and..., think upon the punishments... in every place [by the will] of the Lord God... It is written: 'If ye be risen with the Christ, haste ye also to seek the things of the Christ.'" And again: "If thou hast not yet conquered thy heart, guard thine eyes and thine ears; for these are the doors of thy heart. If therefore thou shalt guard thy heart and knowest that thou hast conquered it, then be of good cheer, for thou shalt be the more wise. Do thy diligence also to see God in all things which thou shalt see. Do thy diligence to give rest unto every man, either by the work of thy hands, or by thy speech, or by thine aspect.

³If thou goest also into the midst of the brethren, if they are working, work with them according to thy power, that the grace of the power of God may be in thy weakness." These are the things wherewith the blessed Abba Pidjimi instructed himself alone. Then the blessed Abba Pidjimi arose and departed into the inner desert of Shiët. And he passed three days and three nights journeying, not knowing whither he was going. Nor had he taken with him any bread or water or anything at all save a little palm-stick whereon he leaned. Then there appeared unto him companies of demons disguised in their nature and exceeding fearsome; bulls, and lions, and bears, and hyenas, "and wolves, and dogs, and wild boars, and fowl birds. In short there was every one (creature) after its kind seeking to affright the blessed man, but they were not able to succeed.

⁴ But the blessed Pidjimi when he perceived the matter, stood up: he saw their malice and their confusion because they could not move him, and he mocked at their powerlessness. He said unto them sternly: "What ails you, wretched ones, that ye make these appearances and this false confusion? If my Lord Jesus the Christ had delivered me unto you, a single one of you would have been sufficient against me. But since He hath not given you authority against me, get you gone unto your place." Straightway he prayed and crossed himself, and when he had breathed upon them, they vanished in the air and consumed away like smoke. These reflections may have been borrowed by the biographer from a collection of 'Sayings of the Fathers.' The vertical back-stroke of the numeral (not p) alone remains: perhaps. And he used to live on the fruit of the palms which grew in the Marsh there. And (once) every six days he used to go unto the Marsh to gather for himself the fruit of the palms. But he did not eat to fill his belly, but used to fill his hand, and whatever his hand would hold, that would he eat. The water also which he used to drink was this: a bin of water (once) every six days from the Marsh. Nor again was it ever his custom to have food or water with him in the place in which he was; but every six days, when he wished to eat, he would go unto the Marsh to fill his hand with dates and eat, and to drink his bin of water at the Marsh, and then return again to his place until the six days were ended. He passed another three years in this discipline.

⁵ His prayers and his offices he used to make daily—four hundred and forty prostrations by day with [fifty?] Psalms and a number of recitations also from Moses and all the Prophets. By night also he used to make twenty-four thousand (sic) prostrations with a hundred Psalms besides a great number of recitations from the Old Testament. When he had spent three years in this discipline, the clothes which he wore were worn out and fell to pieces. He was at a stand what to do; for he did not wish to clothe himself at all with the necessities of this world, but to be rid of them, like little children and the animals, and (but) a man who is sober (?) in the Scriptures. He said within himself: "How shall I be able to sit if I am naked? How shall I be able to pray to God if I am naked?" Again, he said: "My Father Adam and Eve, our first parents..."

⁶ From the time that he (Shenouti) left his cell, he did not eat nor drink while he was journeying. Pidjimi said unto him: "Take thee this vessel and fill it with water from the spring which is to the east." And he took the vessel

and filled it with water. When he came up, he found the old man (Pidjimi) standing and praying to God. And when he entered into the cell, he found the cooking pot upon the ground and boiling with heat (?). Then Abba Shenouti understood in his heart that this was Abba Pidjimi whose throne and whose crown had been shown to him. When they had prayed together, they ate their little cooked morsel and slept. But in the middle of the night they arose and said an Office together: they spent the whole night praising God and chanting in spiritual songs. After these things Abba Shenouti "[informed Abba Pidjimi of the] marvel [concerning] his throne and his crown. Thereafter, they went forth...walking in the country with...God purposed thus that the election of Abba Shenouti should be revealed to Abba Pidjimi. It chanced that as they two were walking, they came upon a dead man, buried in that place. For verily there was a multitude of bodies of the pagans of old buried there. Now (while) Abba Shenouti was walking with his little palm-staff in his hand, [he came] upon a dead man's skull. And Abba Shenouti struck it upon the skull three times; (and) forthwith the dead man answered (?) and spake with Abba Shenouti and Abba Pidjimi after this manner: Hail, hail, ye true worshippers of Christ and servants of God most high [Who hath shown me] grace and delivered me from death. For your...For lo, from henceforth [I] shall..."

LIFE OF TIMOTHY AELURUS

1... 'Marcian' died suddenly without sickness. Then the blessed Peter the Iberian, who was at Pendje at that time, arose in haste and went forth from Pendje and returned to Rakoti. It was our Lord Jesus the Christ Who led him and brought him thither according to a dispensation, that he might become a support unto the people and a strength of the orthodox faith. Now this was the dispensation. When the news reached the city Rakoti concerning the death of Marcian—he who had been the author and originator of all these woes of the multitude of the orthodox, who no longer had strength by reason of the increase of the afflictions which were laid upon them and the persecutions which overtook them since they despaired through grief of heart—they lived again because they had found a season of repose: [they gave thanks] unto our Savior that they had received a favor of this sort at His hands, in that He was not wroth with them in delivering them in [anger?] into the hands of the pestilential (?) and bloodthirsty wolf. Thereon, since they saw that the season was such as they prayed that they might find (?), the

multitude of the monks assembled, both they who were in the city... and the others also who were there, the multitudes of the place which is called Pi-Ennaton and Oktokaidekaton and the rest of the holy monasteries, together with all the believing people "of the city of Rakoti. And there was amongst them there the great ascete and prophet, Abba Longinus, the Father of the monks, who was unto them a guide and a leader in this good work, urging them at the bidding of God not to be neglectful but to hasten to finish that which they purposed.

2 Then as they were deliberating together, they sent certain who had the power to do this thing with authority, and they dragged the honored confessor—nay rather the very martyr—Timothy from the desert while he was unaware of anything of this kind. For he had previously been held worthy of the dignity of the priesthood—he and Anatolius, his true brother and his rival in the ascetic life—at the hands of the great Cyril, the Archbishop of Rakoti. For our Father Abba Timotheos was a man adorned with every form of the grace of Christ like the Apostles, and moreover with a keen zeal for the orthodox faith. Now when they brought him into the city, and took him into the Church which is called the Caesareum, almost all the city was assembled together, men and women and their children together with the holy monks. A Sahidic Life of Longinus (and Lucius) is extant (Morgan MSS., xxxvii. 87 ff.). Five of his sayings are found in the Apophbh. Patr. (P.G. LXV, 266 ff.). 6 i.e. Timothy Aelurus, Patriarch 457-477 A.D.: he is otherwise credited with having contrived his own elevation by working on the credulity of the monks. 7 A pagan temple or heroin dedicated to Caesar, subsequently transformed into a Christian Church (in which Hypatia was murdered: Socrates, H.E. VII, 15). For its site see E. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyphum*, p. 45.

3[The Emperor commanded that they should restore] "the blessed Timothy, who was elected by God, and seat him upon his throne, that in this way the city might regain strength after the troubles which were past and that the people might rest in peace. And when he returned into the city, every street was filled with joy and delight and gladness; and a great multitude of the unbelievers was coming to receive baptism. And if we may speak briefly, the city of the people of Rakoti was Heaven in all those days. Now when the blessed Timothy had occupied the Bishopric for three years, once more the envious demon could not endure to behold the salvation of men.

He caused the Bishops who were in every place, especially they of Constantinople and Rome, to rage in this manner with a great hatred, because the life of the blessed Timothy, his disposition, his renown, and his outspokenness were a shame and rebuke unto them, since he daily anathematized publicly—he, and the Bishops who were under him, and the clergy, and the monks, and the laity—the unholy Council which was held at Chalcedon. They made a great to-do by means of bribe-giving and the advocacy of lawless men—for they found "the rulers who were in power at that time amenable to them through covetousness—and did not cease from their wicked and evil design until they had caused the blessed Timothy to be exiled again, and had shed much blood among the people. And so he was removed into exile again, to a city, Gangra, the place wherein his fellow-confessor and champion of the orthodox faith, Dioscoros, ended his days when he had won the crown of Confessorship.

4 For when they had cast out the blessed Timothy from his throne by means of the King's decree and of violence, and had caused him to be exiled, they set another in his place by the King's edict, namely, one of the priests who was styled, indeed, Timothy, though his other name was Salophaicalos, and who also had adopted the corrupt faith of the Chalcedonians. Now there was a priest in Caesarea named Apholios who celebrated in the Church of the orthodox: he was a holy man and very reverend, honored in the sight of all as a chosen one, who had endured a multitude of afflictions steadfastly for the orthodox faith by reason of his great...

LIFE OF APA HÔR

Ambrosius (answered) unto Apa Hôr: "Do a charity and make mention of me in thy holy prayers." Apa Hôr said unto Apa Ambrosius: "Make mention of me also, that I may make mention of thee." Apa Ambrosius said unto Apa Hôr: "We will make mention of thee, my holy Father." Apa Hôr said unto Apa Ambrosius: "There is none in all the brotherhood who shall make mention of me unless they show me that [they have first?] made mention of thee." But Apa Pdjo... said...[the] miracle which our holy Father Apa Hôr had wrought, I arose and went into the desert. I spent a whole week without being permitted to make mention of Apa Hôr, because of the great sufferings which I endured. I journeyed out from the desert (lit. mountain) and I was dwelling in the desert (mountain) of Sbehti; but Apa Hôr was in the desert of

Pi-soben, distant from us a journey of a stage. I took up my abode in a great watch-tower built of stone. But [He?] Who knoweth all things...

THE CONTROVERSY OF JOHN IV

¹ "... saying: 'Behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee forth from the land of Egypt.' When He had called your fathers, they did not keep His law; (and) the Lord called the Christians also and gave them His body and His blood, the hidden manna, that they might eat thereof a thousand years. For indeed our Father-Apostles taught us concerning this holy manna—Lo, it is we who have kept their law unto this day; and the gates of Amenti [shall not prevail?] for ever. Your fathers did eat manna and are dead; our fathers also ate manna and live for ever." The Jew said: "How sayest thou this to me? Do not the Christians also die?" The Archbishop said: "Verily, the death of this world is a passing away; but he who shall fall into the hands of Amenti—that is death eternal." "The Jew said: Where is it written that our fathers went down unto Amenti?"

² The Archbishop said: "At the time when they brought the coat of Joseph to Jacob his father, he wept over it. And his sons consoled him desiring to comfort him; but he desired not to be comforted, but said: 'I will go down unto Amenti sad' because of Joseph my son.' Again, when he had sent his sons to Egypt to get corn; when Joseph saw them, he knew them and terrified them, saying: 'Ye are spies who are come to examine the land.' But they worshipped him, saying: 'O our Lord, thy servants are not men of this sort'...' sic: for acqai. "The Chalcedonian said: Ye, the Theodosians; for ye say that God suffered. We say that God is not subject to suffering, that He dieth not, that He eateth not, and drinketh not, and sleepeth not, and slumbereth not. But He came down and was clothed in human flesh, separate from His Divinity—flesh subject to suffering and subject to pain, flesh which ate, and drank, and slept, and slumbered. The flesh was crucified, and the flesh was nailed and wounded with the spear. All these things the flesh endured. The Godhead also healed those who were sick, turned the waters into wine, blessed the five loaves, walked upon the sea, cast out devils. In a word, all the wonders which He performed pertained to the Godhead, and the sufferings pertained to the Manhood alone."

³ The Archbishop said: "O abominable heretic! According to thy words, then, which are full of blasphemy, thou affirmest of our Lord Jesus the Christ that He was in two Natures, one indeed which healed and one which

suffered?" The Chalcedonian said: "Such is my faith." The Archbishop said: "It was not so. But harken unto me attentively and I will declare unto you the truth..." "will not be angry." The Archbishop said: "Lo, how many thieves hast thou put to death in this city since thou hast been ruler?" The Governor said: "Lo, I have put to death a multitude of them." The Archbishop said: "How much hast thou received by the sale of the crosses whereon the thieves were hanged?" The Governor said: "What man of sense would buy those timbers which are full of putrid moisture of their bodies? Those timbers are no use save to be burned in the fire." The Archbishop said: "If it was a thief whom the Jews killed, then why dost thou demand these three thousand gold pieces for this little piece (?) of wood, which thou hast found in 'the house of this Jew, scarce a palm long? For thou didst tell me that the crosses of the thieves were good for nothing but to be burned because of their evil odor. Then why, O King, was not this (cross) burnt, if it was a thief who was hanged thereon?"

⁴ Then the Governor was silent for a long time, not knowing what to reply. But when he recovered himself, he said: "Verily I am like a dumb man before thee. For lo, I have spoken with many wise men and many astrologers who look at the stars. [Not] one of them used to bewilder (?) me"...

A EUCHARISTIC MIRACLE

¹ "I said unto him: He Who hath made the Heaven and the Earth and all living things." Now it came to pass that when they had brought the prayers to an end, the people came up to receive the Body and Blood of Our Savior. And the little Pagan thrust himself into the midst of the people and received of the Body of the Lord at the hands of the Archpriest. When he looked at it, he found it had taken the form of a son of man in his hands. And when he smelled its fragrant perfume, he took it and departed to his home, without waiting for me to come forth, but departing alone. So he carried away the Body of the Lord which was like the body of a man and placed it in a casket of gold, sealing its mouth with his ring; and he placed the ring upon his finger. Now his father and mother and brothers smelled the fragrance in the house, such as they had never smelled (before): they looked about in all parts of their house, but did not find the place wherein was the fragrance. They spake with one another: "Perchance this Christian hath wrought magic and cast a spell upon us that we should 'smell this fragrance in our house."

² Now it came to pass that after the fourth (?) Sabbath was come, the little Pagan boy [sought me] out and brought a vessel of... up to a hundred... (l. 9) in the evening, saying: "Let us go to the Church and receive the...," that is, the Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus the Christ. So we rose up and went. And as we were about to go, I stripped off the tunic which I wore and put it upon him; (and) we came to the Church. And as we were about to receive the Body and Blood of the Christ Jesus, Our Lord—for he (sc. the Pagan) was following me—the Archbishop extended unto him the Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus. And the Pagan, when he had received the holy Body, looked at it and found it was become a body in his hands. And the Pagan also held out some gold to the Archbishop and said unto him: "My Father, I do not know (?) these which I received from thy hand." But the Archbishop said unto him: "What are these, my son?"

³ sic. He said: "When I had received the holy Body, and was still eating it, they brought the Cup into the midst that they (the people) might partake of it; and I received the Blood of my Lord Jesus. And it came to pass that while I was standing..." "The man of light stretched forth his hand with my Father and took the Cup, saying: 'ta ogia tois ahgiois,' that is to say, 'That which is holy for them who are holy.' And all the people answered: 'One Holy Father, One Holy Son, One Holy Spirit: Amen.'"

HOMILETIC FRAGMENTS: SEVERIAN OF GABALA, HOMILY ON PENITENCE

[The soul will say to the Angels of death] "Do not separate me from my body, but leave me a little while that I may repent." Thou art distressed, thou grieveest, thou [recallest?] thy deeds, that they may have mercy upon thee. Then when the Angels hear these things, they say unto us: "O wretched soul! O miserable (soul)! All the days of thy life thou didst spend in heedlessness; and now thou desirest to repent. O soul, from henceforth the light of thy... [is gone?], ended now are [pleasures?], afflictions draw nigh. [God?] hath commanded (us) to separate (thee from thy body)... O soul, a... will pass judgment on thee for ever (?) according to thy works." Thou hast not... of hope at that time to repent, but... [Since we shall be dismayed] of a truth, my brethren, when we hear such things as these, let us make haste to strive because of that time that we may find ourselves prepared, even if our habit be to sin, and let us return and take upon us to repent. Be not deceived, my brethren: there is the Place of Judgment, and the punishments are everlasting—fire that is not quenched, the worm that dieth not, thick darkness. These are the things

that are in Tartarus, the place wherein shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. For harken to those things which the Lord saith in His teaching on all these matters in the Gospel—and He is infallible, for He said: "The earth shall pass away and the Heavens also shall pass away..."

HOMILETIC FRAGMENTS: GREGORY THEOLOGUS, HOMILY ON
CHRISTIAN CHARITY

"And unto Faith beareth witness the Patriarch Abraham who was justified because of it. And unto Hope beareth witness Enōs—for he was the first who hoped, calling on the name of the Lord,—and all the holy ones who suffered affliction in hope. And unto Charity also beareth witness the holy Apostle, saying, God is Love." Excellent is the love of strangers; and unto it beareth witness righteous Lot. This man was (dwelling) in Sodom, but he was not a man of Sodom in his conduct. Likewise also Rahab the harlot beareth witness unto love of strangers—she who was delivered because of it and was justified in the Scriptures because of it. Excellent is the love of brethren unto which Our Lord Jesus the Christ beareth witness. For not only hath He made us His brethren, but also He endured death for the sake of us all. Excellent is the love of mankind. He again, Our Lord Jesus the Christ, is witness unto this virtue in that He not only loved Man "... works of... that He might give grace unto him...; but in that He, the Lord, became... a way...

HOMILETIC FRAGMENTS: ON THE LONG-SUFFERING OF CHRIST, ON
FORNICATION, AND A TREATISE OR HOMILY

1 Unto all these He gave opportunity that they might turn unto Him and that He might forgive them, since He desires the return of mankind. For this reason He showed long-suffering that He might deliver us from the vain worship of idols, and from murders, and fornications, and thefts, and falsehoods, and sorceries, and all the abominations which the Devil spreadeth abroad among us. For this cause He...that He might deliver us...But David... those things which are seen and those which are unseen, whether Thrones, or Dominions, or Principalities, or Powers, are all through Him and He is above them all, every one. Now all things were established in Him since He is the Beginning, the First-Born from the dead, that He might be the first in all things...good pleasure, since in Him...all the fullness of the Godhead and through Him... [When Korah, Dathan, and Abiram sought after the] "high-priesthood and would not obey Moses, God spake and the earth opened its mouth and devoured them with all those who pertained unto them. But Our

Lord, even Our God Who is merciful and compassionate, when the Jews rose up against Him, did not take vengeance on them because of that which they did unto Him, but refrained from them. He gave Himself for us that He might deliver us from our sins, being an example unto us not to take vengeance upon any man.

² Elias also—who was carried up into Heaven by means of chariots of fire—when the King sent after him desiring to seize him because he had rebuked him for following after strange gods, spake, and there came down fire from Heaven and consumed those who came after him with evil words... But Our Lord Who loveth mankind—when He had sent to the city of the Samaritans that they might prepare for Him, "and they did not receive Him among them, and James said unto Him together with John: Wilt Thou that we bid that fire come forth from Heaven and consume them?"—the Lord rebuked them and did not suffer them, saying: "The Son of Man came not upon the earth to destroy sinners, but to deliver them." Consider the nature of this great long-suffering of this good God. Eliseus also, when the little children came from the city and mocked him, was wroth with them and cursed them in the name of the Lord his God. And two she-bears came forth from the wood [and tare] forty-two of them. But Our Lord Who is full of mercy, when the servants smote Him on the head, mocking Him... And He was long-suffering with them and did not take vengeance upon them; according to the word which He spake: "Love your enemies, and do good to them who hate you."

³ "He shall come also at His Second Advent appearing in the glory of His Father with His Angels, and He will judge the world in righteousness and will reward every man according to his works which he hath done, whether they be good or whether they be evil. Then is it not a scandal that a woman who has spent her whole life in committing fornication should say, "I am a Christian," and, as the flesh of her body wastes away and she grows old and men cease to esteem her, should take her daughter and set her in her place to seduce others to destruction? Well did Jeremias say: "Thou hadst a whore's forehead: thou hast (not) been ashamed before all men." And this great reproach hast thou taken to thyself. For is it because of urgent need of food and raiment that thou dost commit fornication, and not rather for pleasure? Sufficient is the saying of the Apostle Paul: "Let every woman have her own husband." But if (it be) for the sake of food and raiment, since 'God provide-

th for cattle and birds and wild beasts and all creation, what is this great sin which thou hast chosen for thyself? As for me, whenever I seek to contemplate such things, my soul is troubled and I weep for the perdition of the members that draw nigh to Amenti. What hath happened that thou livest in these fornications, O woman? Even as the Prophet saith, thou dost cause thy fornications to flourish in every place.

4 For I walked in the streets hearing the Name of the Lord (uttered) by the mouth of abominable men who used it as an oath in every utterance which they spake. A fearful thing it is to swear at all; but verily most of all to swear by (the Name of God) in some utterance touching fornication or some vain matter. For it is written: "Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain." For the Proverbs say: "Faithful lips become a heart." For how, when the holy Name of God is in the mouth of a senseless man and of them that are vile...?

HOMILETIC FRAGMENTS: FOUR HOMILETIC FRAGMENTS

1..."in his body and his flesh (?) in Amenti. And after these things God gave him... besides the Kingdom of Heaven which he enjoyed for ever being in a state of joy unending... with the Angels. Consider... also Nineves the pitiless. He... (ll. 12-13) the poor...[and did not] give him charity. Perceive also that, when he was... after the ending of his life..., he said, being in Amenti in torments which scorched him with fire: "Job (is) in the repose of the Kingdom of Heaven in enjoyment of the good things..." "But when he has heard, he will say: Remember that in thy life thou didst receive thy good things." Thou seest that food and drink and wearing of goodly raiment did not profit that pitiless man. Behold the two parts of thy life at all times, O my beloved. Behold Job in the Kingdom of Heaven and in eternal bliss. Behold Nineves also in torments unquenchable, in endless pain for ever. Choose, then, for thyself that which thou shalt desire. If thou desirest the Kingdom of Heaven, make thyself like to the Kingdom of Heaven after which the righteous Job followed, even he whose door was open unto every man and did not turn away (?) any man [at] any time among those who... him...

2 The fragmentary endings of seven preceding lines are omitted. The fragmentary beginnings of ten lines are omitted. All except the last two letters are very doubtful. "The Angels...Remember O man...unto (?) a man. Do not...Knowest thou not that thou art a creature of thy Lord and the Lord of Heaven and Earth? Knowest thou not that the Angels stand in the presence

of their Lord in the Church? That the Archangels stand ministering unto the commandment of their Lord God, the King of Glory, in the Church? Wherefore dost thou, O wretched man, hasten forth from the Church contrary to the command of thy Lord?" "...hundreds of thousands...incorporeal [beings]...chant hymns unto their Lord with fear and trembling. If the great host of the Incorporeal Ones and all the Powers of Heaven with hair of flame...and they are not able to sit nor do they transgress (?) the commandment of their Lord; but they all stand trembling, being...and beholding..."

3 "...together. In a word, by means of...grace and...when he (Jonah) had fled from the face of the Lord...even as he had already...He found a ship, and when he had paid his fare, he went on board. And when they had unmoored, they voyaged on the sea. But God straightway raised up a mighty tempest on the sea." "And the whale [swallowed up] Jonah...God [punished?] him by this means...even as he (Jonah) had excused himself from ministering unto His word and His command. Now every one whom He shall choose and whom He shall send after Jonah by means of His...[must not] dare..."

MONASTIC OR ASCETIC PRECEPTS

1 ... according to the way which our Lord and Master hath appointed us. In a word, do everything as unto God with regularity and faithfulness. [Do not drink?] from vessels of silver; for...to us...contrary to the season which...in the life of brotherhood...to thyself to do this. And if the disposition already exists let us guard against it according to the rules of the monastery...who among the people...with persuasion and...do not allow victory over (?) them...because of (?)...life...And practise patience by means of a conversation...which is pure and of discipline. And be zealous at all times to bless...persuasion upon them. Just as ivy enshrouds a vineyard and destroys its fruit, so vain glory destroys the fruit of the monk, if it persuades him. Above all the virtues is humility, above (all the)...in all things...And knowledge loves toil, being a thing that hates...; and idleness...without toil. And do not (neglect?) continence and thy...

2 "... are not; but Mine are all they who harken to My commandments." Since He loves them who are His with a perfect love, He said unto us (?): "Fear not, My little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom. Sell your goods..." ... causing them to be undismayed in all the sufferings of this world, He said unto them: "Ye here in the world have affliction (toil): but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world." And He gave them

strength so as not to faint in tribulations. He put joy into their hearts... Frag. 4... "to murmur against his brother in thy presence, be not confused before him, lest haply he overpersuade thy heart with his words, and thou sin against God. But..... do likewise; for they receive thy complaint. And give the glory to them; for they showed mercy on me for your sakes. If thou shalt go into a strange land... Frag. 5 If thou bestowest him upon a brother of thine, thou hast sinned against God. Release him and let him go, or set him free if he himself desires to become a monk.... that thou mayest sit in thy cell in a state of gentleness (?) when thou wouldest eat thy bread. If thou shouldest go to a town or a village to sell thy handiwork...

LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS: THE GREEK LITURGIES OF SAINTS BASIL AND
GREGORY

1 O Master, Lord Jesus Christ, the co-eternal Word of Thy pure Father and the Holy Spirit, the Bread that came down from Heaven and didst offer Thyself, a Lamb without blemish, for the life of the world, we beseech and entreat Thee, O loving and good 'Lord, show Thy face upon this Bread and upon this Cup which we have set forth upon this Thy Holy Table and sanctify them and transubstantiate them, that this bread may be changed into Thy Holy Body and this Cup into (Thy) Blood for the remission of sins. Through the grace and mercies and loving-kindness of the Father and the Holy Spirit, now and always and for ever and ever. Amen. x Fo. 2a... 'of the enemy, justify (us) in Thy graciousness as Thou didst Cornelius unto whom witness is borne in the Acts of Thy holy Apostles, and strengthen our mind and our understanding that we may become imitators of Thy Christ. Through the grace and mercy &c.

Prayer [of Censing].

2 O God, the Everlasting, without beginning and without end, Who art great in counsel and mighty in Thy works, Who art present 'everywhere and standest beside all men, be present with us at this hour and be in the midst of us all. Purify our hearts, purify our souls, cleanse us from all sin deliberate and indeliberate, and grant unto us to offer before Thee the reasonable service of praise, a spiritual incense-offering entering into the inner side of the veil, into the Holy of Holies. And be entreated to remember the peace of Thy one holy Catholic Church. Vouchsafe (?) Thy peace which is from Heaven vouchsafe (?) unto the hearts of us all, but the peace of this life also grant unto us. Our King, the ranks 'of our army, our magistrates, our Senate, our

people, the quarters (of our city) do Thou endue with all peace. O King, Lord of peace, Lord of mercy, give unto us Thy peace, for Thou hast given us all things. Possess us, O God; for besides Thee we know no other, we call upon Thy holy Name which (is named) for the salvation and well-being of our souls. "Quicken the souls of us all through Thy Holy Spirit, that the death of our sins may not have dominion over us Thy servants nor over all Thy people. Lord, bless Thy Church. Through the grace and mercy...

³ "O Master, Lord Jesus Christ, Who didst send forth Thy holy Disciples and Apostles in all the world to preach and to teach the Gospel of Thy Kingdom, and to instruct all nations unto knowledge of Thee;—wherefore we entreat and beseech Thee, O Lover of men, good Lord, open the ears of our hearts unto the hearing of Thy holy Gospels. Open also the perceptions of our souls, and vouchsafe that we may become not only hearers but doers..." of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of God, granting unto them and unto us peace and health all our days. And for their prayers which they offer on behalf of us and of all Thy people, and our (prayers) on its' behalf—do Thou accept them upon Thy heavenly and blessed altar for a smell of sweet savor. Its every enemy, visible or invisible, do Thou soon "crush and set under our feet, but for itself, preserve it in peace in the holy Church.

⁴ Remember, O Lord, this holy Church and our assemblies. Our gatherings together do Thou bless. Grant unto us, O God, that they may be held without let and hindrance according to Thy holy and blessed will. Vouchsafe unto us and to them who are with us houses of prayer, houses of blessing for ever. Arise, O Lord, and let all Thine enemies be scattered, and let all that hate Thy holy Name flee before Thee, but upon Thy faithful and true people who in obedience do Thy holy will, bring thousands of thousands and tens of thousands of tens of thousands of blessings. Prayer of Salutation. O God the Everlasting, Who didst create man for incorruption, and didst destroy death, which had entered into the world through the envy of the Devil, through the life-giving presence of Thine only-begotten Son, and didst fill the earth with that peace from Heaven which also the hosts of the Angels glorified, saying: "Glory to God in the Highest, and..."

⁵ ...regeneration through water and the Spirit, and made us an especial people, sanctify us through Thy Holy Spirit. He Who loved His own that were in the world, gave Himself as a ransom unto Death, who reigned over us and unto whom we were subject, being sold into slavery by our sin; and

when He had descended through the Cross into Hades, He rose again on the third day from the dead; and when He had ascended into Heaven, He sat at the right hand of Thy (sic) Father, having appointed a day of retribution whereon He shall appear and judge the world in righteousness and reward every man according to his work; (The People: According to Thy mercy, O Lord.) —and He left unto us this great mystery of holiness. For when He was about to deliver Himself up unto death for the life of the world... He took bread in...

6... "who wait upon Thee and call upon Thy holy Name; for the eyes of all wait upon Thee, and Thou givest them their meat in due season. Deal with us according to Thy goodness, Thou Who givest food unto all flesh. Fill our hearts with joy and gladness, that having at all times all sufficiency we may abound unto every good work, to do Thy holy will. Remember also, O Lord, them who offer these gifts and grant unto them all a heavenly reward. Forasmuch as it is a commandment of Thine only-begotten Son, O Lord, that we should partake in memory of Thy Saints, vouchsafe to be mindful of them who well-pleased Thee from the beginning, the holy Fathers, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors..." of Thine angelic and archangelic liturgy... Remember, O Lord, them who offer these our sacrificial (?) gifts.
7 Remember, O Lord, the peace of the one, holy, Catholic, and Apostolic, Orthodox Church.. Remember, O Lord, our holy Father Papa Abba Benjamin, the Patriarch of the great city Alexandria, and (all) Orthodox Bishops. "Remember, O Lord, this holy Church and our assemblies... As Thou didst accept the gifts of Thy righteous Abel, the sacrifice of our Father Abraham, the incenseoffering of Zacharias, the prayers and alms of Cornelius, and the widow's two mites; even so accept the thankofferings of Thy servants who desire to... their much and their little secretly and openly... [Sic exit.]

The Liturgy of Saint Gregory.

8... "of partaking in His holy Mysteries, O Lord our God Almighty.

Prayer at the Breaking of the Bread.

9 O Master, Lord God the Father Almighty, the Great, the Eternal, Who art wondrous in glory; Who keepest Thy covenant and Thy mercy unto them that love Thee; Who hast given us remission of our sins through Thine only-begotten Son, our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ; the Life of all, "the Help of them who flee unto Thee, and Hope of them who call upon Thee;

beside Whom stand tens of thousands of Angels and Archangels, Cherubim and Seraphim, and all the countless multitude of the heavenly powers; Thou Who hast hallowed these gifts which lie before Thee, cleanse us from our secret and our open sins, and [remove far from us] every thought which is displeasing [to Thy goodness...] But Thyself, without change, though made flesh and putting on manhood, didst become in all points like us saving only sin, and didst become a Mediator between us and the Father. And when Thou hadst broken down the middle wall of partition and the ancient enmity, Thou didst unite things earthly with things heavenly, and bring the twain together in one, "and fulfil the dispensation in the flesh. And when Thou hast about to mount up into the Heavens bodily, divinely fulfilling all things Thou didst say to Thy holy Disciples and Apostles:

¹⁰ "Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you." That peace do Thou now also give unto us, O Master. Vouchsafe to cleanse us from all stain, all guile, all In marg. (?) (later hand), "Here he cuts the (bread)". evil, from wickedness and from deadly malice. And vouchsafe that we "may greet one another with a holy kiss, to the end that we may partake without condemnation of Thy deathless and heavenly gift, through Thy grace and the good pleasure of the Father and the operation of Thy Holy Spirit. For Thou art the Bestower and Giver of all good things, and unto Thee we offer up glory, the eternal praising, together with Thy Father Who is from everlasting, and the Holy Spirit, now and for ever and ever. Amen. The love of God the Father, and the grace of the Only-Begotten Son, our Lord "and God and Savior Jesus

¹¹ And the fellowship and the gift of the Holy Spirit Shall be with you all. Let us give thanks unto the Lord. Beginning [of the Oblation]. Verily it is meet and right to praise Thee, to hymn Thee, to bless Thee, to worship Thee, to glorify Thee, the Only True God, the Lover of man, the Ineffable, the Invisible, the Uncontained, without beginning, the Eternal, without time..."Thou didst suggest the rising again after my fall; Thou didst give release unto them who were under the power of Hades; Thou didst drive away the curse of the Law; in the flesh Thou didst set sin at naught; the might of Thy authority Thou didst make known to me; to the blind Thou didst restore sight; the dead Thou didst raise up from the tombs; by Thy word Thou didst restore nature; Thou didst show unto me the dispensation of Thy lov-

ing-kindness; Thou didst endure the violence of wicked men; Thou hast given Thy [Rubric in two lines effaced by damp.]

¹²[Rubric in two lines effaced by damp.] Therefore, O Master, do Thou Thyself with Thy voice transform these offerings; Do Thou Thyself be present and perform this mystic service; do Thou Thyself strengthen in us the remembrance of Thy worship; send down Thy All-Holy Spirit that, coming, it may through its holy and good and glorious presence hallow and transform these precious and holy gifts now offered into the very Body and Blood of our Redemption, The Deacon says: Let us give heed. The People say: Amen. The Priest shall say aloud— —and cause this Bread to become the Holy Body of Thee, our Lord and God and Savior and supreme King, Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins and for eternal life unto them who partake of it, —and this Cup to become Thy precious Blood of the New Testament of our Lord and God and Savior and supreme King Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins and for...

¹³... do Thou grant unto them all. (The rubric following is illegible.) Remember also, O Lord, my miserable and wretched soul and my lowliness, and forgive me all my transgressions; and where sin has abounded, make Thy grace more to abound, and because of my sins and the uncleanness of my heart deprive not Thy people of the grace of Thy Holy Spirit. (The rubric following is illegible.) [Rubric in one line effaced by damp.] Them who are present in this 'place do Thou make imitators of the Angels; and though we be unworthy do Thou accept us who have been called to Thy service. (The rubric following is illegible.) Remember also, O Lord, this our city, and them who dwell therein in the Orthodox Faith, and every city and country together with all their people. Deliver us from famine and pestilence, earthquake and flood, fire and captivity of the barbarians, and from alien swords and insurrection of enemies and heretics.

¹⁴Remember also, O Lord, the predeceased, our holy Fathers the Orthodox Bishops, And all who from the beginning have pleased Thee well, Especially our all-holy, most glorious, immaculate, and ever-blessed Lady, the Mother of God and ever- Virgin Mary; The holy, glorious, Prophet, Forerunner, Baptist, and Martyr John; The holy Stephen, the first Deacon and first Martyr, And our holy and blessed Father, Mark the Apostle and Evangelist, And our sainted Father Gregory the Divine, and them of whom we make remembrance on this day, and all the company of Thy saints. Through the

prayers and intercessions of these have mercy upon us and save us for the sake of Thy holy Name which is called over us. (The Deacon reads the Diptychs.) Remember, O Lord, our fathers and brethren who have fallen asleep in times past in the Orthodox Faith, And give repose to their souls with the holy, with the righteous;

15 Gather them together unto a place of pasture by the water of refreshment in a paradise of delight together with those whose names we have mentioned.

[*The remainder of the page is left blank.*]

16... "consubstantial and coeternal with the Father and the Holy Spirit, receive from us sinners and from our unworthy lips praise with the Powers above. For Thee befitteth all glory, honor, and worship for ever and ever. Amen. [The following variants from Swete's (Cambridge) text occur: [The remainder of the page is left blank.] [For the text see Maas, *Frühbyzantinische Kirchenpoesie* 1, no. 2. The following variants occur:

LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS: ANAPHORA, ORDINAL, HOROLOGIA, PASCHA,
DIFNÂR, HYMNS AND PSALMODY

Hail, thou Healing of sore sickness! Hail, Might and Strong Refuge! Hail, thou that didst bear the Word of God! Hail, only Virgin and uncorrupt! Hail, thou Bride, pure and undefiled! Hail, Destruction of graven images! Hail, all-holy Mount of God! Hail, thou who dost procure eternal joy! Hail, Rod that budded with the ear of life! Hail, Crown and Boast of the righteous! Hail, thou living and pure Volume (?)! Hail, thou that raisest the fallen from destruction! Hail, Light and Worship of Orthodoxy! Hail, thou Shelter of the tempest-tossed! Hail, thou who didst smite the soul-destroying enemy! Hail, Chariot of God... The text of this fragment is given in full. 232 × And the Sacrifice of Isaac 54.22. On the Nativity, 49: Chrysostom On the Nativity 91.1.93 The Little Month. Theophilus On the Archangel (?).

SUPPLEMENTARY TEXTS: PSEUDO-LINUS, THE MARTYRDOM OF SAINT PAUL; ODE ON THE FOUR AND TWENTY ELDERS; ACROSTIC HYMN ON
THE FINDING OF THE CROSS

1[Nero inflicted great] torments on them and cast them into the prison. And since he was in a great rage and fury, he caused search to be made for every one who should say, "I am a soldier of that eternal King." And he established a decree after this manner, saying: "All who shall be found being soldiers of Jesus the Christ let them be..., one and all." Now when this decree

was made, the whole army scattered throughout the city... And he (Nero) said unto him: "O man of the great king who art delivered bound into my hands, tell me what hath happened unto thee that thou hast ventured to come into Rome and to raise soldiers for thy king from mine own realm?" But Paul said in the presence of every one: "Caesar, not only from thine own realm will we raise soldiers; (for our King) hath commanded..."

2 Red ink. The last two syllables are added in black by a later hand.

The Four and Twenty Elders.

3 O who can tell the glory and the honor of Four and Twenty Elders—they who are clad in robes of light and have crowns of glory upon their heads? Four and twenty vials of gold are in their hands, filled with perfume exceeding precious, even the prayers of the saints which they send up on high unto the Holy Trinity. These are they of the glory of whose greatness the holy John the Evangelist spake: "For I saw," said he, "four and twenty thrones round about the throne of the Almighty; and upon them sat Elders." No tongue of flesh might express their glory. I heard the Lamb declaring their names from the beginning with alpha unto the end with omega. Nearer unto God are these exalted priests than all the heavenly hosts, as they beseech the Holy Trinity at all times, saying: "Let Thy compassion encompass the whole earth, that Thou mayest have mercy upon men, that Thou mayest have compassion upon cattle, that Thou mayest bless the rivers of water, that Thou mayest make them to rise duly."

4 Through the intercessions of these... Grouped in the xs. with the preceding line. The seventeenth day of the Month Thibout. The Feast of the Holy Cross. Helen the queen desired to behold the holy wood of the Cross, the wood whereon my Lord was crucified. She stayed not her hand at all in seeking for it earnestly, until she found it with joy because of her faith therein. "There was joy on that day in heaven and upon earth at the revealing of the life-giving Cross. The Cross do we worship, the wood of immortality, the wood whereon my Lord was crucified that He might save us from our sins. Helen arose and took three thousand soldiers and went to Jerusalem, seeking for the Cross. The Jews took counsel together, saying: "If she come unto our kingdom, we will not reveal the Cross." Justly spake "Helen the queen unto them: Show me the Cross, the wood whereon my Lord was crucified." The Jews answered, speaking among themselves: "Lo, the words of our fathers are come to pass upon us, 'The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the teeth of

the children are set on edge." The persecution which overtook them is come upon their children."

5 When Helen the queen had seized all the Jews (saying): "Lo death and life are before you: show me the Cross," they delivered unto her Judas, "because he was the son of a prophet and knew well the Law, that he might show her the Cross. Judas answered and said to the Jews: Fulfilled today are the words of our fathers. Zacchaeus, the father of my father, spake unto Simon my father, saying, 'Needs must that they will seek after the wood of the Cross. If they seek after it, reveal it, that thou mayest not die; for in the race of the Hebrews there is none shall reign again.'" Readily spake he unto her...

P A R T T H R E E

The Life of Isaac of Alexandria

*The Coptic life of the patriarch of Alexandria in the first years
after the Arab conquest.*

The Life of Isaac of Alexandria, by Mena of Pshati

MENA, BISHOP OF PSHATI

Isaac was patriarch AD 686–689

The life of Isaac, patriarch of Alexandria from AD 686 to 689, written by Mena, bishop of Pshati, in Bohairic Coptic. It tells of his boyhood, his life as a monk, and his dealings as patriarch with the Arab governors, with his clergy and with the great men of Egypt in the first generation after the Arab conquest.

PART I

1 The life of the holy patriarch and archbishop of the great city of Alexandria, which the holy Abba Mina recounted, the most holy archbishop of the city of Pshati (Zawyat Razin). In the peace of God: Amen. The commemoration of the glorious Patriarch calls us today! O dearly beloved, it excites the gladness of our hearts, to rejoice in spiritual joy and to undertake its holy encomium. For who can tell the glory of the true shepherd, of the faithful archpriest of justice, who from his childhood loved virtue and the life of the holy angels, whom he has zealously imitated in their existence, and has made himself like them? In this he manifested himself with brilliance of all kinds, so that he was entrusted with the care of the lambs of the church of the great city of Alexandria, of all Egypt and even under the whole heaven. And how could I dare to make such a speech with myself, I who am so small? But what we have heard and what we have learned, this is what we have written for you who read or listen, for the glory of God and his saints. This saint then, my brethren, was a man of Egypt by his race, from a village called Pisho. His parents were very God loving.

2 They possessed a multitude of possessions, and servants and maidservants. It came to pass when the holy child came into the world that he was called by the name of Isaac: the meaning of this name is joy. When the day

came to baptize him according to the traditions of the Christians, his parents took him to the bishop of that time: he was an inspired man. As he was baptizing the holy child in the pool in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the consubstantial Trinity, his eyes were opened, and he saw a luminous cross on the head of the child. As if he had been moved by the Holy Spirit, he cried out in a prophetic voice, saying, 'Thou art great, O Lord God, Creator of all things, thou alone art great, and no one shall question thee about thy thoughts.' After saying these words, the holy bishop gave the child to his parents, saying: 'Keep this child well, for he is a gift from God, he will be a great pontiff in the house of God and many peoples will be entrusted to him.' When his parents heard this, they raised their voices and said, 'From ever since and until forever, praisied be the name of the Lord!' When the holy child was advanced in years, his parents sent him to school, and in a few days he learned the value of letters and the things taught, so that all those who were with him in school admired him when they saw the knowledge that God had given him, and all his fellow-students bowed their heads to him.

³ And when he was full of knowledge and wisdom, his parents entrusted him to one of their relatives, named Meneson, secretary to Georgios, eparch of the land of Egypt: the little boy Isaac was to be a notary under his direction. As long as he was in this place, he set an example of a monk's life: first of all, he learned the psalms by heart, he fasted every day until evening, he always went to church services, he wore a tunic of hair on his skin and on it a magnificent garment. One day it happened that the prefect called Meneson, desiring to have him write a necessary letter, for he was the first of the notaries; but he did not find him immediately and became very angry. He asked the boy Isaac, 'Where is your master?' He answered, 'I don't know.' And when the little boy saw that his face was sad, he spoke to him as the holy David spoke to the king of Israel, saying: 'Why is the face of my lord sad? command me, and I will write the letter as you wish.' The prefect, surprised at his reply, said to him, as if to put him to the test: 'Go to one of the rooms, write it down, bring it to me, so that I may see it.' And when he had written it, he brought it and showed it to him, and when the prefect saw the letter that the little boy had written, he was stupefied.

⁴ The prefect spoke up and said: 'You have such merit and I have not known it until today? Truly man looks at the appearance, but God at the

heart.' And from that day the prefect put him at the head of all the notaries, and everyone cherished him: all those who were in the praetorium loved him; he was called the saint because of the wisdom that was in him. From that point on his parents looked at him as at a mirror, hoping that he would become the master of all that belonged to them, and they desired to make him take a wife in the hope of seeing children born of him: they did not know that his was not the lot of Jacob, but rather that he was destined to be father to a multitude of children, and that the one who had distinguished Jeremiah while he was in the womb had also distinguished this saint.

5 However, against his wishes, his parents took him and betrothed him to a young woman: they waited until the day of marriage came. But the young Isaac had within himself a great desire to lead the sweet regime of monastic life: this holy child remembered that the Lord had spoken out in his Gospel and had said: 'He who loves his father and mother more than me is not worthy of me'; and also: 'He who leaves his father, or his mother, or his wife, or his sister, or his brother, or his house, or his flock, or his children for the kingdom of God, shall receive them a hundredfold in this world, and eternal life in the world to come'; and the Apostle also proclaimed: 'The form of this world will pass away; but I desire that you should all now be without disquiet'; and the apostle John also said, 'The world will pass away with its desires; but he who does the will of God shall abide forever,' and also: 'All the things of this world, desires of the eyes and desires of the flesh, are unattainable in their violent desire for they are not things of God, but things of this world.'

6 This is what the righteous man meditated day by day, and he decided to abandon the vanity of this world with its cares. This being as it was, Georgios, the eparch whose notary the young boy had been, died. When the prefect was dead, as the saint found the opportunity he desired, he left the praetorium, went to his house, and stayed a few days near his parents. As for them, they loved and encouraged him, fearing that he would disappear from their house because they saw the great fervor he had for good. Finally, things being this way, the young boy Isaac left the house, making sure that no one knew about it. He went to the holy mountain of Skete, where dwell the choirs of the holy angels of God, that is, of the blessed monks who have crucified their flesh in the sufferings of virtue, who endure at all times the death of Jesus in their bodies, hoping for the glory that will be manifested to them,

as it is written: 'If we have suffered with him, we will also be glorified with him.' When he arrived at Skete, he dwelt as a guest in the monastery of Abba Zacharias of good memory, the priest and hegumen of the holy Laura of Abba Macarius and bishop of the city of Sais, who was a holy man with visions.

7 But when the old man Abbot Zacharias saw the holy young man coming to him, the Lord opened his eyes, and he saw the sign of the cross on his head. When he saw this glorious sign, he was greatly astonished and cried out, saying, 'How great are your works, O Lord! Your intentions are so deep!' And so when the holy old man Abba Zacharias took counsel to himself, and said to himself, 'What will become of this young boy?', immediately he was warned by an angel of the Lord, who said to him, 'Behold, the Lord has given you a great and holy gift: this young boy has come to you, for he will be a shepherd for the sheep of Christ and the patriarch of the bishops.' And when the old man heard the angel's words, he rejoiced greatly. When Isaac had stayed with the old man about three days, the old man spoke to him of his safety; He immediately sent him to Terenuti to the house of a friend, to stay with him until he knew what the parents of the young boy would do, for he feared that if they found him near him, they would harm the holy place, for this old man was very famous. But when this young boy had arrived at Terenuti and entered the man's house, the man's children said to him, 'Our father is in the field.' Then the boy climbed into the man's hayloft, took a bundle of hay, placed it on him, and fell asleep.

8 It happened that the man came back from the field, whose name was Joseph, and he was a priest: many have testified of him that he was a confessor, that he was brought up on the tribunal of the impious Cyrus, and that he was given a multitude of blows with a stick, because he confessed the faith. When the priest had come up from the country, he placed the she-ass in his stable, and went up to fetch hay to give the ass a bundle of it. He saw the bundle placed on the young boy having the shape of luminous crosses, throwing flashes of light. At the sight of this marvellous spectacle, the priest ran and when he arrived to look at and see the young and holy boy, he asked him: 'Where are you from, my son?' Isaac informed him of the reason. And immediately the priest took the boy's head and kissed it, saying, 'the blessing of the Lord is on the head of the righteous'; and also: 'upon their heads blessing and joy.' And the old priest left him with him for several days. Let us

now bring back the discourse on the day when the young boy Isaac left his house: we will tell you everything for the glory of God. When his parents had looked for him without finding him, there were great tears and many mournings: their joy changed into sadness. When they had gone through all the monasteries and had not found him, they went to Skete to look for him.

9 And the holy elders did not reveal it, for it is their custom to suffer for one another, to deliver themselves from all the desires of the world, to put all their cares into fulfilling the word of the Lord who said: 'There is no greater charity than for one to give their soul for a companion.' And when his parents saw that the monks did not reveal it to them, and they went to Alexandria to the archbishop, they told him about it. When the archbishop feared that the authorities would be warned and that misfortune would happen to the holy place, he sent a letter to Skete, that they might not place the boy to the west of the river. When the holy old man Abba Zacharias saw the snares of the devil, he resolved to face tens of thousands of dangers on his own rather than deliver him up again to his parents according to the flesh, fulfilling the Savior's words: 'He who receives a child in my name will receive me myself.' When he had shaved the child's head, he gave him the habit of the monks and he called one of his disciples, named Abraham, who was an ascetic, and said to him, Take this young boy, go to Mount Pamaho, and stay there until God has persuaded the hearts of his parents, and I will send for you.

10 They got up and walked, as their father had told them. And after they remained on this mountain for a multitude of days, up to six months, Saint Isaac spoke to the old man Abraham and said to him, 'Arise, come with me to my parents to show me to them, for surely if I do not show myself to them, they will not make me a free man.' When the old man Abraham heard this of Isaac, he was greatly saddened, thinking that the young man was devouring his heart and desired to give up the monastic life because of the afflictions that had been brought upon him. Then the old man spoke to him and said to him, 'Do not be fainthearted in afflictions, for it is written, 'Affliction produces patience, patience probation, probation hope, and hope is not confounded.' Now, therefore, my beloved brother, let us endure (our trials) during this short time, for it is written, 'The Lord instructs him whom he loves'; And likewise it is written: 'My son, if you come to work for the Lord, prepare your soul for temptation.' For it is written: 'O God, test me

and know my heart. If God does not test us first, how will he know our love for him?' These and other similar things the holy old man told him. The young and holy boy Isaac answered him and said to him, 'Truly you give me excellent teachings, O my holy father; not only will I follow you, but I am also ready to die for the name of my Lord Jesus the Messiah, for whom I have left everything behind, in order to make myself worthy of eternal life, thanks to his goodness.'

¹¹ When the old man heard these words of the boy, he rejoiced very much, so they both got up together, and walked with each other, meditating on God's words, until they reached the boy's village. There was a place outside the village belonging to his parents, and inhabited by an old monk, and there they sought hospitality at the moment when the sun had set. The old man received them with joy, but he did not recognize them. Young Isaac spoke to him, asking, 'Do you know, father, whether Isaac the notary has been found?' He answered, 'No, they have not found him: there is great sorrow in the boy's house because of him, for since he has been gone they have been in mourning.' Then Isaac said, 'I am Isaac.' After being amazed, the old monk greeted him, and he made him swear not to tell anyone. There was a relative of the young Isaac: he was a deacon named Philothea, a man filled with fear in the presence of God, all his relatives looked upon him as a father. When Isaac had sent for him, he came and, when he saw the boy, he rejoiced greatly. Saint Isaac spoke to him and said to him: If I have found favor with you, speak to my parents about me, so that they may not hinder me. And when the deacon had left him, he spoke to his parents, made them take an oath, and then he revealed the matter to them.

¹² When they heard of this, they uttered exclamations of joy and exultation, and there was eagerness of the whole village to run at once on account of the young boy. And when his parents saw that he was a monk, they did not know what to do. They were amazed, they did not know what to say, but they did nothing because of the oath they had sworn to the deacon. And they kept him with them for a month, until they were sated of his beauty; for he was beautiful in form, so handsome that one could almost say that he was an angel of God. He talked with them about what was good for their souls. And these are the words he said to them: 'O my parents, I beseech you, do not rest your hearts on these unstable riches; do not glory in the abundance of your goods, they will pass away quickly. Moreover, let not ephemeral

things cause us to lose eternity. But now let the bowels of the poor be satisfied with what belongs to you. Thus he left his parents and went into the desert. It is reported of him that a multitude of times he saw a luminous cherub spreading his wings over him while he was sleeping, and he would see him ascend to heaven. O unspeakable graces which the Lord grants to the children of men!

¹³ Come, let us see the glory of the man whom the cherubim shaded. It is said of him that from the day he was born until the day he went to God, no male sperm came out of him. For it is written, 'The angels of the Lord will surround everyone who is filled with fear in his presence, and he will save them.' And a month after he had presented himself at his parents' house, they allowed him what he desired. Then he sang with the prophet and said, 'In the name of my God I will cross the fortification wall'; and also this: 'the trap has been broken'; and also, 'Thy right hand, O Lord, hath done wonders.' And when he arrived at Skete, the holy mountain of God, he repeated the words of the Theologian: 'Give me the wilderness with Christ.' And when his spiritual father saw him again, he rejoiced greatly. Moreover, he remained near the old man Abba Zacharias, assisting him in all his works, as Joshua had served Moses, considering the way of life of the brethren who were in the monastery, walked in rule and observance, and prevailed over each other in virtue, like trees laden with fruit. As for Saint Isaac, the virtues that appeared in him were marvellous, so that he surpassed all those who were in the monastery; his flesh submitted to the sufferings of his ascetic life.

¹⁴ He was meek, humble, adorned with all the gifts of the Holy Spirit; he did not sleep a multitude of hours during the night; and even on Sundays he did not sleep at all, he lit the fire for the brethren, served them, parting bread before them, imitating the Saviour who had said, 'Let the greatest among you serve others.' When his brothers came to see him and brought him an abundance of wealth and clothing, he distributed them to the brothers who lived in the monastery, and he was a consolation to all who came to him for encouragement. Their spiritual father gave this order to all the brethren who were in the convent: 'If Isaac goes to the dwelling of any of you, stand until he goes.' As for him, he did not let him know it, lest he should become proud of heart. And when the Lord had made known to the old man all that was to happen to Isaac, the old man gave orders to the brethren, for it is written, 'Shall the Lord do anything that he does not tell

his servants?' If I have said of this saint, O my dearly beloved, that he was chosen from the womb, I am not mistaken, for I see that this expression is appropriate. And when he had given his heart to the Scriptures, no search was impossible for him, especially in the discourses of the scribes of the Church.

¹⁵ There was an old man in the mountain who was a great ascetic. Everyone testified to his virtues. It came to pass that after seeing the holy Isaac, he said to the brethren who were walking with him, 'Here is an Israelite in whom there is no cunning: he will be archbishop of the city of Alexandria and patriarch; he will be great before God, and his words will reach the limits of the inhabited earth. When the brethren heard these words of the holy old man, they were filled with admiration and gave glory to God, who has made his mysteries manifest to those who are worthy, for it is written, 'They that see not shall see, and those that hear shall not understand.' But the holy Isaac progressed in all the virtues, so that his glory was heard of in all the land of Egypt, and many forsook the world and became monks: among them was Meneson, under whom Isaac had first been a notary. For when he heard that this saint had withdrawn from the world, he also went and became a monk near him. And another whose name was Ianni, who came from a high family and became the son of the saint, and belonged to the heresy of the accursed ones who say that, since the time of the holy Dioscorus, there has been no patriarch for them: in this they have divided the churches and become heretics.

¹⁶ When he came to Isaac, he became a Christian and a monk, and also became a saint, so that he was made a bishop and entrusted with a large population. These were the first gifts that the holy Isaac presented to the Lord; but the wicked devil could not see this saint make progress in virtue. It happened that, while the saint was sleeping, a demon blew into his ears. And when Isaac had risen from sleep, he could no longer sit down; he informed his father of this battle and he was very sad. And as the old man had no experience in this great war, he sent him to a great ascetic who had endured a great deal of suffering at the hands of demons. And when the old man saw him, the young boy told him about this battle. The old man said to him, 'My son, I cannot give you orders for your father's sake, for you are a child of cenobitism; but go to your father, what he tells you, do it; I hope God will give you rest. When he had gone, he informed his father of the old man's

words; his father answered him and said, 'Go, and wash the brethren's seats; I hope God will give you rest.' He spoke this in peace, because on every occasion he followed humility: he remained six months in this suffering, drawing water for the brethren during the night and washing their seats during the night.

17 After this hard battle that he had to endure, God gave him the grace of many healings. It happened once that the brothers went into the fields to gather some fuel, and when they had finished the work they returned to their dwelling. As they were walking along the road, Saint Isaac stayed behind to gather fragrant flowers for them; but when he came to a flowering shrub to gather it, a viper in the middle rushed upon his hand. When the brothers saw him thus, they cried out, believing that he would die on the spot. But he threw the viper away, without any evil having reached him. When the brethren saw this wonderful work, they bowed down and worshipped it. You see, my dearly beloved, a holy young man imitated the apostles and became like them, according to what the Lord said to his apostles, whom he resembled, 'He who keeps my commandments will make all the signs that I have made.'

PART 2

1 It happened at this time that the archbishop sought a wise man to make his successor and secretary: they spoke to him of the holy Isaac, and he sent for him to Skete. When Isaac, who could not disobey, had arrived, and the patriarch had seen him clothed in a humble garment, he asked him, "Are you Isaac?" He replied humbly "it is I." He was ordered to write a letter, to see if it was as he had heard about him, so he wrote it badly of his own free will, thinking that on account of it the patriarch would send him away and not take him, because he loved the solitary and quiet life, following the example of the prophet David when he withdrew from the presence of Achish king of Gath, and the servants said to him, "It is King David, it is the one of whom the virgins of Israel sang in their choirs, saying: Saul has killed thousands, and David tens of thousands." And so he did what he wanted, and when those who were standing by the patriarch saw this letter, they said to him, "We need a man of this kind."

2 When the patriarch knew that he had written of his own free will, he said to him, "It is well, go, write thus, but know that you will not leave this place." But when the saint saw that he had not obtained what he desired, he

wrote a second letter which was very wonderful; and when the archbishop saw it, he rejoiced greatly, after the manner of the man spoken of in the Gospel, when he found a precious stone. And the archbishop cried out, saying, "As we had heard, we saw," and he said to those who were standing near him, "Truly, my children, what we asked for, we have obtained, by the power of God, for it was such a man that we needed." Then the young man was distressed: he did not want to go into the midst of men. And after he had prayed to the archbishop many times, he scarcely persuaded his heart to release him. However, he promised to spend a month with him every year and to write heortasics for him, and then he left in peace, and he returned to the desert he loved. In the meantime, the bishop of Sais passed away, and they took his spiritual father, and made him bishop of Sais. Saint Isaac remained in the monastery with his brothers. It happened once that they went out to visit him and see him, and when they had met each other, they rejoiced.

³ And there was a man named Isaac who was a tax collector of the land of Egypt, who was very much a God-loving man. He was from a village called Djebonathonini, which had a holy bishop Abba Zacharias, in whom great confidence was placed. And he went to him to beseech him, and said, "Since the king has sent for me to give him an account of the public money, I beg you to implore the Lord for me in this matter, that he may reveal to you what will happen to me, and that I may put my house in order." The holy bishop replied, "My son, I am not capable of such a thing, as you think." The man replied, "I trust in God, and whatever you ask of him, he will give you." And when evening came, it happened that the bishop said to Isaac his disciple, "Let us pray together this night, that the Lord may reveal to us what will happen to this man." And as they stood and prayed, behold, at that moment the whole place became resplendent with light, and the old man had not strength to endure the light, and he fell to the ground. And the holy Isaac stood still, looking at the light of the Lord with courage, and the angel told them what was to happen to the man.

⁴ When the bishop arose, he said to the saint, "Your holy works are greater than mine, my son." Isaac humbly replied, "It is the Lord with (the help of) your prayers that has given me strength, O my father!" For the holy bishop meant that because of his purity he had endured the vision. For it is written, "Blessed are those who are pure in their hearts, for they shall see God." And verily it is fulfilled upon these saints the word of the Savior, saying, "If

two of you gather together on earth to pray in my name, whatever they ask will be granted to them by my Father who is in heaven.” Thus he went from his father’s house, returned to the desert he loved, and stayed with the brothers in the monastery, where he was their consolation, and was looked at as a mirror. And he was to them like an angel of God encouraging them, inviting them to the struggle. And this was his custom when he entered Holy Lent: he retired to a small dwelling outside the desert, where he received no one. It happened that once Abba Abraham and Abba Georgios, the great ascetics, went to him. When they came to him, they confided their thoughts to him, and they received great profit. And when they looked into his dwelling, they found nothing but a little bread and salt: they admired his abstinence.

⁵ They asked him, “father, what do you eat in these days?” He answered, “What the brothers eat.” They said to him, “We see nothing but bread and salt.” He answered them, “That’s what the brothers eat.” They beseeched him, saying, “Do you want us to bring you some olives?” But he did not suffer it, and said, “What I need is to endure a little more suffering than the brethren.” And when they had left him, they spoke of each of his ascetic deeds. And he had a great good reputation with one and every place in the land of Egypt, according to the words of the holy Gospel: “A city shall not be hidden, if it be set on a mountain, and a lamp is not lighted to be placed under a bushel, but it is placed on a candlestick, so that it may give light to those who are in the house.”

⁶ And certainly they often tried to make him bishop, but with no success, as it is written, “Take heed, know that I am God.” It happened that one day, during the holy Lent of our salvation, Saint Isaac went to his little dwelling according to his custom, and the brethren forgot and did not bring him bread. And after he had passed the first, second, and third days, he remained five days without eating. On the fifth day of his abstinence, he looked, and saw a large round loaf of bread in his presence, as if it had been brought from the oven at that very moment. Immediately he got up, prayed, thanked God, and took some bread. The next day he brought the rest to the monastery, and gave it to the brethren, who ate it. The brothers questioned him, saying, “Where did you get this fresh bread?” But he hid it from them and said, “It was brought to me from Egypt.” When they asked one another, “Has any of you brought him bread this week?” they found no one who had brought him bread. And they knew that the work was of God, as it is written, “Those who

serve me have been filled, and you have hungered; those who serve me have drunk, and you have been thirsty”; and again: “If you listen to me, you will eat of all the good things of the earth.”

7 Does not this miracle surpass that of the prophet Elijah, when the angels brought him bread from heaven after he had killed the prophets of shame? It happened that one day Orion, Bishop of Sais, came to him, who was still a reader and was not yet a bishop, and wanted to receive his blessing. It was Easter week, and it was Isaac’s custom not to sit at all during Easter, instead he stood upright, working with his hands. When Orion came to him, Isaac took what he was weaving and worked on it. The boy said to him, “Father, I wanted to become a monk; but my father’s tears prevented me from doing so.” And the saint lost consciousness into sleep, then immediately jumped up and said to him, “Orion, you cannot become a monk.” When the young man heard this, he was frightened. Isaac said to him, “Do not be afraid, but obey your father until he reposes, he who has just spoken to me has told me, but when your father is dead, you must go to a high rank”; he meant the episcopate of which Orion was worthy. And when the young man heard these words from the saint, he left him, he returned in peace to his house, giving glory to God, as it is written, “The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets.”

8 After this, his spiritual father, Abbot Zacharias, the holy bishop, was ill with the disease from which he was to die, and as God had informed him of it first, he came to his monastery. The holy Isaac served him in his sickness. And when he was about to repose, he called all his children as the patriarch Jacob had done, and after blessing them all, he said to Saint Isaac, “My son, when you are brought up, remember your brothers”; He spoke thus to signify the dignity to which he was to be raised. When he had finished giving his recommendations to his children, he committed his spirit into the hands of God, while all the great saints of Skete were seated near him. After burying him with great glory, they laid him beside his fathers, for they still remember him and the miracles he performed during his life. It is reported of him that he had a blind disciple: when he came to the old man, the latter laid his hands on him, and immediately he saw and gave glory to God, and he remained subject to his father until the day of his death. He also had a relative in the world: it happened that this relative fell into this same disease, blindness. When he heard this, he was very saddened. After he had sent for him,

and after the other had come to him at Mount Skete, the brother who had regained his sight came before the old man and beseeched him, saying, “as God has had mercy on me with you, have pity on my brother also.”

9 And when the holy old man saw them both weeping, he was greatly saddened, and, having given them the holy mysteries, he took the cloth on which he had placed the chalice, and wiped the man's face with it. And at the same moment the man saw as if he had not been ill at all, and threw himself on the ground, adored him and went to his house, praising God who works his wonders. There was a man living in the city of Sais named Georgios: he was a brave young man. The devil caused him to fall into a sin of which no one knew, except God, who knows what is hidden and what is apparent; and immediately God punished him, as it is written (in the Psalms) by David: “The sinner was caught in the works of his hands.” And when they got up in the morning, they found the child lying like a dead man. His parents lifted him up and carried him to the dwelling of the holy bishop Abba Zacharias. When they came into his presence, they threw themselves on the ground, adored him, weeping, and saying, “We pray your holiness to implore the Lord for our son, that he may be saved.” He asked them, “What has happened to him?” They said to him, “We do not know.” But God had just told him before they arrived. He rose at once, and prayed over the young man, who was immediately cured, as if he had never been ill.

10 The bishop said to him, “Beware of the sin you have committed; do not do it again, lest this evil happen to you.” When his parents heard this, they were astonished; they did not know what their child had done, and they prayed to the old man, saying, “We will observe all that you have said to us.” And they left him, giving glory to God, and he was honored by everyone. He was given glory as the holy apostles of Christ. It came a month days after his father's death that he was in great sorrow about his separation from this vain world. Then the holy archbishop Abba John prayed to the Lord to show him who would be worthy after him to succeed him in shepherding the holy church. It was revealed to him in a dream, saying: “Send for Scete, in the monastery of Abba Zacharias, the ascetic monk Isaac; it is he who will be your successor.” As soon as he was up in the morning, he sent for him. And after Isaac came, he did not let him go until the day when he passed away. It came to pass in those days that the king sent for the patriarch to be in his presence. And he did so a multitude of times, bringing the patriarch to him

because of the affection he bore him. The name of this king was Abd-el-Aziz, and he was called El-emir.

¹¹ He had two tax collectors, God-loving men, Athanasius and Isaac with their children, and the whole praetorium was filled with Christians. In the beginning when he came to Egypt, he tried to do harm to the Christians, he broke the crosses and did a host of evils to the archbishop. But God, who once punished Pharaoh, terrified him in a dream, and said to him, "Beware of touching the archbishop." And he cherished him like an angel of God. And it happened that when the archbishop was there, he became ill with the disease from which he was to die. When the nobles heard of this, they all came to him to visit him and receive his blessing; they found him in great suffering. And when the king was informed of his condition, he dismissed him. When the archbishop arrived in Alexandria, he fell asleep, and his body was placed in the church of St. Mark, which he had built, and he told them to bring Isaac in his place, as he had been told to do by the Lord. Now there was a deacon named Georgios who desired the priesthood against the will of the God who makes kings kings through him. He persuaded the hearts of the bishops, who then assembled to give him the episcopate, and immediately he received a reprimand for his impiety. When they had made him priest, they clothed him with the stole, thinking to make him archbishop in the middle of the week, wishing to act against the canon.

¹² Immediately the archdeacon at the altar cried out, as if he had been moved by God, and said: "God forbid that we should thus work against the canons; but let us wait until Sunday." Thus the Lord prevented him from being made pontiff for eternity, for it is written: "The man of flesh and blood the Lord hates." And on that day the great bishops arrived at Alexandria. When they heard that the patriarch was dead, wishing to take the side of him whom Christ had chosen, that is, the holy Isaac, and finding that the others who had preceded them had agreed with Georgios, they became divided. Immediately the king's servants arrived in Alexandria, who were to bring the bishops to him, so that he might know the one who had been elected. And when they came to Babylon Fortress, Saint Isaac was serving Georgios, thinking nothing of the kind. And as they scrutinized the life of Georgios, they found a host of causes against him, especially that he was a married man with very wicked children. And so he was ridiculed and advised to make archbishop the one whom God had chosen, that is, Saint Isaac. It came to

pass on Sunday that all the bishops and a multitude of people from Babylon Fortress, Alexandria, and all the lands met in the church of the holy Sergios, and behold, the Saint Isaac also entered it clothed in a humble habit. He was praying when suddenly the lamp broke on him and covered him entirely with oil.

¹³ Immediately the multitude cried out, "He is worthy, he is worthy, he is worthy, the thirteenth apostle, Isaac the archbishop." And immediately the bishops and the nobles took him and brought him into the sanctuary, saying, "this is the new David!" And on that day, Isaac the truly God-loving tax collector made a celebration for the bishops and clerics. But the bishops had him recline before them against his will, saying, "It is the Holy Spirit who invites you, it is the Holy Spirit who imposes on you, according to what is written: 'The Lord our God has anointed you with the oil of exultation in preference to all your companions.'" And the next day they told the king about it, and told him all that had happened, and he gave orders to bring them both before him. And when they stood in his presence, he saw that Georgios was clothed in the priestly habit: Isaac wore the humble habit of the monks. to the bishops and he multitude: "Which of the two do you desire?" They all cried out, "The monk, this is our father." He said to them, "He is an abject man!" Then the bishops and the nobles cried out still more, "He is a prophet of God, since birth he has remained a pure virgin" But Georgios said to the king, "Give me the throne and I will give you riches."

¹⁴ And when the bishops and the crowds heard these words, they anathematized him, saying, "Let your money be with you in perdition, for you want to acquire the gift of God with riches." And so the bishops made him forever a stranger to the priesthood; what is written is fulfilled for him: "He dug a pit and made it deep, let him fall into the pit he made"; And again: "He who exalts himself will be humbled, and he who humbles himself will be exalted." Thus, by the suffrage of God and the consent of the people, the holy Isaac was brought away with honor and glory, and he was ordained archbishop by the laying on of hands. O how great was the joy and gladness that there was in all the land of Egypt: the crowds formed dancing choirs to celebrate it: to the east and west of the river the villages were transformed from Babylon Fortress to Alexandria. The crowds of bishops who had gathered to enthrone him in the churches marched with him: among them were John, the bishop of Pschati, who was patrician over the episcopate of

the high country, a man consummate in the wisdom of God and men, and Gregory, the bishop of Cais, who was also patrician over the bishops of the lower country, with all the bishops. And when they had reached the city of Alexandria, it came to pass that the whole crowd went out: the clerics carried the gospels, crosses and lit candles.

15 And they sang in his honor until they had brought him into the city. And so their hands were laid upon him as archbishop on the eighth day of Koiak, a Sunday. And he was seated on the apostolic throne of the holy evangelist Mark, a light that enlightens us And the service of the archpriesthood was performed according to the apostolic canons. And when he had received the power of God to bind and loose, he shone in all the world; To those who were in the archiepiscopal palace he gave orders that the brethren should rest in their dwellings, meditating on the Holy Scriptures, and making a synaxis with one another; he often spoke to them, provoking them to imitate the life of the men of Skete. When the rest of the bishops and the monks of the monasteries heard that Saint Isaac was a bishop, they came to him and adored him, for they knew his great wisdom and asceticism. He was a model for them in good works. God granted this saint, my beloved, graces of healing a multitude of times. Every time he entered the altar to make the oblation, as soon as he began the holy offering, his eyes shed tears until he had finished the service. And when he arrived at the hour, the Holy Spirit descended on the altar, he saw the Holy Spirit coming upon the sacrificial offering, changing the bread and wine into the divine body of Christ.

16 When this saint saw this great revelation, he was seized with fear and joy. And at that moment, his face would shine brightly, so much so that everyone was in awe and said, "God has made us worthy of such a saint." And his mind was enlightened for the guard of the holy dogmas, after the manner of the great Athanasius and the wise Cyril, whose successor he had become. And when Saint Isaac went out into Egypt, he converted many of them from their heresy, he brought them the orthodox faith of our Lord Jesus the Christ. To some he gave baptism, he received others by having them anathematize their own heresies, by the grace that God had granted him and by his words that saved souls. When God had led him to a village called Psanascho, he baptized a multitude there, whether men or women, whether tall or short. And it happened that at mealtime, while he was reclining together with the bishops with him, a very sick man was brought to him; his

interior was so inflamed that, if he had drunk a lake of water, he would have been as if he had drunk nothing at all, because of the great inflammation of his interior. When he was brought to him, he raised his eyes to heaven, sighed, and said, "Thou art just, O Lord, and thy judgments are right." And when the holy patriarch had taken a cup of wine, he made the sign of the cross in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and he gave it to the man who drank it.

¹⁷ Immediately the fire that was in the man's interior was extinguished, and he was immediately rested, and went to his house to give glory to God and to the saint.

PART 3

¹ But Athanasius, the tax collector we spoke of previously, caused trouble for this saint, for indeed he had power; and the old man (Isaac) set his care in God. Immediately he received from God a rebuke for his unbelief. God sent a sickness to his eldest son, so that he was near death. His father brought a crowd of physicians, the cure did not come. But the child grew worse and worse and came near death. Athanasius became discouraged, seeking rest for his son and not finding it. And in the midst of all this, he was unfocused, and all the rulers of the city were sitting by him. And it came to pass that night that the Lord sent a vision to the archbishop, saying to him: "Send tomorrow to Athanasius the collector and say to him: If you believe in Christ who made me sit on his holy Church, the Lord will certainly grant your son the grace of healing."

² And when the saint had reflected on the vision, he called his disciple and said: "Is there a bishop here?" The disciple said: "Yes, there is here Abba Georgios, Abba Gregorios and Abba Piamot, the bishop of Damietta." The patriarch having called the bishop, he announced to them what he had seen in the vision. Abba Gregorios answered him saying: "You know that this man is angry with your holiness; perhaps this manifestation is a deceptive vision, that the words are not true and will do us harm." The archbishop answered and said to him as one who knew what was between God and him: "What I have said to you, I have spoken truthfully in the presence of each one; it is the holy evangelist Mark who commands you." When they had gone they came to the house of Athanasius, and found him weeping for his son, and they reported to him the words of the archbishop. Athanasius answered: "Truly, if healing comes to my son through the archbishop, I will

believe in him as I did in Athanasius, Cyril, Ignatius, and Severus.” And Athanasius and his wife fell at the feet of the bishops, saying: “We beg you, exhort the archbishop to implore God to save him; for we certainly cannot look upon the (saint) because of the evils we have done him.” When the bishops had gone, they reported to the holy patriarch what Athanasius had said.

3 Then the archbishop went to the child; he stood over him, prayed over him, and signed him with his holy hand. At once the child jumped out of his bed, as if he had not been sick at all; The archbishop ordered something to be brought to him, for since the day he had become sick he had not tasted anything. And when Athanasius and his wife saw the healing that had taken place in their child, they prostrated their faces at the feet of the patriarch, asking his forgiveness. The archbishop said to Athanasius: “My son, from this day take good care and do not grieve the Church any more; for he who fights against the Church fights against Christ.” And from that day the archbishop was honored by Athanasius who gave him glory as to an angel of God. And the archbishop, when the frequentation was established between them, spoke with Athanasius about the Evangelium of Alexandria so that he would make it beautiful, because due to the length of time this Evangelium was leaning ready to fall, and with the grace of God Athanasius raised it up and adorned it with beauty. And during the days of his (patriarchate) a council was assembled in Alexandria, which his predecessors the archbishops had not been able to do because of the enemies of our faith. And God made him find favor with the king of the Saracens who honored him greatly, giving him glory a multitude of times until his death, so much so that they sat together, that they had interviews, because the king saw the multitude of cures (operated) by him.

4 It happened that once, as our father was making the synaxis, the king happened to pass by with all the crowd that followed him; he came outside the door of the church and he looked inside. He then saw the archbishop standing at the altar surrounded by fire; a luminous virtue gave him courage. When the king saw this great vision, he was amazed and said to one of those who accompanied him: “Go, call the archbishop”; for he wanted to know why this virtue surrounded him and who it was that spoke to him in the place and stood above him. And when he wanted to send the man into the church, he saw virtue coming to him, fear seized him, he fled in haste with

those who accompanied him. No one except the king alone saw the vision. When he had returned to his house, he lay down for fear: he looked like a dead man, he could not speak all day. The collectors came to him, they entered near him to visit him, they found him lying in fear. As they questioned him about the cause of his illness, he revealed to them what his eyes had seen, and when they had heard it they were amazed and gave glory to God. Having sent one of them, the king sent for the archbishop, and when he arrived, he questioned him, saying: "At the time when you stood at the altar, with whom were you then speaking? And who was he who stood (all) luminous (and as if) on fire?"

⁵ The holy archbishop answered and said to the king: "I was speaking with my God." For the archbishop was not ignorant of what power stood near him whenever he went up to the altar, as on this occasion. The king said to him: "Whenever you go up to the altar, do you see your God?" The archbishop said to him: "Yes." Then the king was filled with astonishment and said to the archbishop: "Your faith is great, you Christians! I had thought until today that Abba Jean, your predecessor, was very close to God, but I know now that you are his father and that you are more exalted than he near God." ⁶¹ now that you are his father and that you are more exalted than he near God." And from that day on he was a prophet in the eyes of the king who called him patriarch at every moment and took him with him wherever he went. And the saint was sad because the king would not let him remain in his bishopric, for at all times he had loved the quiet life. It happened one day that the king was in the city of Helwan which he had recently built in the days of his kingship: he sent for the archbishop, took him by the hand, brought him into his house, and did not let in any of those who were waiting for him. He led him into one of his rooms and left him alone.

⁶ The king went to his place. And the king's wife saw great multitudes of angels who were with the archbishop in the room, she also saw a great light like burning lamps: the angels were dressed in white garments given to them. In their midst was the holy patriarch Isaac who sang the praises of God all night, according to the custom of Christians. And when the hour of light had arrived, the woman informed the king of what she had seen and said to him: "A little more and I was near death because of the fear of what I saw and heard." Then the king said: "I brought him, him alone, into the room, that he might pray for us and our children." But she swore to him, saying: "I

saw a great multitude surrounding this old man, speaking to their God in their prayers.” And the next day the king dismissed him, gave him glory. And the king built churches and monasteries of monks around his city, because he loved the Christians. It happened at that time that there came (to Babylon) a famous man from the country of the Saracens; he was a Christian by religion. He had two sons: one was possessed by the devil, the other had fled to Egypt wanting to deny the faith of Christ, because he had not been able to do so in his country for fear of his father who was a perfect Christian.

7 His father having sought him and not having found him, he arose, he came to Egypt to take him; he found him a denier of his faith, having chosen the part of Judas rather than that of Christ. And the father of the young man had brought into Egypt his youngest son in whom was a demonic spirit, so that the bishops of Egypt might pray over him and heal him, because he had heard that they were saints of God. And when this Christian man arrived in Egypt, ‘Abd-el-’Aziz received him with great joy because he was one of his relatives, and when he had questioned him about (the cause of) his arrival to him, (the other) told him everything for which he had come, and (the king) received him with great joy and great honor. Then the man having seen that his son did not listen to him in order to convert, he wept in affliction and said: “Let your blood be upon you my son; from this moment you are a stranger to me in this world and in the next.” And as he was looking for a holy bishop so that he could pray over the child, he happened upon a pseudo-bishop of the heresy of the acephalous. When he was told that this (man) was a bishop, not knowing that he was a heretic, he brought his son to the bishop, that he might pray over him, and that the child might be healed. And when that wicked bishop had done so, he was unable to heal him; but the evil spirit troubled the child without giving him rest, and the man was very sad at heart.

8 When the king saw that he was sad, he asked him: “What has happened to you?” Then the man told him the cause (of his sadness). The king asked: “Who is this bishop?” They answered: “It is the one from Niuberschenouf.” The man was saddened when he was informed that he was a heretical bishop. Then the king ordered that the holy patriarch Isaac be brought to him immediately. When he arrived, the king informed him of the sick child and of the great affliction in which the father was in this matter. The patriarch took a little oil, prayed over her, and anointed the child, saying, “In the

name of my God Jesus Christ, grant your servant the grace of healing.” Immediately the demon came out of the child in the form of a flame of fire: whoever saw it was amazed and gave glory to God. The man immediately got up, fell to the ground at our feet before the archbishop, worshiped him, and presented him with perfumes that had been chosen from his country. The patriarch spoke to him many times, to strengthen him in the faith of Jesus Christ and the salvation of his soul. And the man, a lover of God, asked the archbishop to write him the Gospel according to John, and he prayed over the bread of eulogy, asking the archbishop’s blessing, so that it would protect him all his life. And he left him giving glory to God, according to what our good Savior said: “He who loves me, my Father will love him and I also will dwell in him.”

9 After this some of the Saracens who hated the faith came in to the king and accused the archbishop, saying: “Behold, you honor Isaac and receive him into your presence, and he hates us and our religion.” The king said: “I love him because I know by his works that he is a man of God and that he is subject to us. What you say is a lie.” They said to them: “If you want to convince yourself that he hates us and our religion, and that what we say is true, then you will make him eat with you on the (same) platter of the food that is on the platter, and that without his making (the sign of) the cross: if he does not make this sign, know that all that we have said is a lie.” The king answered them and said: “I will follow your advice in this. “And immediately he called the collectors and said to them: “I desire that the patriarch consent to eat with me, if he loves me, without making the sign of the cross.” The two collectors answered and said to the king: “We are Christians, we cannot eat without first making the sign of the cross: if you let the archbishop first make the sign of the cross on the food, he will consent to eat with you: if you do not allow him, we do not think that he will eat with you.” The king answered angrily: “I will make him eat with me and will not let him make the sign of the cross: if he does, I will kill him.”

10 And they could not answer him because of the anger that possessed him, they were silent. Now it happened one day that the patriarch came to visit the king according to his custom: he sat down with the king and the whole crowd, the leaders of the Saracens, many magistrates of Egypt. The archbishop was still seated when a basket of magnificent dates was brought into the king’s presence. The king ordered the archbishop to eat first. But the

saint, experienced in divine and human matters and on whom the Holy Spirit had rested as on the prophet Daniel, stretched out his right hand, took with finesse the basket containing the dates and said to the king: "From which side do you want me to eat, from this side or from that side? From here or there." The king did not know what the archbishop had done; but the collectors and the (Christian) leaders understood what he had done, they admired his great prudence and the astonishing graces that God had given him. The king answered: "Eat where you wish." And when the archbishop had finished eating the dates, the king dismissed him. And the king said to the collectors and leaders, as if congratulating himself: "I made him eat without the sign of the cross." They said to him with joy: "He did not eat until he had traced the cross." The king said to them: "How did he trace the cross?" They said to him: "At the moment when he put his fingers on the four sides of the basket, saying: 'Do you want me to eat from this side or from that side? Here or there?'" It was then that he traced the cross on the dates."

¹¹ Then the king was filled with admiration and said: "Truly I have not found a wise man as this one." But God, who had given glory and grace to the prophet Daniel in the presence of the Chaldean and Persian kings, also gave glory to this saint in the presence of the kings of the Saracens. And the king honored him, called him patriarch at every moment because of the grace of God which was in him. Listen, let me tell you also this wonderful thing. It happened at that time that the king of Makouria sent some of his servants to the archbishop with letters, announcing to him how the bishops of his country had become few in number because of the length of the journey and the time it took on the way, because one could not pass because of the king of Maurotania, until peace had been made with him. For there were two kings established over that country and both were Christians; but they were not at peace with each other, because one of them had made peace with the king of the Saracens, that was the king of Maurotania; but the other, the king of Makuria, had not made peace with the king of the Saracens.

¹² When the archbishop had read the king's letters and had learned what they contained, he was greatly saddened at heart, because of the churches; and immediately he wrote letters to the king of Maurotania, giving him advice and instructions with words from holy Scripture, and saying to him: "You are both Christians." When he had written a multitude of words to

strengthen his soul in the orthodox faith in the Son of God, he then wrote to him not to prevent the men of the king of the high country from passing through his territory, when they came about their bishops, so as not to leave the churches deserted, "so that you do not receive a great reprobation from God." When the enemies of our faith learned this, they slandered the archbishop near the king, saying: "We warn you, O king, that the king of Makouria has sent servants with letters to Abba Isaac the archbishop, so that he may establish a bishop over them and send him to their country. Not only that, but he has also sent (someone) to the king of Maurotania, advising him to make peace with the king of Makouria our enemy. If it happens thus, O king, they will become one heart, they will rise up against us to make war on us. "When the king heard these words, he became very angry, and immediately he sent servants to Alexandria with letters from him for the Augustal, having written to him thus: "As soon as my messengers have arrived near you with these letters, seize the patriarch, send him to me quickly."

¹³ The king had resolved in his heart to take off the archbishop's head with his sword, as soon as he should have come near him. And when the king's letters had arrived, they found the holy archbishop assembled (with the people) in the church; for it was the week of the salutary Passover of Christ. O how great was the mourning and desolation that there was on that day, not only among those of our faith, but for everyone who knew the great favor he enjoyed with God: all were in mourning for their pastor, not knowing what he was accused of with the king. And when he had been seized in haste, he was led away to Babylon Fortress as if to kill him. And as the holy archbishop rode on his donkey, passing through the streets of Babylon, it came to pass that all the multitude followed him according to their custom, in order to know what would come to their shepherd. He was still walking, praying, towards the king, when he saw two tall men walking wearing white garments - no tongue of flesh could speak of their glory and honor! And he saw them walking with him, one on his right, the other on his left, and they said to him: "Fear not, O faithful patriarch, for here we go with you; no harm will come to you." He asked them, saying: "And you, who are you in the midst of this great glory?" The one on his right hand, who had the appearance of an old man, answered and said: "I am Cephas, who is called Peter; this other is Mark, my legitimate son."

¹⁴ Since the day you were seated on the priestly throne, we have been with you in every way that you go. Take courage, do not fear, for in this year you will fulfill your life and you will be laid down in peace with your fathers. Since you have perfected the work of monasticism and the work of the pastor, the Lord desires that you endure that of the confessor, O holy shepherd.” And some of the monk fathers saw him as if he had spoken to others; but they were not certain of the thing. When he approached the praetorium, the king was informed about him: “The archbishop has arrived,” they said. The king ordered him to be brought in alone before him, thinking to do him some harm. But it happened that when he saw the saint of God in the midst of the great glory that surrounded him, he was filled with astonishment and with his (own) eyes he saw the two luminous apostles entering with him. He was in great amazement, fear seized him, and, when his heart had strengthened, he said gently to the archbishop: “Is what I have been told about you true?” So he justified himself before the king with great frankness, and when he had convinced the king’s heart, he sat down near him, as it is written: “I will give you a spirit of wisdom against which no one can contend”; and also: “If you are brought before kings and rulers for my sake, do not worry about what you will say; for the Holy Spirit will teach you in that very hour what you should say.”

¹⁵ Then the king questioned the archbishop and said to him: “Swear to me by God and by the glory that surrounds you that you will not hide from me what I ask you.” And the saint answered: “I will not hide from you anything that I know.” The king answered him: “At the hour that you came to me, who were those two men who were walking with you? (For) I saw two men accompanying you, and a great light surrounded you and them? I have never seen anything like them, and if they had not made themselves invisible, I would have died of fright.” Then the holy archbishop said to the king: “These two men that you have seen are disciples of Christ, the King of kings, by whom kings are kings; for those whom you have seen accompany me at all times. Therefore, O king, beware of (touching) the Church, do not grieve it; for he who grieves the Church grieves God. “And when the king heard these words of the archbishop, he was filled with great fear. After the king gave orders to the holy archbishop to build a church in Helouan, the city which he had founded. And when he had finished the church in all its beauty, the archbishop became ill and suffered greatly. The king was in-

formed of this, who was saddened and dismissed him. He was brought up, he was taken to Alexandria, he worshiped in the church of Saint Mark. And he was ill and suffering.

¹⁶ When his spiritual brothers who were in the desert of Scete heard of it, they came to him, they cared for him until the Lord visited him. And when the holy and glorious archbishop was about to rest, it happened that crowds of blessed saints, bishops, clerics, monks, were sitting near him. And so he gave up his soul into the hands of God, the faithful and confessor archbishop, on the ninth day of Athor. And Abba John, Bishop of Terenuti, his spiritual brother, was worthy to place his hands on the eyes (of the saint), as Joseph had placed his hands on the eyes of his father Jacob. He was buried in all glory and honor; the bishops and all the clerics spent the whole night singing psalms around him. When morning appeared, a great crowd gathered, they celebrated for him the holy service; all the people received the body and blood of God. Then his body was laid near (that of) his colleague, the patriarch John, in the church of St. Mark. And his body is near us on earth, and his spirit near God in heaven watching over us. And we believe that all the saints went to meet him, patriarchs and prophets, apostles and all saints. May it be granted to all of us to obtain mercy through his holy prayers in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory with his good Father and the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever! Amen.

PART FOUR

Ananias of Shirak

*The autobiography of the Armenian scholar, and his discourses
on the date of Christmas and of Easter.*

The Autobiography of Ananias of Shirak

c. AD 610–685

The short account that Ananias of Shirak, an Armenian teacher of mathematics and of the calendar in the seventh century, gives of his own life: how he sought out teachers of the sciences, in his own land and as far as Constantinople, and why he came home to teach.

¹ Ananias Shirakvantzi the thrice blessed doctor, his description of his life.

² "I Ananias Shirakvantzi am he who collected the literature of our race of Armenians, and was learned in divine writ; and day by day I enlightened the eyes of my mind according to the word of the psalmist. And I was for ever hearing of the blessedness of the wise and of those who seek after wisdom; even as it is commanded by Solomon: 'Do thou acquire knowledge and wisdom, and continue to drive away ignorance, calling darkness her parent. If thou expel knowledge, then will I also expel thee.' And I was in dread of these threats, and I desired to attain unto blessedness and longed for wisdom. But I was very wanting in the art of counting, and I reflected that no discourse is in keeping with wisdom in the absence of number, which I regarded as the mother of all philosophies. And among the Armenians I found no man who was learned in this science, nor in their land did I find any books of science. So I set out to go to Greece, and I came to Theodoupolis, and I found there a reasonable man, learned in the writings of the church who was named Eliazar. He told me that there was a certain man who was a mathematician in the region of fourth Armenia, Christodotus his name. And I went and spent with him a space of six months.) And I saw that he had not the whole science, but only a smattering of it; so I went on thence to Constantinople;

³ and those of my acquaintance who were there met me and said to me: Why have you embarked upon such a long and toilsome journey; when Tychicus the teacher of Byzantium is near to us on the coast of Pontus, which is called Trapezon. He is full of wisdom and has a knowledge of Ar-

menian literature and is well known to the princes. And I said: How do you know this? And they said: We saw many travellers going to him, because of his very great knowledge. ⁴"But we now had as a fellow voyager Philagrius the deacon of the patriarch of Constantinople, who was taking many youths to him for instruction. On hearing this I glorified God, who thus fulfilled the desire of his servant, according to the saying: 'Seek ye and ye shall find.' And when I had come, I found him at the shrine of Saint Eugenia. And I announced my coming to him and he received me with joy and said: I thank God for sending thee in search of wisdom; that thou mayest use these sciences in the diocese of St. Gregory; and I am the more glad, that that land takes its instruction from my self. For in my youth I was a good deal in Armenia, and there was ignorance in the land. And the teacher Tychicus unto whom I went, loved me as his son and schooled me in all his thoughts. And the lord gave me grace, and I learned fully the art of mathematics, so that the pupils in the royal court were envious of me. And I lived with him eight years, and read and learned many writings which were not translated into our tongue. For he had an enormous library, secret books and open, ecclesiastical and profane, scientific and historical, medical and chronological. But I need not enumerate them in detail, for there is no book which was not found with him, and in translating he had such grace as comes from the holy spirit;

⁵for when he desired to translate greek books into Armenian, he did not do it hesitatingly like other translators, for he understood the Armenian tongue, as he did Armenian letters. And he told me how he came to know the Armenian tongue and to acquire such wisdom. He told me that when he was a young man in Trebizond he had been in the court of John the Warrior, and he served in Armenia, and spent a long time there until the reign of Maurice, during which he became acquainted with the tongue and the literature." ⁶But in an irruption of the Persian army on the Greeks, he had been wounded in battle and fled to Antioch, and all his goods were taken among the spoils. "Then", said he, "I prayed to God to be healed of my wounds, and I made a vow, saying: if thou wilt bestow upon me life, I will not treasure up the treasures that pass away; but I will pursue the treasures of knowledge; as it is said 'possess yourselves of wisdom and not of silver, of knowledge rather than of gold.' And God granted my desire, and when I was recovered I went off to the city of Jerusalem and thence to Alexandria, and thence to Rome;

where I stayed for some time, and then returned to Constantinople. And I found a teacher in Athens the city of philosophy, a famous man, with whom I spent not a few years in study. And having perfected myself in philosophy I returned to this place, and began to teach as a doctor. But after a few years my own teacher died; and as of his pupils could be found no one equal, by the command of the emperor and of the princes, they sent an invitation that I should go and occupy his chair. But he declined, saying: I am vowed to the heavenly king not to depart from this place. And after that they came to him to learn from all over the earth, because of his exceeding knowledge.

7 "But I was a humble Armenian and learned of him this mighty science, which is longed for by the princes and is imported into our land without there being any successor, by the help of God alone and by the prayers of the holy illuminator. Nevertheless none of my country men thanked me for my trouble; for the Armenians do not love a learned man nor his knowledge, but are lazy and stupid. For when I came into Armenia many came to me to be taught, but after getting a little knowledge, instead of remaining till they were perfect in the science, they left me and went off and began to teach what they did not know themselves and could not understand. Impostors they, and charlatans, anxious to make a show of knowledge and to be called rabbi by men. And they uttered calumnies about myself, though they were taught by myself. But I am free from the malice which they display in my teaching and instruction; for I bear in mind the holy text which says: 'Mine is vengeance and I will requite', and again the text: 'Lay my gold with the bankers, and I when I come demand it with interest.' Then I was not hindered by any who wished to teach. And this I leave unto you as a deathless gift, ye teachers of those who really desire to learn: raise no obstacles, and ye shall receive your reward from Christ who freely bestows his grace. And now be glory to Christ."

Ananias of Shirak: On Christmas

c. AD 610–685

A discourse by Ananias on the date of the Nativity. He argues that the apostles appointed the birth of Christ to be kept together with his baptism on 6 January, and that a separate feast twelve days earlier came in later; the Armenian church still keeps the older day.

The Discourse of Ananias, called the Counter upon the Epiphany of our Lord and Saviour.

¹ We have taken much trouble and pains about the holy festivals of God; and this is the result at which we have arrived, and which we are become worthy to set forth. First, the Festival of the Birth of Christ our God, which is the beginning of festivals, and of our yearly [cycles], and chief of the fixed feasts (= panegyridon), and of all commemorations of Christ. The Festival of the holy Birth of Christ, on the 12th day before the feast of the Baptism, was not appointed by the holy apostles, nor by their successors either, as is clear from the canons of the holy apostles. For it is written in the 6th chapter of the canons as follows: that the apostles appointed and laid it down firmly, that the Festival of the Birth and Epiphany of our Lord and Saviour, the chief and first of the festivals of the Churches [should be] on the 21st day of the month Tebeth, which is 6th of January, according to the Romans.

² But many years after their fixing the canons, this festival was invented, as some say, by the disciples of the heretic Cerinthus; and was accepted by the Greeks, because they were truly fond of festivals and most fervent in piety; and by them it was spread and diffused all over the world. But in the days of the holy Constantine, in the holy Council of Nice, this festival was not received by the holy fathers; but they appointed the festival to be held in accordance with the aforesaid canon of the holy apostles. And it is clear from the letter of the blessed Makarius, patriarch of Jerusalem, which he wrote to the country of the Armenians concerning the institution of the holy Baptism. For he was one of the 318 holy fathers of Nicaea. And it is written as

follows in the sixth chapter of his letter of command and counsel (or encyclical).

3 "But there is the ordinance of baptism of the holy font, and there is the earnest observance of the three festivals. Wherein our race is most eager with genuine piety to cherish the observances dedicated to God, and to carry out the great pattern of the salutary mystery, which was fulfilled in the holy and famous days. And this celebration they are very zealous to keep in the holy places of Christ; and all Christians who fear Christ must also fulfil in them (? in themselves) the calling of baptism at the holy epiphany of the birth of the Lord, and of the saving passover of the quickening passion of Christ; and of Pentecost full of grace, when the Divine descent of the vivifying overflowed among us. And of these several festivals, of the birth and baptism, you must understand the significance, in order that you may zealously carry out the same. For on the same salutary day with the illumining birth of Christ is our expiatory birth of the holy font also fulfilled. For on the same day He designed to be baptized because of His descent unto us. For it was not that He was Himself in need of cleansing; but He desired to cleanse us from the dross of sin, he that with a loud voice cried out, saying: "Except a man be born of water and of spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God," in order that, being born along with Christ in one and the same fashion, we may also be baptized along with Him on the day of His birth.

4 Next in the quickening resurrection of Easter by mortifying our sins in the waters of the font, we become imitators of the mortification by death of our Lord Jesus Christ; and by the triple immersion, being buried in the waters of the holy font, we symbolize in ourselves baptized the three-days' burial of our Lord. And this also the divine apostle shows, when he says: Buried with Him in baptism, let us become imitators of the likeness of his death; that by the newness of the resurrection we may become participators with Him in life eternal. But on the grace-bestowing day of sanctifying Pentecost was the bright revelation of the quickening Spirit, which, in the form of fiery tongues, descended on the apostles; vouchsafing to them [that] laying hands on the baptized [these shall] receive gifts from the Spirit of grace. After the same pattern we also, on the same day, lay hands on the baptised and bestow the same spirit. Of this we fulfil the pattern with unfailing care, that we may become perfect. So far Makarius.

⁵ Gregory Theologus also bears witness with Makarius on this point in regard to celebrating the baptism in three feasts, in his discourse "upon baptism," in which he assails those who are supine about baptism, and says: "Thou makest this and that a pretext, and allegest the excuse of sins. Thou sayest: I wait for the epiphany of the Lord, for the resurrection of the Lord, which to me is more precious. I wait for the Pentecost. It is better to be illumined with Christ; with Christ to arise on the day of resurrection; to celebrate the manifesting of the Spirit. And then what? The last day will come on in a way which thou wilt not know, and in a season when thou art not thinking of it. Thou hast all thy time for baptism, because thou hast all of it also for death." ⁶But after him Saint Cyril succeeded to the patriarchal throne of Jerusalem, and to the throne of the holy Constantine succeeded his son Constantius, along with his brothers. They say that he believed in the heresy of Arius. However, he did not fight against the truth; but left both sides alone to do as they liked. Whatsoever any one pleased he kept, whether orthodoxy or kakodoxy. In his days this festival was admitted in the royal court; and in all places where any one chose to keep it they kept it freely and openly, except in the metropolises of the four Patriarchs, who had the thrones of the holy Evangelists. For at that time they had not forcibly transferred the throne of St. John from Ephesus to Constantinople. And [this] is clear from the canonical disposition of lections of St. Cyril. For therein it is written thus: "That on the 25th of the month of December is the feast of David and Jacobus, which day in other cities they make the birth of Christ. About this the Greeks say as follows: that because the patriarch, with all the clergy and the bulk of the congregation, repair to Bethlehem and there keep feast, therefore the few priests who remain in the city celebrate the feast of David and Jacobus; as if the lections only belonged to the city. And they contend that this is why he wrote the words "in other cities," as if having Bethlehem in view. But this argument no really sensible person ever adopted.

⁷ For if we admit it, for what reason did this same Cyril fix the canon of the birth on the 6th of January? For at the beginning of the canon we find it written thus: that "the feast of the holy Epiphany is kept in January, on the 6th of the month. They shall assemble in the shepherd's dwelling, and repeat the following canon; and then in Bethlehem and in the cave. Here then you see that he appoints both feasts to be celebrated on one day; and who will be so rash as to find any fault with the blessed Cyril or with his dispositions?

And who [was ever] like him with Christ? And to whom else did such a sign ever appear [as to him]? and by whom else were so many myriads ever illuminated? Methinks not even by St. Paul. For on the day of the apparition of the luminous cross, countless myriads of myriads believed, of Jews and of heathen. For until the day of Constantius, son of Constantine, the Jews were prevented from going down to Jerusalem, but by him many Jews were freely allowed to congregate, and they fixed their abodes in Jerusalem. But also the Jews who were in Tiberias and in other cities were congregated there for the festival. And, moreover, many of the heathen were collected there because of the general concourse [who] were come to trade; and these, having seen the divine apparition, believed in Christ;

⁸ and all hastened to be baptized, so that the fonts and cistern tanks were not enough for them; till at last the blessed saint ordered the great baths which were called the public baths to be cleansed, that they might there carry on the saving rite of baptism. This was the third sign which happened in Jerusalem on the day of the holy Pentecost. But I think it was on a loftier scale than the first, in so far as, though the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles was seen by all in the midst of a multitude of assembled Jews and men of many other races, who in the Acts of the Apostles are mentioned by name, yet on that occasion the Spirit was bestowed on the Apostles alone. But the occasion of this multitude being assembled for holy baptism was also much more sublime than the second occasion, which Josephus relates: how that on the day of Pentecost a quaking and panic took hold first of the priests and then of the whole congregation. Then also on a sudden a voice was heard from the very depths of the temple, saying these words: We depart hence, we depart. But on this last occasion the powers of the Lord do not come forth from beneath our feet, but were plainly manifested to come from above, and were [? + not] bestowed in secret;

⁹ so much so that the blessed Cyril was prompt to write to the Emperor Constantius a letter of entreaty summoning him [to be] pious and instructed in the things of God. For he thought that by his supplication he would gain his salvation; by laying before him the divine sign which had occurred, and the multitude of those converted, as if to say, Why art not thou also with them? ¹⁰ So then, if the Greeks are resolved to despise this, they have no respect either for time or for the gospel, because of their not admitting the festival of the birth. For the one and the other show both the birth and the

baptism of Christ our God to have been on one and the same day. For it is written in Luke's Gospel, in the mystery of the baptism, thus: that Jesus Himself was of about thirty years beginning. See how clearly it proves that on the same day with His birth He was baptised, and then made a beginning both of the thirtieth year of His age and of His teaching. This also do the Greeks say, that it is possible for the twelfth day to be the beginning of the year, and not its middle or end either; if we so understand, of the seventy days also it is possible to say that it is not middle of the year or end. But in regard to the apostolic canon, the Greeks argue thus: that the Apostles had no leisure to narrowly seek out feast days, for their occupation was in preaching, and in separating and holding [men] aloof from heathen festivals. Will any one really be content to hear such a thing said of the Apostles as that they were certainly so careless as this about the appointing of festivals? Why, in that case, did they teach us to worship turning towards the east? Why, also, to meet together and feast Sunday, to honour it and be idle on it? Or to fast on the fourth day of the week and on Fridays? For all these are lesser points than the festivals of the birth and baptism.

¹¹ However, we would waive this point with them if only they would be persuaded in regard to others. For they declare in regard to the holy fathers at Nice that God concealed this from them; for that He does not give all graces to any one person. If the usage had not been discussed by them—yes. But they were aware of it, and condemned it, and spoke "of the Birth which in other cities they think to celebrate." But I assent to those of whom the Greeks boast—I mean, to the blessed Basil and Gregory Anzianz (i.e., Nazianzen). Them I know to be holy, true, spiritual, and followers of the Apostles. And if they had any precept about this, I accept it, even as Paul commands, saying: If it be revealed to a second, let the first listen. ¹² But I perceive no precept of theirs about this festival; but St. Cyril, who appointed the lections and psalms for the two festivals, I do not understand thereby to have separated the two, but to have kept in full the rituals, and to have celebrated the feasts of both mysteries on one and the same day. But those who suppose St. Gregory to separate the feasts in his argument, are not able to point to any precept of his about it, but derive some sort of evidence from his statements, and garble them to please themselves. They declare that in the discourse on the Birth he says as follows, "A little later then thou wilt see Jesus cleansed in the Jordan" and they declare that he pronounced this dis-

course on the day of the birth. And a little later on he refers to the twelve days which precede the baptism. To this we shall make this answer. I understand it thus: he simply uses his expression "a little later" in connection with the same passage, where he says, "But if thou art scandalized by His being made flesh and debasing Himself, why, then, 'a little later' thou shalt see Jesus cleansing the Jordan by His baptism, and not debasing but enriching the flesh by cleaving the heavens, and with divine grace testified unto by the Father and by the Spirit. In the second place, if you so understand the passage, then you must conceive Him as going to be baptized subsequently to His resurrection;

¹³ for previously to this passage He has been dwelling upon His passion and resurrection, and in connection with the same He uses the same words, and says, "so then a little later. However, if you clear your mind, you will easily understand from this very discourse that He fixed both feasts on one day. For in another passage in the same discourse He speaks as follows: "But now is the feast of the Epiphany of God, for God appeared as man by birth. So, then, he combines the two. This also do the Greeks allege, that the name epiphany is used of two feasts, both of the birth and of the baptism. I reply that this is notorious to all, that the name epiphany is applied to the 6th of January, and not to the 25th of December, either by the Greeks or by other races, and that no one ever heard of two epiphanies, but only of one. If, therefore, He uses the term epiphany, and is discoursing on the birth, He clearly appoints both on one day.

¹⁴ Then, again, the Greeks adduce as evidence of their case the following words from the discourse on the baptism: "We have then celebrated the [things] befitting (= ta eikota) the birth." And pondering the same, he says: "But on this occasion the action of Christ is one thing and the secret thought another." Well, I assent. The action is one and the thought another. But not on another day. For the first words testify this to me. "We have celebrated the [things] befitting the birth," he says, and not the [fact] of the birth. For, had it been by twelve days later, he must have said the [fact] of the birth, and not the [things] of the birth. ¹⁵ Again, if it was not all on one day, why did he mention the day of the birth, and not simply say, "the secret thought" (or mystery), as elsewhere he does of the economy and of the passion? But you mention the depredators while you pass over those who magnify and elevate, as the very same Gregory says. Come, then, mark me also that passage which

in the discourse of baptism he utters as follows: "Three births our discourse knoweth, the one in the flesh, and the one by baptism, and the one by the resurrection." And, dwelling on the same, he adds: "All these births my Christ manifestly honoured, [the first] by the great afflatus, primal and animating; and the second by being made flesh and by the baptism, wherewith He was Himself baptised; but the third by the resurrection, which He Himself initiated. As he was the eldest among many brethren, so also He deigned to become eldest among the dead. But as touching two births—I mean the first and the last—the present is not the time to philosophize; but concerning the middle one and that which is now necessary to us; of the same name with which is the day of illumination.

¹⁶ See how he combines the two. Let them see, who have intelligence; the being made flesh and the baptism are one birth upon one day, after which, he says, is even named the day of illumination. But let us see how the Greeks fit in with the dumbness of Zachariah the six-months-long lapse of days of the pregnancy of Elizabeth, at the end of which we must understand the day of the annunciation of Gabriel. This, however, is the arguments of the Greeks: On the same day on which Zachariah was dumbfounded, on that very day he approached his wife; and she conceived by him on the very same day. Then they count 180 days, which throws the day of the annunciation of Gabriel on to the 25th March. From that day they count 276 days of the Holy Virgin's pregnancy, to suit the ten months' gestation of the first-born child, and that throws the birth on the 25th of December.

¹⁷ Now I ask you to give me your best attention while we investigate the following passage. First the text, and then the Gospel. For the text runs as follows: "My festivals consecrated shall be called holy by you. Three times in the year shall ye keep festival. Every male of you shall be before me, and ye shall offer sacrifices to the Lord." And before that he saith: "In the seventh month, the first day thereof, let it be called holy by you. No work at all shall ye do on it. And the tenth day of the same seventh month, let it be kept holy by you. Humble yourselves from the ninth day of the month for three days. And every one who shall not humble himself, he shall be destroyed out of his congregation. And let the tenth day be hallowed by you; for it is a day of expiation for you. No work shall ye do upon it. A Sabbath of Sabbaths is it [and] a rest. Ye shall offer a sacrifice to the Lord in expiation for yourselves. And the fifteenth day of the same seventh month, called the Festival of Taber-

nacles, shall be holy for you. No menial work shall ye do on it. In tents ye shall dwell for seven days at rest. Offer offerings to the Lord for seven days; and the seventh day shall be called holy, a Sabbath rest. No menial work shall ye do on it." So the text.

¹⁸ So then Zachariah's dumbness exactly fell on the tenth of Tisri; for that is the seventh month. And it was the day of expiation, on which the high priest entered the Holy of Holies, once in the year. To which also Paul bears witness. But on the same day it was not convenient that Zachariah should approach his wife; for he was the high priest of the year, and the great Feast of Tabernacles impended, and all Israel was convoked there. For seven days they were to feast the Festival of Tabernacles, and it was impossible for the high priest to leave the congregation and go to his house; for it was far away, and he had not his dwelling in Jerusalem. And the holy Gospel is my evidence for this, for in it it is written: "And the congregation was waiting for Zachariah, and marvelled at his tarrying in the temple. And when he came out, he could not speak to them; and they understood that he had seen a vision in the temple. And he conversed with them in signs and remained dumb. And it came to pass when the days of his ministration were fulfilled, he went to his house. And after those days Elizabeth his wife conceived. See how clearly he implies that after the completion of the days of the festival it came to pass that Zachariah approached his wife. And to make the statement more sure he repeats a second time the phrase, "having completed the days of his ministry.

¹⁹ And again, "after those days. And who can mistake their meaning, namely, that it was so long as he was enjoining the congregation to sanctify and respect, not only the feast, but also, because of the feast, the beginning of the month and the first day's evening. How then between two chief festivals could the high priest leave the congregation, and, going to his house, approach his wife? or [could he] on the very day of the feast? Be it not therefore ours to contradict and dispute, puffed up with our subtleties; but let us assent to the truth and to the Divine writings, which make it clear that it was on the tenth of the month Tisri that Zachariah approached his wife and that Elizabeth conceived. If we then count the 180 days of six months, that fixes the 16th of the month Nisan—which is the 6th April according to the Romans—and at this date was the annunciation of the Holy Virgin. Then, counting the period of ten months' gestation of the firstborn, we have a full

276 days, ending on the 21st of the month Tebeth, which is the sixth of January, according to the Romans.

²⁰ Here let us take a firm stand, and one not to be overthrown. And heaven forbid we should divide it into two. But on one day let us keep the birth and the baptism, and, maintaining intact the appointments of both, let us follow the holy Apostles and blessed fathers of Nice and our own teachers. For it is not true that [the new Christmas] did not reach them, and that therefore they did not receive it; but a long time ago [this feast] came to our land, and was accepted as by men who were ignorant of the truth. And it lasted many, many years, until the blessed John Katholicos, who by family was a Mandakuni. And then he made search for the truth, and after inquiry and getting at the truth, he commanded it to be abandoned. And after him we too will follow and give this answer to the Greeks, that we are pupils of the holy fathers in Nice; and what we learned we keep firmly and will not twist it awry. As for you, if ye do not walk in the paths of your own fathers, it appears to me that the temper of the Jews has taken possession of you, as they taught the Samaritans. And the Samaritans kept what they learned. But you resemble them. It does no harm to us.

²¹ But we are on surer ground than the Samaritans, and by far more sublime and divine; and for you we have no other answer. For you do not enjoin on us to do the truth, but impose always on us your own tyrannical and over-subtle fancies. I know a few of the Greeks who kept this feast until the Emperor Justinian; but all were constrained by him, and received it—Jerusalem, Rome, Alexandria, and every land. But be it not ours to feel any such dread of human commands as that we should over-ride the divine. And if it please you, I will utter Job's words: If I should go wrong, make me intelligent. But if they scorn the words of truth, at least let us not turn perversely from the path of the fathers. Let us then set forth clearly in what month and on what days of the month the several nations keep the holy Epiphany:—

²² A. The Epiphany, according to the Hebrews, falls in the month Tebeth, on the 21st day always. B. The Epiphany, according to the Syrians, in the month Kanoun, on the 6th day always. C. The Epiphany, according to the Arabs, in the month Arson (? Assam), on the 21st day always. D. The Epiphany, according to the Ethiopians, in the month Teras (= Tīr), on the 11th day always. E. The Epiphany, according to the Egyptians, in the month Tubil, on the 11th day always. F. The Epiphany, according to the Macedonians,

in the month Maimakterion, on the 21st day always. G. The Epiphany, according to the Greeks, in the month Eudineus (Aydynaïos), on the 6th day always. H. The Epiphany, according to the Romans, in the month of January, on the 6th day always. I. The Epiphany, according to the Armenians, changes its date every four years. And how this comes to be must be explained, and why it is not adjusted to [the dates] of other nations; this I will explain according to the order of the calendar. But many ask why was not the day of the holy Epiphany made clear? On what number of day of the month it falls, and we keep it, I will explain.

²³ We have a tradition from the holy fathers. Inasmuch as it happened on the 20th day of the month, on the same day we also keep festival; the reason of which is this, That the feast of the holy Epiphany is no Jewish feast, but a Christian one only. And since there was no need to separate it from any other [feast], it was not fixed in a regular manner, nor was the day [of the week] signified; but it was fixed by reference to the number of the day in the month on which it occurred. But some have declared about the day [of the week] of the holy Epiphany that it happened on a Friday, because on Friday was the creation of the first man; and others assert on the Sabbath. But I am persuaded by the holy Polycarp, for he was a pupil of John the Evangelist, and heard with his own ears all the history of the Saviour. And he declares that the birth happened on the first of the week. And it was fitting that on this day on which was the beginning of creation—it was indeed portended—that on this day the Saviour of all should come into the world by being born, but keeping the virginity intact.

²⁴ And [he said] that the resurrection after the stay under the seal of the rock [was on the first day of the week], as also prior to that the entrance into Jerusalem on the day of the palms, and subsequently thereto the descent of the Spirit on the Apostles. But he (i.e. Polycarp) declared that the day of the baptism fell, after thirty years, on the same number of day in the month, only on the fourth day of the week. And he declares that the creation of the sun on the fourth day was for a mystery and foretype. From the fourth tribe of Israel was the Saviour born, according to the Apostle, [who says] that from the tribe of Judah sprang our Lord. And because we feast both events on one day of the month, it was impossible to declare the day [of the week], because they (i.e. particular week days) fall, one on one day in the month, another on another. But we keep the number of the day of the month; and for seven days

we purify ourselves and fast before it, and on whatever day [i.e. of the week] it falls, we feast seven days after it. For God is not limited by time or power of days, according to the Lord's utterance, that the Son of Man is Lord also of the Sabbath.

Ananias of Shirak: On Easter

c. AD 610–685

A discourse by Ananias on the date of Easter, which he calls by the Armenian name *Zatik*. He sets out how the Passover was fixed by the moon and the spring equinox, how the Church came to keep it, and how its date is worked out by a cycle of 532 years.

¹ Ananias of Shirak the counter, his discourse on the Lord's *Zadik*.) The feast of the holy *Zadik* we learned from Moses and from the exodus of Israel out of Egypt. For it is thus written: 'The Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron in the land of Egypt, and said: This month shall be unto you a beginning of months, shall be unto you first among the months of the year' (Exod. 12). And antecedently he says: 'On the tenth day of this month let each of you take a lamb house by house, or, if not, then according to the houses of [your] clans, sharing together because of poverty.' And in the same context he says: 'And it shall be kept until the 14 of this month; and they shall slay at even-tide and sprinkle the lintel and the two posts with blood', which was to protect the first-born from the Destroyer. But however this way a shadow of what was to come, even as the divine apostle reckons it, and a pattern of Christ. For Christ himself entered on the tenth day of the first month into Jerusalem on the day of the Palms and lasted until the 14 day of the month; on the evening of which did he give his quickening body to his holy apostles to eat, and accomplished the mystery (i. e. sacrament) concerning it. But on the present occasion I am concerned not to interpret, but to give the history of *Zadik*; and would tell you whence it is and from whom.

² The Lord fixed the holy feast of *Zadik* by the moon. Hear the word which says, 'the 14 day of the month', because the moon is then full. As also Philo says. For he reckons the month to be the lunation (lit. days of the moon) and the first day to be the beginning of the moon's growing full. For the Hebrews had no months previously to Moses; nor on that occasion was anything established afresh, which was not. But as we said, it is lunar months

of which he speaks. Look at the words. He did not say: This month shall be for you a beginning of months, anew, which [it] was not; but this: This month shall be for you a beginning of months, shall be first among the months of the year. It is clear that the months were lunar. But the [? + solar] year was not as yet established for the Hebrews, since they were using the Chaldaean year and months: and he [i. e. Moses] defined not the fullness [of the moon] to be the [completed] orbit, as being something secondary and accidental; but the moon as it was at its original creation, this is what he meant. For on the day of its creation the moon was a 14 days one; and although there was as yet but one day of the moon's existence, yet the fullness of its orb appeared to be that of 14 days. For it was impossible for the moon to be imperfect and half-complete on the day of its coming into existence. For all creation was full and complete as first fashioned. For instance the herbs were not undeveloped, but ripe, and the trees complete and full of fruit; and man was 30 years of age, though he was only one day as yet alive.

³ In the same way the moon also was a 14 days one in its fulness and completeness of light. And this the Doctors of the Hebrews considered to be so, when they represented the moon on the day of its coming into being to be a 14 days moon. For the months were fixed by reference to it, and they were to be discerned in reference to it, just as the year from the sun. For the Doctors of the Hebrews assert that the sun and moon were fashioned on the fourth day. For this reason they fix that day as the date of the equality (= isemeria) in length of day and night; declaring that the creation was in the mid firmament. And on the sixth day they say man came into being. And they make a regular computation of the number of months) and reckon twelve months to be the full tale of the year; five days more being reckoned in, which elapsed before the creation of man. It is clear then that we know the year by the sun and the months by the moon; even as the divine utterance testifies, saying: Let them be for signs and seasons and days and years. And in the same context he says: And god made the two great lights. The greater luminary to rule the day, and the lesser luminary to rule the night, and the stars.

⁴ And he placed them in the firmament of heaven to give light to the earth, and to rule the day and night and separate between the light and the darkness. But about the dimensions and fixt positions, and powers and limits and order of the: other stars and their natures I am prevented from speaking

just now, [and shall not] until I have finished my account of the mystery of the holy Zadik and of the calendar of all peoples. And then I shall relate whatever either outsiders or church-writers have to say on these points. ⁵ Let us however return once more to the Lord's command to Moses, which says: 'This month.' By saying this he indicates the priority of its creation. 'Shall be for you a beginning of months': 'Shall be first for you among the months of the year'. He refers to the sum of full moons (lit. of fullnesses of the moon) in the cycle of its course. Again, 'taking a lamb on the tenth day of the month.' A period of ten days includes 240 hours; by which we must understand that which is like the day, like the sun, like the dawn. For it is a type of Christ. And it is 'kept till the 14'. He clearly commands us to wait for the full moon. For not only is the victim in itself a type of Christ, but the moon is itself as well; as was the unanimous opinion of the holy fathers, among whom is my own winner of the wreath of Christ and confessor, saint Gregory the Father of us Armenians, who declared, that the second luminary ruling the night comes fraught with a type of the only born son of God — is shrouded, is buried, an earnest in its burial of the resurrection from the dead.

⁶ And the feast of Zadik is called by the Hebrews Phaska in their tongue, which is by interpretation the 'passover', which was from Egypt into the land of Canaan. This also the blessed Gregory the Divine, states as follows: 'Some have thought that this name implied the passion of the Saviour, and proceeded to Hellenise the word and changed ph into p, and k into ch, calling the Saviours day Pascha, to suit the word of Moses, who in Deuteronomy saith as follows: 'Seven days shall, thou eat unleavened bread with it, for it is the bread of tribulation.' The Doctors of the Hebrews assert that Moses instituted three feasts of Zadik in the desert; and afterwards when the congregation opposed him, all divine precepts and constitutions were forsaken and in abeyance, until the day on which the sons of Israel passed over the Jordan on the tenth day of the first month. Tenth, not of the month, does he call it, but of the moon, for it was the 18 of the first month which is called by the name Nisan, and tenth of the moon. This tenth, on which they took the lamb involves a great mystery, and it is a type of the baptism, [that upon it was] the passing over the Jordan, and the coming of Christ into Jerusalem on the day of Palms. And Joshua kept the Zadik on the 22 day of the first month. But he names the 14, according to the days of the moon; and he then renewed the constitutions which in the desert were abolished, and made as if.

were a fresh beginning of constitutions and of laws. As also did Moses at the departure out of Egypt. For he also calls the passing over river Jordan an exodus from Egypt. As we also have explained in our canon appointed for the occasion of the afore described festival.

7 In the days of Hezekiah also it is said that it was kept by some others (? in a somewhat different way). But as that was not in the first month, but in the second, and not according to the law, it was not adhered to.) For it was indiscriminate and unclean. And the feast was in abeyance until the 18 year of king Josiah, and then it was kept. And after that it was in abeyance till the days of Zorababel and the building of the temple. And after that Ezra renewed it and appointed the nineteenth of the the moon for the Hebrew race, and it was kept without break until the Saviour's crucifixion, when the full moon fell on the 14 of Nisan on the fifth day of the week after the type presented in the exodus from Egypt. For we too were saved by the precious blood, and truly went forth from lower to higher things, eating the true body of the lamb of god. And after that the holy apostles came every year to Jerusalem, and in commemoration kept the day of the Saviour's passion, and feasted the day of the resurrection. And by their divine miracles they converted many to Christ and baptised until the second year of Vespasian, when there occurred the very last destruction of the temple, and the siege, capture and laying waste of Jerusalem. And on this occasion it was commanded by the holy spirit that no one of the Christians should be there at that festival, in order to their being saved from the evils which befell Jerusalem. So they assembled outside in various places to keep the feast of the holy Zadik.

8 And after that Aristides merry), philosopher of Athens, a companion and pupil of Kodratus the apostle, constructed the period of 19 [years] of the moon for the Romans; and using the following analogy argued thus, that the first day of april is the beginning of creation; and since the moon was created on the fourth day, therefore he fixed the 14 day of the moon on the fourth day of april. And he arranged that day to be the starting point (or head) of the period (or cycle); because on the same day fall according to the Hebrews the 14 of Nisan, the full moon and the anepact.); After whom Leontios (lege Leonidas), father of Origen, constructed the period of 19 [years] of the moon for the Egyptians and Ethiopians; after which Origen, son of the same, made the 19 years cycle of the moon for the Arabs and Macedonians, according to an analogous scheme (= kath ohmoioteta schematos), hav-

ing regard to the [feast] of the Hebrews. After whom Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea, made the period of 19 [years] of the moon, having regard to the [feast] of the Greeks.

⁹ But although all these had long before arranged [the calendar]; yet the whole world did not learn of the arrangement, because of the stress of persecutions directed against the Christians. But they kept the feast simultaneously with the Jews, — a miscellaneous and unclean least, — until the days of the blessed Constantine and the holy council of Nice. And then it was prescribed by the emperor that they should not any longer after that keep a feast in impure agreement with the Lord-slaying race of Jews. So he issued an edict that they should adopt the nineteen years lunar cycle of Easters, which had been drawn up by the above mentioned persons; and that they should take pupils from among all Christian nations and teach them the calendar; and so separate the Christians from the Jewish [observance]. And though the business was put through agreeably to the emperor's edict, yet it was not a way of settling it quite free from perplexities. And after that in the days of Constantius, son of Constantine, (Andreas), brother of Magnus the bishop, arranged a calendar of 200 years. And yet this was not void of perplexities. Then at the expiration of Andreas' calendar of 200 years, in the days of the emperor Justinian, there was a great deal of research on the part of learned philosophers, because the cycle of 19 did not bring the order exactly, which in 95 years comprised a period of revolution round to the same point. It seemed to all a drawback that in the course of many years there was according to the days of the cycle a want of sequence after the Bissextus.

¹⁰ For this reason an investigation was made at Alexandria, which is the metropolis of all sciences; and there was found a cycle free from inaccuracies of 532 years, which accurately shews the 14 days; of the Pascha. But they did not go so far as to give a new form to and efface the canon previously fixt and written down; but they exactly fixed the same 14 days adhering to the same method over nineteen times nineteen (? read twenty eight years), in order that the results arrived at might be quite clear and give offence to none. And the sum of these was calculated by philosophers, namely by Aneas of Alexandria, who associated with himself the Jew Phineas from Tiberias, Gabriel of Syria, John from among the Arabs, and Abdiah from the Ethiopians, Sergius from the Macedonians, Eulogius from the Greeks, Gigas from the Romans. And Aneas had with him others also, from among the same Egyptians, whose

names we have not mentioned in this history. In fact it is said that in all there were employed 30 persons.

¹¹ Here, it is said, intervened Iron), a doctor of the royal court in the city of Constantinople, but who was by race a stranger and not a citizen, and who was by some said to be an Alexandrine. He, it is said, was offended with the committee of philosophers in Alexandria, because not being invited to join them he thought that he was flouted; and accordingly he set to work to oppose the truth, and depreciated their calculation. And the same with the results of earlier sages — you might say, because he reckoned them to be ignoramuses; and he constructed a new fangled chronology, opposed to divine writ and to all other chronologers; as also a calendar. And he changed the 19 years cycle of the moon from the sixth of april, and fixed instead the fifth of April, and made that the starting point (or wellhead) of the period. And he based his system on the tenth Pharmuti according to the Egyptians, which among us is sounded Pharmaphiur. And he placed this day at the head of the cycle, full moon and anepact), contrary to the ancients. As also they had regard to the Hebrew [date] in forming their scheme, so he in the same way took the Egyptian method, as if to prove to the savants of Alexandria that they were extremely ignorant. You, he said, who do not understand your own country, how can you arrange the calendar of other countries?

¹² And for the Romans in this way he set the fifth of April at the head of the cycle; and he appointed for it an epact) [of] eight [days], because he declared the moon to have been 13 days old on the day of its creation, adding together 8 and 5, that is to say he reckoned the epact and the full moon for a mystery thereto. But he also reckoned the cycle (lit. the taking in turn) of 13 lunar numbers in connexion with the solar ones for a mystery withal. And he added in upon the epact a number 11x11, until the period of nineteen and the cycle were completed. ¹³ And then he counted 12 for the epact according to the order in which the cycle of 19 was completed, and up top of the completion (lit. filling) of it he counted 20. And he took away 12 and 11 until the end of the period of 19 and of the cycle. And then he took away 12x12, because of the completion of the period of 19, and moved [it] on revolving. Though he prided himself on his own skill and cleverness, yet he outraged and violated the writings of the ancients; and by means of the overpowering force of the emperor's edict he established his method all over the world. But heaven forbid that we should assent to the confused time-reckoning of Iron,

especially as it goes far outside holy writ; or that we should accept his fallacious calculation of the calendar, and so fall under the anathema of the holy fathers. For it is written as follows. Cursed be he who keeps Zadik after the manner of the Jews who slew the Lord, or of the Samaritans or of the Pauliani. Cursed he that keeps Zadik on the 13 of the moon. But Iron, although he esteemed himself myriad-fold clever, yet does not escape these anathemas. For a man who flees from the one and withal sullies himself in the other, is like to the man who prays a little and blasphemes much. For when the fifth of April falls on a sabbath according to Iron's calculation, they reckon it full moon;

¹⁴and celebrate Zadik on the sixth of April, which falls on the 16 Nisan. Here and below should we not read 14? And so they keep the feast at the same time as the Jews, offending the anathema of the fathers. For the Jews have never celebrated the festival of Zadik on the 15 Nisan; but always celebrate it on the 16 Nisan, both they and the Samaritans. For the Samaritans keep it more surely than they, although they learned from them. But the Pauliani also keep it on the same day, and whichever day chances to be that of the full moon, they call the Lord's day, just as the Jews name it sabbath, although it is not the sabbath. ¹⁵But heaven forefend that we should feast with them and fall under the anathema. For the holy fathers took every trouble to separate our feast from theirs; unto which end we Armenians go so far as to truly name it 'the Lord's Zadik', so separating it from all heathen and Jewish feasts, and making it holy as the festival of the Lord's festivals and the congregation of congregations.

¹⁶Even as Gregory the Divine was pleased to say: "For this cause also the Fathers enjoined us not to keep festival on the full moons of the Hebrews, but on whatever sabbath days the 14 of this moon may fall, to fast during the week (= sabbath), in order that the resurrection of the Lord may come on the Sunday); that so the mystery be fulfilled and the sabbath of the passion be kept as a fast. And this is why they called it pascha, which being translated is 'passion'. But if Sunday happen to be the 14 day of the moon, it is passed over; so that we may not be feasting along with Jews, but that it may come the following week. Nor is there any loitering or hesitation in keeping it six days later, but we fast. For we believe and trust that on the sabbath he fulfils the mystery of his passion and on the Sunday that of his resurrection. But if the 14 day of the moon fall on a sabbath, we skip one day, that the least be kept

not with the Jew. And in order to change from the false Sunday to the true Sunday (i. e. Lord's day). [Not] as the Pauliani dare to do, but in order that the sabbath may remain the sabbath; nor as the Jews do, changing the sabbath with Gôlôn, or as the Pauliani do with the Sunday. But the church of God does not change Sunday with Sunday, nor sabbath with sabbath; but after the true sabbath will come the great day of the resurrection."

¹⁷ Let us then not be deceived by the sophistry of Iron; for if we investigate, none of his results are found true. To say nothing of his being under an anathema, his scheme at any rate is cleverly arranged to please his own whims and not to fit the truth. For in his time reckoning he asserts that 5500 years elapsed to the birth of the Saviour. And he takes as his model the measurements of the ark of testimony which was live cubits and a half. But what connection had this ark with the period of time? or what probability is there in the statement that the moon was a 13 days one on the day of its creation, seeing that all creatures were created complete and full. Why then should the moon have been imperfect and only in part full? For we know that the herbs were created, perfect, and perfect also the animals; in order that the moment they came into existence, there might be found before them crop's all ready to feed and sustain them. Just as for animals born to-day, there is found by the providence of God milk ready from the breasts of their mothers; so from the beginning the trees were full grown and laden with fruit for man to eat. So also the divine voice testifies saying: Let the Earth send up the herb of grass and the tree bearing fruit, whose seed is in itself. But if all creation was at its fullest when created, then the moon cannot have been imperfect and half-full, but a perfect round of full-orbed light.

¹⁸ Iron however did not speak the truth, nor are his words reliable. And what evidence is there that the full moon and epact coincide with a 13 days growth of the moon? For the eleven other full moons and their epacts are in no way whatever fraught for any one with the mystery of creation (lit. coinciding to be). And how is the number 13 of the period (lit. taking in turn) of lunars along with solars an image (or likeness) of the days of creation. For neither do the 30 or the 60 numbers of the moon convey to anyone the thought of creation. So then if we are to judge between two bad men, we must consider the assertions of Hermogenes more pertinent than those of Iron; though both strayed from the truth. For Hermogenes asserts the following: that the moon was made one day old, because there was then of

course only one day of its existence. And it was created along with the sun in one place in the centre of heaven on the side of the dawn, as even now it is called the first day of the moon when the moon comes across the sun. Now although he too is wrong, he is at least nearer to truth and sense than Iron. But let us keep away from both of them. But as Iron thought himself so much cleverer than all other men, why did he accept the 500 years, cycle fixt by Aeas? Why did he not invent a different cycle himself? It is clear that he could not build on any other foundation than the 500 years cycle laid down, by Aeas. But what a superstructure does he build on this foundation? Such rubbishy matter will be at last detected by its tiresomeness and lengthiness by any one who reckons for nothing mere cleverness divorced from truth.

¹⁹ But why need we dwell upon Iron or oppose him? Let us rather leave his results to his pupils and admirers. And let us keep our feast not in a worldly, but in a godly manner; not in an earthly but in a supramundane way; not as the shadow of what shall be, but as the real. And in whatever appertains to us, and still more to the Lord, let us follow the holy fathers, lest we fall under their anathemas. Let us not feast in the 12 month, before the day and night become equal, but let us keep our feast in the first month. For in the first month Christ suffered after the equinox; just as in the beginning man was created first after the equinox. Likewise also after the equinox in the first month he went up out of Egypt, was delivered from Pharaoh, was saved from the plot. On the same, day also were we saved from the invisible tyrant and from his cruel instruments, and were liberated from the mire of sin by the sufferings of Christ.

²⁰ And let us not keep our feast along with the Jews who slew our Lord; lest we share their sin and suffer their curse. And let us not keep it on the thirteenth of the moon, lest we be reckoned among the ignorant and among the breakers of the law; and go forth outside the pale, and hear the words 'I know you not'. And let us not alter the definitions of the fathers. And let us not admit the 14 of the moon on the 5 April, but only the date appointed by the holy fathers. Nor must we set any other full moon to be head of the period, save that one prescribed by the Lord — the 14 Nisan, or the dates which correspond thereto among other nations. But the followers of Aeas although they set the 3 Nisan at the head of their cycle, yet did not impugn the more ancient date. Only because the calendar of Andreas of 200 years ended on the third of Nisan, was the beginning of the cycle of 500

years placed on the third of Nisan. This was why that date was fixt on to head the cycle. It had not done so originally at the exodus and crucifixion, and it was only for this cycle of 500 years. But they admitted the 14 Nisan to be the head of the cycle, as prescribed by the Lord, whom we also will follow.

²¹ And now what have we left to do, except to set forth in orderly fashion the calendar of the several nations, beginning by arranging first the calendar of the Hebrews, since it is the chief one and the model for all races. For as much as the tradition of the church teaches us to fast year by year the day of unleavened bread. And when the 14 of the moon [falls] the fourth of the intercalaries), we put off to the 28, that is of April, our fast and celebration of Zadik. But if it be the fourth of the intercalaries, then the twelve numbers of the moon will be accomplished outside the month Adar, and we add another month to the twelve months, which is called an intercalated month. For in this year, because the number of lunations falls short of the solar number, this was so arranged as that there should be an intercalation in the years; in order that the number of lunar courses may catch up the solar courses. For if this were not done, there would fall from time to time two Zadiks in one year. But the intercalated months prolong [the time] and carry us on. For we shall always keep Zadik after the equinoxes, since it is by these we arrive at the first months. And it is quite right to make this addition and it is necessary. For it was prescribed of old that we should make the type and image in the first month.

²² For the church has no authority to hold Zadik in the 12 month; as the divine apostle saith: The old order hath passed away, and all things have been renewed through Christ. And now therefore let us too clothe ourselves in the fast with the same sorrow year by year with which the apostles clothed themselves; and let us rejoice in the resurrection of the only born, participating in the body and blood of the true lamb, which is the heavenly bread. And this is why the church year by year of necessity celebrates the Zadik of unleavened bread, in order that the memory of the Saviour's passion may be fixt in us and abiding. ²³ And for as much as not many are skilled in numbers, especially those who are given to edifying, — and the teaching of our Lord has been spread over and has taken possession of all the world, — for this reason compute a period of 532 years according to the reckoning of the Alexandrians from the 828 year up to the year 1360; for those who shall be on the earth, I Ananias, son of John of Shirak, have constructed [this cycle] and

have put down separately one by one the whole 532 years, in 8) canons, in which I have included the entire number, 532 sequences (or rules) and have divided off each separate rule to each separate year. Oxford. Fred. C. Conybeare.

PART FIVE

The Paulician Church of Armenia

*The Key of Truth, the service book of a small Armenian church
that the Orthodox opposed.*

The Key of Truth: a Manual of the Paulician Church of Armenia

Manuscript copied in 1782

The only surviving service book of the Paulicians, copied in 1782 in the province of Taron: on baptism, the forty days' fast, the three sacraments, the rites of baptism and of election, and a catechism. It shows how a small Armenian church understood Christ, baptism and the Church, and it is read here as a historical document. The Paulicians were opponents of the Orthodox and Armenian churches, and what we know of them comes largely from those who wrote against them.

EXORDIUM

¹ THE Book called the Key of Truth. It was written in the era of the Saviour 1782, but of the Armenians 1230; and in the province of Taron. Address to my dear readers. Although the throng of distractions, and the temptations and storms of the world, and the manifold hindrances, strong to disturb our transitory life in various ways,—although these have sorely beset us and suffered us not to undertake this necessary work; nevertheless the pressing needs of the Truth of our Lord Jesus the Son of the heavenly Father, and zeal of the Holy Spirit [urged us];—yea, and also to meet the prayers of many believers, and especially because of supreme necessity—I have cast behind me all the affairs of this transitory life, and have spared nothing in order to give unto you, my new-born children of the universal and apostolic Church of our Lord Jesus Christ, the holy milk, whereby ye may be nourished in the faith.

² Wherefore the Spirit of the Father in Heaven hath taken hold of us and inspired us to write this 'way and truth and life.' Forasmuch as for a long time past the spirit of deception had shut up the Truth, as our Lord saith: The tares had suffocated it. Furthermore it is a little and slender discourse that I have published to you, briefly and not opulently. The which ye shall read with deep attention, unto the glory of Jesus the Son, the Intercessor,

and unto the honour of his Father... This brief discourse shall ye search and deeply o'er it meditate. If it please you, then revere it, as it were a voice of thunder. Concerning the holy baptism of our Lord Jesus Christ, which hath been handed down for the sake of those who believe and repent, and not of catechumens, or of the unrepentant and of those who lack faith, nor either of the impure; as is manifest in the holy and precious life of John the Baptist, who with his loudly calling voice, before Christ our Lord and intercessor, cried unto the adult, saying:

3 Help us, Jesus, and become intercessor for all the faithful, thy beloved ones. For with thy sanctifying and illumining words thou didst pray to thy Father, saying: Father, not for these alone do I pray, but also for all who have believed in me through their word, &c.

CHAPTER 1: ON REPENTANCE AND FAITH AS CONDITIONS OF BAPTISM

1 'Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand,' and the sequel (Matt. iv. 2). So, then, the words of the holy gospel are not hidden unto us; but for this reason the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ revealed [them] in true argument to his loved Son. For this reason also the holy John, greatest among the children of women, called aloud saying to the generation of vipers: Repent, O ye that are gone astray in sin after sin, thronging thick together, of your evil [deeds]; and recognize your original sin, which from of old days lies in you stored up. For this reason St. John in saying this woke up their minds to proceed unto the true faith and to know the new 'least one of the kingdom,' the Lord Jesus Christ, the lamb of God, who taketh away our sins. Even as John himself, stretching forth his holy finger, said: Behold Christ, the lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world. Again he continues by saying: I am not he, but am sent before him. Thus then St. John, firstly, preached unto them; secondly, taught; thirdly, induced them to repent; fourthly, brought them to the faith; and after that cleansed them in the flesh from stains. And then our Lord and Intercessor, the Lamb of God, bestowed on them spiritual salvation. Thus the universal and apostolic church learned from our Lord Jesus, and continued so to do, as is clear in their Acts and especially in the traditions of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which he imposes on the universal and apostolic church, saying, Mark xvi. 15: 'Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to all creatures. Whoever shall believe, shall be baptized, shall live; and he who shall not believe, shall be judged.'

2 Wherefore also our Lord first asked for faith, and then graciously gave healing; and after that bestowed holy baptism on believers; but not on unbelieving catechumens. So also St. John and the holy Church of our Lord Jesus Christ—so did they continue to do until the assault of Satan. For when Satan was let loose from his bonds, then he began to steal away the truth of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the holy apostles; and he insinuated his deceitful arguments among teachers, [against] whom as the heavenly Father enables us, let us with the Keys of Truth open the door of Truth close shut [by them]. Even as St. John opened the door of Truth prior to our Lord Jesus Christ, and uttered this command unto the adult (or perfected) souls: 'Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand,' and the rest. Now their repentance lay in turning from their evil works and believing in Christ Jesus; in receiving the holy baptism of the Spirit of the heavenly Father, and in recognizing their original sin, and in their being afflicted because of it, and in their release from the fetters of demons, which from their forefathers on had been drawn tight round them. Wherefore, when he beheld them, the great prophet John in anger roused them, saying, Luke iii. 7: 'Offspring of vipers, who showed unto you to escape from the wrath to come? Do ye therefore bring forth fruits worthy of repentance; nor make beginning to say, We have for a father Abraham. This I say unto you, that God is able out of these stones to raise up children of Abraham.'

3 But, forasmuch as they had fallen among rugged stones, he called them offspring of vipers and asps. [God] also caused Jesus to arise from among them, for through him he graciously vouchsafes to them salvation. Wherefore also a member of the universal and apostolic holy church, St. Luke, declares, xiii. 23: Of this man's seed God according to his promises raised up unto Israel the Saviour Jesus. So also must we lead the reasonable unto faith, and bring the imperfect unto perfection, and fill those who have not the word with the word of Jesus Christ, and soften their hearts of stone, and as for the gathered bile of bitterness, which from old days hath been stored up, this we cause them to vomit up with loathing by the finger of God, and then we give them a remedy for sin, whether original or operative in them. For as St. John taught first repentance and faith, and after that granted baptism and then showed them the way, the truth, and the life, saying: 'Behold Christ, the lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world'; so we also must follow in accordance with this truth, and not according to the deceitful

arguments of the tradition of others, who baptize the unbelieving, the reasonless, and the unrepentant. These are utterly false and [full of] the deceit of demons, and are not godly; whom we will declare as the Holy Spirit enables us.

CHAPTER 2: ON BAPTISM ACCORDING TO THE CANONS OF JESUS CHRIST

1 Concerning holy baptism. About our Lord Jesus Christ, that as he laid down canons and precepts, so do we proceed with God's help. 2 First was our Lord Jesus Christ baptized by the command of the heavenly Father, when thirty years old, as St. Luke has declared his years, iii. 23: 'And Jesus himself was of years about thirty, beginning with which as he was supposed son of Joseph.' So then it was in the season of his maturity that he received baptism; then it was that he received authority, received the high-priesthood, received the kingdom and the office of chief shepherd. Moreover, he was then chosen, then he won lordship, then he became resplendent, then he was strengthened, then he was revered, then he was appointed to guard us, then he was glorified, then he was praised, then he was made glad, then he shone forth, then he was pleased, and then he rejoiced. Nay more. It was then he became chief of beings heavenly and earthly, then he became light of the world, then he became the way, the truth, and the life. Then he became the door of heaven, then he became the rock impregnable at the gate of hell; then he became the foundation of our faith; then he became Saviour of us sinners; then he was filled with the Godhead; then he was sealed, then anointed; then was he called by the voice, then he became the loved one, then he came to be guarded by angels, then to be the lamb without blemish. Furthermore he then put on that primal raiment of light, which Adam lost in the garden.

3 Then accordingly it was that he was invited by the Spirit of God to converse with the heavenly Father; yea, then also was he ordained king of beings in heaven and on earth and under the earth; and all else [besides] all this in due order the Father gave to his only born Son;—even as he himself, being appointed our mediator and intercessor, saith to his holy, universal, and apostolic church, Matt. xxviii. 18: And Jesus came and spake unto them and said: 'There hath been given unto me all authority in heaven and on earth. As the Father sent me, so do I send you,' and what follows. Thus also the Lord, having learned from the Father, proceeded to teach us to perform holy baptism and all his other commands at an age of full growth (or lit. in a

completed or mature season), and at no other time. As the lamb of God directs us after his resurrection, Mark xvi. 15, saying: 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to all creatures. Whoever shall believe, shall be baptized, shall live; but he that shall not believe shall be judged.'

⁴ So, then, hearken unto and receive into your minds the irrefragable decree of our Lord Jesus Christ. For some in violation of the canons of our Lord Jesus Christ, have broken and destroyed the holy and precious canons, which by the Father Almighty were delivered to our Lord Jesus Christ; and have trodden them under foot with their devilish teaching. These are they who ever and always oppose the truth of our Lord Jesus Christ... baptizing those who are irrational (or without the word) and communicating the unbelieving. All these lie under the ban of the Lord and of the holy apostles, as is clear in the canons of our Saviour Jesus, since he saith to his holy apostles: 'Give not holiness to dogs, nor cast your pearls before swine, lest they forthwith trample it under foot, and then turn and rend you,' and the rest. Do we not then know by what authority they do these things, or who is their teacher? Manifestly, by the spirit of the adversary of the Father, of God, do they their works; even as the Saviour warned us, saying: 'Beware of evil-doers,' and the rest. In saying this our Lord sheweth us that they are workers of deceitful [agents], that is of Satan. Moreover, a member (lit. part) of the church, St. John passes sentence on such ones, saying in his catholic first epistle, iii. 10: 'In this are manifest one from the other the children of God and the children of Satan.' Our Lord moreover manifests them when he says of such that 'by their fruits ye shall know them' and the rest we need not quote. Thus our Lord and intercessor Jesus will give to such as these their reward, but such as those he will liberate from the false teacher.

CHAPTER 3: ON BAPTISM: CRITICISM OF THE GREEK RITE

¹ Let us then submit humbly to the Holy Church Universal, and follow their works who acted with one mind and one faith and taught us. Now still do we receive in the only proper (lit. necessary) season the holy and precious mystery of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the heavenly Father:—to wit, in the season of repentance and of faith. As we learned from the Lord of the universal and apostolic church, so do we proceed: and we establish in perfect faith those who [till then] have not holy baptism; nay, nor have tasted of the body nor drunk the holy blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore according to the word of the Lord, we must first bring them unto the faith, induce them

to repent, and then give it unto them. As also a member of the church St. Luke in the Acts of the Church saith, viii. 12: 'But when they believed Philip preaching good tidings about the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ, they were all baptized, men and women.' And again in the same, viii. 36, he saith: 'As they went on their way, they came unto a certain water, and the eunuch said: Behold, here is water; what doth hinder me from being baptized? And Philip said unto him, If thou dost believe with all thy heart, it is possible. The eunuch answered and said: I believe that Jesus Christ is Son of God.' Thus then they first heard a declaration of faith from them and then bestowed supreme baptism.

2 For so had they received it from the Lord, and so they truly did bestow it on others. But some aborted from the gospel and from His church, in opposition [thereto], ask of an unbelieving baptismal father, who is a false witness brought forward, as it were a profession of faith, saying to him: 'What doth the catechumen seek, O [false] witness?' And he makes answer and says: 'Faith, hope, love, and baptism.' How then, O [false] reader, art thou not ashamed? or how dost thou not blush? so utterly dost thou fail to reflect as to thine utterances and thy questions that whatever proceedeth from thy mouth, is not true [but false] argument, whether the answer of the [false] witness or thy question about the catechumen to the baptismal father? These are utterly ..., and as our Lord and intercessor Jesus enables us, we will a little open your minds, and with God's aid help to show who is your doctor and teacher.

CHAPTER 4: AGAINST THE ORTHODOX, WHO ARE INSPIRED BY SATAN

1 Doth make manifest and point out the father and teacher of them who have believed and with much love fulfil his works, and know that it is God's work. And God [forbid] that we should believe or bear in our minds such works or canons. Our mediator and intercessor Jesus Christ doth direct us truly as follows: 'Beware of evil workers,' and the rest. Already our Lord Christ passed sentence on the Jews and schismatics, when he pointed out their father, saying, John viii. 44: 'Ye are from Satan your father, and ye wish to do the desire of your father. For he was a murderer from the beginning. But he abode not in the truth, because there is not truth in him. When he speaketh false he speaketh out of his own, for he is false and his father.' Now, then, ye his disciples, come hither and judge of yourselves truly of your falsified (or falsely performed) baptism, ye that are wholly mythical and contrary

to the holy Gospel of the universal and apostolic holy church, that it is not at all to be found in the holy and precious Acts of the Apostles or in the holy Gospels of our Lord Jesus Christ our intercessor.

²By this time, however, true opinion has been banished from your minds; since your father has taught you from of old and has bound you to his [false] gospel. For this reason our Lord most explicitly bore testimony, saying: 'From the beginning your father was a murderer,' and the rest. But now is the word of our Lord Jesus Christ found accurate and true, which he directs against that evil one. For at the first he was in the form of a serpent and spake in the Armenian language unto Eve, saying: 'Wherefore hath God sternly commanded you not to eat of the fruit, and not to approach it? Because God knew that when ye take thereof and approach it, at once your eyes will be opened and ye will be as gods; therefore he strictly commanded you not to approach or touch the same.' But the woman Eva obeyed the father of whom we have spoken and in turn satisfied the mind of Adam. So then, when each had persuaded the other, at once they were stript naked of glory and were driven from the garden; and then they beheld each the other's nakedness, and were not ashamed, as the Spirit of God beareth witness in the sequel.

³Now, however, was rent the veil of their virginity through the deceit of the same evil one. Virgin blood escaped for them, their perishable flesh was afflicted; the ligaments of God were torn asunder, those which he imposed on them; the modesty of their countenances was torn away, their reverence was wholly lost; the colour of light of the Godhead faded from their faces; the crown of their kingship was taken away, and their newly-fashioned palace was lost, fastened about with chains. Nay more, all other blessings were lost to them through that same evil one, and he made them his slaves. This is why the precept was uttered to the Jews who believed not: 'He that worketh sin, is the slave of sin,' and the rest. And out of such knowledge did our Lord Jesus Christ give proof unto schismatics, unbelievers, the impious, liars, the false to law (or false examples), false teachers and false priests, 'who are ever learning, yet never are able to come to the knowledge of the truth,' and the rest.

⁴Thus our Lord Jesus meant that their father and teacher is Satan. Let us next come to the dealings already alluded to of the murderer, who slew our forefather Adam [and Eve], and made them and their children, until our Sa-

viour Christ, his slaves and captives, and fastened them in his chains and so forth; and so in bonds until the advent of the newly-created Adam kept them; I mean the prophets, patriarchs, men and women, sons and daughters, believers and unbelievers, and all others whom he drew in a throng to himself. And so it was that it pleased the heavenly Father in pity [to create] the new Adam out of the same deceitful blood. But [the created] man Jesus knew his Father, and by inspiration of the Holy Spirit came to St. John in all gentleness and humility to be baptised by him. And at the same time he was crowned by the almighty Father, who said: 'Yonder is my well-loved son in whom I am pleased,' as was written above.

5 Now, when Satan heard this same voice of the Godhead, he was at once seized with great fear and terror insupportable; and he quaked and trembled beyond measure, and he divided his evil mind this way and that, and said: Whatever can be that voice which resounded about him from above? What can be the coming upon him of the Holy Spirit? What can be all this greatness, all this authority in heaven and on earth? What can be all this glory and honour? What indeed all this rejoicing and gladness that has accrued because of him? When Satan beheld all this, he was in despair, and began thenceforth to make ready the snare of his wickedness against our Lord Jesus Christ; and he bethought him, by what snare or gin he might catch him, as he had caught Adam and the patriarchs and the prophets and all others in order. And so he abode in perplexity and great trouble until the time of the temptation.

CHAPTER 5: ON THE FORTY DAYS OF OUR LORD AND THE TEMPTATION

1 Concerning the forty days of our Lord Jesus Christ who entered in to his [maker] and conversed with him mysteriously and received commands of his Father, yea and overcame Beliar with his hosts (or strength). 2 As a member of the universal and apostolic church, St. Paul, directs, in writing, to the Hebrews, ch. iii. 1: Wherefore, holy brethren, partakers of a heavenly calling, contemplate the Apostle and High-priest of our Confession, Jesus Christ, who is faithful to his maker, as also was Moses in all his house. Forasmuch as the [created] man Jesus became very faithful to his Father, for this reason, the Father bestowed on him a name of praise which is above every name, that is, of beings whether in heaven or on earth or under the earth. He also put all things in subjection under his feet, as Saint Paul says elsewhere. When therefore he had pleased his increate and loved Father, at once the Spirit led

him on to the mountain of temptation and admitted him into the mystery of holy Godship. For forty days and forty nights he feasted on contemplation, on fellow-converse, and on the commandments of the heavenly Father, as is plain to us from the holy Gospels; and when his [maker] took away the feasting and the fellow-converse from him, then he hungered. And the envious tyrant, seeing that, began to try to ensnare our Saviour with envy [of glory], saying: 'If thou art the Son of God, speak, that these stones may become bread,' and the rest, Matt. iv. 3. But Jesus made answer and said to that evil one: 'O ravening lion, O enemy, O monster, O shameless slayer of men, wherefore dost thou thus address me with an "if";

3 dost thou desire under cover of the doubt to draw thy snare over me. I am not thy fancy which thou fanciest me, O full of all deceit.' Jesus made answer and said: 'It is written that man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word which goeth forth from the mouth of God.' Now have we made clear the meaning of the text which says that our Lord Jesus, because of his feasting, his fellow-converse and receiving of commands and glory of Godship, hungered not until the completion of those days. So then the evil one saw that our Saviour Christ was not to be tricked like Eva and Adam with a single word; and Satan next took and led him into the holy city, and placed him on a pinnacle of the temple and said to him: 'Throw thyself down thence, for it is written that to his angels he has given charge concerning thee, and on their hands they shall bear thee up, lest thou ever dash thy foot against a stone.' Jesus again said unto him: 'It is written that thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.' Again Satan took him into a mountain exceeding high and showed him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them.

4 And he said unto him, 'All this will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me.' Then said Jesus to him: 'Get thee behind me, Satan, for it is written, that thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him alone shalt thou serve. Yea, and St. Luke adds about the evil one, ch. iv. 13, that having completed every temptation Satan departed from him for a season.

CHAPTER 6: ON SATAN'S ACTIVITY AGAINST THE APOSTLES

1 The same is set forth by a member of the church, St. Luke, ch. iv. 13: 'And having completed every temptation Satan departed from him for a season.' So then, after the temptation of our Lord Jesus, the adversary Satan was filled with much wrath, and began from that day to take to himself astute instruments of his wickedness and to follow after the disciples of our Lord Jesus

Christ and after all who believed on him, as is clear from the words of the holy Gospel, which says about Judas the traitor, John xiii. 27: 'And after the sop, then Satan entered into him.' Therefore Satan, after accomplishing his acts of wickedness in Judas—and he procured his end and made him his servant, forthwith entered into the priests and high priests of the Jews. And after them, without waiting, the evil one entered into the heart of a damsel and caused her to address Peter twice over in order to subvert him and cast him over the precipice. Yea and into yet others he entered. At the same hour he also confirmed them, in order to secure Peter to himself. However, our intercessor and mediator Jesus Christ divined beforehand the temptation of the evil one which was in store for Peter; and that is why our Lord began by giving great warning to Peter, saying, Luke xxii. 31: 'Saith the Lord, Simon, Simon, behold Satan sought to sift thee as wheat, but I made supplication for thee, that thy faith may not be wanting, that thou mayest in time turn again and establish thy brethren.'

² And we must now at every hour say this holy and precious prayer... in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he may relent towards us and intercede for us sinners, to liberate us from all evil temptations. Amen. Holy Jesus, Holy Lord Christ Holy Son of God, for us make intercession. And then say 'Our Father,' and the rest. And then, Satan seeing that his works of wickedness availed nothing, hardened and whetted his wickedness still more than before, and more and more against the believers and disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ, and against the apostles of our Saviour, as is clear from John vi. 67.

CHAPTER 7: ON THE ADVERSARY OF GOD THE FATHER

'From that time many of his disciples went back, and did not walk with him any more.' Now, the wild beast, of whom I have written above, continued to threaten with great wrath the disciples of our Lord; because he that was said to be his did not fall a victim to his most evil plan, as St. Luke above testified, saying of this very evil one, that he left him and went away for a season. So firmly at this season this son of perdition, in the hour of the Lord's temptation, cherished in himself the determination to sow his evil longings in the hearts and ears of those who should please Him even until the end of the world. For this cause our mediator and intercessor never ceases to warn us, saying, Luke xxii. 40: 'And when he came unto the place he said unto them, Pray ye that ye enter not into temptation.' So well did our Lord also know

the designs of the evil one, and therefore expressly enjoined us to watch and pray. And a member of the holy universal and apostolic church, St. Peter, in his first catholic Epistle saith, ch. v. 8: 'Be sober, be watchful, for your adversary, Satan, like a lion roareth, walketh about and seeketh whom he may devour.' After this manner must we also be wakeful and not asleep in sin. For some, being weighed down with sin, have followed this adversary, as is clear in their histories and ceremonies, which same we shall expose with the help of the Holy Spirit.

CHAPTER 8: ON THE TWELVE DISGUISES OF SATAN

At the first this gate of hell took the form of a serpent; secondly, of a raven; thirdly, of a calf; fourthly, of wild beasts; fifthly, of light; sixthly, of women; seventhly, of men; eighthly, of clerics; ninthly, of teachers of the school; tenthly, of apostles; eleventhly, of bishops; twelfthly, of monks. And all other forms he assumes as a disguise; and in these same forms he seals and stamps those who love and please him, and guards them for himself until the end. For in evil wise doth he chastise himself and all his, according to the saying: Their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched. And may the Lord God Almighty, by the mediation and intercession of his loved Son, save and liberate all who make true confession of faith from such temptation. Amen. And here must we say this prayer before Christ. O sweet Lord of mine, Jesus Christ, we worship, we pray, we entreat and beseech thine all-powerful Lordship, who art at the right hand of thy Father [and maker], mediate and intercede for us sinners now and in the hour of our death. Amen.

CHAPTER 9: ON THE SAME

Now the teacher and father of schismatics and heretics assumes many forms of disguise. But we have only mentioned twelve, in order not to be tedious to you, my loved ones. What is the reason why the evil one disguises himself? It is this, that by means of the disguise he may easily enslave them to himself. For this reason he first assumes the form of a serpent, because the serpent was full of guile. Secondly of a raven, because the raven is a lover of lewdness. Thirdly of a calf, because a calf is a friend of mankind and useful to us. Fourthly in the form of wild beasts; because wild beasts are renders of all images. Fifthly of light, because light is disperser of darkness. Sixthly in form of maidens and of women, because they are too prone to adorn themselves because of their hunting after men. Seventhly in form of men, because they

eagerly assent to things said. Eighthly of clerics, because they lead the lives of impostors. Ninthly of school teachers, because they are teachers of all. Tenthly of apostles, because they are healers of soul and body. Eleventhly of bishops and catholici, because they are proud and overweening, and in particular traffickers in the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ; yea, and though dispensers of holy law, yet are also avaricious and excogitators of falsehoods. Lastly, they disguise themselves as monks, because they always love herbs and vegetables, yea and also... and they keep fasts, because their food grows always in damp places. Wherefore also their dwellings are there, for they like it much.

CHAPTER 10: AGAINST THE ORTHODOX (MOSTLY LOST)

Concerning the testimonies of the holy apostles, and of writings which are external (i.e. gentile or pagan), that it is true that the evil one takes the form of ...First, St. Paul, in his second letter to the Corinthians, demonstrates the variety of forms assumed by this evil one, saying, ch. xi. 12: 'What I do, that will I do, that I may cut off occasions of them who desire occasions; that wherein they glory, they too may be found even as we. For such men are false apostles, deceitful workers, they fashion themselves into apostles of Christ. And no marvel, for even Satan fashioneth himself into an angel of light; and it is no great thing, if his ministers also fashion themselves as ministers of righteousness; whose end shall be according to their works. But ...

CHAPTER 14: AGAINST THE ABUSES OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCHES

1...as also our Lord Jesus Christ, having chosen his disciples, said: 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel of the kingdom to all creatures. Whoever believeth, shall be baptized, shall live; but whoever believeth not, shall be judged,' and the rest. Behold, O ye blind, how our Lord deems your procedure false and vain, and pronounces you to be deniers of him, and calls you children of Satan, as was written above. Lo, now do ye recognize right well your lying father; recognize of a truth your spirit; recognize even your false God. Nay, recognize also your teacher; yea, and furthermore do ye recognize the Pope, the Catholicos, and your president; and recognize your sham Messiah, and the rest. Of whom our mediator and intercessor, our life and refuge, doth manifestly speak, saying: 'And that which he speaketh false, he speaketh out of his own, and his father is Satan.' Thus our Lord Jesus and the holy universal and apostolic church saw and spoke as we wrote above. And

now once more we write down from the First to Timothy, iv. 1: 'But expressly doth the Holy Spirit say, that in the last times some shall fall away from the faith,' and the rest. And again in another writing of his doth he speak of you that are blinded: 'And there shall be lovers of self, overweening, proud and insolent.

²Nay, more, ye have confidence in your works, but have denied the holy works of our Lord Jesus, and of his sanctified apostles; and are followers of your father, the evil one, who gave you his law, namely, to baptize unbelievers, to worship images, to make silver and gold into the form of an image ... and to adore the same, to pry into the sins of men and women, to explore the same and grant remission, as to which our Lord ordained, saying: No one can remit sins, save only the one God. But do you investigate all their other words, and give praise to the heavenly Father, and to his only-born Son.

CHAPTER 15: ON THE BAPTISM OF JESUS CHRIST AND OF THE APOSTLES
(PARTLY LOST)

When Jesus learned that the Pharisees heard that Jesus is making many disciples and is baptizing [more] than John. For it was not that ...

CHAPTER 16: ON THE THREE SACRAMENTS OR MYSTERIES

¹...suffered, I say not you; but if ye do not repent, ye shall likewise be destroyed. Thus our Lord Jesus Christ decreed that these three ineffable mysteries (or sacraments) are essential when he spake to those who listened. First he lays stress on and ordains repentance; like St. John, who was mentioned above. Secondly, he grants us holy baptism, as he said to Nicodemus: 'Jesus made answer and said to them, Verily, verily I say unto you, except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.' Thirdly, as regards his holy, precious body and blood, the Saviour commands us to make them (separately) from one another, as is clear from John vi. 54: 'Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, ye have not life in yourselves.' ²Moreover, in the same chapter, he again speaks of them separately and not as one numerically, v. 56: 'For my flesh is true food and my blood is true drink.' Look well at and thoroughly scan the holy writ; how that for the sake of the faithful it bestows and enforces repentance, baptism, and his holy body and blood. And the door of salvation speaks concerning believers and not unbelievers who... For in no wise at all do they know God, nor is their knowledge of Jesus Christ and of the holy church of Christ, that is of the holy Apostles. Moreover, they

know not joy and sorrow, their father or their mother, and are like brass that sounds or cymbals that clash, and so forth.

3 In such matters then what is it right for us to do according to law? Naught but this: when children are born of their mothers, then it is necessary for the elect after seven days to proceed to the house of the children born, on the eighth day; and he shall comfort the parents with great love and give to them good spiritual advice, that they shall train up their offspring in godliness, in faith, hope, love, and in all good works, as St. Paul writes in his first to Timothy, ch. iv. 7, saying as follows: 'But from filthy words and old wives' fables hold aloof: but exercise thyself unto godliness, for exercise of the body is profitable for a little; but godliness is something profitable for all things, and hath the promise of life, of that which now is and of that which is to be.' Likewise, according to the canons of the holy apostles it is necessary for the parents themselves ever and always to give for instruction and study to their infant offspring as it were milk; and they shall not be at all sparing [thereof]. As also St. Paul, in his first to Corinthians, ch. iii. 1, says: 'And I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, as unto babes in Christ. I fed you with milk, not with meat; for ye were not able. Nay, not even now are ye able. For ye are yet carnal.'

4 So then, for us also and for the parents it is right first of all to perform the name-giving of the catechumens, and then after some time we cause them to be instructed in good works ...at that time whether it be male or female; in order that he or she already ...may be baptized. Accordingly, if a male, the child will learn to be on its guard against its original desires; while, if a maiden, it will be discreet [and shun the sin] which was manifested in the deception of Eva and Adam. For first was Eve dishonoured, and then she woke up the mind of Adam. So also must we [awake] them in their due seasons, [and tell them] of the curse they inherit from their sire; albeit we now through Jesus Christ lead them unto the highest bliss. For this cause St. John, our mediator and intercessor Jesus Christ, and his holy disciples, first showed the faith, then brought to repentance, and last of all bestowed baptism; as is clear from the actions of our Saviour Jesus. For he first asked for Faith of the blind, the halt, the withered, the demoniacs, and especially of the lords dead, and said to them: 'Do ye believe that I am able to do this unto you?' But they in great fear cried out, saying, 'Yea, Lord, thou canst.' And they worshipped him and were healed. Also their dead were raised. So must we also perform

baptism when they are of full age like our Lord; so that they may seek it in faith from us, and that then we may give them baptism and perfect blessing.

5 Suppose, for example, a man who is caught by thieves or robbers on a mountain-top or in a ravine, and they have bound his hands and feet fast with fetters and cast him into some gully, surely it is necessary for him to struggle to free himself, or is it not? But they make answer and say that he must work hard and struggle, until he liberate himself; for fear lest he fall a prey to the wild beasts. Such also is the enactment of our Lord, which he laid down in our texts, with regard to repentance. In this very wise does he warn us that he who does not believe and repent cannot be baptized and be justified, be purified of sin and be freed from the fetters of Satan. To this effect our mediator and intercessor Jesus Christ delivered the parable which tells of the repentant and unrepentant, Luke xiii. 6. 'A certain man had a fig-tree planted in his vineyard; and he came seeking fruit from the fig-tree, and found none. [And he said to the vinedresser, Behold these three years I come seeking fruit thereon and found none.] So cut it down; why doth it cumber the ground? He answered and said: Lord, let it alone this year, till I shall dig about and dung it. Perhaps it will bear fruit of repentance; if not, after another year thou shalt cut it down.'

6 But now it is needful for you, readers, to examine thoroughly and understand the parables of our Lord Jesus Christ, who primarily means repentance, but directly or indirectly graciously vouchsafes the parable to those that listen and receive it. Wherefore now hath our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the heavenly Father, revealed the Way and the Truth and the Life, that those who have not faith, repentance, hope, and love cannot be baptized nor draw nigh unto the holy flesh and blood of the Son of God. Nay more, cannot enter the kingdom of God; as above in regard to the three mysteries, he himself bore sure witness, that they cannot enter his holy bosom; nay, nor participate in the glory of his heavenly Father well-loved.

CHAPTER 17: ON BAPTISM

1 Thus our mediator and intercessor Jesus Christ spake this parable as touching believers and unbelievers. For the kingdom of God hath been likened unto ten virgins, who took their lamps and went forth to meet the bridegroom and bride. Five of them were foolish and five wise. The foolish took their lamps ...from place to place, whom shall the Lord God, through the mediation and intercession of his Son only born, preserve from the tempta-

tion of your father and rank them with the holy wise virgins. So that they knowing did abide in thy holy and precious word, and in no wise erred from thy all-holy tradition, which thou didst vouchsafe unto thy spotless Son, thine only-born. And they (lit. who) in the season of full growth baptize those that repent and believe in the name of Jesus Christ, thy loved Son... yea and replenish them also with thine holy spirit and strengthen their minds and bodies. Because thy Son did truly promise us, saying: 'He that believeth shall be baptized, shall live; but he that believeth not, shall be judged.'

² Concerning the giving of a name to the Catechumen. We must seven days after the birth proceed to the home of the newborn child on the eighth day, and we then begin by saying the holy prayer of our Lord Jesus, 'Our Father.' And then, after saying 'Our Father,' the elect one and all the congregation with one accord repeat this prayer over the catechumen with faith, thus: Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, we beg and entreat thee, keep this catechumen from evil, and fix thy holy eye upon him, and keep him from all temptation of the world; and give him life according to thy good will, that he may pass through the season of his childhood and become acceptable to thee, to thy Son, and to thy Holy Spirit. And bring him through to reach holy baptism, and call him under the shelter of the wings of thy beloved Son. And also bless, O my Lord and God, the catechumen through the mediation of Jesus, thy beloved Son. Cleanse him from fleshly pollutions, and day by day prosper and increase him in thy grace, and bring him unto the full measure of the time of holy baptism, now and ever and to eternity of eternities. Amen.

³ And then read the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiii. 11. When I was a child, I spake as a child, I felt as a child, I thought as a child. But when I became a full man, I put away childish things. Now we see as if in a mirror by symbol, but then face to face. Now I understand in part, but then I shall know even as he knoweth me. But now abide Faith, Hope, Love, as it were three; and the greatest of these is Love. And after the reading of Paul, 'tis meet for the elect one to ask the name of the catechumen: By what name do ye desire to call this catechumen according to law and not with a fabulous name?' And then he readeth the holy gospel, Luke ii. 21. 'And when eight days were fulfilled to circumcise him, his name was called Jesus, which was so called by the angel before he was conceived in the womb.'

4 Glory to thee, King of Glory, that thou hast made this catechumen worthy to be given a name. We beseech thy foreseeing majesty, guard him until he attain to the holy birth of the font, that we may praise thee, thy Son, and thy Holy Spirit, now and for ever and ever. Amen. Repeat the 'Our Father,' and go to thy house. God doth produce the fruits of grace. Directions for those baptizing; of what sort shall they be who may be baptized.

CHAPTER 18: DIRECTIONS CONCERNING CANDIDATES FOR BAPTISM

1 But as the Lord commanded in his holy canons, even so shall ye baptize those who come unto us. And St. John directed those who came to himself to repent. Or as the holy universal and apostolic Catholic Church having learned from our Lord Jesus Christ did proceed; so also must ye after them do, as we said above. For they first taught; secondly asked for faith; thirdly induced to repent; and after that granted holy baptism to those who were of full age, and in particular were cognizant of their original sin. Again ye, the elect ones, must observe the utmost care that they receive before baptism instruction and training, both of body and soul, as St. Paul saith: 'Practise thyself in godliness.' So must ye without delay bring those who come unto faith, hope, love, and repentance, and with extreme care and testing practise them, no matter who they be, lest peradventure any one should be an impostor, or deceitful, or a wizard, like Simon, in Acts viii. 13.

2 But Simon himself believed and was baptized and rose up against Philip in trickery and charlatanry, in order to obtain the power of the holy spirit by deceit. So also ye, my loved ones, must examine those who come to you, that is thieves and counterfeit ones, who come to you clothed as sheep. As our Lord Jesus Christ saith: Forasmuch as such as these would fain prove themselves holy to you in order to obtain holiness and the pearl from you, and would then trample them under foot; as Saint Paul commandeth in his letter to the Romans, saying, ch. xvi. 18: 'For such as these serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly; and by their smooth and fair speech they beguile the hearts of the sinless'—whether priests or doctors or deacons, whether men or women, you must not at once baptize them nor communicate them until they have been completely tested.

3 Concerning those who are being baptized, how they shall come unto holy baptism; and what is their duty and what is the fruit they shall display, that we should see it and confide in them; as our Lord directs us, saying: By their fruits shall ye know them.

CHAPTER 19: THE SAME, CONTINUED (PARTLY LOST)

¹ It is right and fitting that those to be baptized should shed bitter tears, like Peter, like Paul, like the harlot Mary, or like Simon's wife's mother, and others resembling them. For they with great contrition received glory and honour from Jesus Christ our Saviour, as is clear in the holy gospel, and in the Acts of the holy Apostles, and elsewhere. Again, what is meet for those to do who wish to receive holy baptism? It is meet that they should approach in gentleness, in humility to the elect one, solicit from him release from demons, and that they may serve our Lord Jesus Christ and his holy church. But then shall the elect one advise them, saying: O my little children, forasmuch as ye now desire to receive from me holy release, ye must say ...they trouble you and will desire to subvert the Gospel of Christ. But though we, or an angel come down from heaven, should preach unto you a gospel in excess of that which we preached, let him be anathema.

² As I said before, so say I now again, If any man preach unto you a gospel in excess of that which ye received, let him be anathema.' Again I write this unto you, dearly beloved, that ye shall diligently search the holy gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ and the holy Acts of the Apostles, and then condemn us, lest perhaps ye also be punished in season. Come my children of the new Zion, Take on you the crown of the Lord Jesus. Cherish in yourselves each word spoken, Take your places in the ranks on the right hand. If ye listen unto the Church, The infinite God shall save you. The Head of all is the Lord Jesus, Whom the holy Paul doth confess, And the head of Christ is God and Light. Acts, ch. i. vs. 13. Peter and Jacob, John and Andrew, Philip and Thomas, Bartholomew and Matthew,

³ Jacobus of Alpheus, And Simon the Zealot, And Jude of Jacob; Also Paul, the vessel of Election. These are the Church Universal, nor is it Peter alone. Church universal, Which was foreshadowed in the Ark of Noe. Through it have many souls been saved, Which were lost through the wiles of devils.

CHAPTER 20: CONFESSION OF FAITH, BAPTISMAL PRAYERS, AND THE
QUALIFICATIONS OF THE BAPTISER

¹ Concerning what it is meet for the elect one to speak or what he giveth them to say. It is meet for the elect one to give them also this profession of faith to repeat, as follows: We confess and believe that there is one true God, of whom our Lord Christ speaketh, John xvii. 3: This is life Eternal, that

they should know thee the only true God and him whom thou didst send, Jesus Christ. Again we confess and believe in Jesus Christ, [a new creature and not] creator, as St. Paul saith to the Hebrews, ch. iii. 2: He is faithful to his creator, as was Moses in all his house. Again ye shall believe in the intercession of our Lord Jesus Christ and of no others. Ye shall believe in the holy apostles and in all who are the Universal Catholic Church, and are not Latins, Greeks, or [Armenians].

² Furthermore ye shall believe in Jesus Christ, that by his father's command he is to come to judge the quick and the dead. And when they shall have finished the confession of faith before the elect one, and at the same time before the rulers, then shall the elect one say this prayer before the face of the heavenly Father: The Prayer of our Lord Jesus Christ in the presence of the Heavenly Father. I thank thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hidden this from the wise and learned and hast revealed it to babes. Yea, Father, for so it was pleasing in thy sight. All things have been given unto me by my Father; and no one knoweth the Son, but only the Father; nor doth any one know the Father save the Son, and to whom the Son shall desire to reveal. Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy-laden, and I will give you rest. Take up my yoke on you and learn of me, for I am gentle and lowly in heart; and ye shall find rest for your souls. For my yoke is easy and my burden is light.

³ And when they have finished the holy prayer of our Lord Jesus Christ— Now then, let us proceed to consider the baptizer, what he must [be], or how he must live, or in what manner he shall bring unto himself the repentant, or in what form minister to him. Wherefore we declare all this unto the person baptizing and to the person being baptized with God's help, in detail. Now therefore it is necessary for the baptizer to be elect according to the words of the heavenly Father to his beloved Son, Luke ix. 35: He is my Son Elect. Hear ye him. And secondly, he shall be gentle and lowly according to the command of our Lord Jesus Christ, which he gave by the mouth of his holy evangelists, John xv. 16 and 19, and xi. 28. Also in Matt.: 'Learn of me, for I am gentle and lowly in heart,' and the rest.

⁴ Now the teacher [shall be] wise, obedient, modest, sober, virtuous, god-fearing, loved by all, himself a lover of all the faithful. But let him not be superstitious, a babbler, a liar, an inciter of evil. Neither shall he be dissolute or vicious, nor shall he be deceitful and an impostor, nor shall he be fond of

low gain nor a lover of pleasure. Let him then not be contentious and cholerick; nor let him be a wine-bibber and a drunkard. Neither shall he be fond of glory or a taker of profits. And he shall not be a taker of gifts and greedy, nor a thief and a robber; nor shall he be a murderer and a grinder of the poor. Let him also not be weak in faith, or perverse, litigious. Let him not be a deceiver of men and women. Let him not be double-tongued, an inciter unto evil; let him not be a calumniator of others. Let him not be proud and selfish, let him not be a lover of silver or of any of this world's riches. Let him not be scarred with impurity, or a buffoon. Let him not be an adulterer and effeminate. Let him not be blind or halt, let him not be deaf or mute. Let him not be tall to excess above all men, nor let him be shorter than all men. And thus the [apostles] ordain by the Holy Spirit in their canons. And in particular the holy Apostle Paul directed Titus, saying, ch. i. 7: 'For the bishop (or overseer) must be blameless, as God's steward; not self-willed, not soon angry, not quarrelsome, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre. But hospitable, a lover of good, sober-minded, just, holy, temperate. To be a protector of the faithful word of the teaching, that he may be able both to exhort in soundness of doctrine and to convict the gainsayers.'

5 Again, St. Paul writes to Timothy thus, ch. iii. 1: 'Faithful is the saying, If a man seeketh the office of a bishop (or overseer), he seeketh a good work. The bishop (or overseer) must be without reproach, the husband of one wife, temperate, sober-minded, orderly, hospitable, apt to teach. No brawler, no striker; but gentle. Not contentious, no lover of money. For of his own house he shall be a good supervisor, and shall have children who are in subjection with all gravity.' Thus then the elect one must beware of all evil thoughts according to the Apostle Paul, according to the command he gave, saying: Be ye imitators of me, as also am I of Christ. I praise you for that you have all my riches. Ch. xi. 10 of First to Corinthians. Behold and see, my godly ones, how the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ enjoin us. And if ye resemble not them, then ye (MS.=we) cannot any more become elect and presidents of the faithful, and so forth.

6 Concerning them who are baptized, how they shall come unto the elect one and be baptized by him.

CHAPTER 21: THE RITE OF BAPTISM

1 Now then we say on this matter: Do ye be submissive to the law and have an ear to the canons, which direct how the novices shall go and present them-

selves to the elect one. For in gentleness and humility [shall they go], as our Lord Jesus Christ in gentleness and humility stood before St. John the Baptist. So also this new-born shoot must come unto the elect one. And forthwith the elect one shall rise to his feet and say: 'Come unto me all ye that are troubled and heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn of me, For I am gentle and lowly in heart; and ye shall find rest for your souls. For my yoke is easy and my burden is light.' Matt. xi. 28. And the penitent, with much eagerness throwing himself at the feet of the elect one, with supplications and tears, saith: O thou, elected by God and by Jesus Christ, I pray and beseech thee, set me, who am not worthy, free from the bonds of Satan.

² This before the people he shall openly say. Next the elect one, with benign glance and great love asketh him, saying:— My little child, thou who wishest to be released from the bonds of the devils of Satan, What fruit of absolution hast thou? Tell it to us before the congregation. But the penitent, if he have learned and received the perfect faith, with unfeigned trust, shall at once come on his knees into the midst of the water and say with great love and tears to the elect one as follows:— First do I faithfully believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, as the holy apostles believed, in Matt. xvi. 13, and as in Acts viii. to v. 18: 'And he said unto them, But ye, whom do ye say that I am? Simon Peter made answer and said to him, Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God,' and the rest. John vi. 69. And in particular the apostle Paul, making profession saith: 'The head of all is Christ, and the head of Christ is God,' 1 Cor. xi. 3. As also is clear in the holy gospel saying, John xvii. 3, 'This is life eternal, that they should know thee, the only true God, and him whom thou didst send, Jesus Christ.' So do I make confession and believe, serve, and worship God the Father, and the Son, mediator and intercessor, and the Holy Spirit, the dispenser of grace to us who believe.

³ And then, as he that has believed completes his holy profession of faith, the elect one instantly takes the water into his hands, and looking up to heaven (saith),—also observing in (or toward) himself the mystery (or sacrament), the form (or figure) and the intention,—shall directly or indirectly empty out the water over the head saying: In the name of Father and Son and Holy Spirit is baptized this man or woman—mentioning the name—by the testimony of the congregation here present. And then he reads the holy gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ:— Matt. iii. 13: 'Then cometh Jesus from Galilee

to the Jordan unto John to be baptized by him.' Mark i. 9: 'And it came to pass in those days that Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee and was baptized by John in the Jordan.' Luke iii. 21: 'And it came to pass in the baptizing of all the people, that Jesus was baptized and was praying; and the heavens were opened,' and the rest. John i. 29: 'On the morrow he seeth Jesus coming unto him and saith,' and read also the rest in full over the person baptized.

⁴Next the elect one receives before him the novice; but the novices shall in fear and trembling on their knees draw nigh, naked, bending low their heads and with firmest faith, bearing in mind the release from Satan. But the elect one takes water in his hands, and with mystery (or sacrament) with word and with act, shall fully empty out the water over one head (at a time) and say first, In the name of the Father; and he shall empty out the water on the head three times [and after that] in the name of the Son and in the name of the Holy Spirit... in union, Because the Father giveth release from the bonds, the Son giveth hope to sinners, and the Holy Spirit is love in the hearts of those who listen, believe, are baptized, and the rest. Ye shall keep to this figure. ⁵For a certain king releases certain rulers from the prison of sin, but the Son calls them to himself and comforts them (lit. gives hope) with lofty (lit. great) words, and the holy spirit of the king forthwith comes and crowns them, and dwells in (or with) them for ever and ever. Amen. Read thou the holy gospels. 'Then cometh Jesus from Galilee to the Jordan unto John to be baptized by him. But John would have hindered him saying, I have need to be baptized by thee, and comest thou to me? Jesus made answer and said unto him: Suffer it now, for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. Then he suffereth him. And when he was baptized Jesus went up straightway from the water; and behold the heavens were opened unto him; and he saw the spirit of God, descending like a dove; and it came upon him. And behold there was a voice from heaven which said: He is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.'

⁶He is in the presence of the Father. We thank, we magnify and glorify thine Almighty Fatherhood, that thou hast made worthy thy servants in the hour of baptism, who have been baptized in the name of thy Son, the only-born. And now we adore, we ask and beseech of thee, Holy Father, preserve them from the wiles of devils and free them from the temptation of evil ones. Seal, Holy Father, their hearts, their souls and bodies with the precious flesh and blood of thine only-born Son, now and evermore. Next ye shall

read the Acts of the Apostles, ii. 1. 'And when the days of Pentecost were completed, they were all with one accord together. And there was on a sudden a sound, coming from heaven, as of a mighty wind, and it filled all the house in which they sat. And there appeared unto them divided tongues, as of fire, and there sat one on each of them. And all were filled with the Holy Spirit, and began to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance.'

7 Gospel of Mark, i. 9. 'And it came to pass in those days that Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee, and was baptized by John in the Jordan. And forthwith, as he went up out of the waters, he saw the heavens rent asunder, and the Spirit of God, like a dove, descending from heaven, [and a voice came out of the heavens] and said, Thou art my beloved Son; In thee am I well pleased.' And then we say this prayer before the Son of the Heavenly Father. We adore, we entreat and beseech of thee, Christ, Son of God, receive these among the number of thy holy disciples, and send the Spirit of thy Father into their hearts, for thou didst promise them, saying: If I go not, the Holy Spirit will not come unto you. But now with ardent love, falling on our faces, we beseech thee in behalf of thy servants, who now have been baptized into thy holy name, and now anxiously await the faithful promise of thy Lordship, [made] unto their hearts, and unto all thy servants who have believed in thee.

8 And next thou shalt read Paul to the Galatians, iii. 24-29. 'So that the law hath been our tutor to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith. But now that faith is come, we are no longer under a tutor. For ye are all sons of God, through faith [in Christ Jesus]. For as many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ. There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus. And if ye are Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, heirs according to promise.' From the holy gospel of Jesus Christ according to Luke, iii. 21-22. 'Now it came to pass, when all the people were baptized, that, Jesus also having been baptized, and praying, the heaven was opened, and the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily form, as a dove, upon him, and a voice came out of heaven which said, Thou art my beloved Son; in thee I am well pleased.'

9 Also this further prayer in the presence of the Holy Spirit. Blessed art thou, Spirit of the Heavenly Father, forasmuch as thou wast made by the

Father, and coming, didst give unto our Lord Jesus Christ authority over all flesh; and didst make him king and head of beings in heaven and in earth and under the earth; even as St. Paul, filled with thee, declareth. Furthermore, thou didst divide the fiery tongues unto the holy Apostles and unite them unto the one word, and didst make them the Catholic Church of the Son of God the Father. And now with all reverence do we entreat thee, that thou come down into these, and fill the hearts of the baptized, who have now been baptized into Christ Jesus. Lest peradventure the unclean spirit approach them that have believed in the only born Son of the heavenly Father. Cleanse their spirits and minds, and make them a temple and dwelling-place of the Father increate, of the Son our intercessor, now and ever and unto eternity of eternities. Amen.

¹⁰ Lection from the Acts of the Apostles, viii. 26-40. ¹¹ 'But an angel of the Lord spake unto Philip, saying, Arise, and go toward the south along the way that goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza: the same is desert. And he arose and went: and behold, a man of Ethiopia, a eunuch of great authority under Candace, queen of the Ethiopians, who was over all her treasure, who had come to Jerusalem for to worship; and he was returning and sitting in his chariot, and was reading the prophet Isaiah. And the Spirit said unto Philip, Go near, and join thyself to this chariot. And Philip ran to him, and heard him reading Isaiah the prophet, and said, Understandest thou what thou readest? And he said, How can I, except some one shall guide me? And he besought Philip to come up and sit with him. Now the chapter of the scripture which he was reading was this: He was led as a sheep to the slaughter; and as a lamb before his shearer is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth: in his humiliation his judgement was taken away: his generation who shall declare? for his life is taken from the earth. And the eunuch answered Philip, and said, I pray thee, of whom speaketh the prophet this? of himself, or of some other? And Philip opened his mouth, and beginning from this scripture, preached unto him Jesus. And as they went on the way, they came unto a certain water; and the eunuch saith, Behold, here is water; what doth hinder me to be baptized?

¹² And Philip said, If thou believest with all thy heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. And he commanded the chariot to stand still: and they both went down into the water, both Philip and the eunuch; and he baptized him. And when they came

up out of the water, the Holy Spirit came upon the eunuch, and an angel of the Lord caught away Philip; and the eunuch saw him no more, and he went on his way rejoicing. ¹³ And then thou shalt read the holy gospel, John xx. From the holy gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, according to John. Or thus begin by saying: The holy gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ is that which John saith: 'When therefore it was evening on that day, the first day of the week, and when the doors were shut where the disciples of Jesus were met together, for fear of the Jews, Jesus came and stood in their midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you. And when he had said this, he shewed unto them his hands and his side; and the disciples were glad, when they saw the Lord. He said to them again, Peace be unto you: as the Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed into them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them; whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.'

¹⁴ Once more it is meet before all prayers to say the 'Our Father.' And then give the Peace in these words: May the Peace of the Father, the Peace of the Son, and the Peace of the Holy Ghost, come unto you. Amen.

Here Endeth the Form of Baptism.

¹⁵ And concerning the order of laying on of hands.

CHAPTER 22: REGULATIONS CONCERNING CANDIDATES FOR ELECTION,
AND THE RITE OF ELECTION

¹ Jesus, Son of the Heavenly Father, help us and intercede for us, and for all the faithful, for thou didst promise with thy faithful word: John xvii. 20, 'But not only for them do I pray, but also for all them that believe on me through their word.' Again let us speak about that man, and say how it is right to elect him, and then to lay hands (i.e. ordain) on him; lest by chance we be found guilty according to our Lord Jesus Christ and the holy apostle Paul, who declares and directs in his First to Timothy, v. 22: 'Lay hands hastily on no man, nor become partaker of the sins of aliens,' and the rest. But also our intercessor and mediator Jesus Christ, hindering us, saith: 'Give not holiness to dogs, and cast not your pearls before swine.' Behold, it is thus incumbent on the elect one and the rulers not to give the authority to such a man. For it is a fearful and awful thing to lay hands upon such as these, and to become partakers of the sins of aliens, and so forth. Therefore it is necessary for us to be greatly on our guard against them, and avoid participation

in their sins; so far forth as it is no divine command, either of Christ the elect or of the universal and apostolic holy church (to do so).

² Let us further consider the words, the actions, and the canons of our Saviour, yea, and also of the elected holy apostles, who were taught by the high priest Jesus, and handed down unto us their tradition. As St. Paul in his Epistle to the Galatians, i. 11, says: 'I make known to you, brethren, as touching the Gospel which was preached by me, that it is not according to the mind of man. For neither did I receive it from men, nor was I taught it by any one, but from the revelation of Jesus Christ.' 1 Cor. xv. 1: Eph. iii. 3. ³ Behold then, according to these words, these blessed ones received it from Christ; and Christ our Saviour received it from the Almighty Father, as he himself insisted, speaking in Matthew: 'And Jesus came and spoke to them, and said: Unto me hath been given authority in heaven and on earth. As the Father sent me, so send I you.' Also Mark xvi. 15. Accordingly our Lord Christ was first elected by the Father and received the grace of the heavenly Father, as saith Matthew, chap. xii.: 'Behold my servant, whom I elected, and my well-beloved in whom my soul was well-pleased. I have laid my spirit upon him, and he shall declare judgements unto the Gentiles.' 'And when Jesus was baptized, he went up straightway from the water, and lo! the heavens were opened to him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove and coming upon him. And lo, a voice from heaven which said, This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased.' Mark x. 10, Luke iii. 22, and John i. 32. And the rest ye shall read in holy writ, that first was Jesus elected by the Father, and the apostles by him. Accordingly it is right for this man to be elected by rulers and then by bishops. Now the President must first test him in gentleness and humility, and see if he has perfect wisdom, love which is chief of all, prudence, gentleness, humility, justice, courage, sobriety, and eloquence.

⁴ He must also possess in very deed continence, patience, moderation, pastoral care, love of the poor, pity and good conduct of life and all other good works, and repentance along with quick conscience. All this the teacher must test and ascertain; and only then shall it be incumbent on the Vardapet to approve him. But unless a man has borne these thorough tests, it is not right for the President or rulers to lay their hands on his head. Since our Lord and the universal and apostolic holy church inhibit us from laying our hands upon such ones and from becoming sharers and partakers of their sin.

Even as our mediator and intercessor, Jesus, warns us against it saying: 'Beware of evil workers, who come to you in sheep's clothing, but within are ravening wolves,' and so forth. ⁵ See and mark, my loved ones, how the Lord forbids us to lay hands on such as these, that is on false prophets, deceivers, disobedient, foolish, and so forth. Again, it is not meet for you, God-loving rulers and arch-rulers, to rashly lay your hands on such men; as St. Paul in his canons doth enjoin upon Titus, saying: 'For the bishop must be blameless,' and the rest. And accordingly the elect one must be on all sides spotless, and must be holy. Furthermore, he shall be shrewd and singleminded, as He that was elected by the Almighty Father saith: 'Ye shall be shrewd as the serpent and singleminded as the dove' and the rest. Look ye and diligently examine, lest perchance ye violate these holy canons. Nay, more, may the Almighty Father give us his holy grace through the intercession of his beloved Son, and may he open the eyes of our souls unto the detection of such deceivers; that is to say, of thieves, robbers, murderers, sons of fornication, adulterers, detractors, evil speakers, scurrilous, foul-mouthed, blasphemers, quarrelsome, effeminate, paederasts, swinish in their lives, fond of strife, irreconcilable, slayers of the innocent, timid, sluggish, dissolute, niggardly, slow to learn, foolish, ecstatic, superstitious, without faith, lovers of self, overweening, supercilious, double-faced, greedy, spotted with evil, graceless, libidinous, false witnesses, lovers of glory, lovers of silver, counterfeits, undiscerning, lovers of self, respecters of persons, longers after evil, privily-minded, lightly believing in false prophets and false doctors, in false preachers and false books; who in every season and sundry trust not to the knowledge of truth, as the universal and apostolic church enjoins us to do. These must be elected with much testing, as also the Head of the Church enjoined above, saying: 'Beware of evil workers,' and the rest.

⁶ Therefore, upon such as the aforesaid it is incumbent on us not to lay our hands, nor become sharers and participators in their sins. Further, we may say on this matter: Is there really found such an one as is free from all these vices? or was there ever anyone who, having had these vices, has turned away from them and renounced them? Yes, there is indeed such a man, my beloved, as has been a hundredfold worse than these, and who yet, when he reached the time of election, then recovered himself, and fully and completely repented and received the grace of the heavenly Father; as a member of the universal and apostolic holy church, St. Luke, declareth unto us, say-

ing in Acts vii. 60, 'And Saul was consenting unto the slaying of Stephen.' Again, ch. ix. 1, we read: 'But Saul, yet filled with threatening and slaughter of the disciples of the Lord, went unto the high priest and asked of him letters to Damascus unto the synagogues, that if he found any who were of that way, whether men or women, he might bring them bound to Jerusalem,' and the rest.

7 Behold and mark, my godfearing ones, how Saul goes forth, and then how he repents, and turns to Christ our Lord, and receives the Holy Spirit and is ranked in the ranks of the universal and apostolic holy church; and becomes a vessel of election, establisher of the truth, pride of the faith and rampart of the holy apostles who were proclaimed by Christ the universal and apostolic church. And this is the meaning of the blessed St. Paul when he said that where sin aboundeth there shall also abound grace. Again, he elsewhere saith, alluding thereto: 'While I was a child I spoke as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man full-grown, I put away the things of childhood.' 1 The Armenian of this sentence is ambiguous. I render as I think the sense must be. 8 Thus, my beloved, although it is natural for men to fall, is it not also natural for them to rise again and stand up straight? Let us also hold to this figure of our Lord, in which, dealing with us sinners, he compares us to the prodigal Son, who came to his father and said: Father, I have sinned unto heaven and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son, but make me one of thy hired servants. But his father, in compassion, fell on his neck and kissed him and said, This is my son who was dead and is alive again, was lost and is found. And again he repeated in his great love and said, 'Bring forth his robe and put a ring on his hand and kill for him the fatted calf, for he is my son who was dead and is alive again, was lost and is found.' So now do ye understand the decree of our Lord and of the holy apostles, which with true award they decreed for us and explicitly enjoined on all the faithful.

9 Let us return to the sequence of our direction, already expressed, that it is necessary for that man to be on all sides free from blemish, before we give him authority (or rule) of priesthood, of episcopate (or overseership), of doctorate, of apostleship, of presidency, and of election. For all these are one and the same thing; nor are they one greater or lesser than another. But they are on an entire level, as our intercessor Jesus enjoined on his holy elect ones, saying, Luke xxvi. 26: 'But be ye not so, but he that is great among you shall

be as the least, and the master (lit. leader) as the servant,' and the rest. In this wise is authority one, as our Lord enjoins saying, Matt. xvi. 15, where he promises to give authority to all his apostles. Likewise Matt. xviii. 18, he says the same, and also gives complete authority to all his elect ones: 'Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall release on earth, shall be released in heaven.' Furthermore, John xx. 23, 'Unto whom ye shall remit sins, it shall be remitted unto them; but whosoever ye shall retain, it shall be retained.'

¹⁰ Accordingly it is thus that Latins, Greeks, and Armenians alike speak in the hour of their releasing (? = absolution). Whether catholici or bishops (or overseers) or vardapets (i. e. doctors) or their priests, they all alike, as suits the occasion, say: 'I also in due order, with priestly authority, release thee from all participation in sin,' and the rest. Behold, my beloved ones, how they also bear witness that authority is one, and is not greater or less. For one was the Holy Spirit which came down upon the universal apostles and made them the universal and apostolic Catholic Holy Church. And we believe in their words, profession of faith, confession and works, for ever and ever unto eternity of eternities. Amen.

Here Endeth the Direction.

¹¹ Concerning the laying of hands on the elect one and of their calling unto this grade. Now after he hath been truly approved by the President, by the rulers and arch-rulers, then shall the elders lead that man before the President in great repentance and in tears. And the rulers and arch-rulers shall begin by saying, as they bring him, this prayer unto the bishop (or overseer), saying as follows: Holy Father, we humbly pray thee, entreat and beseech thee out of thy great love, to lay hands on this man for the true guidance of our spirits. Amen. And the Bishop, in turn, saith unto the Rulers as follows: Ye then, who desire to have him as your good shepherd, have ye indeed diligently tested him, as also I have tested him with great humility and love? But they make answer and say to the Apostle of our Lord Jesus Christ:—

¹² Yes, our venerable father; for we have fulfilled all the commands of your Lordship with the help of God. And again the elect one saith to the rulers and to all that listen: 'I am without responsibility (or innocent) in this particular, and ye are responsible.' And then the elect one begins in the very words of our Lord and Intercessor by asking of the reader as follows, Matt. xx. 23:— 'Art thou then able to drink the cup which I am about to drink, or

to be baptized with the baptism with which I am about to be baptized?' And he gives answer with ready will and love, saying to the President: Yes, holy father, for I, thy servant, take on myself scourgings, imprisonment, tortures, reproaches, crosses, blows, tribulation, and all temptations of the world, which our Lord and intercessor and the universal and apostolic holy Church took upon themselves, and lovingly accepted them. So even do I, an unworthy servant of Jesus Christ, with great love and ready will, take upon myself all these until the hour of my death. Amen.

¹³ And then the Chief receiveth him before him, and, himself sitting down on the throne, shall begin by first saying: 'In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.' And then he shall repeat the prayer of our Lord Jesus Christ. And after that he shall begin to read the holy Gospel, Matt. i. to verse 16; and also Acts vi. to verse 8. And then do thou read Acts i. to verse 5, 'Our Father, which art,' and the rest. Next again the Gospel of Matt. iii. to verse 17: also Acts xiii. to verse 6. And after this the bishop calls the rulers unto himself, and the rulers having come shall place their hands upon the reader; but the bishop takes the holy Gospel into his hands, and gives it into the hands of the reader, and then asks his name, gently and humbly, saying:

¹⁴ 'What is thy name, my little son beloved?' And he makes answer and says:— 'The name of thy servant is Peter.' But the apostle shall change his name in accordance with the Gospel, and after changing the name of the suppliant, he then gives him authority, saying as follows: Take to thyself authority of binding and loosing the sons of men in heaven and on earth, Matt. xviii. 18, and John xx. 23. Here, in giving authority, there shall instantly be read the holy Gospels. After the reading of them it is incumbent also to read the Gospel of the birth, Luke ii. 13, and Matt. ii. as far as verse 13. But after the reading of the holy Gospel of Luke, and the passage is that in which the angels sang their songs, it is meet that the bishop, the newly elected one, the rulers, arch-rulers, and all the congregation should sing: 'Glory in the highest to God, and on earth peace, to men good-will.'

¹⁵ This much and no more shall they say: King of kings, Lord and Creator of all beings, who didst create our first father out of clay and our first mother out of his rib; but they did not patiently endure thy holy commandment, but were deceived by the deceits of the Devil (lit. slanderer). Yet nevertheless out of thy divine compassion thou didst create the new man Jesus, as

the holy Paul saith: By man came death and by man salvation. Thus also the ...Christ Jesus kept thy ineffable commandments and bruised the head of thine adversary; as saith thine only-born Son himself, thy well-beloved, John xv. 10: 'If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love; even as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in his love.' Thus did our head Christ keep thy true words and the commandments of thy Lordship, and paid in full our debts and received from thee blessedness unending. And now we humbly supplicate, entreat, and beseech thee, accept our prayers through the intercession of thine only-begotten, and through the mediation of his holy baptism and of his life-giving precious body and blood, and of his holy insupportable sufferings. Bestow thy holy grace on this one, who now is come and asks of thee the grace of thy holy authority, and that he may be ranked along with thy holy Son, according to that which is said, that 'wherever I shall be, there also shall be my worshipper.'

16 And after that the rulers shall take their hands back and, lifting up their arms along with the bishop, shall say this prayer all together over the newly elected one, as follows: Our life and refuge, our mediator and intercessor. Now head of beings heavenly and earthly and of those under the earth, door of heaven, way of truth, and life of those who rightly believe in thee. Since thou didst promise with thy faithful word, saying: 'He that cometh unto me shall not remain in darkness; and him that is come unto me I will not cast out.' Now therefore, forasmuch as this man, who hath been baptized in thy holy name, and hath been elected by the Holy Spirit of thy Father, doth now earnestly await thy faithful promise [which said]: 'Ye shall abide in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be clothed with power from on high.' Now therefore, falling on our faces at thy feet with ardent love, with bitter tears, we beseech, entreat, and beg of thee, send into him the grace of thy Father, that it may come and adorn his spirit, mind, and body, and make him resplendently pure from all evil thoughts. And bestow on him thy Spirit, which thou didst receive from the Father in the river Jordan. Strengthen him and open his mind to understand the scriptures and to take up the cross in love; that he may follow after thee now and ever and unto eternity of eternities. Amen.

17 And then the bishop shall blow three times in the face of the newly-elected, saying: Now may the breath of our Lord Jesus Christ open thy mind, O beloved little son of mine, and strengthen thee in thy works. Amen. And

then ye shall read the holy promise of the archangel which was made concerning Jesus. Luke i. 26-38:— 18 'Now in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth, to a virgin betrothed to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David; and the virgin's name was Mary. And he came in unto her, and said, Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee. But she was greatly troubled at the saying, and cast in her mind what manner of salutation this might be. And the angel said unto her, Fear not, Mary: for thou hast found favour with God. And behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name Jesus. He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the most high: and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David: and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end. And Mary said unto the angel, How shall this be, seeing I know not a man? And the angel answered and said unto her, the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee: wherefore also that which is to be born of thee is holy, and shall be called the Son of God. And behold, Elisabeth thy kinswoman, she also hath conceived a son in her old age: and this is the sixth month with her that was called barren. For no word from God shall be void of power. And Mary said, Behold, the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word.'

19 And next read thou in the Acts of the Apostles, ii. 1 as far as verse 21 inclusive: 20 'And when the days of Pentecost were now complete, they were all together in one place. And suddenly there came from heaven a sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them tongues parting asunder, like as of fire; and it sat upon each one of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and began to speak with divers tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance. Now there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men, from every nation under heaven. And when this voice was heard the multitude came together, and were confounded, because that every man heard them speaking in his own language. And they were all amazed and marvelled, saying, Behold, are not all these which speak Galilaeans? And how hear we every man in our own language, wherein we were born? Parthians and Medes and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, in Judaea and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, in Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt and the parts of Libya about

Cyrene, and sojourners from Rome, both Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabians, we do hear them speaking in our tongues the mighty works of God. And they were all amazed, and were perplexed, saying one to another, What meaneth this? But others mocking said, they are filled with new wine.

21 But Peter, standing up with the eleven, lifted up his voice and spake forth unto them, saying, Ye men of Judaea, and all ye that dwell at Jerusalem, be this known unto you, and give ear unto my words. For these are not drunken, as ye suppose; seeing it is but the third hour of the day; but this is that which hath been spoken by the prophet Joel; And it shall be in the last days, saith God, I will pour forth of my spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams: yea and on my servants and on my handmaidens in those days will I pour forth of my Spirit; and they shall prophesy. And I will shew wonders in the heaven above, and signs on the earth beneath; blood, and fire, and vapour of smoke: the sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the day of the Lord come, that great and notable day. And it shall be that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved.'

22 And then say this prayer. I thank thee and magnify thee, Heavenly Father, true God, who didst glorify thine only-born beloved Son with thy holy spirit. Also the holy universal and apostolic church of thine only-born Son didst thou adorn with divers graces. And now adoring, we pray thee, merciful Father, send on this thy newly-elected one thine infinite grace; that coming it may fill him and be to him a rampart and armour against thine adversary, who for ever and continually desires to ensnare those who have believed on thine only-born. Now therefore, lay thy holy right hand upon thy servant here elected, and keep him from evil and from temptation of the world by the intercession of thy true Son, now and ever and to eternity of eternities. Amen. And then thou shalt read the holy Gospel, John xx. 19, as far as verse 24: 'When therefore it was evening, on that day, the first day of the week, and when the doors were shut where the disciples were met together, for fear of the Jews, Jesus came and stood in their midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you. And when he had said this, he shewed unto them his hands and his side. The disciples therefore were glad when they saw the Lord. Jesus therefore said to them again, Peace be unto you: as the Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed

into them, and saith, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosoever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them; whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.'

²³ And also the precept of St. Paul shalt thou read, Heb. xiii. 17-21. 'Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit to them: for they watch in behalf of your souls, as they that shall give account to you; that they may do this with joy, and not with grief: for this were unprofitable for you. Pray for us: for we are persuaded that we have a good conscience, desiring to live honestly in all things. And I exhort you the more exceedingly to do this, that I may be restored to you the sooner. Now the God of peace, who brought again from the dead the great shepherd of the sheep with the blood of the eternal covenant, even our Lord Jesus Christ, establish you in every good work to do his will, working in us that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ; to whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.'

²⁴ And then say this prayer before Christ. Bread of angels and of the faithful, mediator and intercessor of us sinners, Lamb of God, Jesus, help us and especially this thy newly-elected servant, whom thou hast joined unto the number of thy loved disciples. Establish him on thy Gospel vouchsafed to thine universal and apostolic Church, the sure and immovable rock at the gate of hell. And bestow on him a goodly pastorship, to tend with great love thy reasonable flock; even as St. Peter, a member of the universal and apostolic holy Church, saith in his catholic Epistle, ch. v. 2: 'Tend the flock of God which is among you.' Forasmuch as through thy calling he hath been joined with thy saints, keep this thy servant with thine elect; that no unclean spirit of devils may dare to approach him. Fortify thine elected one in the work which thou didst commit unto all who are thine elect and who have believed in thee. Amen.

²⁵ Then after this prayer do thou give the peace to all the people; and then the bishop shall take the newly-elected one to himself, and instruct him with great love, and give him to read the holy Evangel ever and always. Yea and also the holy testament of the universal and apostolic Church; in order that thereby he may in fullness receive the grace of the Holy Spirit, during a space of forty days.

CHAPTER 23: SOLUTIONS OF NEW TESTAMENT SAYINGS, AND SAYINGS
ABOUT THE VIRGIN MARY

¹ Explanations of important sayings of our Lord Jesus Christ, to which the holy evangelists bear witness. Matt. i. 25. 'And knew her not until she

brought forth her firstborn Son ...' And after eight days his name was called Jesus, which name the angel Gabriel revealed in the time of her virginity.' See Luke i. 26. For this reason the holy evangelists and the sanctified apostles, yea, and our Lord Jesus Christ, declare Mary, prior to the birth, to be a virgin, but after the birth call her a wife and utterly deny her virginity, as in the aforesaid the Son of God asserts in John ii. 4. In Cana of Galilee, where he made the water wine: 'What have I to do with thee, thou woman, for not yet is my hour come?' When in the hour of the passion he was raised on the cross, he said to his mother: 'Woman, behold thy son.' And to his loved disciple he committed her, saying: 'Behold thy mother.'

² There are many other testimonies in the holy gospel and testament of the apostles; and we state but a few in order to help the truth, and not out of grudging. For example, that is clear which in the hour of the passion of the Lord Jesus the Evangelists insist upon, saying: 'There were also there women, to whom were come Mary Magdalene, and Mary, mother of Jacob and Josia.' And in another place, namely in the country of Jesus, they give proof by saying in astonishment: 'Is not he the son of the carpenter? is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren are John, and José, Simon and Judas, and his sisters are with us.' Again, St. Luke expressly denies blessedness to her, and assigns it to those who have believed in Jesus Christ, ch. xi. 27: 'And whilst he was discoursing to the multitude, a certain woman raised her voice out of the multitude, and said: Blessed is the womb that bore thee, and the paps that gave thee suck.' But Jesus in return took away, in the hearing of the multitude, blessedness from his mother, and gave it to those who do and keep his word.

³ And also John the Evangelist most openly shows their unbelief, when he relates of the brethren of the Lord Jesus (that they said to him), Get thee hence, that thy disciples also may see the works which thou doest, for his brethren also did not yet believe on him. And in particular the vessel of election and member of the universal and apostolic holy church, St. Paul saith of our Lord Jesus: 'He was born of a woman, and came in under the law.' Thus, previously to Mary's bearing the new-created Adam, Gabriel the archangel pronounces her a virgin and greets her; but after the birth the same angel does not call her a virgin. As is clear in the holy Gospel, from what he says in the dream to Joseph: 'Arise, take the child and his mother, and flee into Egypt'; and again, after some time, the angel of the Lord appeared in a

dream, and said: 'Arise, take the child and his mother, and depart into thy land.'

Concerning the Creation of Adam and of our Lord Jesus Christ.

4 First, the heavenly Father, the true God, fashioned (or created) the heavens with all that belongs thereto, and the earth with all its kinds; he equipped them. As is clear in the inspiration of God (i.e. in the inspired Scriptures). Again, the benevolent God, seeing that all things were good, was pleased to make a king over all beings; and especially because of the most evil slanderer (i.e. the Devil), as is proved by the sense of the word which says: 'Let us make man in our image and likeness.' Thus in the twinkle of an eye he, by a single word, fashioned heaven and earth. But also by a single word he fashioned (or created) the old Adam, made him king and ruler of all creatures. Wherefore Satan, beholding the paramount kingship of Adam, was envious, as divine writ says in reference to him: 'By the envy of the slanderer death came into the world.' Moreover, St. Paul says that by man came death and by man resurrection.

5 And he also repeats this, when he says: 'As by Adam all men died, so also by Christ shall they be made alive.' Now at the first we said that the Almighty Father with a single word fashioned (or created) Adam out of clay, and Eva out of his rib, like unto him in ... 6 said, Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit. Also he prayed for his enemies: Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do. And again he says to Mary Magdalen, his disciple, after his resurrection, I am not yet ascended unto my Father and unto your Father, and to my God and to your God. And again the holy universal Church with one mouth declareth: that Christ died and God raised him from the dead. There are also many other [testimonies], which we have not cited. 7 Concerning the mediation of our Lord Jesus Christ, and not of any other holy ones, either of the dead, or of stones, or of crosses and images. In this matter some have denied the precious mediation and intercession of the beloved Son of God, and have followed after dead [things] and in especial after images, stones, crosses, waters, trees, fountains, and all other vain things; as they admit, and worship them, so they offer incense and candles, and present victims, all of which are contrary to the Godhead. All these things our Lord put under his feet when he said: 'I am the door. If any one shall enter with me, he shall go out and shall go in, and shall find pasture,'

and the rest. And again, he saith, I am the way, and the truth, and the life. And he doth furthermore say: I indeed am the resurrection and the life.

⁸ Again he saith: I am your mediator and intercessor. As he saith to Peter in Luke: And I have prayed to the Father in thy behalf. But he also said to his apostles: And I will pray to the Father, that he may give to you another Comforter. And also to us who believe he saith: Not for them do I pray, but for them also who believe on me through their word. He repeats, saying: Father, not for them do I pray, because thou hast taken them out of the world, but that thou mayest guard them from the evil. First did St. Stephen behold the intercession of our Lord Jesus Christ at the time of his stoning, as St. Luke relates in Acts vii. 55: And he saw the heavens opened, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God. And St. Paul saith: So now who is he that shall condemn? Surely Jesus Christ, who died, yea rather, was raised indeed, and is on the right hand of God, who also is intercessor for us.

⁹ Again he saith: For there is one God and one mediator also of God and men, the man Jesus Christ. Of whom St. John, in his catholic epistle, speaks: Little children, this I write unto you. Sin not; and if any one sin, we have with God an intercessor Jesus Christ, the righteous and the spotless. And he is the expiation and remission of our sins; and not of ours only, but also for all those who rightly believe in him. Yea, and the Intercessor himself took his holy precious body and his holy unblemished blood, He and no other.

Supplement to the foregoing words.

¹⁰ Again I ask you, gainsaying Popes and your followers—you who baptize them that are catechumens still in their mother's wombs by all sorts of means, though they have not yet come into the world, or are born dead; some of them in the womb and some in death, ye baptize conditionally. All these things are devilish, and not divine. For the God of all who bestows such gifts of grace on his loved ones, since he is himself sincere, has also bestowed gifts of grace which are sincere and true. Hence it is clear from your deeds, how ye sometimes are convicted by the truth, and are forced to speak the truth, as when ye say: Let no catechumen, nor any that is wanting in faith, nor any one that is unrepentant or impure. It is not meet that he should draw nigh to the holy divine mysteries. Now if ye do not hearken unto God, Christ, and the universal and apostolic holy Church; ye should anyhow obey your own false testimonies and promises. For there are three divine myster-

ies, which he proclaimed from above to his only-born Son and to St. John the great prophet. First, repentance. Second, baptism.

11 Third, holy communion. For these three he gave to the adult, and not to catechumens who have not repented, or are unbelieving. And again I ask you, violator of ordinances, about this catechumen of yours, when did he ask or where did he petition the false witness, saying: I ask from thee faith, hope, love, and all other good works, from a false witness? For if your catechumen asks from his tenderest age, then why does he not ask it direct from you, violators of the ordinances? So then your very falsehoods serve to show forth like the sun the truth of our Lord Jesus Christ. And your whole custom is found to be false and mere deceit; of which our Lord Jesus Christ primarily saith: 'And what he speaketh false, he speaketh out of his own, and his father is Satan,' John.

Instruction of a Christian.

12 If any one desire, my little children, to acquire the orthodox faith, it is first necessary for him to learn fully the necessary questions and the confession. And then he shall go and ask for holy baptism; and the precious body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ shall he eat and drink, at a time when he hath believed, and not during his unbelieving time as a catechumen.

CHAPTER 24: A CATECHISM FOR CHRISTIANS

1 Question. Art thou a Christian? Answer. Yes, I am a Christian by the grace of Christ. Q. How are we to define a Christian? A. Thus—one who knows our Lord Jesus Christ, what he is, and keeps his commandments. Q. What is the command and precept of our Lord Jesus Christ, which we keep? A. That which our Lord prescribed to his disciples and his faithful, saying: 'If ye love me, ye will keep my commandments. As I also have kept the commandments of my Father.' Q. How many are the commandments of our Lord Jesus Christ? A. These. First, Hope. Second, Repentance. Third, Faith. Fourth, Baptism. Fifth, Communion. Sixth, Love, which is chief of all. Q. What is Christ, and as what must we know him and believe him to be? A. Even as the universal and apostolic holy Church believed, so must we also believe. Q. How did the blessed apostles believe? Teach us.

2 A. As St. John the Evangelist sheweth, saying: 'We have believed and know that thou art Christ, the Son of God, who wast to come into the world.' Q. So then, as touching those who baptize catechumens, is their bap-

tism true or vain? A. It is vain and a fraud. For catechumens have not repentance, have not hope, neither have they the holy faith. Wherefore their baptism is not true and is not salvation. Q. Then whose baptism and communion is valid? A. Their holy baptism and communion only is valid who have original and operative sin. Q. Surely catechumens who are [newly] born of their mothers have not original and operative sin? A. Yea, my children, they truly have not such sin, these catechumens. Q. Hast thou then firm ground in holy scripture as touching catechumens? A. Yes, venerable father, I have true witness from the holy Gospel, which our Lord enjoined on the holy Church, saying after his resurrection: 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to all creatures. He that shall believe and be baptized shall live; and he that believeth not shall be judged.' Behold, my reverent one, first did he enjoin faith, repentance, and then he gave the command of holy baptism.

3 Q. How many, my little children, were there who fasted the forty days and forty nights, until came Christ, the Son of God? A. Four are those who so fasted. Enoch and Elias who, fasting, were raised to Heaven. Secondly, Abraham, who received the promise of Isaac from the angels of God. And thirdly, Moses, fasting, received the ten commandments. Q. Christ our Lord and Intercessor, did he really fast forty days and forty nights like them? A. Yes, he fasted, and from his Almighty Father received the kingship over things in heaven and on earth and under the earth. Q. Wherefore then did not God Almighty make one of the patriarchs king and head of all? Did they not also fast those days? A. Although they fasted, yet they were not ...as was our Lord Jesus Christ. But they were conceived in original sin, they had original sin and operative. But our mediator Christ was not conceived in original sin, and had not original sin or operative like them, as St. John the Evangelist made clear saying, ch. i. 13: 'Which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. And the word became flesh, and dwelt among us.'

4 Q. Did then God converse with our Lord Jesus Christ, or not? A. Almighty God conversed with his only-born Son ever and always, as St. John the Evangelist bore witness, saying, It thundereth. But some of them said, An angel hath spoken unto him. But our mediator and intercessor himself confirmed it, that the Father conversed with him, saying: Not for my sake came this voice; but that ye may believe in me. And again he saith: I from myself speak nothing; but what I have heard from my Father, that will I

make known unto you. Q. How many are the words of our Lord Jesus Christ which save man? A. Four are they which save man. First, Repentance. Second, Right Faith. Third, Holy Baptism. And fourth, the holy precious body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Q. (and A.) So then confirmation, the order of priesthood, last unction, and marriage, are not salvation of our souls. But are unnecessary and not obligatory. Even as the holy Church saith: 'If he giveth his virgin in marriage, he doeth well. And if they give her not in marriage, they do still better.' Thus shalt thou regard confirmation, order of priesthood, and last unction, which are not obligatory nor the door of salvation.

5 Q. For how many reasons did the God of all send into the world the new Adam his beloved? A. For four necessary things. That is: First, because of original sin. Second, on account of operative sin. Third, for sake of mediation, reconciliation, and intercession, which now is. Fourthly, because of the end of the world, the Father Almighty sent his only-born Son, and appointed him to judge the quick and the dead. Q. O venerable father, is it right for us to have the intercession of saints, or is it not? A. We hold that their intercession is not right or essential. For they need the intercession of the living, not the living theirs. As is clear from the sacramentaries of the heretics and schismatics, who at the hour of mass (lit. oblation) rightly here say: 'Of all whether priests, or deacons, or scribes, that is apostles, saints, prophets, doctors, martyrs, patriarchs, monks, virgins, recluses, and of all saints, let there be, we pray, commemoration in the holy oblations.' Yea, and priests and scribes with one voice say out loud: 'Remember, O Lord, and pity.' Also he that offereth saith: 'Give rest to the souls of the saints,' and the rest.

6 Q. What further reason is there why they cannot make intercession? A. Although they suffered for the love of Christ, still they have not glory, nor release, nor the crown of the kingdom of God. As the holy Church of Christ makes clear when it says: 'The saints received the promise of life eternal, they obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions,' and the rest. Furthermore our Lord Jesus, in giving his promise, spake to his loved ones thus: 'Whosoever I shall be, there shall also be my worshipper.' Again he also says: 'Ye cannot now come after me; but then ye shall have come after me.' And also he points out the place to them, saying: 'There are many mansions in my Father's house.' See, my reverent children, how hath been made clear the mind of the holy Gospel and of the holy church. Those who are filled with hope, and

not with glory and crowns, are all saints, as our mediator and intercessor Jesus directs, saying in his ineffable judgement: 'Come ye blessed ones of my Father, be ye heritors of joy without term or end.' In the same way shalt thou regard the sinners who are tormented in fire unquenchable.

⁷ Furthermore, my beloved little son, take to thee the word of the great prophet Moses, which tells how Pharaoh was very wrath with Joseph, and took him and put him in prison; and some of the imprisoned saw a dream and were afraid. So then in the middle of the prison they told their dreams to Joseph. But our forefather Joseph by the spirit of God told them their dreams, saying to the one: My good man, behold on the morrow Pharaoh the king crowneth thee with great glory. But to the other he said: Thou also on the morrow shalt be punished by the king. See, my reverent child, that one with the promise of Joseph was crowned, and the other with his words was punished. Of like purport is the parable of our Lord Jesus Christ which tells about Lazarus and Abraham. Furthermore the holy church of Christ tells how he went and preached to the spirits which were in prison, for the preaching of our Lord Jesus Christ signifies this, namely that he gave promises and great hope to the spirits of patriarchs and prophets, saying, My Father will crown you in the end of the world. But to the sinners he preached, saying: The Father Almighty will chastise you with heavy chastisement.

⁸ Concerning the judgement that is one and not two.

CHAPTER 25: THE CATECHISM CONTINUED: ONE JUDGEMENT AND NO
PURGATORY

¹ Question. How many judgements of God are there as touching the dead and the living? Answer. There is but one judgement and not two. Q. Then, if there is one judgement of God which he holdeth through Christ; why do some gainsayers say that there are two judgements and not one—the one, they say, private and apart, and the other universal. A. They thus speak lies merely because their father is Satan. Even as our Lord says, that which he speaketh false he speaketh out of his own, and his father is Satan. Q. I pray thee, venerable father, to give us instruction as touching how many judgements there be. A. I tell thee that the universal and apostolic church confesses one only, saying that man dies once and after that is judgement. This is the meaning of the holy church, that as for man death comes once, so also will his resurrection and judgement be one and not two.

2 Q. Then did Christ, our Lord and intercessor, truly know the wickedness of their minds, who have established false and monstrous laws, or did he not? A. Yes, venerable father, he truly knew, and therefore said: 'Beware of evil workers,' and 'by their fruits ye shall know them' who are disciples of lies and deceit, and not of my truth. As the holy church expressly declareth. Q. Did our Lord Jesus Christ really know the day of judgement or no? A. Since the heavenly Father, true God, did not reveal that day to his beloved Son; as he saith concerning the end of the world: 'No man knoweth it, not the angels in heaven, nor the Son; but the Father alone.' Further he saith: 'Out of my own self I speak nothing; but whatsoever command my Father gave me, that I speak.' Behold, my reverent one, how Christ, the Son of God, of his own self could not say aught, unless his Father revealed it to him.

3 Q. But forasmuch as our Lord Jesus Christ could not by himself without the ordinance of God know the day of judgement, how do some gainsayers declare, in opposition to the truth of the Son of God, that there is a separate judgement and place of expiation for sinners? A. Because, as I at the first told thee, they are the heritors of their father's deceit; and through the spirit of that same evil one they ever and always ordain false laws and false precepts. Behold, my loved one, their teacher, who has disguised himself in the form of a monk and preached unto them the torments of hell, in order to ensnare their souls.

Here End the Questions.

4 Concerning the Consecration of the Flesh and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Intercessor.

CHAPTER 26: ON THE CONSECRATION OF THE FLESH AND BLOOD

1 First he began with the following figure. He opened their minds, saying: 'My flesh is the true food and my blood is the true drink.' And again he said: 'I am the bread of life which came down from heaven. He that eateth this bread shall live for ever.' When our Lord had thus ended these figures, many of the disciples forthwith turned back. Then he again said to his remaining disciples: Do ye go and get ready for us the table of holiness, where I shall presently perform the mystery of salvation, for my own believers and beloved ones. And when it was eventide Jesus went and sat down, and the twelve with him. He took one loaf unleavened in his hands, blessed it, gave thanks, broke it and said: 'Take ye, eat. This is my body which for you many is dis-

tributed unto the expiation and remission of sins.' [So also saith he in regard to the cup.]

² Exposition of the Holy Mystery of our Lord Jesus Christ. That our mediator and intercessor Jesus Christ, the Lamb of God, took the bread in his hands and blessed it, this the holy Evangelists declare. That is to say he earnestly besought the almighty Father that he would change the bread into his true precious body. This is why it says: 'He blessed,' that is, he prayed the Lord that he would change the bread truly into his body. And so it was assuredly changed by the spirit of the heavenly Father. And when he saw that the bread was changed into his body, then he thanked the almighty Father for having changed it into his body and blood. Now dost thou understand, my little child, the interpretation of the blessing and thanksgiving? Yes, holy father, I have right well understood it. Humbly I pray thee, venerable father, interpret to us this his use of the word 'mine,' namely: 'This is my body,' as he also said after the resurrection to Peter: 'Feed my sheep.' When he said this, did our mediator and intercessor Jesus Christ know that there would come false popes who would change [it] according to their good pleasure? Who with bread alone cajole all men and make that their own flesh and blood, and not Christ's. For this cause also doth our Lord Jesus Christ say: 'This is my body.' Yea more, this doth he imply: that whosoever shall make any water, any mere bread, or any moistened morsel, and distribute (the same) deceitfully to the simple people, it is their own flesh and blood and not Christ's.

³ To whom glory for ever and ever. Amen. This was written in the province of Taron in the year of the Lord 1782; but according to the Armenian Era 1230.

(Colophon.)

⁴ ...of the all glorious John Vahaguni. For they with great fervour were elected by us. But because of their being elected the love of truth abounded in my heart. Wherefore I could not hide the grace of the Holy Spirit. But I began to write out in order the holy Sacramentary and the Key of Truth for love of those who ask and receive. Moreover, I humbly entreat you with warm love and faith to forgive the shortcomings, the insufficiencies, and the faults of composition or of grammar. And also as touching the syllables, or writing, or verbs or nouns (lit. words) or eight parts of the art, if in regard to them ye find any errors or shortcomings, they are not due to ourselves, but have

found their way into it as being (the faults) of unpractised copyists. Glory to the Father truly existent, and to his Son our mediator and intercessor. Now and ever and unto eternity of eternities. Amen.

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